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Aiming Wang

Church in China: Faith, Ethics, Structure

The Heritage of the Reformation for the Future of the Church in China



Peter Lang

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Faith, Ethics, Structure

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Table of Contents Overview

Acknowledgments 19

Preface 23

1 Introduction 27

2 Faith and Church of Protestantism 67

3 The Ideal Type I: The Ecclesial Ethics of Martin Luther 211

4 The Ideal Type II: The Ecclesial Ethics of John Calvin 303

5 The Ideal Type III: The Ethical Role of the Church in the Time of the Crisis: Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer 425

6 The Ecclesial Ethics of the Church in China 473

Bibliography 571

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments 19

Preface 23

1 Introduction 27

1.1 The Basic Question of the Research 27

1.2 The Reference from Max Weber's Theory of the Ideal Type 32

1.3 The Methodology 38
1.3.1 The Position of Departure is about the Structure of Protestantism 40
1.3.1.1 The Three Dimensions of the Structure of the Faith of Protestantism 40
1.3.1.2 The Church Order of Protestantism 43
1.3.2 Martin Luther, the Ideal Type I: Protestant Ethics is Ecclesial Ethics 46
1.3.2.1 The Fundamental Elements of Ecclesial Ethics from the Bible 46
1.3.2.2 The Ecclesial Ethics and the Initiatives of the Protestant Tradition 48
1.3.3 John Calvin, the Ideal Type II: the Ethical Principles as the Ecclesial Pillars of Church 49
1.3.3.1 Calvin's Heritage has Great and Wide Influence under the Name of Calvinism 50
1.3.3.2 The Significance of the Ideal Type II Lies in the Institutional Ethical Norms of the Church 51
1.3.4 Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth, Ideal Type III, as the Modern References of the Reformation in the Time of the Crisis 53

1.3.4.1 The Ethical Difficulties of Protestantism in Modern Times of the West 53
1.3.4.2 "The Communion of the Saints": the Ecclesial Ethics of Dietrich Bonhoeffer 54
1.3.4.3 Karl Barth and His Ecclesial Concerns 55
1.3.5 The Hermeneutical Approach to Construct the Ecclesial Ethics in China 58

1.4 Conclusion 61

2 Faith and Church of Protestantism 67

2.1 Introduction 67

2.2 The Theological Dimension of Faith 70
2.2.1 The Morphological Scriptural Elements of the Faith 72
2.2.1.1 The Place of the Bible in the Faith of the Protestant Church 73
2.2.1.1.1 Martin Luther and the Principle of the Bible 73
2.2.1.1.2 John Calvin and the Principle of the Bible 79
2.2.1.2 The Significance of the Creeds for the Protestant Faith 85
2.2.1.2.1 The Creeds as the Rule of the Faith 86
2.2.1.2.2 The Confessions of Faith as the Ecclesiastical Reconfirmation of the Creeds 89
2.2.1.2.3 The Word of God and the Words of the Churches 91
2.2.1.3 Conclusion 92
2.2.2 The Political Elements of the Faith of Protestantism 96
2.2.2.1 The State-Church Relationship and Its Origin from the Prophetic Epoque 97
2.2.2.2 The New Testament as the Basic Texts for the Political Function of the Church 100
2.2.2.3 The Theological Political Issues of the Protestant Church 102
2.2.2.4 Conclusion 103
2.2.3 The Moral Elements of the Protestant Faith 105

2.2.3.1 Faith and Ethics 105
2.2.3.2 The Moral Rules and the Protestant Life 107
2.2.3.2.1 The Moral Teachings of Jesus 109
2.2.3.2.2 The Apostles' Moral Testimonies 110
2.2.3.2.3 The Ethical System of the Christian Faith 111
2.2.4 Conclusion 114

2.3 The Institutional Dimension of Protestantism: the Church Order of Protestantism, the Origin and the Initiatives 117
2.3.1 Introduction 117
2.3.2 The Dogmatic Definition of the Church and Its Comprehension 119
2.3.2.1 The "Church" in the New Testament 119
2.3.2.1.1 The Church around the Event of the Cross 123
2.3.2.1.2 The Church before the Event of Pentecost (Acts 2) 123
2.3.2.1.3 The Church since the Event of Pentecost 124
2.3.2.1.4 The Fourth Form of the Church: the Church since the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) towards the World Mission 125
2.3.2.2 The Patristic Tradition and the Ecclesiastical Creation 127
2.3.2.2.1 The Doctrinal Nature of the Church 130
2.3.2.2.2 The Church Order at the Medieval Catholic Polity Designation 132
2.3.2.2.3 The System of the Council or Synodal System 134
2.3.2.2.4 The Crisis of the Roman Catholic Church, the Problem of the Church Order 137
2.3.2.3 Conclusion 143
2.3.3 The Church Order and Ecclesiastical Forms of the Protestant Church 145
2.3.3.1 The Doctrinal Interpretations of the Church 147
2.3.3.2 The Fundamental Factors of the Church: the Proclamation, the Sacraments, the Ministers and the Disciplines 153
2.3.3.3 The Ecclesiastical Polity or Church Governance 164
2.3.3.3.1 The Episcopal Form of Church Government 165

2.3.3.3.2 Presbyterian Form of Church Government 167
2.3.3.3.3 Congregational Form of Church Government 169
2.3.4 Conclusion: the Focus of the Research of the Church Polity 170

2.4 The Ethical Dimension of Protestantism: Church and Ethics 172
2.4.1 Introduction 172
2.4.2 The Biblical Basis and the Initiatives of the Ecclesial Ethics of Luther and Calvin 173
2.4.2.1 From the Decalogue to the Reformation 173
2.4.2.2 The Prophetic Theme: the Communion of the Selected People 177
2.4.2.3 Brief Conclusion 179
2.4.3 The Original Source of the Church Ethics in the New Testament 179
2.4.3.1 Jesus Christ and the Moral Teachings as Ethical Basis of the Church 180
2.4.3.2 The Apostolic Foundation of the Ecclesial Ethics 185
2.4.3.3 Brief Conclusion 191
2.4.4 The Fundamental Propositions of the Ecclesial Ethics of Protestantism 192
2.4.4.1 The Relationship between the Church and the State 194
2.4.4.2 The Relationship between the Bible and Tradition 196
2.4.4.3 The Relationship between the Law and the Gospel 199
2.4.4.4 The Relationship between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the World 202
2.4.4.5 The Relationship between Freedom and Slavery 203
2.4.4.6 The Relationship between the Visible and the Invisible Church 204
2.4.5 Conclusion 208

3 The Ideal Type I: The Ecclesial Ethics of Martin Luther 211

3.1 Introduction 211

3.2 The Fundamental Theological Principles of the Ecclesial Ethics Linked with the Reformation and the Theological Initiatives 213
3.2.1 The Survey of His Pioneering of the Reformation 214
3.2.2 The Fundamental Theological Principles of the Ethical Thought 221
3.2.2.1 The Three Sola as the Three Pillars of the Ethical System of Luther for the Protestant Church 221
3.2.2.2 The Three Turning Points as the Ethical Orientation of the Protestant Church from Luther 225

3.3 The Ecclesial Propositions as the Basic Ethical Principles 227
3.3.1 The Ethical Principle of Responsibility 228
3.3.2 The Ethical Principle of the Law-Gospel 229
3.3.3 The Ethical Principle of the Two-Kingdoms 232
3.3.4 The Ethical Principle of the Christian Freedom 235
3.3.5 The Ethical Principle of the Calling 240
3.3.6 The Ethical Principle of the Christian Life on the Trinity 243
3.3.7 Conclusion 246

3.4 Church Order: the Ecclesiastical Polity and Ordonnances 247
3.4.1 Introduction of the Lutheran Church Order 247
3.4.2 The Lutheran Church Polity 249
3.4.3 The Lutheran Church Orders 251
3.4.3.1 The Documental Survey 251
3.4.3.2 The Ordination and Office of Ministry or the Ministerial Order 252
3.4.3.2.1 The Bishop's Office 255
3.4.3.2.2 The Pastor's Duty 256
3.4.3.3 The Sacraments 258
3.4.3.4 The Liturgical Order 264
3.4.3.5 The Synodal Model of the Church Government 267
3.4.4 Conclusion 269

3.5 The Ethical Analysis of the Initiatives of Church Order 271
3.5.1 Introduction 271

3.5.2 The Ethical Principles as the Structural Elements of the Church 275
3.5.2.1 The Doctrine of Law-Gospel as the Ethical Structural Element of Church-State Relationship 275
3.5.2.2 The Ethical Structural Principle of the Universal Priesthood (Priesthood of All Believers) 281
3.5.2.3 The Ethical Structural Principle of the Adiaphora 285
3.5.2.4 The Ethical Structural Principle of the Bondage of the Will behind the Synodal System of Church Government 291
3.5.3 Conclusion 299

4 The Ideal Type II: The Ecclesial Ethics of John Calvin 303

4.1 Introduction 303

4.2 Calvin's Constitutional Initiative of the Protestant Tradition 306
4.2.1 A Brief Survey of the Career of Calvin 306
4.2.2 A Brief Introduction of His Theological Thoughts 308
4.2.2.1 Theological Thoughts from the Institutes of the Christian Religion 309
4.2.2.2 The Theological Correlation and Affiliation between Calvin and Luther 314
4.2.2.3 Conclusion 322
4.2.3 Interpretations and the Controversies 323
4.2.3.1 The Doctrine of Predestination 324
4.2.3.2 The Controversy about Arminianism: the Appearance of Calvinism 330
4.2.3.3 Calvinism: the Historical Influences of John Calvin 332
4.2.3.3.1 The Fundamental Background 332
4.2.3.3.2 Faith and Order 334
4.2.3.3.3 The Five Doctrinal Points of Calvinism by the TULIP 336
4.2.3.4 Puritanism and the Historical Foundation of Modern Protestantism 338
4.2.3.4.1 Brief Introduction 338
4.2.3.4.2 The Basic Theological Doctrines 341

4.2.4 Conclusion 343

4.3 The Ethical Principles of Calvin's Institutes of Christian Religion 344
4.3.1 The Principle of the Authority 345
4.3.2 The Principle of the Election 350
4.3.3 The Third Use of the Law (*tertius usus*) 356
4.3.3.1 The First Use of the Law as the Theological Use (*usus theologicus*) 359
4.3.3.2 The Second Use of the Law as the Civic Use (*usus civilis*) 359
4.3.3.3 The Third Use of the Law as the Ethical Use (*usus didacticus/tertius usus*) 361
4.3.4 The Ethical Principle of Sanctification 364
4.3.5 The Ethical Principle of Conscience and the Right of Resistance 368
4.3.6 Conclusion 371

4.4 The Ethical Structures of the Reformed Church in Geneva 372
4.4.1 The Urgent Actuality for the Reformation 373
4.4.1.1 The Counter-Reformation and the Revival of the Monasticism 373
4.4.1.2 The Challenges from the Radicalism of the Reformation 376
4.4.1.3 The Legacy from Zwingli 378
4.4.1.4 Conclusion 381
4.4.2 The Ecclesial Achievements of the Ethical Principles 382
4.4.2.1 The Ethical Principle of Authority and the Church-State Relationship 385
4.4.2.2 The Ethical Principle of Election and the Ministerial Order 390
4.4.2.3 The Ethical Principle of Third Use of Law and the Synodic Polity 397
4.4.2.3.1 The Republic Regime of the State in Geneva 398
4.4.2.3.2 The Institutional Structures for Restraining the Authority of Church Government 400
4.4.2.3.3 Conclusion 406

4.4.2.4 The Ethical Principle of Sanctification and the Church Disciplines 407
4.4.2.4.1 The Ethical Urgency of the Church 407
4.4.2.4.2 The Ecclesiastical Disciplines in the Institutional Order 410
4.4.2.4.3 Conclusion 413
4.4.2.5 The Ethical Principle of Conscience and the Designs of the Institutional Order 415
4.4.2.5.1 To Restrain the Individual Powers in the Church through the Institutional Ways 417
4.4.2.5.2 To Set up the Order of the Surveillance on the Legal Frame 418
4.4.2.5.3 The Doctrine of the Christian Right of the Resistance and the Supreme Authority of the Scripture 419
4.4.2.6 The Conclusion: toward the Ecclesial Ethics 421

5 The Ideal Type III: The Ethical Role of the Church in the Time of the Crisis: Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer 425

5.1 Introduction: the Ethical Paradoxes of Church in Modern World 425

5.2 Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Ethics of Communion of the Saints 429
5.2.1 Introduction 429
5.2.2 The Church and the Faith: the Fundamental Theological Position 430
5.2.2.1 The Essence of the Church in the Crisis of the Time 430
5.2.2.2 The Ecclesiology with the Special Ethical Concerns 432
5.2.2.3 "Cheap Grace": to Reinterpret the *Sola gratia* 434
5.2.2.4 Conclusion 437
5.2.3 The Ecclesiastical Ethical Principles 438
5.2.3.1 "Christ is Church" 438
5.2.3.2 "Communion of the Saints" 439
5.2.3.3 The "Four Mandates" from the Word of God 441
5.2.4 Conclusion: Understanding and Interpretation 443

5.3 Karl Barth and the Ethics of the Divine Command 447
5.3.1 Introduction 447
5.3.2 The Basic Ecclesial Ethical Insights 450
5.3.2.1 The Identity in the Relationships 452
5.3.2.1.1 The Relationship between the Ethics and the Dogmatic 452
5.3.2.1.2 The Relationship between the Theological Ethics and the Philosophic Ethics 452
5.3.2.1.3 Conclusion 453
5.3.2.2 The Approach of the Theological Ethics: Three Doctrines as the Ethical Principles 454
5.3.2.2.1 The Ethics of the Creation 455
5.3.2.2.2 The Ethics of the Reconciliation 457
5.3.2.2.3 The Ethics of the Redemption 459
5.3.2.3 Conclusion 460
5.3.3 To Understand Barth's Ethical Thoughts 461
5.3.3.1 The Principles of Reformation inside Barth's Ethical Thoughts 461
5.3.3.2 The Ekklesia of Barth's Theological Ethics 463
5.3.3.3 The Ethics of Divine Command 466
5.3.4 Brief Conclusion 469

5.4 Conclusion: the Ethical Responsibility of the Theologians 470

6 The Ecclesial Ethics of the Church in China 473

6.1 Introduction 473

6.2 Historical Perspectives of the Church in China 479
6.2.1 The Cultural Encounters with China's Civilization: the Failure of the Church in China during Three Occasions 479
6.2.1.1 Nestorian Mission of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD) 479
6.2.1.2 The Catholic Mission in Yuan Dynasty 481
6.2.1.3 The Jesuit Mission in Ming Dynasty 482
6.2.1.4 Conclusion: the Historical Teachings 484

6.2.2 The Political Encounter with China in Modern Time 487
6.2.2.1 The Historical Crisis Mistook the Image of the Church in China 487
6.2.2.1.1 The Denominational Missionary Churches: the Main Diverse Forms of Protestantism in China 488
6.2.2.1.2 The Unequal Treaties of the War 489
6.2.2.1.3 The Theological Research about the Basic Doctrines of the Church: Rare in Missionary Works 489
6.2.2.1.4 The Free Churches Movements 490
6.2.2.1.5 The Great Contribution in the Area of Higher Education 490
6.2.2.1.6 Some Historic Dates 491
6.2.2.2 The Historical Reflection of the Missionaries and the Time of Communism 493
6.2.2.3 Conclusion 495
6.2.3 The Ethical Encounter in Contemporary China: the Epoque of the Cross 498
6.2.3.1 The Legacy of the Missionaries in terms of the Ethical Meanings 498
6.2.3.2 The Cross and the Communist Revolution of China in Transition 500
6.2.4 Conclusion 503

6.3 The Ethics and Church Order in China 505
6.3.1 Introduction 505
6.3.1.1 The Basic Problems: Authority of the Political Ethics as the Central Theme of the Ecclesial Ethics 506
6.3.1.2 The Incarnation: the Way toward Reconciliation 510
6.3.1.3 Conclusion 511
6.3.2 The Tao and the Ecclesial Order: through the Hermeneutic Approach of Confucianism 511
6.3.2.1 The Tao in the Chinese Minds 513
6.3.2.2 The Faith of Church 518
6.3.2.3 The Ethical Principles of the Reformation: Ideal Type I, Legacy of Luther 524
6.3.2.3.1 The Ethical Norms of the Three Sola will Set up the Common Basis of the Protestants of the

Three Types in China 526
6.3.2.3.2 The Doctrine of the Law-Gospel will Underlie the Position of the Church Regarding the Relationship with the State no matter if It is Atheist or Democratic in the Future 528
6.3.2.3.3 The Ethical Principle of the Doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms is Evident to the Church in Today's Context in China 530
6.3.2.3.4 The Ethical Meaning of Christian Freedom to the Church in China will Decide the Autonomy of the Christian Conscience as a General Principle of Faith 531
6.3.3 The Ethical Order of the Church 535
6.3.3.1 The Ethical Role of the Church in Society 536
6.3.3.2 The Order of Confucianism, Li 542
6.3.3.3 The Institutional Order of Church: Ideal Type II, Legacy of Calvin 547
6.3.3.3.1 The Ethical Principle of "the Rule of Law" 550
6.3.3.3.2 To Restrain the Individual Power of the Leadership through the Ecclesiastical Institutions 553
6.3.3.3.3 To Shape the Powerful Sense of the Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Church 554

6.4 Conclusion: the Challenges toward the Future 557
6.4.1 The Theological Level: to Avoid the Two Extreme Tendencies 560
6.4.2 The Political Level: the Equilibrium between the Right and Duty Based on the Ethical Principle of the Law-Gospel 564
6.4.3 The Ethical Level: the Civil Religion and Radical Nationalism will Be Very Dangerous for the Church in China 566

Bibliography *571*
A. Major Primary Sources 571
B. Select Bibliography 571

Credo unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam
(Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, 381)

We believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church
(Ecumenical Version, 1975)

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Aiming Wang April, 2008

Theologisches Alumneum

Basel, Switzerland

Preface

The 19th century was the century of Europe, the 20th Century was the century of the United States of America and the 21st Century will be the century of Asia and China. This geopolitical analysis is of course a simplification of the complexity of history, but it shows a megatrend of influence and power. The megatrend describes from where the driving political and economic forces act. But it can also be observed in other sectors such as technological innovation, scientific research, financial markets, sport or cultural development. Of course, we live in a multipolar, globalised, interconnected world, but the influence of Asia with China (but also India, South Korea, Thailand, Singapur, Japan, Indonesia and others) will be significant worldwide.

And what will be the role of religions, Churches and ethical value systems from Asia? Is there a similar shift of the centers of gravity? Already now, more Christians live in the Southern hemisphere than in the Northern hemisphere. Today, more Protestants live in China than in Germany and Switzerland, the two countries of the Reformation. More missionaries are sent abroad from South Korea than from any other country in the world except the US, and the country will soon be number one. The Confucius Institute project, administered by the Chinese Ministry of Education, established during only four years more than 120 Confucius Centers worldwide to promote China's language and culture. China will be not only the "world factory" of textiles, mobile phones and toys as it is today, but will also substantially contribute to scientific research, environmental solutions, knowledge production and ethical orientation. By the way, we should remember that the origin of Christianity, Judaism and Islam was not Europe but the Middle East as part of Asia.

The rise of China embraces manifold chances and risks: the chance to share the rich heritage and wisdom of the Chinese culture and values, the chance to contribute to finding and implementing common solutions for urgent problems of humankind such as the food crises or climate change. It also includes challenges: the risk that the superpowers of the last two centuries are only replaced by new superpowers with similar

behaviour, not really changing the power game towards a more peaceful, multipolar world. The risk to continue domination and exploitation as it is and was the case for Europe and America.

The same ambiguity is true for the rise of Christianity in China. The fast growth of the (protestant) church in China includes chances and risks: the chance that many people find orientation and liberation through the faith in Jesus Christ and find communities of mutual support in the Church. The chance that Christians and the Church can play a constructive role in society, contributing to solve problems. The manifold support of the Chinese government to the Churches is a good basis for a fruitful cooperation in future.

But there are also risks: The risk that Christians and the Church count more the quantitative growth than the quality of faith or that it cannot meet the huge need of good theological education and well trained pastors, professional social services and sustainable church structures based on ethical and theological foundations and combined with transparent and faithful leadership. There is also the risk that Christians neglect their duties in society, concentrating on individual faith alone, we add the risk of division or new denominationalism and unfruitful struggles among Christians threatening the testimony of the unity of the body of Christ.

Not a triumphalistic church is needed, but a servant church: serving the individual in his/her ethical orientation, sharing spiritual food, practical diaconal support and encouragement for the future. The church has the duty to be a service for the whole of the nation, for a harmonious and peaceful society.

In the light of these challenges, the study of Aiming Wang is a very important contribution to the future development of the Church in China. In order to find a strong, long term theological foundation for the protestant Church in China, the author goes back to the roots of the protestant churches, the Reformation. He carefully analyses Martin Luther and John Calvin in their doctrine of faith, their ethics and their ecclesiology as the vision of the vocation and structure of the church. He describes the structure of the church in its theological, historico-political and ethical dimension. He shows that according to Luther and Calvin Christian faith is not only a private, but a public affair. Personal faith and the community of the church are inseparably connected.

Aiming Wang shows the difference, but even more the unity of Luther and Calvin. He herewith lays a profound theological and ecclesiological foundation for the protestant church in China beyond denominationalism and united in Christ. He shows the the role and form of sacraments, liturgy, church order, decision making processes, church discipline, the relation between law and ethics and the central role of ethics for the church development.

As a bridge between the Reformation and the 21st century in China, the author analyses the ethical role of the Church in times of crises, transformation and ethical re-orientation. In the 20th century, the Swiss Reformed theologian Karl Barth and the German Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer played a crucial role in the resistance against Hitler and in building the Confessing Church in Germany. They both based their practical and political struggle for a human society on a profound ecclesiology, showing the unity of ecclesiology and ethics as church ethics with Christ as its center. They substantially contributed in building the new, socially responsible society after the war. Karl Barths' three ethical dimensions - the ethics of creation, the ethics of reconciliation and the ethics of redemption – show the direction also for today's church ethics.

"How can we transplant the heritages of the Reformers into the Church in China?" is the key question of the author in this study. As for the Reformers and for Barth and Bonhoeffer, inculturation of Christian faith in the respective cultural, economic and political situation is needed while remaining faithful to the foundation which is Jesus Christ. The author shows in a constructive way ethical, ecclesiological and structural benchmarks for this inculturation of the Church in China.

I am convinced that this study of Aiming Wang will substantially contribute to the orientation and future development of the protestant Church in China so that it will be a service for the believers and the society in China and worldwide for the Glory of God.

Soli Deo Gloria.

Christoph Stückelberger Basel, 1 January 2009

1 Introduction

1.1 The Basic Question of the Research

Are there ethical norms inside the institutional Church? Kurt Baier wrote:

> We must ask whether societies could exist without more or less severely sanctioned rules, such as are embodied in the law, in custom, and in social morality, and if so, whether it would be desirable to do away with at least the most intrusively coercive ones, as anarchists believe. Would everyone or indeed anyone be rationally justified in trying to keep them in existence or in resuscitating them once we have gotten rid of them? […] Can sanctioned rules be rationally justified?[1]

The background of my research is that the statistics of Christians have shown the rapid growth of believers every day in China without any ecclesiastical restriction in the matter of the *Ecclesia* of the historic church. Christian communities as special societies in society must obey certain rules besides law and legal regulations of the civil society in general.

It was a serious question if there was the individual freedom of the religion in China 20 years ago. Now the question has become the following concern, namely, is there the legal frame for faith based organizations? To me, the concrete question is that in what extent the Church could grow up within the proper doctrinal disciplines? As a pastor, what I care in the deep mind is that we must criticize ourselves about our Church in the institutional level with the criterion of evangelization in the society openly in China. We must reflect on ourselves if our Church is really the communion of believers in the global multiple time, on which the multiplicity of human spirituality promotes the interfaith dialogues and the tolerance principle on one hand, but on the other hand, the

1 Kurt Baier, *The Rational and the Moral Order: The Social Roots of Reason and Morality*, Peru, IL: Open Court, 1995, p. 157.

different spiritual and religious orientations have made the external society full of the cults and the syncretism with the name of divinities.[2] The Church must clear up the aim and procedures in such modern situations in order to continue the proclamation of the Gospel and the various tasks of the church.

Obviously, ethics is about norms and rules relative to the behaviors and relationships of the people in social life.[3] Dietrich Ritschl claimed:

> Believers in every age have theorized about their conduct and formed ethical systems, often approximating to existing ethical teachings […] It is not surprising, then, that theological ethics has largely taken over the distinctions and divisions of philosophy, of which the following have proved useful: 1. *Descriptive ethics* is a scientific analysis, description, and comparison of ethical phenomena, problem, and solution […] 2. *Normative ethics*, in contrast, is the philosophical or theological development of guidelines, goals, orientations, and principles (norms) for dealing with actual ethical problems in concrete individual or social life […] 3. *Metaethics* has been used over the past few decades for the scientific discussion of the conditions of ethical discourse […] An ethics that rests on binding principles ("Never lie") is called *deontological* ethics (Deontology). An ethics that is oriented to a goal regarded as ethically good ("Always be of service to your neighbor") is called *teleological* ethics.[4]

My purpose is to study the ethics of the Church from the tradition of the Reformation. Thus, Christian ethics is the original basis of my research.

2 In today's China, the weak point of the ecclesiological situation of the Church is the institutional communion. It is the time to consider on the idea of the *Communion Ecclesiology* while the Church is growing so rapidly without any doctrinal basis. J. C. Ratzinger described the communion ecclesiology as that "ultimately there is only one *basic ecclesiology*, which certainly can be approached and worked out in different ways, depending on which of the various aspects are stressed or highlighted. Nevertheless, every exposition must always take into account the harmony of the various essential elements of an ecclesiology which intends to be Catholic." *L'Osservatore Romano* [English Edition], Baltimore, MD: The Cathedral Foundation, 17 June 1992, p. 1. To me concerning the ecclesial ethical research for the future of the Church in China, here the *Catholic* is understood rather at the meaning of the Apostle's Creed in the pre-comprehension.

3 *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, ed. by James F. Childress and John Macquarrie, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986, pp. 206–208.

4 Dietrich Ritschl, "Ethics," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 138.

It is clear that moral life from the beginning of the Church has been at the inner mind of Christian faith in the temporal world. Christian ethics could not be equated, derives from the nature of faith shaped through the Church and the communion of the believers. Since the Reformation, the principle of *Sola Scriptura* strengthened the authority of the Bible in the faith of the Protestant Church. In this way, "the Bible is formative and normative for Christian ethical life. Christian ethics is not Christian ethics apart from Scripture."[5] Furthermore, based on the Scripture since Martin Luther, Christian ethics has shown the emphasis on the community of faith or accurately the Church, which defines the concrete disciplines and norms for the moral matters around the faith. Or I would use the word of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "the form of a community".[6] In this case, the study of ethics of the Church must relate to the social life in the history throughout the entire history of Christianity from the very initial centuries.[7] Hans G. Ulrich said:

> Theological ethics directs ethics to the church's action in its constitutive sense, which includes worship. Here ethics tests the comprehensive will of God on the basis of his salvific activity and with reference to his Word in the law and gospel and in perception of the need of others. Theological ethics focuses on the God-given reality for which we are responsible. The scope and limits of that responsibility are defined by God's prior action and not by the limits of human possibilities in encounter with God […] The decisive point is that the grounding of ethics is not just a matter of individual problems but can be itself an ethical theme. Criticism of various ethical conceptions is demanded insofar as they are also linked to limited approaches, for example, the two-kingdom doctrine to a specific view of the proper

5 Bruce C. Birch and Larry L. Rasmussen, *Bible & Ethics in the Christian Life*, revised & expanded edition, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989, p. 15.

6 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Communion of Saints: A Dogmatic Inquiry into the Sociology of the Church*, trans. R. G. Smith, New York: Harper & Row, 1963, p. 134; pp. 146–147.

7 The original resources including the influence from the Stoicism and the later development of the Christian ethics linked with the social forms of the Christian community in the history were the central theme of Ernst Troeltsch, cf. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 1, introd. by H. R. Niebuhr, trans. O. Wyon, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981, pp. 64–69.

> relation between the church and the world or the state, which as such cannot provide the basis for ethics.[8]

The research on the ethics and the ecclesiology exactly focuses on the central issue, namely, the ethical norms for dealing with the various relationships for the church in the social history.

> If the church is in its *very being* a moral community, then it becomes deeply vulnerable to internal moral conflict. One wonders how, and on what basis, its unity can be maintained. The importance of the church's worldly moral role, stressed to the exclusion of all else, puts the church's own moral fabric at risk. The more moral responsibility the churches are called upon to take in modern society the more they become vulnerable at the core of their being to disruptive, maybe even schism-threatening, disagreements reflecting passions at work in that society. If on the other hand, an attempt is made to isolate a core of the church's being independent of moral dispute, perhaps as a reconciling context for the dispute itself, then the church may preserve its unity at the price of irrelevance […] The more the churches take on responsibility for being primary moral communities in today's world the more some sense of a core ecclesial being *beyond* moral dispute is needed to sustain such a role.[9]

The present situation of Protestantism in China is very particular. The believers appear from nearly all social levels without any restriction as in the period of the ideological domination. Consequently, the role of the Church seems very fragile and weak in marginal society because of historic reasons including missionary heritages. The ethical tradition was very strong in Chinese traditional culture. If the Church could show the moral image in social life through the witness of believers and norms of church in civil society, the Church will gain more and more respect from elites and intellectuals in China, which is in process of appearance in China along with economical prosperity. The actual problem is how to use the references of tradition of the Reformation, which the Western missionaries had the time and opportunities to introduce into China before 1949. To me, if the ethical influence of the Church remains only at

8 Hans G. Ulrich, "History of Christian Ethics," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 153.

9 Lewis S. Mudge, *The Church as Moral Community: Ecclesiology and Ethics in Ecumenical Debate*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 24.

the scope of individual life of social life and political affairs as it now in China, how does the Church form the historic force to predicate the Gospel in the secular order as the Reformers and their successors in the West with the spirit of Engagement?[10]

In my personal perspective, there are great values of the heritages of the Reformation in terms of the ethical construction of the church in China.

Now, the question is how to interpret the meaning of ethical principles of the Reformation in the matter of serious and urgent chaos of the Christian mass without the minimum doctrinal restriction in China?

My plan is to apply the theory of the Ideal Types of Max Weber to get the approaches of Luther and of Calvin as the ideal types of the ethics of the Protestant Church, and then use the theory of Ernst Troeltsch to analyze the history and the present situation of the church correlated with special social models and the political regime in China, and finally make the conclusion of research, namely, the ethical heritages of the Reformation are ecclesial with the original meanings to form the Protestant Church through two typical models, Lutheranism and Calvinism, therefore, they will be very helpful to the church in China.

10 Jürgen Moltmann said, "What became of the Christian Church in its social significance as a result of this development in society? The result of this development was that it lost the character of *cultus publicus* to which it had been accustomed for more than a thousand years. It became something which in its religious form it never was and which, moreover, from the theological standpoint of the New Testament it can never seek to be – namely, a *cultus privatus.* The cult of the Absolute is no longer necessary for the integration of this society. The Absolute is now sought and experienced only in our liberated, socially disburdened subjectivity. 'Religion' ceased to be a public, social duty and becomes a voluntary, private activity. 'Religion' in the course of the nineteenth century becomes the religiosity of the individual, private, inward, edifying." *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, trans. James W. Leitch, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, p. 310.

1.2 The Reference from Max Weber's Theory of the Ideal Type

Any kind of interpretations on the religious phenomenon must be founded on the objective analysis because the religious affairs have the close relationships with social life, especially with the ethical and political matters that compose basic structures of the society. In this case, to study the ethical structures of the church, we must firstly establish the scientific model to cognize the reality of spiritual systems. Max Weber since the 1980s is always one of the greatest thinkers to Chinese intellectuals. The reasons are multiple, and to me, I would like to learn from his method of interpretation in order to widen my vision.

The theory of the Ideal Type is the central concept of his interpretation. He believed that political science should attend not only to the distinctive characteristics of particular institutions, but to "typical" as the model or normative for certain existences. Weber himself first extensively discussed the 'ideal type' in his 1904 essay on "Objectivity".[11]

> Where we suspect the empirical presence of relationships resembling those emphasized in the "ideal type," the "type" can help us to "understand" and to "portray" these connections. It can also guide our causal attributions; though *not itself a hypothesis*, it may *suggest* fruitful hypotheses. Among further examples of "ideal types" are not normatively exemplary, of course; they are "pure constructs of relationships" that we conceive as "sufficiently motivated," "objectively probable" and thus causally "adequate" in the light of our "nomological knowledge." They are valuable as cognitive *means*, to the extent that they lead to knowledge of concrete cultural phenomena in their interconnections, their causes, and their significance.[12]

11 Max Weber, "Die 'Objektivität' sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis," in: Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, 4th ed., ed. by Johannes Winckelmann, Tübingen: Mohr, 1973 [1st ed. 1922], pp. 146–214. "'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy," in: *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, trans. and ed. by Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch, New York: Free Press, 1949, pp. 50–112. The texts cited from: Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber's Methodology, The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1997 (hereafter referred to as *Obj.*).

12 *Obj.* pp. 190–193.

According to Weber, we must not blur the difference between the ideal types and the reality of the social and cultural phenomenon. There is the distinction between "*what ought to be*" and "*what is*", namely, the judgments of the facts and the judgments of the value. The former pursues in maximum the descriptive existence with the empirical methods. In the social sciences, the sociology is the typical discipline to do the objective research on social phenomenon. The latter stresses the effects of ideas based on certain systems of values including the ideals, beliefs and the absolute convinces etc.

> While most ideal types address the relationships among particulars, according to Weber, some may help to clarify whole classes of phenomena […] Weber did *not* regard ideal types as temporary props for an immature field of inquiry. Rather, he expected them to remain permanent features of the cultural and social sciences, if only because they were partly shaped by the changing cultural interests of investigators in these disciplines. What really strikes me about Weber's ideal type, however, is its tactical role in an analytical strategy that rests upon Weber's triadic model of singular causal analysis. The ideal type is deliberately constructed to project a hypothetical "progression" of external behaviors that *could be* fully explained in terms of understandable "motives" (and beliefs about means conductive to the ends in view). In the analysis of virtually all real actions, such ideal-typical projections become secure – though *counterfactual* – bases for the causal ascription of *deviations* from the rationally understandable "progression" to *divergences* between the "motivations" stipulated in the type and those actually moving the agents involved.[13]

Here are some aspects of the theory of Ideal Type from Weber's works which seem very important and helpful to me:[14]

The type of social science we wish to put forth is an empirical science of concrete reality [Wirklichkeitswissenschaft]. We wish to understand the reality that surrounds our lives, in which we are placed, in *its characteristic uniqueness.* We wish to understand on the one hand its context [Zusammenhang] and the cultural *significance* of its particular

13 Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber's Methodology, The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 113–114.

14 All the following citations are used from the works of Stephen Kalberg, *Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 81–88.

manifestations in their contemporary form, and on the other the causes of it becoming historically so and not otherwise.[15]

Now, as soon as we attempt to reflect about the way in which life confronts us in immediate concrete situations, it presents an infinite multiplicity of successively and coexistently emerging and disappearing events, both "within" and "outside" ourselves. The absolute infinitude of this multiplicity is seen to remain undiminished even when our attentions if focused on a single "object," for instance, a concrete act of exchange, as soon as we seriously attempt an *exhaustive* description of *all* the individual components of this "individual object", to say nothing of explaining it causally.[16]

The goal of ideal-typical concept-construction is always to make clearly explicit not the class or average character but rather the unique individual character of a cultural phenomenon.[17]

All expositions, for example, of the "essence" of Christianity are ideal types enjoying only a necessarily very relative and problematic validity when they are intended […] as the historical portrayal of facts. On the other hand, such presentations are of great value for research and of high systematic value for expository purposes when they are used as conceptual instruments for comparison and the measurement of reality. They are indispensable for this purpose.[18] Stephen Kalberg commented:

> Ideal types anchor Weber's sociology in empirical reality rather than a theoretical scheme. They do not seek to capture overarching differentiation, universalization, or grand-scale evolutionary processes, nor do they aim to document a global shift from "traditional" to "modern" societies or from the *Gemeinschaft* to the *Gesellschaft*. By conceptualizing *patterned* orientations of meaningful action, ideal types aim neither to provide an exhaustive description of empirical reality nor to introduce general laws or theories.[19]

For a long time, I've been inspired from the methodology of Max Weber to reflect a possible way for the future of the Church in the concrete

15 Max Weber, "Objectivity," p. 72/170 (Translation alt.).
16 *Obj*. p. 72/171; see also *Economics and Society*, p. 945/544.
17 *Obj.* p. 101/202.
18 *Obj.* pp. 97/198–199.
19 Stephen Kalberg, *Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 84.

socio-political context in China. In my reflections, the heritages of the Reformation included two basic ideal types, i.e. Luther's type and Calvin's type for the Protestant Church. The ethical thoughts of these two reformers have functioned as the inner structures of the Church, which lack in the young Church in China today. The Ideal Types of Weber in terms of the ecclesiastical research will show in the ethical values with dynamic significance, which connected the spiritual motives of the Reformers and the socio-political schemes as external world of the Church. All the problems of the Church in China essentially concern the institutional designs with the ethical restriction. The Church order in this way relies on the inner structures while the Reformation destroyed the legitimacy of theocracy of the Roman Catholic Church. The typical case in Christianity in China is that there is emptiness between the Scripture and their proper chef in the limited and closed circles, even for the organized Church in the legal frame of the state in China, the situation is the same, and namely, there is nothing between St. Paul and their present leaders of the church, or they replaced the Church Fathers and the Reformers by their leaders with the charismatic reputation within their proper sects.

I would like to figure out what is the ethical structure of the Protestant Church from the tradition of the Reformation?

> One approach to Protestant ethics is through the question of soteriology. We may plausibly read Protestant ethics such as that of Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Michael Sattler, ethics and soteriology are inextricably intertwined. Luther's insistence that the study of requisite morality not become an enterprise severed from the answer of our Salvation in Christ is a claim with which all subsequent Protestants have had to reckon. We may responsibly interpret each Protestant tradition to suggest that we cannot give form to an answer regarding what we are to do apart from the question of what God has done for us through Christ.[20]

The ethical norms as the structural factors of the Protestant Church created by Luther and Calvin must be very important and necessary for the growing Church in China. I would like to reflect on the question by another way, i.e. to be the sanctioning structures; the ecclesial ethical principles always function inside the Church since the Reformation. We

20 M. B. Handspicker, J. Hotchkin, and J. Gros, "Faith and Order Commission", in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, New York: Gale, 2003, p. 687.

could consider ecclesial ethics as the particular theological creation of the Reformation.

> The Christian church is that collection of human societies which is inspired by, and seeks to represent, the significance of Jesus […] The ethical and pastoral significance of this society varied according to the terms in which it is conceived, and the history of Christian reflection upon the church–i.e. the history of ecclesiology–has given rise to a variety of typical conceptions.[21]

All of these are lacking in the Protestant Church in China since the beginning of Protestantism in 1807 down to the present time.

The principal problem of the Church in China has shifted from the political survival into the development of the Church according to doctrinal traditions of the historical Church, that is to say, the quality of the Church is becoming more and more serious and urgent. If we go around churches anywhere in China, we should recognize that the Christians are really very active in social life by their evangelical spirituality. But from another point of view, we are facing the historical challenge, namely, the Church of institutional forms is very weak and nearly non-autonomic in the civil society. Ryan Dunch claimed:

> the Protestant churches in China do indeed constitute part of an emerging "civil society" in China in the sense that the ongoing struggle to claim an autonomous space for religious activity is at the core of the Protestant experience, both in the open and in the autonomous churches. […] To sum up the features of Chinese Protestantism as we have identified them: a warm, experiential piety, centered on a concern for salvation and for tangible blessings in this life; literal faith in the Bible; rapid growth accompanied by increasing institutional diversity and fragmentation, expanding with China's market economy, despite efforts to restrict and control it; detachment from institutions giving continuity to the Protestant experience, including history and local or kin solidarities. All these elements, we should note, tend towards making Chinese Protestantism an increasingly individualized faith.[22]

Western missionaries since 16th century until 1949 had tried to apply so many kinds of strategies to do the mission in China, especially the "Ac-

21 *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology*, ed. by David J. Atkinson and David H. Field, Oxford: InterVarsity Press, 1995, pp. 229–230.

22 Ryan Dunch, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/ London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp. 214–215.

commodation method" by Matteo Ricci with huge and historic success in terms of the cultural integration and the growing Church in sixteenth century,[23] and also westernizing the Chinese believers against the Chinese traditions through the treaties forced on China by the weapons in the nineteenth century. Since the Opium Wars (1839–1844, 1856–1860), China was open in humiliation towards the West, and missions profited from so many unequal and shameful treaties.[24] In 1949 all the western missionaries were driven out by the Communists who set up the new regime in China. That means we must consider the history of the Church since that time as the actual context for the research. But to study the ecclesial ethics of the Church deeper and further, we must make clear the historical background of the theme.

Since then until the 19th century, after several interruptions due to the changes of dynasties, Christianity with the different forms of the Church were trying always to get into the main body of the cultural China as the Buddhism, which has become one of the organic parts of traditional cultures in China, embodying in the areas of classical literature, music, architectures, philosophy, and even political regime etc. The communist revolution in China historically achieved the unification from the disordered states since 1840. So we need first of all to make clear about the situation of Christianity under the political background in order to do research about the topic relative to ethics and ecclesiology for the Church of China.

It is evident that there are always the Christians and the Church in China since 1949 when the communists set up the new government in China through the Marxism-Leninism with the policy of the atheist. The Openness and Reform of Deng Xiaoping in 1977 made China open toward modernization, and the policy of religious freedom gradually appears and develops along the economical success. We could summarize that the Christians in China today face problems concerning the quality of the Church which moved from the basic rights of the religious belief.

23 Matteo Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci: 1583–1610*, trans. Louis J. Gallagher, New York: Random House, 1953, p. 9.

24 Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York: Macmillan, 1922, p. 229.

The direct issue is that the Church has not been well established at the doctrinal sense.[25]

What are the central problems for understanding Christianity in China? To reply to this question, at first we should define the approach of our vision, or from the Catholic Church, or from the Protestant Church, or from the Orthodox Church.[26] I would like to focus on the perspective of the Protestant Church in my research with the historical and ecumenical ways.[27]

1.3 The Methodology

My final aim of the research is to reply to the following question: What are the ethical structures of Church by references of the heritage of the Reformation with two ideal types, i.e. Luther and Calvin for the future of the Church in China?

In this case, I will firstly study the structure of the faith of Protestantism with the socio-political approach, because this study will show clearly the social and historical contexts of the heritage of the Reformation and facilitate the understandings of ethical principles of Luther and of Calvin in terms of the ecclesial nature.

25 Richard Madsen, *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society* (*Comparative Studies in Religion and Society* 12), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 137–138.

26 Michel Baumgartner, "Chine," in: *Encyclopédie du protestantisme*, publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, 2nd ed., Genève: Labor et Fides, 2006, pp. 59–62.

27 "Kirche ist aber nicht nur Ereignis im beschriebenen Sinn, sondern auch Ordnung und Struktur. Kirche ereignet sich dabei nicht nur innerhalb bestehender Kirchenstrukturen (so die klassische katholische Kirchenauffassung), sondern auch ausserhalb und quer durch die Konfessionen hindurch. Sie ist damit immer auch 'unsichtbare' Kirche im Sinne der strukturellen, nicht sichtbaren Kirche, was in der Unverfügbarkeit des Handelns Gottes begründet ist. Zwischen der Kirche als sichtbarer Gestalt und der Kirche als Ereignis der Gegenwart Gottes besteht sowohl eine 'Differenz' wie eine 'Korrelation'. Christoph Stückelberger, *Vermittlung und Parteinahme, Der Versöhnungsauftrag der Kirchen in gesellschaftlichen Konflikten*, Zürich: TVZ, 1988, p. 36.

Actually, in the West, there are so many theologians to devote themselves to the socio-political issues with the Christian value and the moral responsibility.[28]

> While, therefore, a good deal of the new interest in church and ecclesiology for moral reasons appears to be a result or a particular outworking of the logical that drives the communitarian cause, there has emerged another strand of thought that should not be confused with communitarianism despite certain similarities. Theologians such as John Howard Yoder[29] and Stanley Hauerwas have found a significant following when they claim that the Church as a body and a people have an *inherent* ethical and even political character.[30] In Hauerwas's often quoted phrase: "The church does not have a social ethics; the church is a social ethics".[31] Whoever wishes to get to know the social ethics of the Church is better advised to look at the way in which the Church actually lives its communal life as a body than to examine a list of moral precepts that the Church administers. The nature of the gospel is to be embodied, and the nature of the Church is to embody the gospel, including its moral grammar. In a nutshell, these theologians reminded us of the elementary theological truth according to which ecclesiology *is* ethics, and ethics *is* ecclesiology.[32]

To study the ethical structures of the historical Church, my proper steps are the following points, at the first, I should make clear on the question

28 Georg Pfleiderer and Ekkehard W. Stegemann (eds), *Politische Religion, Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Problemfeldes*, Zürich: TVZ, 2004; Albrecht Grözinger, Georg Pfleiderer and Georg Vischer (eds), *Protestantische Kirche und moderne Gesellschaft, Zur Interdependenz von Ekklesiologie und Gesellschaftstheorie in der Neuzeit*, Zürich: TVZ, 2003.

29 John Howard Yoder, *Body Politics: Five Practices of the Christian Community Before the Watching World*, Nashville: Discipleship Resources, 1992; *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel*, Notre Dame, IN/London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994; *For the Nations: Essays Public and Evangelical*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997.

30 Stanley Hauerwas, *A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Christian Social Ethics*, Notre Dame, IN/London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981; *In Good Company: The Church as Polis*, Notre Dame, IN/London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995.

31 Stanley Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics*, Notre Dame, IN/London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983, p. 99.

32 Bernd Wannenwetsch, "Ecclesiology and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 59.

of the Faith of the Protestantism, and then the question of the Church Order, finally what are the ethical elements evaluated from the Faith and Church Order in the Reformation? The final research will reply this to question in order to constitute the structural factors of the Church in China.

1.3.1 The Position of Departure is about the Structure of Protestantism

1.3.1.1 The Three Dimensions of the Structure of theFaith of Protestantism

For studying this central issue, I must think about the following points, i.e. the being of Church rooted from the Bible existentially, the relationship between the being of Church and the essence of Christian ethics, and meanings of the Christian ethics and its mechanical structural essence for Church, which belongs to the category of ethics and ecclesiology at the level of the theological definition. Finally we could arrive at the issue of the ethical foundations for the Church of China with theological interpretations.

The fundamental factors constituted the faith of Protestantism obviously concern the ecclesiastical initiatives of the Reformation, which function as the precomprehension of the theme that I will deal with.

> Protestantism required more than personal conversion and the throwing away of what were regarded as the props and sops, the placebos and hypnotics of the old creed. It asked more than that the men and women should place themselves in God's hands, for they were already there. It asked that they should stand head high and wholly on their own feet and acknowledge their total dependence on an inscrutable, incomprehensible deity. They had to face up to their own vile sinfulness and to the awesome fact that they were already predestined to Heaven or Hell by the irreversible and unmerited decree of God.[33]

In my reflections inspired from the Western theologians, there are three factors relatively close to the structure of the Church in the faith of Protestantism, namely, the theological factors, which are firstly based on the

33 John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 163.

textual elements such as the Bible and the creeds, and then, the confessions and the catechisms; the political factors since the appearances of the prophets in the patriarch in the Old Testament along through the growing and evolution of Christianity, especially for Protestantism, and then the ethical factors due to the facts that the Protestant Church actually supplies the total new norms for the ethical issues since the Reformation.[34]

Sola Scriptura as the prima principle of the Reformation was concretized in the practices of Martin Luther and John Calvin. Only from this position as the beginning, we could completely understand the original forces which the reformers did do so many creative designations for the Church.

The political and ethical factors in the faith of Protestantism could be considered as the organic elements for doctrinal concerns of the reformers. To study the ethical structures of the Church, we could not ignore the political issues in the Reformation and the theological initiatives. I'm convinced that the political duty as the special task always embodies the ecclesiastical practices since the time of the prophets in the Old Testament. For the reformers, political responsibility actually modeled their theological creation of the Church through their encounter with the state vis-à-vis the power of the Roman Catholic Church. For my research, in some extent, the political duty of the Church means the ethical obligation of the Church who aims at the eschatological vocation in the

34 "But in order to organize the discussion to some degree, I shall divide those views into three groups, albeit overlapping ones: the first may be regarded as theological, on the eucharist, the sacraments, confession, images, pilgrimages, purgatory, and prayers to the saints; the second ecclesiastical, the nature of the church, the papacy and church hierarchy, the temporal wealth and power of the church, 'private religions', the duty of the clergy; the third political, the relation of the secular ruler to the church, the problem of dominion, the notion of common property, the question of war and oaths, the sources of law. These distinctions are, of course, far from absolute – views on the Eucharist and confession lead to a conception of clerical duty that is far from that normally advanced in the medieval period, notions of dominion impinge upon the question of the papacy and the authority of church leaders." Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 280.

temporal world.[35] A word, the faith of Protestantism will be interpreted clearly for the Church in China through these three factors.

First of all, the Bible is the most important fundament for Protestantism and the Church, so I'll explore the ecclesial ethics from the New Testament Church as the first step before entering the interpretations about the Protestant tradition of ecclesial ethics. Therefore, in the frame of understanding the faith and the order of the Protestantism, the Bible is always regarded as the fundamental basis for the interpretation. I want to indicate that the Christian ethics has the root from the Bible as Oliver O'Donovan said: "Christian ethics must arise from the gospel of Jesus Christ. Otherwise it could not be *Christian* ethics."[36] I want to prove that Christian ethics as the ethics of the Church has been formed through the apostles' works, especially St. Paul from the New Testament texts. That means the essential of the ethics of St. Paul is actually the Church ethics, or I prefer the terms, ecclesial ethics; I'll discuss the Bible in the thoughts of the Reformation such as Martin Luther and John Calvin etc. And then that is the interpretation of the creeds for understanding Protestantism, because the heritages of the historic Church will be very important as the resources of the analysis and of the pre-comprehensions of the Church in China, and the Church in China has also universal nature as well as national nature.

Secondly, I'll emphasize myself on the political function of the faith from Protestantism to show the temporal encounter of the Church. Historically the essential messages of the prophets from the Old Testament never avoid the political tasks in the proper contexts. The first disciples of Jesus Christ were totally challenged in the cruel political society; even the conflicts with the Jewish Pharisees include so many political factors at the sense of the commandments in secular life. The world for the apostles is completely the political state run by the law of the Empire. It is very necessary to discuss the political elements of Protestant faith from the Bible in order to study well the church ethics initiated from the legacy of Luther and Calvin. Additionally, the principle of the dialogue

35 Stanley Hauerwas, "The very way we have learned to state the problem is the problem." *After Christendom? How the Church Is to Behave if Freedom, Justice, and a Christian Nation Are Bad Ideas*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991, p. 99.

36 Oliver O'Donovan, *Resurrection and Moral Order*, Leicester/Grand Rapids, MI: InterVarsity Press/Eerdmans, 1986, p. 11.

will be always necessary regarding the interreligious communications, such as the dialogue between the legacy of the Reformation in the social and political contexts of China, which compose the historical and realistic background of the Church in China.[37]

The third is the ethical element for understanding the faith of Protestantism. Protestantism must be realized in the frame of the Church in the institutional category since the beginning of the Reformation. So the norms and disciplines of the organization as the Church could be considered as the theme of ecclesiology in Protestant dogma, and it is also concerning ethics, if we could dig out the particularity of ethics of the Church from the theology of Luther and Calvin. I'll start up research of the ecclesial ethics from the third element of Protestantism. Christian ethics is regarding the norms and rules of the believers' behaviors in the temporal world according to the identity of faith in general. And the criteria of the good and bad in the Christian perspective embodies in the worship and the spiritual pursuit of life, including the individual responsibility and duty etc, so the Christian ethics realistically is to require believers to follow after Jesus Christ through proclamations in the Church. In this way, I'll naturally enter into the part of the Church as the body of Christ in the world with the rules and norms which guarantee and define the Church as the Ecclesial of Christ.[38] The ethics of the Church is different from Christian ethics for the individuals concretely from the historical and theological perspectives. To deal with this special ethics, I need to study the notion of the Church in the sense of ecclesiology.

1.3.1.2 The Church Order of Protestantism

In the research of ecclesiology, the "faith and order" compose the central task of the ecumenical movement since 1910 until today in the work of the WCC. In 1875, the vision of "a Conciliar Fellowship of local

37 Cf. Reinhold Bernhardt, *Ende des Dialogs? Die Begegnung der Religionen und ihre theologische Reflexion*, Zürich: TVZ, 2005, esp. pp. 103–122.

38 "If churches are to play any worthwhile role in such a world they must first reclaim their calling to be distinctive, morally formative, communities." Lewis S. Mudge, *The Church as Moral Community, Ecclesiology and Ethics in Ecumenical Debate*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 17.

churches which are themselves truly united" has showed the picture of the ecumenical unity by Orthodox, Anglican, Protestant and Roman Catholic for the world.

> Three elements are identified as necessary before such unity can be achieved: a common understanding of the Apostolic Faith as it is to be confessed today; full mutual recognition of one another's baptism, Eucharist, and ordained ministry; and common ways of decision making and teaching authoritively.[39]

But for the Church in China, the problem of the Church Order remains the vague identity which differed from the historical church. The western missionaries worked in the separated areas with their proper denominational definitions of the ecclesiastical order, in some areas; they practiced the ministry totally according to the leader's decisions very personally, that is to say, without any discipline of the denominational church.

Eric Lund claimed: "The Church Orders stated the theological principles that determined how the churches celebrated the sacraments and the other church rites, but they also explicitly addressed a variety of problems that might be faced in ordinary parish life."[40]

Thus, the disordered situation of the church order is becoming a more and more serious problem for the growing church in China. On the other hand, Christian moral influence is very positive and constructive for the expansion of the Christian community through life, but if we rest only on this level, we could not enter into the stage of the church, which signifies much more than moral life according to the founder of Protestantism during the Reformation. Martin Luther said:

> Doctrine and life are to be distinguished. Life is as bad among us as among the papists. Hence we do not fight and damn them because of their bad lives. Wycliffe and Hus, who fought over the moral quality of life, failed to understand this. When the Word of God remains pure, even if the quality of life fails us, life is placed in a

39 M. B. Handspicker, J. Hotchkin, and J. Gros, "Faith and Order Commission," in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, New York: Gale, 2003, p. 607.

40 Eric Lund (ed.), *Documents From the History of Lutheranism 1517–1750*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002, p. 125.

> position to become what it ought to be. That is why everything hinges on the purity of the Word. I have succeeded only if I have taught correctly.[41]

In my proper research, the concerns of the church order include the church itself from the Bible, and the patristic tradition embodied and developed through the Reformation by Luther and Calvin, especially. So the basic elements of the Church Order will be interpreted from the following points: a) the definition of the Church in the Bible briefly, and of the medieval Church, b) the conciliar polity created by the patristic tradition; and the crisis of the Catholic Church showed the problem of the church order, c) the initiatives of the Church Order in the Reformation: the sacraments, the ministry and the church disciplines; the three kinds of the Church polity: Episcopalism, Presbyterianism and Congregationalism.

In a word, it is clear that the study of Church ethics should begin from the understanding of the Church in ecclesiology of Christian traditions. I'd like to do the historic survey about interpretations of the Church, i.e. notion and forms as the institutions from doctrines including the orders and the polities. The church as the institutional organization with the special spirituality from the Bible and the apostles' witness limit strictly the existent form in the secular order of the world. There are so many institutional designs to take the functions of the church in the proper social and political reality, so the medieval tradition, the church used the hierarchic structures to realize its missions and played the role in nearly all the areas of the world. For the church of the Reformation, the church order has evolved into the different forms for adopting the developed secular orders.[42] The Lutheran church orders are correspondent with the German Empire divided by the princes, so-called the territorial church polity, which means the prince's religion is the state religion for the people. And the republic system of the federal regime in

41 Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 54, ed. by J. Pelikan, American edition, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1955, (hereafter referred to as *LW*), p. 110.

42 "The New Testament's pronouncements on Church order are to be read as a *gospel* – that is, Church order is to be regarded as a part of the proclamation in which the Church's witness is expressed, as it is in its preaching." Eduard Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, trans. F. Clarke, London: SCM Press, 1961, p. 14.

Switzerland naturally born and nurtured the Reformed-Presbyterianism of John Calvin; and the constitutional monarchy in England finally kept the hierarchic church polity from the medieval tradition with the name of Anglicanism. The situation for the other Protestant church polity such as congregationalism, the pietism and the Quaker and so on appeared in the social-political orders with direct encounters and challenges for realizing the mission of the Church during the historic period since the Reformation until today world wide.

1.3.2 Martin Luther, the Ideal Type I: Protestant Ethics is Ecclesial Ethics

The interpretations about the church in history have shown that the existences of ethical norms for the Church are the institutional organizations. That is the preparation to study the ethical structure of the church which certainly exists in the substance of the Church. Philosophy is a duty of the church and ethics is a part of the law in the theological sense. Melanchthon began his *Commentary on Ethics* 1546:

> The determination of the relationship of moral philosophy to God's law and gospel is beneficial and illustrates the methods of teaching. Namely, one has to observe the distinction of law and gospel, and know that ethics is that part of the divine law which deals with civil morality.[43]

1.3.2.1 The Fundamental Elements of Ecclesial Ethics from the Bible

The Bible is significant for Protestantism, so the church ethics of Protestantism should be interpreted from the Bible and the primitive church in the Bible. I plan to research church ethics by connecting with the prophetic traditions of the Old Testament, and then with the apostles' ecclesiastical witnesses and initiatives. For the reformers, especially Martin Luther and John Calvin, there are so many ideas to construct the Church based on the prophetic teachings and commandments of the historical church.

43 *Corpus Reformatorum, Philippi Melanchthonis opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. by Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, vol. 16, Halle: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1834–60, pp. 277f.

> Luther felt a deep kinship not only with biblical heroes, but also with the living tradition of Christian believers who were their faithful followers, the commentators. Together, these saints witnessed to Christ not only by means of their doctrine, but also in their very lives as God shaped them in living faith. One comes to truly understand their stories just as the church fathers did, through prayers, study, and the experience of judgment and grace (law and gospel). Faith, Scripture, and the authentic Christian experience reflected both in the Bible and in the church's exegetical traditions thus illumine one another.[44]

And then around Jesus Christ, we could say the ethical teachings of Jesus must be treated definitely as the ontological texts for the church ethics in the tradition of the Reformation.

Finally, I'll conclude that the basic propositions of the ecclesial ethics from the historic church as the fundamental issues of the ethical principles of the heritage of the Reformation, which Luther created as the foundation of the Protestantism. The central theme of Luther's theological ethics was the authority of the faith.[45] And then Calvin used the institutional way to continue this important principle of the Protestantism.[46] In this case, I will study the ecclesial ethics of the Protestant Church from the heritage of the Reformation as my deep concerns. Thus, I must study their careers of the Reformation in the concrete reformed situations, and then to study what they initiated or created through institutional and constitutional ways.

44 Mickey L. Mattox, "Martin Luther," in: K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 472.

45 Since Martin Luther, the central ethical principle of the Protestantism is the *Sola Scriptura*. It stressed that the truth of the Faith from the Scripture is not authorized by the Church, but by itself. Luther said, "The gospel is not believed because the church confirmed it, but because one recognizes that it is God's word." Quoted by Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. R. C. Schultz, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966, p. 75.

46 Calvin had continued the career of the Reformation through the ecclesial way. Historically it was Calvin and his ideas of the Reformation made the Protestant Church to avoid the orientation towards the Religion of the Bible. The ethical significance of Calvin lies in this point in terms of the historical reflexions connected with the missionary history in the non-European countries.

1.3.2.2 The Ecclesial Ethics and the Initiatives of the Protestant Tradition

From this part, I'll concentrate on the theological thoughts of Martin Luther regarding their how practices of the reform and of building the Church differed from the Roman Catholic but remains by their proper manners the patristic dogmatic traditions, especially the dogma and the doctrines of the first four ecumenical councils including the definition of the Church (the four fundamental essential marks).[47]

Thus, to study the reformed events is the first and necessary step for understanding the reformers' spirituality and the texts' messages to the future theological research in China. Luther was really not the scholar in the sense of university professors, but first of all as the spiritual figures to create the history of the time. Yves Congar said:

> History is understood less as continual process of "development", that is as progress achieved through a gradual unfolding of what was already implicit, and more as a series of formulations of the one content of faith diversifying and finding expression in different cultural contexts.[48]

So we must enter into their theological worlds to interpret their ideas for the Protestant church.

It means that there are natural and theological affiliations between their theological principles or thoughts and their initiatives to set up the Church with the ideas of the Reformation.

> Martin Luther reacted against the authoritarian and hierarchical character of the predominantly institutional ecclesiology of the later medieval church, which he regarded as unbiblical. He offered an alternative account of the church in terms of its objective, divine basis: the Word of God addressed to humankind in Jesus Christ. For Luther the church is constituted not by a divinely established political authority,

47 Heinrich Holze, "The Ecclesiology of the Porvoo Common Statement – A Lutheran Perspective," in: Ola Tjørhom (ed.), *Apostolicity and Unity, Essays on the Porvoo Common Statement*, Geneva/Grand Rapids, MI: WCC Publications/Eerdmans, 2002, pp. 98–113.

48 Yves Congar, "Church History as a Branch of Theology," in: Roger Aubert (ed.), *Church History in Future Perspective*, New York: Herder & Herder, 1970, p. 87.

> but by common acceptance of the Word. This ecclesiology has been made to yield some general moral implications.[49]

And further, as Martin Brecht's conclusion that there is a consistency in Reformation theology rooted in the basic ideas of Luther such as the doctrine of Justification, he said:

> The essential solidarity exists in the doctrine of justification through faith alone and in the related anthropology of the justified sinner. Where this central teaching is not shared, for example by many representatives of Spiritualism, one is not able to speak of reformatory theology.[50]

That makes me want to spend the time to study well their theological thoughts and then to discovery the ethical principles as the structural functions for their churches.

The Ideal Type I as the concept to describe the ethical principles of Luther will show very clearly the important originality of the Church in the history of Protestantism. Therefore, we must enter into the theological system of Luther for knowing the concrete structures.

1.3.3 John Calvin, the Ideal Type II: the Ethical Principles as the Ecclesial Pillars of Church

The ethical structural factors of the Protestant Church exist deeply inside the theological thoughts and the careers of the Reformation by Marin Luther and John Calvin. By the way, the Western missionaries ignored or missed these factors while they survived and went anywhere in China with evangelization as the central aim, not with the construction of the church as the church-in-itself, or applied the ecclesial principles of the Reformation. In fact, they had contributed so hugely in the diaconal ar-

49 *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology*, ed. by David J. Atkinson and David H. Field, Oxford: InterVarsity Press, 1995, p. 229.

50 Martin Brecht, "Theologie oder Theologien der Reformation?" in: Hans Guggisberg and Gottfried Krodel (eds), *The Reformation in Germany and Europe: Interpretations and Issues*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1993, p. 116.

eas, especially in the poor areas.[51] The theological principles of Martin Luther continued through the practices of his successors, the most important reformer evidently was John Calvin.

The historical and political influences from the thoughts of Calvin with the name of Calvinism are also valuable heritages of the Church to us and to our theological reflections in China. Through the wide discussions about the works of Marx Weber during the last 25 years in China, so many important concepts and notions used by Weber have become wonderful bridges of communications between the intellectuals and the Church, in the meantime, the image of Calvin and Calvinism have been deeply and thoroughly changed in the positive sense.[52] The special affiliation between Calvinism and Puritanism as the spirits of the American tradition pushes Chinese intellectuals to research the solution of modernization in China, although the Church never asks something to make clear the historical relationships and the different morphology appeared in the process of historical development.

1.3.3.1 Calvin's Heritage has Great and Wide Influence under the Name of Calvinism

I'd like to explore the influences of Calvinism in the Western political and spiritual history as the interpretations of the Reformation of Calvin.[53] It is very relevant that the transformation of Puritanism with individualism from the Calvinist collectivism in the ecclesiastical order of the disciplines has shown the forces of the missionary socio-political context to change the exterior form for the spiritual existence. The Collectivism as one of the central cores of the Chinese traditional culture maintained and guaranteed during the last 2500 years of the empire regime, and to the Church mission, the conflicts between the Mainstream missions and the fundamentalist churches existed since 19th century, the beginning period

51 Jessie G. Lutz, "China and Protestantism: Historical Perspectives, 1807–1949," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 186.

52 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons, New York: Scribner's, 1930 (1958). Originally: 1920.

53 Mario Miegge, *Vocation et Travail, Essai sur l'éthique puritaine*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1989, p. 24.

of Protestantism in China until today. Thus to study the ecclesial ethics of the Church in China, we must clear up ourselves about the background of the historic church.

I dare to declare that it is very necessary to transplant the identity of the Protestant Church into the theological research about the Church in China at the present moment, while the church is growing so rapidly at the sense of the quantity. Why could we call ourselves as the Protestant congregation neither Catholic nor Orthodox members? The reply first of all is ecclesiologic and then to interpret the cause, it must concern the norms and rules of the institutional organization of the Church. In this way, the research about Luther and Calvin, and then their influences will be the main part of my dissertation. Through history Protestantism in China at the level of theological writings and reflections, the weakest part is the ecclesiology and ecclesial understandings about the membership of the Church to the believers as well as the ministers. If we could not supply the references from the Reformation to the growing Church with the tremendous growth of congregations per day, we will risk watching the church lost in the mass syncretism movements with so many gurus not Jesus through the ecclesial order as the heads of the church one day! Now this tendency is appearing more and more obvious in China. I'd like to confirm that the heritages of the Reformation will be the identity of the Church in China through the doctrinal interpretations around the principles of the Reformation in Chinese language.

1.3.3.2 The Significance of the Ideal Type II Lies in the Institutional Ethical Norms of the Church

John Calvin had created the tradition in the history of Protestantism through the normative initiatives at the institutional level. So far, the superiority of the organized churches in the West resulted from the tradition of Calvinism based on the reform of Calvin in Geneva.[54]

54 T. F. Torrance commented, "In contrast to Luther Calvin laid greater emphasis upon the *ecclesia externa sive visibilis.* The Kingdom of Christ consists not only in the Gospel, not only in a hidden community of believers, but in the historical communication of the Gospel, and the building up of the Church on earth by human agency (*humanitus*) (*Instit.* IV.1.4, 5)"; "It is in this context that there are the different points between Calvin's view of the order of the Church and Luther's. In many

He originally created the Consistory, the Synod, the General Assembly and the Council of pastors etc while he guided the reformation in Geneva. The outstanding contributions from his career covered so many aspects of social life within his initiatives. The ethical meanings of his contributions are multiples in the sociological and spiritual perspectives. We must study the historical background of his reformation, the theological resources, the spiritual mentality and the moral orientation. In this way, the revelation as the Ideal Type will appear before us while we hold the precomprehension regarding the Protestantism in China.

I plan to clear up my understandings about Calvin's heritages by three steps:

a) the practical career of his reformation in Geneva as the historical panorama,
b) the ethical principles he developed from the tradition of Martin Luther,
c) the institutional designs for the Reformed Church based on the proper ethical principles at the references of the Calvinism.

I will emphasize the ethical structures of the church from the system of Calvin and through his historical influence, namely, Calvinism. My proper purpose will show the great urgency to the church in China to study the heritage of Calvin, because as the second generation of the Reformation, he achieved the establishment of Protestant Church at the institutional category. Luther's ideal was the theological basis of Protestantism, and Calvin's ideal functioned as the pillars and the columns of the Church. These two Ideal Types essentially have composed the entire world of Protestantism so far. The future of Protestantism in China will trace back to the universal church through the great tradition of the Reformation. Only in this way, the spiritual forces and contribution of the Church will show the glory of God in China towards the modernization, especially in the socio-political area.

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ways the governing thought in Calvin's teaching is *rectitudo*, which describes the order and government of creation within which man is placed and within which he is made to reflect the image and glory of God in such a way that the divine order is manifest." Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 148; p. 150.

1.3.4 Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth, Ideal Type III, as the Modern References of the Reformation in the Time of the Crisis

1.3.4.1 The Ethical Difficulties of Protestantism in Modern Times of the West

For the theologians of the Church in China, it is so worthy to be considered that the social-political events occurred during the following three centuries since the Reformation of the sixteenth century in world history dominated finally by the Occidental states. That is to say, the end of the Roman Catholic theocracy over the secular regimes in the West signified also the rising of the national states which are treated by Protestant theologians and Church leaders as the authorities from the Divinity. But we must recognize that the roles and ethical functions of the Church did not fall down on the temporal world spiritually and morally according to the definitions of the Reformers, especially vis-à-vis the policy and the behaviors of the states in African, Arabian world, and in China etc, although there were always the prophetic voices of Church persons during the last three centuries.

That was why the Church in the West had gone into the serious crisis when the world entered the époque of the industrialization after the Enlightenment. It was the time that the ground of the positivist philosophy was formed and the atheism appeared as the modern science totally modeled the new view of the world.[55] The dominant development of liberal theology from the universities pushed the crisis towards the top

55 "The first and most important role, in which industrial society expects religion as the cult of the absolute to be effective, is undoubtedly that of providing the transcendental determination of the new, liberated subjectivity. The primary conception of religion in modern society assigns to religion the saving and preserving of personal, individual and private humanity […] Now as a result of the fact that all things and conditions can be manufactured by dint of technique and organization, the divine in the sense of the transcendent has disappeared from the world of nature, of history and of society. The world has become the material for technical reshaping by man. The gods of cosmological metaphysics are dead. The world no longer offers man a home and an abiding shelter." Jürgen Moltmann, *The Theology of Hope, On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, trans. James W. Leitch, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, p. 314.

context where the role of the Church was more and more marginal in the system of the values in the 19th century. The spirit of the Reformation seemed in the process of decline facing the conflicts between industrial capitalism and international socialism with the communist movements. In a word, the Church in the West was falling down into the existential edge. Meanwhile thousands of missionaries went to China by Western military vessels and through unequal treaties for the opium trades in the 19th century.

That is the *Sitz im Leben* of my reflections about the ethical structures of the Church after the Reformation and especially I'll focus on the later 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, because the Church in China since 1807 went into the developed period and did happen in the historical background. Surely the Church never slept during the last centuries since the Reformation as the role of conscience and of the prophet. I'm convinced that theologians and Church leaders contributed for the heritages of Reformers in proper ministry and careers of the Reformers always continue without hesitation in the world until today.

1.3.4.2 "The Communion of the Saints": the Ecclesial Ethics of Dietrich Bonhoeffer

To well understand the firm and strong life of the Church in Western civilization, the case of Dietrich Bonhoeffer is the best example as Luther and other great minds in history. His special testimony as the modern martyr has proved the eternity of Christianity without the limitation of precondition. My purpose is to dig out the significations for ethical structures of the Church through his theological thoughts.

He has left us such important works and manuscripts which were published after the war. His theological heritages continued and richened the great tradition of the Reformation as well as the spiritual succession of Martin Luther.[56] The Church with Jesus Christ as the head must exist according to the essence of the Church. The ethics of the Church are the norms of the Church in the temporal world. Thus he dealt with so many theological ethical issues connected with his proper contexts, i.e. the

56 Clifford Green, "Bonhoeffer, Dietrich," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 283.

Nazi regime and the relationship between the State Church and the Nazi regime in his time.

The "communion of the saints" could be treated as the fundament of his theological and political career. Furthermore, he has strengthened the ecclesial of the institutional church organization through the ethical principles that he emphasized. On this point, he took the same position as Karl Barth, namely the Christian faith must be shown and realized through the visible Church. The relationship between the Church and state should be defined from the Bible and the Reformers at the perspective of the church ethics. Thus his theological ethics could be considered as the historical and ecclesiastical will for the future church during the Second World War from one Lutheran pastor and theologian. I'll explore in details about what he has thought and try to interpret his great contribution to the tradition of the Reformation relative to the church ethics.

In a word, the study of the ethical thoughts of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth after Luther and Calvin has special significance for the church in China, because these two great minds really continued the work of the reformers in modern time as the soul of Western society. They, themselves have tried to find the solution for the growing gap between Protestant faith and Protestant ethics at a time of the most serious crisis since the Reformation.[57]

1.3.4.3 Karl Barth and his Ecclesial Concerns

It is evident that Karl Barth is one of the most influential theologians of the Church and on the theological research since Schleiermacher historically.[58] Since 1980, he has been introduced into China by publications in Chinese in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, and then by scholars and pastors in China. His position of the anti-Nazi regime was one of the reasons to attract the intellectuals in China. Although there are so many articles in Chinese relative to his life and his influence, we must recognize that the theological study of Karl Barth has not appeared in China.

57 Amy Laura Hall, "Ethics," in: *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, vol. 2, ed. by Hans J. Hillerbrand, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 692.

58 Eberhard Jüngel, "La vie et l'œuvre de Karl Barth," in: Pierre Gisel (ed.), *Karl Barth, Genèse et réception de sa théologie*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1987, p. 15.

I'd like to say there are three points from Karl Barth concerning my theme.

a) His life of spirituality is full of the principle of Christian ethics. Because Christian ethics is one kind of theology focused on the eschatological moment, the nature of the Ekklesia could be considered as the inner substance of Christian ethics. In this case, the principle of the Christian ethics of Karl Barth deeply indicates his ecclesial concerns and his commitment for the mission of the Church in the temporal world. We could see clearly this point from the life of Karl Barth which covered several important historical periods.[59]
b) His ecclesiastical relationship with the Church, Catholic and Protestant, showed that he was not the scholar in the mansard of air and food. He never stopped his attention to the ultimate unity of the Church, the role of the Church, the relationship between the Church and the world through his writings and words.[60] So, I want to find out his strong engagements in this aspect to show his ecclesiastical concerns full of the ethical duties and responsibilities with the origin of personal commitment and belief from the spirit of Reformation;[61]

59 Denis Müller, *Karl Barth*, Paris: Cerf, 2005, pp. 15–31.

60 Karl Barth, *Réflexions sur le deuxième Concile du Vatican*, trad. par L. Jeanneret, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1963, pp. 24–30.

61 "Mais il va de soi que l'expression 'théologie évangélique' ne saurait être comprise et interprétée dans un sens exclusivement 'confessionnel' (déjà parc qu'elle renvoie d'abord et essentiellement à la Bible, qui est respectée d'une manière ou d'une autre par toutes les confessions). Toute théologie 'protestante' n'est pas nécessairement une théologie évangélique. Et l'on trouve de la théologie évangélique également dans le domaine du catholicisme romain et de l'orthodoxie orientale, comme aussi dans toutes les variations et altérations de la vérité redécouverte par la Réformation. Le qualificatif 'évangélique' désigne objectivement la *continuité* et *l'unité* 'catholique', œcuméniques (pour ne pas dire 'conciliaires') de toute théologie dont on constate (sans vouloir porter de jugement de valeur) qu'au milieu et à la différence des autres théologies existantes elle se propose de saisir, de comprendre et de faire connaître, en suivant la voie qu'il a indiquée lui-même, le *Dieu de l'Evangile*, c'est-à-dire le Dieu qui se révèle dans l'Evangile, s'adresse aux hommes et agit parmi eux et sur eux. Il y a théologie évangélique là où il arrive que ce Dieu est l'objet d'une science humaine, dont il devient ainsi l'origine et la norme." Karl Barth, *Introduction à la Théologie Évangélique*, trad. par F. Ryser, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1962, p. 9.

c) The thought of the Christological ecclesiology of Karl Barth is the great contribution to Christianity historically. Since the Reformation, the political influences and engagements of the Protestant Church had totally modeled the modern system of democracy, although there are still so many cruel disorders in the process of human beings toward rational direction. The role of the Church during this historical process is very particular, so often theologians' behavior as the prophets at the époque of the Old Testament is to survey the role and task of the priesthood and missions of the Church. Karl Barth's time before World War I was lost in the theological areas of the Church in the West. The mainstream of theological thinking was gradually going away from the Church's inner mission as the conscience in the temporal world and witness of the Grace, and the priest to emphasize the justice of God etc. The "theology of Crisis" showed the time's problem and attention. Karl Barth and the other great theologians appeared from this background and then the great generation started up their careers from the Church and for the Church.[62]

The Christocentric ecclesiology of Karl Barth has the important revelation to the theme of the Christian ethical foundation for the Church in China, because the Church in China is rooted first of all in the ground of Chinese culture and civilization as the event of the Incarnation of Christ, then there is the encounter between the Christocentric ethics and the Chinese traditional ethics, especially Confucianism to the Church in China. The Christocentric ecclesiology stresses the central role of Christ as the Head of the Church, not the others including the authorities of the temporal existences, and then the Word of Christ has shown the nature of

62 Barth said: "Si l'Eglise craint Dieu, elle n'a pas à craindre le monde. Mais si elle ne craint pas Dieu, elle a tout à craindre du monde. Car le monde, bien qu'ayant tort en fait, aurait raison d'accuser l'Eglise d'infidélité. L'Eglise n'a qu'une arme pour assumer l'épreuve de la Parole de Dieu: la prière. Mais cette prière ne sera véritable que si l'Eglise, de toutes ses forces, travaille en même temps qu'elle prie, travaille humainement à soumettre sa prédication au jugement divine de la Parole de Dieu." Jean-Louis Leuba, *Résumé analytique de la Dogmatique ecclésiastique de Karl Barth, I: La doctrine de la parole de Dieu*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1945, p. 25.

the structure of the Church in the sense of the priesthood and the brotherhood as the body of Christ.[63] The Church is the people of God, and furthermore the assembly of believers in special communion with the great Commission from Christ. That makes the task of the Church to exist in the temporal world, so ethical elements appear from behaviors of the Church through the priesthood. That is the importance of Christological ecclesiology for the ethical foundation of the Church.[64]

Lewis S. Mudge presented his ideas regarding the moral community of the church in the society:

> Members of faith communities are likely also to be citizens, employees, professional persons, public servants, and the like who struggle with moral issues in their own personal and occupational lives, and inevitably bring assumptions from those worlds into the church.[65]

In this case, the interpretations of the ethical responsibility of the church in the society require us to do the considerations in the wide perspectives through the social relationships.

1.3.5 The Hermeneutical Approach to Construct the Ecclesial Ethics in China

The hermeneutical approach is the practical way to make dialogue between Protestantism and Chinese ethical traditions for the task of the Church in China.[66] The mentality of the Chinese nation shows their em-

63 "Barth a beaucoup écrit sur l'Eglise. Nous nous bornerons à la *Dogmatique ecclésiastique*, expression complète et définitive de sa pensée." "Elle n'est pas l'Eglise, si la Parole de Dieu ne devient pas réalité en elle, si ses membres ne restent pas fidèles à cette Parole, s'ils ne manifestent pas leur communauté et cela de manière visible. On comprend ici la puissance du message barthien, qui entraîne d'emblée l'Eglise dans le dynamisme de la révélation vivante et sans cesse actuelle de Dieu." Jean-Louis Leuba, *Études Barthiennes*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1986, p. 8; p. 30.

64 Denis Müller, *L'éthique protestante dans la crise de la modernité: Généalogie, critique, reconstruction*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1999, pp. 264–265.

65 Lewis S. Mudge, *The Church as Moral Community, Ecclesiology and Ethics in Ecumenical Debate*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 86.

66 Since 1999 when I ended the studies in Neuchâtel and started up to teach the courses in Nanjing Union Theological Seminary, the National Seminary in China, I

phasis on the relationship of the persons according to the normative ethics of Confucianism. Moral or morality in Chinese characters are made by two words, Tao (the Verb or the Logos) and De (Virtue), together mean moral or morality. It is one of the philosophies of virtue dominated by the universal logos. Since Laotzu and Confucius, Tao is the universal Verb as the prima and substantial one of the world. Thus, the moral elements are basic social orders for Chinese society including individuals and families, the government and diplomatic policies during the last 2500 years in China. If we deeply studied the teachings and the experiences of the regimes or dynasties in China historically, we could find out the inner relationships between cultural models and political methods including the historicity of the Western missionaries in China.

Ethics, in Chinese, is term of two words, one is: *Lung* (relationships, orders), *Li* (reasons, truth). Christian ethics with the ultimate aim on the eschatological mission should incarnate into the Chinese traditional culture where the Church is growing without any hesitation under the providence of the Holy Spirit. Thus the contribution of the ethical foundation of Church in China will enrich Christian ethics and the ecclesiology of Church dogma.

Furthermore, personally, I appreciate so much the great tradition of Christianity in the West and I consider it as the main part and resource of the universal church of Christianity in China.[67] The morphological af-

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began to introduce the theory of the theological hermeneutics in Chinese. Especially the theology of Gerhard Ebeling has absorbed so great attention from the Church in China. As what Pierre Bühler claimed: "L'œuvre de G. Ebeling est largement considérée comme une contribution majeure au développement de l'herméneutique théologique. Ebeling a contribué à la clarification de nombreux problèmes de la discipline, et enrichi d'observations très fines la connaissance de l'histoire de l'herméneutique, principalement à partir de la Réformation […] Comme il l'a réaffirmé dernièrement de manière massive, pour lui, l'herméneutique doit nécessairement se mettre au service de la parole". "Les Déplacements de l'Herméneutique," in: Pierre Bühler and Clairette Karaksh (eds), *Quand interpréter c'est changer, Pragmatique et lectures de la Parole*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, pp. 19–20. Cf. Gerhard Ebeling: "L'herméneutique entre la puissance de la Parole de Dieu et sa perte de puissance dans les temps modernes," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, vol. 126 (1994/I), pp. 39–56.

67 Christoph Stückelberger, "*The church and personal and public morality*," in: http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/who/stuckelberger.html (28/11/2008).

filiations in cultural evolutions of human beings will bring the Church of the nations world-wide to the eschatological time. So the Chinese Church with a total unique cultural system differing from the Hebrew-Hellenistic civilization must make special contributions to universal truth.[68]

Theological thinking is very active and fruitful since the end of the Second World War in the West. But during about forty years, there were not ecclesiastical exchanges between the China Church and the Western Church due to the Cold War. As for theological influences from the West after the War nothing existed before the 1980s in China. So we heard of the theological thoughts and the ecclesiastical events outside of China as historical narratives in the proper period. This fact could explain even today that the Church in China treats modern western theological thoughts as academic knowledge or schools, not as the doctrines of the historical Church.[69] That is why so many influential theologians of the West execute their influences mainly in circles of intellectuals in the campus of secular universities out of the Church in China. Thus concerning my research of ecclesial ethics for the Church, I use some of the contemporary theologians only as a background of references at the level of knowledge.

68 Kwong-loi Shun claimed: "*Ren* (humaneness, goodness) and *Li* (rites) are two concepts central to Confucius' ethical thinking as reported in the *Analects*. The former refers to the ethical ideal, and the latter to certain traditional norms that govern human conduct. It is generally agreed that Confucius regards the observance of *Li* as closely related to the ideal of *ren*, but there has been radical disagreement concerning the nature of the relation […] The character '*li*' originally referred to rites of sacrifice but, even before the time of Confucius, its scope of application had expanded to include other things, such as norms governing polite behavior." Kwong-loi Shun, "*Ren* and *Li* in the *Analects*," in: *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays*, ed. by B. W. Van Norden, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 53.

69 "Usually they take an objective, neutral position in their research on Christianity, and also stand outside of the church. In this sense they can only be called researchers and observers of Christianity. Their intention is to do the sober-minded, authentic description and analysis of the cultural phenomenon of Christianity, which are urgently needed in contemporary Chinese society." Zhuo Xinping, "Discussion on 'Cultural Christians' in China," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 295.

It is obvious that my deep concern always regards the urgent situation of the Church in China who always has a lack of the doctrinal structures and the sanctioned mechanism inside the institutional dimension. The image of China in the common impression of the Western world relative to Human Rights and civil freedom through the juridical system is very negative and full of problems, thus, the moral causes are always taken as the inert explications for interpretations.

I'll use the sociological theory of Ernst Troeltsch to analyze the political and ethical situation in China in order to study the ecclesial ethics of the church in China.[70] To make myself clear, I think that I should do the dialogue between the ethical tradition of the Reformation and the ethical traditions of the Chinese value systems, especially with Confucius, whose thought composes the main stream of Chinese ethical tradition since the Han Dynasty (202 BC – 220 AD).

1.4 Conclusion

Church order and ethics are the central theme of ecclesial ethics from the heritages of the Reformation for the future of the church in China. Type I and Type II in the perspective of Chinese traditional ethics and the present ecclesial structure have supplied the fundamental basis for me to design the possible way with the references of the Type III.

Confucianism as the traditional moral frame of Chinese society and culture will become the precomprehension at least at the ethical dimension for me to construct the ethical structures of the church. Nearly all the terms and the vocabularies relative to the spiritual, social, moral and philosophic thoughts in Chinese are full of Confucianism. To use well the terminology of Confucianism for interpreting the Christian truth is always hermeneutic with serious challenges. As to the ethical study in

70 Ernst Troeltsch, "Political Ethics and Christianity," in: *Religion in History*, Essays trans. J. L. Adams and W. F. Bense, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991, pp. 173–209. Cf. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992.

Chinese, we should use the proper principles of the Confucianism with the identity of the Church. The ethical structures of the Church in China are also the hermeneutical issue because of the following facts: a) the main cultural tradition in China is Confucianism mixed with Taoism and Buddhism as the social values and national spirituality which are non-European and Christian traditions, b) today's society in China is full of the elements of the Industry time or the global multiple values with the international exchanges, c) the political concerns are historically strong among the intellectuals and the French model has dominated the elites to establish a modern system without the superior statue of any religion including the Protestant in China.

The Communism as the state ideology originated from the German Classic philosophy with Judeo-Christian reality, especially holds the inner spirit of the Messianism. In the modern history, the conflictions between the traditional society and the Christian missions composed the historical background of the Chinese Communist revelation regarding the religious phenomenon.[71] The ideology of the Communism essentially excluded the both the ethics of Confucianism and of the Church by the authority of the state in China. The ultimate standard of Communism ethics is the class struggle between the Communist and the non-Communist according to the criterion of the ideology. Consequently, the most miserable situation occurred to the regions including the Church during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).[72] Since the 1980s, traditional values, mainly, Confucianism are being recovered quickly in the public order in China. Today, the "Society of Harmony" with the ethical spirit of Confucianism officially has appeared by the authorities in China.[73] The role of the church is facing the urgent challenge, namely, how to play our proper role as the Communion of Saints in China?[74]

71 Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–28*, Notre Dame, IN: Cross Cultural Publ., 1988, pp. 25–28.

72 Vivienne Shue, *The Reach of the State: Sketches of the Chinese Body Politic.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988, pp. 6–8.

73 "Confucian Ethics", in: *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology*, ed. by David J. Atkinson and David H. Field, Oxford: InterVarsity Press, 1995, pp. 250–251.

74 In today's China, at least at the legal level, the religious freedom has been fixed as the fundamental right of the citizen. It composes the challenge to the theological

The ethical heritages of the Ideal Type I, II and III from the historic church will support us to establish the institutional church with the ecclesial ethics theoretically in terms of the essence of the Christianity.[75] And the key step to realize the ideas of the Reformation in China will take the references from the Chinese traditional values, especially the ethical system of Confucianism. My proper way is to study the philosophical concept of *Li* from Confucianism with the theological perspective.[76] Here briefly, I would mention that the *Li* in the Christian level means the ethical order of the spiritual, social and political scopes. In the theological terms in Chinese, the Holy *Li* indicates the Holy Sacraments. Thus, at the hermeneutical level, the sacramental order of the church will be the institutional ethical order in the social life in Chinese vision. If I could interpret well the Holy Sacramental order of Church in Chinese, the theology of the church in China will contribute the third elements of the ecclesiology to the ecumenical world, namely, the Word, the Sacraments, and the Sacramental Order with the ecclesial ethical essence.[77]

In conclusion, I'll summarize what I have taken from the research of the ecclesial ethics of the Reformation and the dialogues with other dif-

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considerations on the role of the Church in the civil society, which is emerging along with the economic development of the society towards the modernization including the rule of law. Cf. China State Council, *White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief*, Beijing, October 1997; and *The Constitution of People's Republic of China*, Beijing, 1982.

75 "'Christianity' has its essence and its goal not in itself and not in its own existence, but lives from something and exists for something which reaches far beyond itself. If we would grasp the secret of its existence and its modes of behaviour, we must enquire into its *mission.* If we would fathom its essence, then we must enquire into that *future* on which it sets its *hopes* and expectations. If Christianity in the new social conditions has itself lost its bearings and become uncertain, then it must once again consider why it exists and what its aim is." Jürgen Moltmann, *The Theology of Hope, On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, trans. James W. Leitch, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, p. 325.

76 Xinzhong Yao (ed.), *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, vol. 1, London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, pp. 356–358.

77 "The mysticism of identity, in which the Logos and the inner dimension of man blend together, is transcended by a Christological mysticism: the Logos, who is the Son, makes us sons in the sacramental fellowship in which we are living." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Pope Benedict XVI, *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith, The Church as Communion*, trans. H. Taylor, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002, p. 117.

ferent systems of ethical spirituality for the Church in China. My proper conclusion is that we must transplant the fundamental ethical principles of the Reformation as the structural elements into China, and apply the reasonable position vis-à-vis the Chinese traditional ethics, especially the Confucianism.

Briefly, my plan will research the meanings of the different heritages through the theory of the Ideal Type of Max Weber to the future of the ecclesial ethics in China. The Ideal Type I is about the theological principles of Martin Luther, the Ideal Type II about the ecclesiastical initiatives through the institutional Church of John Calvin, and the Ideal Type III about the teachings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth about the Church in the period of the crisis, and the Ideal Type IV, the ethical model of the Confucianism.

Certainly, in concrete contexts, we must avoid any exaggerations of Confucianism for the Church in China as constructive factors; on the contrary, we should recognize the weakness of Confucianism to the ecclesial ethics research and the growing Church in China through comparison with the ethical principles of the Reformation. To be the moral system, Confucianism always dominates the social and spiritual behaviors of the individual, the family and the political order in China with so many particularities differing from the Western world, but I'll indicate the weakness of Confucianism to the Church at the sense of democracy in the open society of today's world.[78]

At the end of the considerations, I would like to think about the issues such as the *civil religion*, the *relativism*, the *syncretism*, the *civil society* at the ecclesial ethical perspectives with the references of the

78 In my research, I would like to use the theory of the hermeneutics of Rudolf Bultmann concerning the understanding and the pre-understanding to explore my considerations and understandings about the meanings of the heritages of the Reformation in the Chinese context. According to him, "If faith is an event in historical life, then it comes within life's coherence, which is, conditioned by the understanding. And if an understanding in faith is given, an understanding which displaces and replaces all earlier understanding, then that earlier understanding must include a pre-understanding. Otherwise, through revelation and faith, the old man would be completely annihilated and a new man, who had no continuity with the old, would take his place." Rudolf Bultmann, "The Problem of 'Natural Theology'," in: *Faith and Understanding*, ed. by R. W. Funk, trans. L. P. Smith, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987, p. 315.

Reformation and the Western theologians' thoughts. I think that these issues will be very critically important for me to construct the ecclesial ethics of the Church in China in the coming future. I hope that I could systematically introduce the ethical heritages of the Reformation into the Chinese world through the doctoral program in Basel. It could be regarded as my intention of the project.

2 Faith and Church of Protestantism

2.1 Introduction

As in the worldwide system of spirituality, Christianity presents itself through three principal ecclesiastical forms, i.e. the Orthodox, the Roman Catholic and the Protestants.[1]

> The Christians are divided into major churches or groups of churches that are called Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, Protestant, Independent, and Pentecostal and so on – each with its own customs and practices which have often changed and developed over the years.[2]

In fact, considering the Church itself, if purely at the dimension of the doctrines, the Church, no matter which form, always keeps the nature of holy and catholic with the interpretation of the creeds. Meanwhile, because of its existence in concrete society with the cultures, the sociopolitic factors in the form of certain institutions, it more or less contains different situations from these social and cultural realities as the preconditions recognized in history.[3]

Thus the question appears: which elements made the Protestant Church to exist and develop through different forms and systems? In my personal reflection, there are the fundamental elements which could be considered as possible references of question, namely, the elements of faith, the elements of the institutions with ecclesiastic diversity; the elements of ethics and the models for dealing with the temporal world. The

1 Adolf M. Ritter et al., "Church," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, pp. 477–502.

2 John Bowden, *Christianity: An Introduction*, in: *Encyclopedia of Christianity*, ed. by J. Bowden, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. ix–x.

3 Christoph Stückelberger, *Vermittlung und Parteinahme, Der Versöhnungsauftrag der Kirchen in gesellschaftlichen Konflikten*, Zürich: TVZ, 1988, pp. 30–36.

differences of these three categorical issues could explicate the reasons of the Church with different forms in society historically.

The Reformation bore the Ideal Types of Protestantism through great historic figures, such as Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin etc. and the ecclesiastical models.

> The Reformation simplified everything. It affected a shift from a religion of symbol and allegory, ceremony and formal gesture to one that was plain and direct: a shift from the visual to the aural, from ritual to literal exposition, from the numinous and mysterious to everything. It moved from the high colours of statue, window and painted walls to whitewash; from ornate vestments and altar frontal to plain tablecloth and surplice; from a religion that, with baptismal salt on lips, anointings and frankincense – as well as image, word and chant – sought out all the senses, to one that concentrated on the word and innerliness. There was a shift from a religion that often went out of doors on pilgrimage and procession to an indoor one; from the sacral and churchly to the familial and domestic; from sacrament to word (though this is easily overstated); from the objectivity of *ex opera operato* and Real Presence, for instance, to the subjectivity of "feeling faith" and experience.[4]

The history of the Church showed that so many persons involved in the violence and conflicts among different denominations and churches were the faithful believers, including the spiritual and moral leaders. For instance, the "Great Schism" (1054) with so serious disorders and the troubles between the East and the West; the severe conflicts and the curial wars between the Reformers and the Roman Catholic in 16th century. And in Asia, especially in the non-Christian China in 18th century, the conflicts between the Catholic missionaries made regretted loss of the mission without any chance forever. Furthermore, so many thoughtful persons of the Church became heretic persons due to their independent position from the ecclesiastic doctrines and these persons were church members with pure and moral faith in the actual life of the parish.[5]

In medieval tradition, the doctrines and canonical laws functioned as the basic constitution for defending the direction of the church and as the ethical fundament while encountering with secular challenges. The Reformation interrupted the apostolic succession inherited by the ecclesias-

4 John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 163.

5 Avery Cardinal Dulles, *A History of Apologetics*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999, pp. 30–55.

tical order of Rome curia, so the Protestant churches had to face the actual society and the ecclesiastical problems since the 16th century. Consequently this tendency appeared from Protestantism to converge towards secular society which occurred naturally inside different denominational churches since the reformation. The anticlericalism made the Protestant clergy class of the medieval pattern disappear while Martin Luther definitely created the pastoral principle by the "universal priesthood" at the initial reformation.[6]

Meanwhile, many kinds of missionary movements with the spirit of the Reformation quickly spread over the world for evangelization. All the believers took over the vocation of the Gospel the following centuries after the reformers historically and successfully did. In terms of the forms of the missionaries, on one hand, there are so many similes between the missionary churches in China and the primitive churches in the New Testament ecclesiologically and sociologically, on the other hand, that meant also that the dogmas, the doctrines and the traditions of the Church were accumulated and shaped during the medieval periods and were nearly shortened, even ignored in the non-European culture countries by strong missionary emotions and enthusiasm instead of Church faith.[7] Originally in the West, ecclesiastical doctrines and dogmas powerfully dominated the church and relative principles regarding ethics and politics with secular society and civil polity. I would like to use this panorama as the precomprehension to reflect on the theme which I'm thinking about in the system of Protestantism.

My purpose is to make clear about the ecclesiastical understandings of the ethical principles from the heritages of Martin Luther and John Calvin for the Church in China. My plan is to focus firstly on the ethical

6 "Reformation, Protestant (on the continent)", in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 12, New York: Gale, 2003, pp. 15–18.

7 "There is a difficulty in establishing a dialogue between intellectuals in China and Chinese Christians. If the Christian's only concern is the question of salvation and redemption, then there can be no meaningful dialogue. If the intellectual has a condescending attitude towards a Chinese Christian for his/her lack of education, then there can be no meaningful dialogue, either. The obstacles to dialogue with and not only about Chinese Christians are very real, but the attempt is important nonetheless." In: Philip Wickeri, "Christianity and China: Toward Further Dialogue," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 358.

structures of the Church through the basic factors of Protestantism. The three parts of Protestantism in theological dimension: a) the morphological elements of the faith, the Scripture and the creeds as the textual dimension, b) the elements of the institutional church as the frame and the structure of the faith, c) the principles to deal with the various relations in the secular world, that means the ethical structures of the church, or the ecclesial ethical principles from the reformers as the structures of the Protestant churches.

2.2 The Theological Dimension of Faith

Protestantism is to describe the common doctrinal theories, the ethical norms and the principles of the political positions, which are maintained inside and through Protestant churches originated from the Reformation. And if we want to study one proper denominational church in the category of Protestantism, we must make clear the ecclesiastical character in references of the tradition of the Reformation.[8]

"The difficulty facing any attempt to define Protestantism is that it is effectively as much a political as a theological term; indeed, the English 'Protestant' is often and misleadingly employed to render the German *evangelisch*, better translated, despite being misleading in other respects, as 'evangelical'. The political origins of the term derive from the 'Protestation' in 1529 of the evangelical princes in face of Catholic attempts to limit their jurisdiction."[9]

It is remarkable if we could accept these three categories as the basic steps of departure, namely, the theological, the political and the ethical.

Firstly, theological dimension shows these meanings initially from textual factors, i.e. the Bible, the Creeds and the confessions. Although the reformers kept strong sentiments against the authorities of Roman

8 Hubert Bost, "Protestantism," in: *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, p. 1212.

9 Colin Gunton, in: A. Hastings et al. (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 571.

Catholic concerning the tradition in terms of the criteria of the faith, they have finally set up a series of the dogma and doctrines of the Protestantism, which differed from the Roman Catholic relative to the authorities through the doctrines of the ministry and the sacraments, as the ecclesiastic identity of the Church for historical vision. In other words, we could take the theological positions and explications of the Reformers such as Martin Luther, Philippe Melanchthon, Huldrych Zwingli, John Calvin and John Knox etc as the theological initiatives of the emerged Church for later tradition of Protestantism.

In my understanding, the connections between the doctrines and socio-political reality are the access to theological interpretations for the faith of the church. The documental confessions of the Reformation composed the theological materials for us to do the clarifications about the ways and the manners against the Roman Catholic authorities in the time of the Reformation.

Naturally, the second is the political dimension, which means that the significance of the Church's role in the temporal affairs and the secular order since the presence of the Church from the New Testament period until today. The State-Church relations are not only the theme of ecclesiology as the doctrinal contents, but also the central principle which is directly relative to the world vision and mission concerns for the universal church. Furthermore, the political principles of the Church are embodied through the institutional structures and the secular behaviors, which are presented spontaneously of the believers' common willingness and sentiments in the church. The sociological interpretations of the ecclesiastical political position are also very rich and helpful if we could put it as one of our understanding manners.

The third is the ethical dimension, which means the particular norms for the establishment of the church in social and political society with concrete relationships as the limited frames. The study of ethical structures of the church will historically touch the feeling of the church as the spiritual communion about secular rights and interests as well as the duty and responsibility. We could declare that the ecclesiastical ethics concludes the basic and sanctified rules and commandments, which define the models for believers, the members of the Church, the leadership and the state-church in social and civil areas more than in the spiritual mind. Nevertheless, it is clear that all these political, social and ethical factors are first of all worked inside the believers' spiritual worlds, or in the

inner mind. In brief, the ethical dimension of Protestantism must deal with the ecclesial norms for church members and the institutional church facing the temporal authorities, civil society, secular orders through the laws and other ethical systems such as Confucianism in China. The ethical factors from the Bible are concretized through the mission of the church, thus, the interpretation of ethical structures based on the Bible will be the core of ecclesial ethics which are linked closely with the Church. That is why I enter into my main research about ecclesial ethical structures of the Reformers from the analysis of the elements of Protestantism.[10]

2.2.1 The Morphological Scriptural Elements of the Faith

The three mainstreams of the Protestant Church indicate that the churches appeared at the time of the Reformation had shaped the proper theological and ecclesiastical traditions within the definition of the Reformation. In Germany, the Lutheran Church continued the ideas of Martin Luther, and the Reformed Church in Switzerland started by Zwingli was finally achieved and integrated into the Reformed tradition of John Calvin, who systematically created the great Reformed tradition for the world. At the same time, Calvin had deeply influenced the Lutheran Church in Europe and all other Protestant churches in the following centuries in the ecclesiastical domain. In England, Anglicanism through the Church of England established the third great tradition of the Reformation. The common characteristics of mainstreams of the Protestant Church firstly lie in great respect on the Bible, and the creeds from the patristic heritages which then created their proper confessions or catechism and are linked with the special situation of the church since the

10 According to Luther's doctrine of the three estates, there are three theological conclusions of the Creation of the Bible through the creation of creation, of sin and of social ethics. The three estates are *Status ecclesiasiticus, status oeconomicus, status politicus* (church, household, and government). This doctrine should not be understood in terms of the modern classification of the sociology, but rather as the creation of God for the human being's condition, in which the creation is the promised world from God to Luther. Cf. Oswald Bayer, *Schöpfung als Anrede, Zu einer Hermeneutik der Schöpfung*, 2nd ed., Tübingen: Mohr, 1990.

Reformation, and which expressed by the terms of "the Rule of Prayer and Rule of Faith".[11]

2.2.1.1 The Place of the Bible in the Faith of the Protestant Church

2.2.1.1.1 Martin Luther and the Principle of the Bible

"*Sola Scriptura*", as the most famous slogan of Martin Luther's reformation against the authorities of Roman Catholicism, historically shows the position of the Bible in the system of Protestantism.[12] From today's perspective to trace back to the source over the last five centuries, we are convinced that the authority of the Bible in the tradition of Protestantism replaced the authority of Roman Catholicism with huge historic significance. The Roman Curia governed over 10 centuries in Europe through the regime of theocracy. Since the Reformation, the Bible becomes the textual essence of the truth and the criteria of the Protestant Church. We could say that it was the Bible's spiritual power that made the reformers to restore the patristic witness including the system of dogma and doctrines shaped during the medieval period, not in the opposite sense as the misunderstandings in non-European areas, especially in China, according to which there is nothing between the Bible and Martin Luther.

The Bible, as the first principle of the theological tradition of the Reformation, composes the basis of faith, which is more fundamental than any other orders or decrees of the Pope to the Protestants.[13] Theological meaning of this principle confirms that direct communication between the Lord and believers is based on Holy Scripture, and then the individual freedom was recognized against the clericalism, by which the clergy class worked as the medium between the Savior and the believers in the Catholic tradition. For the reformers, the realistic problem was that

11 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo, Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2003, cf. "Chapter Six: The Rule of Prayer and the Rule of Faith," pp. 158–185.

12 "*Sola Scriptura* – scripture alone – was the motto of the Reformation." Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 107.

13 Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible, the Bible of the Reformation.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996, p.1.

the Bible and theological doctrines were written in Latin, which was used during the medieval period officially as the holy language by the clerical class over the secular languages used by different nations in Europe, such as French, Italian, German, and Spanish etc. Common believers could not understand the Bible in Latin directly, thus they had no way to connect with their proper life, sentiments, and cultures.

Luther threw away the authority of the Roman Catholic Church through denying the necessity of the clerical class for faith. He translated the Bible in German and realized the direct relationship between the Bible and the German nation. As the first principle of the Reformation, Luther's position of the Scriptures created a new page for Protestantism.

> The Bible is the centerpiece of the Protestant faith. Since Martin Luther, Protestants have called the Bible the Word of God and have reserved a central place in their worship services for preaching from this Word and the hearing of the Word. The Bible provides Protestants with their primitive authority for faith and practice, and many look to it to provide guidance on matters of daily living.[14]

In terms of the spiritual system of a human being, faith is not enforced by some institutions through regulations and laws, but only appeals to human life and the human mind. In some conditions as a further process, it concerns institutional organizations which are defined and restricted by doctrines and disciplines. The original form of the Christian spiritual group was the Church as communions appeared in different places in the apostolic period. Thus to break up the doctrinal affiliation with Roman Catholicism, Luther pioneered the beginning of the authority of the Bible in order to prepare a new structure of the Church.

The significance of *Sola Scriptura* politically ended the possibility of a special class of the Church to monopolize the truth of the Bible.[15] So far the Roman Catholic Church remains the proper tradition which stresses different doctrines, the Mesa teachings and the catechism more than the texts of the Bible. That shows the difference between Catholic tradition and Protestant tradition. Until the Vatican II in the 60s of the

14 Henry L. Carrigan Jr., "Bible," in: *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, vol. 1, ed. by H. J. Hillerbrand, New York/London: Routledge, 2004, p. 222.

15 Ibid., p. 223.

twentieth century, academic research of the Bible has started up in the theological circle in the Catholic Church.

But the Protestant Church since the Reformation has greatly developed research of the Bible as well as the proclamation in the pastoral working around the Bible during the last four centuries. No matter what level, the Bible as the most basic fundament of the faith has already been considered as the most important text of faith for individuals, communions and churches in the Protestant world. On the other hand, the Bible is the text of the criteria regarding values, ethics, and spirituality of the Protestant Church while its engagements in the secular world, which were practiced and realized by the followers of Luther, especially such as John Calvin, John Knox and so many great theologians and church leaders historically. In a word, "Christians do not read the Bible for antiquarian reasons, but because they believe it has things to say which are pertinent to their lives today. This relevance which the Bible is perceived to have may take many forms."[16]

The principle of the Bible held by Luther has the particular historicity for the whole tradition of Protestantism, because he has not considered it as the unchanged and undeveloped textual letters, but rather as the works of the Holy Spirit directly connected with the Church and practical life in the temporal world, and further, as the entity of ontological revelation.

> Charged with responsibility for preaching on a regular basis (usually several times each week), biblical exegesis remained for him a spiritual exercise performed in service to God and the church, a task for which one was fitted by the Holy Spirit and by living faith, given in baptism.[17]

Since Luther, in the tradition of Protestantism, the Bible is the text of the Christian Faith, and in itself as the divine revelation to Christians in spiritual and secular life, on this level, it is constructed as the truth of the church (the ecclesial truth). Various different interpretations around the

16 John Barton, "Bible, its authority and interpretation," in: A. Hastings et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 70.

17 Mickey L. Mattox, "Martin Luther," in: K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 472.

Bible have produced so many different kinds of positions and views about the truth of the faith, which works as one criterion but in the concrete situation of the church in history. Certainly each position contains special interpretation which has linked the interpreter's problem on behalf of the church in the relationships with exterior factors such as political, economical and ethical liaisons.[18]

The meanings of Luther's biblical position lie in the following aspects:

a) If I could use the term "hermeneutic" to describe the method, by which Luther explicated the Bible, I think that is very easy for today's theological researchers in China. There are tremendous fruits in the West relative to the research about Luther's biblical thoughts, but for me who wants to introduce the uniqueness of the Bible principle initiated by Luther in China, the best way is to dig out the historic and theological meanings of this initiative for today's research. So that is the reason for me to use the hermeneutical meaning as the first interpretation.

   The biblical text which Luther inspired as his basis of the biblical view is from 2 Cor. 3:6, "The qualification we have comes from God; it is he who has qualified us to dispense his new covenant – a covenant expressed not in a written document, but in a spiritual bond; for the written law condemns to death, but the Spirit gives life." Here, "The 'new covenant' is not 'of the letter', which after comparison with v. 3 must mean not 'engraved (v. 3) […] on tables of stone,' an allusive reference to the Law of God as given to Moses on Mount Sinai."

18 "Laboring so long on the Bible, and inheriting the medieval view of its divine authorship, Luther fondly made it the all-sufficient source and norm of his religious faith. Though he accepted some traditions not based on Scripture – like infant baptism and the Sunday Sabbath – he rejected the right of the Church to add to Christianity elements resting not on the Bible but on her own customs and authority, like purgatory, indulgences, and the worship of Mary and the saints." Will Durant, *The Reformation, A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300–1564*, The Story of Civilization: Part VI, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957, p. 369.

See T. E. Provence, "Who Is Sufficient?" 62–68, for a survey of three historic interpretations of the meaning of the "Letter"/"Spirit" distinction: (1) the "hermeneutical," by which the "Spirit" should be invoked rather than the "letter" in the interpretation of biblical texts (Richardson); (2) the "legal," in which "letter" is a synonym for "law" (Dunn); (3) and the "allusive," in which "letter" equates with the legalists' distorted misunderstanding of the Law (Cranfield).[19]

For us, only considering hermeneutically Luther's Bible principle, we could interpret totally the theological significance of this position to the establishment of Protestantism in history.

b) Luther took negatively the allegorical interpretation, although his own method remained obviously sensitive to the allegorical and topological resonances in the Bible, especially if he thought that those methods could be helpful to explicate the messages about Christ and the faith. He said: "Therefore, if the adversaries press the Scriptures against Christ, we urge Christ against the Scriptures."[20] Thus, it is very clear that the core of the biblical view that Luther created is Christocentric by giving theological attention on the redemption accomplished by Christ on the cross. In this case, our humanity is connected with his passion, resurrection and last order. Luther's Ockhamist background and Augustinian orientation of the spiritual mind made himself high tension and reflection of the meanings of the tests and the human inner salvation through God while he studied the Bible as a professor in a university by the tools of biblical humanism.[21] In brief, Luther's central witness to Christ through the Scripture has definitely set up the new model of the Church instead of Roman Catholicism with the external human authority. That is the most important significance, for later Protestantism deeply differed from the historical existence of the Church before the Reformation.[22]

19 Paul Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997, p. 176.

20 *LW*, vol. 34, p. 112.

21 Robert Kolb, "Lutheranism: Theology," in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2, ed. by H. J. Hillerbrand, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 471.

22 "The Bible as interpreted by the enlightened individual was promoted as the preeminent authority in religious matters. There remained, however, the question of

c) So many theological principles from Luther's Reformation were created as the central spirit for the career of the reformation from the texts of the Bible, such as Christian freedom and slavery in the dialectic pattern; Christian conscience, bondage of Will, sacraments and ecclesial orders etc. The Bible works as the basis of criteria for him through the hermeneutic exegeses and interpretations linked with the present situation of his time. That is really the way of the apostolic tradition. The authority of Roman Catholicism has abused the power of the apostolic succession; especially it involves disorder with secular interests and privileges which composed the origins of social and politic conflicts and catastrophes at the eve of the Reformation.

Today, so many Christian theologians care about human issues outside the Church or the ecclesiastical frame such as social justice, commercial order and the environment policy etc. to make the secular authorities under the surveillance of ethical values from the Bible and ecclesial principles. It is naturally evident that values or truthful messages from the Bible are universal beyond national, racial and regional factors. All of these human activities are mainly connected with Luther's reformation. So the Bible principle of Luther is not Biblicist, neither syncretistic to be applied as the additional weapon to personal authority and sovereignty of secular government.[23] In Luther's mind, the Savior is for all mankind, and so the Bible is the text as the divine revelation for believers' witness in daily life. So far, this position has become the great Prot-

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how it was to be interpreted. The major reformers – Martin Luther, John Calvin, Philipp Melanchthon, and Martin Bucer – shared a clear preference for the literal or natural sense of scripture, combined with a suspicion of allegory. Luther argued that the scriptures should be understood 'in their simplest meaning as far as possible.' The literal sense was 'the highest, best, strongest, in short the whole substance nature and foundation of the holy scripture.' (*Answer to the Hyperchristian Book*, in: *LW*, vol. 39, p. 177.) […] Allegorical studies, in Luther's final judgment, were for 'weak minds', and 'idle men.' (Martin Luther, *Babylonian Captivity*, in: *Three Treatises*, pp. 146, 241) Cf. Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther*, pp. 101–9", Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 108.

23 Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 93.

estant tradition in the world and at the hermeneutical level Christian thinkers and theologians are practicing it as the common reference. In this sense the Gospel or the truth from the Bible is spread, although sometimes not as the personal word of God. By another way, the Church in the temporal world must face so many impersonal conflicts by different ideas and theories.

2.2.1.1.2 John Calvin and the Principle of the Bible

John Calvin was the greatest reformer of the second-generation of the Reformation and the most important Reformed theologian in the sixteenth century. Even Lutheran, Anglican or American Evangelical theologians have been inspired so often from his theological works and his practices of the Reformation in Geneva. We should give attention to his practical career of the reformation in Geneva and his theological works including *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, commentaries of the Bible, and letters with the other pastors and reformers during his time and the preaching texts etc. if we want to really study the legacy of the great Reformer for the church today.[24]

> Trained as a humanist and lawyer, Calvin's great analytical skills were turned to the interpretation of Scripture and its applications in evangelical doctrine and church order. As a theologian, Calvin was an autodidact, training himself in biblical languages and reading assiduously the historic works of Christian thought. With a deep historical sense for the writings of scripture, Calvin was especially a student of the Church Fathers, particularly Augustine. His many doctrinal controversies with Roman and heretical theologians often scriptural truths and he wrote his great Institutes in their numerous editions as a brief introduction to biblical doctrine.[25]

Calvin wrote forty-five volumes of biblical commentaries, in which there are thirty on the Old Testament and fifteen on the New Testament, and only lack the commentaries about 2–3 John and Revelation. That means that he is not only the great theologian with the huge works *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, but also the great biblical exegete at the starting

24 François Wendel, *Calvin: Sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1985, p. 79.

25 Kurt A. Richardson, "Calvin, John (1509–1564)," in: *Dictionary of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*, ed. by S. E. Porter, London/New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 45.

period of the Reformation as Martin Luther. His rich thoughts are full of the considerations on the Scripture. When we study his theological works *Institutes of the Christian Religion* about the basic doctrines, which become later the fundamental system of the Protestant theological tradition, we could find out that each dogma and doctrine is proved or interpreted with the words and spirits accordingly from the texts of the Bible. Briefly we could do briefly three points about the meanings of the principle of the Bible from Luther initiatively in Calvin's thought and his influences.

a) *Sola Scriptura*

This most fundamental motto of the Reformation signified the authority of the faith of the Roman Curia and only from the word of God through the Scripture to John Calvin. It is the spiritual basis of all activities for him. The most serious concern for Luther was the salvation from God proved from the texts of the Scripture, and for Calvin is about the church. That means that the literal senses of the texts are very important but the most important is the application of Scripture to fulfill the mission of Christ in the world. The ecclesial concern through the institutional church is the most characteristic of the theology of John Calvin. So the Bible since Calvin has become doctrinally the primary authority in the church for all the institutional aspects because the Word of God is mediated by the Bible. In this point, he showed that the words of the believers regarding the Word of God in the Bible must be well worked in the visible church.

So this formula *Sola Scriptura* seemed the dismissal of all traditions from the medieval period. I think the reason is not academic or scientific in today's standards from the university, but only from his strong desire to do the reformation and to establish the new model of the church based on the Word of God by Luther, Zwingli and other precedent reformers. There is so much research about the exegetical methods in Calvin's system which differed from medieval traditions. The most important is that through the biblical exegeses and commentaries Calvin's aim was to find out the solutions for practical reform in Geneva and to give the direction of the Protestant Church. There were the political, ethical and theological significances from John Calvin's principle of the Scripture. If we concentrate largely on his biblical exegetical methods by comparing them

with the patristic ways and modern critical methods, we will ignore theological and missionary intentions of the reformer.

b) The Old Testament and the New Testament in unity is the whole word of God

Calvin stressed so much the exegeses about the Old Testament and the interpretations about the theological meanings of the prophetic tradition far more than any other precedent reformer including Martin Luther. Especially in Luther's theological paradigm "Law-Gospel", there is the negative impression about the Law of the Old Testament and a very positive impression about the Grace of the New Testament. However, from John Calvin, the Protestant theological tradition has established a new pattern about the Old Testament and New Testament in the unity as the whole word of God. From this point of view, there are many thoughtful revelations about the Old Testament in the theological writings of Calvin.[26]

The Moses and prophetic traditions are linked systematically with ecclesial concerns in the works of John Calvin. He confirmed that the Reformed Church should be set up from institutional organizations by commandments and laws as the elected tradition from the Old Testament and primitive Christian communities. It is obvious that his interpretations about the messages of the New Testament based on prophetical traditions of the Old Testament had opened the model of the Church constructed in the history of Protestantism, which was different from the medieval ecclesiastic tradition that mainly evolved from patristic church order.[27] Calvin said:

> Scripture has its authority from God, not from the church […] Hence the Scriptures obtain full authority among believers only when men regard them as having sprung

26 "Les Reformes attachent beaucoup plus d'importance que les luthériens aux textes de l'Ancien Testament, a commencer par le Décalogue. Ils y voient une source importante d'inspiration pour la conduite de leur vie." Cf. *Entre la grâce et la loi, Introduction au droit ecclésial protestant*, par Bernard Reymond, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1992, p. 36.

27 Louis Goumaz, *La doctrine du salut d'après les commentaires de Jean Calvin sur le Nouveau Testament*, Nyon, 1917, pp. 27ff, pp. 31–62.

> from heaven, as if there the living words of God were heard […] The church is itself grounded upon Scripture. [*ICR.* I, VII, 1–2][28]

T. F. Torrance commented, in Calvin's system,

> Faith itself is eschatological because it is Christologically determined, for "Christ is both the aim and the object of faith". (*Comm. on Eph.* I.15: "*Fidem dicit in Christo, quia proprius fidei scopus, et obiectum* [*ut vulgo dicunt*] *ipse est*" [C.R. 79, p. 155]) Commenting upon the words of Paul and Silas, "Believe on the Lord Jesus" (Acts 16.31), Calvin writes: "This is but a short and apparently jejune but in fact a complete definition of salvation, that we are to have faith in Christ. For Christ alone has all the parts of blessedness and eternal life included in Him, which He offers us by the Gospel. And by faith we receive them. Here let us note that Christ is the unique goal (*unicum scopum*) of faith, and therefore men's minds do nothing but wander when they turn away from Him." [*Comm. on Acts* 16.31, C.R. 76, pp. 388f.] Faith has its eyes which penetrate into the invisible Kingdom of God and keep Christ before them, but faith involves more than the turning of our eyes on Christ; it involves union with Christ and incorporation into Him. "Faith does not look at Christ as though He were far off, but it embraces Him, that He may become ours and dwell in us. It causes us to be incorporated into His Body, to have life in common with Him and to become one with Him." [*Comm. on I Peter* I.8.][29]

Thus, Calvin systematically connected the Protestant tradition with the teachings of Christ and the apostolic testimonies as the biblical resources for the reformed church. His heritage was very remarkable to the future of Protestantism, if we do the reflection from the historical point of view.[30]

c) The ecclesial principle of the biblical interpretation

Calvin was a very learned person with excellent humanism education. But he never spent much time to give comments about the methods or

28 Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, vol. 1, éd. nouvelle publ. par la Société calviniste de France, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1955, pp. 37–38; English version: John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. 1, ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998, pp. 74–75.

29 Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 102.

30 Henri Clavier, *Etudes sur le calvinisme*, Paris: Fischbacher, 1936, pp. 115–139.

principles of the interpretations as did other scholars from the universities.

> The main source for his view about the principle of biblical interpretations is a dedicatory letter to Simon Grynée as the preface to Romans. "According to Calvin, the chief virtue of the interpreter is perspicua brevitas, clear brevity. This is not just a rejection of the verbosity and prolixity which Calvin saw in the commentaries of some of his contemporaries. Rather, it emphasizes the necessity that the clarity of the exposition must mirror the fundamental clarity of scripture. Calvin remained a firm advocate of the view of the clarity of scripture, which Luther had defended against Erasmus of Rotterdam's assumption that the obscure passages of Scripture are in need of the clarifying interpretation of the church and of moral philosophy.[31]
>
> The principle of clear brevity was for Calvin the means of gaining access to the mind of the biblical writer, which can only be discovered by investigating the literal sense of scripture. Calvin understood language as the character mentis, the imprint of the mind, and therefore it was the supreme means of access to the author's intention. In order to do justice to the mind of the writer, it was not only necessary to investigate the forms of expression as meticulously as possible, but also to pay careful attention to the historical circumstances of a given text (*ICR*. IV, 16, 13) and to the context of a passage (*ICR*. III, 17, 14).[32]

Linked closely with the ecclesiastic concerns, the principle of the biblical interpretation of Calvin is shown to be very realistic for the Church in China. We need the clear interpretation of the messages from the Bible about the mission of the church. And all the factors such as the ethical and political, or cultural and economical elements hidden behind the texts should be interpreted with the proper situation. According to understandings of the theological interpretations of Calvin in *Institution*, he always tried to make clear the intention of the writers for his explications with the situation of the reformed church in Geneva.

In this case, I'm reminded of the hermeneutic principle of the interpretation by Rudolf Bultmann. He said:

31 "John Calvin, in his more prosaic fashion, also argued that 'allegories ought to be carried no further than Scripture expressly sanction: so far are they from forming a sufficient basis to found doctrines upon'. (*Institutes*, II.V (I, p. 129)" in: Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 108.

32 Christoph Schwöbel, "Calvin," in: *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. by R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden, London: SCM Press, 1990, p. 100.

> If faith is an event in historical life, then it comes within life's coherence, which is conditioned by the understanding. And if an understanding in faith is given, an understanding which displaces and replaces all earlier understanding, then that earlier understanding must include a pre-understanding. Otherwise, through revelation and faith, the old man would be completely annihilated and a new man, who had no continuity with the old, would take his place.[33]

He stressed the necessary understanding about the pre-understanding and the meanings of the texts of the Scripture with the different contexts while we want to really understand the Word of God in the texts.[34]

Therefore, there are several levels of the meanings of the texts, the intention of the author, the intention of the author through the texts, and the intention of the interpreter with the precomprehension before the texts. Calvin's ecclesiastic concerns and his career of the reformation made his principle of the biblical interpretations historically into the modern meaningful areas about hermeneutics. So there is the space to study the hermeneutical method practiced by Calvin through his numerous writings. Hans Frei said: "The affirmation that the literal or grammatical sense is the Bible's true sense became programmatic for the traditions of Lutheran and Calvinistic interpretation."[35] In a word, on one hand, we should distinguish the principle of biblical interpretation of Calvin from the biblical exegetic scholars in terms of the 19th century historic-critical method, and on the other hand, from the fundamentalist or Biblicist in terms of the American missionary movement, if we would like to continue the great tradition of the reformer with the theological contribution to the universal church.

33 Rudolf Bultmann, "The Problem of 'Natural Theology'," in: *Faith and Understanding*, ed. by R. W. Funk, trans. L. P. Smith, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987, p. 315.

34 Rudolf Bultmann, "The New Testament affirms that the Word of God, although it is subject to no human criterion and is in itself authoritative, is still an *understandable* word. It does not work by magic, nor is it a dogma which demands blind submission or the acceptance of absurdities. To be true summons, a word must necessarily reveal man to himself, teach him to understand himself – but not as a theoretical instruction about the self." In: "The Word of God in the New Testament," Ibid., p. 301.

35 Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974, p. 37. And Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible, the Bible of the Reformation.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

2.2.1.2 The Significance of the Creeds for the Protestant Faith

If the Bible is the essential text of the Christian faith and Christianity with the Word of God in terms of the existential revelation it holds, the creeds of the patristic church could be defined as the "Rule of Faith" in the church.[36] The church needs the proper doctrines about the ecclesiastical understanding around the Word of God from the Bible. The primitive doctrines appeared along with the appearance of the church as the ecclesiastical communion in the period of the New Testament. The textual elements of the faith were explicated in the Bible, especially the words of the prophets in the Old Testament and the words of Christ and His disciples. Then the church needed the accurate and authorized statement of the important points of the ecclesiastical doctrines as the basic rules for the identity of church members in order to reply to various questions and challenges in secular society and sometimes inside the church by different heresies. That was the original meaning of the Creeds.[37]

"Three 'ecumenical' creeds, dating from those early centuries, still figure in the formularies and the worship of many churches today – the

36 The references about the texts of the creeds are John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, London etc.: Longmans, 1950, 3rd ed., 1972; Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes*, 3 vols, New York, 1877; Carl P. Caspari, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 3 vols, Christiania, 1866–75; Cuthbert H. Turner, *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas in the Early Centuries of the Church* (CHS 6), 1906; Charles H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936; Damien van den Eynde, *Les Normes de l'enseignement chrétien*, Gembloux: Duculot, 1933; Oscar Cullmann, *Die ersten christlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse*, Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1943; English trans.: *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, London, 1949; Richard P. C. Hanson, *Tradition in the Early Church*, London: SCM Press, 1962, pp. 52–74.

37 According to Oscar Cullmann, the creeds were the resume of the apostolic books of the NT for giving the rule of the apostolic interpretation of the diverse messages of the different epistles. The multiplicity was very necessary and utile for the different needs of the churches as the small communions at the primitive period. Cf. *Les premieres confessions de foi Chrétienne*, 1943, 2nd ed., and *La Tradition, problème exégétique, historique et théologique*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1953, p. 49.

Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed."[38] And historically

> the creeds still have a place in baptismal and other liturgical contexts, and in the teaching of the faith, provided it is the overall thrust of their affirmations rather than the detail of the letter to which appeal is made. Seen in that light, they give expression to a continuity of structure in Christian faith down through the ages. It is that with which we align ourselves in Christian worship, while acknowledging that there are bound to be major differences in the understanding of the faith between us and earlier generations – as there will also be between us and future believers.[39]

In general, the three great Creeds from the reformers' writings function in the Protestant tradition not only in the prayer and in the liturgical worship, but also as the formulation of the faith or as the content of the catechism. For Martin Luther and John Calvin, the creeds were the patristic heritages as the Church Fathers' doctrines about the Word of God against the heresies and the syncretism for the purity of the faith. The tradition of the Protestant Church (such as the Lutheran Church, Anglican Church, and Reformed Church) continued the creedal traditions through the confessions and the catechisms, and meanwhile there were so many different creeds, which are the decrees by the Roman Catholic church since the Reformation for enforcing the doctrinal authority of the ecclesiastical offices in the church, such as "Creed of Pius IV", which contains a summary of the doctrines promulgated at the Council of Trent concerning the original sin, the justification, the Mass, the seven sacraments, the saints, the indulgences and the primacy of the Holy See from the authority of the Catholic doctrines in 1564.[40]

2.2.1.2.1 The Creeds as the Rule of the Faith

The essence of the creeds is the statement of faith about the basic dogmas relative to God, Christ in terms of the apostles' witnessing events of

38 Maurice Wiles, "Creeds," in: A. Hastings et al. (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 145.

39 Ibid., p. 146.

40 The main collections of the conciliar decrees are: Denzinger and Hünermann (37th ed., 1991), pp. 587–589; English trans. in Bettenson, 2nd ed., 1963, pp. 375–377.

His life, death, and Resurrection, the Holy Spirit in the history of the Creation, the communion of the saints and the *Notae Ecclesiae* etc.

Apostles' Creed primitively used as the baptismal creed in the western church appeared earliest in the 2nd century in Rome, and in the precise form as the present form was fixed from the 8th century which could also be traced back with the simile text to 4th century in Italy.[41]

> Like other ancient Creeds, it falls into three sections, concerned with God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, corresponding to the three Baptismal questions of the primitive Church. Terse in expression, it is less overly theological than Eastern Creeds, but it includes such distinctive articles as the Descent into Hell and the Communion of Saints. […] In the 20th century, it has been increasingly treated in discussions about Church union as a binding formulary of faith.[42]

The Nicene Creed used widely in the mainstream Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church is not the creed adopted at the Council of Nicaea in 325. Its precise origin is not clear, but its basic contents mainly belong to the creed promulgated by the Council. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 mentioned it as the creed of the second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381 by the name "the Niceno-Constantinople Creed" (Enchiridion symbolorum 150), although to today's research, it is also not very clear about its relationship with the

41 The resources about the researches of the Apostles' Creed are very fruitful and academic, such as: Henry B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed: Its relation to primitive Christianity*, 1894; Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, 2 vols, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1894–1900; Karl Barth, *Credo: Die Hauptprobleme der Dogmatik dargestellt im Anschluss an das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis*, München: Kaiser, 1935; Engl. trans.: London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936; Emil Brunner, *Ich glaube an den lebendigen Gott*, Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1945; Engl. trans.: Philadelphia, Westminster John Knox Press, 1961; O. Sidney Barr, *From the Apostles' Faith to the Apostles' Creed*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964; Henri de Lubac, SJ, *La Foi Chrétienne: Essai sur la structure du Symbole des Apôtres*, Paris, 1969; Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History and Some Early Commentaries* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 43), Turnhout: Brepols 2002; Hans Küng, *Credo: The Apostles' Creed Explained for Today*, New York: Doubleday, 1992; Wolfhart Pannenberg, *The Apostles' Creed: In the Light of Today's Questions*, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1972; etc.

42 "Apostles' Creed", in: F. L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. rev. ed. by E. A. Livingstone, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 90.

second Council. In terms of the dogmatic contents of the Creed, it is a typical baptismal creed of the church in the eastern area of the Empire because the obvious central message is against the Arian heresy of the crisis of the Gnosticism. As the Apostles' Creed, the threefold structure of the Church was formed around to proclaim the fundamental dogma of the Faith in the practical worship, especially in the Eucharistic worship since the 6th century. Theologically, the dogma's words such as "begotten not made", "homoousios or 'of one substance with'" and "filioque" added later in the western church but denied in the eastern have marked the dogmatically strictness as the Rule of Faith which contains the ecclesiastic authority through the later 16th century Reformation until the ecumenical dialogues in the 20th century.[43]

Concerning the ecclesiology, the essence of the Church in the Nicene Creed is epitomized as the dogma in the "notes of the Church" (Notae ecclesiae) by the four essential marks, namely, unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity which appeared already in Ephesians, although the term "catholic church" later occurs firstly in the writings of St. Ignatius (Ep. Ad Smyrn., 8.2). So far, all the ecclesiological considerations should refer to the doctrinal rules from the Nicene Creed historically, and even to the reformers, their ecclesiological thoughts about the essence of the Church could be traced originally from here such as in the Book of Concord in 1580 by the Evangelical Lutheran Church.[44]

Athanasian Creed, which was written by St. Athanasius (298/9–373) who was best known as the defender of Nicaea and greatly contributed more than any other Church Father to the structuring of an anti-Arian form of orthodox faith, was the third patristic creed with the apostolic significance on the doctrinal direction of the historic church including the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran Church, the Anglican Church in the liturgies and the prayer texts. The most important characteristic of this Creed is the anti-heretical intentions, which are far more explicit and strict than those of the Nicene Creed, especially relative to the doctrine

43 T. Ryan, "Nicene Creed," in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 10, New York: Gale, 2003, p. 354.

44 "Creeds, Lutheran Attitude toward," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 629.

of the Trinity and the Incarnation etc. Martin Luther gave the very high emphasis on it as well as on the other two Creeds at the same time.[45]

2.2.1.2.2 The Confessions of Faith as the Ecclesiastical Reconfirmation of the Creeds

To understand the place and the role of the patristic creeds in the theology of Martin Luther and John Calvin, we must firstly remind that the intention of the reformers were to do the reformation against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. So the theological attitude toward the creeds was linked closely with this aim in the practical ecclesiastical situation.

Luther gave very high emphasis on the three creeds, although he dealt with them not at the equal level. He initiated for the Lutheran church to continue the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed in the liturgy of the worship and as the confession of the faith in common. The creeds have shaped indeed the catholicity and apostolicity of Protestantism in the ecclesiastical category since Luther. While he dismissed the clerical class of the Roman Catholic Church as the special medium between the Savior and the believers, he pioneered to develop the principle of the universal priesthood in terms of evangelization. That is the reason that he did the sermons about the fundamental catechism about the faith of Church for the laity and the children at home and in the parishes. He took nearly 13 years to introduce systematically the basic doctrines of the faith with the common congregations and then he published these sermons in 1529 by the name of the Small Catechism which is based exactly on the Apostles' Creed. At about the same time, he published the Large Catechism which is for the pastors with the further theological explanations about the doctrines for the Lutheran Church.

The Apostles' Creed is the chief part in his Small Catechism as the statement of the faith for believers of the Church. We could find that the faithful elements of the Creeds have been integrated doctrinally into the new form of the reformed Church through the Small-Large Catechism by Luther, Augsburg Confession by Melanchthon and later continued by John Calvin through his huge works, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

45 Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, p. 206.

Luther has established the new tradition of the Protestantism through the ecclesiastical Confession or Catechism to define the doctrinal orthodox of the Protestant denominational churches in the following centuries until today.

"Since Lutheran theology has always been interested in confessing the Nicene – Christology (cf. Formula of Concord, VIII), it is only the greater simplicity of the Apostles' Creed which gave it such wide prevalence in liturgical usage as it enjoys in modern time."[46] About two generations after Martin Luther, the Lutheran church finally finished creating the whole system of the statements of faith and the ecclesiastic doctrines including church order and ethical structures. That is the textual documents with the name of the Book of Concord which is used world wide by the Lutheran churches so far.[47]

In terms of the affiliation between the Creeds and the Confession or catechism of the Lutheranism, it is critical important for us to know the Small Catechism in the beginning of the establishment of the Protestant ecclesiastic tradition. Luther used the simple way to go beyond the conflict with the Roman Catholic Church for continuing the holy and catholic tradition rooted from the apostolic heritages. Today, the ecumenical procedures could march step by step mainly due to the doctorial ideas about Luther while he did at the period of the Reformation regarding the liaisons with the creedal successions through the Small Catechism.

> Luther's Small Catechism has in practice been treated as a laymen's Bible. As such it has been divided and subdivided into its several parts and taught, sometimes laboriously, to the children. Most of the individual territorial churches and synods have

46 "Creeds, Lutheran Attitude toward," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 629.

47 "In the first section Luther dealt with the 'high articles of the divine majesty' set forth in the Apostles' creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Catechism concerning which, he claimed, there was 'no quarrel or dispute since we both confess them' (*WA 50:197f*)" Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles, Politics and Polemics, 1531–46*, Leiden: Brill, 1983, p. 91.

developed their own expositions based on Luther's catechism to assist in the instruction.[48]

Calvin's position about the creedal tradition is exactly same as Luther's. His *Institutes* and the other theological writings show that he highly stressed the importance of the ecclesiastical dogmas and doctrines for the church. In 1545, he created Le Catechisme de l'Eglise de Geneve. Following the reformers, the Protestant churches created so many different versions of the Statement of Faith or catechisms for their proper churches during the last 5 centuries, such as Le Catéchisme de Heidelberg (1563) which is one of most famous reformed texts of faith (fides ecclesiae),[49] La Confession Helvétique postérieure (1566),[50] Les canons du synode de Dordrecht, 1619 etc. Even in the twentieth century, there are so many confessional texts appeared by the reformed churches of the world. The most remarkable is the Declaration of Barmen in 1934 in which Karl Barth played the very important role theologically and historically. "Confessions de foi Réformées Contemporaines" has collected about 27 texts of the reformed churches in Asia, Europe, USA, Africa etc. and the individual statement of faith with the reformed tradition such as Martin Niemöller, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Michel Boutier, Martin Luther King etc.[51]

2.2.1.2.3 The Word of God and the Words of the Churches

Briefly, for Protestantism, the reformers stressed very systematically and ecclesiastically the three creeds through their doctrinal writings, the sermons and the letters in order to construct a firm basis for the new Church which is eager to continue the apostolic tradition for the Gospel. That is

48 Arthur C. Repp, "Confirmation," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 577.

49 André Péry, *Le Catéchisme de Heidelberg, Un commentaire pour notre temps*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1959; and *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, sous la direction d'Olivier Fatio, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005, pp. 129–178.

50 Reprint of Jaques Courvoisier's edition appeared in the *Cahiers théologiques de l'actualité protestante* 5/6, Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1944.

51 Cf. Henry Mottu et al. (eds), *Confessions de foi réformées contemporaines*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2000.

why the creeds as the second textual elements of the faith have special significance for the Protestant church. Since Luther and Melanchthon who evolved the ecclesiastical orthodox of the Reformation from the Creeds, Calvin followed this tradition by his practical reformation and the theological writings. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion* at first was written for the French refugees of the persecution by the authorities of France for the Catholic. It means that the first motive as Luther's to do the simple introduction about the fundamental doctrines of Faith. The Small Catechism and the Creeds were the references for him. Or we could say that the first edition of the *Institutes* was like the Catechism by the understandings of the Bible and of the mission according to John Calvin. "Calvin read Scripture in light of ancient Christian creeds and commentaries, and his doctrine of Scripture loomed large behind his own commentary writing."[52] The relationships between the Bible and the Creeds are very clear through the explications about the Small and Large Catechism of Luther and the *Institutes* of Calvin.

We could consider certainly that the textual elements for the Protestantism basically are the Scripture and the Creeds if we do the ecclesiastical analysis and deeply explore the intention of the reformers such as Luther and Calvin. The authority of the Scripture is not only regarding the truth of the Faith and the criteria by the Holy See or not, but essentially concerning the authority of the Church in the secular order at the reference of the word of God of Trinity. And the Creeds are fixed through the historic church including the Reformation as the Rule of Faith to supply the minimum doctrinal standards for the Faith of the Church in any situation of the temporal world.

2.2.1.3 Conclusion

The faith of Christianity shows itself with the form of the spirituality through the particular name of God of the Trinity linked with the series of personal descriptions in history. In this case, the faithful elements are certainly recognized and believed through secular or social ways including small familiar groups, small communions and finally the church.

52 Kurt A. Richardson, "Calvin, John (1509–1564)," in: *Dictionary of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*, ed. by S. E. Porter, London/New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 45.

That means naturally for us to analyze the concrete factors which construct the whole system of Christianity and the particular form with the name of Protestantism, the Protestant Church, if we want be clear about the nature of faith in the human society in history.

After the disordered period of the primitive church, the church entered into the new époque since the Edict of Milan by Constantine of the West and Licinius of the East, which established a historic policy of religious freedom for all in 313. The persecution of Christians in all areas of the Empire officially ended from this event. It is also the new period for the church to face complicated situations transited from political persecution to doctrinal controversies onward. The serious challenges came from spiritual areas and intellectual classes, mainly the Gnosticism and its varieties with religious forces, more dangerous from the lost and uncertainty inside the church, namely the Arianism. The first ecumenical council (325) in Nicaea convoked all the bishops over the world around the Mediterranean areas for the sake of the orthodox of doctrines of faith for the universal church. This pioneered the history that the doctrinal orthodox of the Church faith must be judged by the ecumenical council and then through the ecclesiastical authorities, not by the leaders of the local or regional churches or the apostles' churches in Jerusalem as in chapter 15 of Acts. This was a great initiative of the ecclesiastical institution and polity in history of the historic church!

In 381, the second ecumenical council in Constantine officially promulgated the Creed of Nicen-Constantinople, which was the final edition of the so-called "Nicene Creed" used until today, and also reconfirmed the category of church dogma that of the doctrine of the person of the Holy Spirit; the third ecumenical council "Ephesian Council" (431) passed the doctrine "theotokos" and abused the Nestorianism; the fourth ecumenical council "Chalecedon Council" (451) confirmed the doctrine of the two natures of Christ in one person. All of these doctrines by the above four ecumenical council were the doctrinal basis for the Reformation by Martin Luther.[53] In other words, it is on the doctrinal basis of the

53 "The identification of Roman and Catholic is to be rejected. The claim of the papacy was never universally accepted. The confession of the reformatory community agrees with the Catholic Church, namely with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian confessions, and with the proven ancient authors. The faith that recognizes these texts is not supported by the authority of the church but rather by the clear

ecumenical councils (four councils) that Luther and reformers finished the creation of the doctrines and catechism for the Protestant church.

Historically, the urgency of the doctrinal criteria for the orthodox of the faith for the church appeared immediately after the death of Marin Luther who had already explicated the doctrines and the dogmas for the new form of the Roman Catholic Church while he started up the reformation by the Small and Large Catechism. Actually Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) did the same as Luther by his Loci communis rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae[54] (Wittenberg and Basel, 1521) and the Augsburg Confession (1530).[55] They had prepared the way for the followers as John Calvin etc. through the doctrinal interpretations based on the Bible and the creed for the church of the reformation. In a word, all of these catechisms and the confessions in the history of Protestantism clearly were in origin from the reformers, especially Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon and John Calvin in the period of the reformation. Here as Luther's words:

> No authority after Christ is equal to that of the apostles and prophets, all other of their successors should only be considered as their disciples. For the apostles had the certain promise of the Holy Spirit (not only in general but also as individuals). Therefore, they alone were called the foundation of the church who should hand down articles of faith.[56]

Word of God. Nevertheless the teaching of the Catholic Church is devoutly heard, and the witnesses of the pure ancient church serve the strengthening in faith. Outside the Catholic Church there is no salvation, but there certainly is outside the papal church. The unity of the Catholic church exists in the foundation of faith, not in external forms." By Heinz Scheible, "Philippe Melanchthon," in: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 79.

54 Philip Melanchthon, *Loci Communes Theologici*, trans. L. Satre, in: W. Pauck (ed.), *Melanchthon and Bucer* (The Library of Christian Classics 19), Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1969.

55 Philip Melanchthon, *La Confession d'Augsbourg*, cf. André Birmelé and Marc Lienhard (eds), *La foi des Églises luthériennes, Confessions et Catéchismes*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1991, pp. 35–96.

56 Martin Luther, *WA* 39/1:184 or *On the Councils and the Church*, in: *Luther's Works*, volume 41, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, American edition, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1955-1975, p.143.

It is true that we have stressed the Scriptures and the creeds as the fundamental textual basis of the faith from the point of view of Protestantism, and here briefly we could acknowledge the characteristic of Protestantism as the Church or the system of the religious spirituality through the Scripture, which is different from the Roman Catholic church through apostolic persons, and Judaism through the Law of Yahweh in some extent, although there are so many affiliations among these three systems which come from the same family of the divinity. The Bible and the Creeds with the faithful textual substance made the Protestant church toward the doctrinal Church directly from the words of Jesus Christ and his disciples, and the theologians therefore become the central roles in the mission of the Protestant Church.

> The Reformation was an attempt to reconstruct Christian religion from its origins, and those origins were to be discovered in the New Testament. Because the authority of Christianity was now to be located, not in the lived, taught, and wrote, historical criticism of the biblical texts took on an unprecedented importance.[57]

The Word, the words, and the appropriate institutional structures have composed together the whole system of the spirituality of Protestantism in the temporary order.[58] That leads me directly to the political and moral dimensions to interpret the faith of Protestantism.

As a research from China which had not any controversies with the reformers and the Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century, I've well observed that the schism between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism is not regarding the faith on the Cross, but concerning different understandings of the ecclesiastic designs and the institutional construc-

57 Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 97.

58 Jaroslav Pelikan said: "The Anglican-Lutheran *Wittenberg Articles* of 1536 go further than most of them when they open their first article, neither with the doctrine of one God as Trinity nor with the doctrine of the supreme and sole authority of Holy Scripture, which are the usual alternatives, but with the declaration: 'We confess simply and clearly, without any ambiguity, that we believe, hold, teach, and defend everything which is in the canon of the Bible and in the three creeds, i.e. the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, in the same meaning which the creeds themselves intend and in which the approved holy fathers use and defend them.' *Credo, Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 473.

tion of the church. That means that the ecclesiological controversies composed the deep conflicts between the Roman Catholics as on one side and Luther, Zwingli and Calvin on the other side in general. For instance the following requirements are the obstacles for the ecumenical dialogues today, such as how to define the Sacraments and cleric ministers of the church of the New Testament? How to interpret the ecclesial tradition and the order of church since the patristic period as the successors of apostles? And then the issues of state-church relationships come here with the deep reflection about the principle of separation and the freedom of religion, which lead my research furthermore to the political and ethical dimension.

2.2.2 The Political Elements of the Faith of Protestantism

If we look at the whole existed periods of the historic church with historic and sociologic perspectives, we have to recognize that the history of the Church is mixed deeply with political affairs. Or in other words, the secular engagements have composed one chief part of the Church, especially since the Reformation as the Protestant churches involved into the present history of the commercial and industrialized pages of human being.[59] The spirituality of human beings during the last four centuries has shown the special form which differs from any other periods since the event of the Cross. Here I'd like to concentrate on the political dimension of Protestantism in order to explain what I understand about the essential elements of the institutional Church with the ethical structures in the following chapters.

59 "In Calvin's view, all remaining traces of dominion testified to the divine preservation of human life. God ordained the restraint imposed by government because, if unbridled, the wickedness of men and women would destroy the human race. Repeatedly Calvin compared the wicked to the waters which, if unchecked, would 'overflow' the land […] Here Calvin confirmed the positive ordination of the state by God. So too he argued that 'it has not come about by human perversity that the authority of all things on earth is in the hands of kings and other rulers but by divine providence and holy ordinance.'(*Inst.* IV, 20.4.)" Susan E. Schreiner, *The Theater of His Glory, Nature and the Natural Order in the Thought of John Calvin*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001, pp. 82–83.

The political elements mean that the political functions of the Protestantism hold the inner factors to describe the relationship between the Protestant Church and the temporal world, particularly with the political order in terms of the political authority of the state.[60]

2.2.2.1 The State-Church Relationship and its Origin from the Prophetic Epoque

The state-church relationship has its origin from the prophetic époque through the political conflict of the "elected people", which is the focus of the theology of the Old Testament. The basic political position of Protestantism is very closely connected with the basic theological ideas of Luther and Calvin regarding the doctrine of the two kingdoms, and the judiciary model between the reformed church and the authority of the Republic in Geneva. According to John Calvin, who continued the theological principles of Luther, the relationships between the church and the state is defined on the fundament of the constitution and the laws accepted by the citizens, the citizenship of the Christians should be explicated as the responsibility on the level of the faithful to God who gives the principle of the justice to the authorities in the secular world from the time of Moses. In this case, we could further confirm that the political principles of Protestantism are in origin from the revelation of the Bible including the tradition of the prophetic resources.

The deuteronographic, the prophetic and the messianic as the three main perspectives composed in the theology of the Old Testament have shown us the rich and distinctive positions of political theology. The Law of Moses is the red line through the whole deuteronomist vision about the relationships between the holiness and the secular world because Moses as the elected person with the special grace of Yahweh is doomed to be the role relative to the secular authorities such as Pharaoh

60 "With his doctrine of the three estates, Luther interprets the biblical creation story in terms of a theology of creation, a theology of sin, and social ethics. The three estates – church, household, and government (*status ecclesiasticus, status oeconomicus, status politicus*) – are not sociological concepts of classification, but rather characterize the fundamental life forms by which God's promise of creation constitutes human being." By Oswald Bayer, "Martin Luther," in: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 56.

in Egypt, and to the laws, commandments and moral rules for the Hebrew who followed after him toward the promised land.[61] Through the historiography of the deuteronomist, the dominated forces expressed the absolute power of Yahweh. The people must only obey the law of God if he is eager to avoid the catastrophe and get the blessings and the grace from God. We could find out, but not very often, that there is free grace from Yahweh as such exited in the epistles of St. Paul here, and much more the anger and the power of God. The witness in this way exited in the Hebrew elected people has deeply shaped the apocalyptical ideas in the primitive church and today's church in non-European churches as in some fundamentalist churches in China. The nature of God from the deuteronomist is evident without any logic proved on a spiritual level. But it is not a simple conclusion by absolute ideas only. The relationships between the laws of God and the rules of behavior of the selected people have been strictly defined through concrete cases, for instance the law and authority of Moses; the kings Saul and David through the divine orders of Prophet Samuel etc. could show us the political power in the secular order from the divinity of God in the words of prophets since Moses.

The prophetic tradition is the second resource for us to research the political principle of Christian theology. The temporal order and the secular authorities from the kings must be restrained under the laws and commandments of God. The prophets as the medium and the messengers between God and the selected people mostly worked as the representatives of God before the people including the secular authorities.[62] The messages of the prophetic tradition are the very important basis of the Bible for the theological tradition of Protestantism later on by the works of Martin Luther and John Calvin and the other reformers. The key existential meaning of the prophets selected by God among the selected people is the divine providence of God for his people, his creatures. In the political life, the role of prophets in state affairs functioned as the messengers of God and also as the judges of God about secular affairs, espe-

61 Gerhard von Rad, *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 1, trad. par E. de Peyer, 3rd ed., Genève: Labor et Fides, 1957, p. 59.

62 John Barton, *Understanding Old Testament Ethics, Approaches and Explorations*, Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003, p. 25.

cially concerning the kings' decisions and the fate of the nation and the royal courts. At the same time, the prophets worked essentially as the conscience of the nation and of the époque such as Jeremiah and Isaiah and so on. The styles of the prophets are different but with the exact same message which is the Word of Yahweh and that is the only way for peace and salvation. Today, in the universal church, one of the three offices from Christ is the office of prophets. Christ is named as the ultimate and greatest prophet in the world and every Christian must follow after him to spread the word of God. The critical doctrine of conscience in the Protestant tradition is very strictly connected with the role of prophets in the social and ordinary life from the Old Testament. Actually we could read out clearly so many Old Testament resources of the doctrines from Luther and Calvin in their commentaries or theological assessments. In a word, the prophetic traditions contain so many political principles regarding the justice, the divinity and the rules between the kings and the words of God. We could say that the role of prophets mainly for putting the kings under the surveillance of the words of God and the kings' authority and the legitimacy are not automatically given by God, but through God's messengers, the prophets who come from the people. This point has shaped the particular regime and differed from any other kingdoms in history at the same time, if we use the historic vision about the regime of Hebrew in the Old Testament.

The Messianism is another important theological part to interlink between the Old Testament and the New Testament, and also to show that the Old Testament prepares the appearance of Jesus Christ in New Testament. There are special factors of the political principle in the Messianism for later Protestantism. For attending the Messiah among the selected people become the faithful forces for seeking justice, peace and blessings in the level of the spirituality and therefore the Messianism created a special principle used by the Christians to fulfill the mission of God in the temporary world all through history toward salvation.[63] Sociologically the political principle of the Christian faith is connected with the particular ideas by which the construction of the rational and just society and the regime is always the missionary goal for Christians. All

63 Erich Zenger et al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* 4., durchges. und erg. Aufl., Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2001, p. 530.

the values and concepts of the secular order has been purified and integrated by this idea. The Messianism becomes the eschatological basis for the Christian faith and the mission of the church by which human history has the fixed direction and inner holy rule. The Last Judgment of New Testament is the highest salvation at the soteriology. The great enthusiasm of evangelization toward the entire world in the history of Protestantism comes from the Messianism and the kingdom of God as the important aspect made the Protestants to stress the establishment of the democratic regime in the temporary world with the justice and the equality and a series of the politic principles.

2.2.2.2 The New Testament as the Basic Texts for the Political Function of the Church

If the political theology around the law of Moses in the Old Testament formed the revelation of the divine grace and the ethical norms to the Protestant faith which continues the tradition of the law and the divine commandments, and then in terms of the eschatological understanding, the Messianism nurtured the idea of the Calling of Protestantism directly, the political theology around the truth on the Cross of New Testament defined and shaped the fundamental principles of the church in political history from the beginning of the church by the words and behaviors of the apostles and reformers.

At first, we could pick out the simple principles from the texts about the words and behavior of Jesus which were used as the political rules of Protestantism. I think that the followings relationships as the patterns are the examples: Jesus and the secular authority including the royal regime and the magistrates; Jesus and the Pharisees groups, which is the sacerdotal class of Jewish people dominating the spiritual life and the religious organization; Jesus and the ordinary mass, including the poor and humble people; finally the relationships between Jesus and the whole temporary world indicated the faith of the church must be shown over the human being and the social life which is the areas for Christians to realize the proper calling from Jesus Christ. Therefore, the words and the behaviors of Jesus Christ in the gospels have been defined as the mission and the duty of the church and all the church members to the world. (Matt. 28:16–20; Luke 24:36–49; Mark 16:15–16)

Secondly, the ecclesiastical perspectives in the Acts were the primitive images of the church and therefore the ecclesiastical politics had been formed from that moment. The persecutions around the first martyr Stephen by the young Saul, (Acts 7:54–60) and the responses of Apostle Paul to appeal to the Roman Empire, and the conference of Jerusalem (Acts 15), all of these matters deeply influenced the politics of Protestantism. In a word, to pray for us while in the persecution showed the mercy and the agape of our Lord (Acts 7:60); to appeal to the higher court in Roma by the proper identity of Roman citizenship showed that the legitimacy of all the authorities in the secular orders must be decided from the absolute principle of the justice of God by which the temporary order has the inner rule of the divine norms; the conference of Jerusalem started up the new page that the council of the church could make the decision about the missions and the doctrinal direction of the church. This conference could be considered as the new ecclesiastical paradigm historically and also politically because all the problems before the primitive church occurred in established society and political environments.

We could say the political concerns and solutions of the primitive were composed as important forces to push the primitive church off the sect of Judaism and the tribal or ethnical spiritual group toward the genuine ecumenical religion and the church since then was established. In this sense, the political concepts such as the justice, the ethical norms, and the polity and the governments etc. are linked closely with the essential messages of the gospels and the church. The theological politics is the concrete aspect of the Christian mission in the world with special spirituality and responsibility. Protestantism continues this apostolic tradition by doing the reformation about the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church in terms of the political designations of the institutional structures according to Martin Luther, John Calvin and so on.[64]

Third, there are so many testimonies about the justice, the tolerance, the forgiveness, the mercy, the virtues, the love, the marriages and the

64 According to Ernst Troeltsch, "a harsh expression of opinion about the State in the Augustinian and Lutheran sense we seek in vain. Everywhere and directly it is a Divine institution […] It belongs to the absolutely necessary means of human existence". *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, New York: Macmillan, 1949, p. 898.

sin, the penalty, the evils, the blessings and so on. The words about all these values have shaped the political ethics of the church about Christian principles. In a word, the letters of the Apostles become then the resources of the ethical, the political and spiritual forces and rules, particularly for the Protestant churches. In the theological perspective of Protestantism the reformers directly used biblical words to interpret the actual issues and naturally integrate Christian values into the system of politics. The mission and the existence of the church in the temporal world is the political issue because it is in the concrete political order that the church appears and grows by encountering so many secular challenges everyday. To establish the faithful and rational order in human society and the world means to use Christian norms and principles as the standards and the rules for members who must also be the normal citizen in the category of the law. Finally the central theme of Christian politics is to take the mission of Christ in the secular world.

2.2.2.3 The Theological Political Issues of the Protestant Church

After we tried to figure out the influential principles as the political factors from the Old Testament and the New Testament for the Protestant political position, we suddenly face the accurate questions, namely what kind of issues as the ecclesial political issues? This requirement is very important because it is linked immediately with the central theme of the dissertation, namely "the ethics of the church" or "the ecclesial ethics" in the sense of the structures. It could also end the reflection about the political dimension of the faith of Protestantism in the sense of ecclesiology.

a) If the principle of justice of the Bible is the dominant rule and criteria for the secular political order, does the faith of the Protestant exclusively own this kind of monopoly regarding the universal truth historically?[65] Or if the natural law is the abstract system of objective rules without any religious differences, what does

65 Edward Sankowski, "political philosophy, history of," in: *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. by T. Honderich, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 693–697.

the role of the church function in the multiple values of the world today?

b) How does the Christian conscience exist within the complicated relations' models of the authorities of the church-state through the church, not in terms of the individuals as Karl Barth in the earlier part of the twentieth century?
c) How can we face the particular form of Christian values vis-à-vis the spiritual multiplicity and the interfaith dialogues in the international political contexts under the pretext of the universal values of the Protestantism?
d) How can we respond as the responses are relative to the humanization of the Christian faith in the process of the modern industrialization and the secularization today? The nondoctrinal and extreme sentimental religious movements as the Pentecost's charismatic movements could establish what kind of ecclesiastical models with Protestantism especially in terms of the political principle of the church concerning the basic principles as the democracy, the rule by the law, the human rights which have composed the basis of the modern politics as the rational values from Protestantism?
e) In which position shall we define the relationships between the kingdom of God and the secular political system in order to be coherent with the doctrinal norms of Protestantism?

2.2.2.4 Conclusion

The political elements of Protestantism belong to the category of the ecclesiastical politics or the politics of the Church. The display in concrete of the political elements of Protestantism in origin from the Scriptures has shown certainly that the spiritual principles of the politics are not exactly the same as the faith of the church defined by concerned doctrines and dogmas from the creeds. It means that these are two different but correlated concepts or notions in my reflections. We must do the reflection about the concept of the "church" if we think about the structure of the Protestant faith linked with the Prophetic tradition, the Messi-

anism and the Calling of Christians.[66] Historically the revolutionary slogans were very necessary for pushing the forces to destroy the existing systems, the governances and political orders including ideas, judiciary rules and institutional structures etc. But it is urgent that the social and political orders need to be established under new values and ideas through the institutional designs. That is the historic phenomenon and the process of the Protestant church during the reformation in the sixteenth century.

In a word, the Protestant political issues are essentially the issue of the ecclesial politics or the politics of the Church more than the individual faithful issues. In the Western world since the reformation, the basic ideas evolved from the Protestant church have powerfully integrated into the social and political forces, thus, individual motive must be expressed according to the rules made by the state and the church which come to agreements by the laws and common sense with its values and interests formulated during the last five centuries. The present system of the political rules used as the basis in the Western democratic countries essentially were protected and launched by the Protestant church at the same time against feudalism and totalitarianism of the Roman Catholics at the eve of the reformation. The political basic concepts such as justice, equality, fraternity, freedom, peace and order by the law and so on are the central themes too of the faith of Protestantism from the Bible and the apostolic heritages.

If we could not connect the politics with negative impressions such as smuggle, conspiracy, murder, incredibility and lies, we will be easier to understand that the predications and the advices of the pastors contain so many messages regarding the political principles with the modern democratic order. The central messages from the gospels of the Bible, the words of Jesus Christ and the testimony of the apostles show the evident desire for peace, order and justice in the temporal world for the

66 Bohatec claimed the three causes for the origin of the state in the theological political sense: a) the human sin, b) the Divine goodness, c) the maintenance of the human race. He stressed that Calvin's view of the origin of the state is different from Aristotle's. Calvin located the human order in God's ordinance through his thought of the divine providence. Cf. Josef Bohatec, *Calvin und das Recht*, reprint, Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1971, pp. 57ff; and *Calvins Lehre von Staat und Kirche*, reprint, Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1961, pp. 164–173.

people.[67] As a Chinese pastor, I need not ignore that the Christian political principles of the church are in the margin of the values in China while the church is growing so fast by admiring the evangelical situation from the Western missions. It means that the gospels have been spread all over the non-European world, but the ecclesiastical works not yet completed, namely the institutional church which has not yet been constructed as Calvin and the reformers in China. Thus spiritual forces of the church as institutional communions are absent in the spiritual and political aspects.

What is the possible way to realize the true influence of the church in China which has the particular spiritual structure of the sense of human civilization, i.e. the great ethical tradition as the basis of the society during about 5000 years without any interruption? That is the third dimension of the faith of Protestantism which I think of; the moral element of the faith. It is clear that the moral element of faith is linked more immediately with the sentimental and spiritual essence of the human being.

2.2.3 The Moral Elements of the Protestant Faith

2.2.3.1 Faith and Ethics

The moral elements are the rich contents from the Bible and the central theme of faith of Protestants. Or we could say that Christian ethics are about the moral teachings of Jesus Christ as the moral rules of Christian life in the temporary since the appearance of the first disciples after Jesus Christ.

There are so many moral categories and notions from the Bible to be considered as key concepts of Christian ethics in the history of theology. These concepts from the moral teachings of the Bible are connected with

67 Edward A. Dowey Jr. said, "It is legitimate to have shown briefly a relationship between conscience and the institutions of the church and state both, in so far as they are human institutions, have a continuing relation to this original endowment in man, and the state, at least, belongs to human society as God created it, apart from the Fall of man and his redemption." In: *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994, p. 63.

different concerns of theological studies while theologians desire to apply them to concrete issues. For instance, Paul Ramsey wrote:

> The central ethical notion or "category" in Christian ethics is "obedient love" – the sort of love the gospels describe as "love fulfilling the law" and St. Paul designates as "faith that works through love." […] This concept, basic to any understanding of the Christian outlook with the demands it places upon moral action, gives us the clue essential to understanding certain other ideas, such as "justice", "right" or "obligation", "duties to oneself," "vocation," "virtues" of moral character, "sinfulness" and the "image of God," which in turn are of crucial importance in elaborating a theory of Christian ethics.[68]

Other different considerations about the central concept of ethical thoughts are mentioned without a final decision of the history of theological ethics because each has a proper perspective about the understanding of moral teachings of Jesus Christ. For Protestantism, the prima of the Scripture makes the individual comprehensions and interpretations as the individual vocation directly from the Lord, so varieties of the reflections and testimonies have deepened the hermeneutical interpretations of Christian ethics.

I've stressed above of the ecclesial nature of theological politics with the institutional church by the doctrines and the dogmas strictly from the disciplines of the organization since the first ecumenical council in 325. So the moral dimension of the Protestant faith is also indicated by the moral messages in the Bible and the ethical interpretations of the church of Protestantism by which the reformers challenged the authority of the Roman Catholic Church exactly with a priority of morality from the moral teachings from the Bible.[69]

In a word, the moral teachings of the bible are the ethical norms for believers regarding the relationship with secular life, neighbors, government and the world. The Protestant church emphasizes the moral elements of faith because the church must supply a set of norms vis-à-vis the temporary order of multiple values and the power of the Roman Catholic Church at a period of the reformation. During the last five cen-

68 Paul Ramsey, *Basic Christian Ethics*, Foreword by S. Hauerwas and D. S. Long, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993, p. xxxi.

69 Denis Müller, *L'éthique protestante dans la crise de la modernité: Généalogie, critique, reconstruction*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1999, p. 56.

turies, the Protestant church developed and grew by following the process of powerful capitalist nations who conquered and colonized countries and nations over the world.

Thus Protestant ethics contain so many different entries for the church to do communications with the issues of various values and spiritualities from the ways of the Catholics. There are the Protestant ethical norms for the church relative to the secular authority, the civil society, the commercial activities, the democracy and the judiciary systems etc. The contemporary ethical problems, such as abortion, divorce, homosexuality and the penalty of death and sin, are becoming more and more ethical challenges to the Protestant church while more and more individuals as the citizens adopted the principle of tolerance about all of the above social issues.

> "Ethics" may be defined as disciplined reflection on that dimension of human life denoted "moral." Within the Bible is abundant reflection on issues of conduct and character. Among those who would read the Bible as Scripture, as somehow normative for faith and life, reflection on issues of moral conduct and character is disciplined by such reading. The theological interpretation of Scripture must, therefore, attend both to biblical ethics and to its use in the moral deliberation of the churches.[70]

In my reflections, ethics of Protestantism is around a central theme, namely how the ecclesial ethics served as the structures of the church. Here the moral dimension of the faith is the very beginning point of research which will be done in the following chapters of the dissertation.

2.2.3.2 The Moral Rules and the Protestant Life

The ethical structure of the Protestant faith is shown through social life and rules for different connections of all the believers. At the level of faith, the word of the Lord is the fundamental basis for moral criteria which is described as the divine relation and the testimonies of the saints. During the long period, the church dealt with the basic moral teachings of the Bible from doctrinal perspective.

70 By Allen Verhey, "Ethics," in: K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 196.

> The legal system given by God through Moses to the people of Israel is also characterized as law. It exists in three parts: moral law, ceremonial law, and legal regulations. Only the first part is binding on everyone, even if some of the legal regulations, in particular marriage law, have general validity. The laws of the state have to conform to the natural law. The laws of the state have to conform to the natural law. Then they serve the obedience which can and must be enforced by state means of compulsion. Outer conformity is sufficient to facilitate its goal of enabling life together. The law of God, however, demands inner agreement and perfect obedience.[71]

Thus moral teachings as rules functioned for a long time as secular laws and commandments for social life on the civil level before the reformation.

This phenomenon still remains in many areas of certain nations today. But it is clear that the secular life will lose relative space while the religious moral commandments work as secular laws, and this sort of society is easily dominated by the theocracy regime against any kind of private freedom. Therefore the conflicts and totalitarian disorders will appear with the name of divinity or gods for the dictators themselves.

It is Protestantism which defined first as of the reformation different meanings between law and ethics by theological initiatives of Martin Luther, famous doctrines such as the "doctrine of the Two Kingdoms", "the Law and Gospel" "the Freedom and the Servitude" etc. Protestant ethics traditions have grown quickly by following the developments of the church over the world. So many Christian moral models and virtues have well been launched and on par with the patristic tradition in the Middle Ages and have been rediscovered and continued on by Protestant missions.

Based on the Christian moral system, ethical and spiritual orders of Western society have set up total new rules as the norm for people's relationships, and these moral rules further changed common sense about nature, human beings and the political systems. Finally the Christian moral rules have melted into the basic elements of political order and social structures. Or we could say that the spiritual faith and laws of the

71 Heinz Scheible related the basic position of Melanchthon as the faithful partner of Luther by this comment. In: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 74.

secular order are combined together through divine values of Christianity as the pillars of civilization historically. Thus all of these Protestant factors have shown that the temporal values of Protestant faith have overcome beyond the denominational limitations and the prejudices of the leaders of the churches toward universal direction.

What are the moral norms of the Protestant faith for individual behaviors? The concept "individual" is meant in terms of the interpretation of the reformation, namely the principle of the Universal Priesthood created by Martin Luther. We should first of all make clear about the moral disciplines for the individuals, and then we could study the moral norms from the point of view of church which is considered as the assembly of Christians through the word and the Sacrament. To present the elements of the faith, the moral teachings to individuals are the basics for us to understand the ecclesial ethics from the mission of the church.

2.2.3.2.1 The Moral Teachings of Jesus

The moral teachings of Jesus contain so many rules directly related to individual life in the family, and secular society. Paul Ramsey said: "Jesus stands entirely outside the evolution of Jewish legalism for the reason that he taught not simply the superiority of love for God and for the neighbor over any other commandment; what is more, he taught that these commands were infinitely superior to all the rest."[72] For instance, there are the important moral rules in the following points: the Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3–11); (Luke 6:20–23); the Anger (Matt. 5:21–26), the Lust (Matt. 5:27–30), the Divorce (Matt. 5:31–32), Oaths (Matt. 5:33–37); the Retaliation (Matt. 5:38–42); Love your Enemies (Matt. 5:43–48); Giving to the needy (Matt. 6). The most important moral rule as the faithful commandment of the Christian life is the Word of Jesus from Matt. 22:37–40: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it: You shall love your neighbor as yourself. From these two commandments depend all the Law and the Prophets." (Matt. 22:37; Mark 12:28–34; Luke 10:25–28). Here I think of what Emil Brunner commented on the ethical fulfillment of Jesus to

72 Paul Ramsey, *Basic Christian Ethics*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993, p. 65.

the moral role of Judaism. He wrote: "When we wish to know what is just in the state, in economics, in society, marriage and the family, we receive no help from the Decalogue, certainly not in its primitive meaning, but can only attach to its commandments what we have learned other ways."[73] In a word, at the level of moral rules for the Christian life, the teachings of Jesus in the Bible could be considered as the universal truth for all Christians in the world historically, no matter what they consider themselves as members of a church or only as the individuals as long as it is in terms of the faith.

2.2.3.2.2 The Apostles' Moral Testimonies

The apostles stressed the moral disciplines of the Christian life in their letters which have become rich resources of Christian ethics. For example, St. Paul left many moral advices and commandments. He indicated "the human evils" (Rom. 1:18–32) such as all manner of unrighteousness, evil, covetousness, malice, envy, murder, strife, deceit, maliciousness, and the evil persons as: gossips, slanderers, haters of God, insolent, haughty, boastful, inventors of evil, disobedient to parents, foolish, faithless, heartless, ruthless etc. He then mentioned what kinds of virtues and morality must be praised which he called the "new life in Christ" (Rom. 12:1–8). "For by the grace given to me I say to everyone among you not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith that God has assigned." (Rom. 12:3).

The "marks of the True Christian" is to say the words of St. Paul, he said:

> Let love be genuine. Abhor what is evil; hold fast to what is good. Love one another with brotherly affection. Outdo one another in showing honor. Do not be slothful in zeal, be fervent in spirit, and serve the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, be constant in prayer. Contribute to the needs of the saints and seek to show hospitality. Bless those who persecute you; bless and to not curse them. Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep. Live in harmony with one another. Do not be haughty, but associate with the lowly. Never be conceited. Re-

73 Emil Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order*, trans. M. Hottinger, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946, p. 122.

> pay no one evil for evil, but give thought to do what is honorable in the sight of all. If possible, so far as it depends on you, live peaceable with all. [Rom. 12:9–18]

The famous moral advice by St. Paul appeared in so many places of his letters as in the followings: "Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." (Rom. 13:10); "As for the one who is weak in faith, welcome him, but not to quarrel over opinions." (Rom. 14:1); "Therefore let us not pass judgment on one another any longer, but rather decide never to put a stumbling block or hindrance in the way of a brother." (Rom. 14:13); "Let each of us please his neighbor for his good, to build him up." (Rom. 15:2).

2.2.3.2.3 The Ethical System of the Christian Faith

We could find that the testimonies of the apostles around the moral teachings of Jesus Christ composed one of the main parts of the apostles' words in the Bible and closely connected with the prophetic traditions in the Hellenic context.[74] That is why the daily prayer and the ordinary predications in worship are full of the interpretations and shares of moral messages of the apostles in the history of the church over the world even today. The moral words of the apostles are the ethical considerations around the moral word of Jesus, and the Christian life must be formulated morally from the individual life to show the image of Christ. To imitate Christ in life is mostly in the moral life with the spirit and faith for the people in the secular order.

The primitive church spread the Gospel through the faithful and moral ways, although politically it remained in a dangerous state. The persecution from the authorities on contraire provoked the moral image of the church which was more popular and distinctive. In the human phenomenon there is always someone who is absorbed by spiritual and

74 "Historiquement, aussi bien Paul que les christianismes hellénistiques sont les héritiers du judaïsme hellénistique pour lequel les philosophes païens n'enseignent rien d'autre qu'un écho de ce que Dieu a révélé à Moise (Philon). Un large consensus règne sur le contenu de la morale. Théologiquement, la fonction de la Loi n'est visiblement pas de fournir des contenus éthiques, mais de placer devant Dieu les décisions prises par l'individu et son comportement." François Vouga, *Les premiers pas du christianisme, Les écrits, les acteurs, les débats*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1997, p. 240.

mystical messages of the absolute truth or the personal divinity as God of the Trinity of Christianity, but spontaneously most of the people in actual life admire and prefer the peaceful and happy life guaranteed by law and moral systems. The Christian truth by the institutional church appeared among various kinds of spiritual and religious values in the Roman Empire with the particular ethical system which shows the advantages which existed among the existed system of values. Today, we could say that there is an ethical system of the Christian faith for the temporary life or social life.

We could divide the moral words of the apostles as the five points in the moral rules of the Christian life by the example of I Peter to show their moral advice to the church and the brothers:

1) How to live among the unbelievers?

> Beloved, I urge you as sojourners and exiles to abstain from the passions of the flesh, which wage war against your soul. Keep your conduct among the Gentiles honorable, so that when they speak against you as evildoers, they may see your good deeds and glorify God on the day of visitation. (1 Pet. 2:11–12)

2) Why to submit to Authority?

> Be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it is to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do evil and to praise those who do well. For this is the will of God, that by doing good you should put to silence the ignorance of foolish people of God. Live as people who are free, not using your freedom as a cover-up for evil, but living as servants of God. Honor everyone. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the emperor. (1 Pet. 2:13–17)

3) How to establish good relationships with the masters? (1 Pet. 2: 18–25)
4) What kinds of relationships between wife and husband in the Christian family?
5) How to stay with the brothers and sisters in church? The general moral rules include such words of the Apostle as: "Finally, all of you have unity of mind, sympathy, brotherly love, a tender heart, and a humble mind. Do not repay evil for evil or reviling for reviling, but on the contrary, bless, for to this you were called, that you may obtain a blessing."

Additionally, there are so many spiritual works with moral advice and shares in the history of the universal church, such as the medieval writings by the Church Fathers as St. Augustine, and missionaries' spiritual works at the present time. Even for the reformers, predications, pastoral letters and the contemplations have a deep and powerful spiritual force to continue the holy tradition from the apostles to the moral life of Christians generation by generation. Most of the patristic works have contained so many rich moral messages around the moral teachings of the New Testament.

There are two great traditions in the historic church, one is the meditation way, including prayer, contemplation, hymns and preaching with the root of the ministry of Jesus Christ in the area of Galilee; another is the theological way with strict logic and the dialectic proof of the understanding such as the theological writings of St. Augustine and the scholastic fathers, especially St. Thomas Aquinas and modern theologians. This academic tradition could be a resource back to St. Paul who used the clear, distinctive and logical way to interpret the Word of God in areas to high Greek civilization full of ancient wisdom, philosophy and spirituality. Until today these two great traditions still juxtapose the combined mainstream of the faithful life in church. So many great theologians also have the simple prayer life daily with self-cultivation of family and in civil society as ordinary believers. Theological orders are necessary for faith of the church and for so many reasons; at least one of them is to make doctrinal rules or grammar of the faith from the churches position of the church in order to fulfill the commission of church and daily responsibility in secular society. Otherwise the disorder in the name of holiness will lead to many disorders which existed so often in the history of humanity.[75]

75 "On the static view, tradition was understood as a body of propositional material, a deposit of truth, existing alongside scripture and supplementing it. The relation of tradition to scripture was indeed a complicated matter. Clearly, there must have been an oral tradition that antedated scripture. Then again, some of this traditional material may have survived alongside scripture without being incorporated into it. It must, moreover, have been on the basis of traditions of authorship and authenticity that the canon of scripture was fixed. And finally, tradition came to include creeds and dogmatic definitions which did indeed claim to be based on scripture, but which then acquired a measure of independence as norms for the interpretation

2.2.4 Conclusion

The further study of the Protestant faith should be focused on the institutional structures or the church orders. In a word, the moral teachings of Jesus Christ and the advices of the apostles are the main part of the Christian spirituality as the foundation for the Christian life in the society. About this point there is no difference among the Protestantism, Catholicism and Orthodox tradition. The Canonization of the bible has shaped firmly the textual basis of the Christian faith. The moral teachings of Jesus Christ as one of three pillars have constituted the whole mansion of the faith to make the Christian truth as the dominating force to lead the direction of history.[76] For me who comes from China with a non-European spiritual cultural ground but with the fast growth of church today, it is very urgent to study how the faith of Christianity finally influenced deeply western history and is now having this huge influence in China.

Faith in the perspective of the three structural elements historically works through the church as precondition. The assembly of believers from the first day of the church (Acts 2) becomes therefore the communion of the saints for the Gospels to the human world. At the same time, the situation of the institutional church is very rich and very complicated than individual cultivation in the family and the neighborhood. So to study the doctrinal interpretations of the faith, we need to study the ecclesiastical frame and the institutional structures of church. The church as an institutional existence must correlate with other social and political organizations according to certain rules and orders on the secular level. The norms for these different correlations and relationships essentially concern the ethical systems and values systems as rules and even as laws to some extent. So that is why Christian ethics contain the two levels of issues, one concerning the basic moral positions and principles such as good and evil, justice and duty, the nature of law and the attributes of God of the Trinity etc, on the other hand, it relates to the norms accord-

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of scripture. This body of traditional material, it was supposed, had been carefully preserved and transmitted unchanged from generation to generation." John Macquarrie, *Theology, Church and Ministry*, London: SCM Press, 1986, p. 35.

76 Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God, Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative*, Nottingham: InterVarsity Press, 2005, pp. 34–45.

ing to the Christian faith to define the church's positions and principles vis-à-vis the state, the authorities of the other values and spirituality, the civil society and the other spiritual systems.

The ecclesiastical ethics from Christian ethics stress the mission of the universal church in the history with the special ethical rules as the structural things in it. The above three pillars as the inner parts of the faith could be considered as the main body of the Christian ethics.

> Ethics is, after all, a normative discipline. […] Almost any kind of systematic ethical reflection will need to consider the sort of people we ought to be, the goals we ought to seek, and the actions we ought to do or decline to do. For a Christian ethics, however, developed within the contours sketched by dogmatic theology, this generic sort of ethical reflection will be shaped in important ways by Christian faith. Ethical reflection must necessarily draw on a range of *sources.* Almost everyone is likely to make use of personal (or communal) experience and, to a greater or lesser degree, human powers of reason. In addition to these, Christian rely on authoritative texts, even though it is no easy matter to explain how scriptural texts function in moral reflection.[77]

Further study of Christian ethics in the historic church must be done from the ecclesiastical orders and especially from the ecclesiastical initiatives of the reformation if I want to apply what I study into the Chinese church requirements.

As to the definition of the Church, these are some of the important ideas as the conclusion:

1) The origins of the Church as a sect within the 1st century Judaism lay in the Lord's choice of 12 disciples (called Apostles at Mark 6:30, Matt. 10:2 and in Luke), probably representing the 12 tribes of Israel (cf. Matt. 19:28).
2) Their mission was initially to Israel (cf. Matt. 10:5), but soon after the resurrection Gentiles began to join the Hellenists, or Greek-speaking Jewish Christians, probably first at Antioch (cf. Acts 11:20).
3) Paul's Gentile mission and especially the epistles which he wrote in the 50s laid foundations for Gentile Christianity which became

77 Gilbert Meilaender and William Werpehowski, "Introduction," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 3.

dominant after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD and the expulsion of Jewish Christians from synagogues in the 80s. This parting of the ways between the Church and the synagogue marked a large step in the emergence of early Catholic Christianity around 100 AD.

4) The historical development from considerable diversity to a measure of uniformity is only partly visible because the sources are fragmentary, but not the outlines of the 1st-century life and worship can be detected. The Church's roots in Israel were all-important, and the relationship to contemporary Israel initially was a vital issue (e.g. Rom. 11).
5) After the death of St. James (the Great), Paul and Peter in the 60s and the marginalizing of Jewish Christianity, new structures were needed and Church order was developed. The memory of the Apostles was cherished and the emerging orthodoxy of the 2nd century aimed to be 'apostolic' in all things, repudiating as heretics those who were not. The essence of the Church was later epitomized in the traditional "notes of the Church", namely unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. The concept is already present in Ephesians, though the term 'the catholic church' first occurs in St. Ignatius.
6) As for teaching the Apostles' doctrine and historically descending from them, the Church is apostolic. Its membership (at least as far as the living are concerned), its orders of ministers, and its unity are all constituted by participation in visible sacraments, i.e. those of Baptism and Confirmation, of Holy Orders and of the Eucharist, respectively.[78]

Thus, we could say that the elements of Christian faith besides the faithful factors concern far more than the ecclesiastical order in the institutional forms, namely the church. Only at the perspective of the institutional church, the faith could execute and fulfill its divine mission in the temporary world.

78 F. L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. rev. ed. by E. A. Livingstone, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 334.

2.3 The Institutional Dimension of Protestantism: the Church Order of Protestantism, the Origin and the Initiatives

2.3.1 Introduction

After the evolution and the growth of churches during last five centuries, Protestantism in origin from the reformation of Martin Luther has been proved historically as the greatest event and spiritual achievement with the historical continuation with Christian tradition since the patristic legacy. It is well-known that it was since the beginning of the first apostolic conference in Jerusalem (Acts 15) that the catholicity and the universality of the church later was set up as the category of the faith as well as the nature and direction in time and space through the institutional church into western history. Henceforth is engaged deeply and complicatedly in the political and social process of civilization.

The Christian faith explored by the Protestant churches after the medieval catholic church has occupied the central place of modern history of the world since the reformation as the most important part of the spirituality and the value. Above I've explicated the three elements or dimensions of the Protestant faith by textual factors (the Scriptures and creeds), political factors and moral factors in terms of the rules with secular orders from the Bible, especially according to the moral teachings of Jesus Christ. It is clear that the three dimensions of faith could be useful for us to recognize the catholicity of Protestantism. But it is not enough because the Christian faith contains an inner aim to do the testimony for Christ in the temporal world by spreading of the words, the Gospels of Christ through the ecclesiastical way, namely the church and the mysterious body of God of the Trinity.[79] Thus, my reflection will further concern the church itself. In other words, the Church of Protes-

79 "The Bible itself begins this important discussion, using multiple images and metaphors to explain the church, along with accounts of the church's early ministry and organizational developments. Efforts to interpret and apply these materials within different settings throughout the history of the church have led to the formulation of various ecclesiologies." Craig Van Gelder, *The Essence of the Church, A Community Created by the Spirit*, Foreword by R. J. Mouw, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 2000, p. 46.

tantism is in what kind of church governance and structure or the ecclesial order, has undertaken the mission of the church with the catholicity and universality of Western history?

> Instructed by the variety of sources from which they gain moral knowledge about both the structure and the spirit of their life, Christians live within a variety of spheres that give a distinctively social or institutional cast to life. These spheres – such as government, family, economy, and culture – have sometimes been spoken of in terms such as "orders of creation" or "mandates". We have preferred the simple term "spheres", especially because we have included here as a sphere of Christian life a community not generally included when one thinks in terms of orders of creation: namely, the church.[80]

It will be the most important theme for me to transplant universal values from the Reformation to China where the church is growing so fast since 1980 with historical speed in the history of Christianity world wide.

I intend to start my refection from the doctrines of ecclesiology and then the existing church polity and finally into church orders or the ecclesiastical structures of the Reformation, especially the legacies of Luther and Calvin, for covering systematic studies. My central theme of the dissertation is about the ethical structures of the Church, so the special studies about the church order at the sense of the ecclesiology will be the premier preparation for further ethical study of this central theme.[81]

In terms of the Christian faith, the individual testimony and private confessions are always necessary for the name and the glory of God, but at the sense of the universality and the catholicity to engage in the historic process of the human being, the role of the church has the unique function much stronger than any kinds of the individuals. The church appeared, grown and expanded through the fixed doctrines and the ecclesial institutions in history, thus any interpretation of the church must be

80 "Preface" by Gilbert Meilaender and William Werpehowski, in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 3.

81 Bernd Wannenwetsch, "Ecclesiology and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 67: "The Spirit makes us holy, Luther says, 'through the Christian Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting' (*Book of Concord, 416*). This emphasis has crucial implications for the relationship between the Church and ethics."

connected hermeneutically with the two aspects which include the ecclesiastical and the social, political and the historical aspects.

The ecclesiastical aspect is relative to the biblical, creedal, doctrinal and denominational factors; and the external factors such as the political, social and historical or even commercial or cultural aspect, essentially is regarding to the norms made by the church about the relationships between the church and the secular orders which cover nearly all the human society of the temporary world where the church must do the evangelization since the Great Commitment left by Jesus Christ. It is obvious that it is the ecclesial ethics issues which define the norms according to the task of church in the secular order. Thus briefly, the study of the church order will be the basis for studying the ecclesiastical ethics inside the church as the structural factors.

2.3.2 The Dogmatic Definition of the Church and Its Comprehension

2.3.2.1 The "Church" in the New Testament

> The English "church" German "Kirche", Dutch "kerk", etc., come ultimately from the Greek "kyriakon", "[thing] belonging to the Lord", which was applied originally to a church building. The Latin ecclesia and its derivatives (Fr. Eglise, Italy chiesa, etc., including Welsh eglwys), although used of the building, come from the Greek, ekklesia, which in secular Greek meant an assembly, primarily of citizens in a self-governing city (e.g. that of Ephesus, Acts 19:39). In the Septuaginta ekklesia was used of the "assembly" or "congregation" of the Israelites (Heb. and esp. of those "within the covenant" as opposed to "the stranger in your midst" (Deut. 23:3, Neh. 13:1). In Acts 7:38 the word is used with this Old Testament reference.[82]

From the texts of the New Testament, the word "church" first appears only twice by Jesus Christ at Matt. 16:18. He told Peter: "upon this rock (Petra) I will build my church" and the second time is in 18:17 concerning the way to treat the brothers who did incorrect things, he said that 'when a brother will not heed private remonstrance, the matter is to be

82 F. L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. rev. ed. by E. A. Livingstone, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 346.

told to 'the Church'".[83] Theologically the first appearance of the church was from the Acts 5:11. That means that today's definition of the Church occurred when the church was born with the beginning of the vocation by the Apostles after the event of the Cross in the Acts. The "Church of Galatia", "the Church of the Thessalonians" and so on as the local Christian community (e.g. 1 Cor. 12:28) were the primitive forms of the Church with faith on Jesus Christ.[84]

In terms of the Greek meaning of ekklesia, the political assembly of citizens is the original definition, but in the writings of Matthew, his meaning was involved in more Hebrew color from the Septuagint (where the meaning is the assembly of Israel, the people of God, e.g., Deut. 31:30) to indicate the Christian group differed from the Judaism synagogue. As we know that St. Paul finally shaped ekklesia as the Christian assembly with the doctrinal meaning. In his writings, "all the churches of the Gentiles" (Rom. 16:4), and "the churches of Christ in Judea" (Gal. 1:22), showed St. Paul's definition of the church. From the whole Bible, premier Christians from the Jewish background have continued such distinctive Judaist faithful experiences in their Christian communities.[85] Briefly, special spiritual ideas such as the selected people of God, the Law of Moses, the Prophetic tradition, the spirit of the Temple and the Messianism as characteristic of Judaism, have constituted the pre-comprehensions of the primitive disciples and apostles of Jesus Christ including the apostle Paul who belonged to the upper class of the Pharisee faithful to Judaism. (Acts 26:4–7). The assembly of the disciples formed the earliest church. When St. Paul used "Church of God, *ekklesia tou theou*" (Acts 20:28) to call the church of Ephesians and of Galatia,

83 "Whether the 'rock' refers to Peter or to his confession is strongly debated, but either way, the verse conveys a sense of the church as a universal institution. This universal sense is developed further in the Deutero-Pauline letters. Ephesians and Colossians elaborate on a Pauline image by referring to the church as the body of Christ (Eph. 1:22; Col. 1:24) and to Christ as the head of that body (Eph. 5:23, Col. 1:18)." by Daniel N. Schowalter, in: B. M. Metzger, M. D. Coogan (eds), *The Oxford Companion to The Bible*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 122.

84 Alexis Medebielle, "Eglise," in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, tome 2, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1934, pp. 487ff.

85 Hans Küng, *Structures de l'Eglise*, trad. par Dom H.-M. Rochais et Dom J. Evrard, Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1963, pp. 27–33.

the terms of ekklesia could be understood officially the definition by the texts of the New Testament.[86]

In the nineteenth century, the academic research of the Bible by the so-called historic-critical method and the archeological way were used widely in universities in France and Germany. The scholars wanted to research historiography documents and manuscripts to restore the original images and the situation of Jesus and the figures of Scripture. This kind of academic work is very meaningful with no harm to the faith of Church. The Scripture itself passed the process from the oral, to the manuscripts and to the canonization. The spiritual characteristic of the Christian community, the church has made itself more than beyond the social groups based on documents or the judicial papers according to the modern category. The early disciples and apostles devoted the whole sentiments and life to the Lord.

Of course the most positive method could help us know clearly the original environments and the actual situation of the Gospels, for instance to know the situation when Jesus set up the Lord's Supper (Matt. 26:26–30; Mark 14:22–26; Luke 22:14–20), and the Sitz im Leben of the last word of Jesus before he left the world, among the disciples who gathered together for the prayers and the meditations. (Matt. 28:16; Luke 24:36–49; John 20:19–23; Mark 16:14–18; Acts 1:6–8).

At a realistic sense, the church is used to interpret the faithful meanings from the words of Jesus and of the disciples for getting the direct revelations historically. That is the measure of the understanding between the academic research of the Bible by the scholars in university and the theologians of the church, certainly there are so many scholars in the university who are also theologians of the church with the ecclesiastical commitment and vocation such as Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Rudolf Bultmann etc.

In terms of the influence in the history of the church, the method of biblical studies by Martin Luther and John Calvin is always very useful and available in the church. They stressed so much the interpretation of the words from the texts with problems of the church. Thus there is the necessity to take the hermeneutic principle of the reformers from the

86 *Greek-English New Testament* (Nestle-Aland), ed. by Kurt Aland et al., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981.

letters of St. Paul as the way about the meanings of the "church" in the texts of the Bible. A concerned verse is that "He has made us competent as ministers of a new covenant – not of the letter but of the Spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life." (2 Cor. 3:6) Thus, the essential messages of the Bible should be interpreted by persons in a concrete situation. "The ministry of the new covenant, is, by contrast, 'of the Spirit,' as demonstrated by the work of the Spirit in the lives of the Corinthians. Because it is the Spirit of the living God, it is this ministry that gives life."[87]

Furthermore, the words of Jesus about the "church" are always very particular for us if we could put his words at the essential place upon the theological definitions by the apostles and the reformers. Jesus told his disciples including Peter: "Again I tell you this: if two of you agree on earth about any request you have to make, that request will be granted by my heavenly Father. For where two or three have met together in my name, I am there among them."(Matt. 18:19–20) Outside the European denominational churches and the Roman Catholic Church, which grew from the historic church during the Middle Ages with the strict ecclesiastical doctrines and disciplines by the Canonical law, there are so many non-European churches over the world, the verses of the Bible, especially the words of Jesus have the special apriority as the faithful standard to life. So we should never use the reinterpretations of the scholars instead of the words of the Bible according to the bible principles of Martin Luther.

Briefly, based on the texts of the New Testament, there are at least four forms of the church at the primitive period:[88]

87 Paul Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997, p. 171.

88 Eduard Schweizer gave the four different forms of the church in his works named by "*Church Order in the New Testament*" (trans. F. Clarke, London: SCM Press, 1961): The Primitive Church in Jerusalem, Matthew's Church, Luke's Church and the Church of the Pastorals to describe the forms of the church. And besides he has especially studied the ecclesial idea and church orders under the name of St. Paul and of St. John. From this point of departure, he further researched the different church orders and governances in the earlier period of the Patristic fathers. The systems or the categories he has set up are: the Church in the Didache; the Church in the First Letter of Clement; the Church in the Letters of Ignatius; the Church in the *Shepherd* of Hermas; the Church in the Letter of Barnabas and the other Writings.

2.3.2.1.1 The Church around the Event of the Cross

The Gospels have described in detail the appearance of the church with Jesus Christ. He called the disciples, accepted the baptism from John the Baptist, and set up the Lord's Supper, and then he explicated the relationship between the old covenant and the new covenant, the law and the gospel. All of the words and the behavior of Christ before the disciples had actually formed the basis of the premier form of the church. We could say that the earliest form of the church had already been achieved before the Ascension. The fundamental elements of the church included the Word, the Baptism, the Lord's Supper and the doctrine about the relationship between the old covenant and the new covenant by the definition that the "Word will fulfill the Law" and the other words of the new covenant. The obvious character of the earliest form of the church at this time was lack of the church order and the governance in charge of the administration affairs and the sacraments by special offices of the ministry.

This form is very important for the research of the ecclesiology outside the European tradition, especially in China. So many small Christian communities strictly prefer this form of church to establish their small church at home without any additional ecclesiastical orders, especially, the disciplines, which are made by the doctrines as the later history in the West. But the most important challenge from this form of church is that the head of the small community is not the person as Jesus Christ even if he really has the special charismatic capacity. Essentially this form of church was only possible at the moment when Jesus Christ started up his creation of church in the temporary world. Any imitation formally will not be able to avoid the problems inside and outside the institutional models. That is why the church quickly transferred into the second form after the Ascension.

2.3.2.1.2 The Church before the Event of Pentecost (Acts 2)

The church during the Ascension of Christ and the event of the Pentecost was considered as the second form of the church. The members of the church are the relatives and close friends including the mother of Jesus and his brother. All of them were the followers after Jesus and witnessed the words and behavior of Jesus Christ in the temporary world such as prayer, teaching, baptism and the responses to the Pharisians, the mira-

cles, the establishment of the Eucharist, and the event of the Cross and the resurrection etc. The church at the moment was the small communion of the disciples cared by for the twelve apostles. They gathered often at homes (Acts 1:12–14).

In terms of the morphological perspective and historically, this form of the church exists very commonly outside the institutional churches such as the Roman Catholic and the Protestant denominational churches over the world. In today's China, there are so many churches at home similar to this kind of church. But in the history of Christianity, the existence of the second form of the church was just for the guidance of the Holy Spirit toward the universal step. It means that the second form of church must follow the arrangement of the Holy Spirit and into the third form or degree, because the inner nature of church is the universal and catholic not just within the small circle of the saints or the apostles.

2.3.2.1.3 The Church since the Event of Pentecost

In this period, the church grew up from the house church within the disciples and the apostles and began the whole new form. Historically the church in the doctrinal sense of the ecclesiology began the missionary process with the ecclesial form of this period. The first preachers with the definition as today's pastors were born during the Pentecost. These "pastors" were the apostles who started up their proper Calling under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The significance of the third form of the church was explicated by the following points:

1) The listeners and the followers after the apostles were not from the close relatives of the disciples, but from so many different places and even foreign countries such as Romans, Cretans and Arabs etc. (Acts 2:5–11). There were about three thousand persons who were baptized that day. (Acts 2:41);
2) The creation of the institutional organization of the church appeared from this period.

> All whose faith had drawn them together held everything in common: they would sell their property and possessions and make a general distribution as the need of each required. With one mind they kept up their daily attendance at the temple, and, breaking bread in private houses, shared their meals with unaffected joy, as they praised God and enjoyed the favor of the whole people. And day by day the Lord added to their number those whom he was saving. [Acts 2:44–47]

And the narrative of Acts 4:32–37. Besides the election of the apostle through "to be assigned by the apostles" (Acts 1:23–26), the ministry of the deacon was created by them for the need of the church work. (Acts 6:1–6). The process of the selecting the "seven deacons" was the disciples and the Twelve, or in the verses of the Acts, "the Twelve called the whole body of disciples together" about the creation of the deacon in charge of administrative affairs and used the Apostles only for preaching. The process of the election of the Seven was the first model of the collective meeting that developed into the synodal meeting of the reformation later on.

3) The fundamental offices of the ministry were shaped from here: the proclamation the gospel (Acts 2:14–36; 3:11–26); the execution of the sacraments (Acts 2:37–47); the diaconal works for the poor and the illness (Acts 3:1–10); the premier encounter with the authorities: the magistrate of State and the religious authorities of the Jewish priesthood which were combined as the double authorities facing the apostolic church, and the church first tried to harmonize with the authorities through kindness and the diaconal services to society; the first case of persecution due to the name of Christ (Acts 5:17–42); and the first time that the martyr appealed to God to forgive the persecutors before the martyr was killed by them. This is the first person who followed the teachings of Jesus Christ to sacrifice his own life for the truth of the Cross (Acts 7:60) etc.

We could say that the church of this period was the church in the sense of the words of Christ as the official beginning of the universal church until today. Or the church at the category of the ecclesiology of the reformation was considered to find the original source from this period.

2.3.2.1.4 The Fourth Form of the Church: the Church since the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) towards the World Mission

The significance of the conference of Jerusalem lay at the starting point that the church grew from the Judaism ground toward the world correspondent to the nature of universality and the catholicity afterwards. The churches over the Mediterranean areas, which were central to Western

civilization, totally owed to the contribution of St. Paul to the council of Jerusalem by his special insights and visions with his coworkers. Then St. Paul accompanied by Titus, Barnabas, and Timothy to do the traveling pastoral ministry over the world from Palestine.[89] They used the pastoral letters and visits to establish the pastoral connections among churches. The role of St. Paul was spiritual and pastoral, not administrative or surveillance. But, gradually the model of the Conference of Jerusalem, which elevated the faithful authority of the Church, comes from the apostles' letters or the words of the apostles. The church grew as the institutional authorities made the decisions about the rules of the faith as in the Council of Jerusalem about the Law of Moses for the Gentiles finally (Acts 15).[90]

The model of the church since the council of Jerusalem began the history of the historic church in terms of the ecumenism today. The institutional church suddenly faced the urgent necessity to create a series of the governances and the polities to guarantee the unity and the purity of the ecclesiastical doctrines and disciplines. The canonization of the Bible and the dogmas appeared during this process of the Faith of Church (fide ecclesiae). The primitive church quickly achieved this process after the époque of the Apostles into the patristic period. The theological works replaced the words of the Apostles since they accomplished their voca-

89 "The placement of the Apostolic Council at the center of Acts underscores the importance of the gentile mission. It reflects the author's interest in the relationship between Israel and the Christian church, and it integrates the Pauline mission into the larger picture of the spread of the Christian faith from Jerusalem to the rest of the world. The Apostolic Council is portrayed as affirming gentile freedom from the Mosaic law while making social relations between Jews and gentiles possible within the church." By Robert Stoops, in: B. M. Metzger, M. D. Coogan (eds), *The Oxford Companion to The Bible*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 43.

90 "A council, according to Luther, was 'nothing but a consistory, a supreme court, a chamber' [*Consistorium, Hofgericht, Cammergericht*], or the like in which the judges pass judgment after hearing the parties. Thus a council, as Luther saw it, did not condemn even a heretic according to its own discretion 'but according to the law of the empire, that is, according to Holy Scripture, which they confess to be the law of the holy church.' (*WA* 50:615f) For Luther, the council performed the same function as did pastors and school teachers, although on a grander (but also more temporary) scale. It judged, anathematized, and preserved the church." Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles, Politics and Polemics, 1531–46*, Leiden: Brill, 1983, p. 95.

tion with their lives. The patristic period was also the beginning of the Christian theology for defining the theological meanings of the Sacraments, the ministry and the basic dogmas such as God, Christ and Holy Spirit and the Trinity, the events of the Cross, the resurrection and the salvation etc.

In a word, the dogma could be regarded as the systematic interpretations about the teachings of Christ and the faithful words of the Apostles and the disciples at the primitive periods. The academic research about the church should consider the primitive church as the basic textual resources of the ecclesiastical doctrines. The most important is that all the possible forms of church during the last two thousand of years could be compared with the roots from the primitives by the ideas and the intentions.[91]

2.3.2.2 The Patristic Tradition and the Ecclesiastical Creation

The Medieval Catholic Church in the dogmatic interpretations was relative to the patristic period from 100 AD until 500 AD. The most significant character of the period is that the great patristic theologians appeared with the status of bishop from the institutional church to define the ecclesiastic doctrines and dogmas as the rule of faith, the canonization of the Bible and the heresies from the orthodox of the church etc. We could say that they finally set up the identity of the church with the universality and the catholicity through the ecclesiastical institution. "Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 100 CE) is the earliest known author to use the phrase 'catholic church' when referring to the universality of the body of Christ (Smyrneans, 8)."[92]

91 In terms of the dogmatic understanding of the church at the historical dimension, the visible churches in the texts of the NT supplied only the ecclesial ideas and the doctrinal sources and never designed faithfully the ecclesiastical institution and church orders, as what Karl Barth indicated: "Le Nouveau Testament ignore totalement l'idée d'une Eglise générale organisée ou à organiser, ou tout simplement idéale, dont les communautés particulières ne seraient que des parties." In: *Connaitre Dieu et le servir*, (*Commentaire de la Confession de foi écossaise de 1560*), trad. par W. Lepp et Ch. Brutsch, Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1945, p. 157.

92 Daniel N. Schowalter, "Church," in: B. M. Metzger, M. D. Coogan (eds), *The Oxford Companion to The Bible*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 122.

In terms of the basic ecclesiastical doctrines, the Eastern Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, and the Protestant mainly take the heritages from the common resources from this period. The Church fathers of this period are always the original fountain of the theological thoughts as well as the spirituality for Christianity until today. The patristic tradition is the faithful and theological common basis for churches over the world. Historically so many controversies and conflictions among the churches were caused around the terms or the words from different theological minds, but that was only the phenomenon. The substantial causes lay in the ecclesiastical designs and the ethical rules regarding the authorities and the politic with the secular order etc.

Thus to understand the reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin, or even to well understand the theological thoughts of today's theologians from the university, we must pay attention to the heritages of the Church Fathers. Luther as the creator of the Protestant doctrines has the close affiliation with the Church Fathers because he wanted to use the pure spirit from the Church Fathers to correct the problems of Roman Catholicism, then Calvin, who stressed so much the establishment of the church differed from the Roman Catholic by the ecclesiastical disciplines and ordinances, also respected particularly the heritages of the Church Fathers, especially St. Augustine.

In terms of the time, the medieval patristic fathers could be divided into two parts, namely the Fathers of the primitive period and the Fathers of the medieval period. The Fathers of the primitive period were further divided by the Apostolic Fathers and Apologetic Fathers. The first were from the disciples who followed after Jesus Christ and the apostles who died as martyrs during the persecution such as St. Justin Martyr etc. They left so many pastoral letters which were the primitive historiographical documents of the church as St. Clement of Rome with Didache, and Shepherd Hermas etc. During the first century, the forces behind the political and religious persecutions come from the intellectuals and the spiritual of the Empire. The attacks and accusations against the church were responded by the theologians who were the leaders of the church with the name of the Apologetic Fathers. They defended the faith and the church from the philosophical and theological aspects by reasonable and theoretical ways. The most important Apologetic Fathers were St. Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Hermias, and Tertullian etc. From the history of Christianity, the legacy of the Apologetic fathers is

eternal for the church and with universal significance for all the churches over the world.[93]

In terms of the languages they used, the Church Fathers were divided into the Greek Fathers and Latin Fathers. The most famous Greek Fathers were St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, the heterodox Origen, and St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. John Chrysostom, and the three fathers with name "Cappadocian Fathers" etc; the most famous Latin Fathers were Montanist Tertullian, St. Augustine of Hippo, St. Ambrose of Milan and St. Jerome etc.

The first ecumenical council was convoked in Nicaea in 325, and the second in 787. During this period of the Medieval Catholic, there were totally seven ecumenical councils by the world catholic bishops. These ecumenical councils had passed a series of the doctrines and dogmas by the form of the creeds for the universal church and declared the church position about the doctrinal controversies with the other spiritual systems which were accused as heresy such as the Gnosticism, the Arianism and the Montanism, Marcionism and the Apollinarism etc. The doctrinal orthodoxy of the church was set up by the ecumenical councils, and at the same time the authority of the church had been also set up through these actions and decision about the doctrines of the church. For today's Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, these first seven councils and the doctrinal decision are the common basis of the church faith in the ecumenical perspective. As to the Protestant main denominational churches, i.e. Lutheranism, the Reformed and Presbyterianism, and Anglicanism, the doctrinal decisions of the first four ecumenical councils are valuable and acceptable as the faith of the church.

93 "In the period from the third to the sixth centuries apologetics continues to be a lively branch of theology. The truth of Christianity is an immensely personal matter to the apologists themselves, many of whom are converts to the faith or, like Augustine, nominal Christians who rediscover Catholic orthodoxy […] The growing success of Christianity provided new material for Christian apologists, who saw it as evidence of God's hand in history […] Apologists of later centuries will always remain indebted to the Fathers of the Church for their enthusiasm, their eloquence, and the intellectual courage with which they undertook to synthesize biblical revelation with human culture, philosophy, and history. Their lofty spirituality continues to inspire contemporary readers." Avery Cardinal Dulles, *A History of Apologetics*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999, pp. 87–89.

So this is the background of the church for us to know the position about the church order and governance in the medieval tradition.

2.3.2.2.1 The Doctrinal Nature of the Church

"The Apostolic Creed" and "the Creed of Nicaea" are the most basic doctrinal documents concerning the nature of Church and served as the basic creedal documents about the understanding of church in the history of the dogma. "I believe holy catholic church" from the "Apostolic Creed", and the "I believe one, holy, catholic and apostolic church" from the "Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed" (381) have been regarded as the earliest and most classic definition about the nature and the features of the church in the tradition of the medieval theology.[94]

In the tradition of the Reformation, the dogmatic interpretations about the church were the central theme connected with the Christology in Luther and the Trinity in Calvin. The Small and Large Catechism of Luther, the "Augsburg Confession" and the "Book of Concord" of the Lutheran Church, and Calvin's "Institution of Christian Religion" etc continue the principle about the church from these creeds of the patristic period. J. Pelikan commented:

> In one way or another, almost every confession of the Protestant Reformation is shaped both by the polemical efforts of Roman Catholic or other Protestant opponents to tar it with the brush of past heresy and by its own inner dynamics, in response to both of which it is obliged to cope with the relation between the Catholic substance that it has inherited and the Protestant principle that it espouses. The Anglican-Luther *Wittenberg Articles* of 1536 go further than most of them when they open their first article, neither with the doctrine of one God as Trinity nor with the doctrine of the supreme and sole authority of Holy Scripture, which are the usual alternatives, but with the declaration: "We confess simply and clearly, without any ambiguity, that we believe, hold, teach, and defend everything which is in the canon of the Bible and in the three creeds, i.e. the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, in the same meaning which the creeds themselves intend and in which the approved holy fathers use and defend them." […] The Reformed *Second Helvetic*

94 *The Nature and Purpose of the Church, A stage on the way to a common statement* (Faith and Order Paper, no. 181), Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 25. Cf. *A Treasure in Earthen Vessels: An Instrument for an Ecumenical Reflection on Hermeneutics* (Faith and Order Paper, no. 182), Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, §§ 49ff.

Confession of 1566, for all of its determined adherence to the sole authority of the Bible over all ecclesiastical traditions, including not only the councils but even the creeds, can nevertheless bracket Bible and the creeds by speaking of "the truth of God presented in the Scriptures and in the Apostles' Creed." [*Helv*, II, 16.1][95]

The four ontological attributes of the Church are defined by the First Ecumenical Council, namely, Nicene Council in 325, through the *Creed of Nicaea*: Unity, Holiness, Catholicity, and Apostolicity.[96] But, so far, concerning the identity of the church in the ecclesiastic system, the Protestant churches have not developed the administrative system of the unity for all the denominational churches as the Roman Catholic Church. The concept of the Communion (*Koinonia*) is stressed much more than the administrative unity of the churches in today's ecumenical theologians' minds.[97] That is why I should do the research in each case of Martin

95 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo, Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 472–473.

96 Ulrich Kühn, "Lutheran Ecclesiology," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, p. 492.

97 "The concept of communion as an interpretation of the nature, mission, and unity of the church is, of course, not a new one. It has been used in different ways throughout church history. But one thing seems clear: the last decades have seen increased reference to this concept and more frequent integration of this concept into ecclesiological and ecumenical texts […] Also in the World Council of Churches, and especially in the work of the Faith and Order Commission, the concept of communion/*Koinonia* has become a major perspective in recent years. We find first traces of the concept in the *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* document. It was highlighted in the title (and content) of the statement of the 1991 Canberra Assembly of the WCC on 'The Unity of the Church as Koinonia: Gift and Calling.' Here, communion/*Koinononia* was introduced as an interpretation and clarification of the term 'unity'." Günther Gassmann, "The Church is a Communion of Churches," in: Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (eds), *The Catholicity of the Reformation*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996, pp. 94–95. Cf. Report of Section II: "Multiplicity of Expression of the One Faith," §§ 13–22, in: Thomas F. Best and Günther Gassmann (eds), *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia: Official Report of the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order* (Faith and Order Paper, no. 161), Geneva: WCC Publications, pp. 240–242.

Luther and John Calvin for the future of the church in China on my reflections.[98]

2.3.2.2.2 The Church Order at the Medieval Catholic Polity Designation

The threefold ministry was created very early as the designation of the church order or governance and ecclesiastical structure in the patristic era, namely, bishop, priest or presbyter and deacon.[99] In the holy order of the Catholic Church, the threefold ministry was the basic structure until today through the Roman church tradition during last two thousand years. At the same time, there were so many titles and offices in different departments and areas of the hierarchy such as Pope, Cardinal, Archbishop, Archabbot, Abbot, Nuncio, Vicar, Vicar Apostolic, vicar forane, etc. The strict common character of the priesthood of the Catholic Church is celibate and disciplined by the Canonic Law which defines all aspects of life and identity in the secular order. The concept "Clergy" is described as these priests as the special ecclesiastical class in the temporal world. This old ecclesiastical tradition has been well and severely preserved as the church polity in today's Roman Catholic Church over the world. Or it means that the Protestant church from the Reformation considered the theological legacy of the Patristic church as the theological resources and the orthodox of the faith, but not in terms of the church polity or church order and government. The liturgical rules, the sacra-

98 J. H. Newman claimed, "Unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity are definitive, essential features of the Church. But all four of them are only imperfectly realized here on earth. They are gifts bequeathed to the Church, but in her eschatological orientation they are also tasks to be carried out." John H. Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. 7, 3, London, 1875, pp. 35–36.

99 "There is no single pattern of conferring ministry in the New Testament. The Spirit has at different times led the Church to adapt its ministries to contextual needs; various forms of the ordained ministry have been blessed with gifts of the Spirit. The threefold ministry of bishop, presbyter and deacon had become by the third century the generally accepted pattern. It is still retained by many churches today, though subsequently it underwent considerable changes in its practical exercise and is still changing in most churches today. Other churches have developed different patterns of ministry." *The Nature and Purpose of the Church, A stage on the way to a common statement* (Faith and Order Paper, no. 181), Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 51.

mental orders and the ecclesiastical disciplines based on the authority of the hierarchy of Rome defined by the Canonical Law made the Protestant church leave from the historical church order at the institutional level.[100] The church order of the medieval tradition developed at the summit point at the end of the period of the 16th century when the Roman Catholic seemed the super sovereignty with the three authorities over the Western world. The secular states must submit to the decisions from Rome.

If we could sketch out briefly the forms of church order and structure in the medieval era, we should at least note the following points as the basic characters:

1) The Episcopalian polity centered on the celibate system of the priesthood class is under the leadership of the papacy with the Pope as the head who is fixed as the successor of St. Peter by the doctrine of the Pope's Primacy;[101]
2) The holy order of the offices is included in the category of the Sacraments by the Canonical Law which defines the ecclesiastical rights and the ethical duty in the church;
3) Absolutely to obey the authority of Pope by the Code of Canonical Law and through the councils etc.
4) The sacraments have the seven charged by the threefold ministry and never by the laypersons, neither laymen nor women;
5) The Papacy owns the statue and the sovereignty of the secular state in world wide political and diplomatic affairs;
6) There is the special ecclesiastical monasticism, i.e. independent outside the dioceses and parishes for the monks and the sisters. The monasticism, especially with the spirit of the Cluny tradition set up the great monasticism and ethical minds. The Benedict Order created the order of the communion according to the certain disciplines and rules with the holy oath of the Calling, the Committeemen, the virtues and the disciplines as the characters

100 Miguel M. Garijo-Guembe, *Communion of the Saints, Foundation, Nature, and Structure of the Church*, trans. P. Madigan S.J., Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1988, Chapter XI, pp. 133–157.

101 Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith, The Church as Communion*, trans. H. Taylor, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002, pp. 60–70.

of the communion with historic influence.[102] That is the Catholic Church could survive from the events and the crisis of the Reformation and continues the special spiritual influence over the world until today. All of these inside of the Roman Catholic must owe to the Monastic orders and the abbeys over the mountains and the countryside far away, the secular rights, the desires of money and the social privileges. Even today, the Catholic church maintains numerous orders and institutional as the academic and spiritual centers full of the monasticism and function spontaneously balance the relationships among the duty and the responsibility of the church in the temporary world and in the inner minds of the clergy class.

2.3.2.2.3 The System of the Council or Synodal System

One of the great initiatives of church order in the medieval era was the system of council or of synod. In the tradition of the Western church, the *Concilium* in Latin evolved as the council in English and Concile in French. In Chinese, it is translated as "Gonghuiyi", literally the "Catholic Conference" or the "Conference of Catholicity". Etymologically, it means the "assembly" of all the bishops as the first in Nicene in 325. Since that time, the Ecumenical Council becomes the most important conference of the bishops over the world. In Chinese translation, the Gonghuiyi for the Catholic Council and the "World Council of Churches" translated as the "*si jie ji du jiao lian he hui*", literally the World Christian Association". The "council", "synod" or "assembly" inside different denominational churches are interpreted as the "Church parliament, or the Representative Conference or the Church congress, and the general assembly" etc. Here I'd like to use the "council" relative to the institution of bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and the "synod" or "Assembly" to the Protestant church parliament system in order to distinguish between the Catholic and the Protestant.

At the historical perspective of the church, as a special world wide organization and institution, the church at the beginning has appeared the

102 Godfrey Sieber OSB, *The Benedictine Congregation of St. Ottilien, A short history of the Monasteries, General Chapters and Constitutions*, St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1992, p. 176.

social and political attributions in time. It owns the department of the administration, of the judiciary, and of the deductive in order to make surveillance over the usages of the ecclesiastical rights in the name of the Lord. The mechanism of the guarantee regarding the safety and the morality of the individuals in the institution is assured by the strict doctrines and the ethical rules connected with the canonical law in Roman Catholicism and the verses of the bible in the Protestant church. Generally all the designations about the regimes and political systems in the history of humanity intend to limit the arbitrary of the absolute rights in the name of the divinity. The holiness and the catholicity as the nature of Church express very clearly that all kinds of the dictatorship in church is contrary to the nature of the church leadership based on the Bible and the apostolicity and to the unity of the church. During the last two thousand years, the church is in the process of the Reformation inside it through the faithful forces according to the creedal and the doctrinal rules although at the institutional level the schism and the conflicts finally not been avoided.

In terms of my central theme relative to the relationship between the Protestant faith and the institutional church, the council as the important designation of the church order has the special meaning to the church in China. All the church doctrines, the creeds and the confessions, the disciplines and the canonical law regarding church order and church polity must be passed at the reference of faith and church mission as the "Church decision" in the ecumenical councils. Especially the criteria of the faith by the creed and the catechism have the absolute importance for the church promulgated through the ecumenical councils. At the dioceses and the parish levels, the bishops have the authority to execute the decisions of the superior level. For Protestantism, the Old Catholic tradition of the conciliarity as the principle of the collegiality or the democratic was the initiative of the consistory in the Reformed church in Geneva by John Calvin.[103] Since the reformation, the principle of the Council of the

103 "Through the commissioned functions of the ordained ministry, Word, Sacrament and discipline, God not only furthers the announcement of his Kingdom but also discloses its fulfillment. This underlies that aspect of ministry known as episcope, which means both oversight and visitation. Like every other aspect of ministry, episcope both belongs to the whole church and is entrusted as a particular charge on specific persons. For this reason it is frequently stressed that, at every level of the

Medieval Era had deeply influenced the concept of the church polity. Even inside the Roman Catholic Church, the dogma and the doctrines promulgated by the Pope must usually been strictly discussed and proved by the bishops and the theologians before the final declarations.

Originally, the "Conference of Jerusalem" (Acts 15; Gal. 2:1–10) created the model of the "Church Parliament" (namely council and synod or Assembly later) when the apostles argued together very authentically and faithfully the missionary strategies and the church policy about the Gentiles concerning the rule of the Jewish and the Law of Moses to them or not. The majority of the Christians at the beginning were Jewish persons with the moral customs and faithful ideas of Judaism. After the event of Pentecost, the words of Jesus Christ quickly spread out of the Jewish people into the Greek nation. The final decision of the Conference of Jerusalem was historically significant to show the ecclesiastical authority through the conference based on the ultimate aim of the church, which is to spread the good news of God. It set up the model that the institutional church has the right to interpret the church faith and the church doctrines. The third meaning is that the conference made the Christian faith from the sect of Judaism of the Hebrew nation to become the universal faith. In this case, the meaning of the conference of Jerusalem should be defined as the ecumenical conference, and the nature of the church was fixed clearly first in this conference.

To the Protestant church tradition, the dogmas and the doctrines promulgated in the first four councils are the basis of Protestantism. To the Roman Catholic Church, there are totally 21 times of ecumenical councils in history. The Council has the similar function as parliament of the democracy politically. As to the Eastern Orthodox churches, the first seven ecumenical councils before 1054 were recognized as the basis of the faith and the church dogma. Thus, the fundament and the pretext for

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Church's life, the ministry must be exercised in personal, communal and collegial ways. It should be remembered that 'personal', 'communal' and 'collegial' refer not only to particular structures and processes, but also describe the informal reality of the bonds of koinonia, the mutual belonging and accountability within the ongoing common life of the Church." *The Nature and Purpose of the Church, A stage on the way to a common statement* (Faith and Order Paper, no. 181), Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 54.

the ecumenical dialogues and unity in the future will rely on the dogmas and the doctrines of the councils.[104]

2.3.2.2.4 The Crisis of the Roman Catholic Church, the Problem of the Church Order

a) The theocracy polity

In 465 AD, the Empire of Rome was at an end, and then the whole territory of the Empire was governed under the power of the Roman Catholic Church by the spiritual forces through the hierarchical system and the priest orders. Quickly Rome controlled the secular world over the nations and the tributes. The new regime appeared in the medieval era, which is the theory, which means that the magistrate and the judiciary authorities and the political orders were managed and controlled at the hands of the clergy class who obeyed absolutely the words of the Pope. The authority of Rome becomes the supreme powerful instance of the world. The Pope, the cardinals, the archbishops and the bishops, all the clergy had special privileges with the divinity of the church in the secular society. The church controlled all the aspects of the secular life and political institutions. The clergy of all levels of the church were deeply involved into desires for the temporary interests and benefits, and the spiritual mind became less and less especially on the level of the church leaders.

Since the Schism between East and West in 1054, the Roman Catholic Church marched toward the unstable period which was full of the disorders and the troubles.[105] Pope Innocent III led the Church to the summit of the power of theocracy historically (1198–1216). He was nominated as Cardinal at the age of 29 full of the spirit and the knowledge, and then became the Pope at the age of 37. He quickly showed his outstanding talents and the personality and the wisdom over the princes, the nobles and the nations. The Crusades were encouraged and supported

104 Wilhelm de Vries, *Orient et Occident*, *Les structures ecclésiales vues dans l'histoire des sept premiers conciles œcuméniques*, Paris: Cerf, 1974.

105 Georges de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, I: *Bilan du XIII^ème^ siècle*, 3^e^ éd., Paris: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1956, p. 18.

by him through the council of the world bishops in 1215. He even declared to do the reformation about the abuses of the church. Historical documents showed that he had the special outstanding insights about the time problems in the world. He permitted the Dominican order which contains so many moral rules and spiritual requirements to the monks as the basic faithful standards, and recognized the humble merits of the Franciscan Order which did the harmonious dialogue with the Muslim world and also took the good way with the nature and the life. All of these positions and ideas were proved and appraised greatly by him. He really wanted to use his supreme power through the huge institution of the church to reform the present corruptive situation by a series of decisions in favor of the Orders' rules and spiritual life as the examples. At this time, the moral disorders, the corruptions and the unlimited desires of the secular interest were really very serious, but just after the council not very soon he died, and his career of the reformation had to stop.[106]

Thus, we could do the judgment that the ethical rules of the ecclesiastical orders had lost in the way, namely the ethical rules concerning the norms of the church leaders and the clergy class to the secular order and temporary world at the level of the ecclesiastical institution.

b) The reformation inside the Roman Catholic Church before Martin Luther

The institutional church government aimed to guarantee the task of the church in social and political society toward the fixed direction originally. But sinful persons in the secular world could not declare themselves as the eternal redeemed persons with the titles of the ministry as the pope, the archbishop and bishop etc. The clergy class was in serous trouble of the corruption due to the unlimited power of the church in the

106 Mullany, F.S.C., "Innocent III," in: *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 32 (1907), pp. 25–48, (1857); William Barry, *The Papal Monarchy*, New York, 1903, pp. 282–332. Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur les actes d'Innocent III, suivi de l'itinéraire de ce pontife*, Paris: BECH, 1858; Jorry L'Abbé, *Histoire du pape Innocent III, 1160–1216*, Paris: Société de Saint-Victor, 1853; Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III*, Paris: Hachette, tome 1: *Rome et l'Italie* (1904); tome 2: *La croisade des Albigeois* (1905); tome 3: *La papauté et l'empire* (1906); tome 4: *La question d'Orient* (1907); tome 5: *Les royautés vassales du Saint-Siège* (1908); tome 6: *Le concile de Latran et la réforme de l'église* (1908).

temporary world. Historically there were so many church leaders and theologians who began to think of the crisis of the church order at that period. They had given so severe attention to these problems inside the church governance and structures. Thus, the central focus on the purity and unity of the dogma and the doctrines at the level of church faith (fide ecclesiae) had been moved to the institutional church itself at the eve of the Reformation of Luther inside the Roman Catholic Church.[107]

The situation at that moment presented in this case: on one hand, there were so many outstanding scholastic theologians in church universities who developed a system of the dialectic theology to study the heritages of the Patristic Fathers by the Aristotelian way and then the scholasticism became the most powerful church theology officially against any kind of challenges and wonders with the ontological deductive. That was so-called the Scholasticism (1100–1500); on the other hand, the "Cluny Reform" through the monastic spiritual movement had reconstructed the image of the church with the humbleness, the diligence, and the faithfulness among ordinary people. The positive impression of the church had been restored by the monastic movement.

The serious key issue was around the prima position of the Bishop of Rome who claims according to the patristic tradition to be the apostolic foundation with the unchallenged for over thirteen centuries long. From the period of the Gregorian Reform (c. 1050), the program of centralization was used through making effective practice of councils of bishops of the Nicene model, papal legates and revivified canonical law. But the crises of the authority of the papacy came during the period of Great Western Schism (1378–1417), the three popes existed at the same time by claiming the supreme authority of the Catholic Church. That was the historical background of the reform inside of the Roman Catholic Church.

During this period, there were two historic figures from the church to criticize the Roman Catholic polity and the supreme authority of the pope. They were considered in history as the forefathers of the Reforma-

107 Avery Cardinal Dulles, *A History of Apologetics*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999, pp. 127–144.

tion.[108] In today's point of view, they prepared the appearance of Martin Luther if we could do the reflection at the level of the nature of church and of the Gospels. They were John Wycliffe, and John Hus.[109]

John Wycliffe (1320–1384), was the president of Oxford University. In 1376, he openly criticized the Clergy and Hierocracy of the Roman Catholic Church. He declared that the secular fortunes and the political privileges had corrupted terribly the holiness and the catholicity of the church which developed far from the apostolic tradition with simplicity and purity morally and spiritually. He appealed that the British Christians should read the Bible in English, not monopolized the Bible by the clergy in Latin which is strange and unreadable for the common people in England. The Clergy class used the Latin to control the chance to read the Bible in order to control the secular authorities by the name of the divinity. He declared that the Pope is the antichrist. His followers were called as the Lollards. He had the special historic statue especially by his contribution to the career of the Bible translation and the accusation against the corruption of the right by the pope and the authorities of the church. In this case he was really the pioneer of the Reformation. He had gained very strong and popular sympathies from many respected royal families and the noblemen as well as ordinary persons. That situation

108 "It is, perhaps, a truism that a history of the Reformation could well begin with John Wycliffe; for a thorough, analytical reappraisal of his whole theology is more than overdue. Without prejudice to excellent modern studies of his political and legal notions, or the description of his philosophic teaching, it is as a theologian that he needs to be judged." Gordon Rupp, "The Battle of the Books: The Ferment of Ideas and the Beginning of the Reformation," in: *Reformation Principle and Practice*, *Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens*, ed. by P. N. Brooks, London: Scolar Press, 1980, p. 4.

109 "The last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth are dominated by two great critics of the Church, John Wycliffe in England and John Huss in Bohemia […] developed points of view from which they criticized ecclesiastical abuses, and finally drew further and further away from orthodox doctrine, attracting large popular followings as they did so." Edward Peters (ed.), *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe, Documents in Translation*, London: Scolar Press, 1980, p. 265.

had shown the crisis of the authorities of Rome genuinely involved into the deep and serious extent of the time.[110]

The case of Wycliffe is very important to study the church orders in the concrete historical situation. The crisis of the Roman Catholic Church lied much more in the area of ecclesiology and ethics if we could deeply compare the critics of John Wycliffe and the troubles of the church.[111]

John Hus (1371–1415), the president of the Bohemia University, was a well-known theologian of Roman Catholicism. Under the influence of John Wycliffe, he openly criticized the corruptions of the clergy class and of the authorities of Rome by proving that the offices and the authorities of Pope and the cardinals were contraire to the authorities of the Bible and the apostolic tradition of the primitive church. He said that the head of the church is only Jesus Christ, never indicates the pope and the cardinals who are essentially the temporary noblemen and governors only for the money and secular interests such as the Indulgences. Finally he was excommunicated and persecuted horribly even to death by the authorities of Rome. In 1520 Martin Luther declared: "We are all Hussites" which could be considered as the great conclusion about the reformation before the Reformation by Luther.[112] Karl Ullmann gave his academic comments about these important historic figures for the tradition of Protestantism. He asserted that among the things "these men made to be more clearly and generally understood" was "the necessity of appealing to Scripture as the pure Word of God in opposition to all human doctrine and tradition."[113]

110 Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffe Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 508.

111 "In the older view, the sixteenth-century debate was characterized by the clash between Protestant appeals to 'the Scripture alone' and Catholic appeals to 'Scripture and Tradition'. The late-medieval thinkers were classified in a similar fashion, with such men as Wycliffe and Huss, Wessel Gansfort and John Pupper of Goch lauded as forerunners of Protestant Biblicism." Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 148.

112 Quoted by Scott H. Hendrix, "'We Are All Hussites?' Hus and Luther Revisited," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 65 (1974), p. 134.

113 Carl Christian Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*, vol. I, trans. R. Menzies, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1855, p. 10.

These two reformers shocked strongly the power of Rome. From 1409 to 1449, the authorities of Rome convoked three times councils for the serious crisis that the church was facing. The decisions passed by the councils were: 1) to end the disordered state caused by the candidates of the pope which nearly made the schism inside the church, and ensure the principle of "the supremacy of councils over the pope" as the basic dogma (promulgated by Constance Council 1414–1418); 2) to accuse the theories of John Wycliffe and John Huss as heresy; 3) to start up the reform of the church for dealing with the ecclesiastical and ethical crisis.

It is so regrettable that the Roman Catholic Church had not gotten the historic chance to realize the willingness of the reformation under the guidance of the Pope. The church was so complicatedly involved into inner conflicts for secular interests and privileges. Then in 1054, the Great Schism between the West and the Eastern had weakened the forces of the unity and made the Western church into military activities with the temporary authorities. The events of the Crusades further weakened the moral and spiritual image of the Pope and of the Roman church. We could say that furthermore the Roman Church had lost the decisive motive and forces to deal with the inner problems and crisis, although the dogma of "the Supremacy of councils over the Pope" was really historic by containing the principle of the Conciliarism, which signifies that the power of pope should be limited by the collegial decisions democratically at the level of the bishops.[114] Because of the heavy burdens of the ecclesiastical crisis and failures to deal with abuses, the Roman Catholics

114 The dogma of "the Supremacy of councils over the pope" was promulgated in Council of Constance (1414–1418), and reconfirmed as the dogma in Council of Basel in 1449. But it was very regretted that the Holy See and the popes became more and more conservatives due to the strong attacks from the reformation of Martin Luther occurred quickly in the coming years. The Council of Lateran V declared to accuse the doctrine of "Conciliarism" in order to enforce the dictate authority of the Papacy. That was the remarkable turning point historically! From that moment when the doctrine of *Conciliarism* was denied, the principle of the collegiality and the democratic governance in original from the apostolic succession (Conference of Jerusalem, Acts 15) totally disappeared from the top level of the Roman Catholic Church until the lowest level by the dogma of "Infallibility" of Council Vatican I in 1869–1870. But from this moment, the Protestantism launched the historical developments over the world by the principles of the reformation from Martin Luther and John Calvin etc. into the mainstream of the Western history.

rested there without any march, and the history prepared the appearance of Martin Luther!

2.3.2.3 Conclusion

The patristic tradition has the special statue in the theological tradition of Protestantism, especially for Martin Luther and John Calvin through their reformed practices and the theological writings. The most important heritages of the Patristic church are their hard work for the faith of church by the doctrines and the dogmas especially the Canonization and the designation of the Councils for the ecclesiastical doctrines against various forms of heresies and the crisis of Church Faith during the first five centuries. The Old Catholic Church has contributed definitively to the standards of the Faith for the universal Church by so many outstanding Church Fathers who were the great church theologians as well as the bishops of the church or the leaders of the church. To today's Protestantism, most of the doctrines and dogmas of the church are continued from the Patristic heritages, even only in terms of the theological vocabularies and categories. As Matthew Spinka said, "The continuity and interdependence of the entire reform movement from the breakdown of Scholasticism in the later thirteenth century to the Reformation of the sixteen century to the Reformation of the sixteenth century is obvious."[115]

For the study of the church order of Luther and Calvin, I'd like to make note that St. Augustine is the most influent Father to Martin Luther and John Calvin by the two lines: the spirituality of the Christian faithful life and the purity and absoluteness of the Church Faith through the dogma and the doctrines. The Christian life based on the Trinity from St. Augustine's great mind, which was shaped through the medieval monasticism, deeply formulated the spirituality of Luther and Calvin; and the extreme importance of the doctrinal purity of the Church Faith made the reformers directly face the powerful authority of the Roman Papacy and the institutional forces without any hesitation and fear because the forces of the doctrinal purity of the Church Faith was behind them. The orthodox of the Church Faith linked directly with the great patristic tradition supported Luther and Calvin to continue the apostolic and patristic suc-

115 Matthew Spinka, *Advocates of Reform: from Wyclif to Erasmus* (The Library of Christian Classics 14), Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953, p. 16.

cessions against the Roman Papacy's authority. That is why the research of the Patristic tradition about the church order in the category of church faith is very necessary for us to understand the catholicity and the apostolicity of the reformation and of the Protestant churches by Luther and Calvin and the other reformers. Here we should add the theologians in the later medieval period as the forerunners of the Reformation of Luther and the Protestantism through the ecclesiastical creation of Calvin in particular.

> The Reformation involved a doctrinal upheaval of truly formidable dimensions and one that called urgently and immediately for historical explanation. The impulse to equip Luther with appropriate late-medieval forerunners, therefore, was one felt already in his own lifetime, and by his Catholic adversaries as well as his Protestant apologists,[116] Thus, in the judgment rendered on the 95 theses by the Faculty of Theology at Paris and published in April 1521, Luther's views were linked with those of a whole series of previous troublemakers – among them the Waldensians, the Wycliffites, the Hussites, and the Brethren of the Free Spirit – and he was accused of trying "to restore the doctrines of the aforementioned heretics." ("Determinatio Theologiae Facultatis Parisiensis super doctrina Lutherana hactenus per eam revisa," in: Argentre, 1: pars, 2, 365.)[117]

In a word, the Patristic church had achieved the great process to establish the Church Faith and then church continued their initiatives afterwards for several thousands of years. But the reformation of the church never ceased since the beginning. The crisis of the Roman papacy showed the interpretations and the developments of the Church Faith are the realistic task of the ecclesiastical authorities. The basic dogma and doctrines of the Church Faith require the institutional ways to guarantee and to explore, but any practice of certain ideas will bring much more complicated political and ethical problems in history. Thus, to understand the church order in the historical church for the future of the church in China, I need to thoroughly research the background of the Reformation.

116 See Heiko A. Oberman's interesting essay "The Case of the Forerunner" in his *Forerunners of the Reformation*, New York: Holt, 1966, pp. 1–49, on which much of this paragraph is based.

117 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 18.

2.3.3 The Church Order and Ecclesiastical Forms of the Protestant Church

The Protestant church order includes the ecclesiastical polity and governance, the institutional structures, the ordinances and the rules in terms of the organization of the church. In details, the principles regarding the relationships among the church, the society and the state have been practiced through the institutional rights which relies on the certain rules, or political, or theological and or ethical.

> The term "church order" (*Kirchenordnung*) originated in Germany during the Reformation but acquired a slightly changed meaning during the following centuries. The Reformation age used this term to denote orders governing the inner life of the church which, as a rule, were established or at least promulgated by the secular magistrates. In the 19th century the terms reappeared in the "Church Order of Rhineland-Westphalia" (1835) in the sense of "Church constitution" […] As far as the Reformation era is concerned the "church orders" represent an epochal turning point. They were the logical consequences of the spiritual events of the time; they completed in the field of church legislation what Luther and the other reformers had accomplished in the field of theology. The church orders gave visible shape to the spiritual community of those who accepted the new doctrine and consolidated the faithful in properly organized congregations.[118]

After studying the faithful elements of Protestantism, I'd like to concentrate on the structural elements of the church according to the existing denominational church orders in order to do the further study about the ethical structures of the church in the following chapters.[119]

The theme of the research of the Protestant church order mainly relates to the question that in what way the church leaders, the ministers

118 *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 516.

119 "Denominational traditions and beliefs guide the choices and shape the lives of millions of Christians, but often church members know little about how and why they came into existence. Most of these behaviors and beliefs originated within historical ecclesiologies developed through the centuries. They resulted from efforts to apply biblical understandings about the church to specific historical settings. In the process, different churches stressed different issues or came to different conclusions about the same issue." Craig Van Gelder, *The Essence of the Church, A Community Created by the Spirit*, Foreword by R. J. Mouw, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 2000, p. 46.

and the congregations gather together in the church for the common aim? What kind of the rules to define the relationship among the ministers since the Catholic Church hierarchy or Catholic hierocracy had been canceled? Now there are several kinds of church ministry designations, for the Lutheran church by the pastors, and bishops who have no authorities of bishop as the Catholic bishops, and the deacons who serve as the lay persons but without the special statue as in Catholic; for the Anglican Church threefold ministry continues the apostolic tradition (Episcopalism), and the reformed church strictly took the biblical principle and accepts the definition of the ministry according to the doctrinal interpretation of John Calvin by the four ministries, namely the pastors, the elders, and the doctors and the deacons (Reformed-Presbyterianism). The Lutheran church order has special affiliations with the Episcopalism tradition such as the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Church. To study the Protestant church polity, the theological principles by Luther are always the references of the research. I'd like to study first the definitions about the church by Luther and Calvin through their special ecclesiastical ideas, and then to study the basic structures of the church in terms of denominational understandings. Finally I'll show that there is the great necessity for us to study the practical careers of the reformation by Luther and Calvin in the historical perspective, and their theological designations for their practices.[120]

120 "The beginnings of Church polity are largely lost to us. The few allusions contained in the NT permit us to distinguish between the incipient organizational pattern of Jewish Christian congregations in Palestine and the Pauline pattern in the Gentile Christian mission churches. In the Palestinian congregations the circle of the Twelve exercised supreme authority […] The relationship of the seven deacons (Acts 6:1–6) to the Twelve is not clearly defined. Toward the end of the first century each of the Palestinian congregations, probably following the synagogue pattern of the 'college of leaders,' had its own governing committee. Its authority rested on age and experience. The Pauline congregations present a different picture. Here the charismatic principle was in effect. The Christian community cut itself off from its connection with ancient Israel and regarded itself as the new spiritual people of God […] After Paul's death the charismatic elements of church life were more and more institutionalized. Already in Acts 20:17 and 28 and Titus 1:5 and 7 we meet 'presbyters' who can be identified as honored teachers, martyrs, ascetics, approved members of the congregation who at the congregational assemblies occupied chairs in the front rows (as in the synagogue) […] One office, the one of

2.3.3.1 The Doctrinal Interpretations of the Church

As the pioneer of the Reformation, Luther is not only a revolutionary figure, but also a very learned and thoughtful Bible scholar and theologian. From today's position, his works contains so many absolute values and the visions for the future of human beings. We must first of all study his thoughts if we want to study the Protestant church order, the ecclesiastical ethics and the reformation heritages. Historically the researches about Luther have accumulated so many interpretations and understandings, and usually by two ways at least, i.e. his practical reformation including the political conflicts of the time, his social and political positions and the process of the his theological thoughts connected very closely with his theological proposition, and his influences on the later Protestantism; the second is concerning the texts of his works. It means that there is the big necessity to know how the words of Luther became the theological principles for the Protestant church after his time. And here I'd like to make the note that Luther has been deeply influenced by the Patristic fathers, especially by St. Augustine.[121] We could say that Luther has continued the apostolic tradition through his succeed from the Church Fathers.

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bishop, began to rise above the others […] The bishop of a congregation was assisted by the deacons, and the presbyters form a sort of advisory council. Here are the first signs of a separation of clergy and laity." Cf. "Church Polity" by Hans M. Mueller, in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 519.

121 "Wycliff's views about the church were founded upon a combination of ideas derived from the bible and from Augustine, both pushed to extreme lengths. Concerning the nature of the church, Augustine was probably the more crucial. In the *De Civitate Dei* Augustine had distinguished between two cities, the heavenly and the worldly, Jerusalem and Babylon, and their citizens, the blessed and the damned. To Augustine the division had been a metaphor, at least with regard to the position of those currently alive. Wycliff adopted this idea, and combines it with a notion of predestination, a notion equally Augustineian but again held by Wycliff with peculiar tenacity and simplicity. For Wycliff the church consisted in the *congregatio praedestinatorum*, the body of those predestined by God for salvation; the *congregation prescitorum*, the body of those foreknown to damnation, were not, and could not at any time be, part of the church." Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 314.

The famous definition of the church by Luther is written in 1539:

– "Now where you hear or see this Word preached, confessed, and practiced, have no doubt that in that place there certainly must be a true 'holy catholic church' (Ecclesia sancta Catholica.)"[122]

– "Where the Word is, there is the church."[123]

– "God's Word cannot be without God's people."[124]

We could find that there are several factors from the words of Luther concerning his explications of the church: a) the word of God, b) the communion of the believers;[125] c) the "Saint and Catholic" characters. Because what Luther did was pioneering to create a new page of history, he stressed very strongly on the theological elements for the faith of church.[126] Under his influence afterwards, the Lutheran Church has formed the strong tradition as the denominational character to emphasize the confession of the faith by the theological way and comparatively much more than the other denominational churches. Here we should not ignore that Luther was never glad that the church established from the Reformation used his name as the Lutheran Church and the first Protestants in Germany after him as the Lutherans. He declared:

> The first thing I ask is that people should not make use of my name, and should not call themselves Lutherans but Christians. What is Luther? The teaching is not mine.

122 Martin Luther, *WA* 50, 629, 28.

123 Martin Luther, *WA* 39 II:176, 8f.

124 Martin Luther, *WA* 50:629, 34f.; *LW* 41:150.

125 "Qui veut trouver Christ doit d'abord trouver l'Eglise […]. Or, l'Eglise ce n'est pas du bois et de la pierre, mais c'est l'assemblée des croyances; c'est à elle qu'on doit s'attacher et voir comment ceux-ci croient, vivent et enseignent, ils ont assurément le Christ avec eux." Martin Luther, *Œuvres* 10, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1967, p. 298.

126 "His answer was given in terms of two essential identification marks, the *notae ecclesiae*: word and sacrament. In maintaining that both must be present for the Church to be the true Church, another blow was struck against any ecclesiological positivism. 'Wherever you see that the gospel is absent, there you should not doubt the church to be absent, too, in spite of their baptizing and eating from the table.' (WA 7:721). It is ultimately because 'the whole life of the church depends upon the word of God.' (WA 7:722)." Bernd Wannenwetsch, "Ecclesiology and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 66.

> Nor was I crucified for anyone […] How did I, poor stinking bag of maggots that I am, come to the point where people call the children of Christ by my evil name?[127]

Luther's co-worker, the very important reformer with him, Philippe Melanchthon in his works "Augsburg Confession" [1530], article 7: "For the true unity of the church it is enough to agree concerning the teaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments […] The church is the assembly of saints in which the gospel is taught purely and the sacraments are administrated rightly." And further he said: "the church is assembly of 'those who have been called' (coetus vocatorum)" (CR 21, 825). Thus the definition about the church has been formed here in the Protestant tradition. The following reformers and church leaders mentioned also so many definitions about the church, mainly around the understandings of Luther and Melanchthon. In general, the basic elements are: a) the proclamation of the Word of God, b) the sacraments are administrated according to the Gospel; c) the communion of the believers.

John Calvin as the most prominent reformer of the second generation has made the huge influences on the history of the reformation and Protestantism. In his theological works *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, he gave the proper definition of the church as:

"Where we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists [cf. Eph. 2:20]"[128]. It is very clear that he took the same position with his good friend Philippe Melanchthon.

Historically Calvin succeeded the theological thought of Luther and then explored largely with his practice during his career. In this way, he has deepened and widened the theological principles of Luther. After confirming the definition of the Church from the point of view of the Reformation, he explored his understandings from the doctrine of the election and the communion of the saints for the meaning of the church.

127 Martin Luther, *WA* 8, p. 685.

128 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (IV, 1, 9), ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960, p. 1023.

He said: "We believe in the Church. The election is the foundation of the universal Church, which connects the communion of the saints."[129] Therefore, for him, the basis of the church is the Lord's election that is the dogma from the creed, namely Church is the communion of the saints. Then he did the deep interpretation of the church into the "Unity" in the sense of the dogma. He stressed the vocation of the congregation, or the members of the church from the identity of the church based on the Creed of Nicene relative to the four notes of the Church nature. He explicated his understanding from the prophets' witnesses and the apostles' vocations toward the holiness of the Christian life in the communion. For assuring the nature of the holiness of the church, he said that the ecclesiastical disciplines (les disciplines ecclésiastiques) are necessary. There are always so many quarrels and conflicts even the cruel wars within the church historically, so the church disciplines and rules could restrain and control the irrational words and behaviors of the members within the church. Human beings have the sinful habits such as intolerance, indifference, pride and egoism etc. in nature, and the church ordinances and disciplines as the law of the church could formulate as the rules the norms of the members relationships to the others, and the society, the state and the world in order to maintain the unity of the church.

This is the initiative by Calvin to use his insights about church disciplines into the church order and governments in Geneva which deeply guided the later Protestant churches over the world.[130] He said that the

129 Ibid. IV, I, 16.

130 "Church discipline is based on Matt. 18:15–18, that is, on a NT saying which probably was attributed to Jesus by a later church tradition in the interest of establishing an authoritative basis for a practice which had become current in the church. According to this passage the sinner is first to be admonished privately, then in the presence of witness, and finally publicly in the congregation […] Church discipline is not rooted in the Gospel, but in the church, and there is no question but that was practiced in the NT congregations (cf. Matt. 7:6; Acts 5:1 ff.; Rom. 16:17; 1 Cor. 5; 2 Thess. 3:6, 14; 1 Tim. 1:20; Titus 3:10; 2 John 10) […] A serious question for the church to answer was: Who has the authority to readmit backsliders to the church? […] Church discipline, in Luther's thinking, is not a judgement concerning salvation and damnation but a means for the care of souls, for the re-establishment of spiritual fellowship. It can therefore at most function through an exclusion from the Sacrament (*excommunicatio minor*), while the real ban (*excommniucatio major*) as a purely civil penalty is to be administered by the government (Cf. Smalcald Arti-

church is very solid and united when facing the exterior persecutions and the dangerous society, but after the troubles or the political crisis, within the church the quarrels and the conflictions will appear and the schisms come soon. Usually the church leaders used the strict moral standards to the church members as the case of Donatist in the history or to the heresies, but Calvin said that the church disciplines are very severe and hard in terms of the meanings and the requirements, but the nature of the Church "Holiness and Unity" asked us to use the love, the tolerance and the mercy from the Lord to the weak brothers even if we have the strict disciplines as the rules and the laws. He wrote:

> Augustine, then, speaks wisely and well: "The godly manner and measure of church discipline ought at all times to be concerned with 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Eph. 4:3). This precept of mutual forbearance the apostle ordered to be kept. When it is unkept, punishment as a remedy proves not only superfluous but even dangerous, and on that accounts no remedy at all. Not because of their hatred of others' iniquities but because of hankering after their own contentions, these sons of evil strive to drag along or at least to divide all the weak common folk who are entangled in boasting of their own name. Puffed up with pride, mad with obstinacy, deceitful in their slanders, troublesome in their seditions, these civil persons feign a rigid severity so they cannot be shown to lack the light of truth. Holy Spirit bids us correct our brothers' vices with more moderate care, while preserving sincerity of

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cles III, 9). Not the minister, but the congregation administers discipline in the church, and the congregation's concern also includes the ungodly *quorum nota est impietas* ('whose godlessness is overt') […] The Lutheran doctrine of the state was not considered adequated by those who agitated for a real (legalistic) church discipline enforeced by law. Calvin took the same position with regard to the church's honor, purity, and dignity. In Geneva where church discipline was maintained with an iron hand, even to the point of cruelty, and later in all the Calvinistic church constitutios, we have a consistory expression of this line of thought: As the Gospel is the soul of the church, so church discipline is its strength. The office of elders which is characteristic of the Calvinistic churches is oriented to church discipline which is exercised jointly by ministers and elders through the consistory or presbytery. Where Calvinism existed as a minority group, church discipline was simply exercised by the church; in the case of solidly Calvinistic territories or nations it was carried out through close cooperation with the civil government." Cf. *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, pp. 505–509.

love and unity of peace. This principle they prostitute to the sacrilege of schism and the occasion for cutting off the brethren from the fellowship."[131]

Thus, as the leader of the second generation of the Reformation, Calvin concentrated himself on the creation and construction of the Church which is different from the Roman Catholic Church. He originally created so many designations within the reformed church in Geneva with his coworkers and the members of the church together. That was the firm basis to guarantee the success of the reformation in Geneva, then in Europe and the American continent finally. His career had largely contributed to the establishment of the Protestant theological tradition after Marin Luther. In terms of the concept of the church, we could make a short conclusion about the fundamental elements of the definition from the ecclesiastical initiatives of John Calvin as the following points:

a) the Word of God, Gospels; b) the Proclamation; c) the Sacraments by Lord in the Gospels; d) the minister to administer the sacraments, i.e. pastors or minister;[132] e) the communion of the saints; f) the church disciplines.

Or at least four elements of the church should be reminded if we use the simple way to understand John Calvin: 1) the proclamation of the Word of God; 2) the administration of the sacraments; 3) the communion of the saints; 4) the ecclesiastical disciplines.[133]

It is very remarkable that Luther stressed so strongly the first two points as his interpretation of the church because he aimed to challenge the supreme authority of the Rome Papacy for the reformation. But Calvin's goal was to establish the reformed church and not attack the Roman Catholic Church as the realistic task. So he mentioned quickly the doctrine of the "Communion of the saints" to inherit the apostolic tradi-

131 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (IV, I, 16), ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960, p. 1030.

132 As Luther, Calvin did not like the word Priest or Clergy, too. He preferred the terms "Pastor or minister".

133 Calvin never considered the ecclesiastical disciplines as the nature of the church and the fundamental elements as the Words and the Sacraments defined as the doctrine by Luther. But in terms of his huge influence in the history, I'd like to take it as the elements of the interpretation of the church from the reformed heritage and the realistic significance for the research of the church order in China.

tion and the patristic heritages for the new Protestant Church's direction. He worked very hard but very successfully about the ecclesiastical disciplines and ordinances as the ethical norms for the church members.[134] In this case, the church disciplines and ordinances have composed the very important part of the interpretation of the church of Calvin for us.[135]

2.3.3.2 The Fundamental Factors of the Church: the Proclamation, the Sacraments, the Ministers and the Disciplines

In my comprehension of the ecclesiology of the Reformation from the Roman Catholic tradition, there are four basic factors as the structures for the Protestant church: the Proclamation; the Sacraments, the Ministries and the disciplines of the communions. With these four factors of

134 "The doctrine of the Church that is formulated in *Institutio christianae religionis* is based on the tradition of *Ecclesia mater*, which goes back to patristic theology. 'It is not licit to separate these two things that God had joined together, that the Church be the mother of all those whose Father he is.' (*Inst. Of 1559/61, IV. I. n. 1.*) In the translation of the creed, Calvin opts for the formula, 'I believe the Church,' rather than 'in the Church.' (*Inst. Of 1559/61, IV, I. n. 2.*) The Church's foundation is the eternal and secret election of its members by God, so that the Church is really known to God alone. There is only one Church, which is 'the body of Christ,' whose members 'live by one and the same faith, hope, and charity by the Spirit of God.' This is the 'Catholic or universal Church.' This invisible Church, however, is also the 'communion of the saints,' and as such it is visible, for 'the saints are so gathered in the society of Christ that they must mutually exchanged all the gifts that are given them by God.' There is indeed a diversity of spiritual gifts, yet only 'one heart and soul in the multitude of believers' (Acts 4:32), 'one body and one spirit' (Eph. 4:4). God is 'their common Father,' and Christ 'the only head of all of them.' This visible Church, the gathering of the saints on earth, is the true mother of the faithful." George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 182.

135 Concerning the Anglicanism, "we can see it emerging by the end of Elizabeth's reign, receiving its most famous apologia from Hooker and defining ever more clearly thereafter its fundamental principle: that England has its own way of doing things and that the Church of England was *sui generis.* It rejected the doctrinaire Biblicism (in its eyes 'bibliolatry') of the hard-line Protestant in favor of a more broadly based appeal to tradition, reason, and history – as well as Scripture." John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 186.

the church formally, we could sketch out the whole image of the Protestant church.

The proclamation as one of most important characteristics of the Protestantism has produced immense historical significance in the history of Christianity since the Reformation. We could say that Luther actually stressed the function of the Proclamation as the prima task of the church, although he had not put it into his famous slogan of the Reformation with the Latin suffix: sola for it. It is obvious that at the beginning of the Reformation, the ecclesiastical character has been prefixed by Luther's ideas such as the Sola Scriptura and the Universal Priesthood etc. But, Pelikan said:

> Despite this constant emphasis on the Scriptures, Luther recognized that the Church had in fact been engaged in proclamation even before any of the books of the New Testament were written and much before they were all collected into a canon. For the word of God in the Church usually took the form not of the written word, but of the oral word in preaching. Throughout his career Luther emphasized the centrality of this oral word in the life and work of the Church. "Christ did not command the apostles to write, but only to preach," he said. (WA 10–I–1:626) Again he said: "The Church is not a pen-house but a mouth-house." (WA 10–I–1:48). In part Luther's emphasis on oral proclamation depended on a psychological judgment.[136]

In brief, Luther has given his firm and clear definition about the Church. According to him, the church is creatura verbi divini, creation of the Word of God, and of Gospel, thus the proclamation of the Word of God is the basic task and the mission of the Church.[137] He used very special and personal style of the words for his historical assertion such as:

> There are many people nowadays who say: "Oh, I have read and learned it all, and I know it very well. I do not need to listen." They may even come out and say: "What do we need with any more clergy or preachers? I can read it just as well at home." Then they go their way and don't read it at home either! Or even if they do read it,

136 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Divine Rhetoric*, *The Sermon on the Mount as Message and as Model in Augustine, Chrysostom, and Luther*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001, p. 88.

137 Martin Luther, *Œuvres* 2, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1966, p. 245.

it is not as fruitful or powerful as it is through a public preacher whom God has ordained to say and preach this.[138]

That is why since Luther the Word of God and the people of God therefore are strictly connected together through the Proclamation.[139]

Philippe Melanchthon in his definition of the Augsburg Confession also stressed the special point of the Proclamation relative to the Word of the Gospel.[140]

On the other hand, that is why the negative factors naturally appeared along the superior of Protestantism against the Roman Catholic Church during the centuries until today. For instance, the universal priesthood said that everyone could declare his words as the supreme dogma and doctrine directly from God without any restrain from the historical church. These phenomena are very frequent in the non-European countries today and even so many Western missionaries also ignore the ecclesial faith through the doctrines and the dogmas promulgated by the councils or the strict proves.

The principle of the Sola Scriptura was misused also by so many Protestant church leaders and even the head of the small Christian groups during the missionary's time and especially in the so-called house church. No authority, only the Bible, as the revolutionary slogan is very destroying for all kinds of the institutional organizations which run by the administrative rules and the ethical norms. Since the 16th century until today, so many gurus with the name of Christ and of the Gospels world widely appeared and actually the gurus themselves in each small group worked as the Lord but never controlled and surveyed by the faithful and moral criteria. To some extent, there are some reasonable points

138 *WA* 36, 220 translated by Jaroslav Pelikan in *Divine Rhetoric*, *The Sermon on the Mount as Message and as Model in Augustine, Chrysostom, and Luther*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001, p. 88.

139 *WA* 50, 629, 34 s, par André Birmelé, *Église*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 2001, p. 11.

140 "L'Eglise est l'assemblée de tous les croyants auprès desquels l'Evangile est prêche purement et les saints sacrements administrés conformément à l'Evangile." Philippe Melanchthon, *Confession d'Augsbourg*, [1530], art. 7, in: André Birmelé and Marc Lienhard (eds), *La foi des Églises luthériennes, Confessions et Catéchismes*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1991, p. 47.

from the Roman Catholic theologians who reflected the principle of the Reformation in the historical perspective in today's high place.

> The Reformation principle, sola scriptura, had fateful consequences for the subsequent history of Protestant ethics. It became so deeply embedded in the Protestant tradition that many writers who were uninterested in defending a view of revelation which would support it nonetheless wrote ethics – theological and practical – based on the Bible as the sole, or at least final, source of authority […] The plurality of opinion was greater in the Protestant tradition; it would be a gross error to claim great uniformity.[141]

Luther's theological principles contain so many systematic mechanisms to balance between the different factors such the Gospel and the Law, the Freedom and the Servitude, the two kingdoms etc for assuring the Word of God in the temporary world. But all of these must be confirmed and ruled through the institutional orders and the ethical norms. That is why we could find out that Calvin added two additional elements on the basic elements of the church by Luther: the ministries and the disciplines of the communion.

In the last years of his life, Luther had already worried about the disordered situation of the reformation in his country, but he could not do something more. There were so many revolts with the name of the reformation against all kinds of the orders and the authority in Germany. The new ecclesiastical governances and orders had not been established while the old order had been destroyed by Luther and his followers. That was the historical background for the reformers at his time. We must recognize that Luther had already achieved what he had to do by his life. The historical vocation will be done by his successors.

Protestantism quickly entered into the institutional stage of church after Luther. That was the great contribution by John Calvin. At the doctrinal perspective relative to the ecclesiastical elements, there are not so many big nuances among the denominational churches. All the churches take the firm position on the supreme authority of the Bible instead of the Pope, and Christ is the centre of the Gospel and the Head of the church. The doctrines of God, of Christ, of Grace, of Man etc inherited from the medieval era and well continued by Protestantism. The obvious

141 James M. Gustafson, *Protestant and Roman Catholic Ethics, Prospects for Rapprochement*, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978, p. 21.

developments exist mainly in the theology of the Sacraments and of the ecclesiology in Protestantism. John Calvin had made the most important initiatives after Luther for the theological tradition of the Protestantism.

In terms of the central theme of my research, the sacrament is a very critical issue while I study the ethical structural factor of the church in China. Hermeneutical understandings of the sacrament in Chinese have produced the total new paradigm for the theological ethics in Chinese situation. But here as the brief survey of the basic elements of the church order of the Protestant Church, I just want to relate the basic positions of the reformers, in principle, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin as the fundamental definitions of the Protestant tradition at the dogmatic sense.

As to the ecclesial attribution of the sacraments (the baptism and the Holy Communion), Luther's position is fundamental for the Protestant doctrine with Zwingli and Calvin as Werner Elert said. He wrote:

> Now it is true that the sacraments have already come up in another connection, namely – like the Gospel – as "symbols, tokens, and marks of the church" (symbola, tesserae et caracteres ecclesiae) in Luther; as "signs of the fellowship of the church" (signa societatis ecclesiae) in the later dogmaticians. Actually it is only within the frame of the church that one can speak meaningfully of Baptism at least, for individuals cannot baptize themselves. But since the church baptizes, it is no longer "purely a speaking church" (reine Wortkirche); it is at the same time a church that performs acts.[142]

Only concerning the essence of the doctrine of the sacraments, the controversies and the differences of the interpretations within Protestantism have marked the obvious denominational characters.

Historically, the Roman Catholic Church inherited from the Patristic doctrine insisted the position of transubstantiation, namely the wine and the bread have transformed substantially into the true blood and body of Christ in the Eucharist. The doctrine of the Eucharist in the Catholic Church has been defined from the resources as the liturgical tradition of the institution from the primitive church. (1 Cor. 11:17–34). The doctrinal interpretation is indicated with the mysterion or sacramentum of the sacramental Communion as what Justin Martyr said.

142 Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 292–293.

> We call this food the Eucharist […] Not as common bread or as common drink do we receive these, but just as through the word of God, Jesus Christ, our Savior, became incarnate and took on flesh and blood for our salvation, so […] the food over which we give thanks has been given by the prayer of his word, and which nourishes our flesh and blood by assimilation, is both the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus (Apologia I.66.2: PG 6,428).[143]

The doctrine that Christ is the Real Presence in the Communion as the Sacrificial Victim for human being has become the permanent Institution in the Patristic Church with the name of the Eucharist. The institutional functions of the Eucharist strengthened the structures of the Hierocracy of the Catholic Church in the following theocracy époque. That led to the radical responses from the reformers who wanted to destroy the super power of the Roman Catholic Church through the reinterpretation of the Eucharist. Here I'd like to say as the person outside the European culture that the reaction of the reformers is reasonable in terms of their intention of the reformation. But at the perspective of the ecumenism and the unity of the church in Chinese understandings, the sacraments will be defined again as the institutional functions later with different understandings from the position of Luther and Calvin, also Catholic tradition. That will be one of the central contents in the chapter 6.

Since the Renaissance and the Reformation, the natural science has been greatly developed in the Western civilization. The discoveries and the creations about the nature and the geography totally changed the existed ideas and world point of view from the West. The reflections and the considerations on the basis of the empirical experiences and of the natural experiments pushed the thinkers facing the permanent value and the universal truth from the Patristic heritages or the Catholic Church. The humanism was the strongest mainstream of the European thoughts since the time of the Renaissance with the huge influences on the social political areas. The reformers were also the persons of the time. They quickly encountered the serious problem to give the interpretation of the Eucharist by the positions which differed from the Catholic way.

For Luther, he used the so-called "Consubstantiation" which has a little nuance with the Catholic position, but in principle the same. We

143 "Eucharistic Mystagogy," in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, Washington D. C.: Gale, 2003, p. 421.

should connect his position with his principle of the reformation, namely, the doctrine of the Justification by faith, not by works and the supreme place of the Word of God in his ecclesiastical vision and theological world. He had stressed the relationships between the sign, the significance, and the faith from the Augustinian tradition. The true point of the sacrament is Christ who is ultimate point of the saints, the disciples and all the believers in the communion.[144] In one of his early theological treatises, he emphasized firmly that Christ is present in the sacrament which showed that he was not willing to interrupt his affiliation with the Patristic tradition.[145]

In his later life, he strongly denied the position of Ulrich Zwingli, who used the humanism theory to interpret the Lord's Supper as the so-called "Symbolic" against the "Real Presence",[146] in his works "Against the Fanatics", Luther used the terms "in, with and under" the bread and the wine to confirm the true presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper.[147] Finally Luther related it to Christ's Sovereignty over the Church by comparing it to the mystery of the doctrine of Incarnation. In a word, the Lutheran theological principle of the Sacrament has not cut off totally the apostolic tradition which was formed not only from the texts of the Bible but also from the testimony and the initiatives of the primitive churches, and then inherited by the Church Fathers. That is the important ecumenical basis for today's works between the Catholic and the Protestant.[148]

Calvin continued the theological principles of Luther for the further reformation by the construction of the Reformed Church in Geneva. He agreed with Luther, the Mass of the Catholic as the silent sacrifice is not acceptable for him. The Word of God must be the central point of the worship; the liturgy and the sacred music are around the proclamation of the Word of God. The sacraments as the permanent institutional structure

144 Martin Luther, *The Sacrament of the True Body and Blood of Christ and the Brotherhoods*, in: *LW*, vol. 35, pp. 49–73.

145 Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity*, in: *LW*, vol. 36, pp. 11–57.

146 Gottfried W. Locher, "Zwingli's Theology Compared to Luther and Calvin," in: *Zwingli's Thought, New Perspectives*, Leiden: Brill, 1981, pp. 220–229.

147 Martin Luther, *Against the Fanatics*, in: *LW*, vol. 36, pp. 335–361.

148 *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 3, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, pp. 2091–2092.

of the Old Catholic essentially show the supreme power of the ecclesiastical authority, but not the Word of God and the gospels for the reformers. Calvin, in his works "*Institutes of Christian Religion*" IV, XVII, gave his interpretation about the sacraments systematically. He used the spiritual presence of Christ's blood and the body in the Lord's Supper with the Word in the visible signs of the wine and of bread. He accepted Luther's position to deny the doctrine of the transubstantiation as an abomination and confirmed that the sacramental Communion as the genuine communication of Jesus Christ. The bread and the wine are visible signs, instruments, representations, of the body and the blood on which the Church must be visible as the body of Christ for the Word of God. The position of Calvin had made the synthesis between the position of Luther and that of Zwingli at different understandings of the time as the reformer of the second generation of the reformation.

In a word, as the ecclesiastical structural element of the church, the interpretations of the Sacrament marked the characters of the denominational churches. The theological understandings are very necessary to interpret the Reformation and Protestantism in the history. About this aspect, I'd like to enter into the concrete process of the Reformation in the following chapters.

The ministry of Protestantism is very particular if compared with the Roman Catholic tradition. The principle of the Universal Priesthood of Luther totally interrupted the medieval ecclesiological rules of the Roman Catholic Church. To study the church order of the Protestant church, the minister is the key issue as the clergy class in the ecclesiology of Roman Catholic Church.[149] The task of the Proclamation about the

149 It is no any suspicion that the Pope Benedict VI is the most influent theologian of the Roman Catholic Church during last 20 years so far while he worked as Cardinal Ratzinger. As to the Church, he has given a very thoughtful definition to me by his interpretation of the "three historical modifications". He said: "1. The biblical-patristic notion: Church as the people of God, that comes together in the Eucharist as the body of Christ. One could speak of a *sacramental-ecclesiastical understanding* of the Church; a valid comparison would be: *ecclesia = communion = corpus Christi.* 2. Next to that stands the understanding of the Middle Ages: the talk turns to the 'mystical body of the Church'; the Church appears as the corporation of those in Christ. One could speak here of a *juridical-corporate* conception of the 'body of Christ.' 3. The modern period introduces a romantic notion: *corpus Christi mysticum* – the obscure, mysterious, living body of Christ; the word 'mystical' derives

truth of the Cross is eternal and very common to the universal church with the different names. This point as the element of the church should be understood deeply around the concept of the minister, because the Proclamation of the Gospel is done by the persons in the concrete society or the actual situation. These persons are clergy in the Catholic Church who are celibate and members of the special class by the Canonical Law; and in the Protestant churches, they are pastors and with all kinds of congregations, with the family or the children, and possible other statue in the secular orders. That is the key point to do the interpretation about the minister for the Protestant church order!

Calvin used the ecclesiastical ordinances and disciplines for the new system of the ministry as the Canonical Law for the clergy class in the Roman Catholic Church since the medieval era. That is the critical point of departure for Protestantism while Calvin did this initiative in Geneva. Historically the minister as one of the basic elements of the Protestant Church since the beginning is always the most realistic issue for the church at the sense of the ecclesiology and the ethics. It concerns the issue of the human being in the concrete social political situations mixed with the individual rights and the family, the marriage, the property and the citizenship etc. Although there are four kinds of the ministers in Calvin's design, i.e. the pastor, the elder, the doctor, the deacon, and all the believers are the ministers as one of the important ideas of the Reformation has deeply influenced the ecclesiology of the Protestant churches until today.

In the Anglican tradition, the threefold hierarch of the church order from the medieval church remains since the Reformation. The bishop, the priest and the deacon basically compose the church minister of the Anglican Church. This phenomenon has shown that the minister system is the formal structure for the ultimate aim of the Church, namely the proclamation of the Gospels. The ecumenical dialogues are accepted today and for us in the Church in China, the differences of the concepts of the minister by the Lutheran, the Reformed-Presbyterian, the Anglican etc could supply us the wide perspective to think of the mission of the Church.

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from 'mystic.' We have here an understanding of the Church as a mystical organism." In: Joseph Ratzinger, *Das neue Volk Gottes*, Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1969, p. 99.

The hierocracy of the Roman Catholic assures stably the authority of the Pope with the system of the doctrines and the canonical law in the sense of the Church Order and Government. That is why after Luther, the reformers as Ulrich Zwingli, Oekolampad, Martin Bucer, Bullinger, Calvin, Knox, Beze and so on stressed so strongly the necessity of the Church Ordinances, the disciplines, the rules or the Church Constitution for the institutional church. Although they never added the church ordinances and disciplines as the nature of Church as the Sacraments and the proclamation of the Word, they made clear that the church disciplines and laws are the institutional method to assure the realization of the Church mission in the secular world.

> One of the most tangible aspects of the theological and ecclesiastical innovations associated with the Protestant Reformation is the church ordinances. Rooted in the Pauline admonition, "Let everything be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:40) the church orders concentrated initially on reforms in worship but touched on diverse aspects of early modern social and religious experience. These documents, referred to variously as church orders (Ger., Kirchenordnungen), ecclesiastical ordinances (Fr., ordonannces ecclésiastiques), agendas, and books of discipline, were multifaceted religious constitutions that permitted both the reformers and their constituencies to address a wide range of institutional considerations. The term church ordinance could be employed in a variety of settings. The church orders consistently featured the following elements: doctrinal statements, catechisms, sacramental prescriptions, liturgical formulations and aids to worship, descriptions of ecclesiastical offices and hierarchies, disciplinary proceedings, regulations for schools and universities, and instructions for pastoral care and poor relief. No single church order incorporated all of these elements, even though most sought to be as comprehensive as possible, especially during the latter half of the sixteenth century.[150]

The first Lutheran church order was the Johann Aepinus's order for the Hanseatic city of Stralsund in 1525 which defined the rules relative to the initial emphasis on teaching and the pastoral office, educational decisions, and details of church administration. The Lutheran constitutional structure in so many cities such as Braunschweig, Hamburg, Lübeck, Nuremberg, Bremen, Strasbourg, Hanover, and Augsburg then contained the church order as the important part of the ecclesiastical affairs. All of

150 Jeffrey P. Jaynes, "Church ordinances," in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 1, ed. by H. J. Hillerbrand, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 345–346.

these rules functioned as the structural elements for the Lutheran Church which was created according to the theological principles of Martin Luther who had not created the ruler systematically for the church order.

The reformation in Switzerland was very significant for the Protestant church order, especially embodied in the area of the church discipline by Zwingli and Calvin who pioneered and practiced the ecclesiastical discipline as the law of the church for finally establishing the model of the church for later history.

Zwingli through his influence on the authorities of Zurich created a series of church orders concerning the sacraments and marriage in 1525, and then after several revision, finally with the name of Zurich Church order in 1532. The reformed church in Basel and Bern nearly at the same time adopted the Reformed Order (Reformationsordnung) to define the norms concerning the ecclesiastical policy and rules in the secular order.

The most remarkable model was set up by the reformation of John Calvin in Geneva. In 1541, he presented "Ordonnances ecclésiastiques" to give clear definition about the church offices and the role of discipline by creating the ecclesiastical institution "Consistory" and the Elder's duty in communion. We need to enter into the Reformation practice of John Calvin to understand the signification of his initiatives of the Church Order in Geneva in detail.

The discipline of the church order by Calvin was created as the Canonical Law of Roman Catholic for the Protestant church historically. Today's Protestant churches have the ecclesiastical constitutions or by-laws or ecclesiastical regulations as the norms and rules for the actions of the church in the secular order with the great source from the reformed Church of Calvin in Geneva. That is why we could say that Luther supplied the theological principles for the Protestant Church, and Calvin established the church by his initiatives in the sense of the ecclesiology, which created the basic model regarding the ethical, the political, the economical, the administrative etc rules for the Protestant Church in the time and in the secular world.

For the church in the non-European tradition, one of the weakest points of the Church in China is the disorder of the ecclesiastical disciplines and the institutional system for administrating the ecclesiastical rules and regulations. I'll explore in details how Calvin worked to construct the ecclesiastical disciplines as the necessary method for the church in Geneva in the chapter fourth.

Thus, the institutional church after Luther was established by the following reformers, the most important representative was John Calvin. He is not only the Father of the Reformed-Presbyterian Church tradition, but also the founder of the Protestant Church tradition as Luther and Zwingli. His influences over Protestantism continued world wide until today.

2.3.3.3 The Ecclesiastical Polity or Church Governance

> The governance of the Christian churches has assumed a variety of forms based on historical factors as well as on theological positions regarding the origin or root of ministerial functions. In a descending degree of local autonomy, these forms are broadly classified as congregational, Presbyterian, or Episcopal, but within each category significant modifications exist. After a historical survey of church governance from its beginnings through the Middle Ages, the organization of the major denominations will be considered individually.[151]

Briefly speaking the failures of the reform inside the Roman Catholic Church regarding the abuses and the problems of the papal authority, the corruptions of the power in the secular order and the moral scandals with the privileges of the fortunes etc led to the radical reaction of the Reformation against the Hierocracy of Pope and the formation of a number of independent churches with the divergent patterns of ecclesiastical government.

Historically as to the church polity of the Protestant churches, these above three forms exist as the main forms of the church polity since the Reformation until today. The fundamental elements of the Protestant church at the category of the institutional structure should be interpreted each of them linked with concrete church in the history. Because all of the forms were introduced into China before 1949 by the thousands of the missionaries from the Europe and the USA, the brief introduction will be necessary for the further study of the ethical structure of the church in China. In a word,

151 John E. Lynch, "Church: Church Polity," in: *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, ed. by L. Jones, New York: Thomson Gale, 2005, pp. 1763–1769.

> The western European church orders confine themselves to matters of church polity, but those that were issues in Germany where the territorial princes functioned as heads of the churches, included much more: complete agendas, rules and regulations concerning the ministry (preaching, the administration of the Sacraments, theological training, examinations of candidate, vocation, ordination, visitation, disciplinary procedures, salary matters), church property, care of the poor, education, and marriage matters.[152]

2.3.3.3.1 The Episcopal Form of Church Government

This form of ecclesiastical order is used in the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican churches which considered the ministry as the historical successions from the apostles. The bishop as the successor of the Twelve is the key minister. The threefold hierarchical leadership from Antioch around 110 CE became normative over the Christian world. The ecclesiastical hierarchy with the name of "sacred rule" was established up as the institutional structure of the church. The right and duty of the bishop is special in charge of the community. Around the bishop there are the presbyters (elders) and the subordinate group of deacons who administrate the property and the service of the church. The bishop as the central role of the institutional church has the faithful and ethical responsibility for the diocese or the eparchy.

There are three places in the texts of the New Testament relative to the ecclesiastical duty of the bishop. Episkopeo means "supervise, oversee, care for" in 1 Pet. 5:2; episcope, "position or function of supervisor" (1 Tim. 3:1); and episkopos, "supervisor, overseer", which occurs only five times in Acts 20:28, Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:2; Titus 1:5, 7; 1 Pet. 5:1–3. The presbyter-bishops exercised the leadership of oversight in their local churches or diocese until the beginning of the second century, when there were three Popes after St. Peter during this period of one after another (ca. 64–97), Linus, Anacletus, and Clement. These first popes were defined as the earliest presbyter-bishops and not as the "monarchical" bishops at the sense of the Patristic era.

The first bishop in terms of the patristic tradition was St. Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 35 – ca. 105). Since then the threefold ministerial office of bishops, presbyters and deacons was established as the basic church pol-

152 "Church Orders," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 517.

ity. The bishop has the right and the responsibility regarding the sacraments and the faithful doctrines for purity and justice.

St. Irenaeus of Lyons was the first historic figure to define the apostolic authority and succession of the bishop while facing the ecclesiastical crisis from Gnosticism. That was critically important for assuring the unity of the church and the orthodox of the doctrines of the church. Throughout the Catholic, world historically until today, the apostolic authority and apostolic succession always work as the orthodox of the Catholicity and the universality for faith and doctrines. That is the resource of the spirituality of the Catholic mind. The doctrine of the Apostolic Succession remains the controversial point of the ecumenical dialogue between the Presbyterian tradition, the Lutheran tradition and the Roman Catholic. 1962–65, the Second Vatican Council confirmed the traditional doctrine of the bishop. And, the Code of Canon Law promulgated in 1983 indicates: "Just as, in accordance with the Lord's decree, Saint Peter and the other apostles constitute one college, in like fashion the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor, and the bishops, the successors of the apostles, are united with each other." (canon 330).

> Before Vatican II it was a disputed theological question whether Episcopal consecration was sacramental (i.e., part of the sacrament of orders), or whether it was a jurisdictional addition to the Presbyterian order. Lumen gentium affirms the former, stating that the fullness of the sacrament of Orders is conferred by Episcopal consecration, that fullness, namely, which both in the liturgical tradition of the Church and in the language of the Fathers of the Church is called the high priesthood, the acme of the sacred ministry.[153]

In the Reformation era, only the Anglican Church remained the Episcopal polity and ecclesiastical order. The ecclesiastical structures with the threefold ministry made the Anglican tradition obviously different from the Lutheran territorial structures and the Reformed-Presbyterian autonomous model at the reference with the political authority. As far as the Church polity and governance is concerned, the Anglican Church affiliates so closely with the royal authorities who own the supreme sovereignty of the state. But the ministerial elements of the Patristic tradi-

153 Susan K. Wood, "Episcopacy," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 107.

tion have been mostly reserved in the Anglican Church during the reformation era. And the Lutheran church became the territorial church without any independent dignity concerning the socio political issues. The head of the secular orders functioned essentially as the bishop for the church. These were the original causes for the appearance of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth to challenge the authority of this model for the truth of the Cross later.

The Episcopalian polity could be considered as the ethical means of the conflictions between the Roman Catholic and the Continental Reformation. The institutional structure of the Episcopalian church has the essence of the communion by the doctrines and prayer. It looks like the spiritual community with special rules in the secular order. Formally it has the federation frame over the world but without the principle of federalism. The Lutheran churches in the Scandinavian countries applies also to the Episcopalian polity and government, in the German Lutheran church, from 1918 when the German Empire ended and the princes as the bishop in their territorial churches also finished, and then the position of the bishop was restored. But the bishop in the German Evangelical church is different from that in the Anglican Church. They are selected in the church synod democratically. Or we could say the title of the bishop exists in so many Protestant churches besides the Anglican Communion, but the meanings are different. In principle, the Episcopalian polity and government as the institutional structure in the Protestant world is represented by the Anglican Communion, which is made of thirty-eight provinces in English-speaking countries and former colonies of England.

2.3.3.3.2 Presbyterian Form of Church Government

The polity of Presbyterian churches rests on three constitutive principles: (1) the parity of presbyters (both clergy and lay); (2) the right of the people through their representatives or lay elders to take part in the government of the church; and (3) the unity of the Church, not simply in faith and order, but in a graduated series of Church Courts [session, presby-

tery, synod, consistory, General Assembly] which express and exercise the common authority of the Church as a divine society.[154]

In terms of the formal elements, the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government were based on the initiatives of the reformed church established by John Calvin and developed in Holland, Scotland, and the USA during the following three centuries after Calvin. As far as the influences of the reformation are concerned, the Presbyterian polity has deeply influenced the process of the modern politics of the Western civilization. The republic background of the reformation in Geneva supplied the model for the European political evolution.[155]

The partners and the followers of John Calvin such as John Knox had succeeded in spreading and developing the initiatives of the ecclesiastical order and polity of Calvin in Scotland, and into North America through immigration. So far, the Presbyterian form is most popular over the world, and even in the other denominational churches such as Lutheran church, Episcopalian church, some advantages of the Presbyterian form has been transplanted and developed with the concrete requirements. That is the synodal system with democracy and the spirit of communion. In detail, the General Assembly, as the highest representative body, elects the moderator as an honorable official for one year, and holds the true powerful right by the collective of the members relative to the doctrines and disciplines. The presbyters have a special duty through the committee as the court of appeal. Briefly, in the civil society, the Presbyterian polity as the special ecclesiastical governance has the great value of the church polity in correspondent with the mainstream of the political democracy in the contemporary sense. We need to spend special time to discuss the structural elements connected with the practical creation of the reformation of John Calvin in Geneva and his theological initiatives for the ecclesiastical polity and governances in the chapter four.

154 Cf. Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, A Social History of Calvinsim,* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 116-117; pp.135-136.

155 Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origins de la réforme,* IV Calvin et L'Institution Chrétienne, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1978, p.169.

2.3.3.3.3 Congregational Form of Church Government

The third form of the ecclesiastical government is the Congregationalism, which stresses the primitive model directly from the Church in the time of the New Testament, refuse any form of control above and from the higher structure as the Episcopalian form or outside as the Lutheran territory church form. It claims that each church of the community is totally independent in the sense of the ecclesiastical administration. The biblical resources for this model lie in Gal. 1:1–2 where St. Paul sent the pastoral letter to the several churches, and in Revelation 1:4, and Acts 6:3, 13:2, too. The bishop, the presbytery and councils, any kinds of the authorities are denied by the Congregational polity as the descriptions in 1 Cor. 5:12, Matt. 18:17.

This form could be defined as the total autonomy from political authorities, and the ecclesiastical authorities. This particular polity was in origin from the ecclesiastical practice of Robert Browne (1550–1630). He was not very satisfied about the policy of the Church-State relationship of the Anglican Church at his time. He identified many abuses brought by this model in the Church of England. But he knew that it is impossible to transplant the Reformed model of Calvin in the Republic polity of Geneva into the actual monarchy of England where the Supreme power belongs to the British royal family not the citizen as in Geneva. Thus he radically used the model from the churches of the New Testament with the spiritual force of Martin Luther's weapon "*Sola Scriptura*" to create the model of congregationalism.

The most important principle of this model is the total separation between the church and the state concerning any affairs of religious freedom. The power of bishop in the institutional church has been completely denied instead of the common decision by the congregations in the open sessions of the churches equally. At that time they quickly melted into the most spiritual force, namely Puritanism, who opposed the Church of England by the Calvinism theory. The persecution from the authorities of the Church and the State made them grow so fast and spread over North America. In the process the independent tendency of America got the strong forces from the Calvinist and Puritanism, and Congregationalism with the federation principle in the sense of modern politics quickly showed the great value for the US historically.

Today, there are so many denominational churches in the US with the original background of the Reformation in Europe, but all of them have been deeply influenced by the ideas of Congregationalism, even in the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian churches. The separation of the Church and the State, the autonomy of the parish, the engagements of all the believers, the principle of the democracy, the basic principles of Luther such as the priesthood of all the believers, the Calvinist principles etc have been realized fully in this form of the church polity.

Especially in the 20th century, the United States-based Evangelical movement with the Congregationalist form of the ecclesiastical polity and government has shocked the old Continental churches. Even to Karl Barth, after the severe resistance to the Nazis with the deep disappointment about the State Church of Germany, preferred in his words the model of the Congregationalist in the USA. In my understandings, the Congregationalist polity has done the balance among the Episcopalian model and the Presbyterian model which are both very institutional and structural on the basis of the national organization as the super society according to doctrines and disciplines. Common people mostly need prayer life and the small community without any desire of the obeisance to the supreme power with the name of the divinity. There are heavy sociological psychologies for this kind of human mind.

As to the Chinese church mainly as the Evangelical model in the U.S., I should give the theological and social political interpretation in chapter 6 as the references to think of the central theme in China.

2.3.4 Conclusion: the Focus of the Research of the Church Polity

After the survey of the fundamental elements of Protestantism at the level of the ecclesiastical order by comparison to the Catholic church, we could confirm that the key problem of the church polity actually contain the way of the existence of the church in secular society. That means that the doctrinal controversies and conflictions as the urgent issues of the Medieval Patristic Church have been transited into the ethical problem in the time of the Renaissance when the nations with the sense of the secular sovereignty was wakened vis-à-vis to the super power of the Papacy of the institutional church.

Thus the theological dimension of Protestantism presents the faithful positions and principles through the theological thoughts of Martin Luther and John Calvin and the other reformers who have shaped the theological frame of Protestantism for the faith of the church. The political dimension of Protestantism embodies the ecclesiastical existence in the secular order of the concrete society. That is the issue of the Church with certain orders and systems. The political analyses about the Church order and governance could distinguish the mission of the church in the temporary world as in two thousands years of history that the church has existed.

The important interpretation of the church order is the ecclesiastical polity and government which relate to the social and political systems. Since the Reformation until today, the political systems in the West have evolved by several different stages. The whole society of Western civilization has passed absolute monarchism, the colonialism, the Classicalism, the Enlightenment time, and then into the Industrialism.

Since the event of 1789, the ideal of Human Rights appeared in the history of humanity, at the same time, the Communism movement with the logic and the wisdom of the German classic philosophy began one strong social and spiritual force against Capitalism which dominated Western civilization. During the last four centuries since the Reformation, the Protestant church spread and grew over the world as the spirit and value were included inside Capitalism and overwhelmed the Catholic Church in the category of civil religion. It means that the moral dimension of Protestantism has defined the ethical rules for Western civilization.

Thus, to understand the moral values and factors of Protestantism in history since the Reformation, I should enter into the field of ethics of the protestant church. Or I'm convinced that the moral system of Protestantism is realized through the Church. The moral teachings of Jesus Christ in the Bible have become the ethics of the church in the history of the Western civilization. The institutional church has made the norms and the rules for Christians in the secular world. That is the key place for me to prepare the research about the ethical structures of the church through the understanding of the reformation. Only by this research, the Chinese church, which exists in the non-European cultural context, could learn the fundamental factors from the historic church for the future of

the church in China. The orientation of the church in China must be universal and ecumenical directly connected with the mainstream of the reformation.

2.4 The Ethical Dimension of Protestantism: Church and Ethics

2.4.1 Introduction

The structural factor of the faith of Protestantism is the institutional church in time and space. The institutional substance means that the ecclesiastical polity, the government with the rules and ordinances and models with secular power for the ecclesial aim in the temporary world etc. It is only at the level of the ecclesiastical category that there is a huge difference between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church although the conflict seemed in origin of the doctrine of Justification by faith at the beginning of the Reformation in Wittenberg. Thus I'd like to make a judgment that the ecclesial system must have the function of structuring the faith of the church by ethical norms, because the ecclesial system relates to the rules and norms about relationships and models between the church and state, spiritual and secular, the mind and the world, the law and the gospel etc. In this case, Protestant ethics should be named by Church Ethics or Ecclesial Ethics in order to stress the ecclesial of ethics.

My central theme is the ethical structure of the church from the reformation. Here as part of the research, I'd like to concentrate on the basic propositions of the ecclesial ethics in general for preparing my research systematically into the world of Luther and of Calvin.

2.4.2 The Biblical Basis and the Initiatives of the Ecclesial Ethics of Luther and Calvin

2.4.2.1 From the Decalogue to the Reformation

The initial point of the Reformation of Martin Luther is very ethical through his challenge to the authority of the Papacy, and the forces behind him were also very ethical in terms of the relationships between the secular interests of the princes and the corrupt privileges of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in the temporary society for the secular interest. Luther uses strong forces from the Bible, which is the spirit of the Law of the prophets, especially the Decalogue of Moses and the words of the apostles, especially St. Paul, who developed first of all the Church Ethics from the moral teachings of Jesus Christ linked with the Church as the Christian communion. To Calvin, the spirit of the Law showed much stronger than in the career of Luther because he must establish the church for continuing the reformation for the Gospel.

The Decalogue in the theological tradition of the Old Testament could be defined as the main line throughout all the messages of Propheticism. Moses as the special selected person by God needed no intermediary or royal titles and noble ranks.

> The Decalogue sits at the center of the covenant between God and Israel, as mediated through Moses. Its stipulations provide the foundational definition of an appropriate relationship between the Israelites and God and among individual Israelites under the terms of the covenant. In its Old Testament context, the Decalogue is directed exclusively toward members of the Israelite community. As part of the Christian canon, more universal interpretations have been attached to it. One easily sees a significant influence on Christian thinking, as some informal built upon the Decalogue.[156]

From the ethical perspective, the divine nature of the Decalogue lies in the divine promise of God directly. The rules, the regulations and the commandments in the Pentateuch relate to the faithful life of the selected

156 J. W. Marshall, "Decalogue," in: *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*, ed. by T. D. Alexander and D. W. Baker, Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2003, p. 171.

nation in the social society in history.[157] Thus the ethical norms from the Decalogue have shown it as the Law and the Covenant for the people under the grace of God. In the theology of the Old Testament, the Law has been interpreted by the category of the three sorts of functions: the law of the religious rites, the law of the jurisdiction, and the law of the moral through which is the Word of God.[158]

The ethical principles from the Decalogue belong to the faithful area, because all the contents of the Decalogue, the commandments, the regulations and the norms from Moses surround the most important requirement, namely, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, one Lord, and you must love the Lord your God with all your heart and soul and strength." (Deut. 6:4–5) And when Moses promulgated the Law of God, he firmly claimed:

> Listen, O Israel, to the statutes and the laws which I proclaim in your hearing today. Learn them and be careful to observe them. The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. It was not with our forefathers that the Lord made this covenant, but with us, all of us who are alive and are here this day. (Deut. 5:1–3).

The first three articles of the Decalogue are concerning the principle of the faith about the selection by God. The whole of the Hebrew people had witnessed the grace, the miracles, and the rage of God during the

157 "'Torah' is usually translated 'law', and much of it is legal material. Various collections (e.g., the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments; the Book of the Covenant, Exod. 20:22–23:19; the Holiness Code, Lev. 17–26; the Deuteronomic code, Deut. 4:44–28:46) can be identified and associated with particular periods of Israel's history. The later collections sometimes revisit earlier legislation, displaying both fidelity to, and creativity with the earlier traditions […] As 'ceremonial,' the Torah struggles against temptations to covenant infidelity in foreign cults, and nurtures a communal memory and commitment to covenant. As 'civil', the Torah is fundamentally theoratic; this theocratic conviction that the rulers are ruled too, that they are subject to law, not its final creators, has a democratizing effect. As 'moral,' the Torah protects the family and its economic participation in God's gift of the land, protects persons and property (but persons more than property), requires fairness in disputes and economic transactions, and provides for the care and protection of the vulnerable: widows, orphans, the poor, the sojourner." By Allen Verhey, "Ethics," in: K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 197.

158 Gerhard von Rad, *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 2, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1960, p. 350.

process of the exodus from Egypt. So every kind of incorrect behavior offending the name of God must be seriously punished. From the fourth article, the ethical norms are defined with the form of jurisdiction; it is about the ethical disciplines regarding piety of the parents, the caring of life respect to the neighborhood, the common virtues of private property etc. In the ancient time, these ethical norms were promulgated with the divine name of God to restrain the selected nations throughout their words, behaviors and social relationships. Thus the theological significance of the Decalogue was very obvious to the reformers, because of the grace, the promise and the benediction of God throughout Abraham and until the prophets who started from God's Calling of Moses.[159] The words of Moses were reckoned again and again in the history of his Calling at the beginning of the Creation of Deuteronomy: "You must follow the Lord your God and fear him; you must keep his commandments and obey him, serve him and hold fast to him." (Deut. 13:4).

Martin Luther has strongly stressed the importance of the Decalogue to the Catechism which was the basis of the Protestant Church. In the premier part of the Large Catechism, he explained very clearly sentence by sentence the meanings of the Decalogue for the faithful requirements as the doctrines to the Church. And then he started up the interpretations of the Apostles' Creed. For Luther, the ethical disciplines of the Decalogue have the prima value for Christian life in society. To obey the word of the Lord and his commandments through the prophets have composed the fundament of the faith on which the church can be well built for spreading the word of God in the temporary world.[160]

Historically, from that moment historically Protestant theology has owned one important category: the Law and the Gospel by Luther.[161] He

159 "Rather, the Ten Commandments or the Decalogue reflect the core values of Israel's theology and moral outlook (Exod. 20)." By Gordon J. Wenham, "Law," in: K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 445.

160 André Birmelé and Marc Lienhard (eds), *La foi des Églises luthériennes, Confessions et Catéchismes*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1991, p. 371.

161 "The English term 'law' covers a much narrower range of literature than the Hebrew term *torah*, which is conventionally translated 'law'. Hebrew *torah* would be better translated 'instruction,' and this *torah* comprises the whole of the Pentateuch, Genesis to Deuteronomy, despite the fact that these books contain a fair amount of narrative […] By 'law' the English Bible reader understands the legal rulings and

did not put them in an opposite position but in the unity of divine creation.[162]

As the reformer of the second generation, John Calvin gave also great attention to the Decalogue in his huge works," Institution of Christian Religion". He called it the moral law (la Loi morale). He thought that God explores his ultimate aim through the Decalogue, namely the Agape and the Saintly. He explained in detail the contents of the Decalogue as the moral disciplines of the believers. The Gospel of Christ is proclaimed as the final fulfillment of the laws of the Lord. He claimed that Christ was known through the Law of the Lord by the Jewish people, and finally by humankind through the Gospel (*ICR*, II, IX). Calvin thought that ethical requirements regarding life and behavior of the selected people through the Decalogue indicated that God is willing to restrain the moral life of the selected people by the form of the law. By this way it prepared the arrival of Jesus Christ to establish the new covenant between the humanity and the Lord.

The divine relationship between the law and the gospel has been interpreted by Calvin according to his particular reformed position. To the Protestant Church, if the Gospel is used as excuses to refuse any kind of restrain and control regarding the ethical norms and rules for seeking the absolute freedom against all kinds of the authority, the result of the opposition between the law and gospel will be made finally, and that will bring the farm to the faithful order of the Church and ethical catastrophe to the Christian life. He stressed the great significance of the Decalogue to the Church in his day. He claimed that the Decalogue as the ethical law to the Church is correspondent with the moral teaching of Christ essentially in the New Testament. The relationships between the ethical rules of the Decalogue and the gospel about the agape of Jesus Christ are not in conflict and opposed as in the advice of St. Paul. (*ICR*, II, IX, 4)

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moral injunctions found within the Pentateuch, such as the Ten Commandments, the farming regulations of Exod. 22, the laws on sacrifice and purity in Leviticus, and the sermons of Deuteronomy." By Gordon J. Wenham, "Law," in: K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 442.

162 Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 104.

It is the ethical norms of the Christian life that the starting point to establish the Protestant Church is based on Calvin's vision. The freedom to destroy the Sacred Order of Rome over the secular authority should not be permitted arbitrarily to the extent of ignoring any moral and social orders even the laws. Luther has well explained the nature of Christian freedom by the dialectic way. To consider the Agape and Holiness as the ultimate aim of ethics will lead to the complete understanding of the Divine Providence through the Gospel of Christ on the Cross. The Kingdom of God is the orientation for the church in the temporary world. Calvin was inspired so much from the revelation of the prophets and he was aware that the political and social reality was the realistic ground where he started the reformation toward the establishment of the Church which differed from the Roman Catholic Church. Calvin opened the important page to create the church polity and order at the sense of the system.

2.4.2.2 The Prophetic Theme: the Communion of the Selected People

The role of Abraham is the beginning of the ethics of the prophets, and also the important faithful basis for Christianity through special spiritual community which is in origin of Abraham. The idea of the selected people could be regarded as the archetype for the Christian community of the New Testament. Abraham was the first human being with the special Calling from God for realizing the special duty under the grace of the divinity. The descendants of Abraham will be given the grace due to his faith.[163] The Father of the Faith is the eternal witness of the apostles, for Abraham as the faithful criteria for the later church forever.

Therefore, special tradition has been set up from here, i.e. the selected people are the special community by the covenant between Abraham and God for fulfilling the vocation from the divine promise. From the point of view of the Old Testament, the verses of Genesis 12:1–3 is throughout the whole tradition of Propheticism: The Lord said to Abram,

163 "Rien que la promesse de sa paternite. Il sera le père du peuple élu pour lequel Dieu a préparé son Royaume afin de révéler sa Seigneurie à toute chair. Il n'a rien que la foi." Wilhelm Vischer, *La loi ou les cinq livres de Mo se*, trad. par M. Carrez, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1949, p. 183.

> Leave your own country, your kinsmen, and your father's house, and go to a country that I will show you. I will make you into a great nation, I will bless you and make your name so great that it shall be used in blessings: Those that bless you I will bless, those that curse you, I will execrate. All the families on earth will pray to be blessed as you are blessed. (Gen. 12:1–3)

From that moment, the most important ethical principle was formed from the Prophetic tradition. That is to say, if you follow the Lord, you will be blessed, and as to the community of the selected people, this ethical principle as the moral rule of the social behaviors of the members of the community has the function of the law. That is the so-called moral law of ethical tradition of the Prophetic.

The moral law of the Prophetic to restrain the secular authorities has so many examples in the Old Testament. For instance, the Prophet Samuel owned the total power over the land of Israel through his final decision to select Saul and David as kings of the secular order. King Saul did not follow the opinions of Samuel to kill all the beasts and lambs, and then he lost the grace of God through Samuel (1 Sam. 15). But King David and Solomon were finally blessed by God although they did not listened to the advice of the prophets very often, and the grace of God was especially on them. The kings afterwards as heads of the community of the selected people must be judged according to the Law of Moses, the command of God and orders of the prophets. There is a special place in 2 Chronicles 34:8–33, the role of a prophet has the particular spiritual and ethical influence in the selected people as community when the book of the Law was found from the wall of the Temple with great shock to king Josiah (2 Chron. 34:14–21). From the witnesses and the words of the prophets since Moses with encounters and behaviors in the concrete situation in the Old Testament, we could find that they made the faithful transportation of the command and the word of God as their vocation in order to remind the selected people of the moral rules. Thus, the authentic attitudes of the Prophets of the Old Testament have deeply constructed the ethical structures of the Christian community which strengthened the sacred basis of the covenant with God.[164]

164 "The contemporary Christian can scarcely avoid surprise at the extent to which the second-century apologists rely on Moses and the Prophets as sources of their own faith. This is perhaps due to their indebtedness to Jewish apologetics against the pa-

2.4.2.3 Brief Conclusion

In the strict sense, the Hebrew nation of the Old Testament had not built the secular order as the other kingdoms around her. She was always the community with the faithful covenant in the mind collectively through the works of the prophets. The word and command of God, the Law of Moses, and the orders of the Prophets have composed the ethical norms and the social order for the selected people in the community. In this case these ethical norms are the moral rules of the community with the function of judicial regulations. No matter what, the prophets appeared among the selected people during the period of the Old Testament in order to remind the selected nation to guard and obey the rules, the commands and the orders. To wait for the Messiah then became the ultimate hope of the whole selected nation as the absolute faith. The ethical dimension of the faith ruled the spiritual life of the community in the temporary world until the last day. And then the time of the new covenant with God through Christ came along with the primitive Christian community. Thus the Prophetic tradition linked the faith of Christ toward salvation.

Until now, we could say that the ethical structure of the community by the selected people in the Old Testament had prepared the model of the church in the New Testament. The moral law of the Prophetic words decisive to the selected nation had deeply influenced Calvin and his career in Geneva. That is why he has closely developed special understanding about the ethics of the Church of St. Paul based on the ethics of the community of the Old Testament.

2.4.3 The Original Source of the Church Ethics in the New Testament

The ethical liaison between the Old Testament and the New Testament is closely related throughout the essential messages of the prophets and the

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gans. From a modern point of view, it seems that these authors make too little of the personal character of Jesus. The moral ideals of the Sermon on the Mount are occasionally mentioned, but otherwise there is little emphasis on the doctrine, miracles, and sanctity of Jesus, or even on His Resurrection." Avery Cardinal Dulles, *A History of Apologetics*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999, p. 38.

apostles. The God of the Trinity is the core of the faith of the church since the very beginning of the proclamation of the Gospel of the disciples who witnessed the words and the miracles of Jesus Christ. During all kinds of catastrophes of the persecutions against the Jews, the Scripture of the Hebrews had never been excluded from the faith of Christianity which forever combines the Old Testament and the New Testament in unity as the Divine Revelation. As far as the theme of the research is concerned, both the ethical principles with the judiciary effect of the Prophetic tradition and the will and the mind inside the communion of the selected people through the new covenant should be the cause of our special attention because of the heritages of the primitive church of the New Testament inherited by the Reformation through the ecclesiastical designs.

Luther explicated the Law and the Gospel at the level of the Christian faith whether we could achieve or not. Calvin further considered the ethical norms as the disciplines and the orders of the establishment of the church in realistic circumstances. Thus, in the system of the Protestant ethics, the ethical spirit of the Prophetic tradition of the Old Testament is very apparent everywhere throughout the Reformation and the theological initiatives by the works of Luther and Calvin. Luther challenged the authority of Rome by the Sola Scriptura, and Calvin used the spirit of the ethical law of the Old Testament to achieve the building of the Reformed Church which was judiciary correspondence with the political authorities in Geneva. All of these are the initiatives of the moral norms and the ethical orders of the church at the dimension of the faith historically.

2.4.3.1 Jesus Christ and the Moral Teachings as Ethical Basis of the Church

At the perspective of the New Testament, the descriptions of the words and the activities of Jesus during the three years in the temporary world have constructed the main contents of the Gospels, and the moral revelations from Jesus Christ are clearly the resources of Christian ethics and even now much farther from the ecclesiastical category. That means the apostles' interpretations about the moral teachings of Jesus Christ are truly the beginning of Church Ethics as a system. As a German theolo-

gian said, "The ethics of the New Testament is entirely the ecclesial ethics". The Christian ethics is valuable only since the time of the church.[165] Thus, we should distinguish between the moral teachings of Jesus and the ethical thoughts of the apostles and the inner relationships of their moral intentions.

As the resources of Christian moral thoughts and Christian ethics, the words of Jesus Christ have shown his identity of the Trinity as the Son, the Mediator and the King etc for the system of the faith of the church. The moral teachings of Jesus Christ have become one of the structures of the faith of Christianity. I'd like to make a short clarification about the principal points of his moral teachings.

a) "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. 4:17)
The words of Jesus recorded in the Gospel of Matthew, which presents him as Israel's Messiah through activities of healing and proclamations, have shaped the most important basis of the moral teachings, namely, the Repentance, a way toward Salvation with the communion of the new covenant. The "kingdom of heaven" in the moral teachings of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew was the prima message as the supreme aim for the repentance. The central theme of the proclamation therefore is about the Kingdom of the Heaven and repentance after Jesus. That is the eschatological ethical requirements and also the ethical rules of the church for congregations.[166]

b) "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them." (Matt. 5:17)
The moral teachings of the "Sermon on the Mount" (Matt. 5:3–12; Luke 6:20–23) and the series of the moral advices of Jesus (Matt. 5–7; 10; 13; 18; 23; 24–25), have shown to us that the ethical traditions through moral commands, rules and disciplines of the prophets of the Old Testament as the Law have integrated into the moral teachings of Jesus Christ for the ethical traditional elements for the Church. The role of Jesus Christ has replaced the role of Moses as

165 Heinz-Dietrich Wendland, *Ethique du Nouveau Testament*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1972, p. 12.

166 Hans Conzelmann and Andreas Lindemann, *Guide pour l'étude du Nouveau Testament*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1999, pp. 352–362.

the central criteria and authority of the words in the new covenant with God. (Matt. 5:21; 27; 31; 38; 43). The most meaningful point is that Jesus uses the word "fulfill" and denies the word "abolish" to realize this transition. The Grace of God through the Gospels began new history which was prepared through the prophets and the tradition of the Law of Moses. The relationship between the prophets and Jesus Christ, at the level of moral tradition has produced the special value of spirituality of Christianity for our later research as well as for the historic church.[167]

c) "You therefore must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." (Matt. 5:48)

Here a new ethical principle appeared, that is to say, the ethical criteria has not relied on secular moral norms or interests of the individuals in the temporary society, but only on the word of Jesus Christ as the standard of salvation and sanctification in history. From this point the signification was very special due to the ethical value as Law for the church relative to all aspects in social and spiritual areas.[168] St. Paul persuaded so authentically that "I appeal to you, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment." (1 Cor. 1:10), and since Jesus Christ is the head of the Church, all the believers should not declare themselves as persons of certain figures. The phenomenon of gangs and special groups are always the realistic problems for the church since the time of the apostles until today. This ethical principle that only Christ is the highest criteria for the Church was the most important discipline for the leaders of the church in the primitive period. And then the church doctrines and dogmas around the role of Christ have become the doctrinal system of Christology for the faith and the church. To avoid the abuses of the individual authorities over using the name of Christ the necessity of the institutional structure showed to be urgent in the history of the church.

167 Günther Bornkamm, *Nouveau Testament, Problèmes d'introduction*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1973, pp. 81–87.

168 Eric Fuchs, *L'Exigence et le don, Un parcours éthique* (1978–1997), Genève: Labor et Fides, 2000, pp. 175–188.

Only God of the Trinity is the perfect one, and Christ is the image for our imitation.

In so many Protestant churches, the ethical principle about the prima of Christ has set up the mechanism to replace the supreme power of the Pope and therefore more of the authority of the Bible instead of the authority of the hierocracy of the church. The ethical principle as the ecclesiastical structural element functions through the church disciplines and ordinances, otherwise, the top leaders of the church will quickly build up the supreme power for him by the name of the divinity and the ethical system, or formed the familiar system of the powers to control believers. In this case, the phenomenon of the guru will appear in the church and such kind of church leader so often declares himself as the most perfect god before the members of the church. We can find it out in so many various Protestant churches, which rarely do something concerning the ecclesiastical ethics and the doctrinal ecclesiology for the church, and only stressed the proclamation of the gospels and the words of the top leader of the church.

Thus, the moral teachings of Jesus Christ should be realized as the ethical disciplines for the church, and only through the structural orders of the church can we attain this aim. Luther has created so many important words about the moral teachings of Jesus Christ for the Protestant Church, and it was Calvin who finally realized them through the initiatives of the church orders.

d) The biggest moral commandment is: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it: You shall love your neighbor as yourself. On these two commandments depend all the Law and the Prophets." (Matt. 22:34–40; Mark 12:28–34; Luke 10:25–28). "And as you wish that others would do to you, do so to them." (Luke 6:31)

This moral teaching of Jesus Christ is also called the "Golden rule" by St. Augustine in the history of the Christian ethics. To love our Lord is considered as the basic requirement for the believers in the system of the whole faith of Christianity. As the ethical principle of the church, it is the most fundamental duty of the members in the communion. Jesus called it as the general rule for all the law and the prophetic words for showing the ethical discipline from the church

dimension. The Church as the special Christian communion defines the ethical interpretations of this principle.[169]

To love the other as oneself is really a very high requirement in social life with the concrete family and society as the actual contexts. Usually the people use common moral reasons often first of all in favor of one's self interest and then to others. But Christian ethics require believers to connect the two commands together, namely to love God and to love the neighbors at the level of the faith of church. To love God is the ultimate task of the church directed from the divine order of Jesus Christ and it is also the direction of the Church for spreading the good news of the Lord. The commandment of Love could be defined as the prima mission of the Christian in the temporary world, and therefore the mission of church actually is around this central theme in all the aspects.

Here we could finally make clear why the moral teachings of Jesus Christ are not exactly equal to the ethical principles of the church in the New Testament. The duty of the Church is to bear witness of Christ and his Word, and the relationship between Christ and the believers must be realized through the church as the spiritual communion, so it needs the orders and the governances to normalize the duty and the disciplines of the believers relative to God and the church. The Church ethics is just one of parts of the faith of the Church about the truth of Jesus Christ, because there are at the same time the political, theological and anthropological messages and so forth from the words of Jesus Christ as the special relevance of the divinity for the humanity in history.

169 "Matthew calls Jesus the Kyrios, God's Son, who teaches the way of a higher righteousness. In the Sermon on the Mount he gives directions that are universally binding, both hortatory and admonitory (5:3–12). The eschatological, ethical teaching of Jesus is the basis of the ethical and sacramental life of the community (3:15; 20:27–28; 26:26–29)." By Georg Strecker, in: "Sanctification," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 4, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005, p. 840.

2.4.3.2 The Apostolic Foundation of the Ecclesial Ethics

The apostles' ethical thoughts directly set up the ethical principles of the church which appeared at first as the special community with spiritual aim and the particular rules.[170] Or we could say that the ethics of church or the ecclesial ethics was shaped from the witness and the theological interpretations of the Apostles, especially St. Paul, who had left so many letters regarding the meanings of the Gospels, of prophetic tradition, of pastoral administrations and of ethical teachings etc.[171]

For research of Protestant ethics, it is relatively easy for us to establish the connection between St. Paul and Martin Luther, John Calvin and other Protestant theologians, because St. Paul as the true founder of the apostolic tradition for the faith should be understood as the first apostle to stress the construction of the church with so many theological and ecclesiological initiatives. In many critical, historical moments of Christianity, the leaders and the theologians very often entered into the textual world of St. Paul for solutions to the problems and the challenges they encountered. Special grace on St. Paul and his repentance, vocation, proclamation and witness by words and actions have firmly founded the dogmatic basis for the church of the holiness and the catholicity, and this dogmatic basis of St. Paul was originally set up on by Jesus Christ. Luther, Calvin and nearly all the Protestant church leaders historically were inspired so much from St. Paul for their theological and ecclesiastical decisions.

170 Heinz-Dietrich Wendland, *Ethique du Nouveau Testament*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1972, p. 12.

171 "Les fondements que les christianismes post-apostoliques donnent à la morale chrétienne sont déterminés entre autres par la structure théologique et anthropologique de l'éthique telle qu'elle a été formulée par les christianismes primitifs. La formulation la plus profilée est de nouveau celle que proposent les épîtres apostoliques de Paul. Le siège des décisions éthiques est la 'conscience' de l'individu. Son fondement est fourni par le don de la liberté ('tout est permis') et par ses trios limites que constituent la liberté d'autre, l'auto-asservissement de soi-même aux puissances et l'édification de la communauté, c'est-a-dire par la perte interpersonnelle, personnelle et communautaire de la liberté ('tout n'est pas utile', 'tout n'édifié pas', 1 Co 6,12; 10,23)." François Vouga, *Les premiers pas du christianisme, Les écrits, les acteurs, les débats*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1997, p. 240.

The following points will be very helpful for us to know the importance of St. Paul concerning the ecclesial ethics:

The first, to link the moral teachings of Jesus Christ with the mission of church as the ethical norms for Christians in the secular society with the others were initiatively created by St. Paul through his proclamations and pastoral activities. Since then, the ethical norms regarding the temporal world, political duty, economical and social activities etc were shaped around the truth of the Cross, i.e. the Word of Christ as the faith of Church which has the systematic doctrines for the Christian community. In this sense, St. Paul set up the ecclesial ethics, a kind of ontological ethics with the universal value and the strict disciplines of the morality. St. Paul's ethics is concentrated on the members of the communion which was defined as the Church, but first of all not regarding the pagans outside the church. The ecclesial ethics of St. Paul relative to the society and the people outside the church was showed through the moral norms to restrain the secular behaviors of the Christians such as in the political, the familiar and the economical areas etc.

The ethical disciplines for the believers were centered on the eschatological aim of the church, so the words, the actions, the orientations and the rules of the church members in the social and spiritual life should obey the moral regulations and commandments of the ecclesial ethics. (1 Cor. 5) What I have made this conclusion is from the moral contents of his letters to the congregations with the concrete issues in the church. He rarely did the philosophical and abstract moral judgments for the metaphysical descriptions and valuable interpretation. All the moral teachings from the words of St. Paul concerning the individual freedom, the social norms and the ethical rules, etc. are around the Kingdom of God and the truth of the Cross, namely Jesus Christ. It is obvious that the moral teachings of Christ have been integrated into the ethical rules and divine commandments of the Christian communion, that is, the church by St. Paul.[172]

172 "Le fait que le siège des décisions éthiques soit la conscience signifie que le sujet éthique est l'individu et que le comportement éthique résulte de décisions personnelles. L'éthique chrétienne se comprend par conséquent comme dissidence dans la mesure où la compréhension de soi et le comportement de l'individu fait face aux normes sociales." François Vouga, *Les premiers pas du christianisme, Les écrits, les acteurs, les débats*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1997, p. 240.

The second, St. Paul regarded the salvation in Christ as the ethical starting point and basis of the church, and then it made Christ as the only center of ecclesial ethics. Or we could say that the Christology of St. Paul is the inner structure of the ecclesial ethics. Therefore, the truth of the Cross as the highest standard in the area of morality becomes the theological and faithful substance of ethical norms in the church and the Christians from the church toward society and the world. (1 Cor. 1:17–18) In this case, the doctrine of the justification by faith is not the basis of the ecclesial ethics of St. Paul, nor the doctrinal starting point of his whole faithful system. To St. Paul, the whole witness and pastoral activities are around Christ in the church. (Rom. 15:17–20). Martin Luther and John Calvin inherited this important ecclesial position of St. Paul in order to finally distinguish the reformation from the Roman Catholic system. In terms of ethics, the most opposite point between the Catholic system and the Protestant system thus lies here.

The third, to connect the ecclesial ethics based on Christology with the doctrine of the sacraments has made the ecclesial ethical rules as the moral disciplines for congregations of the church. (Rom. 6). From here, the reformers reinterpreted the doctrinal meanings of the sacraments around Jesus Christ for clearly defining the identity of the faith and of believers in the church. At the theological sense, the sacraments have the special symbol as the grace and selection by Christ. Through interpretations of the sacraments, St. Paul closely connected the ecclesial ethical commandments with Christ together for the church. He said:

> So sin must no longer reign in your mortal body, exacting obedience to the body's desires. You must no longer put its several parts at sin's disposal, as implements for doing wrong. No: put yourselves at the disposal of God, as dead men raised to life; yield your bodies to him as implements for doing right; for sin shall no longer be your master, because you are no longer under law, but under the grace of God. (Rom. 6:12–14)

The fourth, the attitude of St. Paul about the issue of the Law of Moses from the prophetical tradition has shaped the frame of ecclesial ethics for the church. At the time of St. Paul, the realistic situation was that the church grew slowly as the Judaism sect from the prophetic tradition and all of the apostles and disciples around Jesus Christ were Jewish persons who strictly obeyed the Law of Moses and Judaism rules for daily life. Thus, the concepts and the ideas of the New Covenant with the God of

Trinity finally pushed the premier Christians from the Judaism spiritual system. But the relationship between the old covenant and the new covenant has strengthened the apostles to obey the words of Jesus Christ about his position regarding the Old Testament. So it is very important for the Church to deal with a relationship with prophetic tradition, and especially with the Law of Moses, and at the same time, persecutions against the church were very strong from the priest class of Parisians of Judaism. The basic principle of the church about the prophetic tradition was formed in the Conference of Jerusalem (Acts 15). St. Paul used the teachings of Christ (Matt. 5:17; 28:18–20) to persuade the apostles of the rules for Christians relative to the Jewish customs and moral rules. Since this moment, the Christian community officially became the church with the catholicity and the universality toward all the people in the world.

How did St. Paul create the new vision of the church in this important conference? We know that the Law has a special and dominate place in the faith of Judaism. The prophetical tradition in the Old Testament has enforced this holy and apocalyptical order of the Jewish nation. St. Paul seriously denied the supreme authority of the Parisian class. He said:

> You, then, who teach your fellow-man, do you fail to teach yourself? You proclaim, "Do not steal"; but are you yourself a thief? You say, "Do not commit adultery"; but are you an adulterer? You are an abomination or you have false gods; but do you rob their shrines? While you take pride in the law, you dishonor God by breaking it […] Circumcision has value, provided you keep the law; but if you break the law, then your circumcision is as if it had never been. Equally, if an uncircumcised man keeps the precepts of the law, will he not count as circumcised? He may be uncircumcised in his natural state, but by fulfilling the law he will pass judgment on you who break it, for all your written codes and your circumcision. The true Jew is not he who is such in externals; neither is the true circumcision the external mark in the flesh. The true Jew is he, who is such inwardly, and the true circumcision is of the heart, directed not by written precepts but by the Spirit; such a man received his commendation not from men but from God. (Rom. 2:21–29)

In the arguments about Gentiles who must obey the Law of Moses or not during the Conference, Apostle Peter accepted the position of Paul, he said: "Then why do you now provoke God by laying on the shoulders of these converts a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? No, we believe that it is by the grace of the Lord Jesus that we are saved, and so are they." (Acts 15:10–11)

Therefore, the circumcision as the sign of the covenant between the Jew and the Lord has not been renewed as the moral rule and the ethical law for Christians who have the New Covenant with the Lord through Christ on the Cross. A new pattern about the relationship between the Law and the Gospel then appeared. To cancel the circumcision does not signify to abolish the Law and the commandments of Moses and of the prophets in the Old Testament, as Jesus said, for fulfilling the Law. The principle of the Conference of Jerusalem has born the new era of Christianity that Christ and the Gospel are for all human beings over the world off the Jewish nation and the promised land of the prophetical tradition. Thus the ethical norms between the Law and the Gospel since there became one of most important doctrinal categories for the faith of the church (Gal. 3). The Reformers such as Luther and Calvin made direct comprehensions about this category for the Reformation and the establishment of the Protestant church.[173]

The fifth is about the Holy Spirit in the ecclesial ethics of St. Paul. The Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity has a special position in the system of the Christian doctrines. In the ecclesial ethics of St. Paul, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is a very important doctrine. "If a man does not possess the Spirit of Christ, he is no Christian." (Rom. 8:9); "But if by the Spirit you put to death all the base pursuits of the body, then you will live. For all who are moved by the Spirit of God are sons of God." (Rom. 8:13–14); "In the same way the Spirit comes to the aid of our weakness. We do not even know how we ought to pray, but through our inarticulate groans the Spirit himself is pleading for us, and God who searches our inmost being knows what the Spirit means because he pleads for God's people in God's own way; and in everything, as we know, he co-operates for good with those who love God and are called according to his purpose." (Rom. 8:26–28); "I implore you by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love that the Spirit inspires, be my allies in the fight." (Rom. 15:30)

It is obvious that the Holy Spirit from the witness of St. Paul is the mysterious Advocate among us after the departure of Jesus Christ (John 16:7). The Holy Spirit is God who looks as us any time and tell us what

173 Pierre E. Bonnard, *L'Epître de Saint Paul aux Galates* (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament 9), 2ᵉ éd., Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1972. pp. 119–124.

is good and evil through a special way to us. The Church is the body of God with the Trinity, so the body of the Holy Spirit, is too. Although the terms of the Trinity were later created by the Latin Fathers, and not yet shown in the texts of the New Testament, the theological meaning of the Trinity had already existed and used by St. Paul who considered the Father, the Son and the Spirit as the substance of the God Head. In his understanding the Spirit is the presence of God in the church. All the good witness about the Gospel in the church is are fruits of the Spirit. He said: "But the harvest of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, fidelity, gentleness, and self-control. There is no law dealing with such things as these." (Gal. 5:22)

Thus in today's perspective, there is a phenomenon troubling the church order, that is to say, to use the name of the Holy Spirit becomes the frequent way to show the guru's personality with the mysterious charisma among the congregations outside Mainstream Protestant Churches. So many special spiritual communities and even the cults prefer the forces of the Spirit for particular aim of the top leaders without any disciplines of the church. But in the ecclesial ethics of St. Paul, the Holy Spirit with the identity of the Advocate among the people in the temporary world for continues the work of salvation and providence.

The seventh is the principle of responsibility in the ecclesial ethics of St. Paul. He has given the standard about moral virtues to be a member of the Christian communion as the Body of Christ. In terms of moral virtues, we can quickly find out the meaning of St. Paul in the sense of ecclesial ethics. It means that all the moral virtues by him are for the Church in which everyone is one part of the whole Body. These moral virtues relate to the family, the marriage, the brotherhood and the neighborhood such as humble, gentle, patient, forbearing […] (Eph. 4; 5; 6).

Concerning the freedom of Christians in the church, he defined strictly this basic right in the sense of ecclesial ethics by linking the Christians' individual freedom and Christ together. (Gal. 5; 6). We could say that he has tried his best to give advice to the brothers and sisters of Christ to do the testimony for the glory of Christ in all of the matters at in daily life. It is a highly responsible attitude with serious moral re-

quirements in the historic sense of the law as background and context.[174] At the beginning of the primitive church, the words of the Apostle had shaped the fundamental frame of the ecclesial ethics around the witness and disciplines of the church, special spiritual communion for the name of Christ. He said:

> Each man should examine his own conduct for himself; then he can measure his achievement by comparing himself with himself and not with anyone else. For everyone has his own proper burden to bear. When anyone is under instruction in the faith, he should give his teacher a share of all good things he has. (Gal. 6:4–7).

From the teachings of St. Paul, we could confirm that the Christians must take the moral responsibility for what he does (1 Thess. 5:12–22), because this is the basic requirement to be disciples of Christ from the Church, and only in this way, to make the witness about the good news of Christ among the people possible and wonderful, and finally toward a new life in Christ. (Eph. 2:1–22). The responsibility as the principle should be viewed as the starting point of the ecclesial ethics of Paul regarding the Christians' role in the social life and the temporary world by moral and faithful norms as restraints and requirements.

2.4.3.3 Brief Conclusion

For the study of the ecclesial ethics of Protestantism, the moral teachings of the apostles, especially by St. Paul, have a very important place with Martin Luther and John Calvin through their theological and biblical understandings for the Reformation. The ethical thoughts of St. Paul have shown that he was aware of the Christian moral rules from the Church regarding the temporal relationship to the Church and the believers. Christ as the foundation of the church is also the Head of the church always, thus the ecclesial ethics must be original from the truth of the Cross as the norms relative to the words, the behaviors, the minds and

174 "La liberté comme don de Dieu est à la fois l'indicatif et l'impératif qui déterminent la temporalité comme existence individuelle et communautaire. Le concept de 'Loi' est symbole de l'impératif de la liberté aussi bien chez Paul que chez Jean (qui emploie dans ce sens le terme de 'commandement') et aussi bien chez les judéo- que chez les pagano-chrétiens." François Vouga, *Les premiers pas du christianisme, Les écrits, les acteurs, les débats*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1997, p. 240.

the relationships of the believers and of the church which is the assembly of all believers.[175] The ethical norms are the key order to guarantee holy life of the believers in the church which is the communion with Christ. (Eph. 4) The eschatological aim toward the Kingdom of God needs strict moral rules for the disciples who live in the secular society with so many temptations. In a word, the ethical thought of St. Paul was the first frame of the ecclesial ethics for the primitive church by showing the moral rules of the believers from the church. The moral teachings of Jesus Christ have ecclesiastically been interpreted as church ethics in the concrete ecclesiastical contexts in which the churches encountered so many social problems and thus needed certain norms and rules to face all problems and challenges.

2.4.4 The Fundamental Propositions of the Ecclesial Ethics of Protestantism

The Church of Protestantism or the Protestant Church as the very vague concept indicated by the three denominational churches which appeared during the Reformation and then integrated into international countries from the super power of the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th century in Europe, namely the Lutheran Church from Germany, the Reformed-Presbyterian Church from Switzerland, Holland and Scotland etc., and the Anglican Church from the England. During last five centuries, the Protestant churches with so many denominational forms have spread all over the world. At the present time, we could say that there are two parts of the churches which compose the world of the Protestant churches at the sense of the institutional organizations, namely the churches in the frame of the WCC/CEO; and the churches inside the Evangelical move-

175 "Among scriptural images of the Church, some became particularly prominent, referring to the Trinitarian dimensions of the Church. Among these, the images of the 'people of God' and the 'body of Christ' are particularly important, accompanied by the imagery of 'temple' or 'house' of the Spirit. It must be noted, however, that none of these images is exclusive but all of them implicitly or explicitly included the other Trinitarian dimensions as well." *The Nature and Purpose of the Church, A stage on the way to a common statement* (Faith and Order Paper, no. 181), Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 12.

ments based on the USA since the end of the Second World War. These two bodies have included most of the churches and the congregations of the Protestant world. So, if we want to study the ecclesial ethics of Protestantism, we must first of all limit the realm and the definition of the project and the meanings of the terms.[176] What I'm thinking about is just about the fundamental principles of the ethics of the church during the era of the Reformation, especially from Martin Luther and John Calvin, not relative to the chronological history of the Protestant churches from the beginning to today and from Germany to China. Actually in my personal perspective, the Reformation is the basis of Protestantism regarding the church in the category of the Church Faith for the Church in China. It means that the theological thoughts and the ecclesiastical initiatives of Luther and Calvin should be considered by the Chinese church as the original ecclesiastical pattern or the paradigm of Protestantism faith. Any kind of nationalism about the heritages of the Reformation will be very harmful to theological research and ecclesiastical works in China as well as in the non-European countries. The university and catholicity of Church Faith of the Reformation have been proven during these five centuries. The weakest points of Western missionaries in China since the 19th century until 1949 were that they stressed only the Bible by slogans and personal power of leaders of missionaries in China,

176 "Faith always has moral implications. To be in faith is to be part of a community whose story has public consequences. We must act accordingly. As Paul Lehmann used to put it, for the Christian there is really only one question: 'What am I, as a believer in Jesus Christ and a member of his Church, *to do*?' Yet we must not collapse the faith/ethics distinction by making some particular ethical or utopian vision the *object* of our faith […] In the meantime, the Church of Jesus Christ is called to be a community of faith-full moral discourse and practice, a space of solidarity-in-faith with humanity in anticipation of this fulfillment. Seen in this perspective, faith and ethics are like two *foci* of an ellipse. Each can only be adequately understood in relation to the other within the all-embracing circumference fo God's promise to humankind. Faith and ethics must continue to be discrete categories in the present penultimate time because the whole reality they represent together will otherwise be misunderstood." Lewis S. Mudge, *Rethinking the Beloved Community, Ecclesiology, Hermeneutics, Social Theory*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2001, p. 193.

and rarely transplanted or at a minimum introduced the doctrinal system of the Church of the Reformation into China.[177]

This is my dream to present a plan to do the research about the original thoughts of the Reformers in terms of the ethical norms for the Church in the temporary world through their faith actions of the Reformation and theological writings in order to offer deep thinking for the Church in China.

Briefly, concerning my central theme of the research, there are the six fundamental propositions of the relationships as the basis of the Church Ethics from the Reformation:

2.4.4.1 The Relationship between the Church and the State

The authority of the jurisdiction that Rome took was highly over all the secular authorities of the national kingdoms in the West during the Middle Ages, and then the ethical conflicts first of all appeared from the relationships between the Authorities of the Roman Catholic Church and that of the national and secular states in the Reformation. The reformers were supported essentially by the secular governments because they challenged the dominated power of Rome over the secular order by the name of the divinity. The relationships between the Church and the State as the basic category therefore become the theological and ethical question in the system of the faith of the church until today.

The central issue of this relationship actually has indicated the critical important issue of the Reformation, namely the "Authority". For Luther, it meant that the faith belongs to the institutional organization and special class who decided that the faith and spiritual life only be-

177 "In order to study theology and Christian thought in China, we need to look more closely at the way in which the Bible has been and is being interpreted. Biblical scholars tell us that the sixteenth-century Reformation put Christian scripture into a polemical context, because scriptural authority was used to counter ecclesiastical authority. Since then, in Christianity all over the world, there has been an uneasy tension between biblical authority and ecclesial authority, each defining and limiting the other. We have seen this tension in Protestant Christianity in China, and it may also be a factor in Chinese Catholic popular religion, as it is in other parts of the world." In: Philip Wickeri, "Christianity and China: Toward Further Dialogue," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 357.

longs to the Grace of the Lord who has a direct relationship through the Bible with all and by one's personal and individual faith.[178]

Therefore, we can say that we should do the reflection based on the historic background, i.e. in September 1555, "Peace of Augsburg" gave the legal statue at the judiciary frame of the Empire for the Lutheran church as the territorial church which was run by the princes of the states as the leaders of the church. That is the famous formula in the area of theory of the Church-State: *cuius regio, eius religio*, (King's religion is the State's religion).[179]

For Calvin, the new institutional system for the faith became more urgent and important than for Luther, the first generation of the reformation. But the issue of the Authorities continued relative to the attitude and the position of the church vis-à-vis the temporary world including the fortunes, the values and the duty etc. That was the crucial issue, and Calvin pioneered to set up the special ethical paradigm to deal with this issue. After about 500 years' tests, the political and ethical designs of the church-state relationship by Calvin have been proved successful as the great heritage of the Reformation for modern civilization of human beings. The sovereignty of God with special authority has become the basic stone of values for the modern world which has recognized the universal value of democracy and governance by law.

As one of the ethical pillars of the church, the thoughts of Luther and of Calvin about the authorities between the church and the state have rich contents and deeply influenced church development. The theological interpretations of the authorities are always one of the central issues for the church with so many different backgrounds that the church is facing. My basic judgment is that we must enter into the practical events of the

178 Arthur Geoffrey Dickens thought the central problem of Reformation as "the intellectual and social forces which got Luther's revolt off the ground." Then he worked for researching the influences of Luther's Reformation at the historical perspectives much large than the ecclesiastical frame with the aim that "will have served its main purpose if it reveals something of the amazing diversity and depth of the changes sweeping Europe at the moment when her culture was beginning effectively to expand and reshape the destinies of the whole human race." Arthur G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1966, p. 7.

179 Bernard Cottret, *Calvin: Biographie*, Paris: Ed. Jean-Claude Lattès, 1995, p. 54; p. 378.

Reformation and the theological texts by Luther and Calvin to know their firm position. In brief, they finally set up the doctrine of the authority of God by claiming the Sola Scriptura and then all of the systems of the authorities existed 1000 years must be reconstructed according to their criteria. That was the most central theme of the Reformation. For the Chinese church, we need to do systematic research about the ethical motive and the ethical significance of this theme.

2.4.4.2 The Relationship between the Bible and Tradition

The key issue of the authority from the relationship between the church and the state consequently led to the authority of the judgment or criteria from the Bible or from the doctrinal tradition of the church. This proposition is directly shown as the relationship between the Bible and the tradition. So many decisions of the ecclesiastical authorities regarding the secular interests and the political issues depended or relied on the doctrines which were accumulated and produced during the history of the church since the apostolic époque. The situation of the wonders before the Reformation had shown the considerations around the relationship between the Scripture and the Tradition with the Catholic Church, especially by Wycliffe who was thought of as the forefather of the Reformation.[180] It is very significant historically that the place of the Scripture in the faith and the theology had been stressed by this important reformer before Luther.[181]

For Luther and Calvin, Rome had strengthened its supreme authorities through the traditional doctrines and decisions promulgated through the institutional councils that he controlled with the special doctrinal terms of the Tradition. The tradition of the church here meant the doctrinal decisions formed during the history and the doctrinal church is a very organized church based on the faith of the church which is defined by a series of the systematic dogmas and doctrines. Generally, the can-

180 Heiko O. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism*, New York: A Mentor-Omega Book, 1962, pp. 372f.

181 "Most important of all, Wycliffe made people think of Scripture as a whole, and about its place in theology, as a fundamental problem." Beryl M. Smalley, in: *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. II, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 208.

onization of the Bible was also the doctrinal decision of the church in the early medieval era and we could consider it as the important part of the church tradition. But the actual conflicts between the Roman Catholic Church and the reformers were much more complicated than the literal or logical comparisons. At the time of the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church was executing absolute power on secular authorities through a special judiciary system with the Canonical Code formed during the past one thousand years, such as the Code of Canonical Law which has the faithful, the legal and the moral functions. And any secular states at this moment were subject to the threefold sovereignty of Rome.

Thus for the reformers the question of the relationship between the church and the state was essentially the issue of the authority, and then what was the authority for the spiritual and the temporary diversities or controversies? It was from the Bible or from the tradition? Luther bravely used the Bible as the supreme authority to deny any kind of the legal power in the Roman Catholic Church who is the orthodox successor of the apostles in the category of dogma and doctrines. The secular authorities were very weak under the dominate forces of Rome during the one thousand years in the West, so the revolt of Luther actually helped the national authorities become independent from the power of Rome. In this case, the relationship of the Bible with Tradition signified that the relationship of the reformers with the whole system of the Roman Catholic authorities by the supreme authority of Jesus Christ to be the firmest basis according to Luther.[182] That was the political, ethical and legal issue with the situation in reality of that time.

The consequential questions naturally appeared such as what kinds of the interpretations of the Bible could guarantee the behavior of church

182 "At the Leipzig Debate in 1519 Luther was compelled by his opponent, Johann Eck, to admit that, in the name of the Scriptures as he interpreted them, he was setting the authority of the Scriptures against above the authority of the Tradition of the Church: 'Though Augustine and all the fathers were to take the rock (Mt 16.18) to mean Peter, I should withstand them all alone by the authority of the apostle,' that is, by divine right, as he writes: (1 Cor 3.11) 'No other foundation can anyone lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'" (*WA* 2:278) Jaroslav Pelikan, *Divine Rhetoric*, *The Sermon on the Mount as Message and as Model in Augustine, Chrysostom, and Luther*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001, p. 83.

leaders on the name of the Bible authorities as to the decisions of the church? And the Protestant church suddenly must face the new challenge that is, that the certainty and the justice of the doctrinal rules such as the ethical regulations of the church will be constructed on what kind of the ground which is sentimental or doctrinal? Since the reformation, the worship of individual leaders in different denominational churches and the abuses of personal powers within or using the name of the Holy Spirit the church had become a very popular phenomenon, especially in the non-European areas by missionaries.

If only by the Bible, the central question will always be the same from the reformation until today, because the Bible is the textual, and authorities of the Bible must show the interpretations of persons, but the persons are very uncertain factors. During the medieval era, the councils promulgated the doctrines and dogmas through the legal channels as the in church faith guaranteed by the institutional system as the law. But the reformers abolished the whole system of the Roman Catholic Church by obeying the civil law concerning the secular duties and the responsibility of church members with the exception of the issues of faith and morality. It was Calvin who really pioneered this domain of the Protestant tradition to distinguish the rights and the duties of the Christians as the citizens under the legal system of the state as well as the congregations with the restraint of the ecclesiastical disciplines.

Historically, the tradition of the church was the category with the doctrinal and legal forces to restrain the congregations and the church leaders in the temporary world at the level of the church faith, and then defined the norms of the politics and of the ethics concerning the relationships between the church and society and the states.[183] The motives and the intentions of Luther and the other reformers, who challenged and threw away the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church, were caused by more than the revolutionary requirements not of theological and ethical reasons. After about six centuries since the reformation of Luther and of

183 "Le fait que le siège des décisions éthiques soit la conscience signifie que le sujet éthique est l'individu et que le comportement éthique résulte de décisions personnelles. L'éthique chrétienne se comprend par conséquent comme dissidence dans la mesure où la compréhension de soi et le comportement de l'individu fait face aux normes sociales." François Vouga, *Les premiers pas du christianisme, Les écrits, les acteurs, les débats*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1997, p. 240.

Calvin, the Protestant church has also formed the proper traditions made by the theological and ecclesiastical ideas and cases by the reformers and the theologians and the missionaries in the history. Thus what is our reflection about the tradition of Protestantism? And what are the relationships between the Catholic tradition and the Protestant traditions? The place of the authorities of the Bible and the authorities of the words of the church leaders and the theologians are becoming more and more urgent questions in the sense of the faith of the church today.

The crucial issue for us in China is that the social and political background of the reformation of Calvin in Geneva was the republic polity with democracy as the political system. The new church was adopted and respected in terms of the ethical and civic duties by the citizens and the republic authorities. The historical situation for the Lutheran church after Luther in Germany appeared the different direction until 1945. The central doctrinal issue of the relationship between the Bible and the tradition has become one of the most important ethical issues for the faith of the church and the norms of the church in the secular world.

2.4.4.3 The Relationship between the Law and the Gospel

From the relationships between the Bible and tradition, we could touch naturally the third category of the ecclesial ethics of Protestantism, that is to say, the relationship between the law and the gospel which was first of all mentioned by Martin Luther as the most important issue of faith of the Church in the time of the Reformation.

In terms of the study of the ecclesial ethics, the law has the institutional functions through the legal and systematic structures for the secular orders and the ecclesial orders. Since the Old Testament period, the eternal will of God was the essence of the Law for the selected people. Thus the law in history of the Christian faith has a three-fold definition: a) the law of the religious ceremony for spiritual order, b) the law of the jurisdiction for political order, c) the law of the morality for ethical orders concerning the norms and the rules of the people in society, further the ethical norms are relative to the proper concrete aspects. From St. Paul, the concept of the law in the faith of Christianity has been interpreted into the central message about Christ in the sense of faith of the

church. St. Paul dealt with the Law of Moses and prophets and Gospel of Christ exactly as what Jesus Christ did (Matt. 5:17).[184]

> The coming of Christ has not rendered the OT irrelevant, because the moral aspects of its law shape Christian behavior. To these are added the legal obligations the Christian has to Christ as his or her law-giver and prophet (1 Cor. 9:21) […] The gospel frees humanity from having to obey the law in order to gain righteousness (Rom. 10:4), and from the law as defined by Judaism (Eph. 2:11–21). The moral requirements of the law remain as a rule of Christian conduct in their new-covenant form, along with the commands of Christ and his apostles.[185]

Luther created theologically the category of the Law-Gospel as the key proposition for the Reformation in order to achieve the greater goal. The system of Law was very similar to the Pharisees during the time of Christ in Galilee, and after about one thousands years, the canonical law of the authorities of Rome developed as a super judiciary system, which interfered all of the aspects of the social and spiritual life with the name of the divinity. But the essential messages of the Cross nearly disappeared in the formal articles of the law, the clergy class as the creators and the holders of the canonical law had totally monopolized the Bible and the Word of God through the institutional church orders. To proclaim the good news of God and establish the new ethical norms for the people, the society and the church, Luther had to challenge the existed systems and the authorities by the proper understanding of the Law and the Gospel. The important category of Luther is *duplex usus legis*: the civic use, *usus civilis*, and the theological use, *usus theologicus*.

Philippe Melanchthon, as the most important theologian and partner of the reform with Luther, insisted that the distinction of law and gospel is always the focus of fundamental significance. The law may not become a way toward salvation; the gospel will never become the law. But both are God's means of relating to humankind in the temporary world. The law of God, also called the moral law (lex moralis), is the eternal wisdom and righteousness in the will of God, the distinction of good and evil in the system of the Christian faith. It is revealed to human beings in

184 Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology*, Leicester/Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1981, pp. 675–700.

185 *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology*, ed. by David J. Atkinson and David H. Field, Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1995, p. 541.

the creation of God and therefore is often stressed by the church. He explored the principle of Luther about the law and gospel. The three functions of the law finally established a substantial relationship to the gospel.

> Philip Melanchthon introduced a "three-fold function of the law" in his Christian Doctrine (Loci Communes 1535). In addition to Luther's two uses, Melanchthon argued for a third, "didactic use" (usus didacticus) to instruct the regenerate morally. John Calvin followed Melanchthon, arguing, in his Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536), that "the gospel did not so entirely supplant the entire law as to bring forward a different way of salvation". Rather, the gospel "confirms" and "satisfies" what the law had promised (II, 9,4; 10,2)[186]

> By the mid-1520s, in reaction to the rise of the more radical wing of the Reformation – which held to a more antinomian view of the law than Luther – he expanded, but did not replace, his earlier dualistic understanding of law and gospel with a more dialectical conception of God's twofold rule (as law and gospel) in two kingdoms (spiritual and temporal.)[187]

John Calvin stressed very positively the role of law for the Protestant church. He took the same position of Luther about the Decalogue for the reformation. In addition, he identified the three uses of the law for the construction of the Reformed Church in Geneva as the realistic Father of the Protestant tradition. Based on the gospel, the law should be executed for the aim of the church by the three functions according to Calvin, a) The first is to exhibit the righteousness of God by showing any potential and obvious problems of the sinners (Rom. 3:20), b) The second is to exercise the legal disciplines to punish the criminal and to correct the wrong doing in order to guarantee the justice and peace which come from God (Rom. 13:1–7; 1 Pet. 2:13–17), c) The third is to work especially among the Christians as in the moral rules.[188] In brief, we could say that it was on the basis of the relationship between the law and the gos-

186 Lois Malcolm, "Divine Commands," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 120.

187 William H. Lazareth, *Christians in Society: Luther, the Bible, and Social Ethics.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001, p. 17.

188 John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, 1536 edition, trans. and annotated by F. L. Battles, Grand Rapids/London: Westminster Press, 1960, p. 36.

pel that Luther and Calvin had established the Protestant tradition of the ecclesial ethics about the mission of the church in the world and at the time.

2.4.4.4 The Relationship between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the World

The relationship between the law and the gospel relates to the relationship between God and the humans at the legal level, and then the relationship between the church and the state. The church with Jesus Christ as the head is not the kingdom of God on the ground. The power of the Kingdom of God is the eschatological meaning for the church in the secular world and never equal with the personal power of the individual leaders of the church. Thus, the ecclesial ethics must define the nature and the limitation of the institutional authorities of the church organization which must follow certain norms within the society and the government. This ethical issue was the political issue of the ecclesial ethics.

> As clear manifestation of God's providential care, existing, established civil government deserves both obedience and respect. To resist or rebel against such government would be not only "avow ourselves as the public enemies of the human race" (Comm. Rom. 13:3), but as well, and consequently, "to despise the providence of him who is the founder of civil power." Magistrates are indeed "constituted by God's ordination," which is the primary reason "why we ought to be subject" to them. As Paul states explicitly, "it ought to be enough for us" that the particular governing authorities believers face "do rule" (Cf. Rom. 13:1; Calvin's emphasis)[189]

For us to study the basic positions of Luther and of Calvin, it will be very useful to understand the political principles of Protestantism during the five centuries after them. The revelation of the concerned research will be helpful to the church in China to set up the proper political principle of the church in the special social-political context.

189 William R. Stevenson, Jr., "Calvin and Political issues," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 181.

2.4.4.5 The Relationship between Freedom and Slavery

The Christian freedom, at the ecclesial ethical level, has been well-defined by St. Paul in the Galatians. He said: "Christ set us free, to be free men. Stand firm, then, and refuse to be tied to the yoke of slavery again." (Gal. 5:1) "You, my friends, were called to be free men; only do not turn your freedom into license for your lower nature, but be servants to one another in love." (Gal. 5; 13) But because of the doctrinal and ethical conflicts and the political controversies with the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant church in the ethical system has made the question of the freedom and of the slavery as the basic theological proposition which was the important issue of the ecclesial faith.

The deep concern of the salvation of sinners placed Luther so often in the state of contemplation and prayer before the Lord in his faithful mind. The reflection around free will caused conflict with his closest friend, the famous humanist giant, Erasmus of Rotterdam. Since then, the proposition of the freedom and the slavery became one of the central issues of the Protestant tradition with so many arguments and controversies during the following years. Even at the same time of the Reformation, as the closest partner of Luther, Philip Melanchthon did not really agree with the strict position of Luther about free will. He regretted so profoundly the conflict between Luther and Erasmus on the free will, but he could not provide the final solution to this theodicy problem with the exception of prayer for the support of the Lord as was the case of John Calvin through the doctrine of the Divine Providence beyond the dilemma and the paradox of the doctrine of double Predestination.[190]

Christians with the freedom and duty in today's society must face the fundamental position of the reformers. The relationship between the individual freedom in the concept of the will and slavery in the category of the law-gospel determines the series of the rules relative to the relationship between the Christians and the citizens, the church and the state, and Protestantism and the other spiritual systems etc. We must enter into the theological and ethical world of Luther and of Calvin to understand their proper interpretations and the principles.

190 Pierre Bühler, "Prédestination et Providence," in: *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, 2e éd., publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2006, pp. 1099–1100.

2.4.4.6 The Relationship between the Visible and the Invisible Church

The main line that Christ selected the disciples and the disciples accepted His calling to proclaim the gospel of God until the final arrival of Christ is throughout all the mission of the universal Church. In this case, the visibility and invisibility of the church since the time of the New Testament became one of the important dogmatic issues. For me it is also one of the important ethical issues for the church. "For though many are invited, few are chosen." (Matt. 22:14), and the metaphors of the wheat and of the darnel (Matt. 13:25–30), have become the textual basis for ethical reflections about the nature of the church, and the visibility and the invisibility of the church. Actually St. Paul has left so many important opinions about the nature of the church in his pastoral epistles. "To let you know how men ought to conduct themselves in God's household, that is, the church of the living God, the pillar and bulwark of the truth." (1 Tim. 3:15).

To St. Paul, any members of the church have the possibility to be seduced, although "you are built upon the foundation laid by the apostles and prophets, and Christ Jesus himself is the foundation-stone."(Eph. 2:20–21). Thus Christians must often listen to the proclamations of the gospel and accept the advice and the warnings. So many critical opinions and the accusations in his pastoral letters were directly connected with the phenomenon in the local churches he was visiting during his pastoral journey.[191] He defined the members of the church as "baptized into union with Him" (Gal. 3:27). That is why he was never able to admit there were such bad things and phenomena in the church to corrupt the divine name of Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 5). In his mind, the church is the body of Christ, and the place of the divinity. That is the substance of the church, and the fundamental basis of the all ecclesial institutions and the theological words.

> Or again, you are God's building. I am like a skilled master-builder who by God's grace laid the foundation, and someone else is putting up the building. Let each take care how he builds. There can be no other foundation beyond that which is already laid; I mean Jesus Christ himself. If anyone builds on that foundation with gold, sil-

191 Oscar Cullmann, *Le retour du Christ, espérance de l'Eglise, selon le Nouveau Testament*, trad. par A. Dumas, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1948, p. 31.

> ver, and fine stone, or with wood, hay, and straw, the work that each man does will at last be brought to light; the Day of Judgment will expose it. (1 Cor. 3:10–13).

Here in the sense of biblical resources, the doctrine of the visibility of the church has prepared the basic exegeses as the apostolic words.[192]

The Protestant tradition of the visibility of the church could be established on these verses of the Bible.[193] To Luther, the definition of the church by the interior and the exterior corresponded with his principles of the reformation, namely *Sola gratia*, the Lord is the absolute power more than any other institutional being in the temporary world. Any church must exist at the same time in the interior level and in the exterior level as the communion of believers. From this point he finally left the fixed frame that the authorities of Rome declared legal judgment about the orthodoxy or heresy of the church and words of the church and passed on to the Bible and the word of the Lord.

> The gain in Luther's concept of the "hidden" church over against the scheme of visibility/invisibility is considerable. The Hidden Church means neither invisible nor visible. What is hidden is visible only to the eyes of faith; yet, it is a reality that can be experienced in the flesh. The true Church does not exist behind or beyond the visible Church but is hidden within it, in which multi hypocrati et mali admisti sunt as article VIII of the Augsburg Confession states […] The decisive moral point in Luther's account of the Church as a hidden reality is, I take it, precisely to prevent it from hiding – to prevent the Church from hiding itself behind its invisibility or visibility.[194]

192 "L'Eglise du Nouveau Testament est dirigée d'abord, au nom de son chef, le Christ, par les apôtres. Concrètement, c'est la prédication des apôtres qui fonde l'Eglise et qui l'affermit. L'Eglise s'agrandissant, c'est de l'apostolat que précédent les autres ministères; ils lui sont toujours subordonnés." In: Philippe-H. Menoud, *L'Eglise et Les Ministères selon le Nouveau Testament*, Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1949, p. 25.

193 In 1520, as far as the visibility and invisibility of the church are concerned, Martin Luther said: "La première, qui est naturelle, fondamentale, essentielle et authentique, nous la dirons une chrétienté spirituelle intérieure; la seconde qui est fabriquée et extérieure, nous la dirons une chrétienté corporelle, extérieure." Martin Luther, *De la papauté de Rome*, in: *Œuvres* 2, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1966, p. 26.

194 Bernd Wannenwetsch, "Ecclesiology and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 66–67.

Philippe Melanchthon, as Luther's zealous student and faithful partner and coworker of the goal, with even more actual influence than the other reformers in terms of the introduction of Luther's theological thoughts in Europe at the time of the Reformation,[195] has also expressed his position about the essence of the church. For him,

> The true church is also visible in this life, but in a different way than the papal kingdom. The flock of those who at the time of Jesus kept their distance from the ruling Pharisees and Sadducees was visible. The persecution of the saints shows that the church is visible. Service to the gospel is public and visible. The church is neither a Platonic idea nor a mystery religion.[196]

As for Calvin of the second generation of the Reformation, he further pushed the theological position of Luther into the practical reformation and the establishment of the Reformed Church in Geneva. He claimed that the church must be constructed as the holy community of the saints if she wants to take the great responsibility to proclaim the gospels of the Lord, so this holy community of the saints is the church with visibility. That is to say, the visibility of the church means the institutional orders. Calvin's most important concern was to set up the institutional church with the system of the Church Faith by the rule of the law. That was obviously a further step of the reformation from Luther. Thus any kind of systems and polities had been used in the initiative of the Reformed system if they were in favor of the construction of the church in Geneva. From this position, Calvin extended the traditional interpretation about the invisibility by emphasizing that the invisible church is only known by God, and what he requires of us is to construct the visible church in the temporary world. He said:

> How we are to judge the church visible, which falls within our knowledge, is, I believe, already evident from the above discussion. For we have said that Holy Scripture speaks of the church in two ways. Sometimes by the term "church" it means that which is actually in God's presence, into which no persons are received but those who are children of God by grace of adoption and true members of Christ by

195 Heinz Scheible, "Luther and Melanchthon," in: *Lutheran Quarterly* 4 (1990), pp. 317–339.

196 Heinz Scheible, "Philip Melanchthon," in: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 79.

> sanctification of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the church includes not only the saints presently living on earth, but all the elect from the beginning of the world. Often, however, the name "church" designates the whole multitude of men spread over the earth who profess to worship one God and Christ.[197]

Then he called the "visible church" as the "Mother of pious believers" and there is neither forgiveness nor salvation outside the church! (In his original text: writing on Ephesians 4:13, Calvin claimed: "The church is the common mother of all the godly, which bears, nourishes, and brings up children to God, kings and peasants alike; and this is done by the ministry.(*IRC*, IV, I, 4)"[198]. We could say the freedom as a believer of God from the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church was the central focus for Luther while he expressed his spiritual appeal through the category of the Law-Gospel, but in Calvin the central focus was the visible Church in his comprehension of the Law-Gospel. The church was always the crucial source of John Calvin of the ecclesial ethics we are studying about him.[199]

From this moment, the characteristic of the institutional church of Protestantism started up the historic time of the rule of the law, which pioneered the époque of democracy by the law in modern civilization. The idea of unity by diversity has been shown through the visible structures of the church in the social structures of the secular order around the supreme point of Jesus Christ in the system of the Christian faith.[200] In

197 Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne* (IV, I, 3, 4, et 7), éd. nouvelle publ. par la Société calviniste de France, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1958, pp. 12–14.

198 François Wendel, *Calvin: Sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse*, Paris: PUF, 1950; English version by P. Mairet: *Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, London: Collins, 1963, p. 224; and John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, London/New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 215.

199 Under the influence of Calvin, the Scottish Presbyterian theologian claimed: "the Word and ordinances, administered according to Christ's laws in the Bible, had Christ's living power with them. Whether for salvation or destruction, Christ was King in Zion. The visible Church was the region or sphere of the ordinary supernatural action of the ascended Savior." In: James Walker, *Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1888, repr. 1982, p. 133 (1st ed., 1872).

200 Konrad Raiser said: "Analysis of the current ecumenical paradigm has shown clearly that concentration on the church and its unity was a direct consequence of

this case, the ecclesial ethics of Calvin regarding the relationship between the law and the gospel has special significance in the history.

However, I would like to say in my research of the ecclesial ethics, the invisible church could be defined as the doctrinal church on the texts as the idea in the realist sense. The visible church is the church which existed in the history from the apostolic time until today. So the study of the visible church certainly relates to different social and political relationships and contexts, thus ethical significance for faith of the church if we could well research this topic. The establishment of the Protestant church since the reformation was the great historic event in the history of human civilization in the West. The ethical mould of the church by the reformers has directly achieved the establishment of the total new church which influenced deeply and strongly the following history of human spirituality until today world wide. I'll enter into the practical reformation of John Calvin in the history for the important ethical theme.

2.4.5 Conclusion

The Protestant church takes the task for building the sacred order with the ethical rules in society, which are shown always in certain political and social systems of values. After doing the outline of the ecclesial ethical issues of the Protestant church, as the final conclusion, I would like to say that the moral teachings of Jesus Christ and the ethical interpretations of St. Paul in the Bible are the main resources of the ecclesial ethics of Protestantism. This Protestant tradition was originally shaped from the principle of the Scripture as the supreme authority of the faith of church from Martin Luther who spent all his life on the truth of the Bible for the reformation.[201]

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belief in the universal significance of the Christ event. The visible unity of the church was understood to be the decisive witness to the real union of divine and human reality in the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ and to the universal rule of Jesus Christ over world and church." In: *Ecumenism in Transition, A Paradigm Shift in the Ecumenical Movement?*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996, p. 71.

201 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Divine Rhetoric*, *The Sermon on the Mount as Message and as Model in Augustine, Chrysostom, and Luther*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001, p. 86.

Even if there were so many different branches with the common background of the Protestantism in the following centuries after Martin Luther, especially during the missionaries époques of 18th and 19th centuries, we could restore their proper initial motives from the Reformation, that means that all the different denominational and missionary churches of the Protestantism could be considered as the different forms of the main branch of the theological tree which is the Protestant tradition created by Martin Luther, although there are always the different interpretations about the terms of the theology of the Reformation in the academic circle. The opinion of Ulrich Gäbler is useful to me to think of the affiliation between Luther and the other reformers, especially with John Calvin at the perspective of the Protestantism. He said:

> In view of the diversity of theological positions among sixteenth-century Protestants, the concept "Reformation" cannot be precisely defined historically. Although earlier – and still today, in confessional Lutheran research – it was commonly equated with the theology of the Wittenberg reformer, the precise meaning of the term is increasingly obscured in the literature. If the term is used anyway, it is to point out that what happened was disengagement from the traditional church and its doctrine. With regard to content, various ways of dealing with this newly-won viewpoint can be imagined. Luther's theology was probably the most significant force, but it was in no way the only effective one.[202]

Here it is very helpful to get such a conclusion that Luther was the first historic figure of the Protestantism. The other reformers, who worked with him such as Melanchthon, continued the great career of the Reformation, and then by the second generation as John Calvin and his followers such as John Knox etc. The leaders in the following centuries pioneered and pushed the career of the Reformation with the ideas of Martin Luther and of John Calvin in Netherlands, England, Scotland, and the North America etc. In this case, we could describe Luther and Calvin and their systems through the theory of Ideal Type of Max Weber because of their significant historicity.

Therefore, we could confirm that so many independent churches in terms of the model of Lutheran, Reformed and Anglican relative to the relationship with the State are defined in the frame of the Protestantism

202 Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, trans. R. Gritsch, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, p. 47.

such as the Pietism movement of 17th century, the baptism (1630), the Congregationalist (1646), the Quakers (1649) etc, and the Moravians Brethren (1722), the Methodists (1740) etc, and the Pentecost's movement of 20th century (1906), the fundamentalist movement (1920) and the American-based Evangelical movement since the end of the Second World War etc.[203] Thus, we must study the basic doctrines and the principles of the church regarding the secular positions and the roles if we want to interpret the theological, political and ethical meanings of the certain church in the concrete situation at the perspective of the great tradition of the Reformation.

I must enter into the history of the Reformation to understand the ethical roles of the church by Luther and Calvin with their theological considerations, and the ecclesiastical designs as the great Fathers of the Protestant tradition.[204]

How do the church orders and governances of the Reformation contain the ethical forces as the structural factors of the church? I'm convinced that Luther and Calvin had created the two systems of the ecclesial ethics, in this case, I prefer the theory of the Ideal Type by Max Weber to study the heritages of these two great reformers.

203 Klauspeter Blaser, *Une Église, des confessions, Leur unité et désunion, leurs doctrines et pratiques, Tableaux comparatifs*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990, pp. 30–33.

204 "The function of writings in ethics in Protestantism has consequently been more diffuse and ambiguous, but that it has been more pedagogical than juridical is clear." James M. Gustafson, *Protestant and Roman Catholic Ethics, Prospects for Rapprochement*, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978, p. 3.

3 The Ideal Type I: The Ecclesial Ethics of Martin Luther

3.1 Introduction

When we think of the orientation of the Church while facing the world in the process of evolution radically and frequently, we always prefer historic representative figures as references in order to benefit from their thoughtful insights and successful experiences as possible solutions to our issues today. In terms of my central theme, the ethical position of the Church regarding the role of the church and its relationships with society is closely connected with theological thoughts of great figures of the church in history. And their theological thoughts usually are contained in ecclesiastical doctrines and principles as fundamental voices of the Church of the proper period. Martin Luther and John Calvin are such historic figures with great historic statues. As the fathers of Protestantism, Luther made so many theological initiatives in the process of the reformation,[1] and then Calvin realized many theological ideas of Luther in the practical ecclesiastical works. So, the most important concern for Luther during the Reformation was the theology not the moral regeneration of the society according to the secular criteria. He claimed: "Doctrine directs us and shows the way to heaven […] We can be saved without love […] but not without pure doctrine and faith."[2]

We could say that Calvin finally achieved the ideal of Reformation of Luther through his ecclesiastical practices in Geneva and prepared the basis for further development of the church, which differed from the

1 There are so many researches about the historic influences of Martin Luther since the Reformation. One of the works is very helpful, it is by Ernst W. Zeeden, *The Legacy of Luther*, London: Hollis and Carter, 1954, and we could also read the introduction of Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther: An Introduction to his Life and Work*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, pp. 199–235.

2 *LW*, vol. 27, pp. 41f.

Roman Catholic Church. In today's position, although the external forms of the ecclesiastical institutions of the Protestant Church are various and different, the inner ideas and principles mainly come originally from theological and ethical thoughts of Martin Luther and of John Calvin. Ernst Troeltsch claimed:

> Although the forces which converged in the Reformation and in Protestantism were very varied, and although they gave rise to a rich development of movements and personalities, all this many-sided development was, in the last resort, based upon Luther's fundamental principles. These principles were the absolute standard, doctrinally, for all these groups, even though later on many of them may have developed along very different lines.[3]

This chapter is first of all related with the ethical thoughts of Martin Luther at the perspective of the ecclesiology, thus I think that the research about the ethical structures of the church should be divided into three parts: a) the fundamental theological principles of the ecclesial ethics which were linked with the reformation and the theological initiatives, b) Under the influence of Luther, the Lutheran Church has been created through the special forms differed from the Roman Catholic Church, namely the Church Order has been shaped with the theological principles of Luther as the doctrinal basis of Protestantism, c) the ethical principles as the structural elements of the Church from Luther's thought.

3 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 465.

3.2 The Fundamental Theological Principles of the Ecclesial Ethics Linked with the Reformation and the Theological Initiatives

Any kind of research and consideration about the ethical issues of Protestantism could not avoid Martin Luther as the pioneer of the Reformation. His theological thoughts are not the academic compositions in the library of the university as a professor, but directly for the reformation and the construction of the church from the Roman Catholic Church.[4] He said: "It is through living, indeed through dying and being damned that one becomes a theologian, not through understanding, reading, or speculation."[5] That means that we should give high attention to his practice of the reformation in the special époque linked with political and social conflictions. As a great figure with historical signification, his theological and ethical thoughts were never used in the sense of a revolutionary slogan for propaganda, but essentially functioned as the fundamental doctrines and norms of the Church in human history until today.[6]

The meanings of Luther's ethical thoughts are very rich, not only ecclesiastical but also social political at the level of human civilization. His legacy inspired so many generations after him until today. In this sense, his thoughts are very important for the theological works and the growing church in China if we confirm the universal substance of his thoughts for the world of Protestantism. In another word, the social and cultural forms of the Church over the world could be national, ethnical and folkloric, but the orthodoxy of Church Faith only comes from the reformation of the 16th century and especially the theological systems of Martin Luther and of John Calvin and their partners historically.

4 Martin Brecht, "Luther, Martin," in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2, ed. by H. J. Hillerbrand, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 461–467.

5 Martin Luther, *WA* 5:163, 28f, cited from Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962.

6 Marc Lienhard, *Martin Luther: Un temps, une vie, un message*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, pp. 16–12.

> The foundation for Lutheran ethics, Martin Luther's understanding of justification by grace through faith (Eph. 2:8), is theological. Salvation is a gift and not something achieved. For Luther, the purpose of the law is to expose sin (Rom. 7:9) and thereby to lead a person to the gift of God, and righteousness in Christ (Rom. 3:21–22). From this principle Luther developed an ethical theory of paradox which was revolutionary to medieval ethical systems.[7]

If I use the interpretation of Ernst Troeltsch, we could briefly outline the basic questions of Luther's career in the theological perspective.

> From the very outset this is what Luther intended: (1) the reform of the ecclesiastical organ of grace and of redemption, so that its true basis of grace may be revealed in Word, in the knowledge of Christ, and in the assurance of the forgiveness of sins which springs from Christ; (2) the reform of the priesthood, in order to restore it to its true office, instituted by Christ Himself, of the proclamation of the Word, or "preaching Christ"; (3) the reform of the sacraments – that is, from rites which impart the "substance of grace", they are to be transformed into rites appointed by Christ as "means of grace" which seal the assurance of the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins.[8]

Obviously his ethical thoughts come directly from his career of the reformation and the whole theological world in which he did so many initiatives for Protestantism. In this case, to do the clear survey about his reformation is very necessary to further study his theological ethics.

3.2.1 The Survey of His Pioneering of the Reformation

Martin Luther (1483–1546), a brother of Augustine order, the Doctor of the Bible. His reflection of spirituality began from 1512 as a professor of the Bible at the University of Wittenberg. He taught courses of biblical exegeses and at the same time observed with great attention the social and political evolutions at the time. The conflicts regarding secular interests between the Roman Papacy and the national kingdoms had impressed and shocked him so deeply and he dwelt himself on this huge

7 *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology*, ed. by David J. Atkinson and David H. Field, Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1995, p. 560.

8 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 477.

crisis caused by secularized involvements of the Church and pushed him into the Word of God and the Scripture for solutions. So many phenomenon and behaviors of the Church with the name of divinity essentially were contrary to the dogma of the faith and the doctrines of the church but existed so generally in the class of the clergy who constituted the whole hierarchy of the Church from Rome to the parishes over Europe. The spiritual and ethical image of the Church was seriously harmed, and Luther himself so often went down into self-accusation and self-guilt.[9]

As Father of the Protestant theological tradition, all his works such as the exegeses, the hymns, the poems, the predications, the letters, the defensive treatises and the articles were written around his deep concerns, namely, the Word of God and the Reformation.[10] We could divide his life into four stages.

The first was the period of 1513–1519 as the most important moment of the academic research and reflections for the vocation. He emphasized himself on the exegeses of the Bible and teachings in the university as a monk and a professor. His first lectures were related to the *Psalms* and the *Romans*, *Galatians*, and *Hebrews* (1513–1518) as the appearing of theology of the young professor. The later studies have proved that in this period Luther had already formed the important ideas about the Scripture, the Word of God for the church, and the faith in the individual mind etc. The central theme of the reformation later on had been well-referred in his writings and reflections such as righteousness of the sinners before the Lord, salvation, temptation and justification by faith through Grace which is free etc. Some years, he tried to adopt a kind of biblical exegeses and theology of justification similar to that of Nominalism which allowed man a definite, if limited, role in his own justification. But the articles, especially an autobiographical fragment of 1545 showed that he had rejected this position by believing that man was unable to respond to God without the divine grace, and that man could be justified only through the faith but by the good deeds (works). Here,

9 Walther von Loewenich, *Martin Luther, Der Mann und das Werk*, München: List, 1982, pp. 21–34.

10 Martin Brecht, "Luther, Martin," in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2, ed. by H. J. Hillerbrand, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 461.

nearly all the basic thoughts and ideas of the later Reformation had been shaped during the first period. Theologically, his separation with Scholastic tradition, especially nominalism, appeared at that time from his theological considerations. At that time, the nominalism was confirmed by the authorities of Rome Papacy as the absolute authority as Faith of the Church. He had achieved the theological draft from the Aristotelian system by the St. Augustinian tradition. During 1515–1519, the idea of the justification by faith had led himself towards the total conflict with the Rome Curia.[11]

On 31 Oct. 1517, Luther openly claimed his arguments about the indulgences by 95 theses on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. Historical tendency used this academic disputation as the manifesto of the Reformation by quickly spreading throughout Germany within the following weeks. In April 1518 in the Heidelberg Disputation Luther defended his position against the Curia Romana, which tried him later in the same year as heresy. Under the protection of Elector Frederick III of Saxony, Luther escaped from the arrest of the authorities of Rome.

The second period was 1520–21, when Luther was the initiator of the Reformation with his spiritual and theological leadership. The most important treatises for the Reformation were published with the great influence in this stage: a) *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Regarding the Improvement of the Christian Estate* (1520). He appealed to all the Christian nobles in Germany from the "spiritual" and "temporal" orders to challenge the Pope and the authorities of Curia Romana by the supreme authority of the Bible. He strongly suggested to the German princes to abolish the tributes to Rome, the celibacy of the clergy of the Roman hierarchy, the Masses for the dead, and all the Roman Catholic rules and institutions outside the Bible.[12] That was the first pillar of the

11 Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand, A Life of Martin Luther*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1950, p. 10.

12 "Protestant writers based the case for clerical marriage firmly on the argument that universal celibacy could never be other than a delusion and a deceit. The celibacy of the Catholic priesthood was simply 'unchaste chastity', mere 'pretence of chaste continence'. Protestant emphasis on the enormity of the Fall, and an unwillingness to allow fallen man any participatory role in the process of redemption, informed an outlook which regarded celibacy as psychologically impossible for all except a small minority. In recognition of this, God had ordained marriage as a remedy for

Reformation, i.e. *Sola Scriptura*,[13] b) *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1521), he dealt with the doctrine of the Sacraments as the divine promises connected substantially with the visible signs of Grace by denying the patristic definition of transubstantiation, and further he denied the Sacrifice of the Mass by stressing only Baptism and the Eucharist as the doctrine of the Sacraments created by Christ in the Scripture, c) *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520), it is regarded as his most famous writing in the history of Protestantism. He claimed that the Christians are totally free by Christ from sin, death, and devil on one hand, but never free at all due to Christ by giving the service to the others, the neighbors on the other hand. These three treatises made Luther quickly as the spiritual figure of the great movement against Rome.[14]On 3 January 1521, he was excommunicated by Rome (the bull 'Decet Romanum Pontificem).[15] The event of the Diet of Worms during this period showed the historic relationships between the secular authorities and Rome through the reforming appeals of Luther.[16] The most remarkable matter here was that he used eight months under the pseudonym 'Junker Georg' in Wartburg, nearby Eisenach, to translate the Bible into the German language.[17] In September 1522, the New Testament in German was published as the great sign of the Reformation as well as the great event of German cultural and spiritual history. Then, in 1534, he finished the translation and publication of the Bible in German.[18]

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fornication, a remedy revealed in scripture. (See e.g. P. Melanchthon, *A very godly defense…defending the marriage of priests*, tr. G. Joye, (Antwerp, 1541)." Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 164.

13 Helmut Lehmann, "Luther," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 2, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 1354.

14 Edgar M. Carlson, *Reinterpretation of Luther*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948, pp. 30–38.

15 Robert H. Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1957, pp. 20–25.

16 Gordon Rupp, *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms, 1521*, Chicago: Wilcox & Follett, 1951, pp. 20–22.

17 J. Michael Reu, *Luther's German Bible: An Historical Presentation Together with a Collection of Sources*, Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1934, p. 4.

18 Willem J. Kooiman, *Luther and the Bible*, trans. J. Schmidt, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961, p. 14.

1522–1530 could be thought of as the third period of Luther's life. The important events included that he came back to Wittenberg to help the secular authorities to restore the order from radical disorder. He reformed the liturgical rules and the rites of worship from the Catholic Masse and the fasts, and also wrote a baptismal ceremony in German and an altered Latin liturgy by *Formula Missae* in 1523. He tried to create new liturgical orders which differed from the Roman Catholics by new hymns, psalms, catechetical, and festival hymns. He pioneered the tradition of hymns of the Protestant Church. Since then, the use of the vernacular in national liturgy, in public reading of the Bible and in singing of the hymns quickly spread Luther's view of the Reformation over Germany.[19]

The reformation was pushed further under the leadership of Martin Luther. On 13 June 1525, he married the former Cistercian nun, Katharina von Bora to destroy the celibacy order of the Catholic Church; in 1525 by the *De Servo Arbitrio* (On the Bondage of the Will) responding the *De Libero Arbitrio* (On the Freedom of the Will) of Erasmus in 1524 as the typical humanist position, he stressed the clarity about the human will and the certainty of salvation according to God's merciful grace against Erasmus, who claimed that moral motivation had also the position of human salvation by divine grace.[20]

The important political turning point of the reformation was the Diet of Speyer in 1526 when the legal authority of the princes to organize national Churches had been set up.[21] Then, the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, the Lutheran principles of all the basic doctrines and the Church-State relationships were finally shaped here through *Confessio Augustana* (Augsburg Confession) by Philippe Melanchthon, the most important partner of Luther's career.[22] In brief, the theological thoughts about the ministry, the sacraments, the law and the gospel, the relationships of the

19 Vilmos Vajta, *Luther on Worship*, trans. U. S. Leupold, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, pp. 10–14.

20 Pierre Bühler, "Prédestination et Providence," in: *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, 2e éd., publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2006, p. 1099.

21 Harold J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era, 1500–1650*, New York: Macmillan, 1954, p. 7.

22 Ernst Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times: The Reformation from a New Perspective*, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1950, pp. 10–16.

two kingdoms and the relationships with the other reformers such Zwingli in Zurich[23] and the revolts disorders by the peasants led by Thomas Müntzer etc. became the central themes and concerns of Martin Luther.[24]

1530–1546, the last period of his life, Luther faced serious diseases and also fell into strict controversies regarding ecclesiastical issues as the continuation of the Reformation. He spent so much time to study the Scripture with the exegeses and the notes. At the same time, he showed a great attention to the Church growing since the Reformation. He wrote so many articles about his concerns, such as "On the Councils and the Church" (1539) relative to the attributes of the Church. His last writing was to attach the Roman Papacy due to its military suppression on the Protestants, "*Against the Roman Papacy: An Institution of the Devil*" (1545).[25]

After his time, the Church with the name of Lutheranism continued and grew until today. The most important event for us is that the Church was based on his theological principles around the Gospel. In 1577, by the *Formula of Concord* the system of the doctrines as the Faith of the Lutheran Church finally promulgated with so many insights of the reformers around him.[26] Historically Luther had established the theological fundament of Protestantism, especially relative to the basic principles, which shaped the identity of the theological system, which differed from the Roman Catholic tradition. Protestant churches had developed during the following five centuries after him. Essentially to understand the theo-

23 Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body:Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar.* Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959, rev. ed., Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977, pp. 23–24.

24 Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1981–1987), Engl. trans. J. L. Schaaf, Philadelphia/Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1985–1993, vol. 1, pp. 24-29.

25 *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. II, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962, pp. 1162–1174.

26 *The Formula of Concord* (1577) has avoided some polemical views of Luther linked with his special theological and faithful considerations such as the doctrine of double predestination, and of God as *auctor peccati* from the position of the ecclesiological requirement for the construction of the Church at the national level in Germany. But we should say that it is mainly based on the theological and ethical principles of Luther by including his several important writings.

logical tradition of Luther, I'd like to stress the ecclesiastical essence of his theological motive.

> Luther's concept of theology is primarily not a *scholastic* but rather a *monastic* theology. What is primary for Luther is not that theology of university disputations (of which he himself was certainly a master), but rather a pastoral theology marked entirely by the word of address that creates faith through the use of Scripture and thereby occasions the formation of passions. This theology as meditation on the text also shapes Luther's catechetical systematics.[27]

That is why the great influence of Luther on the Protestant world always remains at the present time, never as the past heritages by the ecclesiastical and pastoral revelations. This interpretation occurs in terms of not only the institutions but also the individuals, in the West and in China.

> Traditional Catholic historiography portrays a mad monk, a psychotic demoniac pulling down the pillars of Mother Church. To orthodox Protestants Luther was the godly knight, a Moses, a Samson (pulling down the temple of the Philistines!), an Elijah, evens the Fifth Evangelist and the Angel of the Lord. To the Pietists he was the warmhearted apostle of conversion. The German nationalists hailed him as a folk hero and "father of his country"; the Nazi theologians made him as a proto-Arian and precursor of the *Führer*. Significantly, Luther tests can be cited in support of each of these caricatures. None of them, however, takes seriously Luther's own self-understanding which is where a proper evaluation of his theology must begin.[28]

It is obvious that the influences of Luther are multiples in the spiritual, political, cultural and ethical areas in the history of humanity being since the Reformation. In this respect, no other figures in the history of Protestantism could play the same role and influence as he. From this point of view, I want to say that there must be the ethical norms from his writings and career as the moral rules of the Protestant churches in the secular world. And therefore, the historic fact that many persons outside the Protestant tradition had benefited from the moral norms of Luther's ethi-

27 Oswald Bayer, "Martin Luther," in: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 52. And also see Oswald Bayer, *Theologie* (Handbuch systematischer Theologie 1), Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994, pp. 106–114.

28 Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers*, Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1988, p. 53.

cal heritages for the special intention could push me from China to discover the precious revelation for the future of the church in China.

3.2.2 The Fundamental Theological Principles of the Ethical Thought

To enter into the ecclesial ethical system of Luther, we must first of all understand the theological principles that he created for the Reformation and quickly used as the fundament of the Protestant tradition after his time. It is necessary to stress that the theology for Luther is "the grammar of the language of the Holy Scripture", and not as a science of principles or essence of faith according to Johann Georg Hamann.[29] With the difference from the Scholastic tradition relative to the interpretation of the theology especially by St. Thomas Aquinas, who stresses "God" as the essential subject of theology or defined the theology as "the science of God",[30] Luther claimed that his definition of theology was linked closely with the urgent vocation of the Reformation and then became the classic principle of the Protestantism therefore. He said: "The proper subject of theology is man guilty of sin and condemned and God the Justifier and Savior of man the sinner."[31] I want to make Luther's position of theology as the starting point to do the understanding of his ecclesial ethical thought.

3.2.2.1 The Three Sola as the Three Pillars of the Ethical System of Luther for the Protestant Church

For the church outside the European Church tradition, the basic principles of the Reformation by the clear formula are very helpful with further interpretations, especially for the Church in China. The famous three principles by the three Latin suffix *sola* have sketched out the very exact

29 Martin Luther, *WA* 39, II:104, 24. See Oswald Bayer, *Theologie* (Handbuch systematischer Theologie 1), Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994, p. 13. And also see Johannes von Lüpke, "Theologie als 'Grammatik zur Sprache der heiligen Schrift'," in: *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 34 (1992), pp. 227–250.

30 St. Thomas Aquinas, *STh* I, q. 1, a 7c. His position has been developed by Wolfhart Pannenberg in his *Systematische Theologie*, vol. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988, p. 15.

31 Martin Luther, *WA* 40 II: 328, 1f.

meanings of the particularity of the faith of the Protestantism initiated from Martin Luther. Of course, there are much more than these three points to be considered as the principles of the Reformation and the basic doctrines of the Protestant Church, such as the principle of the priesthood of all the believers, the democratic principle through the form of the council or synod, the freedom of the conscience etc.

Sola Scriptura, sola fide, sola gratia, first of all appeared from the *Augsburg Confession* in 1530, which centered on the three controversial themes, namely, the authority, the sacraments, and the justification.[32]

> In Protestant theology, because salvation was through God's grace alone, the only proper response was Faith. Typically Protestantism cited Romans 3:28 in support of this doctrine: For we hold that a person is justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law. In his translation Luther added the word "alone" to make it by faith *alone;* hence, *sola fide.* This theological posture of *sola fide* constituted the core of the Reformation faith along with *sola scriptura* and *sola gratia.*[33]

In the ethical perspective, the authority of the Church fell down totally into crisis in the frame of polity because of the falling of moral authority in the secular order as well as spiritual authority in the ecclesial order. Luther was the first figure to tremble this huge and powerful authority from ethical ground. The first step of the challenge to the supreme authority of the papacy and Roman Curia was to ask if they monopolized the right to interpret the truth of the Cross by the most powerful formula "*Sola Scriptura*". From this principle the first ethical question of Protestantism appeared therefore, that is, the authority of the interpretation of the Truth. The authority of the Scripture is higher than that of Curia Romana through the tradition from the dogma of Apostolic Succession.

The second principle of the Reformation is *Sola fide*. Here, we must know that it correlated directly to the most important doctrine of the Reformation in Luther's thought, i.e. the doctrine of the Justification by

32 Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Reformation," in: *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 11, ed. by L. Jones, New York: Thomson Gale, 2005, p. 7658.

33 *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, vol. 1, ed. by Hans J. Hillerbrand, New York/London: Routledge, 2004, p. 108.

faith. For Luther, it was "the summary of Christian doctrine", and "the sun which illuminates God's Holy Church".[34]

> In its broadest sense, "justification" for the reformers embraced two separate processes. First, a sinner was "justified" in the sense that the guilt of his sins, which deserved God's anger and punishment, was suddenly and unconditionally forgiven. Such guilty ceased to be held against him, or (technically) "imputed" to him; on the contrary, the merits of Christ's atoning work were credited or "imputed" to the pardoned sinner instead. Secondly, the believer's soul was renewed from inside by the Holy Spirit, in a gradual breaking-down of "fleshly" instincts and a step-by-step "rebirth" which enabled the saved to begin to act rightly.[35]

Luther said:

> What then? Are we sinners? No, rather we are justified, but by grace. Righteousness is not situated in those qualitative forms, but in the mercy of God. In fact, if you take mercy away from the godly, they are sinners, and really have sin, but it is not imputed to them because they believe and live under the reign of mercy, and because sin is condemned and continually put to death in them […] Surely […] it is almost greater to accept as righteous him who is still infected by sin than him who is entirely pure.[36]

Philippe Melanchthon as the interpreter of the doctrines of Luther's thought explicated this important doctrine of Lutheranism:

> Why is it that justification is attributed to faith alone? I answer that since we are justified by the mercy of God alone, and faith is clearly the recognition of that mercy by whatever promise you apprehend it, justification is attributed to faith alone. Let those who marvel that justification is attributed only to faith alone marvel also that justification is attributed only to the mercy of God, and not rather to human merits […] wherever you turn, whether to the works preceding justification, or to those which follow, there is no room for our merit. Therefore, justification must be a work of the mercy of God alone.[37]

34 Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. R. C. Schultz, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966, pp. 224f.

35 Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 121.

36 *LW*, vol. 32, p. 208.

37 Philipp Melanchthon, *Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl*, ed. by R. Stupperich, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1951, vol. II/1, pp. 107–109.

Sola fide, essentially was for challenging the ethical crisis of the Roman Catholics relative to the *ratio* in the ethical system of Roman Authorities since the Middle Ages, the reason and the rationality from the scholaristic system had integrated into the system of the Tradition as the Truth held by Roman Curia and Papacy. Thus the reason took the absolute statue with the divinity was equal to the divine order and the rule of the Revelation during about one thousand years. It was also linked with the natural law through the authority of Curia Romana to limit and norm the secular orders in the West. In some extent, historically the Church had made the great contribution to Western civilization in the cultural and spiritual areas, but the totalitarian theocracy made the Church gradually end in terms of the nature and the mission of the Church. Luther was very clear about this decline of the Church. He must offer total new norms in his time for the Church in society.[38] Facing the powerful statue of the "reason", his solution was clear, namely, *Sola fide*. The *Fide* as the word Faith in English indicates directly the subject of the faith at the sense of St. Augustine by his famous formula, *Fides quaerum intellectum.* But in China, the translation of the *fide* from the faith has caused the ambiguous senses to show the psychological state, not the subject of the will.[39]

Actually, all his theological revolts against Roman authority had the ethical significance to Protestantism and the church. The doctrine of the justification by faith became the most powerful spiritual weapon through the reformers. Calvin claimed later:

> On the contrary, justified by faith is he who, excluded from the righteousness of works, grasps the righteousness of Christ through faith and, clothed in it, appears in God's sight not as a sinner but as a righteous man. Therefore, we explain justification simply as the acceptance with which God receives us into his favor as right-

38 Ernst Troeltsch said, "Luther's religious ideas were not due to the reflex action of social, or even of economic, changes; they were based essentially and independently upon the religious idea, which alone gave rise to the social, economic, and political consequences." *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 466.

39 "The Protestantism is a difficult creed to come to terms with. Its basic tenet, justification by faith alone, is not easy to grasp. The idea of man's depravity and helplessness encounters resistance which is not merely human vanity." John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 172.

eous men. And we say that it consists in the remission of sins and the imputation of righteousness.[40]

The third ethical principle appeared naturally by Luther, i.e. *Sola gratia*. The Grace is the way for humanity toward sanctification. At the eve of the Reformation, the disorder caused by the event of Indulgence had extremely torn the normal relationship between the subject of the faith and the deeds of the believers. The deeds without the ethical sanction of Faith could not show the inner aim of grace. So many ugly and immoral things among the clergy class and even in the curia portrayed the holy and moral clothes before the world. Luther was shocked in his deep mind. He had to think of the ethical norms from the holy Catholic Church position while he himself dwelt on the Word of the Scripture. What he accused and warned could be attributed to the ethical area in today's academic classification.

He must reinterpret the truth of the faith from the Scripture to give the new ethical norms to the world and the church. And then, Luther emphasized that the works without Divine grace will not achieve the salvation, i.e. the deeds are not the direct access to the salvation of God, thus, only by Faith to attain the salvation through Grace. In this respect the ethical system of value for the temporary life must be founded on the faith which is given from the Creator, too. Otherwise mankind could do nothing in the secular time. After dealing with the authority as the central issue of the Reformation, he concerned himself of the relationship between the subject of Faith and the concrete phenomenon of the subject based on the principle of *Sola gratia* as the solution of the time.

3.2.2.2 The Three Turning Points as the Ethical Orientation of the Protestant Church from Luther

From the three principles of the Reformation, Luther made initiatively new orientation of the Church Ethics to prepare the birth of the Protestant Church which finally differed from the Roman Catholic ethical system of the Patristic.

40 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (III, XI, 2), ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960, p. 726.

a) In the Protestant theological system, ethics has not been defined as the way towards salvation which is different with the Roman Catholics in which the moral disciplines through the canonic law are fixed as the conditions of sanctification. In St. Thomas Aquinas, ethics is the way of conversion to the Lord, but with Luther, he made ethics to be under a humble place due to the Grace of God. He confirmed that there is correlation between the salvation of the sinners and the ethical deeds of humanity. The Roman Catholic Church keeps the juridical restrain of the ethical disciplines for the clergy class through the canonical law based on the doctrine of the sanctification. Protestantism has destroyed all the sacramental rules about the ministers and the moral disciplines in the church through the new paradigm relative to ministers and believers. The extreme result of this orientation was the conclusion of F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1768–1834), namely, the religion is a private thing, the purely religiosity, "the sentiment of the absolute dependence". The separation between the State and the religion in the sense of modern constitutions of Western countries resulted from the ethical orientation of Martin Luther at the time of Reformation from the Roman Catholic system.
b) To weaken the ethical forces from the divinity for showing the supremacy of the Gospel was considered as the important orientation of Protestant ethics by Luther. Even at the time of Jesus Christ in Galilee the Parisians made the Law of Moses into the moralist for their totalitarian statue instead of the grace and the Word of God. This phenomenon remained so often in the history of the church while the top leaders wanted to set up the supreme authority of the individual personality or the family. The moral system of Roman Catholic at the time of Reformation was for the authority of the papacy and Roman Curia not for the Gospel and the moral order according to the Word of God in the temporary world. To refuse the ethical totalitarian role of the church, Luther had essentially prepared the future polity of democracy with his interpretations about the sinners and the salvation through the grace etc. In the perspective of the world civilization, Luther has created the new ethical ideas for the supremacy of God and the secular orders of the sinners under the grace of the Lord. Since then, the Protestant ethics has functioned as social-political forces to stop any possible ground for the appearance of the dictatorship of the individual leaders in the Church or with the name of Church.

c) To end the moral courts in the Protestant ethical category, Luther started up the new historical period that the Church did not work as the secular authority with the nature of the judicature of the state as existed during the Middle Ages until the Reformation.[41]

Since the initiatives of the Protestant ethics were set up off the tradition of Roman Catholic by Luther, the Protestant world suddenly faced so many moral problems during the development and the expansion such as the family, marriage, political justice, natural science, and social issues. The church must supply the ethical norms to believers and the church itself vis-à-vis these social issues. Luther set up the new ethical principles during the Reformation for the future of ethics of the Church by his enormous writings. I'd like to dig out some as the ethical principles of the church for the growing church in China as the precious references of the Reformation.

3.3 The Ecclesial Propositions as the Basic Ethical Principles

According to the historical research on Luther's theology, until 1520 Luther had initiatively achieved his considerations about the most important issues which composed the fundamental principles of later Protestantism. His considerations were around the theological and ethical categories such as: Christian freedom (1520), Works (1520), Justification (1519), universal priesthood (1520), authority of the Scripture (1520), reinterpretation of the Church (1520) and Sacraments (1519) etc. Then he had finished the reflections of the ecclesiastical system out of the Roman system inherited directly from the Patristic tradition.

Gerhard Ebeling (1912–2001), the most important expert of the research of Luther's theology in the 20th century, has used the hermeneutical method to do the analytical conclusion about the fundamental categories of Luther's theology. He thought that the whole theological heritage

41 Eric Fuchs, *L'Ethique Protestante, Histoire et enjeux*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990, pp. 15–16.

of Luther consisted of the series of categories correspondently such as: words and spirits; law and gospel; person and works; belief and love; Kingdom of Christ and Kingdom of world; Christian personality and public personality; freedom and slavery; hidden God and obvious God etc.[42]

With this hermeneutical method for understanding Luther's theological ethics, I'd like to give the brief description about Luther's ethical propositions which are the fundament of the Protestant ethics through ecclesiastical forms. There are six ethical categories from Luther's theology relative to the ethical theory of the Protestant Church in history.

3.3.1 The Ethical Principle of Responsibility

During the long period of the Middle Ages, the authority of the papacy dominated the secular authorities of countries in the West. All the legitimacy of the royal authorities must be permitted from the Curia Romana. The relationship between the secular states and Roman Curia were the dominate line in the history of Europe until the Reformation. In the areas of the ideology and theological ethics, order, rationality and authority were much superior to nature, sentiment, emotion and individual freedom. Historically the papacy through the Roman Curia and the dioceses over Europe had unified Europe after the collapse of the Roman Empire in 465 AD through the spiritual forces of theocracy, and made historic contributions in the areas of culture, art, architecture, education, natural science and legislation etc. But the spiritual order of the Church could not take over the duty and the responsibility of secular order, and it was immoral and fatal to the Church if the clergy used the name of the divinity for the fortunes and the temporal interests.

The real situation of the Reformation was very cruel, and Luther started to shape the new pattern of the ethical relationship among the people when he denied totally the divinity of Roman Curia and the legitimacy of the papacy regarding the secular order. He ended the correlation between ethical rules and the way to salvation made by Roman

42 Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, pp. 47–48.

Catholics through the Canonical Law for stressing the duty and the responsibility of the individual through faith under the grace of God.[43]

The ethical responsibility of the humanity of Luther was connected with his ideas of individual freedom and the grace of God; He insisted that mankind must be the subject of the ethical decisions in the world based on the grace of God which is not changeable according to the human will. In this respect, the autonomy of the humanity could not be rid of the providence of God, thus, the responsibility of human will is not the excuse to refuse the divine command of the Lord relative to the activities in society.[44]

The grace of God as the fundament of creation has decided the ethical essence of the human responsibility. The individual authority in the world with no matter what names of the divinity or royalty could not become the clothes for private dictatorship or totalitarian regime. The ethical responsibility of humanity in Luther was constructed on his theological basis of the Creation of God.[45] The ethical relationship between the individual and the Divinity has been set up by Luther in terms of the intention of the Reformation.

3.3.2 The Ethical Principle of the Law-Gospel

The Church and the Time as the ground of the ethical thoughts of Luther were reflected at the level of the ethical system. Luther used the category of the Law-Gospel to explain his insights about the task of the Church in

43 Pierre Bühler, "Luther (Martin) 1483-1546, 2. La théologie de Luther," *Encyclopédie Universalis*, vol. 11, Paris: Encyclopædia Universalis, 1986, p. 345.

44 Martin Luther, *Du Serf Arbitre*, in: *Œuvres* 5, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1957, pp. 7–236.

45 Lisa S. Cahill, "The idea of creation, integrally related to redemption, underlines the restoration and reconsiliation of all things in Christ. It diminished the exaggerated anthropomorphism that has often been the engine of human triumphalism over the rest of creation." In: "Creation and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 14.

the world. So far, the doctrine of law-gospel remains one of the most important themes of Protestant theology.[46]

The psychological background of the reformation was around the authorities of the papacy, of the state and of the Scripture to Luther and his theological initiatives. He must give the orientation of the church in long terms including the actual situation of the church. The radical words and activities of the reform, the extreme sentiments and emotions and too much personal illusions will destroy the great career of the Reformation in his time. Johann Agricola (1494–1566) as the partner of the reform was the representative of extreme forces. He encouraged the Antinomianism against the law of the OT which was considered as the doctrine of the Works by Roman Catholics in his view. He claimed that the Christians must obey only the Gospel of Christ not the Law of Moses and the rules of the prophets of the Old Testament.

In 1527, he attacked Melanchthon who insisted the position of Luther was right about the law and the prophets. In 1536, the conflict between him and Luther finally broke up while Luther went back to Wittenberg. After five serious arguments, Luther defeated him by publishing his famous treatise "Die Thesen gegen die Antinomer 1537–1540". Here Luther's theological thought about the Law-Gospel has been shaped, especially the interpretation of the Law in the reflection of the Reformation. The "two uses of the Law" became the important theological initiative of the Reformation to the reformers as the doctrine of Protestantism. After the death of Luther, the disputations about the relationship between Law and Gospel continued in the system of the Lutheran church until the appearance of the *Formula of Concorde* (1577–1580), which defined finally the "third use of the law" according to the original understanding of Philippe Melanchthon, the most faithful coworker of Luther.[47]

Here we are clear about the place of the category in the ethical system of Luther. In the faith of Christ, the law with such strict disciplines and rules are made by God concerning the norms of relationships in the

46 Robert Kolb, "Law and Gospel," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 3, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 217.

47 Marc Lienhard, *Martin Luther: Un temps, une vie, un message*, Paris/Genève: Centurion/Labor et Fides, 1991, pp. 289–292.

world, and the gospel about the promises and the orders of God are also given by God to the whole of humanity.[48]

Luther inherited the patristic interpretation about the law by the position that God has planted the natural law into the inner mind of mankind and created the conscience and the reason. Because of the autonomous freedom of will in the temporary world, the function of the laws lies to restrain and prevent criminal behaviors of humanity in the secular order in case of the disorder of ethical rules and the harm to the divine order of creation. And the role of gospel as the divine promise and new covenant from God to mankind made selected people as the dominate direction of humanity. Both are designed and created by God for his plan of the providence in the world, in Luther's original words in Latin, he said: "*Lex docet quid debeas et quo careas, Christus dat quid facias et habeas.*"(*WA*, 2, 500) Gustaf Aulén did the correct notes about Luther's position. The gospel and law are closely related to each other in unity. In reality, we should make sure that Luther's position was in the original from the Chalcedon Creed, 451, about the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, namely, "not mixed, not exchanged, not separated, and not disappeared."[49]

The idea of St. Paul about two hands of God to run his creation, with the sword of the justice on the left hand through the order, righteousness, reason etc. to realize his ideas in the secular order, briefly by one word, i.e. the law! and on his right hand, mercy, forgiveness, goodness, justification, sanctification, and grace for confirming the spiritual order as the existential basis or the substantial essence of the temporary creation, one word of this essence is: Gospel! The relationship of the two is dialectical and unified, and the antithesis is in the providence of God.[50]

In this way, the traditional interpretation from the Law of Moses as the particular commandment throughout the natural law of the patristic fathers until Luther, the idea of the law with the divinity has been continued in the new Church at the Reformation finally. The connection among the laws of the prophets, the truth of the Cross, and the whole

48 Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 101.

49 Gustaf Aulén, *Church, Law and Society*, New York: Scribner's, 1948, p. 57.

50 Denis Müller, *L'éthique protestante dans la crise de la modernité: Généalogie, critique, reconstruction*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1999, p. 203.

legal order of the temporary world as the creation of God has been naturally and doctrinally achieved in the theological and ethical system of Luther who aimed to realize the paradigm shift from Roman authority into the authority of the Scripture with this very special weapon. Historically, the category of Luther has prepared the modern political rule for the coming development of the Western civilization. At least, the event of the Reformation was one of the most important motives for modern Western civilization formed from the 16th century in today's view.

Regarding my central theme of the ethical study, the category of Law-Gospel preserved the conditions for us to understand the other theological categories of his whole theological system such as the doctrine of two kingdoms, of Church-State relationship, of the temporal world and the church, of the Christian Calling and the social engagement with Christian conscience etc.[51]

3.3.3 The Ethical Principle of the Two-Kingdoms

Historically, the reformation of Luther at the beginning had already gone beyond the ecclesiastical conflicts within the church with Curia Romana, but as the great political and social event with huge shocked forces in the West. In this respect, the theological ethics of Luther contained such rich political principles of the Protestant Church.[52] The doctrine of the two realms has the special value of Christian politics or the political ethical value of the system of Church if in another term.[53]

According to Pierre Bühler, in terms of Christian theological tradition, the doctrine of the two realms has composed the very characteristic of the theological thought of Luther, because this doctrine deals with the norms of the relationship between God and the world, his creation in which the humanity lives with different ethical models. The other reformers such as Melanchthon, Zwingli and Calvin had also given such deep reflections about this doctrine. It is obvious that theological atten-

51 Gerhard Ebeling, "Gottes Wort als Gesetz und Evangelium', in: Gerhard Ebeling, *Dogmatik des christlichen Glaubens*, vol. III, Tübingen: Mohr, 1979, pp. 251–295.

52 Martin Luther, *De l'autorité temporelle et des limites de l'obéissance qu'on lui doit* (1523), in: *Œuvres* 4, Genève: Labor et Fides 1958, pp. 19–20.

53 Denis Müller, *La morale*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1999, p. 27.

tions on this issue started so early in the history of the church from the primitive period of the church, for instance, the doctrine of the Two Cities of St. Augustine, even much more than the apostles' time back to the books of Gospel, such as the words of Jesus Christ, the distinction between God and Caesar in the Scripture.

As to Luther's definition, there is no conflict between these tow realms but the dialectical in unity. For Luther, the Christians always live in these two realms spontaneously; one is the temporary authority with the law in the secular order, another is the spiritual authority with faith in the ecclesial order. But both are obeisant under the grace of God. As a citizen, the Christian must obey the laws and the rules of the government for justice and peace through the moral responsibility and civil duty; in the church, the Christians could live for spiritual pursuits for faith. It means the two kingdoms are not separated for its people; all people could live in these two kingdoms which exist according to the providence of God.

Here we must make clear that the spiritual kingdom of God is not the authority of Church on the ground, but the spiritual system of the Christian faith by which the Church set up. And the temporary realm is not equal with the government. Furthermore, we should make attention that the doctrine never means that some of us belong to the former and some of us to the latter, neither that Christians are to the temporary realm, and the non-Christians to the secular order. This understanding is contrary to Luther's meaning. Historically there are so many misunderstandings about this doctrine of Luther, some accuse Luther that he separated the spiritual world and the secular world, and then Christians need not take the moral responsibility in the secular world, only faithful in the spiritual world. Essentially, Luther stressed that the mystery of the doctrine lies in every person who lives under these two authorities spontaneously at the level of the human conscience.[54]

It is the dialectic of the faith and the world in the theological ethics of Luther. The significance of the research is very clear to us.[55]

54 Pierre Bühler, "Doctrine des deux Règnes," in: *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, p. 1291.

55 As Jean Ansaldi's words, "Il n'y a pas dualisme car dans les deux règnes, c'est Dieu qui gouverne. Dans le règne du monde, il agit par les structures organisationnelles des hommes, le pouvoir princier de son temps, les structures démocratiques

Thus, at the perspective of Christian ethics, persons with virtues are able to take the moral and civil responsibility in the society and among the people no matter what kind of statues they have. Otherwise, without any moral restrains or disciplines, the people will do anything just for their egoist interests even if they have beautiful and moral clergy clothes and ecclesiastical titles as the bishop or the pastors and sons. It is very remarkable that Luther was aware of the issue that to be a good Christian one should face the duty of the citizen and the responsibility in the moral system. So far it remains one of the important ethical issues for the Church and society, especially in the China Church with the Western missionary tradition.

Today in the world of the Lutheran theological circle, reflections about the doctrine of Luther are always continuing with such rich meanings from the dogmatic level and also from the ecclesiastical dimension. The ethical signification of the doctrine of two realms is more and more showing the inner value for the church. "The church's business is to preach the gospel, administer the sacraments, and care for souls in anguish; the government is in charge of the nation's life, foreign policy, and civil rights."[56] Gorge W. Forell said:

> Every man is a member of a secular realm and of a spiritual realm. It is important to realize the difference between these two realms and to keep them separate. Luther claimed that Jesus (Matt. 22:21) had emphasized the separation of the two realms when he said: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Luther himself pointed frequently to the difference between the two and reiterated the need for a clear separation.[57]

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aujourd'hui. Dans le règne de l'Alliance, il agit directement par le Christ et les *indumenta Christi*, les fillières de finitude par lesquelles s'atteste aujourd'hui son incarnation (Ecriture, sacrements, communautés, etc.)." Jean Ansaldi, *Ethique et Sanctification*, *Morales politiques et sainteté chrétienne*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 27.

56 Carl E. Braaten, *Principles of Lutheran Theology*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, p. 124.

57 George W. Forell, "Luther's Conception of 'Natural Orders'," in: *Lutheran Church Quarterly* 18 (1945), p. 166.

3.3.4 The Ethical Principle of the Christian Freedom

In 1520, Luther published several important treatises which were proved in history as the historical documents for theological direction of the Reformation and the fundament of Protestantism. One of them is the "On the Christian Freedom". The theological and ethical significances of this treatise are to interpret the Christian freedom as the important principle of the Reformation in different systems of the authorities. In terms of the series of categories by pairs such as Law and Gospel, State and Church, Divine and Profane, Christian and Non-Christian, Temporary and Spiritual etc from the ethical system of Luther, we could confirm that Luther was concentrating himself on the ethical duty and responsibility of the church to society and the world during the Reformation.

As a Christian, a member of the church, how should we do according to the Christian faith defined by the church? How to do could avoid the other forms of disorders while the authorities of Roman and related political order were destroyed by the Protestants? The revolts of the knights and the peasants made Luther more urgent for giving his understanding to the church. On the surface, the theological ethical principle of Luther seemed to obey the secular authorities by the history of the German territory churches, but the deep concerns of Luther's thoughts are much far beyond the Lutheran Church in the limited history of Germany. The interpretations are very rich since the principle of Luther was established. If only at the level of the ethical research, we could at least understand his concerns at the ecclesiastical frame.

His famous sentence about the Christian freedom is: "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."[58]

In my understandings, there are three points in this very dialectical proposition of Luther about Christian freedom:

In the perspective of the existing legal system, the reformation of Luther belonged to the illegal and revolted definition. Although there were such serious conflicts, combats and negotiations between the authorities of Rome by the theocracy over one thousand years and the au-

58 *LW*, vol. 31, p. 344. Cf. *De la Liberté*, in: *Œuvres* 2, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1966, p. 262.

thorities of the kingdoms which appeared as the national governments, as a monk and a theologian of the Roman Church, it was very dangerous to Luther while doing the strong challenge to Roman Curia. Thus the huge responsibility to give the reasonable and faithful interpretations about the Reformation made him think of the ethical relationships among the Christians, the Faith, the institutional church and the secular authorities.

As we know, Luther followed the theological way of St. Augustine to have profound insights about the sin of humankind much more than any other theologians in the history of the Reformation. The concept of freedom as the central issue related directly to the issue of original sin and then the will of humankind also related in the sense of their creation by God. The doctrine of original sin by St. Augustine defines the essence of salvation under the divine grace of God to the whole humanity. Luther continued the position of St. Augustine to consider the absolute power of God over individual freedom, the authorities of Roman Curia with the name of the divinity, and the authorities of the secular states. To define the ethical norms and rules to Christian social behaviors by the ecclesiastical doctrines was the great contribution of Luther to the Protestant tradition while he rejected all the doctrinal and legislative system of Roman Catholic Church. His ethical definitions of the norms relative to the individual and ecclesiastical behaviors were based on the Scripture and the essence of the church. In this sense, he established the ethical system for the Protestant church during the Reformation.

If ethics is about the rules and norms by which humanity deals with different issues concerning themselves, Christians and the church must think of various forms of social correlations such as family, civil society, governments, political systems, the nature in the frame of values by proper criteria and rules from the faith of church. The first existential point of the considerations about the freedom is the subjectivity of the individual and of the Church, then. That is why Luther claims the absolute freedom to be Christians in the spiritual system of the Faith, and at the same time absolute slavery as the Christians in the ecclesiastical ethical system.[59] Here the actual concerns of Luther through this issue were

59 "Protestantism proclaimed man's nothingness in the face of the awesome, absolute sovereignty of an unknowable deity. Nothing else really mattered. Anything which seemed to obscure that stark fact, to soften or 'domesticate' it was the work of Sa-

the people and church leaders after him during the Reformation who followed him from the Roman Church but not yet into the new order of Church with theological and ethical disciplines. In a word, he was thinking of the ethical basis and the theological direction of the Reformation for the Church.

From the perspective of the series of the categories such as the law and the gospel, the divine authorities of Rome and secular authorities of the State, the triple uses of the law, the person and the works, the freedom and the slavery in the theological and ethical system by Luther, we could figure out his vision for the Protestant church after the Reformation under his most central theological concept, namely, the Word of God: one way throughout the individual, the family, the community, the Church, the Kingdom of the Heaven, and God; another way through the individual, the family, the society, the government, the world, the Kingdom of the Heaven, and God; and these two ways are juxtaposed and even overlapped together around these two critical extreme points, Man and God. The vision of Luther is about these two points through the category of Christian freedom and also at the position of the church. The freedom of Christians within the church means the limitation of the freedom by the ecclesiastical ethical rules and disciplines directed by the essence of the church. That is why for Luther the freedom of Christians has the dialectical meaning: Christ makes Christians as the lords over the world with total freedom, and also makes Christians as slaves in the world without any freedom at all. In this respect, the freedoms of the government and of the church have been understood also within the dialectical limitations around the axis of Christ.

The political significance of this proposition exists in the divine criteria of the inner order and the ethical norms of the external order protected by the faith of Church in the secular world which runs according to the laws based on the natural law. The Church and the government as the two institutional powers directly relate to the freedom of the individual as the fundamental right of the creatures of God in the time and space of his creation. The idea and the concept of the law and ethical norm have appeared in the category of Freedom from Luther's thoughts. The

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tan." John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 172.

influence of Luther's principle is historic in the history of western civilization since then because it was continued through the tradition of the ecclesiastical spirit of the political principle of St. Paul. Precisely St. Paul declared very firmly that he has the right of a citizen of the Roman Empire to appeal to the Emperor while he suffered in the persecution by the local authorities of Israel. This case was the first example of the Christian political principle and since then it became also the paradigm of Christian politics for the Church until today, and Luther has accepted and explored this paradigm for the Reformation through the category of Christian freedom in the life and in the world. So I'd like to say that the apostolic paradigm of politics also integrated the legal heritage of the Roman Empire into the Church in a positive way. The patristic church held similar position through the principle of natural law by insisting on the doctrine "the Natural law exists before the extra natural grace" and then deeply formula the European civilization regarding the principle of law over the state.[60] As to Luther's political principle, he claimed that the law exists before the gospel with the same pattern of the patristic tradition. Here, we could confirm that the judiciary seriousness and the divinity of the justice through the law in the modern political system are accepted by the reformer and the creator of the Protestant tradition at the era of the Reformation.[61]

Luther as the initiator of the theological tradition of Protestantism has the heritages of St. Augustine as doctrinal background, and also the figure with enthusiasm of life and with the will of engagement from his experience as a monk.[62] That was why he could survive and succeeded

60 John C. Bennet, *Christians and the State*, New York: Scribner's, 1958, ch. 8.

61 "It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the official Catholic version of the natural law has consistently been attacked by Protestants and defended by Catholics. This would have been roughly true in the early decades of the twentieth century, when Catholic moral theology was still dominated by this version of the natural law. Even then, however, Catholic theologians were themselves beginning to raise questions about the validity of this understanding of the natural law, and after the Second Vatican Council it was subjected to widely accepted criticisms." Jean Porter, *Natural and Divine Law, Reclaiming the Tradition for Christian Ethics*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, p. 30.

62 Accounts of the sixteenth-century Reformation have often ignored the possibility of a medieval inheritance of reforming ideas; in so far as they have admitted any medieval influence, it has been merely as the rough preparation of the ground – that

from the very complicated contexts with political, theological, ethical difficulties and risks. The third concern of Luther was connected with these risks of the reformation but at the high level of sanctification toward salvation. He wanted to deny any individual freedom before the will of God at the faithful dimension. He claimed: "Facing God, the will of freedom disappeared silently, and only existed before mankind and the temporal world."[63] That is the precomprehension of Luther's position, to which Gerhard Ebeling gave his commentary: "Luther defended the servitude of the will because of the freedom of the conscience."[64] Here I would like to note that Calvin as the most important reformer of the second generation set up the doctrine of the conscience and the right of the resistance based on the ethical principle of Luther.[65]

In a word, the theological ethical thought about the freedom and slavery of Luther essentially contained his heavy concerns and worries about the reformation and the fate of the Church. The doctrine of the bondage of the will has totally restrained the arbitrary of the individual will within the divine command of the Lord for the Church according to Luther. If we could do the historical reflection about the following five hundred years since the Reformation, we will confirm that Luther's theological ethics is really the gift from God to the Church which has been proved by so many problems in the political, spiritual, ethical and missionary areas in the West and in China. I'll study it again in the last chapter about the ethical crisis in China

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Lollardy may in a very few areas have fostered an individualism of outlook, a readiness to read the vernacular scriptures and to interpret them independently of the ministrations from the established clergy. For instance most recently, John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, note esp. p. 46. Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 61.

63 *LW* 7:146,27–33 (1520).

64 Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 182.

65 Eric Fuchs et Christian Grappe, *Le droit de résister, Le Protestantisme face au pouvoir*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990, pp. 5–8.

3.3.5 The Ethical Principle of the Calling

The most influential category of Luther's ethical thought today is the calling of his theological system by the famous works of Max Weber, *Protestant ethics and spirit of Capitalism*. In China, the interpretations around this category nearly formed the historical tendency with the powerful spirituality since the 1980s. This conception was considered as the structural factor to construct the ethical frame of the modern and reasonable capitalism, commerce and business.[66]

In the sense of historical sources, the whole ethical system of Luther is founded on the principle of *Sola Scriptura* because he used the Bible not only as the powerful weapon to challenge the authority of Roman Curia but also as the theological orthodox of the faith to resist the huge reaction from the clergy class which were shaped as the divine order during about one thousand years and controlled the secular orders and authorities with the name of the divinity through the Canonical Law.

Therefore, Luther must create the new ethical norm for the new social and political orders. He figured out the principle of the universal priesthood from the Bible through the category of the Calling to all believers from God to replace the traditional doctrine of special priesthood, namely the privileges of the clergy class or the system of the Hierarchy by the papacy. Here the theological proposition relative to the meanings of the priesthood within the Church and through all the believers at the individual level appeared then and until today remains the ecclesiastical and ethical proposition. The controversial arguments which Luther created have very profound signification especially for the church in non-Christian culture areas such as in China today. So the question of the understandings of the Universal Priesthood and the Royal Priesthood (1 Pet. 2:9) made the ecclesiastical ethics more urgent and realistic for missiological reflections.

The theological study of the Royal Priesthood will open a new page for the establishment of the ecclesial ethical system based on the legacy of Luther. As B. A. Gerrish said:

66 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons, New York: Anthony Giddens, 1976, pp. 62–63.

> It is another question whether this fundamental standpoint, even when shown to be coherent, correctly interprets what the Scriptures mean by the royal priesthood; for Luther pictures a mutual priesthood within the church rather than a priestly mission of the church to the "nations". Certainly, his view is not individualistic, but neither is it corporate in quite the same sense as the biblical priesthood. It is rather societal and treats the church as a community of mutually-related individuals. This is not to say that the Bible knows of no such relation within the church, only that his does not seem to be the meaning of the royal priesthood.[67]

That is the force of the ethical category of the Calling and the Profession. The biblical sources used by Luther are the following verses: "However that may be, each one must order his life according to the gift the Lord has granted him and his condition when God called him. That is what I teach in all our congregations." (1 Cor. 7:17); "Every man should remain in the condition in which he was called." (1 Cor. 7:20) From here Luther created the doctrine of the Calling by which there is no difference of the statues or identities according to the profane standard such as the titles and the fortunes before the calling of the Lord. The time of Luther was troubled by hierarchic privileges and prejudices caused by the Roman papacy with the national kingdoms. The distance between the sacred class and the profane class was developed to the extent which made the gospel off the people only as the interest of the clergy class of Roman Church. The first aim of the Reformation was anti-clergicalism, namely to attack the authority of Roman Papacy for Luther who interpreted the profane life by the doctrine of salvation and the Calling as the divine grace to every person by strong religiosity and the sentiment of believers.[68]

It is obvious to Luther that the Calling has made the Christians with the visible form to keep the identity of the grace from God. This visible form could be shown through the actual statue. He confirmed the teachings of St. Paul further in that all life of believers could be done for the testimony of the grace of God no matter how noble or humble they are. As of this moment, the hierarchic degree in the social and spiritual structure of the Middle Ages by the Roman papacy has been interrupted in the

67 Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 105.

68 Martin Luther, *Le Jugement de Martin Luther sur les vœux monastiques* (1521), in: *Œuvres* 3, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1963, p. 103.

new vision of Luther through his theological and ethical influences. He strongly launched the ethical paradigm of Scripture from the authority of Rome by divine grace on the common people through their profane works.[69]

Meanwhile, Luther formally inherited the ethical order used by the patristic tradition: work, family, state, and church, with his precondition that these four ethical orders belong to the creation of God, and totally equal under the grace of God.[70]

Here we can find that Luther's ethical position was coherent with the patristic ethical system of the divine order (Ordnungen, Ordres de création) with the meaning that all the people should try their best to work in the proper position. In this case, the people could show their duty and thanks to the grace of God. That is the fidelity of the people with the calling of God in profane society.[71]Then the way toward salvation will be prepared before them by God.[72]

Although the interpretations of ethical thoughts about the Calling by Luther on the process of industrialization by Max Weber are always hermeneutic topical with so many different understandings, we can essentially make sure that the view of the Calling as his ethical principle is correlated with the other ethical principles such as the doctrine of the

69 Martin Luther, *Le Jugement de Martin Luther sur les vœux monastiques* (1521), in: *Œuvres* 3, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1963, p. 108.

70 Martin Luther, *Comm. Gal.*, 6,4, in: *Œuvres* 16, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1967, p. 301.

71 Miriam Usher Chrisman said, "The Protestant Reformation was the creation of the clergy. It endured because it aroused the support of ordinary laymen. They listened to the sermons, were opened to the message of the gospels, and changed their beliefs and their modes of worship. Lay writing on theological issues was a new phenomenon. There had been popular songs on religious themes, poetry and stories which dealt with clerical abuses, but the Roman Church provided little opportunity for layingmen to bring together prayers and hymns to make a prayer book or hymnal, nor did the Roman clergy permit the laity to write on doctrine. The latter was the exclusive prerogative of the Church, written and published only in Latin. The Reformation brought an immediate change." "Lay Response to the Protestant Reformation in Germany, 1520–1528," in: *Reformation Principle and Practice*, *Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens*, ed. by P. N. Brooks, London: Scolar Press, 1980, p. 35.

72 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons, New York: Anthony Giddens, 1976, pp. 62–63.

two kingdoms, the doctrine of the universal priesthood, the three *Sola*s, and so on. The goal of the reformation needed a new ethical system to define and normalize the social relationships of the individuals, the families, the state and the church in the new order under the grace of God.[73]

As to moral rules and ethical norms in today's industrial society and with how many factors of salvation and grace, we need not spend too much time to verify the role of Luther directly. The only factor of this ethical system reconfirmed Luther is the statue of the work in the order of the divine grace. That is the great initiative for Protestant ethics by Luther and through his influences which realized the establishment of ethical order in the profane and secular world. Thus, on the ground of Luther's initiative, Calvin later pushed the ethical requirements of the church to believers with the Calling to shape the "engagement" and the "responsibility" as the ecclesiastical ethical principles in order to make the forces of the Protestant church as the main role of social progress and justice.

3.3.6 The Ethical Principle of the Christian Life on the Trinity

Although at the beginning of the Reformation, Luther and his followers were excommunicated as heretics and revolts by Roman Curia according to the doctrinal orthodox and criteria of Church, historically Luther never denied the apostolic and patristic heritages as the doctrinal resources and spiritual motives of the Reformation, and he worked very systematically back to the authority of the Scripture by biblical exegeses and the dogmatic and ethical writings during the reformation. It was from this position to stress the orthodox of the Patristic fathers for the faith of the Prot-

73 "In the discourse of calling, value is not located in the self and its development or in the discovery of what the self is or contains, or in what it creates, or in the world as it is given. Value lies, rather, in the capacity to discipline oneself in work for ideals on behalf of which one makes oneself a tool and a servant. The calling thus serves the needs of self-definition and self-justification through devotion and service." Harvey S. Goldman, "Weber's Ascetic Practices of the Self," in: *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, ed. by H. Lehmann and G. Roth (Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington D. C.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 170.

estant church that Luther avoided any sentimental and emotional movement and insisted the doctrinal structure for the church.

In today's perspective, we should recognize that the initial desire of Luther really was not to found the new church from the Roman Catholic Church which is the main body of the patristic church from the apostolic succession during the Reformation. All of his opinions were mentioned for reforming the papacy Church. The principle of *Sola Scriptura* was to warn Roman Curia that the supreme authority of the Church is God not the pope or others. He was clear that the canonization of the Bible was done by the council of the Church, but rather for him under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in his mind. Here I'd like to remind myself of the orthodox of Luther from the apostolic and patristic legacy while we introduce the theological thought of Luther and the Reformation in China, because Western missionaries made the impression there by the formula that there was nothing between the Bible and Luther's Reformation. The legacy of the Church Fathers, especially St. Augustine, is always the most important doctrinal resources for him and the Protestant Church.

The doctrine of the Trinity is one of the most important doctrines for Luther and the reformers. Luther has put it as the corner stone of the Christian life in society which is also one of most important ethical characteristics of Luther's ethical thought. That is also the reason that Rome could not defeat Luther and the Reformation in terms of the dogma and doctrines of the faith. The catholicity is defined also by Luther and the other reformers as the substantial nature of the church of Protestantism through the doctrines of the patristic church, the Trinity as the doctrinal pillar of Church functions also in the ecclesial structure of Luther. In this case, the reformation never went to deny the catholicity of the church. I should remind myself while doing the reflections about the ethical norms of the Reformation, because so many Protestants in the Chinese world consider the Roman Catholic as the heresy in opposite of the Reformation so far.[74]

74 Friedrich Heiler claimed, "It was not Luther's idea to set over against the ancient Catholic Church a new Protestant creation; he desired nothing more than that the old Church should experience an evangelical awakening […] Luther and his friends wished, as they were never tired of emphasizing, to be and to remain Catholic." Friedrich Heiler, "The Catholic Movement in German Lutheranism," in: *Northern*

In 1528, Luther wrote in "Confession concerning Christ's Supper".[75] According to Werner Elert, the doctrine of the Trinity was the most important doctrine for Luther in his later life when he wanted to reestablish the ethics of the Christian life.[76]

In his works *Small and Large Catechisms*, Luther stressed the order of the creation of God by his conclusion that the ministry of pastor, the family and the authority of government has shown the plan of salvation of God through Christ of the cross in the world, and God in the eyes of mankind and in the process of the creation usually appeared as the hidden God (*Deus absconditus*) and the obvious God (*Deus revelatus*). Through the trinity of the Christian life, Luther emphasized that the order of creation of God has covered all aspects of human life including the marriage and the family of believers. In this way, pastoral care of the Christian life became the centre of the reformation as the powerful forces against the theodicy of the papacy. Today's Protestant churches continue the tradition of the testimony of Christ through life as the most efficient way for evangelization which is juxtaposed together with preaching. We could say that the God-center in the theological system of St. Augustine has been moved into the Christ-center in Luther's system from here.

Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements, ed. by N. P. Williams and C. Harris, London: SPCK, 1933, p. 478.

75 *LW*, vol. 37, p. 361.

76 Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, p. 216.

In a word, the doctrine of Trinity has the special significance to Luther and to the theology of the Protestant church through Luther.[77] I would like to use it as the final conclusion for the Church in China at the last chapter of the research.

3.3.7 Conclusion

Hans G. Ulrich, a Lutheran theologian, has systematically analyzed the ethical elements in the ecclesiastical dimension. He said that the ethics of the Lutheran Church is founded on the doctrine of justification by faith in order to remind ourselves that we always need the hands of God in the world. The ethical dwelling could help us to think originally of the relationship with God through grace by faith. Thus theological ethics is not simply general Christian ethics, but the ethics about norms and regulations for humankind to confirm the special connection with God. This kind of connection has been witnessed in so many different areas in society such as political, economic, psychological and so on.

> It is reflected in the spheres of human living which bear God's promises: to govern with justice for the political sphere, *politia*, to care about the needs of God's creatures for the sphere of economics, *oeconomia*, and to communicate God's Word to our hearts and minds in the sphere of communal life, *ecclesia*. It is essential in those spheres to live together with God and to respond to God's promises and acting, to God's creative Word and work.[78]

That is the reason that I should enter into the ecclesiastical thought of Luther and his initiatives of the ecclesiastical order during the Reformation in order to make clear the ethical structures of the Church established on his great mind.

77 "D'ailleurs, pour l'essentiel, la tradition dogmatique de l'Eglise ancienne se trouve reprise chez Luther, notamment en ce qui concerne les doctrines de la trinité et de la christologie." Pierre Bühler, "Luther Martin," in: *Dictionnaire de l'Histoire du Christianisme*, Paris: Encyclopædia Universalis/Albin Michel, Paris, 2000, p. 627.

78 Hans G. Ulrich, "On the Grammar of Lutheran Ethics," in: K. Bloomquist (ed.), *Lutheran Ethics at the Intersections of God's One World* (LWF Studies), Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 2005, p. 29.

3.4 Church Order: the Ecclesiastical Polity and Ordonnances

3.4.1 Introduction of the Lutheran Church Order

From the point of the historiography of the Reformation, the initiative of Luther was not for establishing the new Church outside of Roman Catholic Church, and only for reforming the errors and abuses of the Church which continued from the Patristic Church with the apostolic succession in terms of the ecclesiastical order and the doctrinal traditions.[79] It is remarkable to us that Luther always insisted his basic position about the Roman Catholic Church even when the schism with Rome had become inevitable by the Reformation and he never ceased to accuse Curia Romana.[80]

Precisely, what Luther attacked was the papacy and Roman Curia, not the Church itself and the dogma of the Church. We could confirm this conclusion from the forms of the worship, the liturgical similarities and the ecclesiastical signs of the Lutheran Church at the level of the medieval ecclesiology.

> Luther sees the signs of this church of the Word in seven "holy and salvific things," seven "means of salvation." The church as the *sanctorum communio* is "externally known" by the "Word", especially in its forms of "baptism", the "Lord's Supper," and the "keys" as well as in its "ministries", its "service of the Word," further public "prayer." Confession (including "the public expression of the catechism"), and the "cross" suffered for the sake of the gospel. (*WA* 50: 628; *LW* 41: 149–65) These "external signs" (*WA* 50:643:6) do not refer to something interior, but rather in,

79 Friedrich Heiler, "The Catholic Movement in German Lutheranism," in: *Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements*, ed. by N. P. Williams and C. Harris, London: SPCK, 1933, p. 478.

80 He said, "Although the city Rome is worse than Sodom and Gomorra, nevertheless there remain Baptism, Sacraments, the Words of the Gospel, the Holy Scriptures, the Ministry of the Church, the name of Christ and the name of God […] Therefore, the Roman Church is holy, because she has the holy name of God, the Gospel, the Baptism, etc. If these things exist among a people, the people is called holy. Thus also our city Wittenberg is a holy city, and we truly holy because we are baptized, have received the Holy Communion and have been taught and called by God. We have the work of God among us, the Word and the Sacraments, and these make us holy." Martin Luther, *Lectures on Galatians* (1535), in: *LW*, vol. 26, pp. 24–25.

with, and among them the church is not only recognized but also constituted. The marks of recognition are essential marks. "But you must adhere to and follow this sure and infallible rule: God in His divine wisdom arranges to manifest Himself to human beings by some definite and visible form which can be seen with the eyes and touched with the hands, in short, is within the scope of the five senses. So near to us does the Divine Majesty place itself." (*WA* 42:626, 15–9; *LW* 3:109)[81]

And now the central theme related to Luther's legacy is how to show the ethical structures in the Church and should be studied through the ecclesiastical observations and interpretations.

Far from being born as an individualistic protest, most of Protestantism inherited ancient doctrines of the church. Reformers did not begin as carefree and casual destroyers of Catholic ecclesiastical symbolism. Only the radicals believed that there was nothing to retrieve from the medieval church. For the rest, the "one, holy, catholic, and apostolic" Church confessed in the creeds was to be theirs. Yet there was more variety in the applications of the doctrine at the time of the birth of Protestantism. Protestants could retain baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Bible, the doctrine of God, but they had to reject the Catholic version of administering the church.[82]

81 Oswald Bayer, "Martin Luther," in: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, pp. 60–61.

82 Martin E. Marty, *Protestantism*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972, p. 133. Cf. Cyril C. Richardson, *The Church Through the Centuries*, London/New York: Scribner's, 1938; Martin E. Marty, *A Short History of Christianity*, New York/London: Meridian Press, 1959; Cyril Eastwood, *The Priesthood of All Believers*, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962; Herman A. Preus, *The Communion of Saints*, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948; John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1963; William A. Mueller, *Church and State in Luther and Calvin*, Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1954; All of these works show how Luther developed his teaching over against the papal-hierarchical tradition, and in this sense they are typical of later Protestantism. At this point a number of theological discussions about the doctrine of the church should be cited. The Reformation debates continue within Protestantism, as in a Congregationalist-Anglican debate over catholicity, begun by Daniel T. Jenkins, *The Nature of Catholicity*, London: Faber and Faber, 1942, an attack on Anglicanism and replied to by Arthur G. Hebert, *The Form of the Church*, London: Faber and Faber, 1944; R. Newton Flew and Rupert E. Davies (eds), *The Catholicity of Protestantism*, Philadelphia/London: Lutterworth Press, 1950.

Luther's position about the Roman Catholic order which was in origin from the medieval times essentially is dialectic and historic around the ecclesial ultimate aim which he put on the Cross. In concrete, he has made the initiatives in the area of the Church administration as the research shown above. In general, the Church order includes Church polity which indicates mainly the church governances and disciplines for the administration, and the normative elements of worship such as rules of liturgy and of sacraments. Luther had set up the Protestant tradition of ecclesiology from these basic elements, and late reformers continued his direction through different forms.

In terms of the doctrinal documents, the Lutheran church order is based on the following documents:

– Three Creeds: The Apostolic Creed; the Nicene-Constantinople Creed (325; 381); the Athanasian Creed (600–650);
– *Small and Grand Catechism* (1529) of Martin Luther;
– Augsburg Confession (1530), Apology of Augsburg Confession (1532) and le Traité sur le pouvoir et la primauté du pape (1537) of Philippe Melanchthon;
– *Articles of Smalkalde*, (1537–1538) of Martin Luther;
– Formula of Concorde, (1577–1580).

It is clear that these documents have composed the fundamental structures of the Lutheran Church and in some extent also to the whole Protestant world as the ecclesiastical principles from Martin Luther.

3.4.2 The Lutheran Church Polity

Jaroslav Pelikan said, one of the earliest translations of the German term "Lutherisch" in English was "Confessionalist" and not "Lutheranism", and Luther himself preferred the terms such as "Christian Church" or "Evangelical Church".[83] The original reason is that the Lutheran Church defined itself by a series of the confessions through the documents but never strictly by the liturgical rules and the uniform polity. For the Lu-

83 *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 2, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1933, p. 802.

theran theologians the most important elements of the church are not formal but essentially the statement of the faith, i.e. the basic attitudes about the Scripture, the creeds and the confession of the church. Thus, since the Reformation, the confessions of the faith become the particular perspectives of the denominational churches over the Protestant world until today. So many theologians studied the confessions of the denominational churches with the purpose to understand the proper theological and faithful characters, but actually the realistic characters lie mainly in the ecclesiastical institutions and organizations.

> In Great Britain and America […] the chief differences between the religious denominations are not doctrinal but institutional […] If therefore any one wishes to make a comparative study of the consensus and dissensus of British and American Christianity, he must pay more attention to religious institutions than to doctrines of Faith and Morals.[84]

Thus, Pelikan suggested that we should avoid the two tendencies while we study the legacy of Luther and the theology of the Lutheran Church: a) the relativism, namely only on the theological words of Luther himself and seldom think of the rich spiritual world through a lot of hymns of Luther, and his historical career of Bible translation and the complicated life of the Reformation with the concrete context, b) the reductionism, that means to stress the fundamental principles of Luther's theology and the basic principles of the Luther Church from the documents without the references of the historical events behind of his theological words and the Church position.[85]

Obviously, his suggestions are the same as the suggestion of Gerhard Ebeling relative to the methods and the positions to understand the theological thought of Marin Luther in his works, *Luther.* Thus, I want to survey the documents of the Lutheran Church order very briefly, and then enter into the concrete structures of the church, namely the ministerial order, the sacraments, the liturgical order and church government in order to make clear the Lutheran Church structures.

84 Charles A. Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, New York: Scribner's, 1914, pp. 29–30.

85 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Foreword* to Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, p. viii.

3.4.3 The Lutheran Church Orders

3.4.3.1 The Documental Survey

The Church order of the Lutheran Church has been shaped through the series of the documents before the achievement of the *Book of Concorde* (June 13, 1580).[86]

In the frame of the Protestant world, there is no strict uniform polity of the Lutheran Church with the hierarchy organization and the ecclesiastical system over the world as is the Catholic Church with the realist form and the Anglican Church with the commonwealth connections (the Anglican Communion), even less than the Presbyterian Church in the sense of church order. It lacked the ecclesiastical system at the époque of Luther and then, the external character of the Lutheran Church is very loose and flexible in terms of the denominational order in the Protestant world. From the themes of controversies among reformers under the leadership of Luther, we can find that they wanted to set up a series of rules for the affairs of the Church from the Catholic hierarchy and the constitution of Canonical Law for the new Church. The Church order includes the Church polity, the institutional organization of the ecclesiastical body, the liturgical items and the ministerial regulations etc.[87]

The Canonical Law as the constitution of the Church order always functions as the law for all the aspects of the Catholic Church with the legitimacy of the jurisdiction from the Church since medieval time. The Protestants of the Reformation denied all of the articles of the Canonical Law, and put away the prayer texts, the liturgical texts, the morning pray texts instead of the Church disciplines, the confessions of the faith, and the regulations of the church. In the sense of the dogmatic, all of these belonged to the research of the ecclesiology, in which the Church order (Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, Discipline ecclésiastique) relates directly to the institutional structures of the Church. Eric Lund said:

86 Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (eds), *The Book of Concord (New Translation): The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000, pp. 481–660.

87 Eric Lund (ed.), *Documents from the History of Lutheranism 1517–1750*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002, pp. 187–220.

> Until the Book of Concord created a fuller summary of Lutheran beliefs in 1580, Luther's catechisms were the most common standard used to specify the essential elements of Christian belief. The Church Orders frequently summarized the topics covered by the catechisms and set up procedures for teaching the catechism to all age groups within the congregations.[88]

3.4.3.2 The Ordination and Office of Ministry or the Ministerial Order

Luther had such a sharp view of the ministerial order which was one of the important issues of the Reformation regarding the authority of the Curia Romana. The famous principle of the Reformation, the priesthood of all believers was impressed that Luther wanted to use the common priesthood as the chief weapon against the clergy class and the papal obstruction of the secular interference, which was shown in *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*. (1520)[89] And at the same time, he attacked all the Roman sacrament of the ordination to the priesthood created in the patristic time one thousand years ago in his famous treatise of the Reformation, *The Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, he claimed, "Unless I am mistaken, if this fictitious sacrament should ever fall, the papacy itself will hardly survive."[90] In the third of the trio, *the Treatise on Christian Liberty*, Luther explained his strong and revolutionary position directly related to the ministerial order in his mind of reformation that every baptized Christian is a priest, namely, the principle of the common priesthood was stressed as the grace from Christ to the faith of Christians.[91]

But throughout all the writings of Luther and the documents of the Lutheran Church, the common priesthood as the efficient weapon of the Reformation was not used as the position of Luther relative to the ministerial order in his theological design. That means that Luther stressed the importance of the common priesthood only at the level of the proclamation of the Gospel for every believer in the Church.[92] He expressed his

88 Eric Lund (ed.), *Documents from the History of Lutheranism 1517–1750*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002, p. 125.

89 *LW* 44: 123–217, esp. pp. 127ff.

90 *LW* 36:11–126, esp. pp. 106ff.

91 *LW* 31: 343–377, esp. pp. 345ff.

92 "The idea that a parish clergyman ought primarily to be a celebrant of the mass and hearer of confessions, a priestly dispenser of sacramental grace, was a perverse doc-

proper ideas at the same time about the special priesthood for the Protestantism. He has also made so many considerations about the ministry or the special priesthood in his writings.

In 1521, in *On the Misuse of the Mass*, he mentioned that the duty of the true priesthood should be to proclaim the Gospel and in charge of the spiritual sacrifice.[93]

In 1530, in his sermon, *Sermon on Keeping Children in School*, Luther showed his concerns of the ministerial training and pastoral office through his position about the education of children as the Father of the Reformation.[94] It is a very important document for us to study Luther's ideas about the Protestant ministry in the Church;

In 1533, *On Private Masses and the Consecration of Priests*, Luther described the Christians as born priests through baptism in order to show the necessity of the office as minister. He stressed the office of preaching in the Church for the public as a minister, not the office of the Masses in private which existed in the Roman Catholic Church.[95] In this case, Luther has shown his attention to the office of the priest in the Church.

In 1539 in the last period of his life, the famous treatise *On the Councils and the Church* (*Von den Konziliis und Kirchen*, *WA* 50.), Luther finally recognized the minister as one of the critical important "marks" of the church.[96]

Thus, it is clear that the notion of the priesthood and ministry in Luther's theology are directly linked with his goal of the Reformation and of establishing the Church from the system of Curia Romana. Luther's idea of the common priesthood was used against the Roman Order, and

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trine to those who had embraced the teachings of Luther and his successors. In their eyes, the paramount priestly duty was rather the preaching of the Word of God, the instruction and encouragement of the laypeople in the faith which alone could save them. A non-preaching priest was scarcely worthy of the name. According to Luther he was 'as much a priest as a picture of a man is man,' (*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in A. R. Wentz ed. In: *LW*, vol. 36, "Word and Sacrament", Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1959, p. 115), and this striking metaphor was echoed by English Protestants." Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 86.

93 *LW* 36:137ff.

94 *LW* 46:213–258.

95 *LW* 38:147–214, esp. pp. 187ff.

96 *LW* 41:154ff.

the special priesthood through the interpretations of the offices of the ministry was for the Church which continues the great commitment of the apostles, namely to preach the Gospel of God. In details we should understand Luther's common priesthood as the basis of the special priesthood and also always be reminded that the divine institution is the essence of the Church in his theological system. Or that the ministry of the Church is derived from the common priesthood for the ultimate aim of the Church in Luther's theology.

The understanding of the ministerial authority in Luther's theology is also very critical for studying the church order of the Lutheran Church. The principle of *Sola Scriptura* has totally formed the principle of the authority in the Protestant tradition by Luther and Calvin, so any interpretations on the ministerial authority should be done around this primary principle. The origin of ministerial authority was defined from the congregation by the delegation in some forms of the Protestant denominational churches, and at the same time, existed also from the previously ordained ministers by the transmission, especially according to the patristic tradition of the Apostolic Succession by the hands of the bishops. It is obvious that Luther defined the Bible as the supreme authority and the church as the divine institution with the divine authority through the task of the proclamation and of the sacraments. So the theological interpretation of Luther's ministerial order should pay attention to the two basic elements: a) the proclamation of the Gospel for the public, and b) the administration of the Sacraments for the congregation.[97]

97 "This proclamation therefore becomes the most urgent task of the Christian community, and is indeed the first 'mark' of the church's presence in any given time or place. This does not mean that the church controls the Word; the church is constituted by the Word, not the Word by the church. The Church is less than the Word: her life is 'in the Word.' Luther said, 'Since the church owes to the Word of God its birth, nourishment, protection and strength, it is obvious that it cannot be without the Word; if it is without the Word, it ceased to be the church.' Again: 'The church owes its birth to the Word of promise through faith, and by the same Word it is nourished and protected. That is, the church is constituted by the promises of God […] For the Word of God is incomparably higher than the church.' (*WA* 11.408.8; 50.629.16; 8.491.34; 17.99.26; 7.721.9; 12.191.16; 6.560.33)" Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 95.

3.4.3.2.1 The Bishop's Office

The special relationships between the state and the church were composed by the Roman Curia, the Emperor of Germany, the electors, the princes and the Lutheran churches after the Reformation in Germany. Supports of the secular authorities to Luther assured the expansion of the reformation in Germany and the Scandinavian realms, consequently the new Church polity appeared from the Lutheran Church, namely the *Landeskirchen*, or Territorial Church Polity which differed totally from the medieval model. In each prince's territory, the prince was the head of the church with supreme authority for ecclesiastical affairs. It meant that the office of bishop in terms of the patristic tradition was owned by the hands of the princes. In the Scandinavian countries, the Catholic Church under the leadership of bishops joined in the Reformation of Luther and naturally the bishop's office remained in the Lutheran Church there until today.

The German Monarchy was defeated at the end of the First World War.

> After 1918 the territorial princes ceased to function as "bishop" and the time came for the Lutherans of Germany to rethink the problems of church polity. As a result, the legislative functions of the church were entrusted to the synod, but the administrative functions more or less to single individuals. The head of a church body is called "President" or "Bishop".[98]

Compared with the office of bishop in the Catholic Church order, the Lutheran bishop is more spiritual and theological, not juridical and administrative. The ambiguity of the church order made the Lutheran bishops much more theological through their academic works for the church. Following the development of Western civilization, the Lutheran Church order has been integrated into the process of democracy. The office of the bishop as the head of the institutional church is defined and limited by the regulation of the church. The ministerial rights and authorities have been defined also by the references of secular orders of civil authorities. "The church was not only the bank of souls where heavenly

98 Hans M. Mueller, "Bishop," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 311.

interest was credited: it was also an institution with the responsibility for providing social services for an increasingly disgruntled population."[99]

The relationship between the state and the church has also been shown through the office of bishop relative to the civil affairs in the church. The Lutheran Church encouraged all the duty and the responsibility in the category of the Constitution and the civil laws to the members of the church.

> The Lutheran Reformation acknowledged the legitimacy of the episcopal office as a matter of principle (Augsb. Conf., Art. 28). Nicolaus von Amsdorf and George of Anhalt were "consecrated" as bishops by Luther himself. But the reformers also had opinions of their own concerning the office of an evangelical bishop. Article 28 of the Augsburg Confession placed bishops, ministers, pastors on the same level and rejected all hierarchical notions.[100]

Thus the ecclesiastical government in the Lutheran world has been mixed by the Episcopalian model, the synodal model and the Congregational model as the structures of the Church, and the most important is the particularity of the bishop's office.

3.4.3.2.2 The Pastor's Duty

In 1520, the first pastor of the Protestant Church appeared in the Reformation and that was Martin Luther, a formal Augustinian brother. The urgent situation made him less interested in the Apostolic Succession in the sense of the ministerial order. He firmly stressed that the pastor has the duty to administer the predication and the sacraments according to Scripture in principle. At the same time, he claimed that the famous principle of the universal priesthood, namely the priests of all believers in order to challenge the clergy class of Roman Catholic Church, who owned the secular and sacred privileges and the authority.

> At the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 Philip Melanchthon advised against discussion of the priesthood of all believers, relegating it to the "odious and unessential articles that are commonly debated in the schools." In the Augsburg Confession, which had

99 Paul A. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation, Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany, 1521–1525*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 114.

100 Hans M. Mueller, "Bishop," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 311.

> already been finished and read when he gave this judgment, the doctrine is passed over in silence. But Protestant tradition has not followed Melanchthon in this respect; the priesthood of all believers has come to be regarded, along with biblical authority and salvation by faith, as one of the three main points of Evangelical theology. Like the other two, however, it has not always been interpreted in the same way, not taken as seriously in practice as in theory. Often, it has become a dead letter in a clergy-dominated institution; and where it has come alive again, it has been used to support a bewildering variety of practices, such as congregational polity, the Quaker meeting, pietistic *ecclesiolae*, and the Methodist commissioning of lay preachers. Sometimes, again, it has become associated with such slogans as "the right of private judgment" or "immediate access to God", and interpreted so individualistically that any institutional or corporate expression of it becomes unthinkable. Finally, it is perhaps not superfluous to point out that the "royal priesthood" is not a Protestant invention but a biblical category, which had an interesting history before Luther and has never been wholly neglected in the "Catholic" tradition. This fact, too, complicated.[101]

The close partner, the most important reformer with Luther, Philippe Melanchthon, in the critically important document of the Lutheran Church, *Augsburg Confession*, defined the office of the ministers and the administration of the church (such as Art. 5; 7; 14). After Luther, Melanchthon had absorbed and applied so many reasonable ecclesiastical initiatives from Calvin who had guided the reformation in Geneva and initiated so many useful matters for the construction of the church. They throw out the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church inherited from the Patristic Church, and maintain the threefold ministry, namely the bishop through the territorial princes, the pastor in charge of the preaching and the sacraments, the laity including the deacon and the elders to work in the diaconate areas in civil society with the government and society.

Thus, the ordained ministers in the Lutheran church are the bishops and the pastors in principle. The theological qualification of the ordination is very strictly obeyed and the ability to protect the faith and the ecclesiastical principles should be also assured to the ordained pastors. The celibate system of the Roman Catholic Church taken from the patristic tradition has also been cancelled by Luther, marriage and the family

101 *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 55.

of the pastors put Christian ethics into secular life, and in this respect, the principles of ethics of the church were finally shaped.

For Luther, the proclamation of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments are the basic duty of the pastor in the Church, or the nature of the Church is also interpreted according to these two parts by him. Thus, the office of the pastor of the Lutheran Church is also the fundamental model for the Protestant tradition.[102]

In a word, the ministry in Luther's mind was considered as a distinct, a divine institution, namely the special priesthood on the common priesthood for the proclamation of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments.

> In his fourteenth proposal for reform (on celibacy), Luther writes: "I say that according to the institution of Christ and the apostles each town ought to have a pastor [*pfarrer*] or bishop, as Paul clearly writes in Titus 1 […]" Again: "I am not here concerned with popes, bishops, canons, and monks, whom God has instituted […] I want to talk of the pastoral estate [*pfarr stand*], which God has instituted and which must rule a congregation with preaching and the sacraments, dwell and set up house among them." (*WA* 6.440.21; 441.22) Christ did not merely give the Word and sacraments to the church; he also ordained that the public proclamation of the Word and administration of the sacraments should be assigned to certain specially designated officials.[103]

Heinz Brunotte also described Luther's view as in the following opinions, as Luther bound the Holy Spirit to the Word of God, so he bound the proclamation of the Word to the institution of the ministry.[104]

3.4.3.3 The Sacraments

The most distinguished difference in the area of church polity between the Roman Catholic Church and the reformation of Luther lay at the interpretation of the Sacraments. The historic event of the historic church began from this step, and then defined the form of the Church Constitu-

102 Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 86.

103 Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 101.

104 Heinz Brunotte, *Das Amt der Verkündigung und das Priestertum aller Gläubigen*, Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1962, p. 26.

tion in the Lutheran Church and the other Protestant churches. From this moment, no matter what Luther did think about, the Protestant Church during the Reformation finally appeared and became independent from the Roman Catholic Church.[105]

At the very beginning of Christianity, the early churches and small communities formed the common belief that the ritual re-enactment of the Lord's Supper was trusted as the participation and the communion in the Mystery of Christ, and Christ on the cross is the grace on humanity through his death and resurrection. The "Eucharist" was understood as "giving thanks" through the community celebration of thanksgiving.[106]

Because of the importance of the dogmas and the doctrines of the first four ecumenical councils, we must mention here briefly the situations of the sacraments of this period. Beginning from at least the fourth century, and especially in the East, the union of the Christian with the risen Christ was understood to be effected by participation in the Eucharistic ritual. Cyril of Alexandria particularly stressed the necessity of this union for affecting the salvation in his attacks on Nestorius. His theology may reflect a growing popular understanding of the Eucharist as a ritual mediating the presence of the now risen Christ to his followers awaiting his final return.[107] Such a view of the sacrament necessarily stressed the reality and power of the Lord's presence in the ritual actions especially worship. A slow but perceptible shift occurred in the Eastern estimations

105 Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Real Presence," in: *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 3: *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)*, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975, pp. 184–204.

106 Of the scholars who treat of this period, cf. Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist, Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. C. U. Quinn, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968, pp. 103–119. Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic*, trans. A. G. Herbert, London: SPCK, 1961, pp. 18–34; and John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, trans. J. B. Lightfoot, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. 196–198; 212–216.

107 The importance of the understanding of the Eucharist for the Nestorian controversy has been pointed out by Henry Chadwick, "Eucharist and the Christology in the Nestorian Controversy," in: *Journal of Theological Studies, New Series* 2 (1951), pp. 145–164.

of the Eucharist. The sacrament became less a cause for celebration and more an occasion for adoration.[108]

Here I'd like to present the two references before Martin Luther concerning the doctrinal interpretations of the sacraments for the Church: St. Augustine and the School of Abelard of the mid-twelfth century.

St. Augustine was the first figure to give emphasis on the community celebration of the sacraments through the ritual worship. He confirmed the reality of the presence of Christ in the sacraments, and further stressed the Church itself as the true body of Christ, existing in the world through its acts of faith and charity. Augustine described this approach in his commentary on John's Gospel: "The Lord, about to send the Holy Spirit, called Himself the bread of heaven exhorting us that we might believe in Him. To believe in Him; this is to eat living bread. Whoever a believer eats; invisibly he is nourished, because invisibly he is reborn."[109]

Since Luther, the sacraments as the visible Word in the Protestant tradition indicate only the Baptism and the Lord's Supper. As to the baptism, in *Large Catechism of 1529*, Luther elaborated on three fundamental features: a) A sacrament is "a holy, divine thing and sign", instituted by a word promising salvation independent of human merit (LC IV, 3–22); b) Its specific purpose is to save man from sin, death, and the devil, and to establish man's eternal fellowship with the resurrected Christ (LC IV, 23–31); c) The saving power of the sacrament is mediated by faith in the external word and sign (LC IV, 32–36). Infant baptism is the classic sacrament: it signifies the power of God's mandate rather than the human merit of faith (LC IV, 52–59); and it initiates a life of penance by which the "old Adam" is daily drowned and the "new Adam" is daily raised up (LC IV, 74–79, SC IV, 12). The entire Christian life is clothed

108 Cf. Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (The Pelican History of the Church 1), New York: Penguin Books, 1967, pp. 266–268, and John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, trans. J. B. Lightfoot, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. 440–455.

109 Sancti Aurelii Augustini *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* CXXIV, tract. 26, c.1, ed. R. Willems (Corpus christianorum, Series Latina 36), Turnhout: Brepols, 1954, p. 260.

in the garment of baptism – a penitential struggle between good and evil (LC IV, 84).[110]

Luther said: "Baptism leads us into a new life on earth; the bread [the Lord's Supper] guides us through death into eternal life" (LW 35, 67). Differing from the position of Huldrych Zwingli (mainly after 1525), he consistently adhered to the fundamental view written in the two catechisms of 1529 and confirmed confessionally in the Smalcald Articles of 1537. He claimed, the Lord's Supper as baptism is ordained by the Lord historically in Christ's word of Promise (LC V, 1–7; SC VI, 1–4; SA III, 6:3). As "sacrament of the altar" the Lord's Supper is the true body and blood of Christ which are "in and under" the bread and the wine (LC V, 8). Luther insisted the position of the "real presence" of Christ which inherited theologically from the patristic fathers, or we can say that Luther's position is very traditional and conservative compared with Zwingli's position.[111]

Today, the ecumenical communications have made the new shift inside the Protestant theologians from the radical humanism back to St. Augustine. Just as what Carl E. Braaten described:

> After the Reformation, Huldreich Zwingli's symbolic view of the sacraments gained wide circulation in the Reformed churches. Ecumenically speaking this view is now bankrupt, and many theologians within Protestantism have shifted their allegiance from Zwingli to the more realistic doctrines of John Calvin and Martin Luther. Lutheranism itself has not been immune to the anti-sacramental tendency of Protestant worship life.[112]

The second useful reference for me is the teaching of the School of Abelard who stressed the salvific function of the Eucharist by interpreting the sacraments as a sign of ecclesiastical union. In the mid-twelfth cen-

110 Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976, p. 73.

111 Luther told Zwingli in their colloquy in Marburg: "Where the Word of God is, there is spiritual eating. Whenever God speaks to us, faith is required and such faith means 'eating'. If, however, he adds bodily eating, we are bound to obey. In faith we eat this body which is given for us. The mouth receives the body of Christ; the soul believes the words when eating the body […]. If we knew his [God's] ways, he who is marvelous would not be incomprehensible." (*LW* 38, 21–22).

112 Carl E. Braaten, *Principles of Lutheran Theology*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, p. 87.

tury, there were two important theories about the salvific function of the Eucharist. One was established on the theology of Paschasius Radbertus by holding the position that there is the natural contact between the recipient and Christ as the cause of grace. Another approach declared the purpose of the Eucharist as symbolic meaning. For them, the Eucharist symbolized the salvific, spiritual union with the Lord and faith and love functioned as Christian beings. It is obvious that the real presence of Christ in the Sacraments is the essence of the first group, and the symbolic interpretation was by the second group. All were the background of the ecclesiastical approach of the interpretation of the sacraments.

I've been strongly absorbed by the approach of the ecclesiastical interpretation of the sacraments which was in origin of the school of Abelard. It is clear that Gilbert of La Porree, Gerhoh of Reichersberg and other students of St. Abelard contributed so much to this theology of the Eucharist. They dug out the root meaning from St. Paul and his teachings in the New Testament. St. Paul and St. Augustine both emphasized the unique role of the Eucharist in unifying all Christians in the community and the communion. The ecclesiastical approach shows that the ritual of the Sacraments, the baptism and the Eucharist are closely linked with the ecclesial orders such as worship members and common responsibility in the community and common duty for life in the secular world. We could use the social meanings to interpret this approach through reflection on the ecclesiastical task of the Church which is formed by sisters and brothers after Christ and cared for by the clergy.

Thus, to emphasize the ecclesiastical dimension of the sacrament means that the social responsibility of Christians is taken through the institution of the Church and the Christian community. Salvation is the ultimate aim of the church through proclaiming the Gospel and the truth of the Cross. It must be realized by the institutional method, i.e. the organizational church. Sacraments in the category of ecclesiastical interpretation signify Church Order as another definition of the sacrament besides the presence of the Lord realistically or symbolically. We know that salvation in terms of Lombard consisted of holy membership in the church which is defined as the body of the Lord from Scripture. In a word, in the theory of the school of the Abelard, the sacraments were interpreted as the spiritual and realistic corporate and ecclesiastical union between the Church and the Lord, and all the members constituted the

whole Church through faith and love which are given by God as grace on humankind.

> To Protestants, the mass was almost the quintessence of blasphemy, an idolatrous caricature of the scriptural sacrament of the Lord's Supper […] At the root of the malaise, Protestants discovered the exclusivity of the mass as a priestly sacrifice: if priests were men of but common virtue (and some Protestant propagandists suggested they were almost invariable vicious, vengeful, and licentious), how could God have intended the means of salvation to be concentrated so closely in their hands? The priest celebrated the mass at an altar away from the people, separated from them physically by the rood screen and the space of the chancel, and mentally by the use of a special liturgical language.[113]

Gary Macy interpreted the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, by comparing the scholastic traditions and the Reformers' positions. He said:

> The discussion of the theology of the Eucharist during the early scholastic period does not represent a continuous and harmonious development toward one or the other "classic" teaching on the Eucharist, whether one sees that teaching embodied (or attacked) in Aquinas, Trent, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, or the Thirty-nine Articles. When the question is asked what role the early scholastic theologians thought the Eucharist played in salvation, at least three general answers to that question appear. Lafrance, Guitmund of Aversa, etc. were the most important of a group of theologians who saw the natural contact between the receiver and Christ achieved in the Eucharist as essential for salvation. Based on the theology of Paschasius Radbertus, this formulation insisted on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and on the necessity of sacramental reception for salvation […]. Before the middle of the twelfth century, two other interpretations of the salvific role of the Eucharist appeared. One, espoused especially by works connected with the Schools at Laon and St. Victor, saw the Eucharist as a sign of the mystical union in faith and love between a worthy believer and God. For many members of this group, such a union could be achieved apart from the actual participation in the sacrament. Salvation was achieved individually, in a mystical ascent to God of which the Eucharist was a sign, but not a necessity […] The third group of theologians, including Gerhoh of Reichersberg, Peter Lombard, and members of the Schools of Peter Abelard and Gilbert of La Porree spoke of the Eucharist as a sign of this interpretation, consisted in membership in the union of the elect, the mystical Body of Christ […] This ecclesiastical approach to the Eucharist expressed in theological terms the social im-

113 Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 64.

portance of required participation in the Eucharist as a sign of membership in good standing within the Christian community.[114]

In terms of the theological position of Luther relative to the sacraments, the influence on the Protestant Church is very clear even today, although there is diversity about the real presence of Christ or only the symbolic or spiritual presence among the reformers. The numbers of the sacraments are accepted by the whole of Protestant churches, namely two instead of the seven. Obviously the necessity of the sacraments for the Gospel was proved by Luther himself from his famous sermon "Sermon on Preparation for Dying" (1519) in which he concluded a sacrament as

> a visible sign of divine intent. We must cling to them with a staunch faith as to the good staff which the patriarch Jacob used when crossing the Jordan [Gen. 32:10], or as to a lantern by which we must be guided, and carefully walk with open eyes the dark path of death, sin, and hell […] It points to Christ and his image, enabling you to say when faced by the image of death, sin, and hell, God promised and in his sacraments he gave me a sure sign of his grace […] This sign and promised it, and he cannot lie.[115]

From the point of view of the Church Order, the theology of the sacraments will be very critical and important for the church outside of the Western world, such as in China where another kind of old human spiritual and cultural traditions are composed as the *Sitz im Leben* for the Church. Thus, my question what is the ecclesiastical approach of the Sacraments from the theology of Luther or Calvin could be interpreted in the ethical dimension for us?

3.4.3.4 The Liturgical Order

According to Paul V. Marshall,

> Martin Luther did not attempt to use Scripture for detailed prescriptions for worship, since he considered liturgical forms to be in themselves Adiaphora, or not essential to the gospel, and he resisted attempts at Biblicism in liturgy. His reading of Scripture, however, led him to reject in particular any sacrificial language in the Eucharist, along with the invocation of saints and veneration of their relics. Alone

114 Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, pp. 137–138.

115 *LW*, vol. 42, pp. 108–109.

> among the Reformers, Luther retained aural confession as of value to those who chose it. In common with others, however, Luther returned the sermon to a prominent role in the service. He emphasized congregational song, and he himself wrote hymns and liturgical music. In general, Luther and Lutheranism retained more visual and kinesthetic richness in worship than did other Protestants, a situation that existed until the Anglican revival of the 19th century.[116]

In 1523, Luther explained his position about the liturgy in the article *the Formula Missae et Communionis*, which retained his conservative view of the Mass such as the language of Latin and patristic style of the traditional text and ceremony in the worship. Historically, it was in 1526, in *German Mass*, the national language had started to replace the Latin in the liturgy of the worship.

In terms of Church Order of Lutheranism, Luther's position about the liturgy of the historical church since the patristic époque was very decisive in the history of Protestantism at the ecclesiastical level. The most important principle of this position was the *Adiaphora*.

> In medieval moral theology, an *Adiaphora* was a human act neither commanded nor forbidden by divine law. Whether or not there are any such acts depends, of course, on how divine law is given. A law continuously written on the heart by God's Spirit might command one specific possibility in every situation of choice; then there would be no Adiaphora. Spiritualist movements therefore regularly reject any such concept. But to whatever extent divine law is an external phenomenon, to whatever extent divine law is an external phenomenon, to whatever extent it is a written or customary code, it will demonstrate the notorious character of all positive law, there will be Adiaphora. Medieval theology found the divine law externally in Scripture and the rules of the church, was suspicious of claims for unbroken direct inspiration, and so had use for the notion of what is neither commanded nor forbidden. Lutheran theology continued to use the Adiaphora concept for its own purposes.[117]

From this position, Luther deeply influenced the following Lutheran tradition or in today's ecumenical words, Luther's position could be considered as the preparation for reconciliation and the unity of one Lord, one Word and one Faith with the Catholic and the Orthodox one day.

116 Paul V. Marshall, "Liturgy," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 3, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997, p. 325.

117 Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976, p. 200.

The liturgical elements such as the altar, the holy rope, the clergy clothes, the Roman collar, the cross, the liturgical texts, and the prayer style and the daily ceremony for saying grace etc., all of these Latin traditions of the liturgy, have been well-retained in the Lutheran liturgical order. Although the sacraments in the Protestant tradition from Luther include only the Baptism and the Eucharist, and the other five sacraments from the definition, the infant baptism and the confirmation had been accepted by Luther still today in the Lutheran church. In his famous article *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther avoided the radical position regarding the confirmation of infant baptized persons. "He did thereby condemn and wish to abolish confirmation. It is the rite or ceremony of the Church, a usage; however, that does not bring salvation."[118]

Luther's vision has been shown again in the liturgical order in his system of theology as the basis of the Reformation. The principle of the *Adiaphora*, the Stoic ethical principle, has been used by Luther and Melanchthon to encounter the difficulties and the challenges at the time of the Reformation.[119] We could say, the doctrinal unity in the tradition of Lutheranism is the most important matter than the unity of ecclesiastical polity thanks to the principle of the *Adiaphora*. For us with the concerns about theological research for the church in China, the liturgical order of the Lutheran Church has such a rich revelation in the sense of catholicity.

The significance of the *Adiaphora* in the ethical perspective contains also unique meaning. It will become one of the important legacies of Lutheranism for us in China.

118 John Dillenberger (ed.), *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, New York: Doubleday, 1961, pp. 324–325.

119 Theodore Graebner, *The Borderland of Right and Wrong*, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1938; Clyde L. Manschreck, "The Role of Melanchthon in the Adiaphora Controversy," in: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 48 (1957), pp. 165–182; Wolfgang Trillhaas, "Adiaphoron, Erneute Erwägung eines alten Begriffs," in: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79 (1954), pp. 457–462.

3.4.3.5 The Synodal Model of the Church Government

It is about Church government that Luther had not given many forces while doing the Reformation, because the proclamation of the Gospel is much more prima than the construction of the institutional church. But as to the church order, the institutional church refers not only to the church organization itself formally but also concerning the institutional elements in the sense of sociology such as the relationship of the State and Church. Essentially, the doctrine of the two kingdoms of Luther has prepared the doctrinal basis for the theory of institutional design. Here we could check the short history of Protestantism at the perspective of church government.

> The Lutheran Reformation saw the church as event; merely thereby much of the medieval organization was taken for inappropriate, and the entire medieval understanding of organization was taken as false. The Reformers did not deny that the church will be – and rightly so – institutionalized, but they did deny that the church itself is an institution. To formulate the difference somewhat crassly: medieval thinking said that God created an organization, the church; the Lutheran Reformation said that God gathers people and that this gathering, the church, creates an organization in order to carry out its mission. In the sixteenth century, the Calvinists, Anabaptists, and other groups took the primitive church, insofar as it is visible in the New Testament, as a permanently valid pattern for the church's reformation. The Lutherans were more radical. For them, if the organization of the church is our free historical responsibility, then there can be no permanently mandated pattern of organization, only a permanently mandated mission for which to organize. Then also the organizational decisions of the apostolic church are not apostolic command but only apostolic wisdom, to which we should pay all attention, but which will not necessarily provide answers to the organizational questions of our own time.[120]

Thus, church polity and church government are very diverse in the world of Lutheran churches over the world. If we use the theory of ecclesiology to do clarification, we could find that church polity of the Lutheran Church does not belong to the Presbyterian, neither the Episcopalian nor the synodal, but all of these forms exist actually or historically among the Lutheran churches orders.

120 Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976, p. 136.

This kind of the organizational freedom of the church order is both an ecumenical chance and an ecumenical problem in today's perspective. But it contained deeply the rich concerns of Martin Luther who pioneered the Reformation and initiated the establishment of the Protestant tradition. That means that Luther emphasized so much on the doctrinal unity than the ecclesiastical policy through the church government. As Werner Elert commented:

> The position which Luther and the church of the Augsburg Confession took was a thorn in the side of all those who wanted to achieve church unity by means of ecclesiastical policy instead of doctrinal unity. It becomes intelligible only if one has understood the evangelical character of church unity on the basis of the impact of the Gospel (*evangelischer Ansatz*). The camp acted in the same way when the internal state of its own church affairs, not high politics, was at stake.[121]

The most important point for me is the characteristic of the synod system of the Lutheran Church today after about five centuries' development. The critical mechanism of the synod is in origin from the patristic tradition of the council and the collegiality. The aim of the synodic system is to restrain the authority of the church leadership from the arbitrary state or in the name of the institutional authority as the papacy in the time of the Reformation. Unfortunately this important legacy had not been transplanted into missionary works, it meant that church governments functioned by relying on the individual personality of the leaders, not on the collective authority of the church or through the formal procedure of the synod in the non western areas. Today's western denominational churches are run by the different models which have applied in convergent form of the council or the synod. The principle of the Law-Gospel of Luther has deeply prepared the basis of the church government, namely the proclamation of the gospel is prima of the church and the institutional organization must be constructed as the body of the Lord toward this ultimate and eschatological aim.

121 Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, p. 281.

3.4.4 Conclusion

There are three aspects of the influence of the reformation of Luther in terms of the whole history of Protestantism: a) the political aspect, b) the theological evolution, c) the social and ethical shocks. In conclusion, while we try to figure out the Protestant Church firstly appeared in history as the result of his goal; we should remind ourselves that the historicity of the church with the original background must become the central theme of our research by restoring its social and historical *Sitz im Leben*. One of the restoring approaches is to be done from the correlations and relationships. That means that the final success and the legitimacy of the Reformation leg by Luther must hold the above three meanings in the interpretations. Or I'd like to say, these three meanings include the Protestant political understandings relative to the secular order and the state in the general sense; the doctrinal understandings concerning the theocracy of the Catholic order for one thousand years and the missionary history resulted from the Reformation over the world; and the ethical requirements regarding the social, familiar and individual relationships since the Reformation. Thus we could say that it is on these three dimensions, the political rationality, the theological orthodoxy and the ethical order that Luther explored and continued the tendency of the historical mainstream. Until today, the system of value originated from Protestantism show the dominant in the human spiritual order much more than the other Christian ecclesiastical systems such as the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic.

Consequently, the question is how Luther established the Protestant Church in the ecclesiastical sense relatively independent from the Roman Catholic Church? Or in other words, how did he deal with the church order of the old historical church?

Werner Elert claims that there are at least three acts to be considered as the pioneering points of Luther's Reformation to destroy or abolish the church:

> The first was the smashing of ecclesiastical authorities, finally of the authority of the pope and the general councils. In this way the existing form of the church had been affected. […] Luther consigns to the flames both the bull which threatens him with excommunication and the book of canon law. This is the second act. At this moment he repudiates not only the existing form but any legally constituted form of the church. Thus he not only interferes to a deep-going extent with the existing so-

> cial order, but he also deprives himself of the source from which all thoughts of reform had been nourished for more than a thousand years: the conception that behind or over the church there is an "objective", ideal order which can be realized approximately if not absolutely in the concrete organization of ecclesiastical factors […] Luther's exhortation–*To the Christian Nobility*–to undertake a reorganization of ecclesiastical affairs could, of course, seem to be a revocation of this second act. For if there is still anything at all to be regulated this appeal also deprived the church of an element which up to this time seemed to be essential. The sacred character of the organization is profaned by the surrender to "worldly" powers. But what now seems to be left of the "church" is affected and destroyed by the third act, by the proclamation of the "priesthood of all believers," which abolishes on principle every organizational element without which the church cannot exist as a unit above the individual. The church is broken up into a mass of coordinated individuals who, at best, can be combined according to national or territorial or communal points of view.[122]

In brief, the reformation of Luther really broke the whole structure of the Roman Catholic order in Europe more than one thousand years ago, and planted a strong seed to proclaim the gospel as the most important task of believers. He had not gotten enough time to well-construct the church from the Roman order, although he was clear that the church as the body of Christ is not secondary for evangelization in the temporal world. Since the time of Luther until today, the Protestant world never stopped to do the ecclesiastical designs and creation. So many church leaders and theologians as the hard-working entrepreneurs never hesitated to think of the ecclesiastical orders for realizing the aim of evangelization fixed by Luther through the three *Sola*s, the famous principles of the Reformation. The Lutheran Church, the Reformed-Presbyterian Church and the Anglican Church, as the three principal Churches have shaped their proper church orders, and at the same time, so many different missionaries groups and congregational churches appeared and grew during this process all over the world.

J. J. Scarisbrick said: "The Reformation occasioned a massive transfer of former ecclesiastical lands and patronage into lay hands when the hundreds of livings previously appropriated to religious houses were

122 Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. W. A. Hansen, St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 255–256.

confiscated at the dissolution of the monasteries and the lay rector appeared on the scene."[123]

We could make the conclusion from the closed relationship with the secular authority that Luther's Church inside his theological vision must be based on his theological designs, such as the doctrines of the Law-Gospel, of the Two Kingdoms, of the Universal Priesthood, of the Adiaphora and so on. In terms of my central theme, I'd like to turn to the following question:

What are the ethical norms or ethical principles behind the ecclesiastical order and the theological designations of Martin Luther who pioneered the Great époque of the Reformation and the first figure of the Protestantism?

3.5 The Ethical Analysis of the Initiatives of Church Order

3.5.1 Introduction

As far as the historical morphological state of the church during two thousands years is concerned, the institutional church had passed the very considerable period of the evolution, namely, from the family church or small autonomic gatherings in the areas along the Mediterranean coast, which correlated with each other through written letters, to the high organizational Old Catholic Church around the Roman Curia which dominated the whole history of Western civilization more than one thousand years. Such a pattern could be proved visually from the great and magnificent cathedrals and basilicas full of cities and towns in Italy. The most important event is that in 325 Constantine the Emperor of Roman convoked the first Council of the bishops in the Western world in Nicaea. For the first time, the Patristic Church promulgated the dogma and the doctrines of the universal church through the form of the ecumenical council in order to make clear the doctrinal controversies and

123 John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 169.

arguments inside the church which grew so quickly and strongly with power in the empire. The council of Nicaea has produced unimagined influence for the history of the Church and the establishment of the State-Church relationship later on. Thus, we could say, it began with the conference of Jerusalem (Act 15) about the Gentiles and the Law of Moses, the institutional meaning of the Church appeared since the time of the New Testament church. The institutional functions of the church had made the proclamation of the gospel successfully from various challenges and risks and endured all kinds of troubles and catastrophes, no matter whether it came from the conflicts of powers and controversies of the doctrines inside the church, or from political events and changes outside the church.

So the question naturally arrives, and that is, what kind of elements, as the inner pillars shored up strongly, supported the universal church during the last two thousand years? Here is the way of my reflection. In general, the church with the form of the organizational institution, while growing and developing, is made by the structural elements which include the external and internal compositions in the organic system. In concrete, the dominated structural factors usually embodied the ecclesiastical constitutions and regulations, which are shown mostly through the doctrines and dogmas as the ecclesial forms. Furthermore, we can divide the institutional factors of church into the part of law and the other part of ethics. The legal elements are compelled and the ethical elements hold the preventive or pre-legal effects and the post-legal joint and assistant effects. As to the theme we study, the bases of the ecclesial order are the dogmas which are explored and expanded through the doctrines and the ethical principles of the church. The ecclesial ethics defines the norms of the church to deal with relations to the secular order, especially the state and the role of the church in society and the valuable system of society. The Lutheran church order evidently contains the ethical thought of Martin Luther. We could make clear about the continuity from the patristic legacy in Luther's ecclesial ethical designs and initiatives which guaranteed the correctness of the Reformation and the establishment of the church from the Curia Romana.[124] Hans Küng said:

124 "Our churches dissent from the church catholic in no article of faith." In: *Augsburg Confession*, in: *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran*

> Just as there was no established theory of the Church in the first millennium, so was there no established theory of ecumenical councils. One lived the Church, one lived the ecumenical council; the heresies of the first centuries aimed less at the Church than at the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology. The secular discipline of the Church was not yet in the foreground of ecclesiastical consciousness at the time. Nevertheless, the Church Fathers referred time and again to the essential features of the Church, as well as to those of an ecumenical council which in its participants represented whole Church.[125]

Thus, we should trace back to the resources of the patristic heritages to study the inner structural elements of the church, and enlarge our understandings about Luther's theological and ecclesiastical creations, because the original purpose of the reformation of Luther was to clear the errors and disorders of the Roman curia who occupied the central place of the Catholic Church over more than 15 centuries with the orthodoxy of the Catholic and universal church. We have given high attention to the Nicene Creed which was the first text of the dogma of faith through the Council (325); here, we should repeat that the doctrinal definition of the ecclesiastical characters of the church in the Creed remains the basic position of Luther and the other reformers. Thus the doctrinal orthodox of the ecclesiology of Nicene Creed is always reconfirmed by the Protestant churches since Luther. The "oneness, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity" of the universal church could be considered as the essential definitions of the church essence and of the church substance. Luther and his followers accepted the patristic tradition through accepting the Nicene Creed. Carl E. Braaten said:

> The Reformation of Martin Luther was not the inauguration of a new church. The chief aim of Luther and of those who joined his movement was to reform the only church they knew – the Roman Catholic Church. Luther and Melanchthon as well as all of the confessing fathers who built on their foundations saw themselves in accord with the consensus of the first five centuries, particularly as this was expressed in the creeds and councils of the ancient church. […] At the center of the Reformation movement was the proposition that the church and all its attributes of unity, ho-

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Church, trans. and ed. by T. G. Tappert and J. Pelikan, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959, p. 48.

125 Hans Küng, *Structures of the Church*, trans. S. Attanasio, New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964, p. 21.

liness, catholicity, and apostolicity derived radically from the gospel of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior, as the foundation of the church and its reason for being.[126]

Therefore, for knowing the ethical thought of Luther, we should combine with his career of the Reformation in the concrete context in history.

My plan is to make the following questions as the program of study and of reflection:

a) What is the ethical principle behind the Lutheran church-state relationship? It concerns the doctrine of the Authority and the principle of Law-Gospel;
b) The question of the ministry of the Lutheran Church holds the ethical principle of the "priesthood of all believers". How does it function as the ethical structural element in the Lutheran church? The problems of the right and the duty with the ethical disciplines in the church are dominated by this ethical principle;
c) How does the principle of *Adiaphora* work as the ethical structural factor as to the church order, especially the liturgical order and the external concerns of the church and furthermore of the believers;
d) The doctrine of the Freedom–Bondage is the ethical category through the structure of the synod system of the church government;
e) In conclusion, I'd like to show that the ultimate aim of the ethics of Luther is to establish the church for guaranteeing the proclamation of the Word of God. Thus that means that Luther's ethics is the ecclesial ethics around the Word of God as the central point.

126 Carl E. Braaten, *Principles of Lutheran Theology*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, p. 43.

3.5.2 The Ethical Principles as the Structural Elements of the Church

3.5.2.1 The Doctrine of Law-Gospel as the Ethical Structural Element of Church-State Relationship

At the theological ethical perspective, the first issue of the Reformation which Luther encountered was that it was legal or illegal for him to attack against the authority of Curia Romana, and it is the reform or the rebellion? That refers the identity of Luther's career and of the Protestantism at the ethical frame. Therefore, the prima issue is to interpret the legality and the rationality of the Reformation of Luther in the history of the Christianity. "*Sola Scriptura*" as the weapon to Luther was used against the authority of the Roman curia which hold the principle of the catholicity inherited from the patristic and medieval tradition enforced by the universal church. The inner concern of Luther is obvious, because it is paradox to use the authority of the Bible against the authority of the Church and the tradition of the Church which did the canonization through the institutions of the Church at the early patristic period.

The doctrinal system of the Church tradition was achieved through the councils which are composed by the whole bishops over the world. In this case, the slogan and the weapon of the principle of three *Sola*s show the deepest intention of the reformers who followed after Luther to deny the authority of Curia Romana regarding the secular order by the means of denying its spiritual authority of the faith and of the church. That becomes the ethical issue spontaneously. Naturally Luther and Melanchthon highly gave the respects and the honor to the Church Fathers in order to show the catholicity and the orthodox of the dogma which are the basis of their Reformation. Luther especially inherited so closely the doctrinal richness of St. Augustine such as the doctrine of the Trinity which supported him to challenge the authority of Roman Curia. Under the precondition of the Trinity, the paradox between the authority of the Bible and that of the Roman Curia had been avoided.[127]

The issue of the authority concerned directly the secular order which the Church lay inside at a political and ethical sense. So it is why one of

127 In Preface to the Wittenberg Edition of Luther's German Writings, cf. *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. by T. F. Lull, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989, p. 65.

the most necessary factors of the success was the essential sympathy and support from the prince and the secular authority to Luther. It means that Luther's rebellion expressed the voices at the right time, the people and the political order in the vocabulary at his time. As to what Scarisbrick writes:

> By simplifying life the Reformation concentrated things. In particular it concentrated allegiance by reducing the number and diversity of what are today called "foci of authority". It put an end to dual loyalty to pope and prince. It put en end to loyalty to local monastery, shrine and confraternity. It denied that the living have any responsibility for the well-being of the dead, the Church Suffering, and exonerated the Church Militant on Earth from any duty to pray for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed. Indeed, it expressly forbade such supplication, and thus forbade a present generation to evince any active religious concern for their ancestors. To that extent it cut the spiritual bonds between the living and the dead, between this world and the next. It also broke Heaven and Earth apart by ending communication between Church Militant and Church Triumphant.[128]

Luther's position against Curia Romana benefited the secular authorities. Thus, the authority of the state and that of the church quickly became the central ethical controversy at the time of those general issues for political, economical, and legal perspectives. Ernst Troeltsch said:

> The Lutheran ethics is of dual origin. Just as the Church and State existed side by side in Society, so here also we have the ethic of love and grace on one hand and the ethic of law and reason on the other. The fundamental idea of this dualism is due to Luther, and it here only modifies the mediaeval dualism in ethics.[129]

The government as the detailed and actual power of the state legally used the right and the law for order and peace. But the concrete situation of Luther's time was very complicated because of the legitimacy and authority of the secular government or the royalty were given and assured by Curia Romana, which seemed the super power of the Empire and the governments of the West since one thousand years. Curia Romana was in charge of nearly all the domains of the secular order, no matter

128 John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 170.

129 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 523.

whether political, social, or economical, and/or juridical. What Luther challenged were not only the doctrinal standard of the church as today's arguments among the university professors and the philosophers, but also the political and historical issues with the risk of his life for changing the European political regimes' pattern. That is why Luther used the name of the Faith!

We could make clear the principle of the Law-Gospel used by Luther to understand his theological ethical logic concerning the authority and the church-state relationships.

First, the biblical resources for Luther's doctrine: Jesus said: "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them. For truly, I say to you, until heaven and earth pass away, not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the Law until all is accomplished." (Matt. 5:17–18). St. Paul said:

> So the Law is holy, and the commandment is holy and righteous and good. Did that which is good, then, bring death to me? By no means! It was sin, producing death in me through what is good, in order that sin might be shown to be sin, and through the commandment might become sinful beyond measure. (Rom. 7:12–13).

Just on the eve of the Reformation and of the new Church from the Romana Curia, a serious problem appeared before Luther and his followers, namely, to be Christians who are absolute obeisant to God, how to face the laws and the regulations of the temporal world made by the secular state and the society? Luther created the category of the Law-Gospel for replying this wondering of the time. For him, the Justice of the Lord is the core of the law including the prophets' messages and the legal systems of humanity. The essential being of the Law is relative to the sin, the human errors and the crimes from the Word of God. To wait for the final coming of Messiah is to confirm the "Justice of God" for the prophets since the time of Moses. Christ as the Redeemer for the alliance with humankind is symbolized as grace to mankind. So the divine providence is linked with the gospel to all people over the world. St. Paul explored the grace of Christ as the basis of the Church which uses the institutional forces to proclaim the gospel of Christ. Since then, the justice as the essence of the legal system and of the secular order becomes the receiving idea for Christian minds, and the grace or the love of the Lord is considered as the main mission of the Church. The Church and the State come to agreement on the ideas of the Justice of God and the

love of Christ since the appearance of the institutional church of patristic times. During one thousand years, the sword of God through the state was well interpreted by theologians and doctrinal systems, and in this case, the church occupied a reasonable place in the secular and spiritual world, although the arguments and the controversies never ceased inside the church at the same time. Luther confirmed that the relationship of the Law and the Gospel were misunderstood during the 13th century and that caused so many abuses of spiritual and secular orders, and the order of the creation of God was disordered by the Roman Church.

Second, Luther explored his eschatological vision of the Church through his doctrine of the Law-Gospel. Today, we can recognize this vision from the history of the church which passed from the primitive period when the diverse form of the churches with the family or the small groups in the margin of the society to the theocracy time when the Romana Curia worked as the super power over the secular authorities. The most significant is that the Church played the dominant role in social and political areas when it was received by the Empire in 313 and the spiritual system of the Empire totally relied on the value of the Church until the époque of the Reformation. In terms of the eschatological perspective, the Church is always in the process to wait for the arrival of the Messiah! Thus what did Luther think was the question and in what kind of relationship between Church and State conformed to the ultimate concern of the church to do the proclamation in accordance with the Word of Christ.

Thirdly, the ethical principle of the Law-Gospel aimed to establish the liaison between the temporal responsibility of the Church and the legal authority of the State, and consequently it concerned the fundamental responsibility of humankind in the temporary world. For Luther, Christians should take a higher moral standard than ordinary people in social life. From a theological point of view, the doctrinal fundament of this principle is the doctrine of the Two-kingdoms. In this frame, Luther established the doctrinal basis of political ethics of the Protestant Church. It is the temporal kingdom that must obey the law, which indicates the life of humankind in the secular order, and matters under the name of the gospel belonging to the sovereignty of Christ. In the essential level, the creation is God's plan and behavior, all the creatures in the world are created by him, so the temporary matters including the systems and the states are also in origin from his providence. Thus the doctrine of

the Two-kingdoms reaches to a high unity in the category of the Law-Gospel of Luther.

> Instead of the immanence of God, Luther stressed His other worldly supernatural character. Instead of the divine-human man, Luther viewed man as a depraved, helpless creature who could do nothing to effect his own salvation. Rather than a synthesis between the world of man and the world of God, Luther posited a dichotomy between the two kingdoms of heaven and earth. This dualism became the iron-clad, stereotypical stance of German Lutheranism with the work of conservative dogmatists after Luther and the staid church-state Lutheranism of following centuries.[130]

In the twentieth century, there were some persons who believed the phenomenon of the Nazis were influenced by the thoughts of Luther, especially his ethical thoughts, for instance, his thought on law that possessed two functions in *Lectures on Galatians* (1531). Luther said:

> One is the civic use. God has ordained civic laws, indeed all laws, to restrain transgressions […] The other use of the law is the theological or spiritual one […] to reveal to man his sin, blindness, misery, wickedness, ignorance, hate and contempt for God, death, hell, judgment, and the well-deserved wrath of God.[131]

Unfortunately, the theologians of the *DEK* controlled by the Nazi regime used the theological authority of Luther for defending their proper statue in the political context.

> To support their position on the divine authority of the state, several DEK spokesmen reasserted Luther's teachings on law […] The DEK theologians interpreted Luther to mean that God's law came to man in a general and original revelation (*Ur-Offenbarung*) applying to all, both believers and nonbelievers […] Nazi supported Rudolf Craemer, of Königsberg University, proclaimed that man had a moral faith not to be confused with Christian belief. Through recognition of natural law, the community was subjected to God's divine law. According to Craemer, Luther grounded political commands in "godly, natural law." […] In the context of this concept of law, these Germans asserted the Lutheran view of the relationship of law to gospel. They stressed the independence of both law and gospel. Gospel and law stood opposed to each other, they said, always in a state of tension. The gospel did

130 Kenneth C. Barnes, *Nazism, Liberalism & Christianity, Protestant Social Thought in Germany & Great Britain 1925–1937*, Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991, p. 23.

131 *LW*, vol. 26, pp. 308–309.

not change or annul the content of the law but affirmed and fulfilled it. Christ's purpose was to forgive man of sin resulting from his failure to live up to the law, not to do away with the law.[132]

Actually the phenomenon of the Nazis was more complicated than what we could have imagined. The similar phenomenon appeared so many times in the history of the humanity, not only in the modern history of Germany. We should not throw out the heritage of Luther because his thoughts were once taken by the Nazi regime with political misunderstanding. The original meaning of Luther's thought should be interpreted first always in the concrete context of the Reformation.

> Thus in classical Lutheranism there is a voluntary agreement between the authorities in church and state, in order that, together, they may realize the religious end of Christian Society. It represents the fusion of the natural, philosophical, and secular ethics with the Biblical, supernatural, and spiritual ethics, blending into a whole way of life, in which the natural forms of life are to be permeated with the religious spirit of live. This constitutes a uniform system of Christian civilization, like that of the Catholicism of the Middle Ages.[133]

Therefore, the principle of the Law-Gospel in the sense of political ethics made the Church to avoid the two extreme and contraire tendencies: a) the institutional Christocracy or ecclesiocracy, b) the moralistic theocracy such as radical Puritan ethics. In the history of Christianity, the typical example of the first type is the papal authoritarianism, and the second is the utopian sectarianism.[134]

132 "Karl Barth had proposed that this traditional Lutheran law/gospel formula be inverted to gospel/law. For Barth the law could be understood only in reference to the gospel: without the gospel's redemptive message, the law had no meaning. Brunstäd and the DEK spokesmen rejected this concept: man did not understand the law in or through the gospel as the Barthians would have it; the law was understood independently." Kenneth C. Barnes, *Nazism, Liberalism & Christianity, Protestant Social Thought in Germany & Great Britain 1925–1937*, Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991, pp. 108–109.

133 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 539.

134 Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976, p. 183.

3.5.2.2 The Ethical Structural Principle of the Universal Priesthood (Priesthood of All Believers)

At the beginning of the Reformation, what Luther challenged was the highly-organized hierarchy of Roman Catholicism which was regimented by Romana Curia with the form of centralism and totalitarianism. As it was accepted by the Empire gradually became the State religion, during one thousand years, the earlier three-fold order developed the bureaucratic system which presented itself as the pyramid of the powers with various titles and ranks in the medieval catholic order. The temporary benefits and privileges all were decided on the ranks and titles of the clerical hierarchic degree they occupied. So until the eve of the Reformation, the corrupted class of the clergy made the image of the Catholic Church a very disordered state. Luther attacked the moral abuses of the church by emphasizing the prima of the Gospel instead of the duty to Roman Curia in order to reinterpret the ministry of the Church ministers.

It is very obvious that most of the conflicts between the authority of Romana Curia and Luther could be explained at the ethical level much more than the dogmatic level, for Luther considered also the legacy of the Patristic Fathers as his spiritual and dogmatic resources which have been promulgated officially through the Canonic Law and Catechism by Curia Romana and the Councils of the Church. Luther's theological claims have shown that he aimed to reform the abuses and errors of the Roman Church for the evangelization in the national church by the national language. The principle of the Priesthood of All Believers clearly expressed his purpose and intention in the area of church order.

For me this principle has held the very rich and original significance in the sense of Church Ethics study. It means that the ethical structural elements of this principle are very strong and relevant historically for us. Lindsay said, the priesthood of all believers signified the privilege of direct access to God, viewed against the background of priestly tyranny in "Romanism". Our "fellow-men are not to be allowed to come between God and the human soul; and there is no need that they should. This religious principle delivered men from the vague fear of the clergy. It is the one great religious principle which lies at the basis of the whole Ref-

ormation movement."[135] We know that there were two kinds of the orders in the Medieval Church by the Curia Romana: the hierarchic order of the clergy and the monk orders. The whole Church was sustained by these two pillars. They composed the strong and professional clergy class with the strict disciplines and the moral requirements under the authority of the papacy. They were also the firm frames to relate with all the social and spiritual elements in the secular world on behalf of the Catholic Church. All the society was run through the power of the Church over more than one thousands years until the Reformation. The Roman Church owned the two absolute powers in the Western world, namely the power of the jurisdiction and the power of the spiritual order.[136]

Luther initiatively denied the authority of Curia Romana in the area of jurisdiction of legal order over secular authority. The first political aim Luther took was to replace the dominant power of Rome in the temporary affairs by the secular legal system and governments of the law. He defined the offices of the ministers of the church through the fundamental offices, namely the proclamation of the Word of God and the administration of sacraments according to Scripture, at the same time, he recognized the necessity of the law to rule people by the justice of God in order to establish a normal relationship between the clergy class and ordinary people. From the ethical point of view, he distinguished spiritual life (charged by the priesthood) and social life (run under the law of the state) at the level of divine providence. In this way, he explored the doctrine of grace to stress the Calling from the Lord in the temporary world, no matter as ministers or as workers etc. From that moment, the "universal priesthood" became the important principle of the Reformation, and then the relationship between church and state, the ministers and believers, and believers and people was established. Finally the principle of the priesthood of all believers prepared the spiritual and ethical conditions for the mission of the Protestantism over the whole world in the following centuries.

135 Thomas M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (International Theological Library), Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1907–1908, I, p. 180; p. 443; p. 444.

136 Georges De Lagarde, *La naissance de l'ésprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, vol. 5, Louvain: Ed. Nauwelaerts, 1963, p. 169.

> The priesthood of all believers means the right of every believing man and woman, whether by lay or cleric, to go to God directly with confession seeking pardon, with ignorance seeking enlightenment, with solitary loneliness seeking fellowship, with frailty and weakness seeking strength for daily holy living.[137]

The Protestant appeal to the Scriptures means that anyone with the Bible in his hands can hear God speaking directly; and justification by faith means that God himself, without the need for a priestly mediator, speaks pardon directly.[138] "An obvious difficulty with such an interpretation is that it undermines not only the medieval priesthood, but also the evangelical ministry. Indeed, some historians do not hesitate to treat Luther's high opinion of church and ministry as a logical inconsistency."[139] As Harbison said, "A man alone in his room with God and God's Word, the Bible, like Luther in his tower room – this would be the true picture of a Christian."[140]

Why do we think that the theological definition of the calling of Luther's theological thoughts hold the critical principle of the ethical structure which functioned in the correlated relationships of the sacred with the secular, of the church with the state, of the ministers and the laypersons? The particular meaning of the calling in Luther's theology lay in attacking directly the Hierarchy of Roman Catholics through stressing the universal grace on all humanity by God in order to show the equality of the believers or human beings before God if they believe in God. That is the secret point of the "*Sola fide*"! At the same time, Luther replaced the authority of Papacy by the supreme authority of Scripture as the Word of God. He dealt well with the question of the authority for the Reformation. "Authority it was, with no backing of official position or traditional prestige, to say nothing of legal sanctions or the ultimate sanction of force. It must have rested on some indefinable personal quality in Jesus himself."[141]

137 Thomas M. Lindsay, *The Reformation*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1883, pp. 185–186.

138 Ibid., p. 187.

139 Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 91.

140 E. Harris Harbison, *The Age of Reformation*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1955, p. 50.

141 Charles H. Dodd, *The Founder of Christianity*, London: Collins, 1971, p. 49.

The doctrine of the "Bondage of the Will" sent Luther profoundly into the legacy of St. Augustine. The grace of the Lord is absolute infinite for the humanity. From St. Augustine, Luther continued the traditional understandings about original sin, grace and the trinity. Along this line, the Reformation found the original resources of orthodox doctrines of Church Fathers. For Luther, on the one hand, emphasized the humble and timid attitudes of mankind before the Lord for keeping the strict ethical order in the temporary world. On the other hand, he claimed that all the believers had a duty to take the duties of the priest with the sacerdotal responsibility because of the grace of God. Thus, we can show the glory and the grace of the Lord through all aspects of social life. Here Luther's position of the Priesthood of all believers had a very strong ethical significance in history of human spirituality.

Therefore, since the people could be blessed by God through their works and job in secular life as the priests from ecclesiastical services and sacerdotal ministry, the special ethical system is appeared naturally and shaped. In the correlated view, the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms in the ethical sense is not for distinguishing two kinds of humans or the rights, but essentially imminent inside everyone who has the Calling, no matter whether ministers or laypersons. We know that the concept of the right is different from the concept of the power in politics; both of them define basic responsibility and duty in the legal frame. The right is the fundamental interest and subjectivity of human beings protected by the legal system in civil society. The power is the dominant position and the right of control on the political level. Various abuses in the history of mankind were originally from disorders of powers in an illegal sense. In the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms, the meaning of the central theme should be linked with the understanding of the doctrine of the "Law-Gospel". Both could be used as the doctrinal basis of the interpretation of the ethical principle of the Priesthood of All Believers. In the ecclesiastical perspective, the substance of the Calling is the universal priesthood. The dialectic relationships between the doctrine of the Calling and the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms have shown their affiliation with the ethical principle of the Law-Gospel. It is made clear to me that Luther had very early shaped the ethical basis for the Protestant Church, especially relative to the issue of the ministry and of the right-power of the Church, through his theological creations and arguments at the beginning of the Reformation.

3.5.2.3 The Ethical Structural Principle of the Adiaphora

The large forces to attack the Roman Catholic lay in the church order, especially the ministry and the sacraments in Luther's goal. He used evidence from the Scripture, the patristic legacy and the ethical principles for denying the authority of the papacy. But how about his initiatives in the liturgy and the church polity he did in the sense of church order and church ethics? By another word, Luther and Melanchthon really claimed their trust and continuity on the patristic legacy such as the creeds and the doctrinal position of St. Augustine, how did they deal with the relationship with the worship and the church government which defined the actual forms and system of the church as the Roman Catholic did from the tradition of the Medieval Church?

Concerning the question of the liturgy and the worship in the institutional Church, the principle of the *Adiaphora* functioned as the ethical pillar inside Luther's ecclesiology and the Lutheran Church. The ethical structural meaning of the *Adiaphora* lay in the conclusion that Luther formed his special ecclesiology and ecclesial view during the Reformation. He divided the church as the visible church and the invisible church or hidden church (*ecclesia abscondita*), or several pairs of categories such as: visible and invisible; external and internal; corporal and spiritual, etc.[142]

Here we should pay attention to the possible misunderstanding of these categories used in Luther's theology. They are not the concepts of the two kinds of the church. Luther did not mean that there were two forms of the church with oppositional relationships, but only one church with organizational difference. All the dialectic descriptions about the church existed inside the structures of the church. He preferred the second function of the church, namely the spiritual, hidden and internal parts of the church.[143]

The theological position of Luther regarding the order of the liturgy with his ecclesiological intention made the newly appearing Church move away gradually from the Roman Catholic order, but it did not cut off completely with the tradition of the Roman Church, that means that the patristic legacy inherited by Luther avoided the total break between

142 Martin Luther, *Œuvres* 2, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1957, p. 26; 30; *Œuvres* 5, p. 68.
143 André Birmelé, *Église*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 2001, p. 24.

Protestantism and the Catholic tradition, especially in the areas of the dogma and liturgy order. The Confession of Augsburg stated it in this way: "We have introduced nothing, either in doctrine or in ceremonies, which is contrary to Holy Scripture or the universal Christian church."[144]

Today we can recognize the traditions which survived from the Roman Catholic Church and also the order of liturgy. These were formed since the early period of the Patristic Church, such as the altar, the candle, the cross, the Church calendar, the ceremony of the worship, the liturgical music, the clergy robe, the ceremony of marriage, the funeral service, the advice texts, remission, thanksgiving, infant baptism and confirmation etc. All of these liturgical orders were linked the Lutheran Church with the medieval Catholic Church formally on the same level of the institution. For Luther, these institutional elements explored the external meanings of the Sacraments and had nothing to do with the totalitarian authority of papacy, although he fixed two sacraments, the baptism and the Eucharist, as the definition of the sacraments which differed from the tradition of Roman Catholics and of the Orthodox Church.[145] Luther confirmed that the proclamation of the Gospel is the supreme task of the church, and all the liturgical methods should be used for this aim. The Protestant church order at the beginning was created on this doctrinal position of Luther. The Article 7 of the *Augsburg Confession*: "The Church is the assembly of saints in which the Gospel is taught purely and the sacraments are administered rightly."[146]

144 *Augsburg Confession*, in: *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. by T. G. Tappert and J. Pelikan, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959, p. 95.

145 "For Martin Luther, whether bread or a wafer was offered to participants in the Eucharist was a thing indifferent, although he rejected absolutely the connotation of sacrifice, which was imprinted upon medieval Hosts in the image of the Crucifixion. For him, and for Lutheran Churches, the bread and wine were the sites for Christ's corporeal presence in the Eucharist – the material object itself was not governed by either the symbolic concerns of the Catholic Church or the representative concerns of the Reformed Churches." Lee P. Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation, Incarnation and Liturgy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 256.

146 *Augsburg Confession*, Article VII, in: *Augsburg Confession*, in: *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. by T. G. Tappert and J. Pelikan, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959, p. 47.

Meanwhile, he did the sacramental interpretation of the other five sacraments in the perspective of Protestantism. This means that he explained the ministry of the Church through the service of the diaconia on the principle of the Scripture. The Word and the sacraments are firmly considered as the central part of Luther's theology of Church Order. On this precondition, we could well understand the attributes of the church formed in the *Creed of Nicaea* (325) in the tradition of Protestantism created from Luther. Carl E. Braaten said: "The ontological attributes of the church – its unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity – must be distinguished but never separated from its phenomenological marks: word and sacraments."[147] And then, the three missions of the Primitive Church of the New Testament have continued and been renewed through the reformation of Luther: the *Kerygma*, which linked the authority of Teaching; the administration of the Sacraments, which indicated the office of the Priesthood; and the Ecclesiastical magistrate, which meant the *Diaconia*.

All of the designations and continuity from Roman Catholic tradition were decided by the ethical principle of Luther, i.e., *Adiaphora.*

Adiaphora, the ethical concept from the Greek philosophy, especially from the ethics of Stoicism, meant indifference. The Stoic used it to define matters of values and of ideas between goodness and evil. In the patristic period, the medieval theological tradition described human acts which are neither commanded nor forbidden by divine law through this ethical concept. In the primitive church, it was by using this ethical principle that St. Paul explained his position about the concrete items of social life, which were not necessary for the peoples' salvation. For example, he commented on the relationships between the Christians and the Judaists relative to customs, habits of the foods, marriages and so on. He replied that these differences concerned the purity and the orthodox of the Faith or not. (1 Cor. 8; Rom. 2; 3)

> Lutheran theology continued to use the Adiaphora concept for its own purposes. For all Reformation theology, God's Word is both law and gospel. For Lutherans specifically, the hermeneutic character of God's Word is defined by the gospel, so

147 Carl E. Braaten, "The Problem of Authority in the Church," in: Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (eds), *The Catholicity of the Reformation*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996, p. 57.

that the law shares the gospel's essential externality; thus the Lutherans could also adopt the medieval concept that marked the externality of the law.[148]

During the process of the Reformation, especially after the death of Luther, controversies appeared inside the Lutheran Church relative to the identity of the Protestant Church in the sensibility of the reformers and the theologians. Those who strictly used the words and the sentences of Luther's works for the Reformation were called the Gnesio-Lutherans who stressed total Lutheranism without any changes. It was another group around Philippe Melanchthon, who integrated some factors of the Reformation in Zurich and Geneva, namely Zwingli concerning the interpretation of the Eucharist and Calvin regarding his ecclesiological creation and some doctrines. They were called the Crypto-Calvinist, or Philippist.[149] Melanchthon was accused by the orthodox Lutherans because he agreed with those who did permit the Lutherans to do interpretations of the principles of Luther by their rich practices. Finally the position of Melanchthon became the mainstream of Lutheranism and then the church grew healthily and quickly in Germany and north European countries. He actually practiced the ethical principle of Adiaphora from Luther's position very early in his theological works *Apology if the Augsburg Confession* XV. 52, "For love's sake we do not refuse to observe *adiaphora* with others"[150]

They had very seriously discussed the liturgical order, which were inherited from the Medieval Catholic Church and defined by the Canonic Law as the Church order by Romana Curia, by reflecting the wonders of the Protestant church, namely threw them off as radical reformers like

148 Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976, p. 200.

149 Hans-Walter Krumwiede, "Theological Schools in Europe," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 3, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, pp. 2353–2370. Esp. "In 1591 Wittenberg became the undisputed citadel of extreme Lutheran orthodoxy, the *cathedra Lutheri*, where L. Huetter, P. Leyser, and especially Calovius and Quenstedt were important representative of a strict Lutheran dogmatic." Ibid., p. 2370.

150 Philippe Melanchthon, *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* XV, 52 (*Concordia Triglotta*), pp. 328f. Cf. André Birmelé and Marc Lienhard (eds), *La foi des Églises luthériennes, Confessions et Catéchismes*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1991, p. 196.

Zwingli and the Anabaptists, or continued based on the principles of the Reformation by Luther towards the Gospel and Salvation. Furthermore, the aesthetic activities, the arts and folkloric amusement items in the secular life were considered as matters which had nothing to do with salvation, thus the Christians could accept these activities even at the moral level.[151]

The question appears from my reflection and research, namely what kind of correlation between the principle of the Adiaphora and the state of the confession (*status confessionis*)? And what are the ethical interpretations? Historically, the social form between the Lutheran church and Western civilization has been achieved naturally in the following centuries as far as the political institutions and social orders are concerned. The application of the Adiaphora by the Church could show the ethical orientation of the values behind the concrete activities and thoughts.

Thus, whether relative to the essence of the faith or the essence of salvation or not, this becomes the starting point of the basic moral norms of the Christian life in the secular order. Luther integrated this stoic ethical concept as the Christian ethical principle into the Reformation with the aim to form the Protestant moral way differing from the Catholic moral principle. It is very important to make note that the frequent phenomenon is that believers prefer the highest moral criteria to measure the leadership and spiritual virtue. Many great minds pushed these expectations of the masses toward the pure and holy extent, for example, the Monasticism of the medieval period. Even today, in the Protestant world, Monasticism is still considered as the symbol of the most moral and spiritual Christian way by the "inner-worldly asceticism" in Weber's theory.[152]

151 Kurt Aland, "Adiaphora II.," in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Ritter, Basel: Schwabe, 1971, pp. 83–85.

152 "We can grasp an expression of that which Max Weber called 'inner-worldly asceticism.' For Weber, however, inner-worldly asceticism was almost exclusively an expression and a result of belief in the doctrine of predestination, and the material examined suggests that the exclusivity of this link may be questioned." Kaspar von Greyerz, "Predestination, Covenant, and Special Providence," in: *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, ed. by H. Lehmann and G. Roth (Publica-

It was from Luther who created the doctrines of the "Two-Kingdoms" and of the "Law-Gospel" to establish the Protestant Church totally in the secular world. The ethical meanings appeared along this process from his rich and original theological thoughts. The believers are the witnesses of the grace of God from actual temporary life and concrete work. This became the major division which was formed between the Roman Catholic Church, which inherited much from the medieval Catholic Church, and the Protestant Church, which completely claims the positive value of temporary life and all the creatures under the providence of God in the world.

Since Luther never threw out all the legacy of the Patristic Fathers, the Lutheran Church continued many liturgical orders from the Catholic Church. Luther made a list of the seven marks of the catholic: preaching, baptism, eucharist, offices of the ministry, public worship, and the cross which are the sufferings of believers for the faith.[153] It showed the wide vision of Luther relative to the sacramental order at the level of liturgy. In the perspective of Luther's ethical thoughts, the separation of the sacred and the secular based on the ethical principle of the Law-Gospel and formed serious challenges to the abuses and corruptions of the theocracy of the papacy, which were strengthened and unimaginable by the institutional organization of the hierarchy and system of the doctrines. From the reformation of Luther, the modern principle of the separation between the Church and the State appeared from Germany and Luther. That was the ethical influence of the principle of Law-Gospel in history. The Adiaphora was connected closely with the principle of the Law-Gospel in the theological world of Luther and of the Protestant Church. The relationship between the believers and the citizens could be explained also on this axis of the Law-Gospel and of the Adiaphora.

Finally, the ethical principle of the Adiaphora in the vision of Luther has structured the Lutheran Church in society and history. As the ethical principle of the Law-Gospel, it is also one of the pillars of the Protestant Church regarding the institutional relationships with civil society. This ethical principle was very vivant in the following centuries while West-

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tions of the German Historical Institute, Washington D. C.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 278.

153 Martin Luther, *On the Councils and the Church*, in: *LW*, vol. 41, pp. 150–165.

ern civilization grew quickly into the stage of the Industry and into the missionary époque. The history of Protestantism has proved that the principle of Adiaphora has functioned as the ethical structure for the Church, which lies always in the cultural, spiritual, moral and esthetical polity and society.[154] The sociological interpretations of the church structure will be linked with the external elements outside the Church itself. Thus, the ethical exploration of theological principles will be necessary.

3.5.2.4 The Ethical Structural Principle of the Bondage of the Will behind the Synodal System of Church Government

At the level of Church Ethics, the moral norms of Christian behaviors relate directly the image of the Church and the results of the evangelization in the society, so the ecclesia of the Protestant church holds very powerful restriction and sanctification although the Canonical Law of medieval heritage had been stopped in the Reformation. To some extent, the moral rules based on faith with spiritual forces are much stronger and stricter than the legal texts in the minds of the believers as the effects of the Decalogue during ancient times for the Hebrew nation and for the Christians through spiritual and ecclesial works of the Reformers. The main stream of modern values in Western civilization includes inner ethical principles of the Reformation.

Sociological interpretations of the role of the Protestant church in modern society could not ignore the political ethical principle of Martin Luther, because the Protestant Church has formed a special model of the Church government through a special model of the Church-State relationship from the very beginning of the Reformation. The political ethical principle of Luther directly connected with his theological reflections and is the principle of the Freedom-Bondage which dialectically balances the ethical principle of the Adiaphora in the relationships among

154 "As a humanist, Calvin was familiar with the Stoic concept of *adiaphoron*, of what is morally indifferent, which was to play an important role in later intra-Lutheran discussions of the obligations of the Law. The term would then be used primarily of ritual ceremonies that were considered permissible but not necessary. From this primary meaning the notion was easily applied to problems of food and drink, fast and abstinence, the observation of certain times and periods." George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 158.

individuals, family, society, church and state in moral and legal frames. The significance of the principle of Freedom-Bondage can be recognized from the effects and achievements of John Calvin and his influence in history of the modern world thus will be especially important for the future of the Church in China.[155]

We can find out here that each principle of Luther's thoughts is always correlated directly with the proper issue of the Reformation with the doctrinal designs and the original creation for the coming Protestant Church. The political meaning of the ethical principle means that the norms of the Church-State are taken with the theological judgments for the aim of the Church. In this level, the church polity and church government as the institutional issues must become the central theme of the ecclesial ethics.

The Church polity is one of the important parts of the Church Order. In terms of the Lutheran church order, there is no unification polity of the churches world wide. After the primitive period, the three-fold ministry order became the basic polity of the patristic church by the Bishop-Priesthood-Deacon class. Until the summit period of the medieval Church under the leadership of Pope Innocent III (1160–1216), there was one very advanced institutional organization, which ran the powers of the church even if we think of this system at the modern political perspective today. That is the system of *Concilium*. Hans Küng said:

> It is the universal Church which in St. Paul's letters from prison is simultaneously the exalted mystery of God's salvation of man, the mystery of Christ and the fullness of Christ, which takes shape gradually through Baptism and the Eucharist, through faith, love, and suffering; she is His bride, still waiting but already bestowed, and she is the Temple of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the universal Church is the mysterious gathering of believers in Christ. Otherwise expressed, the Church is the great *concilium* of the faithful, convoked in the Spirit by God Himself through Christ. Both are constitutive elements of this council, the summons of the calling

155 Without the Greek term the concept played a role in the *Augsburg Confession*, Article XV, where Philippe Melanchthon argued that many points, that are "neither commanded nor forbidden" in the Scripture, should not be imposed on the faithful. Canon 19 of the Tridentine decree *De justificatione impii* touched on this, but in a polemical way that misrepresented the doctrine of the *Augsburg Confession*. By Bernard J. Verkamp, "The Limits upon Adiaphoristic Freedom: Luther and Melanchthon," in: *Theological Studies* 36 (1975), pp. 52–76.

> God from above and the community of summoned *people* from below, the foundation of the assembly by God (*institutio Dei*), taking effect through Scripture, sacrament, and ecclesiastical office, and the community of the assembled people (*communio fidelium*) living wholly from God's grace in faith and love. This *concilium* has at one and the same time the character of personal experience and of institutional existence. It is not only an atomistic total of believing individuals; nor is it only a supernatural bureaucratic apparatus dispensing "graces" and ruling the people.[156]

In the period of the Reformation, Luther cut off totally the ecclesiastical relationship with Romana Curia through accepting the authority of the state in the legal basis. The dominant monarchic polity of the medieval church has been cleared off from the Lutheran church order, but the actual social and political relationships made the Lutheran Church to quickly form the particular church polity, and that was the Territorial Church Polity. The princes replaced the bishops as the leaders of the Church government until 1918. Since the 19th century, the Lutheran churches in the United States and Asian countries, founded by Lutheran missionaries, adopted the ecclesiastical order of the Reformed-Presbyterian system to integrate the synodic institution into church government. A very positive result of this reform has realized more strongly regarding the ecclesial task in the vision of Martin Luther.

There are nearly all kinds of existing church polities in the Lutheran churches over the world such as the Episcopalian, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism, etc. But one of the most important points in terms of the Church polity in the Lutheran church order is the institutional mechanism of the restriction of the powers inside the church, which is similar to the meaning of the synodic system in the ecclesial system of John Calvin.[157]

The synodic system could be interpreted as the principle of democracy through the institutional means in the church. It is related directly with the prima principle of the Reformation of Luther, *Sola Scriptura*,

156 Hans Küng, *Structures of the Church*, trans. S. Attanasio, New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964, p. 12.

157 William G. Naphy, "The renovation of the ministry in Calvin's Geneva," in: A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation of the Parishes, The ministry and the Reformation in town and country*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1993, p. 126.

because when the authority of Papacy was replaced by the Scripture, consequently the authority of the Tradition of the Church formed during the long time of the medieval period was also demolished. Then what did the Church do to continue surveillance for the powers of the top leaders of the Protestant Church while the Canonical Law was stopped. The synodic system as the church parliament was created by John Calvin in the reformation of Geneva. He set up the commission of the disciplines by the Consistory of the church as the Church Court, around which there are several commissions with the ministers and the representatives of the Administration of the State etc. So the synodic system of the Reformed Church in Geneva quickly influenced the Protestant world after Luther.

According to my reflection, the principle of the synodic system with the democratic principle was based on the theological principle of the Freedom-Bondage of Martin Luther from his important treatises in 1520, such as "*On the Freedom of the Christian.*" Just as this comment, "The Lutheran Reformation saw the chief moral problem not as final criteria for telling the good from the bad, but as finding freedom to face and try to tell the difference."[158]

It is evident that Christ is the only criteria of the moral judgment for the Church from Luther, which made the freedom of the Christians more self-restrictive by the duty of the faith. The meaning of the Freedom of Luther could only be interpreted in the frame of Christ. He claimed the will of the human being is never free while facing the Lord as the slavers. The famous principle of the Bondage of Will finally shaped the political ethics of the Protestant Church and prepared the institutional creation of the Church polity by later reformers, especially John Calvin.

The principle of the Bondage has also balanced the misunderstanding of the principle of the Priesthood of All Believers in the actual situation of the growing church.[159] If we stop only at the level of the principle of Priesthood of All Believers, we will ignore the dynamistic structures among the ethical principles of Luther for the Protestant Church in con-

158 Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976, p. 152.

159 "Luther condemned common people who misused their Christian freedom." Paul A. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation, Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany, 1521–1525*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. xiii.

crete history. Some persons figured out the weak points of the misunderstandings of the principle:

> Luther's priesthood of all believers is not unbiblical, but it is not exegesis either. One might well argue that the biblical view of the royal priesthood has been maintained, not in the Protestant churches, but in the "catholic" tradition, both Roman and Anglican. The question remains, of course, whether Roman Catholic theology succeeds in relating biblically the royal priesthood and the Christian ministry – or, as the Roman Catholic himself might put it, the two priesthoods. The same question must also, however, be asked of Luther, since the New Testament nowhere builds a doctrine of the ministry on the priesthood of believers.[160]

But if we connect all the principles of Luther in terms of history of the Reformation and the whole history of Protestantism including the missionary history in China, we will find out the significance of the doctrine of the Bondage which explained the deep and serious concerns of Luther who faced the extreme and radical individualism inside the Reformation and the Protestant movement. The freedom to claim the faith does not mean the individual freedom to destroy all the social rules and laws of the secular order. Luther was clear about the fact that the principle of the Universal Priesthood (Priesthood of All Believers) had led this menace by the destruction of all orders, not only the ecclesiastical papacy, but also the legal order of the state. So understanding of his doctrine of the Bondage has historic meaning in the social and political sense after the theological significance was recognized by the reformers. He said:

> No authority after Christ is equal to that of the apostles and prophets. All other of their successors should only be considered as their disciples. For the apostles had the certain promise of the Holy Spirit (not only in general but also as individuals). Therefore, they alone were called the foundation of the church who should hand down articles of faith. None of their successors had the promise of the Holy Spirit as individuals. […] And if the successors do not follow or observe the foundation of the apostles, they are heretics or antichrists as those lost outside the foundation. Therefore, an assembly of bishops or a council can err, just as other men, as well in their public capacity as in their private. (*WA* 39/1:184–87)[161]

160 Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 105.

161 Quoted from Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles, Politics and Polemics, 1531–46*, Leiden: Brill, 1983, p. 226.

Before Luther left the world, he had been clearly aware of the urgency to set up the institutional mechanism to restrict the individual of extreme powers within the ecclesiastical doctrinal limits. In the treatise *On the Councils and the Church* (1539), he identified the essential "marks" (*notae*) of the universal and Catholic Church for Protestantism, and seriously stressed the ancient councils with the theological analysis for structural design of the Protestant Church born from the Reformation. Mark U. Edwards made the conclusions by the ten points by Martin Luther himself. Luther's goal was to demonstrate by the ten point around the central theme, namely, in Luther's words, a Council was "nothing but a consistory, a supreme court, a chamber [*Consistorium, Hofgericht, Cammergericht*], or in which judges pass judgment after hearing the parties."[162] Thus, a council, as Luther saw it, did not condemn even a heretic according to its own discretion "but according to the law of the holy church." (*WA* 50: 615f).

Obviously, the position of Luther relative to the Council of the medieval Catholic Church was for the construction of the church. Through these ten points, Luther thoroughly explored the principle of the Bondage of the Will in ethical ecclesiological frame. The ethical meaning of this principle for Church lay in that any powers or any reasons to weaken the supreme authority of the Bible is unacceptable on which the Church must establish the institutional departments to protect this principle of the Faith in order to avoid the possibility of heresy or cults. In later life, Luther began to think of the ecclesiastical method or constitutions for national church affairs which he already understood. The national church organization as today's EKD in Germany for Protestant churches started to appear in Germany after Luther. This was the background of Luther's thinking relative to the *Concilium*. At the same time, Luther knew that one young reformer named John Calvin had successfully created the consistory with the series of the disciplines for establishing the order of the church in Geneva. Essentially the ethical doctrine of the Church Discipline was based on the theological principle of the Bondage of the Will.

162 Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles, Politics and Polemics, 1531–46*, Leiden: Brill, 1983, p. 95.

> The Ecumenical Council or Assembly was acknowledged to be the supreme Church authority on the sort of questions which naturally fall within its scope, question bearing on such matters as are necessary not indeed to the Church's being or well-being, but certainly to its highest well-being. It was also held that it was only the evil of the times that prevented a Protestant Ecumenical from assembling and pronouncing sentence of excommunication on the Church of Rome as a false Church, or in some form cutting it off from ecclesiastical fellowship.[163]

Today, the synodic system exists popularly in Lutheran Churches as well as in Presbyterian Churches, and Episcopalian Churches in the West. The ideal of the synodic system essentially originates from the *Concilium* constitution of the Medieval Catholic tradition, namely, the institution of the Conciliarism. The aim of the institution in the Catholic tradition was to balance the powers of the bishops and that of the Pope through the form of the council. Thus the principle of democracy was held inside this institution of the Catholic Church at that time. Since the 13th century, the relationship between the Concilium and the Curia was dominated directly by the Pope (or between the Conciliarism and the Papist) and related to the equilibrium of the papacy and of the bishops' Conference; therefore, it was always one of the most serious issues of church order.

> Marsilius of Padua denied the divine foundation of papacy and hierarchy, portraying the church as a merely spiritual community of believers linked solely by the common bond of a sacrament and creed, and denying to its members, accordingly, the exercise of any coercive jurisdictional power at all, any *potestas iurisdictionis in foro exteriori*. Marsilius' views left some mark on the thinking of Dietrich of Niem (d. 1418) and Nicholas of Cusa, but were too radical to make their way into the mainstream of conciliar theory during the age of the great councils. For that theory was, in fact, an essentially moderate doctrine of ecclesiastical constitutionalism, with unimpeachably orthodox foundations in the cozy respectabilities of the pre-Marsilian era.[164]

163 James Walker, *Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750*, 2nd ed., (1st ed., 1872), Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1888, repr. 1982, p. 97.

164 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 169. Cf. *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1964; "Almain and Major: Conciliar Theory on the Eve of the Reformation," in: *American Historical Review* 70/3 (1965), pp. 673–690; *Council over Pope? Towards a Provi-*

Again, in the strict sense, the theory of the conciliarity had often been misunderstood. It possessed no monolithic unity. One must avoid the fatal trap of confusing it with the type of conciliar thinking espoused earlier by Marsilius of Padua. […] Their basic assumption, which of course they shared with the papalists, was that of the divine institution of all ecclesiastical power. This power they divided, again like the papalists, into a power of order and a power of jurisdiction […] Or, in d'Ailly's version, the plenitude of power must be said to belong *inseparably* to the body of the church, *representatively* to the general council, but only *separably* to the pope, who is the subject who receives it and the ministers who exercise it.[165]

Thus, although the fullness of power may be ascribed to the Pope by virtue of his superiority to any other single ecclesiastic and his normal exercise of it, he is not superior to the universal church or to the general council representing it, and he must exercise that power for the good of the whole church. It follows that, like any other corporation in relation to its head, the council has the right to set limits to his exercise of the *plenitudo potestatis* in order to prevent his abusing it to the destruction of the church.[166]

Besides the Church and the religious affairs, there were so many outstanding figures which appeared in other areas such as commerce, business, industry, art and cultural works with the identity of Protestantism. The values concerning merits, virtues and justice etc. were highly appraised and positive in the system of Faith by the Protestant Church since Martin Luther and John Calvin. The Protestant responsibility and duty from the Reformation finally shaped modern society in the West. The freedom of the individuals is strictly protected by the Protestant ethics, and at the same time, the state of law mainly remains the limits of the individual freedom in the legal frame. So many legal elements and

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sional Ecclesiology, New York/London: Herder & Herder, 1969; "Conciliarism at the Fifth Lateran Council?," in: *Church History* 41/4 (1972), pp. 452–463; "Conciliarism in the Sixteenth Century: Jacques Almain Again," in: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977), pp. 111–132.

165 Zabarella, pp. 559–560; d'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, in Dupin, 2:945–46, 950–951. Quoted from *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977), p. 171.

166 Ibid., p. 172.

modern social and moral rules are in origin of Luther's principles of the Bondage of the Will and the Two-Kingdoms based on the principle of the Law-Gospel.

In the end, if we limit our discussion within the history of the Protestant Church, we could stress the dialectic relationship between the legacy of the medieval Catholic Church and the Reformation in Luther's thoughts. It is very positive for Luther to apply the principle of the Adiaphora vis-à-vis the arts, the sculptures and the fresco on the wall of the Church and the other esthetic and visual images for honoring the Lord. Only from the doctrine of the Freedom of Christians by Luther, we could confirm the historical significance of the ethical principles from Luther's theological system.[167]

Luther's ethical system is full of the dialectical tensions with the historic vision as the great prophet of Protestantism. He claimed the freedom of the Christian to challenge the authority of the Roman papacy and its totalitarian regime, and at the same time, through the principle of the Adiaphora encouraged the Christians and the Protestant Church to engage in all of life in the secular world which is ruled under Divine Providence, and then dialectically he created the principle of the Bondage of the Will to restrict individual freedom within the legal frame of the civil society. Here was the fundamental starting point of Protestant social ethics!

3.5.3 Conclusion

Luther's theological ethics is the Ecclesial Ethics toward the establishment of the Holy and Catholic Church.

In the perspective of academic research, there are at least three approaches to the study of the doctrines of Christianity: a) to interpret the basic dogma and doctrines around the creeds of the ancient Catholic Church and the doctrinal propositions systematized by the Scholastics, b) to figure out the fundamental positions and the thoughts regarding the theological direction of the Church and while encountering the ecclesiastical crisis through studying the words of the prophets, Jesus Christ and

167 *LW*, vol. 51, p. 79.

the apostles in the Scripture, and furthermore by researching the patristic thoughts and the principles of the Reformation etc, c) at the levels of the philosophy and of the social sciences, to think of the influence and the values of the legacy of the Church on modern society. Especially, in Western universities, theology was considered as the basis of whole sciences since the Medieval period, today, the encounters between theology and the other social sciences could always produce such strong flashes of the thinking, it is so-called Public Theology in universities of the West. It is obvious, the first two belong to the theological academic behavior for the Church; and the third is research of the human spirituality in the strictest sense in the ecclesiastical category.

No matter what approach to the thoughts of Luther, historically the fruits of the research are very rich and influential, not only for the Protestant Church, but also for human progress. That means the significance of Luther has already gone beyond the ecclesiastical extent and into the history of human spirituality and the civilization of modern time. In terms of the main theme I want to research, the ethical thoughts of Luther essentially work as the structural pillars of the Church with the forces of legal restriction and moral sanction, which is one of the weakest points of today's Protestant Church in China.

In conclusion, there are three levels of the understanding of the ethical legacy of Martin Luther:

Firstly, the fundamental doctrines of the ethical principles according to Martin Luther are composed by three *Sola*s. The urgent issues, which these three fundamental principles of the Reformation faced directly, were the authority of the Church and the criteria of the faith. The authority of the Scripture over that of Papacy supported the legitimacy of the rebellion of Luther against Roman Curia; the Justification by Faith was used as the weapon to destroy the Roman hierarchy order totally with the individual extreme Calling directly from the Lord; the Divine Providence through the free grace shows the supreme power of God over all the authorities in the secular world, including the ecclesiastical authorities. These three principles could be considered as the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism. But it is not enough and too radical if Protestantism puts the system of all faith only on these three doctrines. Luther was very clear that there were not too many conflicts regarding the dogma of the faith confirmed by the first four ecumenical councils between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church of the Reformation, the seri-

ous and realistic problems were much more ethical and political if we could really do the research about the inner intention of the Reformers. The ethical norms for the Church and the believers in the temporary society are different and controversial to them. The central focus point was the Authority for faith and Church at the institutional sense; thus, consequently, it concerned series of issues with political, ethical, and social meaning.

Secondly, based on the fundamental principles of the Reformation, Luther encountered quickly the establishment of the norms for Christians and the Church outside of the Roman canonical frame. His theological claims naturally became the structural elements of the Protestant Church. The following theological ideas are the doctrines of Protestantism proved during the last five centuries until today: the doctrines of the Law-Gospel, of the Two-Kingdoms, of the Priesthood of All Believers, of the Adiaphora, of the Freedom-Bondage, etc., which functioned with the balance of each other as the ethical structural pillars of the building of the Church.

Third, the central concern of the ethical thinking of Luther was always the proclamation of the Word, which has been considered as the popular conclusion about the legacy of Martin Luther in academic circles. But in my research and reflection, the ecclesial concern was hidden behind the doctrines of Luther, but very existential to him.

> The"Invisible Church" is not the right term for Luther's conception of the Church, although he himself sometimes use this confusing expression; what he really meant was that the Church is visible in the Word and the Sacrament, but invisible and incalculable in her purely spiritual influence. His idea might be expressed rather differently, somewhat in this way: the Church of the Word is purely spiritual, effecting the New Birth by means which cannot be defined outwardly, while at the same time she is present in the Word and the Sacrament and endued with the possibility of exercising a universal influence upon the State and upon Society, (which for that very reason means that she requires an external Christian organization of the State) which will make it possible for the Church to reach everyone, while otherwise her own organization is left very free. Luther and the Reformers, like the Catholic theologians, focus Christian thought in the theory of the conception of the Church.[168]

168 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 481.

For instance, his attitudes to the Pietism movement has shown his deep concerns about the institutional norms of the Church which guaranteed the correct proclamation of the Gospel and the normal relationships between the church and the state in the legal order. Here it is very important to know that Luther's critical position against the Pietism movement in some extent through his following words: "It is a fictitious expression to speak of a 'holy man,' just as it is a fictitious expression to speak of God's falling into sin; for by the nature of things, this cannot be."[169] And once in the sermon, he said: "It is not the proper task of the gospel to make people pious; but rather it makes only Christian than to be confessing pious. One can indeed be pious but not a Christian."[170]

In his later life, he had given so great reflection about the future form of the Protestant Church. It showed his vision about the Church as the body of Christ in the social political perspective.

> The external aspects of Catholic ritual were easily changed, but the personal lives of many had not been touched. Many members used the doctrine of salvation by faith only, without good works, as an excuse for loose living. In his last years Martin Luther lamented over the low morality of the great mass of those who had gone over to the Protestant Church. Much in the same way in which the Catholic Church had failed in its efforts to Christianize the heathen, so Luther and Zwingli had partially failed in their work of reforming the Church.[171]

His followers substantially inherited his goals and ideals toward the establishment of the Church from the Roman system. In this case, the ethical meanings of Luther's legacy have held the rich and powerful structural elements of the Protestant Church.

In a word, the ecclesial is the essence of Luther's ethics.

We must naturally enter into the ecclesial ethical system of John Calvin, who is considered in the history of Christianity as the most influential reformer after Martin Luther.

169 *LW*, vol. 12, p. 325.
170 Cf. *WA*, vol. 10, 1/2: pp. 430, 30–32.
171 B. K. Kuiper, *The Church in History*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 205.

4 The Ideal Type II: The Ecclesial Ethics of John Calvin

4.1 Introduction

If Martin Luther prepared the doctrinal basis of the Protestant Church during the Reformation, John Calvin achieved the ideal of Luther by establishing the institutional Church of the Protestantism. Therefore, we could say that Calvin had decisively made the Protestantism as the spiritual and institutional power of the Western civilization.

> It was the destiny of Calvinism to extend the Reformation of the Church throughout Western Europe, and thence out into the New World, and, actually, Calvinism is the chief force in the Protestant world today […] This deeper reason lies in the active character of Calvinism, in its power for forming Churches, in its international contacts, and its conscious impulse towards expansion, and, most of all, in its capacity to penetrate the political and economic movements of Western nations with its religious ideal, a capacity which Lutheranism lacked from the very beginning.[1]

Thus, to study the ecclesial ethics of the Protestantism must give the high attention to the legacy of John Calvin. In this respect, we could use the theory of the Ideal Type of Max Weber to define the historicity of the ecclesial ethics of John Calvin as the references to the future of the church in China.

Consequently, the question appears, namely, what kind of the elements made the Ideal Type of Calvin as the dominant constitution of the Protestant Church with influence over the world. What then can we describe as the inner structural pillars of this Ideal Type in the ethical normative respect?

It is clear that the question relates to a series of concepts, ideas, and principles, categories of Calvin's thought, which defined the relationship

1 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, pp. 576–577.

among the church, the state, the gospel, the law, and human beings with the Lord. These relationships essentially showed through certain norms from Calvin, thus the interpretations are full of hermeneutical significances, because there are multiples of approaches to the understandings of John Calvin, such as the socio-politic, historical, sociological, and ethical as well as the theological, etc. In order to establish the new type of Christian Church, which differed from the Roman Catholic Church based on the monarchic constitution since the patristic period, the reformers must deal with the rules and the constitutions in terms of the doctrines and the ecclesiastical order. They must define the relationships between Protestantism and actual society in the legal system of the states. They had to supply the ethical norms about relationship between the Protestants and ordinary people, noble class, and royal class etc. Meanwhile, they must deal with the logical continuation with medieval catholic tradition in terms of the dogma of faith and doctrines of the church in order to guarantee the direction of the Protestant Church in the secular world.

The focus of my central theme is about the ethical approach as I did on the legacy of Luther in order to figure out the ethical structures of the Church from the thoughts of Calvin. The career of the reformation of Calvin as a historic event had deeply influenced the history of Western civilization, and to some extent the complete modern history of the world. He has been regarded as one of the great Christians with huge prestige through his contribution and influence as was Martin Luther.

My questions make me to want to trace the ethical principles of his thoughts, which functioned as the structural pillars of the Reformed Church, which made the Protestant Church finally cut from the frame of the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, from this tradition, the ethical norms and rules of the Church integrated the theological principles of the Reformation from the system of Luther such as the principles of Law-Gospel, of the Two-Kingdoms, Bondage of the Will, etc. with the social relationships of the secular order. The external form of the practice of Luther's principles had been well used through Calvin's theological principles and initiatives, for instance, the principle of Law-Gospel had been interpreted as the principle of Gospel-Law as the inner structure of the Church in the second stage of the Reformation. The most distinctive contribution of Calvin was to build the Protestant Church, which differed from the Roman Catholic Church at the institutional sense through estab-

lishing the relationship between the Church and God, which originated from Luther's position of God-Man relationship.[2] This was the ethical turning-point of Protestantism, because this change could be considered as the successive step within the principle for the engagement totally into the process of human history. Therefore, Calvin's many theological principles seemed different from Luther's, but essentially, he pushed and applied the legacy of Luther through his proper realistic engagement and creation around the ecclesial ultimate aim.

The ethical force is the concrete existence of the Church in social life in the history of humanity; thus, to study the ethical thought of John Calvin, one should question the meaning in the ecclesial frame. The ideal of the Reformation through Luther's theological principles and ideas, by means of the Church in later history of the reformation were realized. Calvin was the most significant successor of Luther's career; so far, we could still feel the very vivant influence from Calvin's legacy in the Protestant world. He created so many particular institutions to guarantee the Church's direction such as the Collegiality and the Consistory, which definitely shaped modern democracy in the Church and Western modern politics.[3]

In this chapter, I intend to discuss the main theme through the following parts: a) the brief surveys of the reformation in Geneva and the theological initiative of Calvin, b) the ethical principles of Calvin, c) the ethical structures of the Reformed Church in Geneva. I should sketch briefly the most significant points of Calvin through his practical reformation and the influences in West, and then his theological works which founded systematically the doctrinal Protestant Church, because he was not only the great thinker of the Reformation, but also the great leader of Church and one of the Fathers of the Protestantism tradition. These two ways directly connect my concerns about the Church in China, which is always my pre-comprehension of the research.

2 Eric Fuchs, *La morale selon Calvin*, Paris: Cerf, 1986, p. 44.
3 A. Ganoczy, *Calvin et Vatican II*, Paris: Cerf, 1968, pp. 116–119.

4.2 Calvin's Constitutional Initiative of the Protestant Tradition

If we want to dig out the meanings of Calvin's thoughts of the Reformation, we always base our proper concerns of the present Church. It is very clear that there are already such tremendous research by articles and books about all aspects of John Calvin in the Western world, but not really the same situation in the non-Western world as in China, although the missionaries had transplanted so many things of the Calvinist tradition into China with their filters.

4.2.1 A Brief Survey of the Career of Calvin

John Calvin (1509–1564), was born in the cathedral town of Noyon of France, of a highly-respected family, which had a close relationship with the Church. When he was only twelve years old, he studied humanism in College de Montaigu, which was very famous for traditional scholasticism. In 1523, he studied law in the University of Paris because of his father's wishes, and achieved a doctoral study in Orleans and Burges and then finished his degree in 1531. This outstanding education, with rich humanism knowledge and the strict juridical training, prepared him for a later career in Geneva. The following brief points of his life stressed as the sketch of this historic figure.

His acquaintance with new knowledge of the Renaissance and Christian humanism such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and Erasmus and his wonderful knowledge of the classic languages, Greek and Hebrew, brought him into the elite circle of the intellectuals of the time, and quickly into the mainstream of the Reformation with his great mind. In 1533, he accepted the principles of the Reformation and therefore devoted himself to the Protestant movement rather than Christian humanism.

Starting from the most important principle of the Reformation by Luther, and the doctrine of Justification by Faith, Calvin finished his historic works, notably the first edition of Institutes of the Christian Religion in 1536 in Basel. The political situation at the time in Europe was

in disorder by the bloody struggles and the wars which were mixed by the conflicts among the Papacy, the royal governments and the forces of the Reformation. Actually, the Reformation was the greatest event centering on all the conflicts and evolutions with the background of the Renaissance. While Luther was alive, he already worried about the rages and the wars by rebel peasants with the forces of the Protestants against all the orders in Germany. This was a historic moment, when the old order was nearly destroyed, but the new order had not yet appeared with its systematized and institutional forms. Thus, the huge challenge of the time appeared before the second generation of the reformers, namely, to make clear the direction of history of the juridical level for secular order, and to establish the new norms to define Protestantism which faced that time in the world. Calvin did respond through his writing of *Institutes*.[4]

The primary intention of works was for explaining the fundamental doctrines to the Protestant refugees in Basel according to the *Small Catechism* of Martin Luther. At that moment, there were so many misunderstandings and slandering regarding the Protestant Church, especially in terms of the theological positions of Luther. The newly-formed Church urgently needed a doctrinal defense and the theological interpretations with the systematical way in order to give logic and reasonable presentation to intellectual persons. That meant that Calvin held the faithful position to the principles of the Reformation by Martin Luther.[5]

During 1536–1538, Calvin accepted the invitation of Guillaume Farel (1489–1565) to help him with the affairs of the Reformation in the city of Geneva.[6] The important event of this first short stay in Geneva was that he presented to the City Council a proposition of the requirements by Calvin permission. These were as follows: 1) All citizens must sign the Statement of Confession in order to guarantee their purity of faith, especially at the moment when the Reform was attacked by Roman Curia and the radical, Anabaptist movement, 2) All the churches in Geneva must accept the Catechism of John Calvin as doctrines of the faith

4 Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps*, I, Lausanne/Neuilly-sur-Seine, Bridel/La Cause, 1899, pp. 487ff.

5 Wulfert de Greef, "Calvin's Writings," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 43.

6 Gottfried Hammann, "Farel, Guillaume (1489–1565)," in: *Encyclopédie du protestantisme*, publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, p. 489.

of the church, 3) The Holy Communion was to administer once per month with the exception of the members who were accused of moral and legal issues. If necessary, the Church could excommunicate them. The authorities of the City had the right to supervise the ordinary life of citizens according to the moral norms confirmed by the Church.[7]

During 1541–1564 the second period in Geneva, Calvin devoted his whole mind to the reform and the establishment of the Reformed Church until the end of his life. He developed the Church Ordinances, and the confessions of faith, and liturgical order etc.[8] Under his leadership, the reformed church had initially developed works in the social, ethical, political and commercial aspects etc. The new model of the church really stood up against the regime and the institution of the Roman Catholic Church. Then he created the Academy of Geneva to open up the history of higher Protestant education relative to biblical and academic research. He also set up the diaconal works of the Church to help the poor and refugees. He encouraged commercial activities according to Christian moral standards, and the most important one regarding my theme is that he formed a special model of the Church-State relationship in Geneva, which deeply shaped the latter development of Protestantism in the West.

In brief, these above five points could sketch out the historical image of reform by Calvin in Geneva. Knowing the reasons of the great contribution of Calvin and his direct importance of my theme, we must go into his theological world, which linked closely with his goal of reform.

4.2.2 A Brief Introduction of His Theological Thoughts

It is necessary to say that I want to stress the theological thoughts of Calvin and to distinguish a little from the historic tradition of the reformed church under his great influence. This has become the precious

7 François Wendel, *Calvin: Sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1985, pp. 30–31.

8 Jean Calvin, *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, in: *Gestalt und Ordnung der Kirche*, (Calvin-Studienausgabe 2), ed. by E. Busch et al., Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997, p. 238.

heritage of Protestantism for today's Christian world. We can claim that the influence of Calvin has made Calvinism go beyond the extent of the reformed church. In the perspective of the whole Protestant Church over the world, the Lutheran Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Anglican Church (the Episcopal church), and the Baptist tradition, the Congregational churches and the modern Evangelical movement, etc. have essentially and ecclesiastically been influenced by John Calvin and his thoughts. Luther funded the basis of the Reformation and the theological principles of Protestantism, and Calvin achieved the great goal of the Reformation through establishing the institutional church of Protestantism.[9]

4.2.2.1 Theological thoughts from the Institutes of the Christian Religion

Calvin was honored as a reformer for his great design and creation to establish the Reformed Church and deeply guided the direction of the Reformation toward the institutional construction of the Church. His outstanding contributions included not only his practical initiatives but also his theological compositions, especially the Institution of Christian Religion, through which he systematized the doctrines of the historic church and of the legacy of the medieval church into the Protestantism based on his actual direct aim of the Reformed Church.

The edition of 1559 is the last version, edited and verified by John Calvin of Institution of Christian Religion.[10] The works structure was composed of four volumes and eighty chapters according to the pattern of the Apostles' Creed: Book one: the knowledge of God the Creator through the twofold knowledge of God, the Scripture, the Trinity, the Creation and the Providence, etc.; Book two: the doctrine of Christ, or the Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ, first disclosed to the

9 Bernard Cottret, *Calvin: Biographie*, Paris: Ed. Jean-Claude Lattès, 1995, p. 54.

10 The English translation of *Institutes of the Christian Religion* as the text of my study is the edition of John T. McNeill: John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960; and in French version is the edition of Labor et Fides by four volumes: Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, éd. nouvelle publ. par la Société calviniste de France, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1955–1958.

fathers under the Law, and then to use it in the Gospel, and Christ as the Mediator: His Person as Prophet, Priest and King with the work of the Atonement; Book three: the doctrine of Grace: the Faith and the Regeneration, the Repentance and the Christian Life, the Justification, the Predestination, the Final Resurrection etc; Book four: the doctrine of the ecclesiology, or the Church, the means of Grace, and the civil government.

Calvin expressed systematically the basic doctrines of Protestantism by inheriting the doctrinal tradition of the Patristic Fathers and connecting the spirit and the principles of the Reformation shaped by Martin Luther with the actual aim to construct the Reformed Church from Roman Catholic Church in the institutional sense. In terms of the affiliation with the heritages of the Church Fathers, especially with St. Augustine, the theological creation of Calvin was fused on the catholicity of the Reformed Church by the basic dogma and doctrines in order to be a defender for the legitimacy of the Reformation.[11]

What points as references regarding the central theme of this great work?

Firstly, the doctrinal position of Calvin to write this work is different from the academic theological works of university, but strictly around the task of the Reformation in an urgent period when in authorities in France with legal forces persecuted the Protestants. To defend the Reformation and to encourage the Protestants were the general reasons behind the background of this theological work. At this point the Catholicity of the Reformation should explain the doctrinal affiliation with the patristic tradition.[12] Thus, we can be assured that the Institution of Calvin aimed at the doctrinal foundation of the Protestant Church with the catholicity of the historic church. Many missionary organizations in the non-European culture areas such as in China ignored this important pre-

11 "Even to say that Calvin's own theological style was non-scholastic or anti-scholastic needs to be qualified; for while Calvin's *Institutes* is not patterned on the model of, say, Aquinas's *Summae* and no doubt owes a great deal to Renaissance rhetorical style, there are nevertheless many discussions in it that have the pattern of thesis/objections/responses that was characteristic of the schools." Paul Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 3.

12 Cf. Anthony N. S. Lane: *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999.

text of the Reformation from John Calvin. Starting up his explication from the knowledge of God, Calvin stressed the doctrine of the Creation with the universal meaning, and the Christians as the creatures of God who are the inner essence of God's creation. In this way, the hierarchy privileges of the clergy avoided by Calvin and expanded his doctrinal understandings about Divine Providence. Here the doctrine of the Creation and of the Providence caused special attention as the basic doctrinal fundament to understand the whole system of theology. "John Calvin, among the most eloquent of theological proclaimers of divine purpose in creation, calls God's works a 'beautiful theatre' of God's glory, and admires 'the very order of events' in creation as evidence of 'the paternal goodness of God' (IRC, I.14,20; I.14.2)."[13] The doctrines of Creation and of Providence had special meanings for the reformation and the building of the Reformed Church from the thoughts of Calvin.

Secondly, it was on the theological fundament of Martin Luther that John Calvin built the doctrinal system of the Reformed Church. Here the important point is that the significance of Luther and Calvin has already gone beyond the extent of the denominations, i.e. the Lutheran tradition and the Calvinist tradition. They have become the common basis of the Protestant Church. The doctrine of Justification by Faith as the original principle of the Reformation by Luther was taken by Calvin also into the center of the system. (Cf. IRC, III, XI, 1). At the same time, the role of Christ was also in the centre of Calvin's thoughts. The offices of Christ were divided into three types by Calvin, namely, the office of the king, the office of the prophet, and the office of the priest. The doctrine of the Law-Gospel of Luther had been used by Calvin as the doctrine of the Gospel-Law in order that he could set up the institutional Church to guarantee the proclamation of the gospel. In the level of the Trinity, Calvin formed his special doctrine of the Christology for Protestantism, and obviously in terms of the ecumenical understandings, John Calvin continued the tradition of the patristic theology including that of St. Thomas Aquinas.[14]

13 Lisa S. Cahill, "Creation and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 10.

14 Although Roman Catholic was considered as the orthodoxy successor of the Medieval Catholic tradition, the reformers, especially Jean Calvin had strengthened the

Third, the doctrine of grace occupied a special part in the system of Calvin's theology. Christ, Creator and Redeemer, is the Mediator between God and humanity. Christ himself is the grace of God to human beings. The doctrine of Grace expanded the providence of God by certain orders. The Holy Spirit works among believers, that is the doctrine of the invisible – visible Church; and then to the Faith, confession, and finally the doctrine of Sanctification and Justification; and then freedom of the Christian, the prayer, the election and resurrection. After interpreting all these doctrines, Calvin started up his explanation of the doctrine of Predestination.

In a common impression of the doctrine of Predestination it is the most important characteristic of Calvin's theology as the central theme in the place of the Justification in Luther's system. Actually, it is just one of the doctrines of his system, not really the most important doctrine, but it is still one of the fundamental doctrines of the Reformed tradition regarding Faith and the mission of the Church. Based on St Augustine's doctrinal tradition, Calvin systematically explained the doctrine of double predestination in the Stereological-Christological frame. (Eph. 1:4). Because the interpretations of the doctrine of Predestination relate directly to the task and the calling from the Church, there were so many controversies and conflicts in latter centuries. It becomes, therefore, the most influential character of Calvinism of the public impression. This controversy has touched the ethics of the church.

From the order of the interpretations of the doctrines, we could see the particularity of Calvin's theological thinking, namely, each doctrine that explained his thoughts surrounded the Christ, the center of the Church in the temporal world through the Church. I would like to say that the readers of his works in his mind are the members of the Church

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doctrinal and spiritual relationships with the heritages of the Patristic tradition without any institutional forms. That could be one of the mysteries of the strong life of the Calvinism in the later centuries. About the relationships between the system of Jean Calvin and that of St. Thomas Aquinas, I'd like here to use the following works as the references: Arvin Vos, *Aquinas, Calvin, and Contemporary Protestant Thought*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985; Anthony N. S. Lane: *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999, pp. 44–45.

who had a special calling from God. It is the core of the faith in Calvin's mind.[15]

Fourth, both the ideal of his goal and the realistic aim of the Reformation are to establish the Protestant Church, which will be different from the Roman Catholic Church and hold the orthodox of the faith to proclaim the Word of God in the temporal world for Calvin. Therefore, with this ultimate aim, he started up his interpretation of each doctrine of Christian religion at the doctrinal level. He used the whole of book four to explain the Church, the meanings of grace and civil government. Alternatively, by today's concepts, we can understand the doctrine of ecclesiology, the Church-State relationship, and the theological politics of Protestantism from his thoughts on this part.

Often it is useful for us to study the ecclesiology and the state-church relationship of Calvin and should begin with the comparison between the doctrine of the City of God of St. Augustine and the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms of Luther, and then explore the abundant meanings of Calvin's ecclesiological thoughts. Obviously, Calvin had inherited the tradition of St. Augustine and the principles of Martin Luther in his practical reform in Geneva and his theological thinking. His famous doctrine is the doctrine of Invisible and Visible Church, which was one of the fundamental doctrines of his ecclesiology. He claimed that only God recognizes the Invisible Church but never by us in the secular world. Therefore, we must concentrate on the Visible Church, which is our task from the faith in the secular order. According to him, the visible church is the realistic church in society, which must hold several elements, namely, the correct proclamation of the Word of God, the administration of the sacraments according to the Scripture, the disciplines and the rules to guarantee and assure the members of the Church with legal and moral extent. The persons with the Calling of God gather in

15 The faith in the ethical system of John Calvin functioned as the absolute power of the Lord through the proclamation of the Gospel and the vocation of the Church. T. F. Torrance claimed, "Faith itself is eschatological because it is Christologically determined, for 'Christ is both the aim and the object of faith'. (*Comm. on Eph.* I.15: '*Fidem dicit in Christo, quia proprius fidei scopus, et obiectum [ut vulgo dicunt] ipse est*'. [C.R. 79, p. 155])" Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 102.

special communion as the disciples after Christ, this communion is the Church. Thus, the Church, the proclamation of Gospel, the administration of the Sacraments and the disciplines of the Church, which assures the realization of previous items, are the fundamental elements of theology of the Church Order of John Calvin, and the principles of his ecclesiology for the Reformed Church.[16]

Here it is very remarkable that Calvin related the starting point of the reform in Geneva directly to the church orders from Romana Curia. In March of 1539, he answered Catholic Bishop of Carpentras Sadoleto regarding the bishop's accusation that the reform had made the church stray from the Lord. The famous reply was Responsio ad Sadoletum. Calvin explained his vision about the Reformed Church through the doctrines, the liturgy, disciplines and the worship, etc. in order to interpret the reform of the completely existing catholic order and system. According to him,

> Regarding the church, however, more needs to be said than that she was one in Christ and guided by the one Spirit of Christ. The most important feature of the church is that she founded upon the Word. Christ promised that the Spirit would guide the church, but that the guidance must be understood in connection with the Word. Calvin appeals for the renewal of the old church. He mentions the doctrine, discipline, and the sacraments and also the forms of worship.[17]

Let me develop my understanding about the Church Order in the system of Calvin's theology later while studying specifically the ethical thoughts of the Church as the elements of the restriction at the reference of his political thought in the following parts.

4.2.2.2 The Theological Correlation and Affiliation between Calvin and Luther

My theme here refers to the theological ethics of the Reformation by studying the ethical principles of Luther and Calvin, because the relationships among the different elements such the church-state, the believ-

16 Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, tome 4: *Calvin et l'Institution chrétienne*, Paris: Hachette, 1935, p. 100.

17 Cf. Wulfert de Greef, "Calvin's Writings," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 46.

ers-one believers, the man-God, the church-society, the law-gospel etc. are defined by certain norms which include the ethical norms at least. I want to research the ecclesial ethical norms shaped in the Reformation as the tradition of Protestantism from the legacy of John Calvin and from Luther.

However, as the most representative reformer of the second generation, Calvin developed his special ideas from the fundament of Martin Luther. Therefore, it is very helpful if we could make clear their different emphasis, which could reflect their thinking of the problems of each time in order that we could understand their historicity.

Luther stressed the Incarnation of God, and Calvin emphasized Christ to descend upon the secular world. Luther claimed that the individual sin remitted by the faith, and Calvin worked on the responsibility and the duty of the whole Church to show the power, the omnipotence, and the glory of God. "Luther also had thus distinguished between the hidden and the revealed God, but in the end Luther held to the revealed God of the New Testament, and gave up speculation. Calvin retained it, and in so doing he transformed the whole idea of God."[18] So in the dogma of Protestantism, the theology of Luther which was characterized by the theology of the Redemption from the justification by faith, and Calvin's theology by "theology of Creation" was taken from the doctrine of the Creation. These theological approaches in the view of theological research guided my understandings of the studies and research by which we can clearly understand different accesses to interpret the theological traditions of Protestantism.[19] Essentially, it was based on Luther's theological position that Calvin continued the goal of the Reformation by stressing the task and the necessity of constructing the Church as an urgent challenge at the time. For Luther and Melanchthon, the Law was placed over the Gospel according to the order of the Prophet-Christ from the Old Testament to the New Testament and between God and Humanity, and also, the confession before the confirmation; to Calvin, who faced the task of building the Church, the Gospel was prime over the

18 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 583.

19 Guenther H. Haas, "Calvin's Ethics," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 93.

Law, firstly the faith, and then the confession. On a formal level, it seemed that Calvin reversed the order of Luther; namely, the Gospel preceded the Law and the faith before the confession.

Actually, Calvin's concern was to construct quickly the strong institutional church in order to guarantee the Reformation.

> Election in the Old Testament: The election of Abraham must be integrated with the storyline of the scripture […] Since God elected a people in choosing the patriarchs, we often read that Yahweh has chosen Israel to be his own (e.g. Ps. 33:12; 135:4) […] Election in the NT: But at the beginning of the NT period, the promises of salvation given to Israel had not yet been fulfilled. The gospels emphasize, however, that Jesus of Nazareth is the man whom God has chosen as his Messiah. He is the true son of Abraham and the true son of David (Matt. 1:1), the fulfillment of the promises made to Abraham and David […] This idea that the church is God's new people is confirmed by Paul. He speaks of the church as elect (Rom. 8:33; Col. 3:12; 2 Tim. 2:10; Titus 1:1), called (e.g. Rom. 1:6–7; 8:28, 30; 9:7, 12, 24–26; 1 Cor. 1:2, 9, 24; Gal. 1:6; 5:8; 1 Thess. 5:24; 2 Thess. 2:14; 1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 1:19), chosen (1 Cor. 1:27–28; Eph. 1:4) and beloved (Rom. 1:7, 9:25; Col. 3:12; 1 Thess. 1:4; 2 Thess. 2:13). Designations which belonged to Israel are now applied to the church of Christ.[20]

Both Luther and Calvin stressed the proclamation of the Gospel as the primal task of the church. In Calvin's vision, on the doctrine of the soteriology, the church was built for the gospel of the Lord in the secular world, which was the order under the providence of God, by the law and moral rules. Therefore, the church as the institutional organization in the secular order must be used as the special requirements surrounding the Gospel.[21]

Their differences appeared also in the domain of the liturgy and the worship. Luther tried his best to keep at maximum the liturgical tradition of the medieval Catholic Church and it was continued by the Romans. In many Lutheran churches, there are more or less the medieval worship traces in liturgy such as the music, the altar and the formal elements. In north European countries with the Lutheran church as the state church, the medieval catholic tradition nearly remains the same today including

20 Thomas R. Schreiner, in: *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, ed. by T. D. Alexander et al., Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2000, pp. 450–452.

21 John Tonkin, *The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought*, New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 116.

the interpretation of the Eucharist and of the ministry. Luther's principle of Adiaphora had the church keeping the traditional legacy of the Medieval Catholic liturgy. However, Calvin devoted himself to set up the Reformed Church to be very different from the Roman Catholic Church in terms of the ecclesiology. Based strictly on the principle of the Reformation by Luther, Sola Scripture, Calvin seriously claimed that all the liturgical order and the worship must fit according to the Bible. The entire traditional liturgy with the royal style of the authority of the Roman Curia was abolished in the Reformed Church, especially the Mass. He put the predication in the center of the worship instead of the sacrifice and other rites of the worship. Luther himself wrote so many hymns but Calvin preferred the psalms for singing the glory of God and thanksgiving of the congregation. In 1542, Calvin published the rule of liturgy of the worship: "*La forme des prières et chants ecclésiastiques*", and defined the three elements as the fundamental factors of the liturgy in worship of the church: the predication, the prayer (including singing the psalms) and the sacraments.[22] Actually, different forms in the liturgical level are true characteristic for different denominational churches of Protestantism, which started from the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church. This difference made Protestantism very diverse and multiple in the ecclesiastical institution and polity in latter centuries until today over the world.[23]

In the aspect of the relationship of state-church, Calvin developed a different approach from the tradition of Luther because of the special background and the situation of the reform in Geneva. Luther well used the supports and political forces of the princes for launching the reformation originally. The doctrine of Two-Kingdoms had made Luther at the doctrinal level reasonable to set up the Lutheran model of the church-state relationship, which was very positive for the development in the coming centuries until the Second World War. The secular order was kept in the legal extent according to Luther's political ethics, and then the authority of the state must be respected because the legal order was

22 Wulfert de Greef, "Calvin's Writings," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 52.

23 Robert M. Kingdon, "Calvin and Geneva," in: *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. by R. P. Hsia, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, p. 113.

very necessary for the church to preach the Gospel of Christ. Luther had accused any kind of disorder and freedom without restriction.

The Lutheran Church permitted the authority of the state in the affairs of the administration of the church. It was with the name of the Territory Church model.[24] The ethical structure of the Lutheran Church based on doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms of Luther. In this sense, the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms functions as the ethical pillar of the church in the Lutheran tradition.

The system of the Reformed Church by Calvin applied a different approach to deal with the relationship of state-church. At the starting period of the reformation in Geneva, he presented the ecclesiastical ordinances and disciplines to the authorities, who used the polity of the republic, which differed from the monarchy polity of Germany, for permission to be used in the church. The facts showed the model of the Reformed Church in Geneva. The remarkable point is that Calvin defined very clearly the right of the Church and the extent of the church disciplines in the legal frame in which the authority of the government must also obey the law.

The church-state relationship in Calvin's time was very special, because the political polity of the government of Geneva was the republic by the law of the citizen, the reformation of Geneva started up Protestantism through the ecclesiastical way in the city of the law and by the law. However, the correlation of citizenship and the calling of the Christians well became the special basis of the Church in Geneva. The ethical meanings were very constructive for the latter development of Protestantism.

24 The Territory Church system means that the princes were the top leaders of the churches of their states in the legal sense as the role of bishop. This system continued until 1918. The Territory Church was the State Church; in this case, the administration of the Church must obey the law of the authorities of the State. After the end of the monarch system of Germany, the churches got rid of the administration of the State, and assembly by the form of the federation under the surveillance of the synodic democracy as the form of the Reformed Church in Switzerland. The national organization of the Lutheran churches is the EKD. In terms of the institutional structure, the instrumental form of the EKD is the federal form with the modern principles of the democracy.

Calvin spent so much time in the ecclesiastical disciplines through the institutional methods in order to assure the autonomy of the church vis-à-vis the authority of the state. Nevertheless, Calvin carefully avoided the theocracy of Protestantism as the Roman Catholic system before the Reformation, which used the Canonical Law to run the secular affairs and control the affairs of states in Europe for about a thousand years.[25] He distinguished the constitution of the church and the law of the state by trusting in the principle of justice as the essence of the State was in origin from God. However, he never mixed two swords together according to the principle of Two-Kingdoms of Luther. He defined the right of the authorities of the church only as to the Holy Communion and the punishment of excommunication. The other crimes of the congregations must be judged in the secular courts by the law of the state.

I will try to dig out the ethical meanings from the ecclesiastical design of John Calvin in the reform of Geneva. Calvin's model is very useful and sound to the democratic country with the government of law grounded in civil society. In this social and political context, the role of the church is very positive for society, which protested the freedom of conscience and the individual spirituality. On the ethical level, this kind of society is very helpful for developing the Church because the ethical norms by the church correspond with the responsibility of the citizens and the ideal of Human Rights in the legal extent.[26]

25 Calvin never appraised the theocracy polity for the Reformed Church in Geneva. If Geneva had not become finally the New Jerusalem of the Protestantism, the cause must be that the so-called total control of the city under the power of Calvin was only the exaggerated impressions. If the theocracy in the public impression means that the church controls the state absolutely, the situation of the relationship of the church-state in Calvin's time was exactly contrary to this impression, that is to say, the true history is that the state of Geneva essentially and legally ran and controlled the affairs of the church regarding the secular affairs as to the citizens of the republic. Cf. Bernard Cottret, *Histoire de la Réforme protestante, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Paris: Perrin, 2001, p. 153.

26 "In short, the connections historians once saw as evidence of an affinity between Calvinism and representative or limited government now appear to be either the product of contingent historical circumstances or simply unnecessary to account for the evolution of the basic features of modern political arrangements in the West." Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, A Social History of Calvinism*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 537.

We can recognize this point from the history of the West since the influence of Calvinism in Switzerland, Netherlands, Scotland and the New Continent. Under the influence of Calvin's thought, individual freedom through the ecclesiastical approach led to the establishment of modern civil society, and modern democratic states, and open society with the morality and freedom of speech etc. Although some radical Calvinists as were the Puritans in the North America during the 17–19th century were such serious moralists, the influence of Calvinism proved to be very positive and constructive to modern civilization of the West.

There are differences in the interpretation of Holy Communion among Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin. All of these three reformers agreed with the Bible as the standard of the sacraments against the doctrine of the sacrament of Roman Catholic Church, which continued the tradition of the sacraments by the Medieval Catholic Church. Two sacraments instead of the seven are common for them, but the understandings of the Eucharist were very diverse among them, which led to different denominational characters of the church later on.[27] "The view of the Eucharist of Calvin is much more radical than in Luther's view."[28] Luther persisted in recognizing the doctrine of the Eucharist from the patristic tradition, i.e. that the Lutheran church holds that within the Eucharist the body and the blood of Christ are really present "in, with and under the forms" of the bread and the wine.[29]

However, there is still the literal difference between Luther's position and the Catholic position who takes the doctrine of Eucharist by transubstantiation, and Luther's definition which was known as the doctrine of the sacramental union and often by the terms of consubstantiation. As to Zwingli's position, he used the symbolic interpretation about the essence of the Holy Communion instead of the Eucharist. No real

27 Lee P. Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation, Incarnation and Liturgy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 109–113.

28 George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 151.

29 Cf. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. by T. G. Tappert and J. Pelikan, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959.

presence of Christ in Holy Communion was his definition of Holy Communion, which was just for the memory of the Passion of Christ.[30]

Moreover, his successor of the Reform in Zurich, Bullinger, accepted the position of John Calvin in Geneva. Calvin's interpretation is so-called the real and spiritual presence or the pneumatic presence in the Bread and the Wine. The elements of the Holy Communion are the external symbols of the reality, which is spiritual nourishment in Christ.[31] In Calvin's words,

> The sum is that the flesh and blood of Christ feeds our souls just as bread and wine maintain and support our corporeal life. For there would be no aptitude in the sign, did not our souls find their nourishment in Christ […] I hold that the sacred mystery of the Supper consists of two things – the corporeal signs, which, presented to the eye, represent invisible things in a manner adapted to our weak capacity, and the spiritual truth, which is at once figured and exhibited by the signs.[32]

Finally, in the dogmatic system, the stressing point of Luther's theology is the Salvation of Man through faith and not by work. The whole of ethical theology and the dogmatic theology of Lutheranism are based on this centre. Thus, the doctrine of Justification by faith resulted in the doctrine of Salvation, and then finally around the Christ of the Cross on which Luther had formed the system of theology in the name "Theology of the Cross".[33] Calvin's time was different from Luther's time and the tasks of the two great figures had the same aim for the Reformation. However, the actual situations were different for them. The central concern of Calvin's reform in Geneva was the "Omnipotence of God and the Glory of the Lord". The doctrinal system of Calvin illustrated the task of the Church in the secular order through the series of the doctrines such as

30 Jaques Courvoisier, *Zwingli, théologien réformé*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1965, pp. 68–69.

31 Reinhold Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. 4, Tl. 2: *Die Fortbildung der reformatorischen Lehre und die gegenreformatorische Lehre*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1920, pp. 605ff.

32 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (IV, 17, 10–11), ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960, p. 1370.

33 The term of the "Theology of Cross" originated in 1518 from Martin Luther's works in the series of statements prepared for the Heidelberg disputation. Cf. *Theses 19, 20, and 21*, in: *LW*, vol. 31, pp. 52–53.

the Providence, the Grace, the double predestination, the visible church, the disciplines of Church, and the Church ordinances, the threefold uses of the law, and the right of the Christian resistance etc. The relationships between God and man, between the Christians and the temporal world, between the church and the state, man and the Church etc. and were defined by the special norms in Calvin's theological system. All his interpretation aimed at the ultimate goal, which is to show the omnipotence, the omniscience of God. "Reformed theology is also unified by a vision of the human community under the authority of God […] Zwingli and Calvin were united, at least intentionally, in the sense that all society is under God's authority and should reflect God's glory."[34]

4.2.2.3 Conclusion

In the ethical perspective, there are so many similar points in the systems of Luther and of Calvin. Luther claimed the doctrine of Christ should become the fundament of the Church, and Calvin continued this principle of Luther in his practice of the reform in Geneva and his theology thinking.

> Like Luther, Calvin makes Christology the basis of his understanding of the Church, though he does so in a very different way. For Luther, as we noted, the Church's basis lies in the dynamic and personal relationship between God and man created by the Word and answered by faith – for Calvin, it is most adequately comprehended under the image of union with Christ.[35]

The administration of the Church needed the institutional mechanism to guarantee the proclamation of the Gospel and to correct the error by the democratic principle. The synodic system therefore became the common basis of the Protestant Church in the Lutheran Church from the Presbyterian Church, which originated from the ecclesiastical creation of Calvin in Geneva. The moral duty and responsibility of church leaders were placed under the institutional surveillance in the church. The offices of ministers and of laypersons interpreted with the accord of the ecclesiasti-

34 John H. Leith, "Theology, Reformed," in: D. K. McKim (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 369.

35 John Tonkin, *The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought*, New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 102.

cal aim. The autonomy of the proclamation of the Gospel by the church assured relationship with the political authorities. The duty of the Church in the social service and the public affairs was the inner identity of the Church in terms of the diaconal office from Christ.

Under the leadership of John Calvin, the Reformed Church had engaged in many social aspects in Geneva, and then widely influenced the European countries and North America and Asian countries through missionaries in the following centuries, through their engagements in higher education, aid to the refugees, hospital services, research of natural science, commercial activities and jurisdiction of the justice, and the international order of rationality, etc. All these engagements have shaped the ethical norms for the social, political, commercial and international orders.

4.2.3 Interpretations and the Controversies

It is necessary to note that in the Reformation Luther and Calvin insisted on the doctrinal orthodox of the Patristic legacy and accepted at the level of the basic dogma, all the doctrines of the first four ecumenical councils under the leadership of the Roman Curia. They also accepted as the fundamental dogma of the church the three creeds, especially the Apostles' Creed and the Nicaea Creed, for Protestantism and the basic doctrines of the ecclesiastical confessions. Therefore, in this sense, the catholicity and universality could define the doctrinal identity of the Protestant Church in the vision of Luther and Calvin. The relationship between the patristic tradition and the Reformation was affiliated by the dogma and the declared doctrines were promulgated through their works and initiatives of the church. That was the reason why the Roman Papacy failed to put off the growth of the Protestant movement over the world since the 16th century.

However, we must recognize that the weakness of Protestantism is always the ecclesiastical institution in terms of the unity of the church, the first point of the ecclesial dogma in the Creed of Nicaea, namely, the diverse denominations and the individual styles of the gatherings around the top leader without any disciplines of the church. The relativism of the doctrines, multiples and the syncretism of the theological explications from the ecclesial aim, etc. were very popular and frequent in the world

of Protestantism, although at the same time, the gospel was proclaimed more and more throughout the world since the Reformation until now. Historically, the controversies and conflicts around the doctrines and the interpretations of the dogma began along with the Reformation, and consequently there was a process of appearances of different denominational churches and groups inside Protestantism. Here was the reformed tradition of Calvin and the arguments around the doctrine of Predestination and Arminianism are so far the most remarkable to comprehend while mentioning John Calvin and the Reformed Church in general. As to my ethical theme, it is also necessary to add brief comments about these two things, because the misunderstandings about Calvin which was caused mainly by these two matters, not only in the circle of the intellectuals, but also to many Protestant persons.

4.2.3.1 The Doctrine of Predestination

As to the most controversial doctrine of Predestination in the doctrinal system, Calvin continued with the position Luther took from the tradition of St. Augustine and directly traced back to St. Paul as the resource of the dogma.[36] However, because the central point of the Reformation in Luther's system developed around the justification on basis of soteriology, Luther claimed that the divine grace never relied on the works of man, as salvation from the Lord, only by faith no matter whether through the institutional church or through the individual confession (*Sola gratia*). In this way, the doctrine of predestination in Luther's theological

36 Ernst Troeltsch commented, "The first distinctive feature of Calvinism, and the most important one, is the idea of predestination, the famous central doctrine of Calvinism. It is the expression – gradually formulated and finally strongly emphasized – of Calvin's peculiar idea of God. In this matter also Calvin is the disciple of Luther, and the doctrine of predestination is primarily only the logical and systematic emphasis upon the main aspect of Lutheran doctrine, which is also a central point in Pauline doctrine, and which, in his strict obedience to the Bible, he regarded as a directly obligatory article of faith. It constitutes that particular element in Lutheran doctrine by which the purity of the Reformed Faith was protected against any admixture with the alloy of human ideas and opinions." Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 581.

system had not caused arguments and the ecclesiastical conflicts in history of Protestantism.

For instance, the arguments about the freedom of the will between Luther and Erasmus had not caused the conflicts inside the reformers and the churches between the Catholics and the Protestants in the ecclesiastical sense. As to the case of Calvin, although he never put the doctrine of Predestination in the most central place of his theological system, the controversies and the arguments around this doctrine had evolved into scholastic arguments and the ecclesiastical conflicts with national and political influence in the Netherlands. One of the causes was huge influences of Calvin's reform and ecclesiastical design with the strong and profound theological thought through his followers. The Calvinists formed a powerful spiritual and sociopolitical attack on the existing order in Europe after Martin Luther.[37] Of course, it is very general for the confirmation of the doctrines in the history of the Church especially the patristic period. Many doctrines mentioned by the Church Fathers always passed the serious and cruel ethical discussions, ontological arguments and ecclesiastical conflicts to some extent, and then accepted by the councils of the Church as the criteria of faith for the universal church.

Here I need to study the real essence of the controversy around the doctrine of the double Predestination, and try to trace the original meaning and give a reflection on the ecclesiastical ethical level.

At the edition of 1536 of *Institutes*, Calvin explained the doctrine of the predestination as one of the parts of the doctrine of Providence. It was a very famous doctrine of Providence which occupied an important place in Calvin's theology. This doctrine showed the close connection between the Grace of God and His plan of the Creation in history and gave great encouragement and conviction to humanity to live and to face the calling from the Lord in the temporary world. Later along the goal of the reformation from Geneva it quickly and successfully expanded over countries in Europe. His thought also continuously deepened and developed. Thus, in the edition of 1559 of Institution book three, Calvin used

37 Cf. Alister E. McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 69–78.

the four chapters about the doctrine of Predestination based on the doctrine of the Redemption of Christ.

First, he said: "Eternal election, by which God has predestined some to salvation, others to destination."[38] Calvin claimed that the Gospel preached to all people, but the fact is that not all will accept the Gospel, and not all who hear the Gospel will convert to the faith. The doctrine of Predestination is to confirm the doctrine of Grace (*Sola gratia*). The starting point of Calvin is to think of the different problems to the Church from the view of the doctrine of Grace. Calvin explained the utility of the doctrine of Predestination by this reason, namely, this doctrine could convince us to rely only on the grace of God toward final salvation, so we must always be humble before God because we can do nothing for salvation without the grace of the Lord. He said:

> We call predestination God's eternal decree, by which he compacted with himself what he willed to become of each man. For all are not created in equal condition; rather, eternal life is foreordained for some, eternal damnation for others. Therefore, as any man has been created to one or the other of these ends, we speak of him as predestined to life or to death.[39]

According to the definition of Calvin, he divided the elected people by God into three forms in the history of salvation:

1) a) To elect the Israeli nation from all the nations, b) to elect a part of the people from the nation of Israel into eternal life and the rest into the eternal repudiation;
2) After the new alliance with humankind through Christ on the Cross, God finally predestined special persons as the elected people to take the calling and to be blessed into eternal life;
3) And at the same time, predestined some persons to be punished into eternal repudiation.

After this clarification and the interpretation, he stressed that the predestination of special persons to take the great commission of God, rely on

38 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (III, XXI), ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960, p. 920.

39 Ibid. III, XXI, 5.

the infinite mercy of God and not on the individual merits or works. Persons predestined into the eternal death are judged by God by the principle of justice relative to their sin and crime.[40] Calvin had used much evidence from the Scripture to prove and interpret the election and the repudiation of the Lord. This is the brief description of the doctrine of double Predestination of John Calvin.

The controversies naturally appeared here, that is why God predestined a group of special persons from humanity to take on the vocation. What kind of relationship is between special elected persons and the whole of humanity while we preached the Gospel of salvation according to the last order of Christ? Is the proclamation of the gospel to the universal people, or just only to the predestined and selected people? Calvin denied the wonder regarding the logical conflict between the universal Gospel and the selection of particular persons in the providence of the Creator. He said:

> Some object that God would be contrary to himself if he should universally invite all men to him but admit only a few as elect. Thus, in their view, the universality of the promises removes the distinction of special grace; and some moderate men speaks thus, not so much to stifle the truth as to bar thorny questions, and to bridle the curiosity of many […] Let this suffice for the present: although the voice of the gospel addresses all in general, yet the gift of faith is rare.[41]

That is why we can see very often that moral and just persons work very hard for the gospel and the truth of Christ no matter what difficulties lay before them, and at the same moment, there are evil persons who live with us but with immoral ideas and criminal behavior against the law and cheating moral people.

In the early period of the Reformed Church, what Calvin thought essentially was relative to the Church itself. Curia Romana used the weapon of doctrines as the criteria for faith regarding the orthodox and heresy against the Reformation. It was composed of the menaces of the secular state in charge of the order of the justice and security at the time. The social and political background made Calvin more prudent to strengthen themselves by the spiritual forces from the tradition of the

40 Ibid. III, XXI.
41 Ibid. III, XXII, 10.

patristic fathers. We could make clear the three preconditions used by Calvin for the goal of the reform in Geneva and for history:

a) to stress the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Reformation as for dealing with the relationship of the Medieval Catholic Church in order to respond to the challenges from the Roman Catholic Church;[42]
b) to show that ethical purity is for assuring the moral rules and ethical norms of Protestantism differing from the Catholic ethical norms regarding the secular order, temporary ethics and the socio-political existence;
c) to use the legitimacy and the restriction of the law related to Church disciplines is for presenting the spirit of engagement of Protestantism in the socio-political order and for establishing the normal relationship between the church and the state.

Consequently, the meaning of the double Predestination can be discovered by the inner ethical significance of the structures of the Church. I will explore this theme in the following chapters. Obviously, under the doctrine of double predestination, the first precondition denied the authority of Curia Romana by the authority of the Scripture (*Sola Scriptura*), and took the Providence as the basis of ethical norms and moral rules of Christians in temporary life. Then the election and the repudiation as the two fundamental forms of the divine decision of humankind shaped the doctrinal platform for the Reformed Church. Thus, the doctrine of Predestination functioned as the ecclesiastical element in the Reformed Church. Many misunderstandings and accusations about pre-

42 For further study the patristic tradition inherited by Calvin through his theological thought, especially the legacy of St. Augustine, I'd like to take the references from the following works: Richard A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; Heiko A. Oberman, *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986; *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism*, 3rd ed., Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Akademic, 2000; David C. Steinmetz, *Calvin in Context*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

destination occurred often outside the Reformed Church and the theological system of John Calvin.[43]

We should note that many arguments and conflicts surrounding the doctrine of Predestination have no starting point. I myself will try to choose one access to interpret it from the ecclesiastical level with the aim to find out the meaning for the future of the Church in China.[44]

Finally, there are three points regarding the arguments of the doctrine of Predestination by Pierre Bühler.[45] Quickly along the process of

43 Pierre Maury, *La Prédestination, Préface de Karl Barth*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1957, p. 11.

44 I prefer here the comments of T. F. Torance as the preunderstanding of the doctrine of Predestination in Calvin's system. He said, "Predestination does not mean that there is a predetermined pattern which can be read off the structure of the Church on earth, but that the whole of the history of the Church line natire is contingent on the will of God, and that while the pattern is discernible in principle, as it were, in Christ, in the Word of the Gospel, it remains essentially a *mysterium* and cannot be known in advance, but only from the final end, by apocalyptic manifestation at the advent of Christ. Until then the history of the Church is essentially ambiguous, for the perfect face of the new creation, while partially disclosed in the Church, does not yet fully appear. That election always wears a double aspect in history is the answer of the Reformation to the Copernican striving after only an earthly end. There is an earthly future and an earthly consummation, but because the heavenly end in election has moved into time and travels through time, the meaning of history is fulfilled against itself, against its secular interpretation, and even, it may be, against its ecclesiastical trends. It is only by faith that we may discern the signs of the times, the faith which has discerned the perfect pattern of the Kingdom in Jesus Christ, 'the mirror of election', as Calvin called Him, and may therefore penetrate behind the outward façade of history to discern the face of the new creation that is about to be revealed." Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 5.

45 "a. éternité et temporalité. Pour Calvin, la prédestination relève d'un décret éternel fixé d'avance et qui fait que les humains sont déjà créés selon leur destination ultérieure. Cet aspect éternel, transposant la question hors de la temporalité concrète de la relation entre Dieu et les humains, tend à transformer la doctrine de la prédestination en un déterminisme. Le problème du péché ne risque alors d'intervenir qu'à titre secondaire dans la question du salut et la perdition. C'est pourquoi la question est débattue de savoir si la prédestination peut être de statut 'supralapsaire', déjà décidée avant le péché, ou si elle doit être de statut 'infralapsaire', engage après le péché seulement; b. la double prédestination. Dans les formulations de Calvin se prépare ce qu'on appellera la doctrine de la *gemina praedestinatio*, de la double prédestination: élection des uns par miséricorde et réprobation des autres par justi-

the reformation and the expanding influence of Calvin in European countries including Germany, the arguments and the conflicts about the doctrines appeared and flashed among the Protestant denominations.[46] The most historic arguments came from the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. That was the controversy of Arminius. It is very helpful to know a little about the controversy of Arminius for further study of the ethical thought of Calvin later on.

4.2.3.2 The Controversy about Arminianism: the Appearance of Calvinism

Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), educated by Théodore de Bèze, was the professor of Reformed theology. He refused the doctrine of Predestination of Calvin by denying that man lost the freedom of will after creation by God and God has already predestined life. He insisted that the human has total freedom, which given by the Grace of God, is to accept and refuse the grace from God. Obviously, his position equaled the position of Erasmus, the "prince of humanism". At that time, the Reformed Church was strongly expanding over Europe with powerful spiritual forces. Moreover, the institutional authority of the Church established the doctrinal system and strict disciplines, so the arguments quickly fired between the two sides. Each side had many outstanding people who came from the same Reformed Church of the Netherlands.

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ce. Mais y a-t-il ici un parallélisme strict entre ces deux actes de Dieu qui consistent à destiner les uns au salut, à la vie, et les autres à la perdition, à la mort? Y a-t-il même à la proprement parler deux actes distincts? Pourquoi Dieu repartirait-il ainsi en deux groupes cette humanité qu'il a lui-même créée? c. quel Dieu? Comme la dernière question le suggère, l'enjeu décisif est celui de la conception de Dieu lui-même. Comment comprendre Dieu, s'il est celui de la double prédestination? Plus précisément, ce point se décide dans l'articulation entre la miséricorde par laquelle il élit les uns et la justice par laquelle il reprouve les autres. Les deux dimensions peuvent-elles être unies dans une synthèse convaincante?" Pierre Bühler, *Prédestination et Providence*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2001, p. 18.

46 "Anglicanism's reinstatement of man's freedom, the rejection of double predestination, the moderation by the High Church party of the Spartan diet of sermons and psalms, the return to a more sacramental, 'mysterious' religion, to ceremony and color perhaps had a deeper appeal to popular religious instincts than did the ways of Geneva." John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 187.

The arguments were very ecclesiastical and political regarding the authorities and the international relationships among the newborn national powers, such as England, Dutch, France and Spain. During November of 1618 to May of 1619, the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church convened for judging the controversy of Arminius by the official decision of the Church. It was the Synod of Dordrecht.[47] Arminianism was judged as a heretic. They declared officially the "Infralapsarian" as the orthodox doctrine; the most important representatives of Arminianism, one was the Premier of Dutch, Jan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619) was executed by reason of "high treason", and another was the Judge, famous thinker and jurist, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), was put into jail; about 200 pastors had their ministry removed. All of them were called Remonstrants, who insisted on the confessions and judgments of the Synod of Dordrecht who were against the Scriptures, and the Arminianism, which denied the doctrine of Predestination of Calvin, which accorded the truth of the Cross.[48]

In all Europe, the huge influence of the Reformed Church by Calvin made any controversy about his theological thought very delicate and well-known of all the aspects. Each different interpretation of the controversy must bring multiple understandings and ambiguities in the hermeneutical sense. Since the Reformation began with the denying the absolute authority of the Roman Papacy over Europe for a thousand years, that destined Protestantism into the state in which controversies, denominational conflicts and the weakness of the ecclesiastical authority for all the denominational churches in unity by the doctrines. This consequence remains even today. However, the main denominational churches such as the Lutheran Church, the Reformed-Presbyterian Church, the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, and the Baptist Church, etc. quickly entered into the stage of the ecclesiastical construction for proper identity through strict doctrines and serious ecclesiastical rules and moral norms, etc. The relationship among society, church, state

47 Howard B. Spaan, *Christian Reformation Church Government*, Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1968, p. 208.

48 Frédéric Lichtenberger (ed.), *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, tome 1, Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1877, pp. 599–605.

and history, etc. required the doctrinal and ethical criteria and rules in terms of the controversy of Arminianism.

The opposers of the doctrine of Predestination mainly came into Protestantism later. For instance, the most famous missionary figure in the 18th century with huge influence even today, John Wesley (1703–1791), accepted the principles of Arminianism against the doctrine of Predestination of Calvin. Moreover, there are other Protestant churches with the special identity in accordance with Arminianism, such as Pentecostals, Holiness denominations, Charismatic, the Third Wave Charismatic, and the General Baptists.[49] The followers who stand together with the Calvinists of the Netherlands to accept the Confession of Dort against the Arminianism are the Reformed Church, Presbyterian Church, Puritans, Primitive Baptists, and the Particular Baptists, etc. Inside the American Evangelicals, there are both opposite members, which hold opposite positions. As to the Lutheran Church, Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church world widely have not involved into the controversy and the conflicts about the doctrine of Predestination.

4.2.3.3 Calvinism: the Historical Influences of John Calvin

4.2.3.3.1 The Fundamental Background

The historicity of John Calvin lies at the spiritual strength was raised from the Reformed Church according to his theological thought and ecclesiastical design and had such tremendous influence on the sociopolitical aspects of Europe. The followers called Calvinists, due to their common position, originated from the thoughts and the practices of Calvin.[50] During the time of Calvin, he refused this term. In 1563 just before his death, he edited the achieved works of Exegesis of Jeremiah in Latin, and noted about this term of Calvinism.[51] However, the term of Calvin-

49 Bernard Cottret, *Histoire de la Réforme protestante, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, XVI*e*–XVIII*e *siècles*, Paris: Perrin, 2001, pp. 227–266.

50 It was in 1552 a Lutheran pastor in Hamburg named Joachim Westphal who firstly used the Calvinist with the negative meaning to accuse Calvin's interpretation about the Eucharist. Cf. Marc Venard et al. (eds), *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, 14 vols, VIII, Paris: Desclée, 1992, p. 56.

51 "Ils ne trouvent nul outrage plus grand pour s'attacher à nous que ce mot de calvinisme, mais il n'est pas difficile de conjecture d'où procède une haine si mortelle

ism became the academic description of the doctrinal, ecclesial, ethical, socio-political forces based on the fundamental principles of John Calvin through his works, the biblical comments, the letters, and preaching texts, plus the goal of the reform in Geneva and influence over the world.[52]

To understand the theological principles of Calvinism, it is necessary to analyze his most important work "Institutes of Christian Religion" (*Institutio christianae religionis*), which supplied the basic doctrines to the Reformed Church from the background of the Reformation of Martin Luther in order to show the place of the Calvinism in history of Protestantism. Actually, not only from the legacy of St. Augustine, but also the principles of Martin Luther, both of them constituted the grand sources of spirituality and dogmas for Calvin's theological system.

> The six chapters of the first *Institutio christianae religionis*, printed in Basel in 1536, were loosely modeled on Luther's catechisms. Calvin was certainly inspired by them, and the distribution of topics in the first four chapters of *Institutio* corresponds to the sequence of the catechisms. Nonetheless, the French reformer's first major theological production differs from them to no small degree. While the scope of the Large Catechism makes it more comparable to Calvin's elaborate dissertation than the questions and answers of the Shorter Catechism, Calvin's work is quite different in tone, method, and structure.[53]

Calvin systematically studied the legacy of Luther, forced them into the practice of the reform in Geneva, and developed many ideas, which was ignored by Luther because of the limitation of time especially in the

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qu'ils ont contre moi." Bernard Cottret, *Calvin: Biographie*, Paris: Ed. Jean-Claude Lattès, 1995, p. 247.

52 "*Calvinism* is an even more problematic word than *society*. Like its parallels *Lutheran* and *Zwinglian, Calvinist* was originally a label attached to certain theological positions by opponents eager to stigmatize them as inventions of fallible individuals. The specific viewpoints so labeled have always varied. The word emerged in the mid-1550s in the context of no fewer than three debates in which Calvin was then engaged, one over the proper interpretation of the Eucharist, the second over the proper ceremonies of the liturgy, and the third over whether or not the secular authorities had the right to punish heresy." Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, A Social History of Calvinism*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. xxiii.

53 George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 116.

church order and the socio-political aspects. Josef Bohatec claimed that Calvin had gone beyond Luther in so many areas of the Reformation. The theological and ecclesiastical structures established by Calvin are much wider and more profound than Luther's design. Melanchthon was also absorbed by the reform of Calvin. Historically, Calvin guided the reformation in several countries, for instance, in France, Netherlands, Scotland, England and Hungary.[54] Surely, to study Calvinism, the works of Institution is always the first object for research and reflection because of its systematic interpretations of all the thoughts of John Calvin, which composed the biblical, doctrinal and spiritual basis of Calvinism.[55]

4.2.3.3.2 Faith and Order

Historically, the Synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619) marked the engagement of Calvinism into the European political and spiritual pattern. The Synod proclaimed the heresy of Arminianism for defending the orthodox place of Calvin's doctrine of Predestination. The first controversy around the doctrine of Calvin, the Synod, through the legal form to promulgate the doctrinal decision with ecclesiastical authority had the support of political authorities.[56] The significance was to confirm the legitimacy of Calvinism, which inherited the doctrinal system of St. Augustine and the principles of Martin Luther, in the political secular order. Therefore, Calvinism became the dominant mainstream of Protestantism in the world.[57] Calvin said:

54 Josef Bohatec, *Calvins Lehre von Staat und Kirche: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Organismusgedankens*, Breslau: Marcus, 1937, p. 653.

55 The famous French scholar, member of l'Institut, Imbart de la Tour claimed: "Le calvinisme est tout entire dans l'Institution Chrétien. Œuvre capitale, œuvre préférée de Calvin qui passa toute sa vie à la réviser, à la remanier, comme à l'enrichir. A elle se rattache tous ses autres écrits: commentaires, controverses, petits traites de dogmatique ou de morale, telles des redoutes avancées destinées à défendre contre l'ennemi le cœur de la place." Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, tome 4: *Calvin et l'Institution chrétienne*, Paris: Hachette, 1935, p. 55.

56 W. Robert Godfrey, "Calvin and Calvinism in the Netherlands," in: *John Calvin, His Influence in the Western World*, ed. by E. Stanford Reid, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1981, p. 109.

57 John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, London/New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 255–256.

> This is but a short and apparently jejune but in fact a complete definition of salvation, which we are to have faith in Christ. For Christ alone has all the parts of blessedness and eternal life included in Him, which He offers us by the Gospel. And by faith we receive them. Here let us know that Christ is the unique goal (*unicum scopum*) of faith, and therefore men's minds do nothing but wander when they turn away from Him.[58]

As T. F. Torrance commented, "Faith has its eyes which penetrate into the invisible Kingdom of God and keep Christ before them,[59]but faith involves more than the turning of our eyes on Christ; it involves union with Christ and incorporation into Him."[60]

There are several points as to the characteristics of Calvinism in the Faith and Order in the following: a) To use the doctrines and the principles of the Institution as the positions and the references for the Church and the theological activities, b) To stress the predication in public worship in the church, c) To sing the psalms as the hymns in the worship; to use baptism and Holy Communion as sacraments of the church by balancing the doctrine of Consubstantiation of Luther and the doctrine of the Symbol of Zwingli through insisting the spiritual real presence, namely, the doctrine of the Pneumatical presence and the doctrine of the external signs of St. Augustine, d) To set up the supreme authority of the Scripture over all kinds of authorities in the secular world which must be based on the fundament of the omnipotent justice of God, e) To highly emphasize the doctrines of the Transcendence and of the Ascension of Christ accorded to the Cross without the Crucifixion, and the liturgy of the sacrifice was simplified or cancelled nearly completely,[61] f) To deign

58 John Calvin, *Comm. on Acts* 16.31, C.R. 76, pp. 388f.

59 John Calvin, *Comm. on I Peter* 1.8, C.R. 83, p. 214: "*Habet quidem et fides oculos oculos suos, sed qui in regnum Dei invisibile penetrant* […] *sed Christum pro scopo habet.*"

60 Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 102.

61 Calvin claimed, "By His ascension into heaven the Lord has opened up access to the heavenly Kingdom which Adam has shut. For having entered it in our flesh, as it were in our name, it follows that we are in a manner now seated in the heavenly places, not entertaining a mere hope of heaven, but possessing it in our Head." (*ICR*, II. 16. 16; III. 25.1–4. Cf. *Comm. on Heb.* 6.19. "Faith by its very nature has to sketch out beyond itself, beyond the whole course of this life, to a future immortality." *ICR*, III. 2. 40.

the collegiality and the consistory to define and limit the power of the Church leaders and the ministers, which influenced deeply the Protestant Church Order in latter history, etc.[62]

Moreover, the pattern of the relationship of State-Church was also very original in the system of the Calvinists, from the model of reform in Geneva created directly by John Calvin. Namely, the connection between the ethical responsibility of the church and the political duty of the citizenship showed the position of Calvin for taking on the basic task and service for public society and state of law. That placed Calvinism beyond the general missionary group or the closed church only for the Gospel to the extent that to engage in the process of progress and was the development of Western civilization.[63]

In the social area, the Calvinists joined in the social welfare with the biblical and ethical interpretations and encouraged the believers to be the secular witness as the Calling from the Lord. With this approach, commercial activities and business were considered as special vocations to show the glory of the grace. Simplicity, labor, sobriety, and humbleness were taken as Christian merits and virtues in the sense of morality which shaped a very positive image of Protestantism in the modern world.[64]

4.2.3.3.3 The Five Doctrinal Points of Calvinism by the TULIP

To have a brief conclusion about the doctrines of Calvinism is to understand the significance of the Synod of Dort as the name *nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation);[65] we should give attention to the five doctrinal points of Predestination regarding directly the key part of Calvinism, which appeared several generations later, especially within the world of

62 Elsie A. McKee, "Calvin and his colleagues as pastors," in: *Calvinus Praeceptor Ecclesiae*, ed. by H. J. Selderhuis, Genève: Droz, 2004, p. 15.

63 Jeannine E. Olson, "Calvin and social-ethical issues," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 163–167.

64 André Biéler, *La pensée économique et sociale de Calvin*, Genève: Georg, 1961; *Calvin's Economic and Social Thought*, trans. J. Greig, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2005, pp. 122–144.

65 Carter Lindberg, *The Pietist Theologians*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, p. 3.

Anglo-American theology.[66] That is the TULIP with the name of the Dutch National Flower.[67]

(1) T:Total Depravity (or Total Inability);
(2) U: Unconditional Election;
(3) L: Limited Atonement (or Particular Redemption; or Definite Atonement);
(4) I: Irresistible Grace (or Efficacious Grace);
(5) P:Perseverance of the Saints (or Preservation of the Saints).[68]

We can recognize these five doctrinal points as the important secrets of the doctrine of Predestination and of Calvinism with interpretations of the responsibility of the Church in the temporary world. "The doctrine of predestination is by no means the central teaching of the *Institutio*,[69] but Calvin devoted four extensive chapters to it at the end of the third book,[70] and it is the characteristic expression of his interest in the sovereignty and the majesty of God."[71] Here we have found the principal trace of the mainstream of Calvinism. The Glory of God is sovereign with the omnipotence. Human beings since the fall tend naturally to depravity. There are two possibilities predestined by God in the Creation: some persons elected to do the great commission and blessed in the Last Day, and others reprobated to death. No matter what they did or didn't do, the Law of God through justification and sanctification to the extent of defining the

66 Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, A Social History of Calvinism*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. xxiii.
67 Donald Sinnema, "Synod of Dort," in: D. K. McKim (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 109.
68 John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 265.
69 For example, Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, vol. 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926, p. 167.
70 John Calvin, *ICR*, III, pp. 21–24.
71 Christoph Strohm, "Methodology in Discussion of 'Calvin and Calvinism'," in: *Calvinus Praeceptor Ecclesiae*, ed. by H. J. Selderhuis, Genève: Droz, 2004, p. 77.

norms of Christian life.[72] The authority of God through the Church must take the fundamental responsibility to embody the engagements of the believers.

4.2.3.4 Puritanism and the Historical Foundation of Modern Protestantism

4.2.3.4.1 Brief Introduction

Puritanism was radical Calvinism with the aim to purify the Church of England and the spiritual movement through the Congregationalist polity and ecclesiastical order in the dominant place of North America[73] at the historic background of the conflicts with the authorities of the Anglican Church (Church of England) through the political support of the state.[74] At the level of church order, the Anglican Church with the official name,

72 "What human beings know, sense, or do 'by nature' is therefore for Calvin a continual testimony to God's good creation. Even the fall and humanity's thoroughgoing sin cannot eradicate the witness, however imperfect and dim, of the creation to the Creator. This lost world is still God's world. Depraved human beings are still God's, for they are creatures created in the image of God. Calvin thus wishes to affirm the amazing patience, grace, and faithfulness of God when he speaks of nature and the natural in a positive sense. It is only by God's grace that humanity's sin and rebellion have not wreaked their full consequences. Had human beings been left to themselves, utter chaos would have been the result; no culture or civilization would have been possible." I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publ., 1992, p. 71.

73 "John Geree in a pamphlet entitled *The Character of an old English Puritan or Nonconformist*, printed in 1646, plainly holds that Puritanism belongs to England before 1640: The old English Puritan was such an one, that honored God above all, and under God gave every one his due […] he did not account set forms unlawful. Therefore in that circumstance of the Church he did not wholly reject the Liturgy, but the corruption of it […] He thought God had left a rule in his word for discipline, and that aristocratically by Elders, [i.e. Presbyters, or ministers?] not monarchically by Bishops, not democratically by the people […] Therefore he esteemed those churches most pure where the government is by Elders; [ministers?] yet unchurched not those where it was otherwise.' Reprinted in the *Church Quarterly Review*, CXLVII, London: 1949, pp. 65–71." Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants, 1500–1900*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990, p. 248.

74 Cf. John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, relating chiefly to religion and its reformation, under the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary*, 7 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1817.

"Church of England", belongs to Episcopalian model similar to the Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church by the threefold ministry as in the ministerial order (Bishop-Priest-Deacon). Influences from Martin Luther, Martin Bucer and John Calvin were very positive through the church order for Anglicanism and for the Anglican Fathers such as Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556).[75] Since the Anglican Church occupied the royal stature in the time of Queen Elisabeth I (1558–1603), corrupt phenomena appeared inside the Church.[76] At that time, young students, the elites and scholars of Cambridge University accepted the thoughts of John Calvin and Calvinism and wanted to radically reform the Church of England by purifying all the Catholic traces including the Episcopalian polity and finally separated the Church from the State.[77] Another group wanted to reform the abuses and errors of the Church of England without the radical and revolutionary purpose. They later became the Congregationalist, and then in North American evolved into the Baptist, the

75 The most significant figure of the Reformation in England was Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), who was the Archbishop of Canterbury during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He edited and compiled the first two *Books of Common Prayers* based on the scriptural and patristic scholarship, which set up the fundamental structure of the Anglican liturgy. A. G. Dickens defined him as a churchman who "had strong sympathies with the Lutherans." Cf. Arthur G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, London: Batsford, 1964, p. 328. "Luther's books were ordered to be destroyed by Pope Leo X's bull *Exsurge Domine* of 15 June 1520; consideration of such destruction had apparently been given in England a month before this. How long before mid-1520 Luther's views were known in England is uncertain; even less clear is it how far before 1520 those views had spread outside the range of a few travelers and their contacts, mostly in London and the universities. John Dorne was selling Luther's books with some success in Oxford in 1520." Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 473.

76 "The Anglicanism accommodated the royal supremacy without scruple; indeed, that was its keystone. It was less prone (or so it seemed) to clericalism than were the competing evangelisms which stood on either side of it. Above all, it would not challenge lay rectors and impropriations or raise the ghastly question of the ex-abbey lands and so on. Anglicanism locked the door on that spectre, and made things safe for prince and squire, for bishop and lay magistrate, for the possessing classed, for law and order." John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 186.

77 Emile-G. Léonard, *Histoire générale du Protestantisme*, vol. 2: *L'Etablissement (1564–1700)*, Paris: PUF, 1961, pp. 56–62.

United Church, the Church of Christ and the Methodist Church.[78] Persecuted by the authorities of the Church of England and of the government, they shipped out to North America by the Mayflower in 1620. Since then Puritanism became the resource of American spirituality and religious tradition.[79]

The most representative figure of the Puritan spirit in North America against the Church of England and the British colony was Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), who used Calvinism as the spiritual weapon to preach the Gospel in the fields and on the streets with a mass of followers. In the time of Grand Réveil (1740s), Calvinism dominated the religious and spiritual movement thoroughly.[80] Some historians considered that the Puritans originated from the radical Calvinist, who devoted themselves to transplant the model of the reform of Switzerland to England, for applying Church Order, church polity, moral rules, ecclesial norms and the principle of the separation between the church and the state on a legal frame.[81] Historically, they formed a special spiritual and religious disposition with the extreme orthodoxy of Calvinism.

78 John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603–1689*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998, p. 11.

79 Mario Miegge, "Puritanisme," in: *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, p. 1234.

80 Bernard Cottret, *Histoire de la Réforme protestante, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Paris: Perrin, 2001, p. 194.

81 "Again, it is usual to say that under the blanket of Puritanism most were Calvinists. It may be possible for those who never read through Calvin's *Institutio*, nor examine what in fact was the ecclesiastical constitution in Calvin's Geneva, to be content with this. Much could be said on this point including, for example, pointing out the curious consequences of assuming that Calvinism consisted almost exclusively of extreme views on total depravity and the eternal decrees of predestination; but the shortest comment is to state that the Puritans rightly so called rarely refer to Calvin and then selectively; the sectaries rarely, and then sometimes abusively; while those who cite Calvin more extensively and with approval are the Anglicans from Whitgift […] In any case the English 'Calvinist' divines placed their own not inconsiderable variations on either form of Genevan Calvinism." Cf. Basil Hall, "Calvin against the Calvinism," in: *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 20/3 (1962), pp. 284–301. Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants, 1500–1900*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990, p. 253.

4.2.3.4.2 The Basic Theological Doctrines

1) The starting point of the Puritans inherited from Calvinism is the idea of divine sovereignty. God is omnipotent to create and run the universe under divine providence; the individual freedom and the autonomy of the church from the authorities of Romana Curia could not lose vis-à-vis the totalitarian power of British Royalty. Congregations with special calling of the Lord must gather as the communion of the Grace to show the supreme glory of God in the temporary world;[82]
2) To insist on the doctrine of double Predestination of Calvinism and assure that the elected believers with the divine Calling must engage in the actual behaviors is the way to show the vocation and the grace from the Lord; thus they vowed to take the perseverance while facing the power of the secular order by spiritual independence;
3) To stress the individual conversion toward the divinity and engage in the personal spiritual pilgrim of social life with Christian moral disciplines (The ideal description was shown by John Bunyan in his Pilgrim's Progress, 1678);[83]
4) To promote the spirit of the team by the Saints in the communion on the basis of the individual conversion, and to show by the visible institution of the Church the alliance with God in order to encounter the actual State Church and the political authorities;[84]
5) As to the position of relationships of the state and church, and of the congregations in the church, and of the churches to each other, the Puritans pushed to establish the relationship of the "covenant".[85]

In addition, I would like to do the interpretation in detail about the doctrine of the Covenant in the tradition of the Calvinists, which was used strongly by the Puritans in the process of shaping the socio-political

82 Gordon S. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion, Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety*, London: Epworth, 1957, p. 33.

83 Goeffrey F. Nuttall, *Studies in English Dissent*, Weston Rhyn: Quinta Press, 2002, p. 76.

84 Stephen Brachlow, *The Communion of Saints: Radical Puritan and Separatist Ecclesiology, 1570–1625*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 25–32.

85 The most concise introduction of the theology of Covenant is written by Kenneth Hagen, "From Testament to the Covenant in the Early Sixteenth Century," in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 3/1 (1972), pp. 1–24.

mentality of the United States. The principle of separation between the state and the church in the United States Constitution originated from the principle of the "Covenant" of the Puritans. On the other hand, it meant that the citizens and congregations establish the relationship in the frame of the legal covenant or contract in the definition of Jean-Jacques Rousseau later in the 18th century. Historically, this idea of the Covenant in Calvinism was first initiated by Zwingli and later Bullinger with the term of Federal Theology and then later on was included into the tradition of Calvinism later.[86]

> Puritans referred far more frequently than did Calvin to covenant themes, but the doctrine of faith and works in their theology was similar to Calvin's views. The emphasis on human agency in the contractarian idiom of covenant theology was severely qualified by *sola fide* and predestinarian determinism […]. By invoking the contrasting principles of contract and grace, Puritan clerics elaborated an ambiguous doctrine whose inconsistent mixture of determinism and voluntarism was variably presented in different context. When commending to the laity a variety of religious initiatives – for example, Bible reading, family religion, and introspection – Puritan clerics emphasized voluntarism in references to purely contractarian principles arising out of a mutual exchange of obligations between God and humanity.[87]

86 "Zwingli was the one reformer who was a convinced advocate of a close link between 'state' and church. He was influenced firstly by the medieval concept of the *Corpus Christianum*, which meant, in its new Protestant form, that reformation means not merely the renewal of the 'church', but of the whole life of society; and secondly, he was influenced by his own personal experience of such a renewal in the town and council of Zurich, as a consequence of reformation preaching. The relation of 'church' and 'state' (though when understood in Zwingli's sense they might better be termed 'the Christian community in its ecclesiastical and its political forms') is that of soul and body. For this reason, the church must remember that her power is of a spiritual nature, and that her task is to serve and not to rule. Ministers are to be firmly integrated into the civil legal system. The development of their position of worldly power is a characteristic of the perversion of the church under the papacy." Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought, New Perspectives*, Leiden: Brill, 1981, p. 211.

87 David Zaret, "The Use and Abuse of Textual Data," in: *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, ed. by H. Lehmann and G. Roth (Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington D. C.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 263.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The influence of Calvinism has already engaged the idea that John Calvin was the symbol of the spiritual force of the history toward the ideal direction as of the 17th century today worldwide. The tradition of the Reformed-Presbyterian Church and Puritanism became the most powerful means to shock the time and the process of western history.

> Calvinism has, however, also had a reflex influence upon the continent of Europe. It influenced Lutheranism not only in the conception and constitution of the Church, in the life of Christian social activity and fellowship initiated by the Church, in home missions, in Pietism, but, as a universal spiritual force, the type of humanity which it produces affects the whole of European civilization; for the most part, however, this civilization is entirely unconscious of its original connection with Calvinism.[88]

The spirit and the principles of the Reformation considered opening the first page of the modern history of Europe toward the new époque. This historical movement has finally shaped the special spiritual, social, and political order with the new Protestant ethical norms for the life and the world when the time of rational Capitalism was born according to Max Weber. Thus, as to the Reformation, he commented:

> It meant the reputation of a control over everyday life which was very lax, at that time scarcely perceptible in practice, and hardly more than formal, in favor of a regulation of the whole of conduct which, penetrating to all departments of private and public life, was infinitely burdensome and earnestly enforced.[89]

Moreover, Calvinism as defined in Weber's works is a religion in which ethical activity becomes an outlet for religious anxiety, and good works are signs of election, disciplined action is the proof of faith.[90]

> It was just such a religion that the Protestant movement of the 1520s set out to overcome. Whatever else Protestantism may have become in later Calvinism and Puritanism, it began as an uncompromising rejection of the acquisitive religious

88 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 578.
89 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons, New York: Scribner's, 1958, p. 36.
90 Ibid., pp. 98–128.

motive and the religious anxiety that propelled it. That was the object of the assault on the confessional and the alleged Totenfresserei of the medieval church. Individual freedom and humble self-confidence were the watchwords of the first Protestants.[91]

Of course, there are always the diverse interpretations about the value and the significance of John Calvin's reform, of his thought, and his influences through the Calvinists, and the Puritan movement in the academic circles. However, we must recognize that the ideas and the principles of John Calvin as the common heritage of humanity have already changed the direction of history during the following centuries. In terms of Protestantism, Calvin successfully continued the reformation of Martin Luther and finally developed a special approach to establish the Protestant Church, which differed systematically and institutionally from the Roman Catholic Church, but never changed the direction of the Church toward the Calling and the Great Commission of the Lord.[92]

From here, I would like to move to the central theme, namely, the ethical system of John Calvin.

4.3 The Ethical Principles of Calvin's Institutes of Christian Religion

Historically, any kind of theory or the thought, once it has executed certain influences to the political, cultural, economic and spiritual structures of society or even functioned with the dominant forces to some extent, will produce the ethical meanings as to the human spiritual legacy. Different interests gathered together and coexisted in the special context

91 Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities, The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1975, p. 120.

92 "The fundamental doctrines of Luther were therefore also the fundamental doctrines of Calvin. Calvin held firmly the Lutheran doctrines of justification and sanctification; indeed, of all the Reformers, he actually expressed them in their purest systematic form." Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 580.

must follow certain norms as the rules to correlate with each other on common ground. This pattern can refer to the spiritual or religious groups as well as the socio-political or economical groups in the history of civilization. Based on this fundamental pre-comprehension, it is evident that Calvin's theological thought and the initiatives of reform in Geneva had already attained this criterion of the human spiritual legacy. We can discover the profound and abundant ethical resources from his design of the reform and theological thought, which defined the moral rules of the Christians in the secular order and the ethical norms of the Church in human society.

My plan is to take the two approaches to study the ethical thought of John Calvin by studying his most representative works *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*

At the beginning of the interpretation, I will show the pre-comprehension of the research on the Institutes, namely, the author was not simply a very learned scholar and theologian in today's sense, his whole concern was to continue the career of the Reformation by Martin Luther and to establish the institutional Church from the Catholic Church Order. In this way, the particular meaning of the ethical principles of Calvin will be shown as the ecclesiastical importance, of course, the political, sociological and cultural approaches to study the legacy of Calvin are very fruitful in the field of human spirituality.

4.3.1 The Principle of the Authority

The cruel reality of the Reformation referred not only to the goal of the Reformation, its success or failure, but also the security of the reformers and their followers, because the opponent of the Reformation was the Romana Curia who held the legitimate authority over the sovereignty of the royal kingdoms in the temporary Europe at that period. The actual aim of the Reformation was to deny the legal authority of Curia Romana in the secular order, or it signified that the theocracy of the Catholic Church was illegal and, therefore, very harmful to the proclamation of the Gospel in the vision of Martin Luther and John Calvin. After Luther and outside Germany, the European Protestants suffered terrible and bloody persecutions both from the Roman Catholic authorities, for instance the Huguenots in France, and from the royal authorities, which

united with Romana Curia, such as in Spain. Suddenly many Protestants in France, who usually were the intellectuals and the elites with the freedom of independent thinking, fled from their countries as political refuges towards the areas of Helvetia, Basel, Geneva and Neuchâtel, etc. The reformers and leaders of the Reformation in Switzerland came from those refuges. It is well known that Guillaume Farel and John Calvin were of that group at that time.

After Luther's ethics to reply the urgent requirements of the norms to define the Protestants against the Roman Catholic Church, Calvin's urgent question was how to produce the ethical norms to define the relationships with the authorities of Rome and the Royalty of France and then in general, the relationship between the Church and the State, the secular order. Here the first ethical principle of Calvin comes: the principle of the authority!

Since Luther used the principle of the *Sola Scriptura* to deny the authority of Curia Romana for the faith and the life of the temporary world, the Reformation had been rooted into the earth of Germany by establishing the Lutheran church in the legal frame of the secular order of Germany. To Calvin, as the second generation of the Reformation, what he encountered directly was how to deal with the relationship between the Church and society through the institutional way. His task made him to reflect deeply on the question of the authority for the faith at the ecclesiastical level. He used two chapters in the first Book of Institutes to interpret the authority of Scripture by Luther in order to found the ethical doctrine of the authority on the Bible. He denied that the authority of the Scripture originated from the authority of the Church, and since then the theological and ethical interpretation of the authority of the church had formed in the theological tradition of Protestantism.

Thus, the question arises, what is the authority of the Church in the sense of Protestantism for him?

Sola Scriptura, the principle of the Reformation by Luther was also decisive to Calvin concerning the issue of the authority first. Then he

mentioned the four points to prove the authority of the Scripture for the Protestant Church.[93]

The concern of the principle of Scripture essentially related to the authority and was the central issue of the Reformation. We can confirm that he completely insisted on Luther's position, namely, the principle of *Sola Scriptura* as the prima principle of Protestantism. While writing the first edition of the *Institutes*, he had not established the Reformed Church in Geneva. Thus, the term of the Church here referred to the Church in general. It covered the time of the Apostles and the patristic period. Then, in the last edition of 1559 when he had achieved reform and established the model of the Reformed Church in Geneva, the concept of the "Church" for Calvin indicated the Reformed Church based on the definition of the Church in general. It meant that Calvin built the Reformed Church on the apostolic tradition. In this case, the authority of the church was in origin from the authority of the Scripture as was his understanding on the authority.

Finally, Calvin confirmed that the authority of the Protestant Church must be based on three elements: 1) the real presence of the Holy Spirit; 2) the testimonies of the prophets in the Old Testament; 3) the dogmas of the faith created by the apostles in the primitive period of the Church. Moreover, all of these three must be in place for proving the authority of God by the doctrine of the Trinity. He claimed the authority of the Church originated from the Scripture and therefore must be very particular and important for proclaiming the Word of God in the temporary world. He did the hermeneutical interpretation on the thoughts of St. Augustine to deny the Catholic position that the authority of the Bible was given by the authority of the Church.[94] He said:

93 Jean Calvin, "Sommaire," in: *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, éd. nouvelle publ. par la Société calviniste de France, vol. 1, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1955, p. 43.

94 In the note of *Institutes* of the edition of John T. McNeill, vol. 1, p. 76: Augustine, *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti*, V (MPL 42. 176; tr. NPNF IV. 131): "For my part, I should not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the Catholic Church." Luther, in his tract *That the Doctrines of Men Are to Be Rejected* (1522), had largely anticipated Calvin's interpretation of Augustine's meaning in this passage (*Werke* WA X. ii. 89; tr. *Works of Martin Luther* II. 451ff.).

> Indeed, I know that statement of Augustine is commonly referred to, that he would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move him to do so. Nevertheless, it was easy to grasp from the context how wrong and deceptive they were to interpret this passage. Augustine was then concerned with the Manichees, who wished to be believed without controversy when they claimed, but did not demonstrate, that they themselves possessed the truth. Because, in fact, they used the gospel as a cloak to promote faith in their Mani, Augustine asks, "What would they do if they were to light upon a man who does not even believe in the gospel?" [it meant] that if he were alien to the faith, he could not be led to embrace the gospel as the certain truth of God unless constrained by the authority of the church. (*Institutes*, I, VII, 3)

In ethical perspective, the issue of authority is primal for Calvin due to the urgent importance of the reform in Geneva by the following four points:

1) At the time of the Reformation, the ethical standard of the socio-political life relied on the criteria of Roman Papacy which lasted about a thousand years in Europe with the legal statue and the ethical effects. Thus, if Calvin could not shape this authority, the career of the reform in Geneva would fail on the way, and the doctrinal legitimacy of the Reformed Church would always be a dream of the vision, too;
2) A definition of the authority of the Scripture was by three resources, i.e. the Holy Spirit, the Prophets and the Apostles, could guarantee the charismatic direction of the Church from the misunderstandings about the Authority of the Church enforced by secular authorities and the Roman Curia. Historically, Calvin's position on the authority had restrained the individual arbitrary dictatorship in the Church by the name of God, which very frequently occurred in the history of the missionaries in non-European countries, such as in China. The three sources of the authority of the Scripture were based on the Divine Command of God and, therefore, became one of the most important ethical principles of John Calvin and the Protestant tradition;[95]
3) To stress the testimonies from the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs, the Patristic Fathers regarding the issue of the Authority could show their spiritual affiliations and the doctrinal resources with Prot-

95 Janine M. Idziak (ed.), *Divine Command Morality, Historical and Contemporary Readings*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1979, p. 5.

estantism through Calvin's goal and his theological works. We can prove the important continuation with the medieval catholic tradition even through the thoughts in Institutes, which held the wonderful scholastic, or Sorbonnist tradition. We can say that Calvin never denied his fidelity to the legacy of the Patristic Father, somehow, much more than Roman Catholic Church in his mind;[96]

4) To prevent the arbitrary power of the top leaders of the church using the name of the Bible, Calvin explained the authority of the Scripture in the doctrinal extent. He emphasized the supreme sovereignty of God and then the authority of the prophets, of the apostles, of the Patristic Fathers from the tradition of the historic church on the inner substance, namely the Divine Command. Here, Calvin constructed the ethical norms of the Protestant Church. Thus, in details Calvin interpreted the authority of the Scripture through the essence of the tradition of the church to the ethical norms for the church.[97]

Briefly, the ethical principle of the authority essentially revealed Calvin's commitment about the Church of Protestantism for which he devoted himself to work and to meditate all his life. The essence of the authority was the Divine Command of God, which led Moses and the prophets in the time of Old Testament, and through the words of Jesus Christ to the apostles who started the history of the Church, and then the reformers continued this great commission for preaching the gospel of

96 "The pattern of argument in many of the chapters of the *Institutes* reflects a fairly strict observation of the form of scholastic disputation, moving from the initial statement of a point to various objections and replies to objections […] It is also clear from Calvin's usage that technical *distinctions* occupied virtually the same place in his theological method as they did in the development of Lombard's *Sententiae*: the *distinctio* offered a means of dealing with difficulties and even potential contradictions in the text of Scripture or between a biblical statement and a truth known from some other perspective." Richard A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 45–46.

97 Protestant Church and Roman Catholic Church take greater weight on different kinds of normative sources; For Protestants, the Scripture is traditionally stressed at prima, whereas Roman Catholic Church emphasizes, in addition to Scripture, the authority of the *magisterium* and personal revelation in communion. Cf. Janine M. Idziak, "Divine Command Ethics," in: P. L. Quinn and C. Taliaferro (eds), *A Companion to Philosophy of Religion*, Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1997, pp. 453–459.

God in actual époque. The authority of the Scripture was very significant to the Protestant Church since the Reformation.

> The Reformation was much more than a return to biblical religion and one must wear exceptionally thick confessional glasses to find "Pauline Christianity" a satisfying characterization of it. Nor was it simply an overhauling of medieval religion; only the most selective reader will conclude the Reformation to have been "more medieval than modern." Although one can find first generation Protestant reformers who look like new papists, the original impulse of the Reformation was not toward the theocracies, blue laws, and Puritanism popularly associated with later Protestantism. The Protestant did not set out to regulate and sanctify society so much as to make society's sacred institutions and religious doctrines social. Protestants embraced and enhanced secular life only after making it clear that, as pleasing to God as secular vocations were, they contributed not one whit to any man's salvation.[98]

Obviously, the ethical norms constituted by the spiritual figure according to the criteria of the church always referred to the controversies and the conflicts in the socio-political areas historically, which vacillated between the multiple values and the monocracy. It is the same logic to Calvin's ethical principle.

John Calvin had founded the principle of the authority as the first stone of his ethical system in the structures of the Church![99]

4.3.2 The Principle of the Election

The second ethical principle of Calvin is the principle of the Election. In the doctrinal system of Calvin, the most influent and misunderstood doctrine is the Predestination, and the core of the doctrine is the Election.[100] For Calvin,

98 Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities, The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1975, p. 119.

99 Paul Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 352.

100 T. F. Torrance claimed, "Calvin discussed the two ways in which God reigns, and added: 'Although the will of God, views in itself is one and simple, it is presented to us under a twofold aspect.' [Comm. *on Matt.* 6.10, C. R. 83, p. 198…]. That understanding of the dual aspect of the Kingdom as the Kingdom that is continually

the doctrine of predestination existed within a soteriological context, rather than a metaphysically speculative one; it was seen in connection with salvation […] even within the doctrine of double predestination Calvin spoke a language more reminiscent of that of his moderate predecessors than anticipatory of developments soon to come.[101]

Above all, as the history of Protestantism shows, the doctrine of double predestination, that is, that God is the direct author of both election and damnation, has repeatedly been a stumbling-block – indeed, a rock on which Protestant unity has frequently broken. In its pure form, it was an austere creed. The many who could not submit to its austerity, who had not made the leap, found themselves denied their old ways and "world-view" and unable to partake of the consolations of the new.[102]

If we could make clear the meaning of the doctrine of the Election at the ethical sense, it would be very helpful for us to understand the reason of

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growing and advancing to the end of the world played a part of great importance in Calvin's theology. It was in this way, for example, that he met the problem of particular predestination in regard to both elections unto salvation and to reprobation […] Calvin is careful to point out that the will of God is that all men should be saved, that it is the nature of the Gospel to bring light and life, and that therefore judgment is an *accidental* characteristic of God's action […] Calvin points out, that reprobation and destruction can have no place in the Creed. Scripture certainly speaks of a resurrection to judgment as well as to life, and tells us that Christ will separate the kinds from the goats, 'but Scripture more frequently sets forth the resurrection, as intended, along with celestial glory, for the children of God only: because properly speaking, Christ comes not for the destruction but for the salvation of the world: and therefore in the Creed the life of blessness only is mentioned.' [Calvin's *Instit.* III. 25, 9.]" Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, pp. 105–107.

101 John von Rohr, *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986, p. 3, and cf. pp. 195–196; Robert T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 29–30; Dewey Wallace, Jr., "The Doctrine of Predestination in the Early English Reformation," in: *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 43 (1974), p. 215; William Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millennium*: Protestant Imperialism and the English Revolution, London: Croom Helm, 1979, p. 129; Peter White, "Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," in *Past and Present* 101 (1983), p. 34n.

102 John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 172.

the success of the reform and of the engagement in the history of Protestantism under the guidance of John Calvin.[103]

In terms of the biblical texts, there are some revelations about the election of God. The covenant with Noah by God: the rainbow (Gen. 9:8–17); the election of Abram by God: the beginning of the divine promise and the vocation (Gen. 12:1–3); the covenant of circumcision with Abraham (Gen. 17); the calling of Moses by God (Ex. 3); The Lord calls Samuel as the prophet (1 Sam. 3) etc. The texts of the New Testament indicate the divine election, too. For instance,

> Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. In love he predestined us for adoption through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will, to the praise of his glorious grace; with which he has blessed us in the Beloved. (Eph. 1:3–6).

The texts of Rom. 11; 5; 7:28–29; Gal. 3:16, etc. are also relative to the divine election.[104]

The question comes, how to define the concept of the election? In the doctrine of Predestination, what kinds of relationships are there between the election and reprobation, and the eternal salvation by the blessedness and destruction by condemnation? Here is one of the important doctrines of Calvin's ethics. Calvin wrote:

103 Pierre Bonnard, "Elire," in: J.-J. von Allmen (ed.), *Vocabulaire biblique*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1964, pp. 86–90.

104 Jean-Paul Gabus said: "Dans le contexte biblique, ce terme n'a comme le soulignent plusieurs à la suite de Karl Barth, qu'une fonction instrumentale. Des peuples, Israël notamment, ou des individus sont appelés et choisis par Dieu en vue d'une mission particulière: être témoin de sa Parole et de son salut, ou encore accompli rune tâche précisé: être libérateur d'un peuple, juge, roi, prêtre, prophète, apôtre, évangéliste, diacre, etc. Le Nouveau Testament nous présente Jésus le Christ comme l'élu par excellence, choisi avant la fondation du monde pour l'humanité entière par l'offrande totale de sa vie. Et le terme Église ne signifie rien d'autre en grec que l'élue ou l'appelée. Selon Ép. 1, 3 ss, les croyants, c'est-à-dire, les membres de l'Église, corps du Christ, sont eux-mêmes élus en lui avant la fondation du monde." Jean-Paul Gabus, "Election," in: *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, pp. 508–509.

> We call predestination God's eternal decree, by which he contracted with himself what he willed to become for each man. For all are not created in equal condition; rather, eternal life is foreordained for some, eternal damnation for others. Therefore, as any man has been created to one or the other of these ends, we speak of him as predestined to life or to death.[105]

Then he stressed the meaning of the election of the doctrine of Predestination. He claimed that God made his decision of eternal election through three aspects: 1) the election of the Israeli nation from all nations; 2) the election and reprobation of individual Israelites; 3) the election of the particular persons as actual election such as St. Paul (Rom. 9:8; Gal. 3:6, 19–20).[106]

Finally, Calvin summarized the survey of the doctrine of election in this way:

> As Scripture, then, clearly shows, we can say that God established his eternal and unchangeable plan those whom he long before determined once for all to receive into salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, he would devote to destruction. We assert that, with respect to the elect, this plan was founded upon his freely-given mercy, without regard to human worth; but by his just and irreprehensible but incomprehensible judgment he has barred the door of life to those whom he has given over to damnation. Now among the elect we regard the call as a testimony of election. Then we hold justification as another sign of its manifestation, until they come into the glory in which the fulfillment of that election lies. But as the Lord seals his elect by call and justification, so, by shutting off the reprobate from knowledge of his name or from the sanctification of his Spirit, he, as it were, reveals by these marks what sort of judgment awaits them.[107]

Here we can understand the ethical meanings of the doctrine of election as connected with the reform of Calvin and his design as a norm for the Reformed Church:

a) The elected are the special figures who hold the special mission to realize the aim in God's plan for the human world. Thus no matter how much difficulty and cruelty they must encounter in actual situations, they must work according to the revelation and the order of the Lord without any hesitation and fear. The ethical significance of the

105 John Calvin, *ICR*, III, XXI, 5.
106 Ibid. III, XXI, 5–7.
107 Ibid. III, XXI, 7b.

principle to the reformers and the leaders of the Reformed Church lay in the requirement that they must be self-disciplined and strictly obey the moral rules in this temporal life. Faith in the election of the Lord defined the ethical norms of the Reformed Church and made the Calvinists attack the old order of the gospel by establishing the new ecclesiastical order and to restrict the members within the moral and legal realms;

b) The members of the church, no matter who they are, the leaders or the laypersons, if they declared themselves elected by God, but did nothing; in this case, they had fallen into the corruption and cheating, they will not be guided by the Holy Spirit and at the end, these persons will be condemned to destruction by God. Consequently, all persons with immoral behavior, God will condemn them by the reprobation from the eternal election. It is the key point of the doctrine of double predestination with the huge shock in history of Protestantism.[108] From Calvin, the ethical rules with the juridical effects of the Canonical Law during the medieval period, were totally excluded and denied by Martin Luther. On the higher level linked with the situation of the reform in Geneva, the rules were restored systematically by John Calvin with his proper design and interpretations. This ethical initiative affiliated essentially with the ultimate concern of constructing the Church along the thoughts of Calvin. Later history of Protestantism had proved the originality of Calvin with particular significance;

c) However, the doctrine of election took judgment away from the individual statue or merits of the grace of God. In this case, the criteria

108 In fact, he formulated this doctrine early and practically in his career of the reformation. It appeared implicitly in the treatment of "election" or "eternal Providence" in the first *Institutio*, where, drawing on Romans 8:30, Calvin presented justification and glorification as the fulfillment of the "eternal election" of the saints "before they were born." (*Opera Selecta*, vol. 2, ch. 2, n. 21). More explicitly and briefly speaking, the predestination was prominent in the *Brève instruction chrétienne* (1536), which was to serve as the model of Calvin's catechisms. The Word of God "calls all men" but is not equally received by all. Many, who are "blinded and hardened by incredulity, disdain it," while the faithful receive it with joy: "Being given to them they do not reject it; being called by it they follow it." Cf. Pierre Courthial (ed.), *Brève instruction chrétienne*, Paris: Les Bergers et les Mages, 1957, part 1, ch. 1, p. 31.

will become more objective rather than the authority of persons in the church. It inherited grace from the legacy of St. Augustine, which stressed as the main principle of the Reformation by Martin Luther, namely, *Sola gratia.* Thus, the ethical meaning of this doctrine is that the secular achievements or glory, without the divine decree, will not be in accordance with the vocation and the election of the Lord. The Rule of the Jungle has dominated the earth for so many centuries since the Reformation. Many massacres occurred such as the slave trade, the Holocaust and the Nanjing Massacre by the Japanese army, etc. and shown the necessity for the world to be restricted by the divine command in social and ethical areas as well as in political and economical areas. The doctrine of election encouraged special persons with the eternal vocation to pursue the great and lofty goal under the providence of the Lord.

d) On the contrary, to the ethical principle of Priesthood of All Believers of Martin Luther, the ethical meaning of the doctrine of Election emphasized the special calling of selected persons to take up the great mission from the Lord. In the ecclesiastical level, this contrast is very significant to us in the historical perspective. The universal priesthood has the particular meaning in the proper context of the reform by Luther in Germany, and the special priesthood unique for the growing and the expanding of the church into the secular world. Thus, the ethical structural functions of these two different principles are very constructive and effective in the ecclesiological dimension that will be the central theme for me in the coming part.[109]

109 Ernst Troeltsch commented, "Calvin, however, was not concerned with the priesthood of all believers, but with making the control and the purity of the Church effective. He was so deeply convinced that this was necessary that he did not doubt that, just as in the case of doctrine, just as in the case of doctrine, the Scripture would provide him with the necessary support and counsel […] The fact that Calvin made the ethical interest of sanctification and the exhortations of Scripture the starting-point for his theory instead of the requirements of the priesthood of believers, secured his religious system against all democratic and revolutionary excesses, and against the perils of religious subjectivity." Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 592.

Briefly, the ethical principle of Election showed that Calvin normalized the behaviors of people of the church with very high moral disciplines based on the fundamental doctrines from the Bible and the heritages of the historical church. The Calvinists as the successors and faithful followers of Calvin's vocation essentially trusted as the elected persons with the spiritual and moral responsibility and calling. Today, although the controversies and the wonders around the doctrine of the election always remained here and there, it has already become one of the firm ethical principles of Protestantism. It strengthened the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Puritans, and the modern Evangelicals, etc. to take the mission to the world without any hesitation or fear for the glory of the Lord.[110] Naturally, it has functioned as the ethical rule of the Christian conscience.

4.3.3 The Third Use of the Law (tertius usus)

If the doctrine of Election was interpreted as the ethical principle of the Christians, the consequential question occurred before us, namely, what to do for preventing the self-declared as the election in the ordinary life? It is very often that the brothers of the church, who fell into seduction by the secular desires, essentially are also persons with the calling from God. How can we make certain ethical rules to explain the strict requirements to those elected persons? Historically, after destroying the authority of the Roman Papacy in the spiritual and secular orders in Geneva, the reformers encountered quickly the serious challenge that the Reformed Church must promulgate the concerned rules to restrict members in society as well as in the parish.

On the other hand, the question could be mentioned by another way, i.e. to be Christian, what do we obey in civil society in accordance with the divine command and the law of Justice?

110 "It is true that reading back towards Calvin's Geneva from later periods we pass through political radicalism, economic activism, sophisticated international politics, Presbyterianism in its varied forms, Puritanism, doctrinaire theological systems and much else-all of which at the most represent the later products of compromises he had to make with the Genevan ecclesiastical, social and political situation." Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants, 1500–1900*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990, p. 126.

The moral and ecclesial rules made by the Church must be based on the theological principles that originated from Scripture and Patristic heritages. Thus, Calvin introduced the third principle of ethics to respond to the question of the time and that was the didactical use.

In Western civilization, the law always occupied a special place in social and political life since ancient Greek and systematically developed in the Roman Empire. In political history of the humanity, we could consider the law as one of the great human heritages. Although there were traditions of the jurisdictions in ancient civilization which were much older and more fair than the European civilization, only the legacy of Roman law founded the basis of modern legal order for today's world. Since Christianity entered into the mainstream of European history in the fifth century A.D., the idea of the Hebrew tradition of the Law penetrated in Roman tradition of the natural law. Moses was strictly faithful to the law of God and then it became the paradigm of the Christian tradition with the new covenant through Christ with God in history. Luther had analyzed the Law-Gospel as the principle of the Reformation for theological reflections based on the existing heritages in history. Because of the abuses of the canonical laws of the authority of the Roman Papacy, Luther changed the direction of the interpretation by stressing conversion by faith to salvation instead of good works, which were, enforced in obligation by theocratic authority. Luther had stressed that the Church look toward sanctification in the individual mind before the renewal of the Church in the institutional sense. To Calvin the actual political situation was different from the time of Luther in Germany. He explained the doctrine of Law-Gospel by his proper pattern, i.e. Gospel-Law in order to produce the ethical norms for the Reformed Church.

Additionally, the time of Calvin was in the process of transition from the theocracy of Rome to the monarchy by the national royalties. It was the eve of the great change in the West. In the following centuries after the Reformation, the political constitution and polities evolved in diverse form by other systems and polities such as the republic, the representative, the monarchy, and the federalism around the totalitarian or democracy in world perspective. The ethical principle of the moral law from Calvin was very historic in background while we trace the past centuries to do the reflections.

Calvin claimed that the law God gave to humanity as well as to the church with profound moral requirements. The law of God is the eternal

Law with the eternal decree of the Divinity as the essence of the Natural Law, on which all the legal systems in the temporary world had founded and developed.[111] Christians could distinguish goodness, evil, beauty and holiness because of absolute obedience and trust on the Word of God. Calvin declared that Christ had not abolished the Law of Moses by God although there was a new covenant because of Christ on the cross and between God and humans. On contrary, the gospel, and the Word of God, had achieved and fulfilled the Law of God in the temporary world. He claimed under the title "The moral and ceremonial law significant as leading to Christ": "The law was added about four hundred years after the death of Abraham [cf. Gal. 3:17]. From that continuing succession of witnesses, which we have reviewed may be shown that this was not done to lead the chosen people away from Christ; but rather to hold their minds in readiness until his coming; to kindly desire him, and to strengthen their expectation, in order that they might not grow faint for too long a delay. I understand by the word 'law' not only the Ten Commandments, which set forth a godly and righteous rule of living, but the form of religion handed down by God through Moses."[112]

The editor of the English version made note about the meanings of the law by the thoughts of Calvin. He said:

> The term "law" for Calvin meant (1) the whole religion of Moses (*ICR*, II, vii, 1); (2) the special revelation of the moral law to the chosen people, i.e. chiefly the Decalogue and Jesus' summary (*ICR*, II, viii); or (3) various bodies of civil, judicial, and ceremonial statutes (*ICR*, IV. XX.14–16; Comm., Harmony 4 Books of Moses. cf. Decalogue "supplements"). Of these, the moral law, the "true and eternal rule of righteousness" (*ICR*, IV. Xx. 15), is most important. It appears in three contexts shown in the three "uses," […] For Calvin a positive evaluation of the law allows the "third use" to be the principle one, while for Luther the condemning function is the chief one.[113]

111 Peter Barth (ed.), *Ioannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, vol. 1, München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1926, pp. 54–55.

112 John Calvin, *ICR*, II, VII, 1.

113 John T. McNeill in: John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. 1, ed. by J. T. McNeill, trans. and indexed by F. L. Battles, Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960, footnote 1, p. 348.

4.3.3.1 The First Use of the Law as the Theological Use (usus theologicus)

The Law of God has the abstract restriction to humans by limiting and guiding the whole behavior of Mankind within a certain extent through the commandments and rules. At any moment, humankind always relied on common criterion to do moral and valuable judgments although the proper standards linked with the particular religions or philosophies shaped this common basis if there were any conflicts among them. In Christian tradition, the common criterion is the eternal law of God or the Natural Law using another term.

To love your neighbors and to love your Lord as the ethical requirements expressed the fundamental truth toward the peace and the justice that God created for the secular order in the beginning. The first meaning of the laws aimed at the original essence of secular order described the divinity behind the human world. God planted the natural law in the mind of humans through human reason and conscience in order to establish the temporary order of justice in the general sense. Nevertheless, original sin the humans lost on the way by individual will, so the ethical norm appeared obviously before us, namely, without the grace of God, there is no possible way to salvation for them. This ethical norm in the sense of the theological use of the Law stressed the objectivity of the will of God for multiple values of the temporal world.

The theological use, on which Calvin dwelt very seriously in his works and practical career, briefly signified that human sin and well-deserved wrath of God correlated together on the level of God's Word and salvation through Christ. Therefore, it is only on the foundation of the freedom in Christ, which justification held that Christians could grasp the divine essence of the law in the general sense in the requirements of ethical norms. Calvin's biblical resources supported his interpretation about the divinity of the essence of law and the oneness of the Grace of God. (*ICR*, II, IX, 3–4; VII, 6–8).

4.3.3.2 The Second Use of the Law as the Civic Use (usus civilis)

In terms of the doctrine of Providence, Calvin defined the secular order in the Creation to be in the care also under the Divine Providence. The authority and the legitimacy of the states and the governments and all political order rely on the decree of God through the justice principle and

politic commands of God's plan. The doctrine of the *usus civilis* has a special value in the Reformation, by which Calvin successfully established a reasonable model between the state and the church in favor of the reform and of the proclamation of the gospel in a constitutional sense. The ethical meaning of the *usus civilis* lies at the confirmation of the legal foundation for cooperation between the state and the church while the political principle of the separation was set up in the constitutional frame. Calvin trusted the justice of God to be universal and essential and the Political Order necessary to guarantee the realization of Justice in the secular order. He said:

> This constrained and forced righteousness is necessary for the public community for men, for whose tranquility the Lord herein provided when he took care that everything be not tumultuously confounded. This would happen if everything permitted to all men. Nay, even for the children of God, before they are called and while they are destitute of the spirit of sanctification [Rom. 1:4], so long as they play the wanton in the folly of the flesh, it is profitable for them to undergo this strained at least from outward wantonness, with minds yet untamed they progress but slightly for the present, yet become partially broken in by bearing the yoke of righteousness. As a consequence, when they are called, they are not utterly untutored and uninitiated in discipline as if it were something unknown.[114]

Here, clearly, the ethical requirements of humans appeared from the political and constitutional use of the law in social society. In the actual legal system of the state, the certain moral rules are very positive in the existing order of law as the basis of the familiar, social and national morality. Calvin's emphasis on the civil use of the Law on the ecclesiastical fundament had pioneered the political responsibility of the church in the modern world.[115] Briefly, the civic use of the law stressed by Calvin had

114 John Calvin, *ICR*, II, VII, 10, a.

115 "Following Paul, he stressed that the powers that be were ordained of God. Christians could act as magistrates. Because government was divinely ordained, to resist the lawful ruler was to resist God.[…] Calvin also stressed that secular rulers were properly themselves instruments of the law, which God had created, 'Nothing truer could be said than that the law is a silent magistrate; the magistrate, a living law.' (*Inst.* [1536 ed.], pp. 224, 225, 215). Tension may thus be discerned in his thought between his call to respect the established political order and his strong sense of the majesty of the divine will, which all men were obligated to obey and which ministers had a duty to proclaim forthrightly." Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely*

become one of the important principles of Protestantism concerning the relationship between the state and the church. The civic use of the law indicated that God had ordained in his divine decree the civic law in order to restrain the different kinds of the transgressions and of disordered conflictions within the secular order.

4.3.3.3 The Third Use of the Law as the Ethical Use (usus didacticus/tertius usus)

Because of very influential effects, the theologians and the experts prefer to use the term *tertius usus* (The Third Use) in Latin directly to show importance.

In fact, Luther in his pattern of the Law-Gospel had already prepared the implicit meaning of the law in particular and general senses. He stressed at the doctrinal level for the Reformation, the divinity of the law from the Lord through the form of natural law, and he explored his idea on the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms for showing his understanding in a positive way of the civic use of the law in terms of the secular order under the Providence of God. That is why today we can find out the fundamental principles of Protestantism shaped in the theological system of Martin Luther. In later life, Luther never thought of the third use of the law. Finally, through the efforts and the hard work of Philippe Melanchthon, in Formula de Concorde published in 1580, the Third Use of the law was officially interpreted as the doctrine of the Lutheran Church.[116] Thus, Calvin as the reformer with fidelity to the goal of the Reformation authentically continued the principles of the Reformation and developed them toward the ultimate aim of the church.

The ethical use of Law was stressed and put into practice. The reform expressed Calvin's concerns with the Church and believers in society. He said:

> The Third and principle use, which pertains more closely to the proper purpose of the law, finds its place among believers in whose hearts the Spirit of God already lives and reigns. For even though they have the law written and engraved upon their

Reformed, A Social History of Calvinism, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 89.

116 André Birmelé et Marc Lienhard éd., *La foi des Eglises luthériennes. Confessions et catéchismes*, Paris-Genève, Cerf-Labor et Fides, 1991, pp. 905–909 et 1024–1031).

> hearts by the finger of God [Jer. 31:33; Heb. 10:16], that is, have been so moved and quickened through the direction of the Spirit that they long to obey God, they still profit by the law in two ways" (*ICR*, II, VII, 12);

and then he explained systematically the "moral law" by one chapter in reference to the Ten Commandments to show the didactic effects as the moral norms for the life in the secular order. (*ICR*, II, VIII, "*L'exposition de la loi moral*") After the interpretation from the Old Testament, he discussed the relationship between the moral law and the moral teaching of Christ in the New Testament.

> Now it will not be difficult to decide the purpose of the whole law: the fulfillment of righteousness to form human life to the archetype of divine purity. For God has so depicted his character in the law that if any man carries out in deeds whatever is enjoined there, he will express the image of God, as it were, in his own life. For this reason, Moses, wishing to remind the Israelites of the gist of the law, said "And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God require of you, but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in his ways, to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the commandments and statutes of the Lord, which I am commanding you today for your good?" [Deut. 10:12–13] (*ICR*, II, VIII, 51)

He interpreted the moral law of the apostles' witness after assuring the Word of Christ as the resource of the ethical law. For Calvin, both the law of God in the Old Testament and the Gospel of Christ in the New Testament are the basis of the Christian moral life and moral rules for the Church in the secular order.

Calvin claimed that there are three meanings regarding the moral use of the law:

a) To God, the moral law is the discipline to humans with spiritual rules relative to the ways of thinking and of behaviors. The law made us obedient to God both of the mind and of the spirit. Jesus Christ fulfilled the Law of Moses in the new covenant with humanity;
b) If God blesses something or rules, he usually denies and forbids the opposite ideas and behavior of his criteria. Regarding the moral issue about goodness and evil, the ethical aim of the law is very positive in favor of goodness by controlling evil;
c) Justice and the religion belong to the two systems with correlations. Calvin explained his position by the contents of the Ten Commandments. The first table contains the first four commandments, in which

God's aim was to raise us up by inner piety of the religiosity and faith through moral orders, to make the "Love God" as the ethical foundation of the humankind in history. In this way, the absolute principle of "Love God" in the minds of humanity will supply the ethical norms for life and for the world; the Second Table includes the latter six commandments with forbidden rules and enforceable order. Thus, to the believers who obey the order of God, they are the moral advisers with ethical rules and spiritual encouragements towards holiness. (*ICR*, II, VIII, 1–12)

d) Finally, Calvin confirmed that the ultimate aim of the law is the love of God. Thus, the threefold uses of law were finally unified on the point of God's Love. The ethical meaning of law also explicated around Christian vocation and the duties of piety and following.

> Now the perfection of that holiness comes under the two headings already mentioned: "That we should love the Lord God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength" [Deut. 6:5p; cf. 11:13], "and our neighbor as ourselves" [Lev. 19:18p; cf. Matt. 22:37, 39]. First, indeed, our soul should be entirely filled with the love of God. From this will flow directly the love of neighbor? This is what the apostle shows when he writes that "the aim of the law is love from a pure conscience and sincere faith is put at the head." In other words, here is true piety, from which love is derived. (*ICR*, II, VIII, 51)

As to the succession of the three uses of the Law, there are the different views between Luther and Calvin. For Luther, the civic use of Law is put in first, and then, the theological and the ethical uses, which are in accordance with the doctrine of the Law-Gospel of Luther's theology.[117] In Calvin's theological system, the juridical instruments and political systems must serve the divine principle of the justice of God and for righteousness of the conscience and the mind of humans that were also planted by God in his plan of creation. Thus, the theological use of the law for Calvin should be stressed at first in order to show his deep concern of the reform and of constructing the Church.[118]

However, the Third Use of the law relates directly to the moral norms in the political order to the Christians in the national state, so the

117 I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publ., 1992, p. 251.

118 Eric Fuchs, *La morale selon Calvin*, Paris: Cerf, 1986, pp. 138–160.

significance is very helpful to the construction of the church in the modern society.

> As treated by Calvin, the first three items – the Decalogue, the Symbol of faith, the Lord's Pray – are embedded in elaborate explanations of Law (Ch. I: De lege), of Faith (Ch. II: De fide), and of Pray (Ch. III: De oratione). The traditional formulations of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer act as biblical or, in the case of the creed, quasi-biblical applications and illustrations of what Calvin wants to say about Law, Faith, and Prayer. Seen biblically, the commandments of the Law come first, given through the ministry of Moses. Their place was naturally welcome to a Law scholar who had lately turned to studying the Bible. Theologically, the Law sets faith and prays in their social context. These chapters on Law, on Faith, and on Prayer offer no hint of anti-Roman bias.[119]

In brief, from the interpretations of the Third Use of Law, we can say that the common believers and the church have the duty to support the authorities to guard the security and the legal order if the justice of God is the essence of the secular authorities, it is so-called the Christian social responsibility and the Christian conscience. Historically, the Third Use of Law in Calvin's system had supplemented the weakness of the ethical system of Martin Luther who used the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms regarding the Christian duty in the temporal affairs in order to show the Glory of God.[120]

4.3.4 The Ethical Principle of Sanctification

The principle of Sanctification is Calvin's ethical principle at the sense of the continuation from the doctrine of Justification by faith by Martin Luther, but with the special meaning linked with the reform and the theological initiatives of John Calvin himself in Geneva. It is one of the typical characteristic of Calvinist due to the logical correlation with the doc-

119 George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 116.

120 Karl Barth, *Ethique* 2, éd. par D. Braun, trad. par P. Rusch, Paris: PUF, 1998, p. 338.

trine of regeneration and of predestination under the divine providence in his system.[121]

> Sanctification denotes the transition from the ordinary secular sphere to the sphere of the holy, but then also the analogous transition from the sphere of impurity (on the margin) to the normal sphere of purity (e.g., Lev. 11:44). On the Old Testament view God himself is the quintessence of the holy (He is the Holy One, or the Holy One of Israel, and the beings around him are holy ones; see Isa. 6:3; Ps. 89:7; 99:5, 9). Primarily, then, sanctification is movement into proximity to God, though this movement can be understood in different ways.[122]

In the New Testament, the primitive church recognized that the faith in Christ on the cross had been sanctified from the enslaving powers of the profane world that was linked with the law, the sin, and the death in the sense of the soteriology (Rom. 10:4; Eph. 1:7).

> Baptism as the basis of the Christian life is the cultic rite of the new covenant people (1 Pet. 1:2) by which a new righteousness and holiness is appropriated to believers (1 Cor. 1:30) and in which sanctification as an ethical action has its basis (Rom. 6:19, 22; 1 Thess. 4:3). The church is the "holy nation" (1 Pet. 2:9), and its members are built up into a "holy temple" (1 Cor. 3:17; Eph. 2:21). In Hebrews, Christ is the heavenly high priest who sanctifies the people (Heb. 13:12, see also 2:11). His covenant blood effects the sanctification and the gift of the Spirit to believers (Heb. 10:29). The community that is sanctified by him (Heb. 10:10, 14) is required to "pursue" sanctification (Heb. 12:14) so as to be able to share in the Father's holiness (Heb. 12:10)[123]

The tension between the individual holiness and the righteousness of Christ, on controversies relative to the interdependence of sanctification and justification, the relation of faith and love, the interplay of the divine

121 The outstanding academic works on Calvin's doctrine of sanctification have: Alfred Göhler, *Calvins Lehre von der Heiligung*. München: Chr. Kaiser, 1934; Wilhelm Kolfhaus, *Vom christlichen Leben nach Johannes Calvin*, Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1949; Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life*, Edinburgh/London: Oliver and Boyd, 1959.

122 Georg Strecker, "Sanctification," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 4, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005, p. 839.

123 Ibid., p. 840.

grace and good works etc, gave the doctrine of sanctification directly relative to the ethical norms of the church and the Christian life.[124]

According to Donald G. Bloesch, Luther was emphatic that our justification and sanctification based on the alien righteousness of Christ, which covers our sinfulness and makes us acceptable before God. He made a firm distinction between the righteousness of faith, which justifies us, and the righteousness of life, which attests our sanctification. The latter is a consequence and fruit of the former, but it is always incomplete, for the old nature is never entirely extirpated.[125] Calvin, like Luther, regarded justification as primarily a forensic act by which the holy and merciful God cancels our debts based on the merits of Christ. He too viewed justification as the ground of our salvation, but Calvin tried to hold justification and sanctification a change in being. In justification, we are covered by the righteousness of Christ; in sanctification (or regeneration), we are engrafted into this righteousness. The basis of sanctification is justification; the goal of justification is our sanctification and glorification.[126] For Calvin, justification and sanctification are complementary, not parallel, terms. This is why he spoke of a twofold blessing. We are never recipients of faith without being motivated to practice love.[127]

In *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* III, Calvin used the order accorded with Luther's position as: la regeneration, la sanctification et la justification. He pushed Luther's principle from the Christian individual confession based on the righteousness of Christ to the eschatological ethical norms of the Reformed Church for Christian life in society. Here the role of the church is shown as the institutional norms such as baptism

124 Heinrich Quistorp said, "But although Calvin speaks mostly of heaven only as the sphere of the perfected church and sees blessedness to consist in the purely spiritual vision and enjoyment of God, he turns aside from any mystical spiritualism which considers the visible things of creation to be wholly worthless in the final state of glory." Heinrich Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Thing*, trans. H. Knight, London: Lutterworth Press, 1955, p. 185.

125 Martin Luther, *Le Grand et le Petit Catéchisme*, in: *Œuvres* 7, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1962.

126 Pierre Gisel, *Le Christ de Calvin*, Paris: Desclée, 1990, pp. 151–180.

127 Donald G. Bloesch, "Sanctification," in: D. K. McKim (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, pp. 336–337.

and Holy Communion by the strict ecclesiastical disciplines for sanctification.[128]

Briefly, Calvin made up the ethical criteria to Christians toward the Sainteté in ordinary life, or we could say that he taught us how to live the present life and its aides. (*ICR*, III, X) by four ethical requirements:

> First, one bridle is put upon it if it be determined that all things were created for us that we might recognize the Author and give thanks for his kindness toward us […] Therefore clearly, leave to abuse God's gifts must be somewhat curbed, and Paul's rule is confirmed: that we should "make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires" [Rom. 13:14], for if we yield too much to these, they boil up without measure or control.
>
> The second rule will be they who have narrow and slender resources should know how to go without things patiently, lest they be troubled by an immoderate desire for them. If they keep this rule of moderation, they will make considerable progress in the Lord's school….
>
> Besides, Scripture has a third rule with which to regulate the use of earthly things. Of it we said something when we discussed the percepts of love.
>
> Finally, this point is to be noted: the Lord bids each one of us in all life's actions to look to His calling. For He knows with what great restlessness human nature flames, with what fickleness it is born hither and thither, how its ambition longs to embrace various things at once. Therefore, lest through our stupidity and rashness everything be turned topsy-turvy, He has appointed duties for every man in his particular way of life. … (*ICR*, III, X, 1–6).

Thus, the Christian life has been defined as the ethical norm of sanctification toward the calling of the Lord. That is why Calvin's ethical requirements had become the effective motif of believers to live well in the profane life in order to be proved to the sanctification and the glorification under the grace of God. The ethical duty from the doctrine of sancti-

128 "En pédagogue, Calvin s'intéresse aux règles de la vie chrétienne, soulignant les fruits et les effets de la grâce. Sa perspective n'est pas spéculative, mais pratique. Il veut faire percevoir à ses lecteurs la marche à suivre, la méthode permettant de croire dans la connaissance et l'expérience du salut. La morale calvienne est un instrument essential de cette méthode orientée vers la vie de la personne et vers le service de la société." Denis Müller, *La morale*, Paris/Genève: Cerf/Labor et Fides, 1999, p. 34.

fication relates directly to the Christian responsibility in society with the vocation of the engagement.[129]

Here additionally, we must pay attention to the influence of Calvin through the ethical doctrine of sanctification on the latter development of the Calvinist, especially the Pietism movement with the Puritanism, and the Evangelical movement in the United States during the following three centuries until today in China. At the perspective of the spirit of Reformation and of the Faith of the Protestant Church, the ethical principle of sanctification of Calvin had gone beyond the Reformed Church. It deeply reconstructed the standard of Holiness through life by the Gospel. One of the greatest figure in the history of evangelism was John Wesley, who had special affiliation with the core of Calvin's legacy and his ecclesial vision more than from Luther's, because of their different Sitz im Leben.[130]

4.3.5 The Ethical Principle of Conscience and the Right of Resistance

Calvin had a great chance to do reform in Geneva because the political regime of the city had already used the republic form with the democratic parliamentary system by law. It was a historic miracle of humanity! So all his theories about the relationship between the state and the church concerned this background, and his motherland, France, remained the totalitarian regime with the policy of the bloody suppression. Calvin had

129 Eric Fuchs said: "Pour toutes ces raisons, la sanctification, sur laquelle Calvin insiste tant comme étant la responsabilité majeure du chrétien, ne doit pas être séparée de l'éthique; distinguée certes, mais pas séparée. Car elle indique quel peut être le sens de la démarche éthique et comment la conduire, au-delà de ses errances propres, vers un authentique service de l'homme, et donc de Dieu. Mais suscite chez ses disciples un dynamisme éthique très remarquable, comme l'histoire des Eglises réformées le montre bien." Eric Fuchs, *L'Ethique Protestante, Histoire et enjeux*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990, p. 35.

130 Carter Lindberg said: "Later, John Wesley could praise Luther for his recovery of justification while lamenting that Luther was ignorant of, or at least confused about, the doctrine of sanctification." In: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 379. Cf. John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872, vol. 7, p. 204.

deeply expressed his concerns about this situation for the Protestant Church by supplying his vision and ethical principle vis-à-vis the tyranny and the dictatorship, which arrogated the legitimacy of the state to them or their family alone from the divinity of the Lord.

Calvin's ethical principle of the Christian conscience and the Right of Conscience became the spiritual and moral forces to the Calvinists and the Puritans, who pushed and continued the vocation and the ideal of Calvin outside the democratic and republic of Geneva. In the Netherlands, France, Britain, and North America, they had shown tremendous enthusiasm of the proclamation on the Word of Christ. One of the top secrets was this ethical principle from John Calvin to them.

In *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne*, IV, X, Calvin explores his ecclesiastical concern about the ethical principle of Conscience. He said firstly,

> This is the power now to be discussed whether the church may lawfully bind consciences by its laws. In this discussion we are not dealing with the political order, but are only concerned with how God is to be duly worshiped according to the rule laid down by Him, and how the spiritual freedom which looks to God may remain unimpaired for us (*ICR*, IV, X, 1).

He used the words of the Apostles about the meanings of the conscience such as "They show that the work of the law is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness, and their conflicting thoughts accuse or even excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus." (Rom. 2:15–16); "I am speaking the truth in Christ – I am not lying; my conscience bears me witness in the Holy Spirit." (Rom. 9:1); "The aim of our charge is love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith." (1 Tim. 1:5); […] He mentioned one ancient proverb from Quintilian in this way:

> A simple awareness could repose in man, bottled up, as it were. Therefore, this feeling, which draws men to God's judgment, is like a keeper assigned to man, that watches and observes all his secrets so that nothing may remain buried in darkness. Hence that ancient proverb: Conscience is a thousand witnesses (ICR, IV, X, 3).

He used the title "Bondage and freedom of conscience" to explore his insights.

> God not only teaches us to keep our mind chaste and pure from all lust, but forbids any obscenity of speech and outward wantonness. My conscience is subject to the observance of this law, even though no men were alive in the world. Thus, he who conducts himself intemperately sins not so much because he furnishes a bad example to his brethren as in that his conscience is bound with guilt before God (*ICR*, IV, X, 4).

While facing the laws in the society, the conscience is free because of the essence of the conscience linked with God in Calvin's explication. He said:

> Now let us return to human laws. If they were passed to lay scruples upon us, as if the observance of these laws were necessary of itself, we say that something unlawful is laid upon conscience. For our consciences do not have to do with men but with God alone. This is the purport of that common distinction between the earthly forum and the forum of conscience. While the whole world shrouded in the densest darkness of ignorance, this tiny little spark of light remained, that men recognized man's conscience to be higher than all human judgments. Although they afterward indeed cast away what they confessed in one word, God still willed that some testimony of Christian freedom appear even then, to rescue consciences from the tyranny of men. (*ICR*, IV, X, 5)

In terms of the authority of the church, Calvin made the absolute conclusion about the Christian conscience related to any arbitrary power of the institutional church. He said:

> The Church has no right to set up independent constitutions to blind consciences […] Our false bishops, therefore, burden our consciences with new laws on the pretext that they have been appointed by the Lord spiritual lawgivers, as a consequence of which the government of the church has been entrusted to them, Accordingly, they contend that whatever they command and prescribe must of necessity be observed by Christian people. Anyone who violates it they hold guilty of double disobedience, because he is a rebel against God and the Church. (*ICR*, IV, X, 6)

Here Calvin stressed the double authority of the Church and of God on the phenomenon upon the individual conscience. He denied this authority from God!

> Yet I deny that they have so been appointed lawgivers over believers as to be able by themselves to prescribe a rule of life, or to force their ordinances upon the people committed to them. When I say this, I mean that they have no right to command the church to observe as obligatory what they have themselves conceived apart from God's Word. Since that right was both unknown to the apostles, and many

> times denied the ministers of the church by the Lord's own mouth, I marvel that anyone, contrary to the example of the apostles and against the clear prohibition of God, dared seize this right and dare defend it today! (*ICR*, IV, X, 6)

Historically, the ethical principle of the Christian Right of the Resistance originated from the doctrine of Conscience in the Reformed tradition by John Calvin and made a tremendous influence on modern spirituality. The Church today must think of Calvin's ethical principles of the Christian Conscience and of the Right of Resistance while encountering the powerful orders with the name of the authority of the law and of the state, if they misuse the ultimate Divine Command obviously in the clear minds of the Christians.

4.3.6 Conclusion

The Responsibility is the most important characteristic of Calvin's ethics, which rooted deeply in the Grace and the Providence of God through the engagements into the individual life, the family, the society and the state by the restriction of the church. At the same time, the church as the assembly of the believers in the Reformed tradition that differed from the Catholic hierarchy polity run by the strict rules and disciplines around the Gospel instead of the authority of the institution or individual such as Curia Romana and the Pope.

Thus, the fidelity from the believers on the church expresses the fidelity in God. In general, the doctrine of Predestination in the public impression is the central theme of Calvin's theology, but essentially, it is just one of the doctrines in the system, the true basis of Calvin's theology is the doctrine of Creation, on which the whole system of theology is built and explored. As long as his ethical principles are concerned, the Responsibility is founded on the Creation under the Providence of God. If we could grasp this point, we will be very clear about all above ethical and theological principles and the meanings for the Reformed tradition.

As a brief conclusion, I would like to cite the comments of Guenther H. Haas:

> The foundational theological doctrine for understanding Calvin's view of Christian ethics is creation. In the act of creation God brings into existence, not only all creatures, but also "the very order of things" directing them. This ordering is the means

> by which God governs all of his creation. Creatures in their diversity obey God by submitting to the "order of nature" that he has determined for them. This is also the case for human beings. Though they are distinct from all other creatures in that they are made in the image of God, their lives are still governed by the order of nature. It prescribes their relations to God, to one another, and to the rest of creation.[131]

The meaning of the Creation as the basis of Calvin's theological system, therefore, what does it signify if to think of these ethical principles in terms of the ecclesiastical effects in the history? Or my fundamental question is coming up, that is to say, what are the ecclesial functions of these ethical principles in the Reformed Church of Geneva at the time of Calvin?

4.4 The ethical structures of the Reformed Church in Geneva

John Calvin's historicity for Protestantism lies in his ecclesiastical initiatives to establish the institutional church after the Reformation of Martin and of Ulrich Zwingli who prepared the foundation of Protestantism as the first generation of the Reformation. To the Reformation of John Calvin in Geneva, the legacy of Luther was theological and spiritual, and Zwingli, more ethical and ecclesiastical influences on him. Thus, concerning the central theme, namely, the ethical structures of the Reformed Church in Geneva, I must introduce the ethical and ecclesiastical thoughts of Zwingli as the pre-comprehension. Before that, I should briefly trace back to the external situation for the Reformation of Calvin in Geneva, i.e. the two challenges: the Catholic action against the Reformation pressed the institutional construction of the Protestant Church; the radical reformed movements, especially the Anabaptist movement from the interior Reformation. Both composed the urgent pressure to John Calvin.

131 Guenther H. Haas, "Calvin's Ethics," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 93.

4.4.1 The Urgent Actuality for the Reformation

4.4.1.1 The Counter-Reformation and the Revival of the Monasticism

Since 1517, The Roman Catholic Church inherited the medieval catholic church was shocked thoroughly in Europe by the Reformation not only theologically but also politically. The ethical pattern for the secular order disordered away from the Roman Catholic order, namely the moral rules and the legal norms with the superiority and dominant effects in Europe, which originated from the authorities of Rome during about a thousand years, had gone to end in the époque of the Reformation. After the previous two catastrophes of the Catholic Church, i.e. "Babylonian Captivity" (1309–1376) and "The Second Great Schism" (1374–1414), the powerful attacks this time from the Reformation finally made the authorities of Rome to face the internal reflections about the abuses and the secularized corrupt phenomenon inside the clergy class again and much stronger than before.

> The emergency situation most readily envisaged (though by no means the only one) is that which occurs when a pope lapses into heresy, or, by being the occasion of schism, endangers the faith of the whole church. Under such conditions, the church-which, unlike the Pope, possesses the gift of doctrinal inerrancy, possesses also the power to prevent its own ruin. Infallibility is not necessarily to be ascribed to the doctrinal decisions of a general council, Yet, in the determination of orthodoxy, the council certainly does possess an authority superior to that of the pope and can therefore stand in judgment over him, correct him, and even, if need be, depose him.[132]

However, at the same time, the menaces to put down the supreme authority of Roman Curia, and consequently the privileges of the clergy class in the socio-political levels of the secular order made the Roman Catholic Church strengthen the forces through the institutional approach against the Reformation. The genuine schism between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants had occurred finally. The historical moment was the Council of Trent convoked in 1545 and after several months, Martin Luther died.

132 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 168.

The Council of Trent (1545–1547; 1551–1552; 1562–1563), which aimed at reaction against the Reformation at the doctrinal level, was the historical beginning with the mark of the official opposition between two Churches, the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church. The dogmatical defenses and the doctrinal rebukes on Luther's theological principles were systematically studied in order to uphold the Roman Curia's authority of the faith and of the church.

> It had been customary to assume that in opposition to the "Protestant principle" of the Scriptura sola (Scripture alone) the Council of Trent had endorsed the teaching that the Gospel was to be found only partly in Scripture and partly, therefore, in the unwritten traditions the apostles had received from Christ and handed down to their Episcopal successors (the so-called partim…partim formula). Such a teaching had been widely received in the years immediately before the assembling of the council; it was to become a cliché of Counter-Reformation theology. And the text of the decree itself, admittedly, can quite readily be interpreted in such a way as to support it.[133]

At the pretext of Counter-Reformation and defending the authority of Roman Curia, the Council of Trent made the self-reflections on the internal errors and abuses by stressing the morality, the good education and the strict disciplines to restrict the clergy class within the Canonical Law.[134] The most significant internal self-adjusting matter of the Trent was to create the Order of Jesuits, which symbolized the revival of the medieval monastic spirit. The total three weapons of Roman Curia against the Reformation had appeared finally: a) Index: to interrupt and stop the ideas and the thoughts of the Reformation through the universities and the institutions under the influence of the Catholic Church, b) the Spanish Inquisition, c) the Order of Jesuits, in which was organized by the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola.

133 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 149.

134 "Following the Council of Trent, priests were encouraged to educe their congregations in the complex meaning of the Mass, but they were not required. The Council had differentiated levels of discernement and understanding among the faithful: education, specifically a clerical education, enabled one to read the material world more precisely and more complexly." Lee P. Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation, Incarnation and Liturgy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 258.

Unified Catholicism strengthened against Protestantism that was still weak due to the institutional arbitrary and disorder. The Order of Jesuits essentially changed the restoration to the spirit of Monasticism, which was the most spiritual and moral force in the medieval tradition, especially embodied in the Benedict Order, at the time of the second generation of the Reformation. The great spirituality of the Benedict Order was always characteristic of the Christian faith in temporary life. The revival of the medieval monasticism was the fruit of the Reformation, although inherited by the Order of Jesuits as the means for defending the authority of Papacy and against the Reformation. The many merits and virtues such the austerity, the ascetic, the simplicity, the humility, the piety, and the fidelity are the basic points to be Christian from the patristic tradition. To the reformers from Germany, Zurich, England, and Geneva, the original motive of the Protest was not the rebellion and the schism, but only for reforming the abuses inside the Roman Catholic leadership to restore the great medieval tradition as the Benedict Order's spirit. One comment about the Reformation in England expressed the same idea.

> There is more to be said in defense of the claim that the English Reformation came primarily from "above", that is, from monarch, ministers and some leading ecclesiastics, rather than from a groundswell of popular discontent and resentment towards the old religion. There is the striking fact, for example, that, up to the very moment of the Reformation, the bulk of the numerous religious works produced by the printing press (in England as elsewhere), presumably to satisfy public tastes, consisted of wholly traditional works of piety and devotion – and lives of saints.[135]

That is why so far Catholicism remains the most powerful spirituality over the human beings as the doctrinal system of Christianity, especially in terms of the multiple values of the secular world today. Since the Reformation throughout the following centuries, the two different systems

135 Cf. Pierre Janelle, *L'Angleterre Catholique à la veille du schisme*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1935, pp. 28–32; Francis A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, 1919, esp. pp. 285f.; John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 16.

of the Christianity developed separately and influenced together the world based on the common faith on Jesus Christ historically.[136]

4.4.1.2 The Challenges from the Radicalism of the Reformation

While the Catholic Church was adjusting inside the Church with unified doctrinal and institutional forces, a radical force named the Anabaptists movement, which originated from the Reformation appeared at the primary period of the Reformation from Zurich where Huldrych Zwingli prepared to reform the Catholic Church. The founder was Conrad Grebel, who was a follower of Zwingli at first, and organized Bible study in small groups at houses according to the suggestions of Zwingli. However, he gradually grew disappointed with Luther and Zwingli due to different ideas about the Church. In January 1525, he baptized one of the members of the house meeting groups who were baptized in infancy, so the name of the Anabaptists appeared. The most important mark of the Anabaptists was the theory of the Church, especially regarding the relation of Church and State held by Luther and Zwingli, and continued by John Calvin and the mainstream of the Protestant denominational churches. They were condemned as heretics and persecuted terribly by the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church in Europe at the time of the Reformation.[137]

In brief, they claimed proper ideas in the following points:

a) to refuse the church polity of the Lutheran Church and the principle of relation between Church and State;
b) to deny any ethical and political correlations between Church and State even if in the legal frame and on the basis of mutual respects;
c) to insist that to be Christians is the result of the Grace and blessedness of the Lord without any relationship to the individual works

136 It has more than once been remarkable and historic how much the two movements competing for the mind and hearts of European people, namely Calvinism, the radical Calvinism, the Puritan on one side and the resurgent Catholicism and Counter-Reformation on the other side through the huge differences of the doctrines and ecclesiastical structures. Cf. Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I*, London: Blandford Press, 1967, esp. ch. 13.

137 Neal Blough (ed.), *Jésus-Christ aux marges de la Réforme*, Paris: Desclée, 1992, pp. 12–24.

and the secular statutes, and completely against the Territory Church with the princes and noblemen as the leaders of the church in Germany;

d) to deny any rules and disciplines to define and restrain the individual conversion and confession of faith by the ecclesiastical authorities, and to declare that the Christians believed in Christ and followed after Him totally without any relationships and causes with the institutional organizations no matter the State or the Church; Christians for faith and salvation have no duty to do service in the political area for the State or political authorities, especially military service and the oath of allegiance to the government by the secular law, etc. Therefore, Christians must refuse the appeal to the courts;

e) as to the fundamental faith, they accepted the principle of three *Sola*s of Martin Luther, but never recognized the church order and the confessions of Lutheranism nor any kind of denominational confessions including the liturgy of worship originated from the patristic tradition replaced by their meeting of the family in the house, so-called "the company of the committed" instead of the name of Church;

f) to totally throw out infant baptism which was inherited from the patristic tradition by the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, the Anglicans, and the Reformed-Presbyterians, etc. In 1527, the Confession of Schleitheim was published as their theological statement. They were people of non violence, Bible believers and nonpartisans.[138]

The Anabaptists movement expanded actively over European countries during the period of the Reformation. Nearly all the mainstream Protestant Churches excluded them, and to some extent persecuted them. They immigrated to North America to survive and develop through the name of the Mennonites, and the Amish. The Little Flock (by Watchman Nee) appeared in the first half of the 20th century in China originating from the tradition of the Anabaptists movement.

138 Marc Lienhard, *The Origins and Characteristics of Anabaptism, Les débuts et les caractéristiques de l'anabaptisme*, The Hague (La Haye): Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 15–25.

4.4.1.3 The Legacy from Zwingli

Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) was one of the pioneers of the Reformation at the time of Martin Luther from Zurich. As a sincere friend of Erasmus, the "prince of Humanism", he did work on the reform in Zurich by the humanist approach differing from Luther who inherited the patristic tradition and the legacy of St. Augustine.[139] Through a short study of Zwingli, we can relate the actual situation for the reform of Calvin in Geneva.

From the historical perspective, this figure's career and reputation were connected with three kinds of conflicts:

1) The conflict occurred with the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1518 in Zurich, Zwingli openly attacked the Indulgences by the Curia Romana and launched the reform there. From 1522, he guided the reform in the Swiss Germanic area and abolished the Mass and all the decorations on the walls of the church buildings. In addition, they abolished the altars, the Cross of the Crucifixion, the clergy robe and sanctuary matters with patristic traces. They finally established a new type of ministerial order. He performed marriage with the identity of a former priest, and engaged in political affairs with responsibility. He strongly showed his ethical, social and political duty as a pastor and church leader.
2) He had conflict with Martin Luther about the Eucharist in 1529 in Marburg.
3) He pushed the persecution and pressure by the state on the Anabaptists' movement and, therefore, achieved the relationship of Church-State which was in accord with Luther's position and then through Calvinists over the Western World until today. Therefore, some researchers described the influence of Zwingli on Calvin's reform in Geneva and then later with Calvinists in the world of Protestantism.

While it may not be correct to reach such a conclusion that Calvin depended on the theology of Zwingli, a common judgment of academic

139 Cf. Jean Rilliet, *Zwingle, Le troisième homme de la Réforme*, Paris: Fayard, 1959; George R. Potter, *Zwingli*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

research is very clear, namely, "Calvinism is inconceivable without the Zurich Reformation"[140]

Historically, Zwingli had produced a great influence which extended beyond the continent to England and Scotland etc. The prophesying form of his theological legacy of the reform in Zurich was adopted through the mainstream of Calvinism outside Switzerland and became a main resource of Puritan ministerial training.[141] Unfortunately, in 1531 he died in a battle against the Catholic army when Calvin was a young university student. Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) worked as his successor and continued the career of the reform in German areas. He insisted on the principles of Zwingli and developed good relationships with the Lutherans and the Calvinists in Europe for the Reformation. Under his leadership, very important documents, "Le Consensus Tigurinus" (in 1549) and "La Confession helvétique postérieure", (in 1566) were promulgated in the Reformed Church.[142] In the history of Protestant theology, Federal Theology was originated by Zwingli and Bullinger. Along with John Calvin, they became the dominate figures of the Reformation in Switzerland and Europe. The tradition of reform in German areas by Zwingli and Bullinger was naturally integrated into Calvinism and the Reformed tradition.

> Through the incorporation of elements of his thought in the work of Bullinger and Calvin, Zwingli continued to assert a significant influence after his death. While his personal influence was local, "Zwinglianism" had a larger geographical impact. Calvin explicitly rejected some aspects of Zwingli's doctrine, including his doctrines of law, penance, and the coordination of faith and works.[143]

140 Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, trans. R. Gritsch, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, p. 159.

141 Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought, New Perspectives*, Leiden: Brill, 1981, pp. 340–378.

142 André Bouvier, *Henri Bullinger, réformateur et conseiller œcuménique, le successeur de Zwingli, d'après sa correspondance avec les réformés et les humanistes de langue française*, Paris/Neuchâtel, Droz/Delachaux et Niestlé, 1940, p. 5.

143 Gregory J. Miller, *Huldrych Zwingli*, in: *The Reformation Theologians, An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by C. Lindberg, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, p. 165.

As in references of the research, we can confirm that the affiliation between Zwingli and Calvin are relative to church order and church polity as much as the approach rather than between Luther and Calvin. Most of the views and principles of church order and polity in Calvin's *Institutes* and the reform in Geneva mostly appeared in the practices in Zurich or reflected briefly but deeply by Zwingli.[144]

Briefly, the chief characteristics of Zwingli's legacy can be shown according to Gottfried W. Locher:

1) The discovery of the Word of God, publicly preached on the basis of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as providing both the power and the obligation for renewal of life, and as constituting both the beginning and the very heart of the reformation itself.
2) The consequent opposition to human authority, teaching and tradition in divine things, to idolatry and superstition.
3) The essential recognition of Jesus Christ as the one who made atonement for us on the Cross, and who is the living and present Governor of His people by His Spirit.
4) The conscious will to reform both the church and society.
5) The attempt to realize the daily Christian life of the congregation in the form of democratic associations.
6) The evolutionary and possibly even revolutionary power which derives from these bases.
7) Corresponding to the radical nature of all these features, the characteristic concept of the celebration of the Lord's Supper as a confirmation of spiritual communion with Christ and with one another,

144 "L'héritage de Zwingli fut recueilli par Bullinger, son successeur, plus loin par Bucer et finalement par Calvin, plus tributaire de Zwingli qu'il ne s'en doute. Par ailleurs, Berne, réticente au point de vue politique à confondre sa destinée avec celle de Zurich, restait fermement attachée à la Réforme dont Zwingli avait été l'inspirateur chez elle. C'est Berne qui, par sa puissance politique, va permettre et même ordonner l'expansion des idées nouvelles dans les territoires qui forment aujourd'hui la Suisse romande […] Si donc le presbytérianisme et le puritanisme anglo-saxons ont pu recevoir quelque chose de la ville de Calvin et avoir dans l'histoire l'influence que l'on sait, Berne y est pour beaucoup, donc aussi Zwingli sous la direction duquel la réforme s'y était établie." Jaques Courvoisier, *Zwingli, théologien réformé*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1965, p. 25.

and the consequent symbolic and spiritual understanding of the words of institution.[145]

4.4.1.4 Conclusion

We should reflect on the historical background of Calvin's career in Geneva through analyzing Catholicism since the Council of Trent, and the Anabaptists movement to show the disordered morality during the Reformation, and the legacy of Zwingli. Actually, the social situation of the reform in Geneva was different from the time of the first generation. The Protestant Church had become the positive spirituality for political authorities in Switzerland and played a constructive role in the moral area for social and ethical order and for peace and justice.[146]

> There are three areas in which the new emphasis on communal discipline was particularly visible: poor relief, schooling, and the institutionalized control of public morality. The most singular creation of the Swiss Reformation was the particular form of matrimonial court it engendered. This first materialized in Zurich in May 1525 and was subsequently imitated by all major Swiss cities, including Geneva. It was this institution in particular that allowed the Reformed alliance of church and state to establish a control of people's moral conduct, which on occasion did not stop short of invading domestic privacy.[147]

Thus, the urgent task of the reform was to establish the church as the positive and dynamic institution of society to take the moral and spiritual responsibility in the expectations and hopes of the citizens of Geneva.[148] Finally, the traditions of St. Augustine, the medieval monasticism, Martin Luther, the humanists and Zwingli were considered as the preparations of the goal and of the theological creation of John Calvin. I could use the simplest words to describe the resources of his spirituality and

145 Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought, New Perspectives*, Leiden: Brill, 1981, p. 342.

146 Henri Naef, *Les origines de la Réforme à Genève*, vol. 2, Genève: Jullien, 1968, pp. 189ff.

147 Kaspar von Greyerz, "The Reformation in German-Speaking Switzerland," in: in: *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. by R. P. Hsia, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, pp. 94–95.

148 Benjamin C. Milner, Jr., *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*, Leiden: Brill, 1970, pp. 175–179.

theological thought in history. He started up his reform from the strict ecclesial order through the ecclesiastical ordinances and disciplines, which related to the theological, juridical and political effects, as his primal design.[149]

4.4.2 The Ecclesial Achievements of the Ethical Principles

It is evident that Calvin's concern was not to do the ontological contemplation on the metaphysical proposition, but always the Church in the concrete situation with the ultimate aim of preaching the Word of God. His vocation was practical and his theological activities tied around this actual goal. During his short stay in Strasburg (1538–1541) where he passed with high marks in reading, writing and thinking, and the most important achievement was to set up a friendship with Martin Bucer (1491–1551). His approach to the reform through the institutional way by "*Ordonnances ecclésiastiques et Disciplinaires*" deeply impressed the reform in Geneva by John Calvin, who had been trained systematically and splendidly in legal science with the doctor of law. Therefore, it was very easy for him to set up the Church Order through the institutional approach.[150]

Originally, the spirit of the Canonical Law used over the Medieval Period by the Church had also prepared the basic ethical norms in Europe, and Calvin inherited this tradition of the civilization, even if he aimed to construct the new Church Order outside the Roman Order. The doctrine of Justification by Faith of Martin Luther was the base to get rid of the total control of Roman Curia for the freedom of Christians individually. Nevertheless, the mission of the proclamation of the Gospel needs the forces of the institutional Church which was defined by the Apostle Paul as the Body of Christ in the Scripture. (Eph. 4:12, 15–16; 5:23) The position of Luther, regarding the necessity of the secular order to assure the proclamation of the Gospel was also applied to the reform

149 Henri Naef, *Les origines de la Réforme à Genève*, vol. 2, Genève: Jullien, 1968, pp. 189ff.

150 Paul D. L. Avis, *The Church in the Theology of the Reformers*, Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981, p. 6.

in Geneva by Calvin through active and normal relationships with the government in the legal frame.

On September 3, 1541, the authorities of Geneva in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs invited Calvin officially. He quickly presented, on the same day, his documents of the reform to the Authorities: "*Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*," "*Catéchisme*", and "*Formes des prières*". Meanwhile, he proposed to the government to set up one committee by the pastors and the congressmen together for interpreting and executing "*Ordonnances sur l'Église et Consistoire*" ("*Constitution ecclésiastique*"). The government of Geneva had ratified through the juridical procedures all the conventions and ordinances by John Calvin in November 20, 1541.[151]

From this historical moment, the reformation under the leadership of John Calvin entered into the second stage, namely to establish the institutional Protestant Church based on legal order. He was very lucky that the political polity of Geneva was republic with the aristocratic democracy and with the strict sense of citizenship by law. The powerful neighbor, France, remained the absolute monarchism with Catholic tradition. In this background, Calvin pioneered the way for the future of the Protestant Church with so many outstanding initiatives at the institutional level.

Briefly, he created three points for building the authority of Protestantism:

a) the Protestant Church has the proper orthodoxy authority of teaching against heresy in terms of the doctrines for the faith of Church;
b) the Protestant Church has the right of punishment (the authority of excommunication);
c) the Protestant Church has the autonomy of the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs independent from the government. It was the origin of the principle of separation of church-state in the constitutional frame. (ICR, IV, VIII, 1).

151 Eugène Choisy, *La théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin*, Genève: Eggimann, 1897, pp. 48ff.

In this case, John Calvin created these three fundamental rights of Church in the Protestant Order.[152]

As to my central theme, the question here appears, what kinds of ecclesiastical initiatives and institutional creations did Calvin do with his ethical principles from his theological system?

My research will show in the following paragraphs these next steps:

a) the ethical principle of Authority results from the practices of ecclesiastical ordinances, the laws of the governments and to initiate the principle of the separation between church and state;
b) the ethical principle of Election interpreted the particular priesthood based on the universal priesthood of Luther by the ministry of Church;
c) the ethical principle of Third Use of Law produced the ethical norms of leadership and authority of Church restrained by the democratic and constitutional approaches, the creation of the Consistory, the Venerable Company of pastors, and the Synod;
d) the ethical principle of Sanctification lead to the ecclesiastical disciplines as the basic element of the church for assuring the spiritual order with moral requirements in life as well as in the church, or by a metaphor as "Police of the soul" toward the Sanctification;[153]
e) the ethical principle of Christian Conscience is the most powerful pillar of the Faith and the last defense in cases where the freedom

152 Bernard Gilliéron, *La foi réformée*, Aubonne: Ed. du Moulin, 1986, p. 31.

153 "La discipline! But suprême de Calvin. Dès la première *Institution*, il revendique pour l'Eglise le droit de l'établir. Il ne cessera dans ses écrits, ou ses lettres, d'en affirmer la nécessité. 'La rigueur de la discipline n'est pas ce qu'elle devrait être', écrit-il à Farel en 1540. Cet ordre, le théologien de la loi travaillera sans relâche par goût, par conviction, à le rétablir. Tâche ardue en vérité! La réforme ne s'était-elle point annoncée au monde comme un message d'affranchissement? Et n'aurait-elle jeté bas tout le système juridique du Catholicisme que pour le relever? […] La discipline ecclésiastique est l'ensemble de ces lois. – Règlements relatifs au Culte: liturgie, heures de prédications ou des oraisons publiques, choix des chants ou des psaumes, formes des prières, etc. […] mesures relatives au temporel, au recrutement du ministère et à ses devoirs d'état, aux formalités du mariage; enfin, police des âmes." [*Instit.* (1560), IV, XII: De la discipline de l'Eglise.] Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, tome 4: *Calvin et l'Institution chrétienne* (Paris: Hachette, 1935), Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1978, pp. 103–104.

of faith of Christ is menaced and violated by authorities with the name of the legitimacy and legality through the institutional powers: the principle of Christian Resistance.

The final conclusion will be proved that Calvin's ethics is the ecclesial ethics for establishing the Church, and the Body of Christ in the institutional form for the Word of God in the secular order!

4.4.2.1 The Ethical Principle of Authority and the Church-State Relationship

Luther had used the principle of Sola Scripture at the beginning of the Reformation for the central question of the Authority to struggles against Roman Curia. Calvin continued the tradition of Luther by reflecting this principle, in general, meant that authority of the Scripture has shown the topics of the Authority to be very urgent and complicated in terms of the mission of church in the temporary world. At the primal period of his reform in Geneva, the authority of Scripture in his reflection had been replaced by the authority in a general sense connecting the authority of church and of government concerning the proclamation of the gospel.

The idea of the separation between the church and the state essentially originated from the ethical principle of the authority by Calvin.

> The church orders of western Europe which originated without the participation of the secular authorities are Calvinistic in nature. Worthy of mention is the Ecclesiastic Discipline of France (1559, which exerted strong influence upon the church orders of the Netherlands) and the Scottish Book of Discipline (1560) and Book of Common Order (1564).[154]

Sola Scriptura confirmed the supreme authority of God who created the world under the divine providence in Calvin's system, so the state was based on the Holiness of the Creator for the order of Justice in the temporary world. Any phenomenon of abuses by the power of the state was to violate the essence of state. He claimed that the state and the church belong to the Creation of God substantially with different identity from

154 *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Bodensieck, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965, p. 517.

the divine decree of God. The legal order of state is for the security, the peace and the freedom of faith as the fundamental duty.

The church is independent and autonomous to preach the Gospel of God and the other ecclesiastical services out from the administration of the state. Therefore, the common basis of the state and the church is the righteousness of Christ, the supreme sovereignty of God. The separation of state and church does not mean that the laws of the secular order do nothing for the members of church; on the contrary, the good members of the church are first and foremost, the authentic and moral citizens with civil responsibility. The inner principle behind this description is the absolute obedience to God.

Philip Hughes expressed his understanding of Calvin's thought succinctly:

> Indeed, the whole structure of society as conceived in Calvin's mind was based on the distinction between church and state as two separate powers whose spheres of authority were clearly defined, the former wielding the spiritual sword in the faithful proclamation of the Word of God, and the latter the secular sword in the maintaining of good and just government and the punishment of offenders against the statutory laws; and both being subject to the supreme authority of Almighty God.[155]

Calvin explored his idea in three parts about the civil and spiritual governments and their relationships:

First, from the revelation of the Scripture, God ordained the secular authorities through the prophets. Moreover, the Lord confirmed the essence of the state as Justice. The teachings of Jesus Christ and the interpretations of the apostles further proved this principle in the concrete situations.

Under the title of the "chief tasks and burdens of civil government", he explained:

> Its function among men is no less than that of bread, water, sun, and air; indeed, its place of honor is far more excellent. For it does not merely see to it, as all these serve to do, that men breathe, eat, drink, and are kept warm, even though it surely embraces all these activities when it provides for their living together. It does not, I

155 Philip E. Hughes, "The Geneva of John Calvin," in: *The Churchman* 78 (1964), p. 257. Cf. James MacKinnon, *Calvin and the Reformation*, London: Longmans, 1936, pp. 81ff.

> repeat, look to this only, but also prevents idolatry, sacrilege against God's name, blasphemies against his truth, and other public offenses against religion from arising and spreading among the people; it prevents the public peace from being disturbed; it provides that each man may keep his property safe and sound; that men may carry on blameless intercourse among themselves; that honesty and modesty may be preserved among men. It short, it provides that a public manifestation of religion may exist among Christians and that humanity is maintained among men" (ICR, IV, XX, 3).

As for the whole subject of civil government, Calvin showed these three: the magistrate, who is the protector and guardian of the laws; the laws, according to which he governs; the people who are governed by the laws and obey the magistrate.

Secondly, Calvin stressed the laws and the ordinances on the Word of God in his system. The Ten Commandments had shown at the beginning that justice was the essence in God's plan. He distinguished three kinds of law by the moral, ceremonial and judicial functions. The moral law is contained under two heads, one of which simply commands us to worship God with pure faith and piety; the other, to embrace men with sincere affection. Accordingly, it is the true and eternal rule of righteousness, prescribed for men of all nations and times, who wish to conform their lives to God's will. For it is His eternal and unchangeable will that we all indeed worship him, and that we love one another. The ceremonial law was the tutelage of the Jews, and which it seemed good to the Lord to train His people, as it were, in their childhood, until the fullness of time should come, in order that He might fully manifest his wisdom to the nations, and show the truth of those things which were foreshadowed. The judicial law, given to them for civil government, imparted certain formulas of equity and justice, by which they might live together blamelessly and peaceably (*ICR*. IV, XX, 15).

Third, concerning obedience to the law, Calvin analyzed the situation of tyranny with absolute power with the name of legitimacy. He claimed that the tyranny regime is the punishment from God for the corrupt and disordered governments, but the people should not lose the expectation and the hope on God's omnipotence and providence. He used the "Constitutional defenders of the people's freedom" to explore his insights about the obedience and the individual rights. His famous assertion was:

> Obedience to man must not become disobedience to God! But, in that obedience which we have shown to be due the authority of rulers, we are always to make this exception, indeed, to observe it as primary, that such obedience is never to lead us away from obedience to him, to whose will the desires of all kings ought to be subject, to whose decrees all their commands ought to yield, to whose majesty their scepters ought to be submitted. (*ICR*, IV, XX, 32)

In conclusion, Calvin interpreted the separation of Church-State around the principle of Authority, by which he dealt with the relationship between the government and the church; the two institutional powers were based on the Word of God. The ethical meanings are abundant for the late development of Protestantism no matter what kind of political regimes by insisting on the eternal aim of the church. He had produced so many wonderful insights about this ethical principle in his great works, such as "The church does not assume what is proper to the magistrate; nor can the magistrate execute what is carried out by the church" (ICR, IV, II, 3). Obviously, at the sense of the church polity, the Reformed Church in Calvin's design was different from the Lutheran Church and the Anglican Church. Both of them were subject to the civil magistrates, or the secular government according to the secular law, and meanwhile differed from the model of Anabaptists who denied any kinds of relationships with the state and any kinds of the duty and responsibility as citizens in the society.[156] The famous expert of the thought of Calvin, John T. McNeil said:

> Calvin attempted to call forth among all the citizens a political conscience and a sense of public responsibility. He adopted the practice of delivering a sermon annually before the February election of syndics and other officials. In these (e.g., 4 February 1558 and 4 February 1560) he pointed to the perils of the city – which without God's aid is less than nothing – in the midst of the convulsions of the word, and the necessity of choosing magistrates "with a pure conscience, and without regard

156 Zwingli and Bullinger took the different views from Calvin's position. Calvin claimed in his works and the practices that there must be a separation between civil authorities and ecclesiastical authorities. Cf. Roger Ley, *Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli*, Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1948, pp. 99–105; and also cf. Aimé Louis Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, vol. 9, Genève: Georg, 1897, pp. 116–121.

> to anything but the honor and glory of God and the safety and defense of the republic." God, he said, should be held "the president and judge of our elections."[157]

Philip Hughes expressed his understandings about Calvin's position succinctly:

> Indeed, the whole structure of society as conceived in Calvin's mind was based on the distinction between church and state as two separate powers whose spheres of authority were clearly defined, the former wielding the spiritual sword in the faithful proclamation of the Word of God, and the latter the secular sword in the maintaining of good and just government and the punishment of offenders against the statutory laws; and both being subject to the supreme authority of Almighty God.[158]

Historically, the polity of Reformed Church on the principle of separation of Church-State achieved in the reform of Geneva by Calvin relied on two elements, one relative to the ethical principle of authority in Calvin's theological system, and the second regarding the regime of the republic with the aristocratic democracy of Geneva and Switzerland as the background. The real test occurred by John Knox, the faithful disciple of Calvin, in the reform in Scotland, and the Calvinists, the Puritans and the missionaries in the Netherlands, France, Britain and North America by the model of Geneva to finally establish the Protestant Order on the principle of the separation in the Constitutions.[159]

> If Calvin's Geneva is to be described as the Protestant theocracy as the same as the Roman theocracy in the 13th century in Europe, then it must be interpreted at the level of the Reformation by the adjective "prophetic"; and it was of course not the ecclesiocracy especially not the dictatorship by the individual personality of Calvin

157 John T. McNeill, *The History et Character of Calvinism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 187.

158 Philip Philip E. Hughes, "The Geneva of John Calvin," in: *The Churchman* 78 (1964), p. 257. And Cf. James MacKinnon, *Calvin and the Reformation*, London: Longmans, 1936, pp. 81ff.

159 Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (according to the 1910 edition of Charles Scribner's Sons), by The Electronic Bible Society, Dallas, TX, 1998, p. 473; and Thomas M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (International Theological Library), Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908, p. 113.

himself as the charismatic figures who are totally gurus in some special spiritual religious communities.[160]

The ethical meanings of the principle of authority are structural not only for the Church, but also for modern political science by the objective standard as the common base of the judgment. The value of this ethical principle correlated with the democracy in the modern political sense.[161] In Calvin's ethical system, it correlates with the other ethical principles together for the Protestant Church in the secular order.

4.4.2.2 The Ethical Principle of Election and the Ministerial Order

The ethical principle of Election interpreted the special priesthood based on the universal priesthood of Luther in Calvin's system. The ministry of Church related to the structural elements of the visible church, which was the central task of Calvin while he wrote the Institution as the theologian in Basel. The ethical meaning of the principle of the authority led him directly to the issue of the visible church for Protestantism.

> We must clearly understand here that the visible Church signifies the Church in that aspect of it of which visibility is the distinguishing characteristic, or, in the old phraseology, its form. In this aspect, it is a society not of believers, but of professors of belief, of saints not in internal reality, but as "adorned with external holiness," irrespective of the existence or non-existence of true grace. Admission, accordingly, to this society is not on the basis of any judgment of a man's being really a Christian, but on the basis of what appears to be a morally serious profession of Christianity, and a promised subjection to the laws of Christ. He should indeed be a

160 John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, London/New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 216–221.

161 Ernst Troeltsch claimed, "Thus the social doctrine of Calvinism and its conception of the Church also differed considerably from those of Lutheranism. In course of time this difference became more and more pronounced, with the result that at the present day Calvinism feel itself to be the only Christian ecclesiastical body which is in agreement with the modern democratic and capitalistic development, and, moreover, the only one which is suited to it." Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 577.

> Christian. Many members of the Church are Christians; the invisible Church is within the visible.[162]

"Priesthood of All Believers" of Luther was the slogan of the Reformation. It set up the principle of Universal Priesthood to deny the clergy class of the Roman Catholic Church with many special privileges. Historically it gave birth to Protestantism. So many rules connected with the clergy class's privileges and norms were abolished at the same time, for instance, the celibacy of the priests, the monastic organizations, the canonical law etc. Luther, Zwingli and Bucer, as the former monks and priest established the family to show the independence from the Roman Catholic system. It was very necessary to attack all the existing orders at the beginning stage of the Reformation. Nevertheless, along with the process of the Reformation, many disordered activities and protestations against the secular order, happened under the name of the reform.

Luther, in his later life, was very sad about the actual mixed activities without the moral order and the ecclesiastical disciplines. The authority of the Scripture easily became the supreme authority of the individual right with his hand against anyone or anything arbitrary. Philippe Melanchthon and Martin Bucer were aware of this urgent situation.

> At the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 Philip Melanchthon advised against discussion of the priesthood of all believers, relegating it to the "odious and unessential articles that are commonly debated in the schools." In the Augsburg Confession, which had already been finished and read when he gave this judgment, the doctrine passed over in silence. Nevertheless, Protestant tradition has not followed Melanchthon in this respect; the priesthood of all believers has come to be in the consideration, along with biblical authority and salvation by faith, as one of the three main points of Evangelical theology. Like the other two, however, it has not always been interpreted in the same way, not taken as seriously in practice as in theory. Often, it has become a dead letter in a clergy-dominated institution; and where it has come alive again, it has been used to support a bewildering variety of practices, such as congregational polity, the Quaker meeting, pietistic ecclesiolae, and the Methodist commissioning of lay preachers. Sometimes, again, it has become associated with such slogans as "the right of private judgment" or "immediate access to God", and interpreted so individualistically that any institutional or corporate expression of it becomes unthinkable. Finally, it is perhaps not superfluous to point out that the

162 James Walker, *Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1888, repr. 1982, p. 119 (1st ed., 1872).

> "royal priesthood" is not a Protestant invention but a biblical category, which had an interesting history before Luther and has never been wholly neglected in the "Catholic" tradition. This fact is, too, complicate.[163]

Gerrish claimed: "Perhaps Luther's successors saw this more clearly than did Luther himself, for Melanchthon and Calvin abandon the subordination line in Luther's doctrine of the ministry: both refer the ministry solely to the institution of Christ, and remove discussion of the common priesthood to another context."[164]

It was the historical situation of the background, on which Calvin wanted to construct the Church Order by the strict ethical norms and the ecclesiastical disciplines in Geneva. The first document presented to the government was "the Ecclesiastical Ordinances" by Calvin and was directly about the institutional system of the church. He divided the ministry of the church into four offices: Pastor, Doctor, Elder and Deacon. The pastor's duty was in charge of the proclamation of the Gospel in public worship of the church and administered the sacraments with the assistance of the doctors, who worked also with the interpretations of the doctrines of the church according to the Scripture; the elder and the deacon worked for the ecclesiastical affairs for the church. The elders contacted with the magistrates of the civil government concerning the social and legal matters for the church, and took part in the consistory with the civil magistrates to survey the leadership of the church; the deacons worked in the diaconal areas in the hospitals and cared for the orphans, diseased persons and the refugees.[165] The roles of pastor and of doctors

163 Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 90.

164 For Melanchthon's view I can refer to Lieberg. Of Calvin's conception of church order Niesel correctly remarks that "the thought of the priesthood of all believers […] play no part in his doctrine." Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, trans. H. Knight, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956, pp. 202–203. It is interesting that Calvin, like Melanchthon, found in ordination to the evangelical ministry all the marks of a sacrament except one: it is not given to everyone in the church. Cf. Léopold Schummer, *Le Ministère pastoral dans l'Institution Chrétienne de Calvin à la lumière du troisième sacrement*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965. Here cf. Brian A. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New, Essays on the Reformation Heritage*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 320.

165 In Calvin's original text of the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques: "Nous Syndiques, petit et grand Conseil, avec nostre peuple assemble au son de la trompette et grosse

linked also with the theological direction of the church and the controversies caused by the doctrines for the pure faith among the members of the church.[166]

Then, he defined the fourfold offices of the ministry of the church through the form of church order.[167]

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cloche suivant nos anciennes coustumes: ayans considère que c'est chose digne de recommandation sur toutes les autres, que la doctrine du sainct Evangile de nostre Seigneur soit bien conservée en sa pureté, et l'Eglise Chrestienne deuement entretenue par bon régime et police: et aussi que la ieunesse pour l'avenir soit bien et fidèlement instruitte, l'hospital ordonne en bon estat pour la sustentation des povres: ce qui ne se peut faire sinon qu'il y ait certaine reigle et manière de vivre establie, par laquelle chacun estat entende le devoir de son office: A ceste cause il nous a semble bon que le gouvernement spirituel, tel que nostre Seigneur a demonstre et institue par sa parole, fust reduict en bonne forme, pour avoir lieu et estre entre nous. Et ainsi avons ordonne et estably de suivre et garder en nostre ville et territoire, la police Ecclésiastique qui s'ensuit: comme nous voyons qu'elle est prinse de l'Evangile de Iesus Christ." (CO 10/92) *Gestalt und Ordnung der Kirche*, (Calvin-Studienausgabe 2), ed. by E. Busch et al., Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997, p. 238.

166 Jeannine E. Olson said in "Calvin and social-ethical issues": "The ordinances embodied Calvin's fourfold conception of church office, which was foundational to the institutional development of Geneva, its schools, its welfare program, and its church court or Consistory. The fourfold conception of church office was replicated elsewhere as Reformed churches spread throughout the world. These four offices embodied much of Calvin's social and ethical plan for Geneva and for the church in general. Therefore, examining them is a logical way to begin to explore Calvin's position on social and ethical issues, rather than beginning with his more abstract writings and attempting to extrapolate from them what Calvin did or might have done in a practical setting." Cf. *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 156.

167 "Premierement il y a quatre ordres ou especes d'offices, que nostre Seigneur a institue pour le gouvernement de son Eglise: assavoir les Pasteurs, puis les Docteurs, apres les Anciens, quartementes Diacres. Pourtant si nous voulons avoir l'Eglise bien ordonnee et l'entretenir en son entier, il nous faut observer ceste forme de regime. Quant est des Pasteurs, que l'Escritue nomme aussi aucunesfois Surveillans, Anciens et Ministres: leur office est d'annoncer la parole de Dieu pour endoctrine, admonester, exhorter et reprendre tant en public qu'en particulier, administrer les Sacrements, et faire les corrections fraternelles avec les Anciens ou commis." (CO 10/93) *Gestalt und Ordnung der Kirche*, (Calvin-Studienausgabe 2), ed. by E. Busch et al., Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997, p. 238.

Here we can confirm that to establish the regime and the polity of the church in order to effectively execute the duty and the responsibility of the church were the two urgent tasks of the reform to Calvin at the beginning of his career. His definition and interpretation about the four-fold conception of church office regarding the ministry (instead of the term priest or clergy) showed the ethical intention of his system, namely the principle of Election from the doctrine of Double Predestination.[168]

Compared with the hard challenge to Luther from the high institutional organization of Roman Curia, which owned the powerful legitimate, juridical, administrative and spiritual control to the secular authorities as well as to the church, we can completely understand his strong will to destroy the institutional sovereignty of Roman Curia by any possible doctrinal and political methods. In his short life, Luther had achieved his mission of the faith to destroy the theocracy of Roman Curia, the old order, but behind him the task of constructing the new order would be very hard for the followers. The essence of the church is the holy and catholic and the task of the church is to preach the Gospel of God, thus the peace, the security and the justice as the symbolic marks of the sound secular order are realized as one of the goals of the church in the temporary world. This is also the ethical responsibility of the church.

Consequently as the most honorable successor of Luther, Calvin was very clear about his mission of the reformation. The construction of the institutional church was the primal task with the difference from Luther

168 "Election in the OT: The election of Abraham must be integrated with the storyline of the scripture […] Since God elected a people in choosing the patriarchs, we often read that Yahweh has chosen Israel to be his own (*e.g.* Ps. 33:12; 135:4) […] Election in the NT: But at the beginning of the NT period, the promises of salvation given to Israel had not yet been fulfilled. The gospels emphasize, however, that Jesus of Nazareth is the man whom God has chosen as his Messiah. He is the true son of Abraham and the true son of David (Matt. 1:1), the fulfillment of the promises made to Abraham and David […] This idea that the church is God's new people is confirmed by Paul. He speaks of the church as elect (Rom. 8:33; Col. 3:12; 2 Tim. 2:10; Titus 1:1), called (e.g. Rom. 1:6–7; 8:28, 30; 9:7, 12, 24–26; 1 Cor. 1:2, 9, 24; Gal. 1:6; 5:8; 1 Thess. 5:24; 2 Thess. 2:14; 1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 1:19), chosen (1 Cor. 1:27–28; Eph. 1:4) and beloved (Rom. 1:7, 9:25; Col. 3:12; 1 Thess. 1:4; 2 Thess. 2:13). Designations which belonged to Israel are now applied to the church of Christ […]" by Thomas R. Schreiner, in: *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, ed. by T. D. Alexander et al., Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2000, pp. 450–452.

due to the historical situation. On the basis of the doctrine of Election, Calvin unified many people with the same motivation to do the reform, so the ethical forces by the special team with the special Calling guaranteed the success of the reform in Geneva and continued throughout the world. The team of Calvin actually took the duty of the Special Priesthood because they belonged to the elected persons.

It was the turning point from Luther's principle of Priesthood of All Believers to the special priesthood based on the principle of Election. The Sobriété, Justice, Piété as the three basic virtues replaced the privileges of the clergy class of the Roman Catholic Church by Calvin (IRC, III, VII, 3).[169]

We can confirm that Calvin created the Church Constitution based on the ethical principle of Election in order to form the special team to take the duty on behalf of the church in the social and spiritual areas. That is why so far the significance of Calvin's legacy is very abundant in so many aspects. The criterion to ordain the ministry was in accordance with the Calling without the secular statues and social degree. The ethical principle of Election originated from the doctrine of Predestination and made the Reformed Church active to strengthen the team of the ministry as the special elected people with a special Calling from God.

Additionally, the most controversial doctrine of Predestination closely connected with his ecclesiology because of his essential aim related with the church. When we understand the function of the ethical principle of election as the structural pillar of the church through the principle of separation of church-state, we should not forget these theological arguments in the history of Church, and the interpretations will never cease around the doctrine and the mission.[170]

169 Pierre Imbart de la Tour claimed, "Ainsi, dans cette restauration morale, nul élément que Calvin n'entende tirer de l'Ecriture. Et c'est encore à la Bible qu'il demandera sa morale pratique, la règle de nos droits ou de nos devoirs, ceux de l'individu, ceux de l'Etat" Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, tome 4: *Calvin et l'Institution chrétienne* (Paris: Hachette, 1935), Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1978, p. 91.

170 "Closely related to his ecclesiology is Calvin's controversial view of election and predestination. God knows his own because he has chosen them from all eternity. Indeed, the theory of double predestination that had been put forward by Augustine in the collective perspective of humankind becoming *a Massa perditionis* through original sin had been generally abandoned in medieval theology." Cf. George H.

Naturally, we have entered the design of restraint of the right of Calvin. How can we avoid the abuses of the powers mixed among the ministry if the situation occurred one day? How can we control the arbitrary absolute power used by the top leaders of church in the frame of the Protestantism. Calvin replied in his "Church Constitution".[171]

From this point, he explanted his institutional construction from the organizations. Historically, the influence of Calvin had already overcome the Reformed-Presbyterian tradition and deeply influenced many different denominational churches down through the coming centuries. We could say that the ethical norms by Calvin contributed essentially to the whole Protestant Church.[172]

Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 183.

171 "Or afin que rien ne se face condusement en l'Eglise, nul ne se doit ingérer en cest oddice sans vocation: en laquelle il faut considérer trois choses, assavoir l'Examen qui est le principal: après, à qui il appartient d'instituer les Ministres: tiercement, quelle cérémonie ou façon d'agir il est bon de garder à les introduire en l'office. L'examen contient deux parties, dont le premier est touchant la doctrine: assavoir si celui qu'on doit ordonner, a bonne et saincte cognoissance de l'Escriture, et puis s'il est idoine et propre pour la communiquer au peuple en édification. Aussi pour éviter tous dangers que celui qu'on veut recevoir n'ait quelque mauvaise opinion, il est requis qu'il proteste de tenir la doctrine approuvée en l'Eglise, sur tout selon le contenu du Catéchisme." (CO 10/93) *Gestalt und Ordnung der Kirche*, (Calvin-Studienausgabe 2), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997, p. 240.

172 Geddes MacGregor, *Corpus Christi: The Nature of the Church According to the Reformed Tradition*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959. Williston Walker, *John Calvin: the Organizer of Reformed Protestantism 1509–1564*, New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1906. The Anglican views of the nature of the Church can be found in W. Speed Hill and George Edelen (eds), *The Works of Richard Hooker*, vol. 2: *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Boston: Belknap Press, 1982; and John E. Booty (ed.), *The Works of Richard Hooker*, vol. 4: *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity: Attack and Responses*, Boston: Belknap Press, 1982. Also, cf. Thomas A. Lacey, *Authority in the Church*, London: SPCK, 1928; Gordon Crosse, *Authority in the Church of England*, London: SPCK, 1906; Cyril Garbett, *The Claims of the Church of England*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1947; E. J. Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, London: Longmans, 1955.

4.4.2.3 The Ethical Principle of Third Use of Law and the Synodic Polity

The ethical principle of the Third Use of Law produced the ethical norms of leadership and authority of Church restrained by the democratic and constitutional approaches, the creation of the Consistory, the Venerable Company of pastors, and the Synod.

To understand the originality of the doctrine of Third Use of Law by Calvin, we should make clear about the affiliation and the difference between Calvin and Luther. The doctrine of Third Use has become one of the most characteristic of the Reformed theology.

> For John Calvin, this function of the law as a norm and guide for the believer is its "proper and principal" use […] Nevertheless, dogmatically, as against exegetically, there is a basic difference between Luther and Calvin in approaching the law. For Luther, it generally denotes something negative and hostile. Hence, his listing the law is along with sin, death, and the devil. For Calvin, the law was viewed primarily as a positive expression of the will of God whereby God restores the image of God in humanity and order in the fallen creation. Calvin's view could be called Deuteronomic, for to him law and love are not antithetical but are correlated. Another way of describing the differing approaches of Luther and Calvin is to designate their exegetical understandings "denotative" and their broader, more dogmatic usage "connotative". Denotatively, Luther and Calvin basically agreed; connotatively, they were world's apart, due largely to their differing backgrounds and faith experiences.[173]

Accordingly, as Dowey's comment,

> for all the agreement on various designations of the law in these two theologies, and even that it is the law that curses and kills, there is a very different fundamental apprehension of law in Calvin which controls his usage and creates a very different connotative field of force whenever the law is mentioned with reference to the life of the believer.[174]

Departed from the ethical principle of Third Use, the ecclesiastical design lay in the institutional construction of the Reformed Church by John

173 I. John Hesselink, "Law," in: D. K. McKim (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 216.

174 Edward A. Dowey, Jr., "Law in Luther and Calvin," in: *Theology Today* 41/2, (1984), p. 151.

Calvin. He created three institutions in the church to keep the order of justice regarding the powers of church leaders, a) la Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs, b) le Consistoire, c) le Synod. All of these institutions aimed to keep the ethical norms to define and restrain the functions of the authorities inside the church in order to avoid the alienation of the spiritual leadership of the Protestant Church similar with the Papacy since the 14th century.

4.4.2.3.1 The Republic Regime of the State in Geneva

It is very important to know the historical and political background of Calvin's career in Geneva. In the 3rd century, the Church appeared in Geneva that was the small town of the Roman Empire. Since the 4th century, it became the city of the cathedral. Then during the medieval period for about 1000 years, Geneva remained the place of the autonomy among the feudal territories. At the end of the Middle Ages, it owned the high autonomy with the regime by the bishop and the duke, gradually forming the class of burghers for about one and a half century. In 1387, the citizens elected the Conseil d'administration charged by four Syndiqués, who got jurisdiction from the Bishopric. That was the historic mark of the government of law, which first appeared in Geneva in a modern political sense!

In 1519, the citizens of Geneva got rid of the control from the feudal duke and the Catholic bishopric for total independence. In 1526, by the initiative of all the citizens, Geneva unified with the authorities of Fribourg with the autonomy of the jurisdiction, the legislation and the administration. In 1527, the last Catholic bishop of Geneva, Pierre de la Baume, who with the authority of the jurisdiction, formally left Geneva. When Guillaume Farel arrived in Geneva from Neuchatel, the Catholic Bishopric and the system of administration had already disappeared in the dioceses of Geneva. There were about 10,000 citizens. Along with the arrival of many Huguenot refugees from France, at most, the habitants climbed to 17,000. Most of the Huguenots came from the professional class such as the bourgeois, scholars, medicines, engineers etc. According to the statistics in 1557, during the last two years, there were

286 families with fortunes immigrated into Geneva and became the firm social and political basis for the Reformation.[175]

The political regime of Geneva was a republic with a parliamentary institution based on the citizenship of law before 1541 when John Calvin started up the reform there. As the state of law, the parliament of City had promulgated a series of laws and of rules through the juridical procedure regarding freedom of religion and the legitimacy of the "Evangéliques" of Roman Curia in 1533. It was in May 21, 1536 that the government of the City decided to launch the reform in the legal frame. John Calvin, invited officially by the authorities of Geneva with the approval of the parliament, went back to Geneva in charge of the reform. That was also the political policy of the government! G. Goyau commented, In Swiss French area as in Swiss German area, it was the government with the autonomy, who arranged and protected the reformation by the legal approach.[176]

We could say that one of the reasons of the success of the reformation was a sound political institution in Geneva to support John Calvin.

In brief, the committee of four Synodiques ran the administration of Geneva in common; the "Petit Conseil" by 16 magistrates was in charge of the ordinary public affairs under the leadership of the Committee of Synodiques; the "Grand Conseil" by 60 parliamentarians composed the "Conseil General" with 200 representatives directly elected from the whole citizens; the four Synodiques as the top leaders of the government were elected by the "Grand Conseil" and approved by the Conseil General of the whole citizen. The mandate was fixed one year as the term. In the normal situation, the Conseil General adjourned, and Grand Conseil and Petit Conseil functioned for the important policy and decisions such as the invitation to Calvin and the juridical judgments, etc. In the political perspective, the political regime of Geneva was a republic polity mixed by "aristocratique et democratique" in the constitutional frame, which remains even today.[177] Calvin used the term les magistrates for all

175 Georges Goyau, *Une Ville-Eglise: Genève, 1535–1907*, Tome 1, Paris: Perrin, 1919, p. 83.

176 Emile-G. Léonard, *Histoire générale du Protestantisme*, vol. 1: *La réformation*, Paris: PUF, 1961, p. 278.

177 John T. McNeill, *The History et Character of Calvinism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 135; p. 186.

kinds of officials in civil authorities in the last chapter of Institution, “Du gouvernement civil” (Civil Government).

4.4.2.3.2 The Institutional Structures for Restraining the Authority of Church Government

The abuses of absolute power of Curia Romana caused a reaction by Luther through the doctrine of Priesthood of All Believers against the authority without limitation, and Calvin took an approach different from Luther’s way, namely to restrain the powers within the permitted extent by institutional means.

In his views regarding any kinds of the authorities, the divinity is the fundament from God, so the justice, the goodness, and the holiness must function through the powers and the rights. The Church as the organized community has the powerful forces in the secular world; therefore, in a general sense, the leaders must behave according to the ethical norms in the ordinary life as the magistrates in the political order. He considered the essence of government officials as the ordination from God. “The Lord has not only testified that the office of magistrate is approved by and acceptable to him, but he also sets out its dignity with the most honorable titles and marvelously commends it to us.” In the chapter XX with the title, “The magistracy is ordained by God” (ICR. IV, XX, 4). It means that Calvin analyzed the necessity of the institutional restraint on essential sense for all kinds of authorities by ethical norms of the law, especially to the church leaders.

a) La Vénérable Compagnie de Pasteurs (The Venerable Communion of Pastors)

At the time of Reform while Calvin started up, there were totally 18 pastors in Geneva. Since the order of clergy with the hierarchy and the celibacy originated from the patristic catholic tradition was completely abolished by Luther, the moral relaxing and disorder appeared in the Protestants with the radical and arbitrary individual freedom. Calvin established the special community of pastors for strengthening the solidarity in the team. Therefore, the moral rules worked essentially the life of pastors in the family, neighborhood, and the parish. Through the Communion of pastors, they gathered regularly with the families and children for the spiritual sharing and encouragement. They prayed and

shared in the pastoral retreat (La retraite pastorale) and organized the training classes for the continual studies (La formation continuée).

Calvin founded the College of Geneva for theological research and pastoral education for Protestantism on this basis. So the Communion of Pastors balanced with the principle of Priesthood of All Believers and of Priesthood of Special Called persons from the doctrine of the Election for the actual institutional church. Alternatively, the balance between the universal priesthood and the special priesthood was well-established through the Communion of Pastors from the Reformed Church. No matter what kinds of power he had in the Church organization, to be a pastor, he was equal with the other pastors in the communion. As to the theological principle, the criterion of the faith and the moral standards, all the pastors must accept the norms of the Church with the identity of the persons with that special vocation. The administrative form of the Communion of pastors was the collegial system without any hierarchy degree or the privileges by social status.

Calvin realized the principle of the collegial ministry through the Communion of the pastors in the history of Protestantism. The ethical principle of election was supported inside the collegial team through a common vocation.[178] Essentially, the primary concern in Calvin's systematic design was the collegial exercise of the authority in the church, and then expanded the ministry of the Word and sacraments in the public worship.

Surely, the collegiality for the ministry in the public worship can influence the socio-political structures in the level of the political polity in longer terms through the democratic model of the pastors. That is the significance of the liturgical order of the historical church. The visual

178 "The teaching that there are a plurality of offices in the church which must work together is distinctive to the Reformed tradition, especially the Calvinist branch. Cf. Elsie A. McKee, *John Calvin on the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 197), Genève: Droz, 1988, p. 237; *Elders and the Plural Ministry* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 223), Genève: Droz, 1988. Perhaps the most obvious form of collegial ministry is the teaching and practice of the corporate administration of discipline by presbyters: not only a plurality of individuals but of offices, pastors and elders. That kind of collegiality is not, however, the primary focus here." Elsie McKee, "Calvin and his colleagues as pastors," in: *Calvinus Praeceptor Ecclesiae*, ed. by H. J. Selderhuis, Genève: Droz, 2004, p. 15.

witness modeled the external forms of the world with the miraculous effects in the history of humankind. Therefore, the principle of the collegiality embodied in the worship service, the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the sacrament was a great contribution of John Calvin to the traditions of the Protestant Church.

> Collegiality in the administration of the sacraments was also an important part of ministry in Calvin's Geneva, and in some aspects of this may be even more surprising than the sharing of preaching duties. It is well-known that the Calvinist administration of the Lord's Supper requires a plurality of ministers, pastors and others (elders and deacons in Geneva).[179]

The collegiality of the pastors formed and strengthened through the Communion of Pastors did established the special team spirit, which correlated directly with the ethical principle of Third Use, showed not only the importance of the personal interests, but ecclesiastical disciplines and moral virtues with the duty of the Calling. The rules and the disciplines from the communion of pastors explained the doctrine of Third Use of Law as the pillars of the church for the common vocation through whole life. Therefore, there will be no possibility of an individual dictatorship and a totalitarian regime in the Reformed-Presbyterian tradition and the state under the dominant influence of Calvinism, such as in Switzerland, UK, and The Netherlands, USA and so on in the following centuries. The law was not only concerned with the sin and the criminal, and the divinity of God as the essence of the juridical system, but also relative to the moral rules and norms for the forms of the church and the government since the reform in Geneva. Calvin's reputation was to create the ecclesiastical institutions to interpret the Third Use of Law for the Gospel. The Communion of Pastors was the first organization. The second was the institution of the Consistory.

b) The Consistory

The consistory, namely the ecclesiastical court, was a committee of jurors who made decisions or verdicts of any ecclesiastical conflicts within

179 *OC* 21:361, 8 Sept. 1545 (RC 40 f233v), Elsie McKee, "Calvin and his colleagues as pastors," in: *Calvinus Praeceptor Ecclesiae*, ed. by H. J. Selderhuis, Genève: Droz, 2004, p. 36.

the extent of the church disciplines and moral rules. It had the autonomic authority of the jury outside the civil court and the civil government, although the chair was one of the four Synodiques, the highest officials of the Administration of the civil government but without the vote. Calvin organized the pastors of the Reformed Church (12 pastors) and the honorable elders and deacons (18 persons) together to become the members of the Consistory.[180] Through this institution of the church jurisdiction, Calvin stressed the active role of the laypersons, elders and deacons, with the high morality and authentic reputation among the believers and in society. A democracy as a system of leadership was finally shaped in the Reformed Church of Geneva. The duty of the elders lay in church administration and the convocation of the consistory, without individual power to become the top leaders. All the decisions of the Consistory must be in accord with the doctrines of the faith and the ethical rules established by the church disciplines. It meant that no individual and arbitrary totalitarian dictatorship could develop from the church order of the Reformed Church under the design of John Calvin.

> The Consistory was thus becoming a true ecclesiastical court, and at then same time, in the eldership, more democratic. Calvin's aim was to have "the most suitable persons" selected for the eldership. In 1561 it was agreed that the ministers should be consulted in the choice of elders (a provision of 1541 that had been neglected) and that the names of those chosen should be posted in the churches so that anyone might present objections before final action. The Consistory advanced in constitutional power.[181]

After the hard work of Calvin, the authorities of Geneva finally accepted the church law of "The Ecclesiastical Ordonnances", and passed by the strict check of the "Conseil General" of all citizens. The Consistory started the function as the moral court within the Church according to this law. If certain believers violated the civil law, the church had the duty to cooperate with the civil government for the case. The punishment by the Church Court was defined only by the two items, a) to stop the Holy Communion; and b) to do excommunication. The church court had

180 Walther Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, vol. 2, Leipzig: Heinsius, 1942, p. 569ff.

181 John T. McNeill, *The History et Character of Calvinism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 188.

no right to abolish the individual freedom of the members of church. Calvin's concern was to protect the sovereignty of the law, which based on the divinity of God in his faith. The duty and the responsibility of the Christians did not indicate only the ecclesiastical affairs, but also covered all the matters in the society. Since then, the Reformed Church became the most advantaged Protestant stream in the world.[182]

Historically, the institutional organization of the church had to deal with the ecclesiastical conflicts and the moral issues within the church order, which became the common agreement among many Protestant churches during the following centuries. They had made proper law in the church, such as the Church Constitution, the By-law, the Ecclesiastical Regulations, the Church Rules, etc.

However, he wonders how to restrain the power of the Consistory within the church? John Calvin received a great inspiration from the legacy of the patristic fathers, that is, the Concilium!

c) The Synod (*Concilium*)

During the reform in Geneva, Calvin had given the profound attention to the institutional restraint of the powers within the church. The authority as a central problem always reminded the reformers of Martin Luther in action in Germany. After establishing the Venerable Company of pastors and the Consistory, Calvin moved further to construct the institution of Synod, which originated from the legacy of the medieval Catholic Church.

> It is not really until the opening years of the 15th century, in the wake of growing disillusionment about the intentions of the rival pontiffs, that we encounter the

182 As we know, Calvin's conception of church/state relations was new and even differed from the structures established in German speaking Switzerland. For example, Zwingli and his successor, Bullinger, never agreed that the church in Zurich had the right of excommunication while the congregations felt down into the moral errors or incorrect behaviors at the perspectives of the church. Cf. William Cunningham, *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh/Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, repr. 1967, pp. 224ff; Thomas M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, New York: Scribner's, 1920, p. 111; James I. Good, *History of the Swiss Reformed Church since the Reformation*, Philadelphia: Sunday School Board, 1913, pp. 16ff.; George P. Fisher, *The Reformation*, New York: Scribner, 1888, p. 435.

> thoroughgoing combination of the strict conciliar theory with the call for a church-wide reform. That would erect permanent constitutional barriers to the Pope's abuse of his jurisdictional power. That combination, bore fruit in the Constance superiority decree and found notable expression in the writings of d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, Dietrich of Niem, and Francesco Zabarella, as well as in those of Nicholas of Cusa later on at Basel. Despite the differences in their thinking, all of these men were advocates of what amounted to a constitutional revolution within the church. In accordance with that which the papal plenitude of power would be qualified and limited by more fundamental and extensive jurisdictional power residing in the universal church itself and was to be exercised on its behalf by regularly assembled general councils representing it.[183]

John Knox, the outstanding disciple and follower of John Calvin, later transplanted the system of Synod into Scotland. Finally, the ecclesiastical regime of the model of Geneva spread over the Protestant world with the term of "Presbyterian synodal regime", or the characteristic as the democratic on the constitution, which deeply influenced political history.[184]

The term "synod" in Greek synodos, means the "Conference". The primitive church, the synod of the church was for discussing the church affairs regarding the faith and the doctrines, etc. by the members of the church with equal statues. Gradually, it became the most important conference of bishops and of the parish by the bishop. The Emperor Constantine at Nicaea convoked the first ecumenical synod (with Latin, Concilium, and then Council in English) of bishops in 325. Since then, all the participants of the Synod (Council) are the bishops and the priests without the laypersons until today in the Roman Catholic Church tradition.

Nevertheless, Calvin designed that there would be a synodic institution at each level from the parish up to the highest level of the authority of the Church. One-third places were for the laypersons, elders and dea-

183 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 223.

184 "The theology of Scotland begins with the Reformation, the first of our great theological writers is John Knox himself […] His clear strong mind firmly grasped the Calvinistic system […] and he was sufficiently acquainted with its scriptural grounds […] to be the expounder and defender of it." James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland: Chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London/Boston: Routledge and Paul, 1975, p. 1.

cons, the other for the pastors. The leader was the pastor with the title of "moderator" or "President" with the limitation of the mandate. The Synod Conseil worked as the church authorities in charge of the ordinary affaires of the administration. The General assembly as the "Conseil General" of Geneva held the right of surveillance relative to the power of the top leadership of the church. All of the leaders were elected by a vote of the church members through the democratic procedures. They must accept the rules and the laws concerning their powers and duty.

4.4.2.3.3 Conclusion

Obviously, the democracy based on the restraint of law had already worked firstly from Calvin's Reformed Church at the mid-16th century in Switzerland! So far, it has become the most effective political polity for human beings in the world. During the following centuries, especially since the British Industrial Revolution, the French Enlightenment, American Independence, so that many political polities appeared in the historical panorama. Under the influence of Calvinism, the states and the nations preferred a Federalism, Representative, and Constitutional Monarchism, etc. against the absolute dictatorship and Feudalism, etc. Otherwise, they needed so many years to recognize the universal value of Human Rights, which originated from the French Revolution but only existed in the democratic system, as the moral and spiritual standard today.[185] That was one of the great contributions of John Calvin to the world historically!

185 "Hear how the leaders of the Church of 1590, with Andrew Melville at their head, in a memorable document, addressed King James: 'There are two jurisdictions exercised in this realm: the one spiritual, the other civil; the one respects the conscience, the other external things; the one directly procuring the obedience of God's word and commandments, the other obedience unto civil laws; the one persuading by the spiritual word, the other compelling by the temporal sword; the one spiritually procuring the edification of the Kirk, which is the body of Jesus Christ; the other, by entertaining justice, procuring the commodities, peace, and quietness of the commonweal, the which, having ground in the light of nature, proceeds from God, as He is Creator, and so termed by the Apostle *Humana Creatura*." In: James Walker, *Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1888, repr. 1982, p. 144 (1st ed., 1872).

To restrain all the possible arbitrary abuses of the powers, not only in secular order, but also in the church order, had shown the ethical principle of the Third Use of Law from John Calvin. The ethical law of Church defined the norms of life and virtues, on which the aim of the church will be guaranteed. The leaders of the church with the power must accord to the moral definitions and the ethical rules of the church; in this case, the church is normally progressing towards the ultimate goal of the Lord. Calvin set up the organic institutions closely around the essence of the church. For strengthening the effects of the surveillance within the church, he executed the principle of Sanctification through the church disciplines.

4.4.2.4 The Ethical Principle of Sanctification and the Church Disciplines

4.4.2.4.1 The Ethical Urgency of the Church

The doctrine of Sanction essentially corrected the misunderstanding or arbitrary use of the Justification by Faith in Luther's system. The behaviors of the believers in the secular order could be a testimony for Christ. The doctrine of Sanctification required directly the ethical norms to the concrete manners of believers in the social life through the strict disciplines of the church. That was the fourth initiative of John Calvin in Geneva.

The ethical principle of Sanctification led to the ecclesiastical disciplines as a basic element of the church for assuring the spiritual order with the moral requirements in the life as well as in the church, or by a metaphor as "Police of the soul" toward the Sanctification.[186]

> Church discipline and community of faith exercises discipline over its members. They are members one of another, fellow members of the body of Christ (Eph. 4:25). This body is to be marked by unity (Eph. 4:25), "orthodoxy" ("one faith", v. 5) and purity. When believers refuse to be reconciled, they deny the unity of the church and thus become subject to discipline by the assembly (Matt. 18:17). When the truth of the gospel is denied, church discipline is to be exercised (2 John 7–11; cf. 1 Tim. 1:20). When there is open and scandalous sin, it cannot be tolerated; severe action must be taken (1 Cor. 5:1–5) but always with a view to bringing about

186 Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, tome 4: *Calvin et l'Institution chrétienne* (Paris: Hachette, 1935), Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1978, pp. 103–106.

repentance. Excommunication is the end of the discipline process, not its beginning, and is to be imposed only reluctantly.[187]

Calvin was very firm about the persons with the grace of the Calling, which consisted by two kinds of persons, the clergy and the laypersons. He disliked the term of Clergy but the ministry to indicate the ordained priests. (*ICR*, IV, XII, 1). Both the ministry and the congregation in the church must be under the surveillance of disciplines because of the moral requirements of the church as the communion of the saints. He explained the necessity of the disciplines for the church by the whole chapter in Institution (IV, VII). Historically, Calvin inspired from Martin Bucer, the reformer in Strasburg, who used strict disciplines to do the reform. Calvin was very fruitful and pleased during the two years (1538–1541) in Strasburg as a guest of Martin Bucer.[188]

Calvin established the institutions of the "The Venerable Communion of Pastors", the "Consistory", the "Synod", and the "General Assembly" with the aim to strengthen the church. Thus, the disciplines of the church were necessary to link the duty of church members and the institutions of the church. I would like to say that this design constructed on the ethical principle of Sanctification, because the individual declaration of the faith to be justified led to the arbitrary and disorder of the Reformation in Germany.

In the two chapters of Book Four of *Institutes of Christian Religion*, Calvin analyzed his views about the abuses and corruptions of the jurisdiction and the legislation of the authorities of Roman Curia during the past ten centuries, and defended the essence of the law with the divinity of God. For exercising the principle of justice on the righteousness of Christ in the temporary world, any power both of the secular and of the sacred must be restrained within the legal and ethical extent. He concluded that the cause of the corruption of Roman Curia lay in the abso-

187 D. P. Kingdon, "Discipline," in: *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, ed. by T. D. Alexander et al., Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2000, p. 450.

188 "Where there is no discipline and excommunication there is no Church (*Wo kein Zucht und Bann ist, ist auch kein Gemein*)." Indeed, as Stupperich remarks, for Bucer, discipline has become the first duty of the Church. Cf. Jaques Courvoisier, *La notion d'Eglise chez Bucer dans son développement historique*, Paris: "Je sers", 1933, p. 23.

lute power mixed with the spiritual and secular together. Therefore, the aim of the Reformation at first was to distinguish these two powers from Roman Curia, and each into the proper hands, the civil government and the church with concerned duty and responsibility under the providence of God (*ICR*, IV, XI).

In his vision, the faith of Christians embodied in the ecclesiastical organization, i.e. the church interpreted by the doctrines and the dogmas, and the believers' behaviors in the temporal society must accord with the ethical order and the rules of law. The correlation between the law and the ethics supplied the basic norms for the ordinary life that the church did the proclamation of the gospel and the sacraments, and the diaconal services among the people. While he accused the moral abuses of Roman Curia and denied the legitimacy of the judicial authorities of Catholic Church in the secular world, he set up the strict system of the disciplines for the Reformed Church in his theological designs and practice (*ICR*, IV, VIII, 4; XI,1).

> The motive of establishing "order" is also behind Calvin's growing stress on discipline within the institutional Church. At times, he couples discipline very closely with Word and Sacrament, and if he never formally made it a third mark of the Church like Bucer or later Calvinism, perhaps it was because he saw it as an enduring characteristic of the entire life of the Church. "The body of the Church," he wrote to Sadolet, "must be bound together by discipline as with sinews."[189] The purpose of discipline is identical with the purpose of the ministry – namely, that the Christian be properly subject, not to the ministry or even to the Church, but to the royal and priestly imperium of Christ. Discipline is the way in which God's work of bringing order is effected and guaranteed within the Church. The Church's task is to make visible "the order approved by the Lord," (*IRC*, IV, VIII, 4) thereby reflecting in its life the restoration of God's image.[190]

189 John Calvin, *Reply to Cardinal Sadolet's Letter* (1539), in: *Calvin's Tracts and Treatises*, vol. 1, trans. and ed. by H. Beveridge, [1844–51], repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2004, pp. 36–37.

190 John Tonkin, *The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought*, New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 124.

4.4.2.4.2 The Ecclesiastical Disciplines in the Institutional Order

Calvin claimed:

> Accordingly, as the saving doctrine of Christ is the soul of the church, so does discipline serve as its sinews, through which the members of the body hold together, each in its own place. Therefore, all who desire to remove discipline or to hinder its restoration – whether they do this deliberately or out of ignorance – are surely contributing to the ultimate dissolution of the church. For what will happen if each is allowed to do what he pleases? Yet that would happen, if to the preaching of doctrine there were not added private admonitions, corrections, and other aids of the sort that sustain doctrine and do not let it remain idle. Therefore, discipline is like a bridle to restrain and tame those who rage against the doctrine of Christ (*ICR*, IV, XII, 1).

Here we could recognize that Calvin had overcome the doctrinal definition of the church by stressing the necessity of the ecclesiastical institution, which essentially affiliated with the fourth points of church in Creed of Nicaea. In Calvin's terms, it is the ecclesiastical disciplines of the church order, although he never mentioned it as the doctrinal element as the Proclamation of Word, and the administration of Sacraments in the definition of church.[191] In this point, Calvin and the other reformers such as Zwingli and Martin Bucer and John Knox held the same position, although all of them insisted on the extreme importance of the discipline for the church order.[192]

a) Three stages of church discipline: the private admonition, the public admonition, and the excommunication.

Calvin said:

> The first foundation of discipline is to provide a place for private admonition; that is, if anyone does not perform his duty willingly, or behaves insolently, or does not

191 The Church disciplines as one of the basic elements originated from the reformer of Basel, Oecolampadius, and Martin Bucer took it over for the reform in Strasburg, and then Jean Calvin was impressed very profoundly while staying there during two years. David Wright (ed.), *Commonplaces of Martin Bucer*, Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972, pp. 205ff.

192 Jaques Courvoisier, *Zwingli, théologien réformé*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1965, p. 66.

> live honorably, or has committed any act deserving blame – he should allow himself to be admonished; and when the situation demands it, every man should endeavor to admonish his brother. (*ICR*, IV, XII, 2)

The second,

> If anyone either stubbornly rejects such admonitions or shows that he scorns them by persisting in his own vices, after having been admonished a second time in the presence of witnesses, Christ commands that he be called to the tribunal of the church, that is, the assembly of the elders, and there be more gravely admonished as by public authority, in order that, if he reverences the church, he may submit and obey. (*Ibid.*)

The third stage is,

> If he is not even subdued by this but perseveres in his wickedness, then Christ commands that, as a despiser of the church, he be removed from the believers' fellowship (Matt. 18:15, 17).

b) The purpose of church discipline

> The first is that they who lead a filthy and infamous life may not be called Christians, to the dishonor of God, as if his holy church [cf. Eph. 5:25–26] were a conspiracy of wicked and abandoned men. For since the church itself is the body of Christ [Col. 1:24], it cannot be corrupted by such foul and decaying members without some disgrace falling upon its Head. …
>
> The second purpose is that the good be not corrupted by the constant company of the wicked, as commonly happens. For (such is our tendency to wander from the way) there is nothing easier than for us to be led away by bad examples from right living. [1 Cor. 5:6; 11] …
>
> The third purpose is that those overcome by shame for their baseness begin to repent. They who under gently treatment would have become more stubborn so profit by the chastisement of their own evil as to be awakened when they feel the rod […] [2 Thess. 3:14p.] (*ICR*, IV, XII, 5)

c) The policy to execute the church disciplines in the various cases

After confirming the purposes of the church disciplines, Calvin explained the policy of executing the church disciplines in the different cases. He gave two suggestions about the two cases: 1) The aim of the church disciplines is not for excluding the believers but for helping them from their errors, 2) The punishment must be joined with the "spirit of

gentleness" [Gal. 6:1] "La sévérité de l'Église soit toujours conjointe avec la douceur et l'humanité".

d) To recognize the spiritual and pious value of fasting originated from medieval tradition

He claimed, Holy and lawful fasting has three objectives. We use it either to weaken and subdue the flesh that it may not act wantonly, or that we may be better prepared for prayers and holy meditations, or that it may be a testimony of our self-abasement before God when we wish to confess our guilt before him. His three points in brief are: the fasting is from the mind; the fasting is not worthy of approval; the fasting is common likewise. (*ICR.* IV, XII, 15)

e) The discipline of the clergy and its degeneration

Calvin related his thought about moral disciplines to the ministry and the leaders of church. It is still significant so far to the Protestant Church over the world. He said: it is contained in the canons that the ancient bishops imposed upon themselves and their order. Such are these: no cleric should devote himself to hunting, gambling, or reveling. No cleric should practice usury or commerce; no cleric should be present at wanton dances – and there are others of this sort. Penalties were also added to sanction the authority of the canons so that none might violate them with impunity. For this purpose the government of his own clergy was committed to each bishop, that he should rule them according to the canons and keep them to their duty. […] The severest punishment was that the one who had sinned should be deposed from office and deprived of communion for a time. [*ICR.* IV, XII, 22]

He proved the correctness of the marriage of the ministry and warned of the danger that the ministry was not in fidelity to the marriage if he did so. He used the words of the Church Father, St. Chrysostom, to end his interpretation: "The first degree of chastity is sincere virginity; the second, faithful marriage. Therefore, the second sort of virginity is the chaste love of matrimony." [*ICR.* IV, XII, 28]

4.4.2.4.3 Conclusion

Church discipline is one of the important parts of the church order based on the ethical principle of Sanctification. Calvin overcame the legacy of Martin Luther while inherited in principle, because they had the different actuality of the reform in their vocation. The ethical requirement of the doctrine of Sanctification supported the doctrine of the Third Use of Law by helping the believers and the church leaders to live according to the moral rules and norms. The ethical principle of Sanctification decided that Christians and especially the ministry must be careful to obey the moral disciplines in the social and familiar aspects. To sanctify and purify the errors and the sin need not only the declaration of the faith orally but also the moral behaviors in their life. Thus, the doctrine of Righteousness through the doctrine of *imago dei* related directly with the ethical principle of Sanctification in Calvin's theology.[193]Here Calvin pioneered further than Luther toward the establishment of the holy and catholic church through Protestantism.

> As Luther has identified justification by faith as the criterion of everything that is truly Christian, so Calvin, drawing from a deeper level in the tradition of the medieval mystics, found the standard of Christian authenticity in the contemplation of the face of God, *aspiciendo faciem Dei*, in the inner life of the soul that is being overwhelmed by God's gifts. As he did so, Calvin took his stand squarely in the Bonaventurian version of the Augustinian tradition, for which spiritual experience is essential to theological reflection. He did so, however, while steering clear of the excesses of the Anabaptists, the *fanatici* of his later works. It was his originality

193 "The object of Calvin's discipline was to protect the church as a body of believers, to protect the individual Christian within the church, and also to bring offenders to repentance. The manner of discipline was first through private admonition of the offender, then admonition before witness, and finally, when admonition failed, through excommunication. The grave sentence of excommunication was implemented for only the most serious of crimes. It is important to remember that as one of the objects of discipline was to bring the offender to repentance, care had to be taken in the community's response to those punished. The church was further protected in that the pastors themselves were not exempt from discipline. Calvin wanted them to be liable to civil jurisdiction as well, for they should provide the very best of examples to the people." Richard C. Gamble, "Switzerland: Triumph and Decline," in: *John Calvin, His Influence in the Western World*, ed. by E. Stanford Reid, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982, p. 57.

> among the great Reformers to make the experience of the Spirit the rule and model of the interpretation of Scripture, of Christian thought, practice, and Church order.[194]

John Tonkin commented:

> The purpose of discipline is identical with the purpose of the ministry – namely, that the Christian be properly subject, not to the ministry or even to the Church, but to the royal and priestly imperium of Christ. Discipline is the way in which God's work of bringing order is effected and guaranteed within the Church. The Church's task is to make visible "the order approved by the Lord" (*ICR*, IV, VIII, 4), thereby reflecting in its life the restoration of God's image.[195]

In a word, the church as the holy community strictly restrained the members by the disciplines in order to set up the moral image of the believers with the grace in the temporal world. Calvin's institutional designs with the ethical principles produced the tremendous significance in the history and through the Puritans, the Calvinism, and Presbyterian Church of Scotland to the world in the following centuries.[196]

Calvin declared: "The whole life of Christians ought to be a sort of practice of godliness, for we have been called to sanctification [1 Thess. 4:7; cf. Eph. 1:4; 1Thess. 4:3]. Here it is the function of the law, by warning men of their duty, to arouse them to a zeal for holiness and innocence." (*ICR*, III, XIX, 2)

194 George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 172.

195 John Tonkin, *The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought*, New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 124.

196 Under the historical influence of Calvin on the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the Scottish theologian confirmed the basic position about Calvin's thought. "The visible Church was the region or sphere of the ordinary supernatural action of the ascended Savior. Not that there was anything magical in the matter of this action, Word and sacraments and discipline had all an instrumental fitness for their various objects. Only there was more than that. The glorious One, who has His goings among the golden candlesticks, was with them, too, in His living energy. So it used to be taught, and so to be believed. No grand ceremonial, no awful sacrifice was needed; in their barest simplicity, the Christian ordinances were to these old Scotch people the trysting-place of a wondrous fellowship, the mount of expected manifestations." In: James Walker, *Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1888, repr. 1982, p. 133 (1st ed., 1872).

4.4.2.5 The Ethical Principle of Conscience and the Designs of the Institutional Order

The ethical principle of Christian Conscience is the most powerful pillar of the Faith to the Christians and the last defense in case that the freedom of faith on Christ is menaced and violated by all kinds of authorities with the name of the legitimacy and legality through institutional powers: the right of Christian Resistance.

Thus, how did Calvin design the institutional structure for showing the ethical principle of the Conscience and prepared the last defense by the right of Resistance? We should first enter into the category of Christian Freedom in the tradition of the Reformation, because the core of the principle of Conscience is the Freedom by Christ.

In the tradition of the Reformation, from Martin Luther, the challenge to the authority of Roman Curia as the most realistic task became the central theme of the Protestantism. Luther's famous treatise "*On Christian Freedom*" (1520) and the doctrine of the Freedom-Bondage based on the principle of Law-Gospel and the doctrine of Justification set up the fundamental position about the Christian freedom for the Protestant tradition.

Luther's famous assertion on Christian freedom is, "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none; A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."[197]

In the Christian freedom, the freedom of Conscience was the holy place directed toward the Lord through the faith. According to Melanchthon, Luther's sincere partner and closed friend of Calvin, the Christian freedom could be distinguished by the four stages: the remission of sins; the illumination of the Spirit; political life not subject to the Mosaic Law; and freedom of conscience in things indifferent.[198]

John Calvin had given his proper interpretation about the Christian Freedom by three parts:

197 *LW*, vol. 31, p. 344.

198 Philip Melanchthon, *Loci communes* (1521), ed. H. Engelland, [Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1953], trans. C. L. Hill, ed. by E. E. Flack and L. Satre, New York: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962, pp. 214ff.

> The first: that the consciences of believers, in seeking assurance of their justification before God, should rise above and advance beyond the law, forgetting all law righteousness […] Paul showed that we have in Christ a perfect disclosure of all those things, which were foreshadowed in the Mosaic ceremonies. Further, because those impostors imbued the common people with the very wicked notion that this obedience obviously availed to deserve God's grace, Paul here strongly insists that believers should not suppose they can obtain righteousness before God by any works of the law, still less by those paltry rudiments! And at the same time, he teaches that through the cross of Christ they are free from the condemnation of the law, which otherwise hangs over all men [Gal. 4:5], so that they may rest with full assurance in Christ alone. […] Finally, he claims for the consciences of believers their freedom, that they may not be obligated in things unnecessary. The freedom from the constraint of the law establishes the true obedience of believers. The second part, dependent upon the first, is that consciences observe the law, not as if constrained by the necessity of the law, but that freed from the law's yoke they willingly obey God's will. Conscience […] The third part of Christian freedom lies in this: regarding outward things that are of themselves "indifferent",[199] we are not bound before God by any religious obligation preventing us from sometimes using them and other times not using them, indifferently. And the knowledge of this freedom is very necessary for us, for if it is lacking, our consciences will have no repose and there will be no end to superstitions. (*ICR.* III, XIX, 2–6)

Then, Calvin analyzes the different offenses against the freedom and the basic position of the Christians through the words of St. Paul.

> Nothing is plainer than this rule: that we should use our freedom if it results in the edification of our neighbor, but if it does not help our neighbor, and then we should forgo it. There are those who pretend Pauline prudence in abstaining from freedom, while there is nothing to which they apply it less than to the duty of love. (*ICR.* III, XIX, 12).

199 "Things Indifferente," *i.e. Adiaphora*, Calvin well inherited the ethical principle of Luther for his theological system. Philip Melanchthon claimed about the *adiaphora* in his *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* XV, 52 (*Concordia Triglotta*, pp. 328f.): "For love's sake we do not refuse to observe adiphora with others". Concerning the meanings of this ethical principle from Luther's legacy in Calvin's system, the research by Thomas W. Street is very helpful, *John Calvin on Adiaphora, an Exposition*, New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1954. And also Ronald S. Wallace did the interpretation about the ethical principle of Adiaphora related to Calvin's view about the Christian freedom and the Conscience in his works, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1959, pp. 309ff.

But Calvin had also given the important idea that "We must not on pretext of love of neighbor offend against God" (*ICR.* III, XIX, 13). He had explored his thinking about the Conscience in the socio-political contexts through the relationships with God, the law, the civil government and the even the church. The most remarkable principle he gave to the tradition of the Protestantism relative to the Christian right of resistance is under the theme "*Freedom of conscience from all human law*". He said:

> Now, since believers' consciences, having received the privilege of their freedom, which we previously described, have, by Christ's gift, attained to this, that they should not be entangled with any snares of observances in those matters in which the Lord has willed them to be free, we conclude that they are released from the power of all men. (*ICR*, III, XIX, 14)

Therefore, we should figure out the institutional designs from the legacy of Calvin according to the ethical principle of Conscience.

4.4.2.5.1 To Restrain the Individual Powers in the Church through the Institutional Ways

In 1537, in the first time of the reform in Geneva, Calvin presented the case "*Les Articles de 1537*" as the Church Ordonnances to the authorities of Geneva. One of the important articles was to set up the Holy Communion as the moral requirement to the life of the citizens in order to make the holiness based on the conscience as the public ethical rule.[200] It meant that the intention of social engagement had already existed in the deep willing of John Calvin. All of his life, he showed the strong attention to the role and the effects of the church in the social structures, especially in the ethical areas.[201]

> The motive of establishing "order" is also behind Calvin's growing stress on discipline within the institutional Church. At times, he couples discipline very closely with Word and Sacrament, and if he never formally made it a third mark of the

200 Jean Calvin, *Articles de 1537*, in: *Calvin, homme d'Eglise*, Genève: Labor, 1936, p. 8.

201 Jacques Courvoisier, "Le sens de la discipline ecclésiastique dans la Genève de Calvin", in: *Hommage et reconnaissance à Karl Barth*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1946, p. 6.

> Church like Bucer or later Calvinism, perhaps it was because he saw it as an enduring characteristic of the entire life of the Church.[202]

In his words from his famous letter to Sadolet, "The body of the Church must be bound together by discipline as with sinews."[203] The articles he presented at first to the Authorities had shown his intention to make the moral rules and the disciplines to assure the pure and spiritual function of the church in the secular society, which essentially related to the Christian dignity based on the freedom from God.

4.4.2.5.2 To Set up the Order of the Surveillance on the Legal Frame

Calvin created the General Assembly in the Church through all the members of the church in order to shape the order of the surveillance on all the leaders on the legal frame. Historically, democracy is relatively the best polity to keep society and civil government from corruption and the injustice, as well as in the church and the other spiritual communities since the Industrial period. Calvin had already been aware of this method from his particular ethical perspectives.

To restrain the rights of the institutions will be very positive for the proclamation of the Gospel and avoid the arbitrary abuses. He constructed the normal relationships with the civil government by keeping the autonomy of the church within the legal extent, and created the several ecclesiastical institutions to execute the different offices and duties around the central aim of the church.[204] To respect the freedom of the

202 John Tonkin, *The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought*, New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 124.

203 Jean Calvin, *Reply to Sadolet*, in: *Calvin's Tracts and Treatises*, vol. 1, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1958, p. 38.

204 "Any notion that Calvin or the church of Geneva ruled the civil government is not accurate. In September 1548, the council of the city ruled that the pastors could not exhort the people, not excommunicate them […] After various protests and efforts by the pastors, the council finally agreed on January 24, 1555, to grant the consistory the rights that were theirs as established by the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541. Basically, the Ecclesiastical Ordinances established the standards by which the church would run. The times and number of church services in the city were set, as well as the frequency of the meetings of the pastors and other regulations, such as excommunication." Richard C. Gamble, "Switzerland: Triumph and Decline,"

Christians meant to restrain strictly the individual power off the totalitarian abuses. That is the best approach to accord with the moral and spiritual appeal of the Conscience. He had established the instrumental structures to assure the dignity of the Christians in the Church and in the society. In this sense, there is the great historicity of Calvin in the history of the democracy of human kind.

4.4.2.5.3 The Doctrine of the Christian Right of the Resistance and the Supreme Authority of the Scripture

Calvin confirmed the supreme authority of Scripture in case of the individual dictatorship in the name of divinity since the beginning of the reform in Geneva as Luther did in Germany. He strengthened the Church Order as the institutional instrument based on the doctrine of the Christian Right of the Resistance.

How did Calvin to protect the freedom of conscience while the Christians encountered the offences and menaces, even the persecution on the legal name of the authorities? To build up the Church Order for strengthening the disciplines and the constitutions by normalizing the orders and the rules was the way of Calvin with the actual aim to restrain any kinds of human powers within the Law of God.

He confirmed, "The Church order established by God" (*ICR*, IV, I, 5) and in his faith that he would like to accept in the Church "only those institutions which are founded on God's authority drawn from Scripture, and therefore wholly divine." (*ICR.*, IV, X, 30). In addition, in 1543, in the letter to a French priest, he said:

> The order which our Lord has once delivered to us ought to be for ever inviolable. Thus, when it has been forsaken for a season, it ought to be renewed and set up again, even should heaven and earth commingle. There is no antiquity, no custom which can be set up or pleaded in prejudice of this doctrine, that the government of the Church established by the authority of God should be perpetual even to the end of the world, since he has willed and determined that it should be so.[205]

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in: *John Calvin, His Influence in the Western World*, ed. by E. Stanford Reid, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982, p. 58.

205 John Calvin, *Selected Works of John Calvin: Tracts and Letter*, [7 vols], *no. 100: to Monsieur Le Curé de Cernex*, 1543, vol. 4, trans. and ed. by H. Beveridge et al.,

In Calvin's system, the Christian Conscience is holy under the providence of God vis-à-vis any kinds of the temporal enforced powers, no matter how institutional or individual they are. That prepared the doctrine of the Right of Christian Resistance in the political situations. Additionally, in 1550, Calvin claimed once in the worship on Acts, if the princes "wish to turn us from the honor of God; if they wish to force us to idolatries superstitions, they then have no more authority over us than frogs and lice."[206] Moreover, in 1560, in his predication on Genesis, he said:

> If kings wish to force their subjects to follow their superstitions and idolatries, they are no longer kings. They must render to God that which belongs to him and denounce all edicts and menaces, all commandments and all traditions, holding them all for filth and direct produced by earthworms in the face of him to whom alone obedience belongs.[207]

Euan Cameron commented:

> His most subversive comments along these lines, however, appeared in biblical commentaries published after his death; works accessible to fellow theologians and clergy, but hardly political manifestoes. Calvin's strongest card was a wholly-traditional insistence that rulers who made ungodly demands were to be disobeyed, and God-obeyed rather than man.[208]

1849; repr., Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1983, pp. 364–365. Cf. *Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia, Corpus Reformatorum* (*CR*), ii (39), ed. by G. Baum et al., 59 vols, (Corpus Reformatorum, vols 29f.), Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863–1900, p. 485.

206 Jean Calvin, *La servante chassée: Sermon inédit sur l'histoire d'Agar*, (23 mars 1560), ed. by M. Engammare (Minizoé 14), Genève: Labor et Fides, 1995, pp. 43–44. Cited from "Calvin and Calvinists on Resistance to Government" by Robert McCune Kingdon, in: *Calvinus Evangelii Propugnator: Calvin, Champion of the Gospel, Papers Presented at the International Congress on Calvin Research, Seoul, 1998*, ed. by D. F. Wright, A. N. S. Lane and J. Balserak, Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Product Services, 2006, p. 57.

207 Ibid, pp. 28–29.

208 Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 355.

William R. Stevenson, Jr. said:

> Calvin grounds his view of justified resistance to temporal authority in his doctrine of providence. God's providence reveals not only his sovereignty and majesty, but also his determination through ways often unexpected and wearisome to hem in and care for his creatures. The providence of God in carefully setting before each for human being and each human society what each needs at that moment and what each can bear takes on much more significance here than God's predestined choosing of his own.[209]

Briefly, the institutional ways to protect the freedom of conscience including the right of resistance made Calvin to give the high attention to the Church, which is the Body of Christ in the concrete social and political contexts. Only through the church order, the conscience of the Christians becomes the tremendous powers to do the witness of the Gospel, to take responsibility and to engage in the progress in the temporal world.[210]

4.4.2.6 The Conclusion: toward the Ecclesial Ethics

The ethics of Calvin is the ethics of Church. The ethical principles of his theological system function as the structural pillars and columns of the Church with the institutional forms. Troeltsch commented:

> In Luther's theory, ethics and Church organization were not based upon Scriptural doctrine, but everything was left to free development; further, Luther could not admit that the ethical end was more important than the happiness of justification; these two facts made it impossible for him to find a way out of the difficulty along Calvin's lines. Luther was obliged to give up his idea of the Church, which he had evolved solely from the standpoint of the priesthood of all believers, and revert to the objective institution of the ministry of the Word, which was merely menaced, and not furthered, by handing over questions of organization and discipline to the local congregations. Calvin, however, saw no difficulty in this question at all. From his point of view the task of the Church and the constitution of the Church supplemented each other admirably, since the same Word which bore witness to the faith as doctrinal-effected agreement to the moral and constitutional ordinances, and thus

209 William R. Stevenson, Jr., "Calvin and Political issues," in: *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. by D. K. McKim, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 181.

210 Olivier Millet, "Le thème de la conscience libre chez Calvin," in: *La liberté de conscience (XVI–XVII^e siècles)*, Genève: Droz, 1991, pp. 21–37.

> from the outset the universal priesthood was placed under effective control without being abolished.[211]

Therefore, we should interpret the ethical principles of Calvin on the institutional ecclesial dimension. The ethical norms of the Church in Calvin's vision were to strengthen the mission of church as the Divine Command of God in the temporal world. Historically, the Ideal Type of Calvin with the ecclesial essence contributed to Christianity through institutional designs and practices. In the tradition of the Reformation, Luther pioneered the basic theological ideas, Calvin pushed Luther's ideal toward the organized Church. In this case, the ethics of Luther modeled the theological tradition of the Protestantism at the doctrinal level, and Calvin set up the ecclesiastical tradition by the constitutional approach. Thus, the ethics of Calvin is the ecclesial ethics based on the constitutional fundament.

> Nevertheless, Calvin impressed much of his organizing intellect and will on this small Savoyard city, which made it in the sixteenth century the "city of Calvin" in a way which cannot be said of Bucer's impression on Strasbourg or even Luther's at Wittenberg or Zwingli at Zurich. This was not only because Calvin created a theological order there to defend its reformed Church but also because no one native to the city or reflecting the city's own peculiar characteristics arose who was competent in the arts of government, law, politics and international relations as well as church affairs to compare with Calvin. […] It is frequently forgotten that Calvin claimed that it took some time for him to break "the visible unity of the Church" by becoming a Protestant: his sense of the Church, the body of Christ, an ordered sacramental society set in the world for sinful man, is more marked than in any other Reformer. The description of the Church, its sacraments and ministry, form the largest section of the *Institutio* and he wrote more elsewhere on these themes than he did on predestination; indeed, in his ecclesiological discussion he ignores the predestination emphases which were regarded as basic to that discussed by those who were later to be called "the Calvinists".[212]

In a word, the ethical legacy of John Calvin is very worthy to construct the church in the institutional form while we have the space for individual freedom of religion in the proper society. The Ideal Type I, the ethics

211 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 592.

212 Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants, 1500–1900*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990, p. 125.

of Luther is significant for us to get the ideas of the faith, and the Ideal Type II, the ethics of Calvin is very helpful in terms of the ecclesial order. The weakness of Protestantism in China today is that it is too individual and private with the forms of the Mysticism-type and the sect-type if I use the sociological terms of Troeltsch.[213] The Church-type of the historical church will be very necessary for Protestantism in China because it contains the organized forces of the Christian spirituality in society with the aim of the faith. In the spiritual tradition of the Chinese world, only with this kind of the institutional form, the contribution will be possible through the successful type of the Confucianism since the Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) in China. As a religion transplanted from the Western world, if it always remains in the diverse and arbitrary situation, the spiritual influences will exit only in the closed and limited circles in the margined social level. The most characteristic of the Chinese tradition is the moral order with the fundamental values as ethical norms. It is the great starting point for applying the ethical principles of the Reformation for the future of the church in China.

213 "From the very beginning there appeared the three main types of the sociological development of Christian thought: the church, the sect, and mysticism." Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 993.

5 The Ideal Type III: The Ethical Role of the Church in the Time of the Crisis: Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer

5.1 Introduction: the Ethical Paradoxes of Church in Modern World

After the missionary movement during the 18th and 19th century, the Protestant world had formed the global powerful influences along with the Western colonists over the world. Consequently, the dilemma appeared before the church and the theologians in the West. Briefly, the Protestantism had benefited the colonialism, the imperialism and the liberalism in the political, cultural and commercial areas in the world, while the trade of the African people as the slavery, the business of the opium and the colonial wars occurred with the rule of the jungle based on the military power.

Where were the Church and the theologians?

That process was also the industrialization to transit from the agricultural period to the industry period in the human history. Especially since 1870, the human history entered into the new époque with the characteristic of the monopolies in the world markets. The political ideologies such the Communism and Capitalism replaced the traditional roles of the institutional religions, which were weakened systematically by the Enlightenment Movement and the positivist theories based on the empirical sciences. The negative effects of the secularization as the consequent result of the Reformation started to appear in the social and political life. The church encountered the deep crisis that was the most serious than any time since the Reformation. The ethical difficulty was the role of the church in the modern complicated relationship. The ethical standard of the church could not function as the powerful spiritual

forces in the political pattern, because the Protestant church became one of the multiple social societies.[1]

The great spiritual minds, such as Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), opened the special time by their individual appeals and cries to the world as the ancient prophets alone. The individual freedom originated from the doctrine of Luther had made the Protestantism over the world, but spontaneously, weakened the institutional forces of the church while the world encountered the challenges from the political and the spiritual disorders caused by the totalitarian ideology and the extreme nationalism. Therefore, the ethical norms of the Protestantism without the basis of the church seemed very fragile and indifferent vis-à-vis the political groups such as the modern parties with the firm system of the ideology and the special spiritual groups with the extreme ideas as the Nazism and the Fascist, etc.

The modern history has proved seriously the necessity of the democracy with the fundamental values as the foundation of the political order. Only in the frame of the democracy, the Christian freedom of the Protestantism could work as the natural rule to all the persons. Otherwise, all the system of the Christian value will fall down into the emptiness at the reality. However, the democracy based on the Christian value must be guaranteed by the institutional norms such as the constitutional rights of the citizenship, the freedom of speech, of conscience etc. The civil society in the modern democratic state includes a series of the basic values. Although there are so great affiliation between the modern value of the democracy and the Protestantism, especially the legacy of Luther and Calvin, the church was very weak in the end of 19th century in Europe.

The basic question of the ethics of the church laid the issue of the authority since the Reformation. If the ethical norms and the ethical function of the church could not influence the society and the history, it meant that the leadership and the influential figures of the church had made the role of church sleepy or tired by the other concerns. The two world wars and the international disorders since 16th century have proved the necessity to recover the order of the justice according to the eternal and the universal value. Nevertheless, the multiplicity of the spiritual

1 Christoph Stückelberger, *Vermittlung und Parteinahme, Der Versöhnungsauftrag der Kirchen in gesellschaftlichen Konflikten*, Zürich: TVZ, 1988, pp. 480–494.

world as the result of the Industrial Revolution made the principle of the tolerance as the common agreement, especially relative to the interfaith dialogues and communications. That is why in this respect, the idea of the Human Right through the Declaration of the Human Right has become one of most important human rules in the modern time after the war so far.

The western missionaries in China since the 19th century worked so hard to spread the Gospel and did the diaconal contributions such as the hospitals, the universities, the social charities etc. Nevertheless, they were very weak while witnessing the unjust imperialist aggressions and the unequal treatises by the Western powers in China. Therefore, as the institutional organizations, they did so much in the inner and moral minds of the Christians in China, not yet outside world with the justice and the laws.

The ethical paradoxes existed so obviously in China as well as in the world since the Reformation, on one hand, the church proclaimed the gospel of the salvation from Jesus Christ, on the other hand, the church was very fragile while encountering the tyranny and the unjust political order. Until the eve of the Second World War, there were the great minds appeared from the Protestant world against the imperialist war and the Nazi regime. This great mind was Dietrich Bonhoeffer as the most respected historic figure. Karl Barth and the other theologians, the pastors and the just Christians also showed the moral courage at the urgent moment of the human being. So many good Germans with the Christian conscience died due to their helping the Jews under the Nazi Regime accordingly.

The question remained, what should be the role of the church in this historical moment? The Ideal Type of the Reformed tradition of John Calvin had showed the model of the relationships with the secular order and the Ideal Type of the Lutheran tradition since Luther's time until the end of 19th century could avoid the political catastrophes caused by the political regimes at their time. In Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States as in Switzerland, the voices of the Protestant Church functioned so strong as the moral and spiritual forces in the civil society.

However, while facing the ideological regimes, such as the Nazi and the other extreme nationalist regimes, why was the church very weak in the secular order, although with the justice of the Lord and the believers with the faith?

The ultimate aim of my research is to seek the ecclesial ethics of the church as the institutional factor in the legacy of the Reformation. For me, the modern paradoxes of the church ethics had shown the different situation and the actuality from that of the 16th century for Luther and Calvin. As what Frits de Lange said once,

> Bonhoeffer points an accusing finger at the church itself. The church is responsible for the fact that its word no longer reaches people. Its life and form are at odds with its proclamation, discrediting it in advance. […] The scholarly interest in language seems inversely proportional to the concern for words in society in general, where an image culture seems to supersede a word culture. The churches of the Reformation and their emphasis on the proclamation of the Word seem in this respect to be a relic of a past cultural era. The Bible could excite in the century of Gutenberg, but no longer in that of CNN and MTV. In the eyes of those accustomed to television, of those who are not used to listening, nothing "happens" in a sermon.[2]

The proclamation of the Word of God from the tradition of the Reformation until Barth and Bonhoeffer is always the red line through the mainstream of the Protestantism not only in the believers' faithfulness, but also in the ecclesial institutional doctrines. If we use the words of Bonhoeffer, we will understand the significance of his thought to my theme. He said:

> Christ is not only present in the Word of the Church, but also as Word of the Church, that means the spoken Word of preaching […] Christ's presence is his existence as proclamation. The whole Christ is present in preaching, humiliated and exalted […] If that were not so, preaching could not have that prominent place which the Reformation insisted upon. This place belongs to the simplest sermon. The sermon is both the riches and the poverty of the Church. It is the form of the present Christ to which we are bound and to which we must hold. If the complete Christ is not in the preaching, then the Church is broken.[3]

I would like to present the responses by Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth as the heritages of the modern western theologians, because they hold the great spiritual minds and the tradition of the Reformation and with the huge influence in today's China since the 1980s. Then I will

2 Frits de Lange, *Waiting for the Word, Dietrich Bonhoeffer on Speaking about God*, trans. M. N. Walton, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 10.

3 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Christ the Center*, trans. E. H. Robertson, New York: Harper & Row, 1978, pp. 51–52.

enter into the analyses in the history of the Christianity in China around the central theme, i.e., the ecclesial ethics for the future of the church in China.

5.2 Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Ethics of Communion of the Saints

5.2.1 Introduction

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945), one of the great minds of the Protestantism at the 20th century. He was a martyr of German nation against the Nazi regime. Since 1980s the Chinese intellectuals introduced his works into Chinese world, he has become the great spiritual symbol with the Christian conscience during the Second World War. The narratives about his stories have become the most important legacy of the Protestantism in the 20th century historically. We are very proud that he was a theologian and a pastor because he changed the weak image of the Church vis-à-vis the totalitarian regime. He had left so many writings especially including his reflections during his life time in the prison.[4]

His significance to my research lies in that he through his death proved the absence of the Lutheran State Church in the moral system while the Nazi regime dominated the political affairs in Germany since the reformation. As a Lutheran pastor and theologian, he essentially re-

4 English translations: *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996ff; *Christ the Center*, trans. E. H. Robertson, New York: Harper & Row, 1978; *Communion of Saints: A Dogmatic Inquiry into the Sociology of the Church*, trans. R. G. Smith, New York: Harper & Row, 1963; *The Cost of Discipleship*, trans. R. H. Fuller and I. Booth, rev. ed., New York: Macmillan, 1959; *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, repr., London: SCM Press, 1993; *Fiction from Prison: Gathering up the Past*, ed. by R. & E. Bethge with C. Green, trans. U. Hoffmann, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981; *Letters and Papers from Prison*, trans. R. Fuller, New York: Macmillan, 1972; *Love letters from Cell 92: The Correspondence between Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Maria von Wedemeyer 1943–45*, ed. by R.-A. von Bismarck and U. Kabitz, trans. J. Brownjohn, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1994; etc.

minded us the legacy of Martin Luther about the Calling from the Lord and the reality of the church in the temporal world.

5.2.2 The Church and the Faith: the Fundamental Theological Position

5.2.2.1 The Essence of the Church in the Crisis of the Time

In his first theological works, the dissertation *Sanctorum Communio*, *A dogmatic inquiry in the sociology of the church*, in 1927, he had prepared his basic position.

> Its concern was not with the sociological and statistical understanding of the church, but with its strict and sole source in revelation. What he tried to give in *Sanctorum Communio* was a sociological theology of the church, or a theological sociology. He turned to this task with immense self-conscious power.[5]

The influence from the way of Ernst Troeltsch made the young theologian to keep the sharp insights with the objectivity about the social and political situation that the German Lutheran Church confronted. As what he wrote in the Preface of the dissertation,

> Only by this means did the structure of the Christian church as a community seem to yield itself to systematic understanding. The subject under discussion belongs to dogmatic, not to the sociology of religion. The inquiry into Christian social philosophy and sociology is a genuinely dogmatic one, since it can be answered only if our starting point is the concept of the church.[6]

At the same time he had gotten the theological effects from Geheimrat Reinhold Seeberg and Karl Holl, his teachers in Berlin. He had reflected systematically the theological tradition of the Lutheranism connected with his concerns.[7] Throughout his works, we could clearly read out his

5 Eberhard Bethge, *Foreword*, in: Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio*, English version, New York: Collins, 1963. p. 7.

6 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Communion of Saints: A Dogmatic Inquiry into the Sociology of the Church*, trans. R. G. Smith, New York: Harper & Row, 1963, p. 14.

7 "It was from Holl that Bonhoeffer could learn what at that time was the 'most modern' form of Lutheranism, also known as the 'Luther renaissance.' Bonhoeffer eagerly immersed himself in Holl's interpretation of Luther's doctrine of Justification. Holl irrevocable implanted in him the doctrine of 'by grace alone' as the one

ecclesial purpose linked with the tradition of the Reformation, especially the legacy of Martin Luther.

As a theologian with the realistic ecclesial concerns, he must face the tradition of the Reformation because they were the founders of the Protestant church with the historicity of the modern political and ethical order. The legacy of Luther in the scope of the ecclesiology was just the basis of the theological reflection for him. The idea of the *Communion of the Saints* as the key point of his theological system has proved the influence from his teacher. According to Karl Holl,

> It might be said that Luther took up again and brought to its completion the idea of Basil the Great. Basil founded his monks' community to reconstitute the first Christian congregation, to be a covenant of brothers who in mutuality would spiritually advance and support one another. This is how Luther viewed the church. […] If such interiorized community was the form of bonding that God desires and that is alone appropriate to Christianity, then it could not be restricted to a small, secluded circle; it had to embrace the totality of Christians.[8]

Accordingly, Karl Holl claimed:

> Luther desired both, a church comprising the whole populace and a voluntary church (*Volkskirche und Freiwilligkeitskirche*) […] Both are rooted equally in his basic reformatory ideas: the church of the populace is rooted in his certainty of the victorious power of the Word, and the voluntary church in his call for personal conscientiousness.[9]

In a number of statements Luther came close "even to the idea of a confessional church (*Bekenntniskirche*)."[10]

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articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae […] As against what had become a vague cultural Protestantism, he liked Holl's epoch-making advance into the centre of Luther's doctrine of justification." (*DBE*, 46) in: Andreas Pangritz, *Karl Barth in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, trans. B. and M. Rumscheidt, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 18.

8 Karl Holl, "Die Entstehung von Luthers Kirchenbegriff" (1915), in: *Luther*, 300f, cited from: Andreas Pangritz, *Karl Barth in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, trans. B. and M. Rumscheidt, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 19.

9 Ibid., p. 20.

10 Holl, *Luther*, pp. 358f, cited from: Andreas Pangritz, *Karl Barth in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, trans. B. and M. Rumscheidt, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 20.

Andreas Pangritz commented: "There is an echo of this characterization in Bonhoeffer's dissertation *Sanctorum Communio*, particularly in the section (deleted from the 1930 publication of *SC*) on 'national churches' and 'gathered churches.'"[11]

The historical background for us to understand Bonhoeffer's first works was in the eve of Nazi regime in Germany and the world was in the crazy époque after the First World War. The European powers dominated the history of the human being was in the process since the Reformation and the French Revolution, on which the political order of the world was ever build. The German nation humiliated by the unjust results of the First World War was full of the radical nationalism emotion. The phenomenon of Nazi under the leadership of Adolf Hitler was the terrible shame for the Western civilization since the Reformation. The German State Church felt down into the deep crisis in this background. The ethical interpretation of the church on the creedal doctrine of the *Sanctorum Communio* was the central theme of this work. He connected the doctrine of original sin with the theme theologically and sociologically.

Obviously, he claimed the Church realized its task only in the different social relationships. The entire moral duty of the Christians will be possible only in the social life. The interpretations of the sin, the spirit of community and the vocation could be done only in the social relationships.

5.2.2.2 The Ecclesiology with the Special Ethical Concerns

The first, he distinguished the two misunderstandings of the church: firstly, the church is confused with the religious community; secondly, with the kingdom of God. Therefore, he stressed the interpretation of the nature of church must be done within the inner structure at first, and then the external elements of the structure with the social relationships. It is very important principle in his theology. "We do not want to bring standards for judging the church from outside; the church can be fully under-

11 Ibid., p. 20.

stood only from within itself, from within its own claim; only thus can we suitably acquire critical standards for judging it."[12]

And then, he stressed that it was not correct that only the church model in the primitive period is most pure and holy. He claimed it was the basic error in pietism and in religious socialism to look on the primitive community as "pure". The church is and was and remains an *ecclesia militant* in history, not *triumphant*. Every misunderstanding of the early Christian idea had led from early times to a sectarian ideal of holiness in the establishing of the kingdom of God on earth. For him, the nature of church on Christ should be the essential basis of the theological understandings.

He integrated the faith, the individual confession, and the members of church and Christ into the interpretation of church in order to show the special definition of church in his system. In his words, "Entry into the church forms the basis for faith, just as faith forms the basis for entry […] A man, however, is in Christ through the Word proclaimed by the church." (*SC*, 116)

Regarding the relationship among the Word, the Scripture and the church, he showed his ethical thought based on the ecclesiology. He said the Word is the Word the church preaches. Not the Bible, then? Yes, the Bible too, but only in the church. So it is the church that first makes the Bible into the 'Word'? Certainly, in so far, that is, as the church was first created and is maintained by the Word. The question as to what came first, the Word or the church, is meaningless, because the Word as inspired by the Spirit exists only in the church, that is, in the *sanctorum communio.* The Word is concretely present in the church as the Word of Scripture and of preaching – essentially as the latter. (*SC*, 116)

According to my considerations, the political background of his theological thinking was very special, namely the disordered international order since 1870 and especially the sufferings of German people after the First World War by the imperialists treaties. The different political theories appeared in the world with the radical and extreme political requirements, on which the Communism and the extreme nationalism Nazi composed the two poles of the ideological systems with the oppo-

12 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Communion of Saints: A Dogmatic Inquiry into the Sociology of the Church*, trans. R. G. Smith, New York: Harper & Row, 1963, p. 89.

site purposes. The democracy based on the ideas of the Enlightenment and the principles of the Reformation encountered the serious menaces in the edge of danger.

The *Sanctorum communio* in his vision was either to indicate the theologian's deep concern about the state church of Germany, or to the world political pattern. In his mind, he had worried about the fate and the future of human being with the strong willing to overcome all the political and ideological conflicts back to the ideal of the Saints. We can here understand the difference between the church as the special community and the other social communities in terms of the eschatological nature. On this point, Bonhoeffer was in accord with the tradition of the Reformation and differed from the many theologians of 19th century.

As to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints in the tradition of the Reformation, John T. McNeill commented:

> Calvin notes that the phrase "communion of saints" admirably expresses the reality of the Church, since in it the members mutually communicate all the benefits God confers upon them. This thought of communion and communication is strongly emphasized. Calvin has no tolerance for any solitary piety that detaches itself from this active interchangeable of spiritual values. The Church is an indispensable agent in the divine plan of salvation. As Cyprian said, she is Mother to all to whom God is Father; and she remains the nurse of the children life in her children: "Since there is no way of entrance into life unless she conceive us in her womb, gives us birth, unless, moreover, she keep us under her protection and guidance […] For our weakness is such that we may not leave her school until we have spent the course of our life as her pupils." (*ICR.* IV, 1, 10–12)[13]

5.2.2.3 "Cheap Grace": to Reinterpret the Sola gratia

In 1937, Bonhoeffer published the most influential work *Cost of Discipleship* (*CD*). The background of the understanding was his worried intention relative to the idolatrous nature of the Nazi state and the moral image of German Lutheran Church. The political obedience to the Reich was the most serious event since the Reformation in the history of the Protestantism.

13 John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 215.

He had shown completely the moral courage as the Lutheran pastor and the German thinker in this historic context. *Cost of Discipleship* was by the style of essay with the sentences of the Scripture as the central theme of each paper. All the chapters were around the four themes: The Grace and to be disciples; Sermon on the Mountain; the messengers of the Gospel; and the Church of Jesus Christ and the life to be disciples by the 32 papers together.

> One can say that Bonhoeffer's *Cost of Discipleship* is one great summons to the church to make its actions suit its words or, as he put it, to let the cheap grace of the churches become again God's costly grace. Grace is to be understood not as a principle, an idea, or a system, but as a living Word, the re-creation of one's existence. (*CD*, 52) That word comes to us as a call to follow that requires direct obedience. The radical of the book lies not only in the inescapable act of hearing that Word that allows no compromise ("God's language is clear enough," *CD*, 188), but also in the fact that the hearers of the Word become, as followers of Christ, bearers of the Word.[14]

Bonhoeffer showed here and there through the word his deep concerns about the actual situation of Germany and the Territory Church. It is the context for us to do the comprehension on his thought. The great tradition of Martin Luther through the Lutheran Church stayed at the historical moment at this moment by the moral and political tests. The principles of the Reformation were always the most important characters and the foundation of the Protestant Church, but encountered the hard challenges from the Church by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. The spiritual catastrophe fell down on the conscience of the German thinkers and the Lutheran Church. The legitimacy of Nazi Regime confirmed by the democratic procedure was very normal on the criterion of the legacy of Martin Luther to the German Territorial Church authorities, but to so many pastors and intellectuals, they must do the breaking firstly from the spirituality for the moral courage. He did the self-reflections from the doctrines of the church. It is the central theme of the works, and the ethical significance remains tremendous influence in China in terms of my consideration around the ethical issues.

14 Frits de Lange, *Waiting for the Word, Dietrich Bonhoeffer on Speaking about God*, trans. M. N. Walton, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 117.

Sola gratia means by the grace free from God in the tradition of the Reformation. But Bonhoeffer claimed:

> Cheap grace is the deadly enemy of our church. We are fighting today for costly grace. Cheap grace means sold on the market like cheap-jacks' wares. The sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, and the consolations of religion are thrown away at cut prices. Grace is represented as the church's inexhaustible treasury, from which she showers blessings with generous hands, without asking questions or fixing limits […] Cheap grace means grace as a doctrine, a principle, a system. It means forgiveness of sins proclaimed as a general truth, the love of God taught as the Christian "conception" of God. An intellectual assent to that idea is held to be of itself sufficient to secure remission of sins. The church which holds the correct doctrine of grace has, it is supposed, ipso facto a part in that grace. In such a church the world finds a cheap covering for its sins; no contrition is required, still less any real desire to be delivered from sin. Cheap grace therefore amounts to a denial of the living Word of God, in fact, a denial of the Incarnation of the Word of God. Cheap grace means the justification sin without the justification of the sinner. Grace alone does everything, they say, and so everything can remain as it was before.[15]

He then cleared up the misunderstanding of Luther's doctrine *Sola gratia*. He claimed, for Luther, the Christian's worldly calling is sanctified only insofar as that calling registers the final, radical protest against the world. Only insofar as the Christian's secular calling is exercised in the following of Jesus does it receive from the gospel new sanction and justification? The grace he had received was costly grace. He stressed:

> Luther had said that grace alone can save; his followers took up his doctrine and repeated it word for word. But they left out its invariable corollary, the obligation of discipleship. There was no need for Luther always to mention that corollary explicitly for he always spoke as one who had been led by grace to the strictest following of Christ. Judged by the standard of Luther's doctrine, that of his followers was unassailable, and yet their orthodoxy spelled the end and destruction of the Reformation as the revelation on earth of the costly grace of God.[16]

In his interpretation, the following after Christ is the costly grace from God. The meaning of costly signifies to accept the conditions as the disciples. To put away all for becoming the disciples shows the prices are

15 Robert Coles, "The Cost of Discipleship," in: Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Writings Selected with an Introduction by Robert Coles*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, p. 54.

16 Ibid., p. 55.

very high. In the political context he stayed, the Territory Church had the dignity and the legal statue from the state since the Reformation, but to him it is cheap without any moral duty. We could deeply understand him at today's position by reflecting his words at the references of the modern history.

5.2.2.4 Conclusion

Briefly, Bonhoeffer here had tried his best to develop the Lutheran doctrinal tradition of Luther through stressing the Church on the level of the apostolic tradition instead of individual faith, which was the most important basis of the Lutheran church by the formula of the Justification of Faith. Historically, through his role in the Confession church outside the State church, we could recognize the special significance of his theological legacy in terms of his intension about the Lutheranism tradition. It means that the system of doctrines of Martin Luther, such as the Law–Gospel, the Two-Kingdoms, the Justification by Faith for the individual, the Priesthood of All Believers, and so on are encountering the different time and challenges. The political context was very hard for the Church. As a pastor and theologian of the Church, he traced back firstly the legacy of apostles in order to strengthen his insights about Luther's heritages, on which the structures of the State Church in Germany built since the 16th century until his time.

In terms of ethical theme I am researching, the significance of the principle of Cheap and Costly Grace lied that the authorities of Church could not monopolize the standard of the faith through the doctrines and the institutions of church if they did nothing from the gospel of the cross. Since the Reformation, it was the first time that the Lutheran Church felt down into the crises of the conscience at the institutional perspective. The doctrines of the Christian Freedom and of the Christian Conscience are very active from the witness of Dietrich Bonhoeffer!

In a word, the church and the faith in his theological system have correlated closely on the Christ essentially. The fundamental doctrine of the interpretation in his system is clearly the doctrine of *Sanctorum communio* relative to the essence of church. For us to understand his ecclesial concerns, the idea of the Communion of the saints is the special meaning based on Christ. In second works, *Act and Being, Transcenden-*

tal Philosophy and Ontology in Systematic Theology, we could find out his confirmed position about the church and the faith. He claimed:

> The Protestant idea of the church is conceived in personal terms – that is, God reveals the divine self in the church as person. The community of faith is God's final revelation as "Christ existing as community [Gemeinde]," ordained for the end time of the world until the return of Christ.[17]

5.2.3 The Ecclesiastical Ethical Principles

Bonhoeffer's heritages include not only his works, but also his activities against the Nazi regime with the life. He was the first martyr of the Protestantism in the modern time. As the great mind of German nation, he was the symbol of the Christian conscience. For the future of the church in China, the meanings of the studies are very profound, because his witness and spirituality have also supplied the ethical norms to the Church in China. We should firstly study his ethical thought from his written works.

From April of 1933, he started up his resistance against Nazi regime with his partners together. He organized the *Confession Church* and the clandestine seminary to strengthen the different forces. In 1938, he published *Life Together.* From 1940, he began to write the *Ethics*. In 1951, *Resistance and Submission* was published after the war. I want to figure out several points as the comprehension of his ethical thoughts from his works.

5.2.3.1 "Christ is Church"

It is very important to know that the church is the basic concern in his theological system. It related to his concerns about the political duty of the church in the terrible time of Nazi regime. He said: "The point of departure for Christian ethics is the body of Christ, the form of Christ in

17 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Act and Being, Transcendental Philosophy and Ontology in Systematic Theology*, trans. H. M. Rumscheidt, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996, p. 112.

the form of Church, and the formation of the church in conformity with the form of Christ."[18] Jürgen Weissbach said:

> Bonhoeffer, following the Reformation tradition, takes as his starting point the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. He refuses to start with any man-made premises or questions, an attitude which permeates his whole theology even to the "nonreligious interpretation." In general terms he makes this point in *Act and Being*: "From God to reality, not from reality to God, goes the path of theology." (*AB*, p. 89).[19]

5.2.3.2 "Communion of the Saints"

In his system, the doctrine of the *Sanctorum communio* is the dogmatic structure of the church from the apostolic tradition. From this point, it is clear to show the deep worried concern in his mind regarding the Church and the Nazi regime with his Lutheran identity. He claimed that the followers of Christ consists the visible church, on which Christ is the head of Church, the predication, the sacraments and the ministry are the attributes of the visible church. Besides the predication and the sacrament, in his opinion, the ecclesiastical organization and the ministry are also the parts of the Body of Christ. On this point, he differed from Luther's definition.

I want to consider the idea of Bonhoeffer as his ethical principle in the modern ethics of the Protestantism, because it contains the concrete considerations with the profound meanings regarding the ethical norms to the church. The totalitarian regime is the powerful challenge to the Protestant Church since it defeated the absolute authorities of Curia Romana in the Reformation. The Church as the Body of Christ shows the essential attributes of the church, in this case, the institutional and visible church must accord with this definition; otherwise, it will be not the Body of Christ. Thus, Bonhoeffer insisted on that Christ is only the reality of the church. He explained Christ with the Trinity by the Creator, the

18 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, repr., London: SCM Press, 1993, p. 64.

19 Jürgen Weissbach, "Christology and Ethics," in: Jürgen Moltmann and Jürgen Weissbach, *Two Studies in the Theology of Bonhoeffer*, trans. R. H. Fuller and I. Fuller, New York: Scribner's, 1967, p. 98.

Reconciler, and the Redeemer. He mentioned that Christ as the reality of the Church should be the principle of Christian ethics.[20]

Here he had formed the firm position that the divine reality of Church is the logic point of departure to analyze the good and the evil and the moral issues in the world, not the other multiple ethical systems existed already in the world to the church and the Christians. Frits de Lange commented:

> For Bonhoeffer the church is "Christ existing as community". It is the actualized form of the ultimate Word of God, the body of Jesus Christ. The word of the church is equivalent to that of Christ, because its body is equivalent to His. Such a reference to the incarnation must be properly understood.[21]

In his article with title of "Ethics as Formation", he claimed that Christ as the Mediator of the reconciliation made the human being in the hope toward God.

> The point of departure for Christian ethics is the body of Christ, the form of Christ in the form of the Church, and formation of the Church in conformity with the form of Christ. The concept of formation acquires its significance, indirectly, for all mankind only if what takes place in the Church does in truth take place for all men.[22]

The political concerns made him more think of the present situation to the church. He explained God, Christ, Church as the primal issues to the ethical consideration. The later theologians from here started up their interpretations.

> Whatever God does for human beings in Christ, it must be a "doing" that accounts for the reality of our lives as we actually live them […] This Christ endures in our place. Readers must not founder over Bonhoeffer's use of punishment as the metric to describe the conditions for divine seriousness about the particularity of human life. He might have used satisfaction or sacrifice or pedagogy or some other as yet undiscovered concept to describe the bridging function that links the person who has died to his old self with the one who lives as a new person in Christ. The crucial

20 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, New York: Macmillan, 1995, pp. 188f.

21 Frits de Lange, *Waiting for the Word, Dietrich Bonhoeffer on Speaking about God*, trans. M. N. Walton, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 92.

22 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, New York: Macmillan, 1995, p. 85.

point is that Jesus Christ does what is necessary to establish the link; he affects atonement, and we participate in that atonement.[23]

5.2.3.3 The "Four Mandates" from the Word of God

Based on the doctrines of Creation and of Providence (John 1:10; Col. 1:16), Bonhoeffer described the four basic divine mandates from the Lord in the temporal world as the ethical duties of the Church and all the Christians. He said:

> The Scriptures name four such mandates: labour, the marriage, the government and the Church. We speak of divine mandates rather of divine orders because the word "mandate" refers more clearly to a divinely imposed task rather than to a determination of being. It is God's will that there shall be labour, marriage, government and church in the world […] God has imposed all these mandates on all men. He has not merely imposed one of these mandates on each individual, but He has imposed all four on all men. This means that there can be no retreating from a "secular" into a "spiritual" sphere. There can be only the practice, the learning, of the Christian life under these four mandates of God.[24]

In some perspectives, his ethics could be seen as a kind of duty ethics with the tradition of the German classic philosophy, but different from the moral imperative of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). The Christian morality for him does not come from the conscience as Kant's theory, but only from God. The dialectic relationships among these four mandates showed the theological vision of Bonhoeffer with the legacy of German academic tradition formed especially in the 18th century.[25]

Jürgen Moltmann, the chief representative of the ecclesiological-Christological school of Bonhoeffer interpretation,[26] cited the comment of Ernst Wolf about the meanings of the "mandates" in this way,

23 Russell Reno, "Redemption and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 36.

24 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, New York: Macmillan, 1995, pp. 204–205.

25 Robin W. Lovin, *Christian Faith and Public Choices*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984, p. 131.

26 Reginald H. Fuller said, "In Germany the riddle of Bonhoeffer has characteristically produced two schools of interpretation. On the one hand, there are those who focus on the ecclesiological and Christological aspects of Bonhoeffer's writings, and who

> In the first place, these institutions cannot be understood from within, from an analysis of their phenomenal structures. They can only be understood in the light of faith-in the creative word of God which gives them concrete shape. Secondly, and *per contra*, they can never be deduced or understood from some abstract, theoretical principle. They can only be understood by constant reference to their concrete historicity within the sphere of phenomenal reality. The ontic, phenomenal peculiarity of the institutions needs ontological and theological illumination because its being is based on the fact that it is grounded in the word of God and united with it.[27]

In Bonhoeffer's ethical system, the work was the merit from God since the very beginning of the creation (Gen. 2:15). The disciples of the Lord from the prophets to the apostles of Christ showed the ethical responsibility through the works for the life, the calling and the faith in the secular world. The marriage between Adam and Eva was blessed by God as the first community in the history of human being. The apostle used the marriage as the metaphor for describing the relationship of the church with Christ by the words "mystery" (Eph. 5:32). So many moral problems in the social life were connected with the marriage and the family. Thus the fidelity, the love, the respect and the authenticity are the moral virtues regarding the duty of the marriage. The third mandate was the authorities. The justice of the divinity was the essence of the authorities. For Bonhoeffer, the actual situation of the world was the deepest concern in his theological consideration. He claimed that God created the world including the secular order, so the essence of the authorities must be always based on the righteousness of Christ. The legitimacy of the civil government was in origin from God. In this case, he actually denied the authorities of the Nazi regime in his system of the ethics.

The fourth is the mandate of the church. He said that this mandate was to indicate the divine task of the church in the world. It contains the proclamation of the gospel, the church order and the Christian life based

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are therefore led to emphasize the continuity to be found throughout them. On the other hand, there are those who focus on the hermeneutical implications of the *Letters.* This second school is represented in Gerhard Ebeling's essay 'On the Nonreligious Interpretation of Biblical Concepts' which has appeared in English translation." In: Jürgen Moltmann and Jürgen Weissbach, *Two Studies in the Theology of Bonhoeffer*, trans. R. H. Fuller and I. Fuller, New York: Scribner's, 1967, p. 15.

27 Ernst Wolf, in *Recht und Institution*, p. 71, cited by J. Moltmann in: Jürgen Moltmann and Jürgen Weissbach, *Two Studies in the Theology of Bonhoeffer*, trans. R. H. Fuller and I. Fuller, New York: Scribner's, 1967, p. 25.

on the reality of Christ. The divine mandate of the church meant the eternal promise of the Lord.

Briefly, the principle of the four mandates expressed the ethical principle of Bonhoeffer's theology, namely, the church ethics based on the reality of Christ has covered the fundamental aspects of the secular world, in which the church must take the moral responsibility. The church, as the Body of Christ, will show the whole glory and the grace of the Lord (Eph. 1:13–14).

5.2.4 Conclusion: Understanding and Interpretation

The first, if we understand the theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer only at the ethical level, we should make sure that his ethical system was constructed on the foundation of the Church through the central doctrine *Sanctorum communio*.

> The *Communio sanctorum* that the Creed confesses can be understood in two ways: in the personal sense (of a *genitivus subiectivus*) as the *congregation vere credendum*, and in the nonpersonal sense (of a *genitivus obiectivus*) as communication in word and sacrament. According to the first sense, the Church is fully invisible as the community of faith that spans the world and the ages. According to the second sense, the Church is fully visible as the concrete visual happening in the front and around the altar.[28]

In his words, Ethics as formation is possible only upon the foundation of the form of Jesus Christ which is present in His Church. The Church is the place where Jesus Christ's taking form is proclaimed and accomplished. Here, the special orders with the ecclesial ethical norms, which were defined as the sacraments of the Church, appeared very necessary for the faith since the primitive Church until today.[29] It is this proclama-

28 Bernd Wannenwetsch, "Ecclesiology and Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 66.

29 J. Cardinal Ratzinger claimed in 1968, "The saying about the communion of saints refers first of all to the eucharistic community which through the body of the Lord binds the Churches scattered all over the earth into *one* Church. Thus originally the word '*sanctorum*' ('of the holy ones') does not refer to persons but means the holy

tion and this event that Christian ethics is designed to serve. Bonhoeffer said:

> Undoubtedly the New Testament contains statements about the Church which fit in with the conception of a space. One may think, for example, of the representation of the Church as a temple, a building, a house, and even as a body. And one may conclude from this that, when it is a question of describing the Church as the visible congregation of God on earth, it is impossible to avoid the notion of space. The Church does indeed occupy a definite space in the world, a space which is delimited by her public worship, her organization and her parish life, and it is this fact that has given rise to the whole of the thinking in terms of spheres. It would be very dangerous to overlook this, to deny the visible nature of the Church, and to reduce her to the status of a purely spiritual force.[30]

Obviously, the church is the most central theme of his theological thought. His activities of the resistance against the Nazi Regime were done through the *Confessing Church*.[31] Even in the prison, he had tried to use the spirit of the Communion to console the prisoners. The Church is the ethical basis of the comprehension to us while understanding his thoughts. Frits de Lange said:

> In Bonhoeffer's view, the church's speaking on God has become powerless, because the church has forfeited its competence to speak. What is the cause of that? Bonhoeffer points to a church that has fought only for its self-preservation, as if it were an end in itself… The failure of Christian proclamation is not located by Bonhoeffer in the content of proclamation as such, but rather in the *pragmatic context* in which the church speaks. A pragmatic context can be divided into three elements,

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gifts, the holy *thing*, granted to the Church in her Eucharistic feast by God as the real bond of unity. Thus the Church is not defined as a matter of offices and organization but on the basis of her worship of God: as a community at one table round the risen Christ who gathers and unites them everywhere." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. J. R. Foster, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990, p. 258.

30 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, New York: Macmillan, 1995, p. 199.

31 There are so many researches on the Bonhoeffer's position on the Jewish question in relation to that of the Protestant church and in circles of German resistance, one of the detailed description and analysis is Christine-Ruth Müller, *Dietrich Bonhoeffers Kampf gegen die nationalsozialistische Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden* (Dietrich Bonhoeffer's struggle against the National Socialist persecution and extermination of the Jews), München: Chr. Kaiser, 1990.

depending on whether one provides a broader or narrower description of it. There is (1) the *person* speaking (and the person spoken to), (2) the *institutional framework*, the mutually-recognized pattern of social actions (conventions) within which both encounter each other, and finally, (3) the historical and cultural *situation* in which it occurs. In all three, specific conditions have to be created if successful communication (understood as transfer of meanings) is to occur.[32]

The second, the ethical principle of the cheap grace seemed to correct the abuses of the Lutheran Territorial Church in the danger of obedience to the Nazi regime. I would like to say, that Bonhoeffer as the Lutheran theologian had corrected the errors of the Lutheran Church regarding the misunderstanding of the doctrines of Martin Luther in the socio-political contexts such as the *Sola gratia*, the Justification by Faith, the Law-Gospel, the Two-Kingdoms, etc. He stressed the Church as the communion of the Saints by strengthening the spiritual forces of the church vis-à-vis the authorities of the Nazi government and the state church. In *Ethics*, he had also presented his proper definition of the state and the government. It is obvious that his perspective was very theocratic based on the ideal model. If we could give the critical reflection from the position of the Reformation, the tradition of the Protestantism through Luther, Calvin and the Puritanism had prepared the foundation for the theme of the state and the church. But the terrible actuality of the Nazi regime shocked the firm theological tradition especially while he stayed as the political prisoner in the prison.

His ideal definition about the state and the church was left in the last part of the manuscript of the *Ethics*. He said:

a. That form of the state will be relatively the best in which it becomes most evident that government is from above, from God, and in which the divine origin of government is most clearly apparent. A properly-understood divine right of government, in its splendor and in its responsibility, is an essential constitution of the relatively best form of the state; b. That form of the state will be relatively the best which sees that its power is not endangered but is sustained and secured by the strict maintenance of an outward justice, by the right of the family and of labour, a right which has its foundation in God, and by the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ; c. That form of state will be relatively the best which does not express its attachment to its subjects by restricting the divine authority which has been con-

32 Frits de Lange, *Waiting for the Word, Dietrich Bonhoeffer on Speaking about God*, trans. M. N. Walton, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 26.

> ferred upon it but which attaches itself to its subjects in mutual confidence by just action and truthful speech. It will be found here that what is best for government is also best for the relationship between government and church.[33]

The third, the ethical orientation around Christ made his ethical system to be the Christ-centric theology. It was very great especially at his time. Hitler and the other dictators of the 20th century made themselves as the Lord. The most serious crisis occurred while the church did the reaction in the very weak state in Germany.

> Bonhoeffer resisted the political hesitations that the Lutheran tradition of two kingdoms had engendered in his church. Besides a call to political involvement, the statement also includes a polemic against certain renewal movements in the German church that pursued a new vitality for the church by means of liturgical reform. In the letter on baptism, however, Bonhoeffer does not choose an easy goal for his criticism. The German Evangelical (Protestant) Church (*DEK*) had accommodated itself totally to becoming a mouthpiece and an extension of the Nazi regime. Bonhoeffer's criticism was directed primarily at his own Confessing Church, which had courageously resisted such accommodation but had not employed its courage for the sake of the Jews.[34]

Jürgen Moltmann said:

> From a methodological point of view shift in Bonhoeffer's thought might be described as a shift from his earlier, emphatically "church dogmatic" to a "theocratic theology". Theology, thus, becomes not only a "function of the church," but the function of the dominion of God as it was made manifest in Christ and is destined for the world.[35]

In the prison of Nazi, Bonhoeffer wrote, "The question is: Christ and the world that has come of age." His conclusion was, "The world's coming

33 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. N. H. Smith, New York: Macmillan, 1995, p. 348.

34 Frits de Lange, *Waiting for the Word, Dietrich Bonhoeffer on Speaking about God*, trans. M. N. Walton, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 30.

35 Jürgen Moltmann and Jürgen Weissbach, *Two Studies in the Theology of Bonhoeffer*, trans. R. H. Fuller and I. Fuller, New York: Scribner's, 1967, p. 58.

of age is no longer an occasion for polemics and apologetics, but is now really better understood than it understands itself, namely on the basis of the gospel and in the light of Christ."[36]

5.3 Karl Barth and the Ethics of the Divine Command

5.3.1 Introduction

Karl Barth (1886–1968) was one of the most remarkable Protestant theologians in the 20th century.[37] His life was full of the spiritual forces with the political and ethical influences. Through the activities against the Nazi regime and the ecumenical movements, he had absorbed the worldwide attentions outside the Protestant Church. So far, his dogmatic theology remains unfamiliar and unacceptable to the church because of difficult understanding of most of his views.[38] As to his reputation in China since the 1980s, while Chinese intellectuals began to translate the Western non-Marxism works, he was famous to end the liberalism in the dominant statue by so-called the "dialectic theology". He had shown the moral courage through the Barmen Declaration (1934) against the Nazi regime, which made him as the symbol of the great personality and the hero of the human conscience.[39]

36 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, trans. R. H. Fuller, New York: Macmillan, 1972, p. 329.

37 Eberhard Busch, "Barth, Karl," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, p. 208.

38 Eberhard Jüngel commented, although the theologians such as H. J. Iwand, H. Vogel, G. C. Berkouwer, G. Gloege etc. have worked hard in the academic area about Karl Barth and H. Gollwitzer, E. Wolf, O. Weber, W. Kreck have tried their best to explain so many arguments, most of his theological points are still difficult to understand. Cf. Pierre Gisel (ed.), *Karl Barth, Genèse et réception de sa théologie*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1987, p. 66.

39 Arthur C. Cochrane, "Barth, Karl," in: D. K. McKim (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 28.

However, there are very little researches about his theological and ethical thoughts in Chinese. As Bonhoeffer in China, the image of Barth is more moral and spiritual through his historic engagements against Nazi. Actually, in my researches, Karl Barth had presented his concerns and considerations with the critic position to the Protestant Church's crisis in the time, since he worked as a pastor in the small parish in the suburb of Geneva. The dialectic theology essentially showed Barth's intention to bring back the theological focus to the Church and its vocation in the political and moral world.[40] In the 19th century, many theologians in German universities with the academic achievements and the freedom of the speech made the ecclesial essence into the ignorant extent. In this case, the distance between the theologians and the church became more and more large. If the great theologians worked academically without the vocation, they will go to the religious research outside the eschatological concerns, and then they will lose the vocation to the church.

Historically, from the patristic fathers to the great Reformers, the theologians were always very important to the direction of the church and the role of church in the world. In 1919 through the *Commentary on Epistle to the Romans*, Barth made the modern Protestant theology to turn back to the ecclesial direction. So many outstanding theologians of the 20th century worked together around the ideas and propositions from Barth no matter if agreeable or opposite to him, such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer,[41] Paul Tillich, Rudolf Bultmann[42] and Emil Brunner, etc.[43]

40 Christoph Stückelberger, *Vermittlung und Parteinahme, Der Versöhnungsauftrag der Kirchen in gesellschaftlichen Konflikten*, Zürich: TVZ, 1988, pp. 125–131.

41 "Bonhoeffer's first encounter with the theology of Karl Barth took place in the winter of 1924/25 when he read the first volume of Barth's essays *Das Wort Gottes und die Theologie*. Bonhoeffer quickly made himself the 'propagandist for this book' and arranged to have the lecture notes of Barth's first course on dogmatics sent from Göttingen." Andreas Pangritz, *Karl Barth in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, trans. B. and M. Rumscheidt, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000, p. 15.

42 Rudolf Bultmann, "La théologie libérale et le récent mouvement théologique" (1924), in: *Foi et compréhension*, tome 1, Paris: Seuil, 1970, pp. 11f.

43 Emil Brunner, "'*Der Römerbrief' von Karl Barth. Eine zeitgemäß-unmoderne Paraphrase*", in: *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz* 34 (1919), 29–32 = *Anfänge der dialektischen Theologie*, Teil 1, *op. cit.* 119–142. Karl Barth, *Nein!*

In terms of his theological background, it is obvious that John Calvin and the Calvinism were the most dominant factors in his theological works as well as in his political life. The huge works, the 12-volume "*Church Dogmatics*" (1932–1967)[44], is his monumental achievement, although it remains the unreadable works as the confession of his faith with the assertive and apologetic style[45]. It contains many exegetical, theological and historical excursuses from the patristic legacy on the texts of the Scripture. The Christology is the most central frame of his system. Jesus Christ is the standpoint for his theological program. Briefly, this works expressed the huge ambition to figure out the whole doctrines of the Protestantism with his personal structure. To us, the important point is his concept of the church and its place in his system. In this point, I think that there are some ethical concerns from him directly regarding my central theme.

Barth's basic ethical thoughts had the direct relationship with his engagement as a theologian into the political activities. It was typical Calvinist moral image in the history.[46] The central issue of the Reformation "the authority" became the existential concern of Barth by the other concepts. His ethics based on the doctrine of sanctification is full of the Reformed tradition. It shows that he had gone beyond the scholar of university in the sense of the 19th century, and renewed the great tradition of the Reformation. Once he said in a letter:

Antwort an Emil Brunner (Theologische Existenz heute 14), München: Chr. Kaiser, 1934.

44 Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1956–75 (hereafter *CD*).

45 Eberhard Jüngel said, "la théologie dogmatique de Barth demeura étrangement mal assimilée et largement incomprise, tandis qu'elle acquérait de plus en plus d'importance dans le monde catholique et dans l'*Oekumène*." (Cf. par exemple sur la réception de Barth dans le monde anglophone: *Karl Barth, Studies of his Theological Method*, édité par S. W. Sykes, Oxford, 1979), "La vie et l'œuvre de Karl Barth," in: Pierre Gisel (ed.), *Karl Barth, Genèse et réception de sa théologie*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1987, p. 66.

46 "Le rôle politique de K. Barth accroit d'ailleurs son audience: installé en Allemagne, il est expulsé par les Nazis en raison de son opposition théologique à la doctrine et aux méthodes hitlériennes; de Bâle, où il enseigne à partir de 1935 il continue à appeler les chrétiens à lutter par tous les moyens contre le nazisme (en 1940 il demande au gouvernement Suisse de déclarer la guerre à l'Allemagne)" in: Denis Müller, *Karl Barth*, Paris: Cerf, 2005, p. 77.

> This theme [ethical-political involvement] slipped into the background for me when I got involved in *Romans* and especially when I went to Germany in 1921. I made less of an impression on my German readers and hearers in this regard than in what was now my primary effort to reinterpret the Reformation and make it relevant. In Germany, however, burdened with the problems of its Lutheran tradition, there was a genuine need in the direction which I now silently took for granted or emphasized only in passing: ethics, fellow-humanity, a serving church, discipleship, socialism, the peace movement, and, in and with all these things, politics.[47]

In a word, he and Dietrich Bonhoeffer were the most representative figures of the Protestantism of the 20th century.

5.3.2 The Basic Ecclesial Ethical Insights

In his theological system, all the dogmas and the doctrines are originated from the heritages of the historic church since the patristic period until the Reformation. His proper position is the Calvinist with the ecumenical vision as his individual mind. He had created the special category of the "Evangelical Church" to clear up all the heritages. The two-volume works "Ethics" were the lectures of the lessons during his work in University of Munster and Bonn (1928–1931).[48] The ethics occupied in the special place in his theological system because of his strong moral responsibility for the world and the political duty as the pastor.[49] In his life, he had written so many articles, lectures, letters, and works while he insisted on writing his huge *Church Dogmatics*.[50] Nevertheless, I just

47 Karl Barth, *Letters 1961–1968*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1981, p. 251.

48 Karl Barth, *Ethique*, 2 tomes, Cours donnés à Münster au semestre d'été en 1928 répétés à Bonn durant le semestre d'été 1930, texte édité par D. Braun, trad. par P. Secretan, Zürich: TVZ, 1973, 1978; Paris: PUF, 1998.

49 "Le fait que l'éthique soit subordonnée en principe à la dogmatique ne la rend en effet nullement secondaire. Tout au contraire, c'est sa détermination dogmatique qui la structure et tend à la rendre nécessaire. Dans cette optique, il n'y a pas de dogmatique sans éthique – un tournant que la réception théologique de Barth ne cessera d'occulter! Il est des lors captivant de voir comment, dans ses cours de 1928–1931, Barth donne sa pleine place théologique et pratique à l'éthique." Denis Müller, *Karl Barth*, Paris: Cerf, 2005, p. 77.

50 The English publications of Barth's writings relative to his ethical thought are *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928; *The*

want to sketch out his ethical insights around these two volumes relative to my central theme. The *Ethics* is evidently the most systematic works about the ethical insights of his theological and spiritual world.

Karl Barth's fundamental ethical system is to depart from the doctrine of sanctification based on the Calvinism and to take the Divine Command as the Revelation of God as the ethical frame. According to the Reformed tradition, he constructed the ethical norms on the doctrine of the Trinity by three parts, the ethics of the Creation, the ethics of the Reconciliation, and the ethics of the Redemption.[51] At the respect of the systematic theology, this pattern is correspondent with the three persons of God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit on the firm structure of the church, the Body of Christ with the series of Christological doctrines. That was why he rudely interrupted the German-tolerant multiplicity of theological atmospheres with the strong ecclesiastical character while he broke the academic platform by the *Commentary on Epistles to Romans* in 1919.

He had set up the new paradigm with the ecclesial identity and the prophetic linguistic style. However, in my reflection, the event of Karl Barth in the panorama of the 30s of 20th contained the voice of the prophet directly regarding the anxiety of the time![52] Deeply the forgotten Calvinism as the ethical norms of the world appeared through Barth's

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Epistle to the Romans, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933; *The Theology of John Calvin*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995; "The Problem of Ethics Today," in: *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, pp. 136–182; the two volumes works *Ethics* was his lectures appearing in 1973 and 1978 and should become the main sources of his ethical thought. *Ethik*, vol. 1 (1928), vol. 2 (1928/1929), Zürich: TVZ, 1973/1978.

51 Robert E. Willis, "The subsequent development of Barth's thinking displays a continuation of both liberal and Reformation elements." *The Ethics of Karl Barth*, Leiden: Brill, 1971, p. 7.

52 Barth sensitively felt the pulses of the thinkers at the same time. "Germany, burdened with the problem of her Lutheran tradition, was very much in need of a 'refresher course' in just the outlook which I presupposed without so many words and emphasized merely in passing, namely ethics, brother/sisterliness, a servant church, discipleship, Socialism, movements for peace – and throughout all these in politics. Obviously, Bonhoeffer sensed this void and the need to fill it with increasing urgency right from the start and gave expression to it on a very broad front." In: Karl Barth, *Fragments Grave and Gay*, ed. by H. M. Rumscheidt, trans. E. Mosbacher, London: Collins, 1971, p. 121.

Christological ecclesial ethical "Christ and Church alone" in the European spiritual landscape. Briefly, the ethical structure of the three doctrines by Creation, Reconciliation and Redemption are Barth's ethical frame.[53]

5.3.2.1 The Identity in the Relationships

5.3.2.1.1 The Relationship between the Ethics and the Dogmatic

He claimed, as the theological discipline, the ethics is the auxiliary science of the theology. It seeks from the Word of God for the response to the question about the good action of the human being. Just as the meaning of the doctrine of sanctification, the ethics researches the matter relative to the proclamation of the Word of God and the comprehension in the predication by the special way to the people.[54]

Here we could find the place of the ethics in Barth's theological system that is directly ecclesiastical at the sense of the effective norms for the human being. In this point, the doctrine of the sanctification as one of the characteristics of Calvinism signified the spirit of the Christian engagement in the social progress and the justice. Barth's political concerns had shown through his ethical point of departure.

5.3.2.1.2 The Relationship between the Theological Ethics and the Philosophic Ethics

He thought that the ethics is the theology in the way that it recognizes the goodness of human behavior based on the reality of the Word of God who sanctifies the human being. Under the precondition of the concrete revelation on Christ through the Holy Spirit, God confirms the justifica-

53 "Accordingly, Barth structures his account of ethics around the familiar three 'moments' of the act God: creation, reconciliation and redemption. What these concepts afford is not a kind of conceptual refinement of primary Christian ways of talking of God, but simply an indication of the way which theological ethics is to take in correspondence to the movement of God's own being." John Webster, *Barth's Moral Theology, Human Action in Barth's Thought*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998, p. 48.

54 Karl Barth, *Ethique*, tome 1, Cours donnés à Münster au semestre d'été en 1928 répétés à Bonn durant le semestre d'été 1930, texte édité par D. Braun, trad. par P. Secretan, Paris: PUF, 1998, p. 1.

tion of another kind of ethics namely the philosophic ethics in order to supply the legitimacy of the human behaviors for the other persons. (*E*. I, 22)

He analyzed the Christian ethical tradition originated from the patristic tradition and highly developed during the Scholastic period by the three different approaches. The first is the Aristotelian approach used systematically by the Roman Catholic tradition. However, this approach used the abstract philosophic notions to explain the Word of God, which finally hidden behind the tedious terms and made the ecclesial disappeared in the theological ethics. The second is the liberalism theology which started from F. Schleiermacher by the theologians of German universities, by which the human religiosity and the human sense became the concrete context of the ethics and then the ecclesial disappeared. The third approach is the ethics of the Divine Command, which is Barth's way to express his ethical concerns. As what Denis Müller said, Barth distinguished the three approaches of the ethics relative to the theological ethics and the philosophical ethics. If he excluded the two of the three, namely, the Protestant apologetic and Catholic integration, it seemed that he preferred to the third way, i.e., the commune *Christianity* of the philosophic ethics and the theological ethics. (*E*. I, 54)[55]

5.3.2.1.3 Conclusion

In Barth's words, the justification and the sanctification are not the works of God and of human being together, but by God alone. And the theology can not make alliance with the philosophy which perceivers the matters by the different ways. The Catholic theology has mixed with the ordinary philosophic ways. The distinction between the philosophic ethics and theological ethics does not mean that they come from the different resources about the knowledge of God. Therefore, there is only one kind of the knowledge about God. (*E*. I, 39)

The Word of God, the Divine Command, is the most important core in Barth's ethical system. It is very clear that he inherited the traditions from both Luther and Calvin. The Word of God and the Divine Command are the comprehension of the Gospel-Law of God, or the Word of

55 Denis Müller, *Karl Barth*, Paris: Cerf, 2005, pp. 78–79.

God is the Divine Command of God in the different contexts.[56] The federal theology of the Calvinism composed the essential text of Barth's ethical system through his theological words and contexts.

5.3.2.2 The Approach of the Theological Ethics: Three Doctrines as the Ethical Principles

Barth claimed the task of the theological ethics is to reply how the human being is called by God. It must present: a) the event of the Calling and the significance to the human being, b) the calling of human being as the creature of God, c) the calling of human being as the grace to the sinner, d) the calling to inherit the Kingdom of God, on which (b–d), it means each time to estimate: 1) the proper character of the ethical point of view, 2) the determinate form of the principle of the knowledge, 3) the decisive content of the moral exigency, 4) the envisaged realization of the moral exigency. (*E*. I, 55)

What is the theological understanding of the Word of God by Barth? His reply is that the Word of God is about God's creation, reconciliation and redemption. God through these three ways to reveler the three divine powers: the Omni-Sovereignty of the nature, of the grace, and of the glory. Thus, in terms of the ethical norms of the human behaviors, we accept his call toward the Lord, and restrained by the ethical rules accorded with his divine command. Therefore, the theological ethics is the Divine Command ethics based on the Word of God. (*E*. I, p. 64)

Thus, the moral standard about the good and the evil is the Divine Command of God based the witness of the church, the body of Christ.

> A Divine command ethics holds that morality is contingent on God's will. An act, state of affairs, or character trait – or some combination of these – is moral (right or wrong, good or evil) if God wills it. Some divine command ethics hold the extreme position that only what God commands or prohibits is moral. Others prefer the label

56 He claimed: "The Word of God is the Word of God only in act. The Word of God is *decision*. God *acts.* Only with reference to this reality that is not general but highly specific can theological ethics venture to answer the ethical question. Its theory is meant only as the theory of this practice." *Ethics*, p. 50.

> "theological voluntarism" because it focuses on what God wills in general, rather than simply on what God commands or prohibits.[57]

From this point, we could confirm that Barth tried to restore the ethical tradition of the Calvinist, which was replaced by the theological relativism since the domination of the liberalism and the philosophic ethics on the abstract notions without the Lord in Europe since 19th century.

5.3.2.2.1 The Ethics of the Creation

The notion of the "Orders of Creation" remains the ambiguity of the understandings about Barth's ethics so far. For instance, the state of the political sense belongs to the order of Creation, or to the order of Grace. Obviously, in Barth's system, it belongs to the Order of Grace based on the doctrine of the Reconciliation. (*E.* II, p. 332, 460)

At the level of this order, he created the four ethical structures, namely, the work, the marriage, the family and the authority. He wanted to integrate the social and cultural perspectives of human being into his system by these four elements. He explored his ethical views through this clarification in details. He interpreted this position later more doctrinal in his huge works *Church Dogmatics* III/4, p. 188. The fourth structure is about the relationship between the state and the church around the central point of the authority, which was the most important ethical and theological issue of the Reformation. (E. I, p. 414) Barth dealt with this ethical issue in the Order of Creation linked with the norms of human order from the divine order of God. It showed the special significance if we could remind ourselves of the socio-political contexts of Barth. The Nazi regime appeared through the constitutional democracy but destroyed all the norms and rules originated from the Church, especially the legacy of Martin Luther including in the political ethical areas. Lisa Sowle Cahill commented:

> The idea of creation has been used in an essentially optimistic way in Christian tradition to affirm that all beings are good, and that evil and suffering are not part of the original meaning of existence. Creation is a promise that allows believers to de-

57 Lois Malcolm, "Divine Commands," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 112.

> fine part of existence as we know it as due to "sin", and to define other aspects as revelatory of the divine will. It looks forward to redemption in God, as the origin and *telos* of all. Ethically, the doctrine of creation has sometimes led to a positive, interventionist ethic, in which humans are even seen as "co-creators" with God vis-à-vis human history and nature.[58]

That is the political and moral force of Barth's ethics. He defined the legitimacy of the authority by the Word of God, the Divine Command of God and not the other values or the criterion without God. His concerns directly related to the actual political regime and the potential danger at the 30s of 20th century while he did the lectures in Germany. Here he had restored the tradition of the Reformed Church. Michael Northcott claimed:

> The original ordering of creation towards God, and internally towards itself, and towards the human as the most god-like aspect of creation, has deep moral and theological significance. The Christian moral project, therefore, requires affirmation of the original *telos* (purpose or end) and shape of created and material life, and of the marks of creation's original relatedness to God which we may still find in ourselves and in the rest of the natural order.[59]

At this time, the doctrine of Two-Kingdom of Luther was in the serious misunderstanding by the actual policy of the Territory Church of Germany. The Christian responsibility stayed off the civil duty and the social conscience vis-à-vis the totalitarian regime and the persecution of the German Jew. What a shock to Barth! Some of his students and colleges of the Lutheran Church accepted the ideology of Nazi as the Lutheran theologians. Thus, the prophetic spirit awakened in the historic figures, such as great German mind, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and this Swiss Reformed pastor, Karl Barth and their students, the relatives and the colleagues so on.

58 Lisa S. Cahill, "Creation et Ethics," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 8–9.

59 Michael Northcott, "Ecology and Christian Ethics," in R. Gill (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Ethics*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 216.

5.3.2.2.2 The Ethics of the Reconciliation

The second structural part is the ethics of Reconciliation. Barth put the ethical system on the foundation of Christ, or we can say that his theological system is the Christological system around the event of the Cross, which was the central theme of St. Paul's ethics, too. After the Reformation, Barth's system is the huge action of the Protestant theology. He used the Hegelian method to construct his proper dogmatic system centralized on the Christology.

Barth dealt with the series of the doctrines in the system, such as the original sin, the law and the gospel, the Christian Freedom and the Bondage, the grace and the Mediator, etc. in the system of the Christology. The doctrine of Justification by Faith was the point of departure linked with the tradition of the Reformation. He used the threefold structure to explore his explications about the authority, i.e., the law, the humility of Christ on the cross, and the agape of Christ as the Mediator. In this case, the ethics of the reconciliation achieved through Christ.

The relationship of the state and the church is the central theme of the ethical system with the strong position of the Reformation. He claimed, the divine order, concrete and visible, in which the human being obeys according to the New Alliance and in which the human being must prove the humility and hold the sacrifice and do the penitence, and services his prochain – this order is the double order of the church and of the state. He wished that the Christian obedience should connect with this concrete and visible order because this order results from the communion with God, which is mediated by the incarnation of God. These two orders in terms of the sign of the humanity of Christ were recognized by the human being. The Christian obedience should be indicated to the two orders, the Church and the State. In this respect, we could understand the human obedience originates from Jesus Christ, the Human God.[60]

In his system of the ethics, he presented the nine points about the church under the doctrine of the reconciliation: 1) The Church is the signal that the divine revelation set up as the concrete and visible order, by which and in which the human beings are called. The church at the

60 *E*. II, pp. 259–260.

same time is the institution, the divine construction as the accomplished reconciliation by God in Christ, and the human community that participates relative to the reconciliation. 2) The Church is never the regime of God. At the commencement and the end of the world, there is not the Church. The Church as the communion between God and the human being belongs to the median period of the history. 3) Like the order of the reconciliation, the Church, expected and approved in the faith for the glory of God, is unique, legitimate and inerrant, and its authority for all kinds of the creatures. 4) The requirements of the individuals with the grace lie in the concrete action in the order of the reconciliation. 5) As the human works, the action of the Church includes also the behaviors of the sinners and the folly if the Church forgives them. 6) the human works of the Church is the divine service consisted by the signal of the predication, the worship and the charity. 7) The decisive elements of the divine service of the church in the strict sense are the predication, the pray, and the worship of the community. 8) The church takes up also the annex tasks in the divine service such as the catechism to the children, the moral and physical assistance to the individuals, the evangelization and the missions to the non-Christians, the theological research, etc. 9) It is the Church as the totality of the members that receives the promises and the charge of the divine service even in the strict sense.[61]

And then as to the ethical meanings of the "state", he also explored this topic also by the nine points: 1) the state is also the "external method of the salvation". (Calvin, *Insti.* IV) It is the signal established by the revelation of God for show the concrete and visible order, by which and in which the human beings are called, based on the accomplished reconciliation in order to serve the prochain. The essence of the state is in origin of the divine grace which presupposes the divine institution and the human community by God. 2) The state is not the "city of the Satan" born from the fall of rebellious angel. 3) Like the order of the reconciliation, the state under all kinds of the forms may serve for the place of God. 4) We must here remind ourselves of the doctrine of the incarnation of God, by which we could there is the will of God in the divine institution and human community and on which there is the faith to confirm the promise. The state in reality should be this kind of the divine institution

61 *E.* II, pp. 260–264.

or community. 5) The dignity of the concrete state may be not understood as the inadequate and the provisory existence. 6) The human works of the state is to consist to former the community in which the people could establish the signal of the justice as the system. The church must be included in the legal institution of the state. The special function of the state in opposition with that of the church seems only in the concrete state, which is fundamentally oriented not only to the grace, but also to the sin of the human being. 7) The determinant elements of the process of formation of the community by the national state of law and of culture are: a) the constitution, b) the legislation, c) the government, d) the justice. 8) The tasks of the national state of law and of culture regarding the church must guarantee the spiritual freedom of the community. 9) The mission and the promise by which there is the call to the political action come from God.[62]

Therefore, in the ethical system of Karl Barth, the church and the state were dialectally unified on the Word of Jesus Christ. It showed his deep concerns about the actual fate of the church and the world. The ethical responsibility from the Reformed tradition made Barth to give the dogmatic reflection on the authority in general. The authority of Church and of the State must obey the supreme authority of God in his theological world. The Divine Command of God is the Agape of Christ to the human being. At the end of his interpretation, he used this point as the ultimate situation of the salvation.

5.3.2.2.3 The Ethics of the Redemption

The ethics of the redemption in Barth's system was the ethics of the eschatology based on the eternal destination of the human being on the divine providence. He explored his theory by the three themes, i.e., the conscience, the gratitude and the hope.

First, the moral conscience, according to Barth, is the gift of human instant from God. Only in the conscience, the Word of God functions as the ethical norms for the good and the evil. He explained the moral conscience through the three points: 1) In our proper conscience, we can get the sound of God directly to us. 2) The reality of the conscience is the

62 *E*. II, pp. 264–270.

divine command of God, the Redeemer. 3) The content of the conscience has the eschatological meaning that corresponds with the Word of God, the word of the promise.

Second, the gratitude, in his theory, signifies that the divine command of God, which means the liberation of human action, is the grace to us; thus, we must hold the feeling of the gratitude to the Word of God.

Third, the hope in the doctrine of the redemption means that we must absolutely obey the command of the Lord who promised the salvation to the human being. The reality of the Christian Hope is the work of the Holy Spirit.[63]

Denis Müller commented the ethics of the redemption is the ethics placed in the perspective of the hope in the sense that the just action, the central theme of the ethics should be estimated essentially by the event of God in His Kingdom. We are not justified by ourselves but only by God in His Kingdom. Barth tends to make the eschatological dimension of the ethics through the justification of the human behavior.[64]

5.3.2.3 Conclusion

The ethics of Karl Barth showed the characteristic of the Christology on the doctrine of the Trinity.[65] All the doctrines of the faith and the church are interpreted around the Word of God as the Divine Command on the Christology in his system.[66] It is obviously what he did was not directly

63 *E.* II, pp. 340–357.

64 Denis Müller, *Karl Barth*, Paris: Cerf, 2005, p. 91.

65 Jürgen Moltmann said, "It is of decisive importance for the doctrine of God whether we start from the Trinity in order to understand the sovereignty of God as the sovereignty of the Father, the Son and the Spirit, or whether we think in the reverse direction, proceeding from the sovereignty of God in order to secure this as being the sovereignty of the One God by means of the doctrine of the Trinity. If we start from the sovereignty of God, then our premise is God as the identical subject of his rule. The doctrine of the Trinity can then only be presented as 'Christian monotheism'. It is nothing other than a development of the recognition that God is Lord. This was the starting point Karl Barth chose, both in *Christliche Dogmatik im Entwurf* (1927), §9 and in *Church Dogmatics* (1932; ET 1936), §8." In: *The Trinity and the Kingdom, The Doctrine of God*, trans. M. Kohl, New York: Harper & Row, 1981, p. 140.

66 Dietrich Bonhoeffer in the prison commented the ethical thought of Barth with the special meaning. He said, "Barth's ethical observations, as far as they exist, are just

ecclesiastical as John Calvin did through his *Institution* or Martin Luther as the preparation of the Reformation. He designed his theological system with the aim of restoring the great tradition of the holy catholic church. In this respect, he had done the voice of the prophet because his narratives were full of the confessional sentences with the creedal words. He was a pastor in the remote and beautiful parish of the countryside in Switzerland with the socialist tendency. Therefore, we should try to understand his ethical thought through his life of the engagement and the enthusiasm for the social justice and equality. His personality and political moral courage much more than his theological works with the academic terms and the prophetic confessions caused the world-wide influence. In my concerns, as Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Karl Barth was one of the greatest Protestant thinkers to reflect the proper identity of the Protestant Church in the actual political encounters at the first part of the 20th century, the most disordered period since the Reformation to the Western minds.

5.3.3 To Understand Barth's Ethical Thoughts

5.3.3.1 The Principles of Reformation inside Barth's Ethical Thoughts

On May 31, 1934, at Barmen-Gemarke, the first confessing synod of the church adopted the "The Barmen Declaration", i.e., "The Theological Declaration on the Present State of the German Evangelical Church." There were 139 delegates from 25 states and provincial churches. They denied the legitimacy of the German Territory Church with the name so-called "German Christians" based on the Nazi regime. Karl Barth was the father of this historical document.[67] The period of 1930–33 was the

as important as his dogmatic ones" in *Letters and Papers from Prison*, trans. R. H. Fuller, New York: Macmillan, 1972, p. 328.

67 "In May 1934 the opposition met at a synod in Barmen, where rebel pastors denounced Müller's church government, declaring themselves to be the true Evangelical Church of Germany. A group of theologians led by Karl Barth drew up the famous Barmen Confession, which rejected state control of the church as doctrinally false. After Barmen there were in fact two churches in Germany, the national church (*Deutsche Evangelische Kirche*), and the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), as the Barmen associates called their group […] The intact churches were

critical special moment for Germany because the Nazi regime will govern the whole country through the legal and democratic approach. The church encountered the unique situation since the Reformation of Martin Luther. Barth joined in the Confessing Church Movement by his initiative of the Barmen Declaration. Frey said:

> The confessional Synod of the German Evangelical Church has reassembled the representatives of all the German confessional churches to do witness the Lord of the Saint and Apostolic Church. […] Their aim was not to build the new Church, nor to cancel the distinctive characteristics of the churches.[68]

However, they took the legal form to declare their statement of the faith at that political situation. They have clearly known that the ideology and the fundamental ideas of the Nazi are completely opposite to the Christianity and the church with the Lord as the God of the Trinity alone. The most remarkable thing was they declared their statement of the faith through the legal form. It meant they had not doubted the democracy polity of Germany at that time. The Declaration must be that of the entire churches in Germany and aimed at establishing the juridical and theological types of the requirement. For the participants, they must compose the Barmen in the legal frame. Thus, it is the reason that the preface cited the Articles 1 and 2 of the ecclesiastical Constitution adopted in July 11, 1933 and ratified by the government of the Reich in July 14, 1933. The Barmen declaration included the classical confession of the faith with the Reformed tradition. In this respect, it appeared as the authority of the legitimacy in the theological and juridical sense.[69]

The principle of Calvin regarding the civil government essentially influenced Karl Barth through his engagement by the Declaration of Barmen in the legal extent. It is the important reference for us to recog-

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more homogeneously Lutheran; the Confessing Church was becoming increasingly divided between Lutheran, Reformed, and United groups." Kenneth C. Barnes, *Nazism, Liberalism & Christianity, Protestant Social Thought in Germany & Great Britain 1925–1937*, Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991, pp. 96–97.

68 Arthur Frey, *Le culte de l'Etat et le témoignage de l'Eglise*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1937, pp. 72–73.

69 Henry Mottu et al. (eds), *Confessions de foi réformées contemporaines*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2000, p. 44.

nize the historicity of Barth during the period of the crisis, which was the most serious to the church since the Reformation.

Barth had to face the changing time with the multiples of the thoughts and of the spiritualities such as the Communism, the extreme nationalism, the nihilism and the liberalism, etc. He insisted on his vocation from the Lord. He seemed the lonely prophet of 20th century. But in my impression, he looked like Nietzsche in the Protestant world!

5.3.3.2 The Ekklesia of Barth's Theological Ethics

One of Barth's disciples, Jean-Louis Leuba claimed that the Church and the believers made the theology very necessary. Because of their existence, they witnessed the Lord. They talk about God usually by the three approaches: a) by the works and the words of the believers. It is the widest meaning of the terms "theology". The life of the believers "talks about" God, b) By the works most given by the church such as the predication, the sacraments, the teachings, the missions, the diaconates, etc. In this sense, the Church precedes the theology, which followed after the church. The theology reminded the church of its origin, and conducted and accompanied the church closely.[70]

He thought that Barth's *Dogmatics* is possible only in the church, not as the general theology in the university. The human words are not the Word of God. In Jesus Christ, the foundation of the church, the Lord selected and sanctified the existence of the Man. The words of the selected persons by God are the words of the church. The prayer texts, the hymn, the confession of the faith, the diaconate, the teachings and the theology are not the predication of the Gospel, but the consequences of the proclamation of the gospel. All of these are based on the Word of God.

According to his research, in Barth's system, the ecclesia is very essential. As to the forms of the Word of God, Barth had presented the three forms: the Word of God through the preachment; the Word of God

70 Jean-Louis Leuba, *Résumé analytique de la Dogmatique ecclésiastique de Karl Barth, I: La doctrine de la parole de Dieu*, Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1945, p. 11.

through the writing; the Word of God through the revelation. Thus, we have gotten the doctrine of the Trinity about God.[71]

In *Ethique*, Barth stressed the nature of the church to the Christian ethics. The theological ethics is not the general ethics for all the people as the philosophic ethics. The reality of the theological ethics presupposed the church as the basis. The precondition of the theological ethics is the divine revelation through the preachments of the church and the vocation of the believers.[72]

There is the special character, namely, the *Ekklesia*, in his works, not only the monumental works *Church Dogmatics*, but also the many kinds of the lectures and articles. I would like to stress the *Ekklesia* as the starting point to understand Barth's significance regarding my central theme.

In a word, the *Ekklesia* is the essence and the reality of Barth's ethics.

On January 31, 1931 in a conference in Berlin, Barth expressed his deep sorrow about the actual German Evangelical Church (DEK). His words are very useful to me to understand his ethical thought. He claimed the ineffaceable and essential characteristic of the evangelical Church is only on the cross. The Evangelical Church has not been founded on some intentions or some experiences decided by some individual persons. The reality of the church naturally is connected with the truth, the divinity of the saints from the judgment, the promises and the will of God. (*E*. I, p. 3)

The Evangelical Church that services God may do only the service to God. It is not the prolongation, the representation, the incorporation, the visible manifestation of the revelation and the reconciliation accomplished in Christ. It has not repeated the sacrifice of Christ. The signals of the church are the predication, the adoration, the sacraments, the testimony of the life of the church members, the interior and external mis-

71 Barth insisted that God is true Lord "only in this movement." (*CD* II/2, p. 7) He stressed the understanding of God in the relationship with Man, namely from the ethical perspectives. He said, "For an abstract doctrine of God has no place in the Christian realm, only a 'doctrine of God and of man', a doctrine of the commerce and communion between God and man." Karl Barth, "Evangelical Theology in the Nineteenth Century", in: *The Humanity of God*, London: Collins, 1961, p. 11.

72 *E.* I, pp. 81–82.

sions, the organization and the theological confession etc. The Church is just the territory body of the divine head. The evangelical Church must exist as the place in the midst of the human society or more clearly as the human society alongside the other human societies.[73]

In 1927, he made the comments about the church by the topics "The notion of the church", which showed that he had overcome beyond the controversy between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church. He said, while we mention the church, both the Catholic and the Protestant think of the same reality of the church, although there are so many differences in the secondary matters.

He developed his views based on the creeds about the notion of the church by the five points:

1) The Church is the convocation of the people of God, from which Christ created on the basis of the alliance established between God and the human being, and to them, the Holy Spirit fostered the faith;
2) The Church has one God alone. It is the body of Christ on the ground as the only body of Christ;
3) The Church is holy, holds the origin and function from the divine action of God through the revelation and the reconciliation. In this way, the church is different essentially from the other social communities;
4) The Protestant Church is different from the Catholic Church regarding the fundamental position concerning the ecclesial statue of the church in the society. The Catholic Church insists that the ecclesial community is superior to the other communities of the culture, the language, the race, the state and the class, etc. The Protestant Church accords that the catholicity signifies the virtual university but not numerous superiority.
5) The character of the original apostolicity of the doctrine of the succession is accepted by the two sides, the Catholic and the Protestant. The Catholic would not like to agree that the Protestant accepts also the authority of God and at the same time the authority of the church from the divine revelation based on the normative testimony of the apostles.[74]

73 *E*. I, pp. 10–15.
74 *E*. I, pp. 40–46.

5.3.3.3 The Ethics of Divine Command

To understand Barth's ecclesial ethics as his solution to the church in the modern crisis, we should make clear about his ethical intention that connected with his political concerns about the fate of the Western civilization facing the danger of the Nazi regime and its ideology. Since the Reformation, the Protestant influenced so much the political system of the democracy. The Industry Revolution made the new sense of the space and of the time, which never happened at the period of the Reformation. The multiples of the values and the thoughts appeared along with the freedom of the speech protected by the law in the democratic system. That is why Barth used the special way to recall the essence of the Church based on the Lord. His special way was the style of the prophets.

In brief, Barth stressed Christ alone as the Head of the church and the Christians instead of any other top leaders in the temporal order. Hitler and other dictators were controlling the will of the people by the political and spiritual propaganda and the legal methods of the state. Barth's ethical intention was to warn the institutional church about this basic principle formed during the Reformation from the Scripture. The "Word of God", the term used by often in the theology of Martin Luther and of John Calvin became the most remarkable characteristic of Barth's theology. It showed also the continuation of the Reformation in his theological system.[75]

The central pillar of his ethical theology was the "Divine Command of God", thus his theological ethics has gotten the name of "the Ethics of Divine Command".

"The task of theological ethics is to understand the Word of God as the command of God."[76]

75 "The basis itself is the *positum*, the Word of God understood as God's active self-presence, through which knowledge of God, and therefore theology, has *already* been made possible. Like the dogmatics of which it is an intrinsic component, therefore, theological ethics is not to be understood as somehow prefaced by inquiry into the conditions of its own possibility (in such sphere as the history of religious or moral consciousness, or philosophical ethics)." John Webster, *Barth's Moral Theology, Human Action in Barth's Thought*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998, p. 43.

76 Karl Barth, *CD* III/4, p. 4.

> At issue is the relation of human action to *God's* command. God himself, God alone is good, and he decides what human action may be called good or not good. As the Word of God in general is the speaking of the *living* God, so the command of God in particular is his commanding. Special ethics has to point to the concrete meaning of his commanding and the willing, choosing, and acting that corresponds to it or contradicts it.[77]

Based on his doctrine of the "Divine Command" as the "Word of God", we could understand his intention to deny the superiority of the natural law in the system of Luther's doctrine of Law-Gospel at the references of the socio-political contexts of the Second World War he lived.

Barth claimed in a letter to French Protestants in 1939 to criticize the doctrine of law-gospel of Luther's system. He considered that Luther's problem on the relationship of law to gospel resulted to a heritage that had confirmed and idealized the natural paganism of Germany instead of restraining it in context of the Nazi regime. Hitler and the Nazi ideology had benefited the doctrine of Luther for the political aim; in this case, they had been 'Christianized and legitimated' by Luther's thought in the mind of German people, especially the elites and the middle class.[78]

"Yet, as Schweiker has observed, although Barth offers a theological understanding of the relationship between goodness and power, he nonetheless defines both (i.e., God's election – 'goodness' – and God's command – 'power') in relation to Jesus Christ."[79]

> By contrast, Barth, the foremost divine command theologian in the twentieth century, offers a robust *theological* account of the relation between *God's being* (God's goodness or love) and *God's act* (God's freedom and power). Drawing on both Calvinist and Lutheran strains of Reformation thought, Barth retrieves the Reformers' stress on the Word of God (as "law and gospel", or "command" and "election") by way of Kant's and Kierkegaard's conceptual categories. In line with this complex of influences, his divine command ethics is defined over against modern lib-

77 Karl Barth, *The Christian Life, Church Dogmatics* IV/4, *Lecture Fragments*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1981, p. 4; cf. *CD* II/2, p. 515.

78 Cf. Karl Barth, *This Christian Cause: A Letter to Great Britain from Switzerland*, New York: Macmillan, 1941.

79 Cf. William Schweiker, "Divine Command Ethics and the Otherness of God," in O. F. Summerell (ed.), *The Otherness of God*, Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, pp. 246–265.

eral and Roman Catholic theories of value, which, in his view, do not do justice to the sheer autonomy and otherness of God's command (1957: 520–32).[80]

In his later life, he became more ecumenical as a Calvinist on the level of the apostolic tradition, especially the creeds.[81]

He never hesitated on the basic principles of the Reformation such as the three *Sola*s. In March 1962 during the course, which was last time of his life, he expressed that the qualificative adjective is the call of the New Testament, spontaneously, of the Reformation of the 16th century. Otherwise, the norm that made the law for us is the double confession of the faith. The evangelists, the apostles, the prophets of the New Testament had formed the special tradition, from which the Reformers continued through the Protestant Church. In this respect, the meaning of the

80 Lois Malcolm, "Divine Commands," in: G. Meilaender and W. Werpehowski (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 123.

81 In 1936, by the invitation from University d'Utrecht, he gave the lecture about the creeds. He had interpreted the dogmatic relationships among the Scripture, the creeds and the church dogmatic. The creeds are very important in his theological system, by which he had formed very early the ecumenical basis as the Reformed theologian. He claimed les Eglises de la Réforme ont reconnu la Credo comme la Confession fondamental de la foi chrétienne. (p. 7) Credo, place en tête du Symbole, ne signifie pas seulement l'acte de foi d'un individu isole, aussi bien dispose, doué ou éclaire soit-il. Dire *credo*, c'est *confesser.* Alternatively, le sujet qui confesse, c'est l'Eglise; ce n'est pas un individu isole, possédant quelque aptitude humaine ou même divine, mais un individu qui n'agit qu'en vertu de son appartenance à l'Eglise. Lorsque l'Eglise reconnaît la réalité de Dieu s'adressant aux hommes sous la forme de certaines vérités reçues de la Révélation divine, cet acte de reconnaissance, public et responsable, s'exprime dans une confession, un symbole, un dogme, un catéchisme, dans des articles de foi. Quand un individu dit: *credo* (au sens du Symbole), ce n'est pas en tant qu'individu qu'il le fait; il *confesse*, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'associe à une reconnaissance publique et responsable proclamée pas l'Eglise. (p. 10) Le Credo est l'expression de l'Eglise dans son action missionnaire, dans cette action de réponse et d'appel par laquelle elle se tourne vers le monde qui n'est pas encore rassemble dans l'Eglise. (p. 15) Le Credo est soumis à l'Ecriture; la dogmatique doit donc être continuellement contrôlée et corrigée par l'exégèse, à laquelle la dogmatique est subordonnée, est un effort entrepris sur le terrain de l'Eglise, pour parvenir a l'intelligence de l'Ecriture Sainte; elle est donc exégèse théologique. (p. 223) Cf. Karl Barth, *Credo*, trad. par P. & J. Jundt, 2e éd., Genève: Labor et Fides, 1969.

Bible includes the traditions for the church in the tradition of the Reformation.[82] Finally, he overcame the denominational barriers back to the old catholic tradition. In this respect, he had easily done the ecumenical dialogues with the Roman Catholic theologians.

5.3.4 Brief Conclusion

In the strict sense, the influence of Karl Barth in the respect of the church order and church polity was very limited as the theologian. Even if he was the father of the Barmen Declaration, he could not do something relative to the institutional church. That was why he just did from the conscience with the spirit of the Calvinist. His assertive and confessional style with the powerful forces cleared up the scholastic narrative style in the European theological circles, but made himself alone as Nietzsche. Historically, he had not realized the paradigm shift for the church as Martin Luther and John Calvin did at the time of the Reformation.

At the end, to my research, the most important significance of Barth's ethical legacy was that he renewed the tradition of the Reformed and the Calvinism through engaging by his whole spirit and faith in the social progress in the special historical moment. He had shown the strong moral responsibility based on the Christian conscience and the right of the resistance vis-à-vis the dictatorship of Hitler and the totalitarian regime of the Nazi![83] In this respect, he had completely interpreted the heritages of the ethics of John Calvin by his moral courage!

The crisis especially showed the will and the duty of the great mind!

82 Karl Barth, *Introduction à la Théologie Évangélique*, trad. par F. Ryser, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1962. ("A côté des séminaires que j'ai dirigés au cours du semestre d'hiver 1961–1962, à la place de mon successeur encore inconnu, j'ai également donné un cours, et c'est le manuscrit de ce cours qui forme le contenu de ce petit livre. Je pense que, parmi ceux qui trouvent décidément trop gros les volumes de la *Dogmatique*, personne ne se plaindra de la brièveté avec laquelle je m'exprime ici." – Karl Barth), p. 8.

83 "We must not be so exact, so clever, so literal, that our doctrine of God remains only a doctrine of God." Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II/2, trans. G. T. Thomson and H. Knight, ed. by T. F. Torrance and G. Bromiley, 14 vols, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, New Edition, 2004, p. 5.

5.4 Conclusion: the Ethical Responsibility of the Theologians

In terms of my concerns about the ethical structures of the church, any interpretations must have relevance to the historic contexts, in which the church existed and developed. Any kind of the studies without this correlation will fall down into the linguistic, the rhetorical circles, and the impossibility of interpreting the ethical ecclesia. The modern reflections of the church through the representative theologians such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth mainly proved the ecclesia of the Christian ethical concerns. The faith of the church composed the basis of the Christian value in the history of the Western civilization since the Middle Ages.

The appearance of the great minds with the Christian faith showed the dynamic equilibrium between the system of the institutional church and the divine order of the Christian believers with the calling from the Lord in the inner faith. That is why the theologians and the thinkers such as Bonhoeffer and Barth firstly were the great Christian minds, and then the members of the Protestant church. They belonged to the historic figurers with the strong sense of the responsibility for the human being. Since the Reformation, there were so many great historic figures with the Christian ideal as well as in our day. Only while the urgent crisis of the human being appeared, the persons like Bonhoeffer and Barth had showed their spiritual uniqueness of the Christian conscience.

In my understanding, Luther, Calvin and the other reformers had created the spiritual tradition for the Protestantism. In concrete context, the urgency of the human crisis mainly meant the political catastrophe such as the two world wars. The background of the interpretations as to the legacy of Bonhoeffer and Barth was the first half century of the 20th century. Their theological meanings within the extent of my concerned theme related to the reaction of the Christian faith based on the spirit of the reformation to the modern crisis of the human being. Thus, the historicity from their behaviors could be considered as the ecclesial significance because of their spirituality with the reformers, especially with John Calvin.

The revelation of Bonhoeffer and Barth regarding the Christian conscience and the Divine Command of God lies in the ethical responsibility of the Church in the modern crisis. Nicholas Lash considered that the

ethical role of Church as the communities of believers should sustain an absolute hope "for all humanity in the light of which to stimulate resistance to those dreams and nightmares in which individual nations and destinies, individual projects and policies, are destructively idolized."[84]

To be a Chinese pastor, I have gotten the deep impression that the Western theologians have played the very particular role in the civil society, not only from the church, but also for the church. The solutions by Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth have become the firm approach to the later theologians to take the high moral responsibility to the society and the world since the end of the Second World War. So many theologians worked as the prophets to remind the society of the different problems regarding nearly all the aspects of the society. I would say that the pastors proclaim the gospel of the Lord in the church worship and the theologians as the prophets to do the warnings and calls through their academic works. That is the most important remark of the theological landscape in today's West.

As to my central theme of the ecclesial ethics, the importance of Bonhoeffer and of Barth actually made the equilibrium between the academic research by the theologians in university and the ecclesiastical activities by the ministry in church. The common basis has appeared from their witness, namely, the Word of God is the foundation of the faith to the Christians and the church.

In this respect, the ethical norms of the church in the civil society have been renewed from the legacy of Luther and Calvin by this generation. We could say that the catastrophe of the World War made the Western theologians to think of again the spiritual legacy of the Reformation. To the Chinese theologians and the church, the most significance is not the interpretations of the doctrines and of the dogmas by Barth and Bonhoeffer etc, but the actual social reality they encountered and thought through the doctrines of the church. The Creeds, the confessions and the catechisms have already shaped the doctrinal system of the faith by the church; the crucial challenges are the engagement in the social life and the moral courage through the individual witness from the church.

84 Nicholas Lash, "The Church's Responsibility for the Future of Humanity," in: *Theology on the Road to Emmaus*, London: SCM Press, 1986, p. 201.

6 The Ecclesial Ethics of the Church in China

6.1 Introduction

To research the ethical structures of the church in the present situation of China, we must understand the external social context of China from an ethical perspective. The ethical observation makes clear the structural elements and the essence of the authority in the ethical systems. The central theme of the ethical legacy of the Reformation essentially is the authority of the faith.[1] Thus, the social, political, and ethical meanings are very obvious from the ecclesial ethics of Luther and of Calvin.

Accordingly, certain ecclesial ideas must be connected with the particular political and ethical situation of the history for the church. Once the external environments evolved, the ethical norms and political model of the church must make certain adjustments for the existence of the church. Otherwise, the church will face the risk of marginalization in society or of the disappearance from history. For instance, the aristo-

1 W. A. Visser't Hooft claimed very distinctly, "From the first centuries A. D., and through all the history of the Christian church, one fundamental question has continually arisen – what is the proper relationship between the *magistri*, or theological teachers, and the *magisterium*, the authority which decides what is the true teaching of the church? In other words, are the *magistri* simply mouth-pieces of the *magisterium* and completely subject to its control, or do they form part of the *magisterium*, sharing its responsibility for establishing true teaching? Or again, is there a third possible position, between the two just mentioned? In spite of the great importance of this question in the history of the church, it has never received an answer that all considered fully adequate and definitive. Again and again, situations of tension and conflict have developed in which the *magistri* and the *magisterium* have found themselves in opposition. The problem has become particularly acute in our time and there is, to my knowledge, no church today in which it has not arisen in some form or another. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the tension between theologians and church authorities, among the papacy, bishops or synods, is greater today than it has ever been." Willem A. Visser't Hooft, *Teachers and the Teaching Authorities, The* Magistri *and the* Magisterium, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2000, p. 1.

cratic democracy of the political polity of the Republic of Geneva composed a social and political context for the reformation of John Calvin. He created successfully the democratic order of the Reformed church with the correlated ecclesiastical initiatives. Historically, the model of the Reformed Church of Calvin had become the later Ideal Type to construct the church with democratic principles.[2]

The consistory, the synod and the diaconal institutions from the Reformed tradition had produced the special spirit of Protestantism. The citizenship of Christians connected with the Christian duty from the Lord even in the affairs of the secular order. However, once the basis of republicanism in Calvin's Geneva replaced by the absolute monarchism in England, France and some other European countries, the church encountered serous challenges with the model of Geneva only as a spiritual idea. Then, it was in the North America, the Puritans finally realized the constitutional success by putting the Calvinist's ideas into the American legal system, such as vocation, duty, freedom of conscience and moral responsibility based on the doctrine of the elected people with special callings, etc.[3]

In this respect, the legacies of the Reformers need special preparations in order to transplant into the church in China. That is why we must study the teachings of the three events of historic existence of the Christianity in China before Protestantism.

The theory of Max Weber has helped Chinese scholars to be clear about the ethical meanings of Protestantism to modern capitalism, and

2 "The ideological and intellectual foundations of the new Western democratic states stem from the Reformation and Enlightenment critiques of hierarchical and sacerdotal authority as the ordering principle for society and in the drive for a form of freedom defined for and located in the individual person. New democratic governments were brought into being to establish and maintain the rights of the individual. Democratic states, for the most part, did institute new human rights for the individual but this left open the meaning of a binding that would hold together a group of individuals into an abiding bond of unity." Carole L. Stewart, "Civil Religion," in: *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, ed. by L. Jones, New York: Thomson Gale, 2005, p. 1816.

3 Mark Valeri, "Puritanism and the Civil Order in New England from the First Settlements to the Great Awakening," in: John F. Wilson (ed.), *Church and State in America: A Bibliographical Guide, The Colonial and Early National Periods*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1986, pp. 47–52.

consequently the interpretations about the thoughts of Weber lead to the end of the political ideology of Marxism as the so-called universal truth of human kind in China. The positive image of Protestant ethics with rationality suddenly corrected the misunderstanding of the Reformation by the fundamentalist missionaries since the 19th century in China.

The significance of Ernst Troeltsch rests with his theory of the religious sociological types, which I benefited as a knowledgeable reference to analyze the present issues of the church in China. The ethical construction of the church in the society of China requires an objective description of the ethical actuality as the pre-comprehension. Basically, the church and the state as the two special systems with the institutional values compose the common basis for the ethical study. The ethical construction of the church always occurred in the proper political regime with certain political ideas, which shaped the special ethics through the moral norms and laws. To understand the ethical order of the state will be the first step to construct the ethical order of the church in China. In this respect, some insights of Ernst Troeltsch will be very relevant. In "Political Ethics and Christianity", he gave the four general types of the ethics regarding ethics of the politics, or realistic perspective of reality. According to him, there are four types as the general clarifications: "the ethics of the constitutional state (*Rechtsstaat*) exclusively serving a free culture, the purely nationalistic ethics of patriotism, the ethic of democracy, and the ethic of conservatism."[4] He interpreted in details each meaning of the four general types with the references of Protestantism. As to the first type, he claimed:

> It is the sort of doctrine that views the state as the means and presupposition of higher culture […] In its modern form this theory signifies the greatest possible reduction of state activity; namely, its limitation to the maintenance of order and of economic prosperity insofar as this is within the power of the state. […] This is the liberalism of Lockean vintage that proceeded from the Puritan struggles for the freedom of religion from state coercion and that made freedom of culture from the state, together with the furtherance of culture by the state, its principle.[5]

The second type is the pure nationalism.

4 Ernst Troeltsch, "Political Ethics and Christianity," in: *Religion in History*, Essays trans. J. L. Adams and W. F. Bense, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991, p. 176.

5 Ibid., p. 177.

> It constitutes the ethical orientation of innumerable people for whom religion is no longer a serious reality but who nevertheless wish to devote their little ego to some great cause. Love of country, as the devotion of the individual to the glory of the whole, is its great ethical passion […] Nationalism thus provides a standard of ethical judgment for foreign and domestic politics. Absolutely everything must be done to maintain the state in the world, to protect it from humiliations, and to provide it internally with the organization necessary for its survival. […] When its power and population are increasing, the state may turn to aggression and conquest; when its needs are met or its opportunities for expansion limited, it may stress stability and the preservation of the *status quo*. In either case, the state regards itself as a source of ethical value and moral obligation. It can (and often does) invest this claim with all the pathos of moral sentiments.[6]

The third and the fourth types, namely, the democracy and the conservatism as the principles of the political ethics are correlated to each other in the inner institutional structures of the state according to Ernst Troeltsch. He said:

> The democratic principle figures here as an ethical principle for the organization and conception of the state in general […] The idea of democracy is an ethical one, the great idea of human rights. Human rights signify the moral right of the person to independent value or, as Kant formulated it, the right never to be considered merely as a means but rather also always as an end […] The declaration of human rights in the American and French constitutions is, therefore, a fact not only of the greatest importance for modern history, but also of the greatest significance for ethics.[7]

He added some interpretations about the ethical principle of the democracy by the proper references of the Protestantism as Max Weber. In his words, he said:

> the democratic principle implies a worldview, a metaphysic, and a religion. It implies a worldview that is teleological through and through – namely, an ardent belief in the victory of moral reason. […] The world must be arranged in such a way that this triumph of the ethical state becomes possible despite all hindrances of nature, unfavorable external circumstances, and differences in race, color, class, and individuality. Human beings must be organized in such a way that this ideal is bound to emerge from their nobler strivings despite all their folly, indolence, malice, and self-seeking […] Above all, the close connection of democratic ideals with Christianity springs from this common ethical concern. This is why modern democ-

6 Ibid., p. 179.
7 Ibid., p. 181.

> racy differs from the democracy of antiquity, which a bottom was always strongly aristocratic or oriented exclusively toward class conflict. During its formative period, modern democracy received the strongest impulses from Puritanism and the Reformed ideal of popular sovereignty. Even today, Catholicism justifies the degree of recognition it extends to democracy by the Christian belief in the dignity of the person. Protestant groups regard their alliance with democracy as a moral obligation for the sake of the Gospel, and social democracy claims for its own the true historical Jesus. Indeed, the Christian feeling that the poor and humble must be supported in their aspirations is generally the strongest ally of contemporary democracy.[8]

He used a simple formula to express the essence of the fourth type of political ethics, i.e. the ethics of conservatism: "Authority, not majority!" He said:

> While the democratic principle rests upon the presupposition of human equality – which has not yet been actualized, but is recognized in principle – conservatism rests upon the presupposition of the inequality of human nature, which is fundamental and can never be eliminated… Conservatism is the principle of aristocracy, with "aristocracy" understood solely in the political and social sense in which it signifies the power of individuals and of particular social strata.[9]

Then, he declared that the political ethics of Christianity has expressed itself in the two principle tendencies. In his words, the revolutionary and democratic political tendency based on the idea of the absolute worth of the person on one hand, and the conservative and aristocratic on the other hand based on the idea of submission to God's natural order of the world. He explored his insights by entering into the Bible and the patristic tradition as the ethical resources of the Christianity.

The significance of the ethical types of Troeltsch in China is to supply the fundamental references with the sociological perspective for constructing the ethical structures of the church in the special political regime in China. The heritages of the Reformation never arrived in China through western missionaries in terms of the doctrinal system and the ethical principles so far. Originally, I feel a great necessity to establish the Faith of Church in China by inheriting the great traditions of the Reformation. For this ecclesiastical goal, the institutional church appears to

8 Ibid., p. 184.
9 Ibid., p. 186.

be the necessity with the actuality. The ethical construction will be the basic preparation. To research the demarches of the ethical structures of the church, the analysis of the political ethical order in China is unavoidable and pre-conditional for me.

The theory of Troeltsch can help me to know the actual situation of the political polity with the proper ethics in China. The relationships between the existing political ethical order of the state and the political ethical principles of the church should avoid the ideological conflict by seeking common ground. The political ethics in today's China are similar with the definition of the second type in Ernst Troeltsch, namely, the purely nationalistic ethics of patriotism, and in some extent, in my personal reflection, mixed with the fourth type together. That is to say, the present model of ethics in the system of the state on the legal dimension is the model of the nationalistic-aristocratic ethics based on the ideology of Marxism but not Christianity, or more precisely Protestantism as the Occidental political order dominated by the common value of the USA, and Europe. In this case, the theory of Troeltsch is very helpful for those who have devoted themselves to study the Christian solution to the problems of Human Rights and the other issues in China.

My deep concerns are always related to the ethical norms of the church in relationship to the social and political institution with the ecclesial identity in China. To study the ethical structures of the church in China today, we must trace back the history of Christianity briefly, and the modern history of China and the historic causes of the Communist movement in China, which was based on German thoughts.[10] Then, I'll enter into the ethical frame of Confucianism to interpret the ethical legacy of the Reformation for the future of ecclesial ethics in China.

10 From 1807 until 1949, there were totally 700,000 Protestant believers under the care of more than 5000 missionaries. In 1950, all the missionaries had to leave China. But in 1990, during about 57 years, fairly conservative estimates showed 60–70 million Protestants in China without any missionaries' supports. Cf. Rudolf G. Wagner, "China," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, pp. 416–419.

6.2 Historical Perspectives of the Church in China

Christianity in the form of a church appeared three times in the history of China before 1807.

> The first had been the Nestorianism from Persia during the Tang dynasty in the seventh century. Second were the surviving Nestorians from the Central Asia and the earliest Roman Catholics in thirteenth-century Mongol dynasty China. Each time it had disappeared with the fall of the dynasty.[11]

These three times of the historic breakthrough of Christianity into China held the central question with a different political background; namely, where was the authority, relative to the ethical norms of the church.

6.2.1 The Cultural Encounters with China's Civilization: the Failure of the Church in China during Three Occasions

6.2.1.1 Nestorian Mission of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD)

The first was in 635 by the Nestorian mission. Bishop Alopen[12] arrived in Chang An (today's Xi'an), the capital of the Tang Dynasty. In the years of (618–907), the dynasty was the most tolerant and greatest period in the history of the Chinese civilization with the prestige of the name "the Buddhist age of China".[13] Historiographically, documents regarding the first mission in the Tang Dynasty indicate mainly one huge stone daggered in 1623 and the other four documents discovered in the twentieth century in the caves in Tun-Huang, namely, Dunhuang in modern Chinese along the Old Silk Road in the west of China.[14] The Stone includes the very rich description about the Nestorian mission led by Bishop

11 Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2: *1500 to 1900*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998, p. 106.

12 Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1: *Beginnings to 1500*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998, p. 288.

13 Kenneth S. Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, 2nd ed., rev., New York: Macmillan, 1941, p. 211.

14 John Foster, *The Church of the Tang Dynasty*, London: SPCK, 1939, p. 35.

Alopen and his witness in the capital of the Empire in the Tang Dynasty. The text on the stone was inscribed in Chinese characters beneath a design at the top centering on a cross rising from the lotus blossom. The title of the text on the stone is "A Monument Commemorating the Propagation of the Ta-ch'in (Syrian) Luminous Religion in China" full of the Chinese Buddhism vocabularies. It gave the description about the history of the Nestorian mission in China including the successful missionary work in the society and the good relationships with the politicians and the noble class during 635–649. Finally, around 980 the Nestorians disappeared from China and continued only in the nomads of North China.[15]

There are so many controversies in the academic circles about the failure of the Nestorian Church. For instance, it claimed that there was no Gospel in the Nestorian mission. The second reason for the disappearance of the Nestorian Church is considered due to the political persecution mainly against Buddhism with the exception of the Zen in the ninth century. This is the common conclusion in the historical textbooks in China. The third is to think that it is due to the syncretism of the Nestorian into the religious society with the other religions in China.[16] Nevertheless, this opinion is not very consistent with the sense of the documents.

> From very different theological perspectives a consensus has emerged that, from the limited evidence available, Tang-dynasty Christianity was neither heretically Nestorian nor fatally syncretistic […] If any conclusion at all can be drawn from these various attempts to explain the cause of the collapse of the Chinese church in Tang dynasty China, it should probably be that the decisive factor was neither religious persecution, nor theological compromise, nor even its foreignness, but rather the fall of an imperial house on which the church had too long relied for its patronage and protection. Dependence on government is a dangerous and uncertain foundation for Christian survival.[17]

15 Peter Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 2nd ed., Tokyo: Maruzen, 1951, pp. 28–35.

16 James Legge, *The Nestorian Monument of His-an Fu in Shen-Hsu, China*, London: Trubner, 1888, p. 54.

17 Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1: *Beginnings to 1500*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998, pp. 312–313.

6.2.1.2 The Catholic Mission in Yuan Dynasty

The second wave of the mission into China was the Catholic mission in Yuan Dynasty in the thirteenth century. The most famous figure in the history of the cultural exchanges between China and Europe was Marco Polo, who had written what he experienced and observed during his journeys in China including the situation of the Christianity.[18] In Mongolian, Christians were called *Erkeun* or *Arkaim* which originated from the Hebrew word *Elohim*. In 1294, John of Monte Corvino arrived in Beijing as the first of the missionaries from the Roman Catholic Church with the Franciscan order. The emperor, Timur, the grandson of Kublai Khan, kindly received him.[19]

However, the Nestorians did not face the arrival of the Roman Catholic missionaries very well. Finally, the mission won the respect from the emperor and the noble class. In 1307 the Pope Clement V nominated him as archbishop of Cambaluc (Beijing), and the primate of all the Far East with the authority of the patriarch in his area.[20] The situation of the Catholic mission in this period was limited only to the Mongolian area and not really developed into the society of China, especially in the sense of the two classes, i.e. the ordinary people and the intellectuals or the elites with the Confucianism. Thus, in 1294 Kublai Khan died and the Catholic Church in Mongol dynasty immediately collapsed and soon disappeared from China history including all the Nestorians following the disappearance of the Mongol dynasty in 1368.

> The new China was to be isolationist, nationalist, and orthodox Confucian, ruled by a completely China-centered dynasty, the Ming (1368–1644) […] The China of the fourteenth century, however, could not but fail to note the enmity between Nestorians and the Chinese considered their newly arrived rivals, the Catholics, and both foreign.[21]

18 The most used translations and editions of Marco Polo's travels (*Description of the World*) are Arthur C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, 2 vols, London: Routledge, 1938. The first volume is translated by Moule.

19 Simon Delacroix, *Histoire Universelle des Missions Catholiques*, Paris: Librairie Grand, 1959, p. 172.

20 Arthur C. Moule, *Christians in China before the year 1550*, London: SPCK, 1930, p. 188.

21 Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1: *Beginnings to 1500*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998, p. 474.

6.2.1.3 The Jesuit Mission in Ming Dynasty in the sixteenth century

The third arrival of Christianity into China was the Order of Jesuits during the Ming Dynasty in the sixteenth century. One of the founders of the Order, Father St. Francis Xavier pioneered this historic event.

> The three Italians in Portuguese colonial territory, who spearheaded a missionary advance into China that forever changed the balance of religions in East Asia. Valignano was the master planner, the architect of the structure of Catholic missions for all of Northeast Asia. Ruggieri had made the first physical breakthrough into China. But it was Ricci who shaped the mission, reached the capital, and for the first time made Christianity a continuing, permanent presence in the empire.[22]

Briefly speaking, there are two points of the reflections about the third existence of the Christianity in China during this period in the perspective of research.

The first was the missionary strategy of Matteo Ricci, in the following conclusion:

> Though not the pioneer, Ricci soon became the leader of the work. He developed two main principles. First, make no secret of their faith but do not emphasize the missionary purpose. Second, try to win the attention of the Chinese by demonstrating knowledge of things in which they show great interest, such as Western science and Western learning. To this end, he taught mathematics and astronomy and prepared a famous map of the world, which for the first time astounded educated Chinese with the possibility that China might not be the only center of the world. […] The effect of the second principle, using Western scientific knowledge as a means of entry into the culture of China, was to direct the mission's efforts toward the upper classes.[23]

During the period of his career in China, he was very successful because of his special wisdom. Historically, we can prove that his model of the mission in a huge civilization such as in China is great and correct even if we do this judgment four hundred years later, with the situation of

22 Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2: *1500 to 1900*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998, p. 106.

23 Ibid., p. 108.

today's experiences. His method in history was to define the Jesuit Policy of Accommodation.[24]

The second point is about the Rites Controversy (1636–1692)[25] which was depicted as the failure of the mission once again in China.

> At the heart of the controversy was the great debate about how much or how little a religious faith dares to adapt itself to terms and cultures shaped by other religions. Those issues, of course, neither began nor ended in China. Its theological roots are as deep as the Christian doctrine of the incarnation. It has historical precedents stretching as far back as the Council of Jerusalem, described in the book of Acts, and Paul's arguments against the Judaizers, and Tertullian against Clement of Rome, mission to England, and the Celtic Church against Rome at the Council of Whitby, and on and on clear up to the Puritans against the Establishment – an argument that was unsettling England at the same time as the rites controversy was troubling the church in China. In that great "Middle Empire" it dominated the history of Catholic missions for two centuries, from 1636 and the entry of new missionary orders into China, down to the Opium Wars and the edicts of toleration in the 1830s and 1840s.[26]

The policy of Rome concerning the Chinese rites used by the mission in China finally led to the conflict with the State and the Church. The Emperor Kangxi explained in his letters to the Pope that the Chinese rites were merely civil observances, especially in respect to the ancestors at the family with certain rites, such as the honorable tables with the names of the ancestors or the saints (the ancient thinkers as Confucius etc.) Nevertheless, the Pope refused any interpretations from the Chinese Emperor and excommunicated all the people who held the costumes and the observances of the Chinese rites in China. The relationship between the

24 Jacques Gernet, *Chine et christianisme, Action et Réaction*, Paris: Gallimard, 1982, (reedited in 1991 as *Chine et christianisme, La première confrontation*), English trans. by J. Lloyd, *China and the Christian Impact, A Conflict of Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Concerning the controversial by the Confucians who attacked the mission at this century, there are so concrete descriptions inside the works, cf. especially pp. 112–126; 181–192, 201–208.

25 The best collections about the Chinese Rites controversy is *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 10 vols, by Robert Streit and Johannes P. Dindinger (Veröffentlichungen des Internationalen Institutes für missionswissenschaftliche Forschung), Münster/Aachen: Herder, 1916–1939, 5:728–779.

26 Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2: *1500 to 1900*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998, p. 120.

Catholic mission and the authorities of the Empire became much worse and then ended.[27] In 1720, the Emperor ordered all missions from China. It was clear that for him and his Court, it was unthinkable and terrible to some extent if such religion forbade the followers to respect their ancestors and the moral thinkers as the people in social and secular society. That was also the end of the third entry of Christianity in China.[28]

> Politically, Christianity was heterodox. At first it had seemed to be merely another sect of a Buddhist type, with a belief system, a savior, moral guilt, and a way to atone for it – elements that most religions have in common. Since most religious sects in China had long since been proscribed, like the White Lotus, they generally had to be secret organizations. After the spectacular Jesus contact of the 1600s foundered upon the Rites Controversy that pitted the Pope at Rome against the Emperor of China, Christianity was banned in 1724. The ban was not lifted until 1846 at French insistence. Meanwhile, the Chinese Roman Catholic communities had survived, but foreign priests had to work clandestinely.[29]

6.2.1.4 Conclusion: the Historical Teachings

Obviously, we could say that the three points of the historical teachings from the landscape of Christianity disappeared later in the history of China. First, the Scripture, as the substance of the faith with the universal truth, is much stronger than any oral messages of the people. These three missionary groups, especially the Roman Catholic mission who deeply involved into the traditional culture, never achieved the translation of the entire Bible in the Chinese language! She had influenced the political and cultural society during about two centuries in China, but did very little research of the Scripture in Chinese![30] It meant that the Roman

27 D. E. Mungello (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy, Its History and Meaning* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 33), The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994, pp. 130–132.

28 In 1773, the Pope Clement XIV destructed the Jesuit Order in China, and gradually the church of the Mission in the sense of the organization disappeared in the history of China. Cf. George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: From Its Beginning to Modern Times*, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985, pp. 62–66.

29 John K. Fairbank, *China: A New History*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992, p. 222.

30 The first Chinese version of the Bible in the Catholic side appeared only in 1953! In the 19th century, there were several different versions of the Bible in Chinese in the Protestant side. Unfortunately, the Chinese terms including the names of the Lord,

Catholic missions in China had not taken the teachings from the Reformation and the appearance of Protestantism, although Matteo Ricci had succeeded in showing the university and the catholicity of the Christian faith to the noble class of the Empire who sought the truth as the ultimate aim in the tradition. He was more historical on the level of the cultural exchanges between the West and China.[31] However, his missionary strategy was interrupted by the inner problems of the Roman system. The background was just the époque of the Reformation and the great beginning of Protestantism in the West!

Secondly, from the conflict between the Court of Empire Qing and the Roman Curia around the Chinese rites showed the conflicts of different cultures even the conflict of civilizations, and we should remind ourselves of the fact that we must not ignore the absence of the ecclesial of the mission in China. According to the legacy of the Reformation, if the church had only good relationships with the authorities of the state, without the ecclesial essence based on the Scripture, the Creeds and the principles of the reformation, this kind of church will rely and depend on the political authorities without any autonomy in the secular order. In this respect, the seeds of the Gospel will not sprout vitally in the hearts of the believers. Consequently, the church will lose the life to realize the task of the Lord. In terms of the doctrine of the "Law-Gospel", the church must interpret the political order on the level of the Divine Creation as the preparation of the Divine Providence. Any relationship with secular order should not ignore the essence of the divinity according to the doctrines of the church. As to the national or folklore customs of believers, the Roman Catholic mission must learn from Martin Luther to apply the ethical principle of *Adiaphora* in China, but the Pope lacked the vision during that time in Germany.

Christ, the prophets and the apostles as the titles of the books are different between the Catholic Bible and the Protestant Bible in China. Cf. Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China*, London: The China Inland Mission, 1934, p. 40.

31 Here we should recognize the historicity of the cultural exchanges contributed by Matteo Ricci, although the third missionary wave failed due to the complicated causes. On the contrary, the Nestorian and the Mission of John of Monte Corvino did nearly nothing in the cultural areas in the history. Cf. Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: SPCK, 1929, p. 73.

Third, the Accommodation Policy of Matteo Ricci to respect the Chinese cultural tradition remains until today as the wonderful principle to Protestantism in China.[32] It is very important for us because the first Protestant missionary figure, Robert Morison, by contrast to Ricci, held a disgusting sense of the people and the customs at the place, where he stayed in China. He developed a very negative feeling about the Chinese culture, the philosophy and the other religions until the end of his life. The writings of Morison were full of his dislike of Chinese Buddhists, Confucianism and the whole traditional spirituality, which Matteo Ricci gave high respect and translated in Latin to the West with the other Catholic missionaries.[33]

> The relative slowness of cultural and institutional change in China after the thirteenth century left the country weak and defenseless in the nineteenth century before the cultural onslaught of the West, which had grown so spectacularly during those same centuries. China's comparative inertia, therefore, is usually viewed as an historic tragedy, if not a cause for national shame. It can, however, be looked at in an entirely different perspective. For the successive generations of Chinese who lived during this long period, the high degree of political, social, and spiritual stability which they enjoyed was probably preferable to the constant turmoil of life and thought during these same centuries in Europe. We moderns, living in the notably unstable world civilization that has grown out of the rapidly changing culture of the West, may also look with envy at the peace and stability of China between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries.[34]

That prepared the later complicated situation of the Protestant missionaries in China until today, although the Western missionaries had already

32 Erik Zürcher, "Jesuit Accommodation and the Chinese Cultural Imperative," in: D. E. Mungello (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy, Its History and Meaning* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 33), The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994, pp. 24–28.

33 Matteo Ricci introduced the basic dogmas and doctrines of the Church in Chinese while he mastered the Confucianism and the Chinese spiritual systems in Chinese! He interpreted the Christian ethics through comparing with the moral philosophy of Confucius with the great success! In: *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, Chinese-English version, Taipei etc.: Ricci Institute, 1985, pp. 70–73.

34 Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, *East Asia the Great Tradition*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960, p. 241.

left China for about fifty-seven years. Thus, we must recognize that the missionary strategy of Matteo Ricci was in accordance with the catholicity and universality of the church in the doctrinal sense.

6.2.2 The Political Encounter with China in Modern Time

6.2.2.1 The Historical Crisis Mistook the Image of the Church in China

The fourth entrance into China was the arrival of a Presbyterian missionary of England, Robert Morison in 1807 who was previously mentioned. It was the historical beginning of Protestantism in China. That time was characteristic of the political conflicts that China encountered. The socio-political situation was troubling all through the 19th century because of the Western colonists and imperialists' aggressions in the old Empire. In the West, the conflicts and the wars around their material interests occurred among the powers without any justice. The Industrial Revolution and "free for all" environment became the "Law of the Jungle". In this situation, social Darwinism became the cold rule of life instead of the divine order from the tradition of the Medieval Mind. Even if the Reformation destroyed the divine order of the Roman view, Luther created the system of the Two-Kingdoms under the divine providence. Nevertheless, the world political pattern of the 19th century, the profound crisis of the world had also shown the crisis of Protestantism regarding the ethical role of the church in the secular world. This was the background of the missionary movement in China. The encounter between the Protestant missionaries and the Chinese elites became the confliction between the Western powers and the patriots of nationalism throughout modern history of China.

At the same time, just as in Europe, the great minds of Protestantism were also aware of the crisis of the church. Protestants faced the disorder and terrible political turmoil. Karl Barth was one of those people with the sense of the crisis and became one of the prophets of the time. It seems that he identified theology in the universities mainly regarding theological issues; essentially his deep concerns were the ethical role of the church in a wild world! The Christian conscience was awakening through the case of Karl Barth. Until the end of the Second World War,

the Protestant Church encountered the most crises in the political environment situation since the Reformation. Because of the spiritual fragileness and ethical indifference, the atheist Communist movement grew rapidly, instead of the church as the powerful spiritual and ethical force for the poorer class. Barth and the other Protestant thinkers had already warned the Western world of the existing political order and institution. Thus, missionary efforts in China failed because of the complicated political conflicts while they labored in China.

During the missionary period of 1807–1949, Protestantism in China presented by missionary churches and organization were not unified doctrinally without the base and failed to follow the legacy of the Reformation.[35] There were five historical points as a brief survey of the missionaries in China.

6.2.2.1.1 The Denominational Missionary Churches: the Main Diverse Forms of Protestantism in China

The leaders of the churches usually were the western missionaries. The financial resources came from the Western churches. They arrived in China through the naval vessels and the opium warships of the colonists, although they held the good-will to preach the Gospel to the Chinese people. The image of the missionaries was mixed with the Western colonists and the British opium businessman in illegal methods to the intellectuals and the elites in China. At the end of the 19th century, nearly all the Protestant denominational churches, appeared during the three hundred years since the Reformation, sent the missionaries into China and set up the proper area of each.[36]

35 Ka-Lun Leung, *Far Ahead and Lagging Behind: Studies in Contextual Hermeneutics and Theology*, Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2003, pp. 114–121.

36 Christopher Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, Hong Kong: Taosheng Publishing House, 2001, p. 145.

6.2.2.1.2 The Unequal Treaties of the War

The unequal treatises by the war on the authorities of China became the highways to the missionaries' works, although they aimed at the Gospel of Christ to the people of China. But the miserable aggression by Western colonists strengthened nationalism sentiments among the intellectuals in China as was the German situation after the First World War by the humiliated and unequal treaties on Germany. The missionaries had worked very hard in the diaconal areas including the modern hospitals, the high education, the modern publications and the social warfare in order to shape the correct image of the church in China. Many missionaries worked for the poor through hospitals, diaconal services and charities.[37] But the political encounter was very cruel, because the justice of Christian faith by the missionaries could not stop the terrible robbery wars and the military aggressions in China.[38] Political duty and the consciences of missionaries were very weak during this modern time and which were full of social troubles and wars under unequal treatises. However, the historical contributions of the missionaries were also confirmed and positive for the modernization of China. Proclamation of the Gospel in rural areas, the diaconal works, publications and the educations systems prepared the latter renaissance of the church in China.

6.2.2.1.3 The Theological Research about the Basic Doctrines of the Church: Rare in Missionary Works

Theological researches about basic doctrines of the church were very rare in missionary work; finally, they unified different versions of Scripture into Chinese in 1890 by a conference of western missionaries in China. This situation proclaimed the academic dialogues about faith and truth of Christianity which was seldom taught among the intellectuals

37 Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprises in China, 1807–1840*, London: The Scarecrow Press, 1996, p. 331.

38 Surely, there were so many historic figures in the modern crisis devoted themselves to the dignity and the independence of the nation with the Christian identity, such as Sun Yat-Sen, General Feng Yuqiang etc. But the Church through the diverse missionary forms as the role of the justice and the morale was very weak and marginal in the process of the history. At the same time, the Communist movement quickly spread and grew up among the masses of all the levels by its Messianic ideal.

before 1949. The religion of Christianity appeared in the minds of the elites as a foreign religion. It was without the universal faith, although they had started the cultural and academic works with fruitful achievements before 1949. The most famous organizations were three societies: The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, The General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society, and China International Institute.[39]

6.2.2.1.4 The Free Churches Movements

Pietism is the essential characteristic of the missionary movements in China. When the denominations spread over China, the Independent churches belonged to the sect-type that also arrived in China. They quickly expanded in the mainland with pious feelings and strong enthusiasm. They disliked the institutional church with bureaucratic organizations. Usually, they worked around the charismatic leaders in the small and relatively close circles. The famous free churches were the Little Flock, which rejected the ordination and church organization in favor of lay evangelization inherited from the tradition of the Anabaptist movements; the Jesus Family originated from Methodist communities; The True Jesus Christ, etc. The spirit of the Revival Movements profoundly influenced these independent churches.[40]

6.2.2.1.5 The Great Contribution in the Area of Higher Education

It was the historic witness of the missionaries in the modern China. Before 1949, the Protestant missionaries had set up thirteen universities, and three universities by Catholic missions. Many outstanding people over all the social, cultural, economical technical, diplomatic areas in modern China came from these universities.[41] So far, these former missionaries' universities remain as first-class universities in China.

39 Christopher Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, Hong Kong: Taosheng Publishing House, 2001, pp. 611–616.

40 Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in: *Christianity on China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. by D. H. Bays, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996, p. 31.

41 Jessie G. Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850–1950*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1971, pp. 1–30.

6.2.2.1.6 Some Historic Dates

To understand the political encounter of Protestantism with the form of missions in modern China, we should briefly make clear the political background by a series of the political events in this period.

In 1840, the British army forced the authorities of China to accept the Nanjing Treaty with injustice and unequal content. It was the beginning of the colonization of the Western powers in China. At this time, the Empire fell into trouble and wars by Western powers, and unfortunately, the missionaries benefited from all the unequal treatises.

During 1851–1864, the Rebellion of Taiping, with the name of the Kingdom of God against the authorities of China resulted into a bloody catastrophe of civil war. The name of Christian was once connected with the rebellion and the colonists in the minds of the elites and the intellectuals in China in a negative sense.[42]

In 1894, Japan with the Western political institutions and the imperialist policy defeated the Empire of China on the sea. It was the first time in their history that a small nation with such a long history of grace from China defeated China in war. The shock was huge and the humiliation was profound! A more terrible consequence was that Confucianism as the basis of the spirituality of the nation was broken and attacked by the Law of the Jungle! The moral rules and the legal system fell down into the logic of the war with blood and steel for the survival of the old nation. Nationalism with patriotic will spread out over the Chinese nation. The intellectuals and the elites in China started to research the approach and methods of Western civilization for saving China the dangers of colonization. At the beginning of the 20th century, the ideas of the

42 Concerning the historical event of *Taiping Rebellion*, the most basic study is by Franz Michael in collaboration with Chun-li Chang, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, 3 vols, Washington D. C.: University of Washington Press, 1966–1971. A comprehensive account is by a leading specialist, Jen Yuwen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973. In my research, it was the sect oriented rebellion with the name of God and of the people against the authorities of Manchu full of the extreme nationalism. The doctrines of the Christianity in the system *Taiping* included the three books of the Scripture, i.e. the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Latest Testament which were the words of HONG Xiuquan, the head of Rebellion. He declared that he had met his brother Jesus and the wife of Jesus in the Heaven through his mysterious dream etc.

Constitution, the Republic System, the Democracy, the Parliament Polity and the ideas of the Enlightenment entered into the Chinese world by the intellectuals and the missionaries.[43]

During 1898–1901, the Boxer Uprising was a serious event regarding missionaries and the fate of the Empire.

> The Boxer Rising in the long, hot summer of 1900 was one of the best-known events of the nineteenth century because so many diplomats, missionaries, and journalists were besieged by almost incessant rifle fire for eight weeks (June 29 – August 14) in Beijing legation quarter – about 475 foreign civilians, 450 troops if eight nations, some 3,000 Chinese Christians, also about 150 racing ponies, who provided fresh meat. An international army rescued them, not without bickering, after rumors they had all been killed […] The allied forces thoroughly looted Beijing. Kaiser Wilhelm II sent a field marshal, who terrorized the surrounding towns, where many thousands of Chinese Christians had been slaughtered; 250 foreigners, mainly missionaries, had been killed across North China. Vengeance was in the air.[44]

Historically, this event showed the impossibility of the Royalty of the Empire in charge of modernization in China. In 1912, the revolutionary under the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen (1866–1925) ended the Empire with a history of the monarchy for 2000 years in China. The Republic of China was born. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen himself was a Christian from an American missionary![45]

43 "A more plausible reason is the very perfection that Chinese culture and social organization had achieved by the thirteenth century. The political, social, and intellectual systems were basically so viable and so well balanced that not until this balance was destroyed by massive external blows in the nineteenth century was Chinese society again set in rapid motion. In retrospect, the Chinese have every right to view with pride the stage in their civilization in which they created a society so perfect within its own guiding ideals and technological limits that it achieved a degree of stability no other high civilization has ever been able to approach." Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, *East Asia the Great Tradition*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960, p. 242.

44 John K. Fairbank, *China: A New History*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992, p. 231.

45 Harold Z. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-Sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968, p. 229. Cf. Lyon Sharman, *Sun Yat-Sen: His Life and Its Meaning*, 1934; repr., Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968; C. Martin Wilbur, *Sun Yat-Sen: Frustrated Patriot*, New York:

6.2.2.2 *The Historical Reflection of the Missionaries and the Time of Communism*

The period of the analysis in the West was the eve of the First World War. The Industrial Revolution achieved the powers around 1870 and openly expanded the colonization through free trade with military conquest over the world. The political and military concurrences grew radically at the end of the 19th century among the imperialists. The international political order of the world at the beginning of the 20th century was the exact background of western missionaries in China. It was a very sorrowful time for Protestantism in China! John King Fairbank commented:

> To most Chinese, Christian missionaries seemed to be the ideological arm of foreign aggression. The conflict, begun in the seventeenth century and resumed in the nineteenth, went on at many levels: political, intellectual, and social…. Protestant missionaries by their calling were reformers at heart, and their efforts at once brought them into conflict with the Confucian establishment, which believed in its own kind of reform. Missionaries and the Chinese gentry-elite were natural rivals. Both were privileged, immune to the magistrate's coercion. Both were teachers of a cosmic doctrine. Rivalry was unavoidable. Paul Cohen quotes as representative an early missionary who saw behind the outward show of the Confucian elite's politeness and refinement "nothing but cunning, ignorance, rudeness, vulgarity, arrogant assumption and inveterate hatred of everything foreign." This view was reciprocated. To the scholar-gentry, missionaries were foreign subversives, whose immoral conduct and teachings were backed by gunboats. Conservative patriots hated and feared these alien intruders, but the conservatives lost out as modern times unfolded, and much of the record thus far available is polemical or else comes mainly from the victorious missionaries and Chinese Christians. The record so ably summarized by Cohen (in *CHOC* 10) shows few Chinese converts to the Christian faith but a pervasive influence from missionary aggressiveness.[46]

Today in my reflections, the paradox of the missionaries in China was very embarrassing to the international political order and without the justice accorded to the idea of the Reformation. On one hand, they thought that they must work hard in China for saving billions of pagans'

Columbia University Press, 1976; Marie-C. Bergère, *Sun Yat-Sen*, trans. J. Lloyd, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

46 John K. Fairbank, *China: A New History*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992, p. 222.

souls by the Gospel of Christ in their enthusiasm and minds on the sacrifice. Most of them died in their missionary areas for the poor people as medics, teachers, and preachers with the great spirit of the apostles or contributed so much in the area of higher education and with the historic influences; on the other hand, they could do nothing but face the aggressions and the robbers of their countries' army and ideals of China.[47] The doctrines of the Reformers, the institutional mechanism of the church and the Gospel of the Holy Scripture could not explain why the Imperialists from Christian countries dared to violate the faith of the church in China by violence and wars. The Western powers were destroying this old human civilization! That was the historical panorama of the first half part of the 20th century of China. In a word,

> the arrival of Christian missionaries in the 19th century occurred in the context of China's increasing humiliation before the Western powers, who progressively forced their way into the country's interior. Through the vicissitudes of the Opium Wars, the turn-of-the-century political and cultural disintegration, the period of the republic under Sun Yat-Sen, the occupation of the Japanese during World War II, and the takeover of the Communists, the church managed to achieve modest growth, in 1949 claiming approximately one percent of the population.[48]

The intellectuals in China composed the spiritual pillars of the nation since Confucianism during more than 2000 years in China as were the prophets in ancient Israel. There were two kinds of elites which appeared in the crises of the nation. One accepted the value and the faith from the missionaries toward the republic and democratic direction for China, another part took the political thoughts of the workers class in Europe, namely, the Marxist theory and the Communists' ideal for the poor people against the imperialists. Along with the terrible results of the First World War, the West continued to fall into the unequal state with the Law of the Jungle. The secular order became more dangerous than before. The most miserable class was the poor people. Thus, there were

47 M. Searle Bates, "The Church in China in the Twentieth Century," in: *China and Christian Responsibility: A Symposium*, ed. by W. J. Richardson, New York: Maryknoll, 1968, pp. 45–80.

48 Rudolf G. Wagner, "China," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, p. 416.

two radical thoughts historically popular among the people with so many intellectuals as the dominant forces; one was the extreme nationalist, i.e., the Nazism and the Fascist with racism based on the Law of Jungle against all the heritages of the Renaissance, of the Reformation, and of the Enlightenments. In a word, they menaced the political institution of the European civilization which funded the principles of the Reformation. Another was the Communism movement along with the new working class which appeared from the process of the Industry revolution. Both of them were characteristic by the strong ideology and differed from Protestantism and the Western traditional culture.

Finally, the Chinese Communists defeated the other systems in China and achieved the unification by the foundation of the Communist regime in China in 1949.[49] Moreover, the Nazi and the Fascist regimes were destroyed in the West. However, the world entered into the "Cold War" at the end of the war in 1945 until 1989.

6.2.2.3 Conclusion

What was the role of the Church in this huge world landscape? Since the Reformation, human beings suffered the most bloody and the most

49 The Chinese communist revolutionary ended the disorders since 1849 caused by the Western imperialists through the military aggressive methods, which passed the most terrible periods of the two world wars. The Communist revolutions with the violent approach raised the sharp question to the Church about the aim and the essence of the human being at the historical background of the Christianity. As to the reasons of the Chinese communist triumph in 1949, there are so many researches about this theme in the West. John Dunn commented, "Historiographical dispute over the determinants of Chinese communist triumph has isolated many different components that might reasonably be judged to have entered into that triumph. There are at present four main candidates: (1) an unsteadily tightening grasp of the class dynamics of the Chinese countryside, and of how those dynamics could best be harnessed by the presumptive representative agency of a party in arms; (2) a firmer and more readily credible adoption of the burden of national liberation in the face of intensifying Japanese pressure; (3) a cleverer (or simply more fortunate) exploitation of the purely spatial coordinates for building and sustaining military capacity in face of their multifarious enemies; and (4) a hardening organizational code and deepening ideological subjection of those whom they recruited to their rank." *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution*, ed. by Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, p. 394.

deaths which occurred in the 20th century caused by the conflicts of ideologies and ideas. So far, the political pattern of the world is still very dangerous, and the role of the church seems very weak still, not only in international relationships, but in the concrete political affairs also. How can I explain the Gospel of God among the people, and at same time say nothing about the injustice and the violence by the secular order, which exists always under the providence of God? The German theological reflections about the Holocaust and the grace of God lead me to the theme of the church in the secular order.[50]

Why did not the missionaries gain sympathy of the advanced intellectuals with morality and spirituality in China while the Chinese nation nearly died in the process toward colonization?[51] Why was it the Communist idea to realize the unification of the nation from the collapse into the many parts? How could we analyze the role of the church in China?

Historically, in my research, the main characteristic of Western missionaries and their denominational churches in China was the pietistic tradition from Puritanism full of the spirit of Pietism. They were very moral people with the lofty concerns about individual salvation through private moral disciplines. Nevertheless, they were very ignorant about political issues, even ignoring the legacy of the Reformers in China, and they seldom introduced the doctrines of the Reformation in Chinese language. They emphasize strongly individual purity and moral virtues in close circles, even if their background was of the denomination and in their countries were so active in the public and political areas as the Calvinists.[52] The Pietism was the most obvious trait of the western missionaries in China. According to Wallmann,

50 Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, trans. R. A. Wilson and J. Bowden, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, p. 274.

51 Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 1–5.

52 "Ritschl saw the continuity between Pietism and Lutheran conservatism above all in the early-nineteenth-century revival movement. Ritschl suspected the Pietism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of having promoted a re-Catholicization. The Pietists had indeed understood themselves to be the legitimate heirs of Luther's Reformation and had demanded the renewal of the Protestant church in the spirit of the Reformation. In its sweeping receptivity to mystical traditions and the new re-

> Pietism arising in the seventeenth century and coming to full bloom in eighteenth-century continental European Protestantism as a *religious renewal movement* is, next to Anglo-Saxon Puritanism, the most significant religious movement of Protestantism since the Reformation […] Pietism pressed for the individualization and interiorization of the religious life, developed new forms of personal piety and communal life, led to sweeping reforms in theology and the church, and left profound marks on the social and cultural life of the countries grasped by it.[53]

To persuade the Chinese to repent for their nonfaithful past for obtaining the grace of salvation was the most important task to the Western missionaries in China. Although at the same time in the big cities along the southeastern coast of China, missionaries established hospitals, media, and universities, they seemed very weak as the socio-political forces compared to most of the other missionaries in the rural areas.[54]

Here we should indicate that some of the missionary leaders appraised the military repression in order that the church could benefit from the political treaties as usual. They thought surely of the basic rights and the legal guarantee from the political treatises, but they ignored the national dignity and the national feelings of the Chinese intellectuals as did the German nation suffer from the treaties of the First World War! They did not use the doctrines of the historic church as the universal truth to help China from the power fights as the Catholic

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gard for asceticism, however, Pietism presented a perversion of the Reformation's worldly religiosity. The establishment of conventicles and small religious groups, in which the most pious dissociated them from the mass of believers, destroyed the notion of the Reformed church and of the general priesthood of all believers. Contemplation, emotional bliss, and mystical devotion led to a new notion of good works, to the illusion that absolution could be attained through religious deeds and asceticism. The tendency to shut one off from the world in small religious groups, conventicles, and, in effect, in the community of the few truly pious, contradicted the Reformation's concept of vocation. Thus, Pietism was at its core a regression to Catholicism. This was especially true of reformed Pietism." Friedrich W. Graf, "The German Theological Sources and Protestant Church Politics," in: *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, ed. by H. Lehmann and G. Roth (Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington D. C.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 46.

53 Johannes Wallmann, "'Pietismus' – mit Gänsefüßchen", in: *Theologische Rundschau* 66 (2001), p. 7.

54 Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: SPCK, 1929; repr., Taipei: Cheng-Wen Publishers, 1965, pp. 12–17.

priests did during the conflict between China and Russia at the 17th century with the position of justice. The authorities of the Empire at the end of the 19th century were full of corruptions and abuses, but it was not the reason that the missionaries encouraged the Western powers to launch the war to divide China. It left so many generations in China with strong national feelings against the missionaries so. In 1830, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in China; the leader was E. G. Bridgman and David Abeel. They protected the mission's interests and rights by encouraging military attack in China.[55] Today, the Western historians called this kind of missionary as "the moral equivalent for imperialism".[56] Nevertheless, it was in this case at the time of the 19th century in China.

The Anglo-American model and the Russian model coexisted during a half century in China; it was the actual background of the church under the leadership of the missionaries before 1949 in China. The political encounter of the church in China happened between these two political approaches with weakness and embarrassments.

6.2.3 The Ethical Encounter in Contemporary China: the Epoque of the Cross

6.2.3.1 The Legacy of the Missionaries in Terms of the Ethical Meanings

The missionaries with pietism tradition mainly worked in the rural areas over the country with many believers from the poor class. The denominational churches from the West set up many Bible schools and seminaries

55 Stuart C. Miller, "Ends and Means: Missionary Justification of Force in Nineteenth Century China," in: J. K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 249–251; Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890–1952*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958, pp. 4–6,

56 William R. Hutchison, "A Moral Equivalent for Imperialism: Americans and the Promotion of Christian Civilization, 1880–1910," in: *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880–1920; Papers from the Durham Consultation, 1981*, ed. T. Christensen and W. R. Hutchison, Aarhus: Aros, 1982, pp. 167–177.

in the towns and big cities without realizing the projects were to introduce systematically the doctrines of the Reformation in Chinese due to the political changes. The most important matter started by Robert Morison whose career was for the translation of the Bible.[57] Before 1949, the Bible of the United Version (Chinese King James Version) appeared in China for all different missionary traditions.

At the ethical dimension, the missionaries had made the historical contribution to the Christianity in China by their special missionary approaches. The China Inland Mission headed by James Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) had planted the seeds of the Gospel in the ground of most parts in China. Timothy Richard (1845–1919) was famous for his contribution to academic research, education and publication, etc. Thus, we should study the relationships between the pietism in China and the tradition of the Reformation in the context of the church in China with the historical references. In this case, we can well understand the proper situation of the western missionaries in the encounter with the social revolution in modern history of China.[58] Brecht provides a similar although more expansive description:

> Pietism is the most significant devotional movement [*Frömmigkeitsbewegung*] of Protestantism after the Reformation, and as such is primarily a religious phenomenon. Its spatial, temporal, social, spiritual, churchly-confessional, and theological range is simply astonishing and altogether constitutes its greatness as a historical subject. Pietism arose around the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century from criticism of the existing ecclesiastical and spiritual relations at nearly the same time in England, the Netherlands, and Germany, spreading from there to Switzerland, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, and the United States. It contributed to a great extent to the world-wide Protestant mission, and has remained a living movement into the present.[59]

57 Lindsay Ride, *Robert Morison, The Scholar and the Man*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957, p. 3.

58 Elijah G. Bridgman, "British Authorities in China; Petition to the King in Council from the British Residents in this Country; with Remarks on the Proposed Measures for the Regulation of Future Intercourse between China and Great Britain," in: *Chinese Repository* 3/8 (1834), pp. 362–363. Cf. Gerald Anderson (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998.

59 Martin Brecht (ed.), *Geschichte des Pietismus*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, p. 1.

Since the 1870s, the Industrial civilization and the new political ideologies brought shock with tremendous power on the world as well as in China. Spiritual contemplation was typical of thinkers and theologians. They formed new ideas that the rules and the ideology of modern times are much superior to any other ancient matters as in high technological productions. In this case, the principles and the ideas of the Reformation gradually became the heritages of the museum and the missionaries with Puritanism and the spirit of the Great Revivalism dominated the church reflections. That was the background that pietism with fundamentalism essentially composed the inner structure of missionary work in China.[60]

6.2.3.2 The Cross and the Communist Revolution of China in Transition

The Communist revolution with the German philosophical tradition finally ended the schism and disorder of China in 1949. The new political institution based on the ideology of German theory replaced the monarchy founded upon the Confucianism for more than 2000 years in China. In 1950, over 5,000 foreign missionaries were expelled from China. All the denominational organizations were unified under the name of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM). The authorities cancelled all the national organizations of the former missionaries in China.[61]

Although the original source of Marxism is the Messianism of the Judaic-Christian spirituality, the Communist movements dominated by the model of Leninism-Stalinism made the revolutionary struggle toward the Kingdom of the Freedom. The class struggle as the eternal rule composed the inner structure of Communism.[62] The conflict between the

60 John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 12–14.

61 Michel Baumgartner, "Chine," in: *Encyclopédie du protestantisme*, 2e éd., publ. sous la dir. de P. Gisel, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2006, pp. 59–60.

62 During the 1950s–1970s in China, the class struggle was the normative idea of the state for the people and the social activities. That resulted to the social and familiar ethical disorders and conflicts with the blood and the death. Theoretically, in 1945, Karl R. Popper had pointed out, "In spite of his merits, Marx was, I believe, a false prophet. He was a prophet of the course of history, and his prophecies did not come true; but this is not my main accusation. It is much more important that he misled scores of intelligent people into believing that historical prophecy is the scientific

atheist and theist essentially cached the conflict about the authority of truth and criterion of the interpretations.

I would like to say here that the church has shown the glory of God during the Communist regime within different situations. The fact was that the church never ceased to grow without missionaries and western supports since 1950 to 1980. This period was the closed time to the world with serious religious persecutions. The question is why the church has survived from the political atheist regime.

The original reasons of the Communist revolution in China lay in three points:

They claimed that Marxism is the most advanced human science through concluding the legacies of the French Enlightenments, the British political economics and the German classic philosophy as the basis of communism for the proletariat class against capitalism and all the exploited class. In this respect, the ideal of communism could gather all the forces of the intellectuals towards the most wonderful society of humankind. Justice, morale and equality, etc., are only realistic in the Communist ideal with the proletariat institution and polity by revolutionary dictatorship.

The Communists finished the disorder of China in 1840, and western missionaries belonged to the imperialists' tools of aggression in China; thus, they must leave China while New China was set up. In 1950, all the western missionaries existed in China no longer;

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way of approaching social problems. Marx is responsible for the devastating influence of the historical method of thought within the ranks of those who wish to advance the cause of the open society." "My criticism of Marx's theory of the classes, as far as its historicist emphasis goes, follows the lines taken up in the last section. The formula 'all history is a history of class struggle' is very valuable as a suggestion that we should look into the important part played by class struggle in power politics as well as in other development; this suggestion is the more valuable since Plato's brilliant analysis of the part played by class struggle in the history of Greek city states were only rarely taken up in later times […] One of the dangers of Marx's formula is that if taken too seriously, it misleads Marxists into interpreting all political conflicts as struggles between exploiters and exploited (or else as attempts to cover up the 'real issue', the underlying class conflict)." Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, vol. 2: *The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath*, London: Routledge, 1945, p. 78; p. 108.

The Communist Regime used the political norms of the Soviet Union instead of all of the existing legal systems. The summit of the political movements with the class struggle as the principle was the "Culture Revolution" (1966–1976). During this period, the religious persecution and the political repressions developed cruelly to the historical extent. Most of the religious buildings including the national spiritual heritages were destroyed or closed. This disordered state lasted until the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. On the contrary, that prepared the condition of the Incarnation for the church on the ground of the national suffering.[63]

I would like to say that the ethical role of Christians in society rallied the church to take root in this special historical situation.

Firstly, the political norms since 1949 until today differ from that of the period 1840–1949 to the church. In the historical perspective, the political institution based on the German classic philosophy and the Russian revolutionary theory as the state ideology has shown the rupture between the Chinese Communists and Confucianism, which dominated the political regime for more than 2000 years in China. The complexity to confirm natural science made the Communist states to consider all the theist theories and religions as in the past value system without future and truth. The religions in China were considered as spiritual systems with superstitions against modern natural science according to Marxism.

Secondly, all the religious elements in the social and cultural areas, educational institutions and hospitals had to withdraw and leave. The Communist ideology dominated all the disciplines of public education. Outstanding citizens were characteristic of the communists with social statue and reputation.

Thirdly, the leadership of the religious organization must obey the administration of the state. The political criterion in patriotic definition was primal. In this case, the doctrines of the church were secondary, without any function of restriction to the church leaders or the church position in the relationships.

63 From 1807 until 1949, there were totally 700,000 Protestant believers under the care of more than 5000 missionaries. In 1950, all the missionaries left off China. But in 1990, during about 57 years, fairly conservative estimates showed 60–70 million Protestants in China without any missionaries' supports. Cf. Rudolf G. Wagner, "China," in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Fahlbusch et al., trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999, pp. 416–419.

In this background, the Church has grown rapidly since the 1980s, especially because of the spiritual witness through moral behavior. The ethical role of the believers impressed and influenced the society, which is changing rapidly from the closed state to the open state. The freedoms of the individuals have become the starting point of the new period in China now.

6.2.4 Conclusion

The failure of western missionaries in China was an ethical failure of the church, not the truth of the cross. The Marxism-Leninism as the political ideology achieved the unification of China from the edge of collapse; thus, the historicity of the communist revolution has held the certain rationality in the history of China according to the official statements of the government in China.[64]

As to the reflections on the teachings of the missionaries during the 17–19th century in China versus today's position, in that there are many kinds of theories to do interpretations through a proper point of view, such as a series of the terms: the Accommodation, the Adaptation, the Acculturation, the Inculturation, the Assimilation, the Syncretism, and the Encounter, etc.[65]And there are also some scholars who study the approaches of the types between European and Non-European Cultures to think of the modern history. Urs Bitterli distinguished several different types of cultural communications, such as the type of the Cultural Encounter: Contacts, Collisions, and Relationships, etc. He described the

64 Karl R. Popper used the words of Walter Lippmann to start up his comments on the Marx's sociological determinism, "The collectivists […] have the zest for progress, the sympathy for the poor, the burning sense of wrong, the impulse for great deeds, which have been lacking in latter-day liberalism. But their science is founded on a profound misunderstanding […], and their actions, therefore, are deeply destructive and reactionary. So men's hearts are torn, their minds divided, they offered impossible choices." Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, vol. 2: *The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath*, London: Routledge, 1945, p.137.

65 Christopher A. Spalatin, *Matteo Ricci's Use of Epictetus* (Excerpta ex dissertatione, Gregorian University, Rome), Waegwan, 1975, p. 85.

relationships between the missionaries and China in 17th–19th century as the type of Cultural Relationships.[66]

We must directly face the church and her role in the actual society of China. As what Ryan Dunch said:

> on the one hand the Protestant church is flourishing in China, it is at the same time both fragmented and fragile; fragmented due to the great diversity of theological, practical, and regional streams that make up the contemporary Protestant church, and fragile due to the limited role which the church, despite its growth, plays and can play in Chinese social and cultural life.[67]

In a word, the historical background has prepared the basic conditions to think of the ecclesial issues, especially the ethics of the church. The ethical role of the Christians made the church to survive from the special political movements, but now, the church is encountering the new serious challenges, while China is developing so quickly toward the modernization.[68]

What must we do to prepare the future of the church in China? My central theme remains that the ethical structures of the Church from the legacy of the Reformation will be very constructive to set up the institutional church in China.

66 Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1993, pp. 20–50.

67 Ryan Dunch, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 195.

68 Ka-Lun Leung, *Churches in China: Today and Tomorrow*, Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2006, p. 106.

6.3 The Ethics and Church Order in China

6.3.1 Introduction

To anyone who thinks of the orientation of the development of China, he must recognize the actual statue and the value of the world pattern that China occupies with the clear conscience. That means that the world is appearing to generally worry and be concerned about China. In the ethical perspective of the Occidental position, there are a series of the serious problems relative to the freedom of religion, human rights, political abuses and moral norms in business, etc. Meanwhile, the authorities of China claim that China accepts the universal value of the human rights and religious freedom, but in a particular way due to the historic reasons. About the ten years ago, the universal values of these ideas were very rare in the media of China. The logic of the Marxism, which remains the state ideology, stressed the philosophy of the classes in the society. The political statue must be connected with the economical statue. The proletariat class was opposite to the bourgeois class who represented the ideology of the capitalism according to the propaganda. However, the paradox appeared along the modernization in China. The elites and intellectuals became the owners of the fortunes and the privileges, the workers remain a lower class along with the economic developments. Today's China is in the process of a transition from the time of the ideology to the time of state Capitalism.

It is the actual background for us to interpret the ethical structures of the church in China. Firstly as the pre-comprehension, we must be reminded that the narrow nationalism is very harmful to the great civilization and the sound mind of the nation. The classical mentality of the Chinese nation during last 5000 years is typical of seeking the universal truth with the aesthetical ideals. The political and ethical order is based on universal truth. If we want to change something or make certain rules in China, we must first prove that our proposition holds the universal value as to the inner being. That was the secret point of the German political theories to take root into the socio-political structure of China about a half-century ago. So far, the authorities of China still declare firmly the fidelity to the German ideology created by Karl Marx and

Fredric Engels, because they believe there is the universal truth in their thought for human beings.

The strategy of the Accommodation of Matteo Ricci has proved that the Chinese traditional spirituality is the ground for the seed of the Christianity in China. The ethical order of the church must include the structural elements of Confucianism.

6.3.1.1 The Basic Problems: Authority of the Political Ethics as the Central Theme of the Ecclesial Ethics

To analyze the basic problems of Protestantism in China one must use the sociological models in order to define the boundary of the interpretations. Max Weber's sociological model of the Ideal Types has helped me to sketch up the basic references of the ethical order of the Reformation. Here I need the benefit of the sociological model of Ernst Troeltsch to fix the zoom on the proper object of the research.

According to Troeltsch, there are the three types of the Protestantism in the society, a) the church-type as the Lutheranism, the Reformed-Presbyterianism, the Anglicanism, which existed by the norms of the doctrines and the institutional regulations, b) the sect-types as the baptisms and the Independent churches, which are characteristic of the Congregationalist, c) the mysticism-type, which shows through the individual and charismatic approach off the society and the political orders. In the words of Troeltsch,

> From the very beginning there appeared the three main types of the sociological development of Christian thought: the church, the sect, and mysticism. The Church is an institution which has been endowed with grace and salvation as the result of the work of Redemption; it is able to receive the masses, and to adjust itself to the world, because, to a certain extent, it can afford to ignore the need for subjective holiness for the sake of the objective treasures of grace and of redemption.[69]

It is very reasonable for us to use his theory while we do the research about the ethical order of church in China. The sect-type churches in China relate directly the so-called "house-churches". They are relatively independent over the country without any proper doctrinal system with

69 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 993.

the rules of faith and norms of the organization.[70] The mysticism-type usually describes the philosophical spiritual minds in China with the syncretism from Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and the various Western religious terms. These two types relate essentially the freedom of religion and the human rights in China to the Western media. Therefore, the themes regarding the religious freedom and the religious persecutions usually are the political and sociological issues in China.

The civil society is in the process of the appearance since 1980s in China, but not yet really achieved in the standard of the modern political theory. In the frame of the constitutional polity, the principal factors, such as the rule of law, the basic right of the private property, and the freedom of the press, etc., have composed the fundamental elements of the civil society.[71] All of these factors correlate with the certain economic developments and the national mentality in the history. Obviously, the modernization of China must be directed towards the establishment of

70 The sect-type churches mainly continue the tradition of the Puritans through the missionary way. Historically, "Puritans, more inclined to keep spiritual journals, to worry about their election to salvation, and to complain about their less godly neighbors, give us a bit more to work with. In their view, the biblical principle that the elect are but a remnant of humankind, the true Israel surrounding by a mass of Philistines, applied to their own situation. Their presumption was that the godly were always a small minority within the visible church, explaining why there remained within that church so many 'dregs of popery'-clerical vestments, the liturgy itself, the sign of the cross in baptism." Margo Todd, "A People's Reformation?," in: *A People's History of Christianity*, vol. 5: *Reformation Christianity*, ed. by P. Matheson, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007, p. 78.

71 As to the theme of "civil society," which has been a preoccupation of scholars of modern China un the last decade, Ryan Dunch commented, "The debate stems from two sources, theories about the social changes in early modern Western Europe that led to modern politics based on the notions of popular sovereignty, representation, and citizenship, and analyses of the process which triggered the collapse of the East European Communist regimes in 1989. Central to both questions has been the work of German social thinker Jürgen Habermas. The effort to apply the concept of civil society to China has been hampered by a lack of agreement on what the term means." Ryan Dunch, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp. 210–211.

the constitutional polity with democracy. The basic sign of the democracy is a sound society to guarantee the citizenship of people.[72]

Thus, my research will be limited in the scope of the church-type, because most of the believers in China belong to the official Church at the concept of the Church-Type of Troeltsch from the missionary mainstreams since the 19th century.[73] The reasons:

a) The Chinese society is the highly organized society by the traditional ethics since the first dynasty in third century BC. The proper social order is the basic structure of the all spiritualities and societies. Although the ideology of the state remains the western theory, Marxism, the inner ethical order is always the Confucianism that normalizes the relationships among the individual, the family, the society and the government. Without the ethical duty for progress and development of China, we need not focus on the church-type phenomenon. Only in this way, the Ideal Types of the Reformation will be worthy for Protestantism in China. The faith of the church will be able to convince the elites and intellectuals as to the universal truth in China some day;
b) The theological and ethical systems are relatively weak in Christian groups of the sect-type and the mysticism-type in China. The interfaith dialogues and spiritual communications can occur only

72 Will Kymlicka, "Within political philosophy, citizenship refers not only to a legal status, but also to a normative ideal – that the governed should be full and equal participants in the political process. As such, it is a distinctively democratic ideal. People who are governed by monarchs or military dictators are subjects, not citizens. In Aristotle, citizenship was viewed primarily in terms of duties-citizens were legally obligated to take their turn in public office, and sacrificed part of their private life to do so. In the modern world, influenced by liberalism, citizenship is increasingly viewed as a matter of rights-citizens have the right to participate in public life, but also the right to place private commitments ahead of political involvement. Republican philosophers, following Rousseau, worry that contemporary democracies have focused too much on rights, and not enough on civic duties." In: *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. by T. Honderich, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 136.

73 The pietism as the most influential elements from the congregational missionaries functioned especially among the common believers who are the masses in the low lever of the society in China so far without any concerns in the social and political areas.

through a Church-type with the intellectuals and the elites in our society. Even if only for the principle of the freedom of religion and the human rights, the Church-Type organization can use the rich resources from the historic church to engage in the discussions and the activities;

c) Just like Ernst Troeltsch considered:

> All the ecclesiastical institutions soon found that they were unable to maintain and carry on their existence by moral force alone, and they were obligated to appeal to the civil power for aid. Without its help, no ecclesiastical system can be permanent, uniform, and undivided. This situation cannot be conceived without compulsion, and compulsory religion cannot be conceived without the help of the State.[74]

The political ethics of the Reformation based on the ethical principles of Luther and the ecclesial ethics of Calvin will help us to set up the normative model for the future of the church in China.

What are the basic problems of the ethical order of the church in China now?

As the Reformation, the primal issue of the Church in China is the authority relative to the Faith. The ethical meanings of the authority in the context of the church in China relate at least to the ethical principles of the state and church; believers and citizens; rights and duties; the faith of the church and the individual justification;

The freedom in the ethical perspective of the church is the second issue of the ethical order of the church in China, because it includes the theological norms to individuals, especially the top leaders of the institutional church. The ethical interpretation of freedom will help the church in China toward doctrinal direction as the historic church in Occident;

The relationships between the rule of law and the rule of individual confession will be one of the central themes to church order.

The disciplines as the sacramental order will be an effective solution to the organizational church in China with the strict moral restraints. It will prepare a route towards the democratization in the church.

74 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, trans. O. Wyon, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992, p. 1008.

6.3.1.2 The Incarnation: the Way toward Reconciliation

If we could supply the doctrinal approach to interpret the reasons to get a solution from Confucianism for the ethical ecclesial order, we will get many agreements in China, because the mentality of the Chinese minds prefer the universal value and the truth since ancient times.

It is clear that the doctrine of Incarnation is an accurate doctrine to explain the necessity to take root in the Chinese traditional culture for the faith of Christianity. At the spiritual level, Matteo Ricci first discovered the ideas of the eternality and the divinity in the minds of Confucianism believers. He denied that Chinese minds were as pagan as in the medieval concept. The controversy around the Chinese Rites essentially showed the problem of the understandings and the interpretations between the two different human cultures.[75]

The doctrine of Incarnation can give us relevance that the moral resources and the ethical order of Confucianism will be basic social and spiritual context for Christianity. The church as an institutional organization with the doctrinal rules of the Reformation must make the communication with the social and political order in China, which holds its own norms.

The ultimate aim of the Incarnation is Jesus Christ in the temporal world. Thus, it is in this way that Jesus Christ started up his redemption in the secular order. The Church with Christ as the head, follows after Him, and must make witness in society, not of the human world. In the concrete situation in China, the doctrine of the Incarnation encourages us to do the reconciliation with Confucianism that functions as the inner structures of the society and of the minds in China. For the Gospel to the all people in China, we must enter into the basic life, thus, the ethical norms will be very important to the Church in society.

75 Vincent Cronin, *The Wise Man from the West*, London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955, pp. 15–17. Cf. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact, A Conflict of Cultures*, trans. J. Lloyd, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, ch. 4.

6.3.1.3 Conclusion

The Church with the non-Chinese traditional values arrived in China through the western missionary movement; therefore, the Church must be aware of the ethical challenges, from both the theoretical domain and the practical areas. I have already studied the ethical legacy of the Reformation through the Ideal Types of Luther and of Calvin. I should show first the ethical order of Confucianism briefly in order to prepare the solutions of the Reformers in the proper pattern of Chinese society. Actually, in my consideration, the Ideal Type of Luther has supplied to me the fundamental principles of the ethical order of church, and the Ideal Type of Calvin with the institutional approach to realize the principles of Luther in the concrete context. How can we transplant the heritages of the Reformers into the Church in China? The worth of the Confucianism will be the effective platform of the ethical order. Otherwise, the church in China will evolve towards two possible directions in the coming future, or the arbitrary spiritual groups without any public duty and public moral concerns in the marginal levels, or the syncretism with the guru as the head of the church towards the mystical groups off the society.[76]

In addition, my proper concern behind the central theme is to prove the necessity of the ethical norms as the structural elements for the church in order to show the positive role of the church in the process of the modernization in China.

6.3.2 The Tao and the Ecclesial Order: through the Hermeneutic Approach of Confucianism

The historical ecclesiastical background in China is very realistic for me to study the legacy of the Reformation through Luther and Calvin. Since 1807 until 1949, the western missionaries contributed so huge in the areas of the pastoral, the diaconal and the morale, but not much time on the theological interpretations in Chinese. The church without the theo-

76 Ka-Lun Leung, *Blessing Upon China: Ten Talks on the Contemporary Church History of China*, Hong Kong: Tien Dao Publishing House, 2002, pp. 165–168. Cf. Ka-Lun Leung, *Churches in China: Today and Tomorrow*, Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2006, pp. 36–38.

logical basis seems always very fragile and weak. The heresies and cults benefited so much from the tolerance of modern times and have troubled the purity of the church. The multiplicity of the spirituality and the ideology with the forces of the political parties is becoming more and more the central value and standard of the secular order. The marginalization of the church in China by contrast has more and more followers from all levels of society. Eventually, the church will encounter serious changes from society relative to the responsibilities and the duties as did the historic church in the West.

Democracy in the modern political dimension is the common value for all humankind. Any institutions including the church must accept democracy as structural principles in order to avoid various corruptions and abuses caused by powers and rights in the secular order. But, without the requirement of duty by the institutional method, individual freedom will break the intention and the purpose of the democracy in the society of law.[77]

The theological reflections on the ethical role of church in China must give the high attention to this issue. It is the advantaged heritage of Confucianism, according to which the balance between duty and right that has been set up as the elements of Ying and Yang based on the principle of the harmony. I have found that the relationships between the

77 Outside the Church in China, the pursuit of the rule of law and the state of law is the lofty ideal linked with the democracy and the Human Rights to the intellectuals today. It is very sad that the Church could not supply the voices about the universal values of the democracy from the heritage of the Reformation and the tradition of the Church because of the weakness of the theological capacity. The Western thinkers have formed the profound influences on the intellectuals in China since the Opening policy of Deng Xiaoping started from 1977. Karl R. Popper is one of the great thinkers in this way. He said, "Laws to safeguard democracy are still in a rather rudimentary state of development. Very much could and should be done. The freedom of the press, for instance, is demanded because of the aim that the public should be given correct information; but viewed from this standpoint; it is a very insufficient institutional guarantee that this aim will be achieved. What good newspapers usually do at present on their own initiative, namely, giving the public all important information available, might be established as their duty, either by carefully framed laws, or by the establishment of a moral code, sanctioned by public opinion." Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, vol. 2: *The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath*, London: Routledge, 1945, p. 314.

legacy of Luther and legacy of Calvin, or the Ideal Type I and II exactly embody this equilibrium through the ethical order.

6.3.2.1 The Tao in the Chinese Minds

Karl Jaspers, in his *The Great Philosophers* (*Die grossen Philosophen*), put Confucius (c. 551–479 BC) in line with Paradigmatic Individuals together with Socrates, Buddha, and Jesus, and then Lao-Tzu (6th century BC) in the line of the original thinkers with Anaximander, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Plotinus, Anselm, Nicholas of Cusa, etc. Thus, in the spiritual history of humans, any research about the Chinese world must study the basic influences from these two great minds from the ancient time of China.

Tao, the special concept of the Chinese traditional philosophy, appeared so frequent in the ancient historiographical documents of China.

> Tao is the origin and goal of the world and all things, hence also of the thinker. The philosophy tells us first, what Tao is; secondly, how all being proceeds from it and moves toward it; thirdly, how man lives in Tao, how he can lose it and regain it, both as an individual and in a political society. Thus in Western terms, it deals with metaphysics, cosmogony, ethics, and politics. In Lao-Tzu all these are one in the all-pervading fundamental idea.[78]

The most famous interpretation was given by Lao-Tzu in *Tao Te Ching*, "The Tao that can be told of is not the eternal Tao; the name that can be named is not the eternal name. The Nameless is the origin of Heaven and Earth" (*TTC*, 1) "We look at it and do not see it; its name is The Invisible. We listen to it and do not hear it; its name is The Inaudible. We touch it and do not find it; its name is The Subtle (formless)" (*TTC*, 14) "Tao is empty (like a bowl)" (*TTC*, 4). "This is called shape without shape, form without objects. It is The Vague and Elusive. Meet it and you will not see its head. Follow it and you will not see its back." (14)[79] In Jaspers' understanding,

78 Karl Jaspers, *The Great Philosophers*, vol. 2, ed. by H. Arendt, trans. R. Manheim, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1966, p. 389.

79 The quotations from *The Way of Lao Tzu*, trans. Wing-tsit Chan, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963, p. 14.

> In Lao-Tzu's day, Tao was already a traditional concept. The original meaning of the word was "Way"; then it came to mean the order of the cosmos and, what was seen as identical, the right conducts of man. It has been translated as reason, *logos*, God, meaning, right way, etc. It has even been interpreted as a personalized deity, either female or male. Lao-Tzu gave the word a new meaning. He used it as a name for the ground of all being, although the ground of being is as such nameless and unnamable. Using this word, he transcended everything that was called being, including the universe, and even the Tao as cosmic order. He retained, to be sure, the concept of cosmic being and the idea of its all-pervading order, but both of these are rooted in the transcendent Tao.[80]

Since the ancient time throughout the whole history of Chinese spirituality, Tao is always the most basic principle as the eternal logos in Chinese minds. In Confucianism which dominated the history of Chinese civilization as the Christianity in the West, the Tao functions very frequently as the essence of truth. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames claimed, "*Tao*, occurs some one hundred times in the *Analects*, is of central importance for the interpretation of Confucius' thinking […] Commentators upon the Confucian *Analects* often nominalize *Tao*, explaining it as a pre-existing ideal to which conformity is enjoining."

> Confucius himself lived in a period where the ancient heading had been lost and circumstances conspired against passage through a life of quality. As such, it was incumbent upon the particular person to clear what could be cleared from the path to make a new beginning for future travelers. "The empire has long since lost its way (*Tao*); *T'ien* is going to use the Master as a wooden bell-clapper." This responsibility of the particular person to locate the old road, cut it back, and make a new beginning is a major theme of the *Analects […]* The *Tao* is the continuous progress of human civilization; an interpretation of human experience surveyed and laid down by succeeding generations. Although the embodiment of the *Tao* always entails a unique perspective, unqualified distinctions among historical people and their periods collapse in the syncretism extension of the *Tao*. The unity of *Tao* is expressed by the fact that each present perspective is a function of all past events, and is the ground of all future possibilities. Not only does the past cast the present and future, but the past itself is constantly being revisioned and recast in light of the achievements of the present. Thus Confucius served to fashion constantly being

80 Karl Jaspers, *The Great Philosophers*, vol. 2, ed. by H. Arendt, trans. R. Manheim, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1966, p. 391.

> remade by the succeeding perspectives of human experience and their shifting investments of importance.[81]

There are so many kinds of the interpretations around this central concept of Confucianism with proper perspectives.

Arthur Waley defines *Tao* as the "one infallible method of rule". He claimed:

> Thus, "when *Tao* (the way) prevails under Heaven" means when a good method of government prevails in the world; or rather "when the good method prevails," for Confucius "believed in the ancients," that is today, he believed that the one infallible method of rule had been practiced by certain rulers of old, and that statecraft consisted in rediscovering this method […] There seem to have been other "Ways"; for Confucius speaks of "this Way" and "my Way". In general, however, the word *Tao* in the *Analects* means one thing only, the Way of the ancients as it could be reconstructed from the stories told about the founders of the Chou dynasty and the demigods who had preceded them.[82]

Lau considered the *Tao* far more off the political scope. He said:

> The importance Confucius attached to the Way can be seen from his remark, "He has not lived in vain who dies the day he is told about the Way" (4/8). Used in this sense, the Way seems to cover the sum total of truths about the universe and man, and not only the individual but also the state is said either to possess or not to possess the Way […] There is another slightly different sense in which the term is used. The way is said to be someone's way, for instance, "the way of the Former Kings" (1/12), "the way of King Wen and King Wu" (19/22), or "the way of the Master" [4/15]. When thus specified, the way naturally can only be taken to mean the way followed by the person in question […] The Way, then, is a highly emotive term and comes very close to the term "Truth" as found in philosophical and religious writings in the West.[83]

81 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 226; p. 231; Beijing: the Chinese version, p. 278; p. 283.

82 Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, New York: Random House, 1938, pp. 30–31; D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Series, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983, p. ix.

83 D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Series, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983, p. ix.

Herbert Fingarette defined the *Tao* as the absolute Order. "This Confucian commitment to a single, definite order is also evident when we note what Confucius sees as the alternative to rightly treading the true Path: it is to walk crookedly, to get lost or to abandon the Path. That is, the only 'alternative' to the one Order is disorder, chaos."[84]

> The *Tao* says that *any* person in my present position should do thus and so-my proper name is not built into the *Tao*, or the *Li.* In all aspects of the *Tao*, there is an inherent generally, an absence of essential reference to a unique individual. My personal existence is contingent; not so the *Tao.* The *Tao* is not only intelligible independently of such reference, its moral authority is surely independent of reference to me as the unique existent that I am.[85]

He explained systematically with the European style essentially about the *Tao*.

David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames commented Fingarette's interpretation of *Tao* with the special view. They said:

> Fingarette is not interested in claiming transcendence in any metaphysical sense for the Confucian *Tao*. He seems only to intend that *Tao* transcend any given individual. However, the interpretation we have given of the relation of individual to context in terms of focus and field must exclude this sense of transcendence, as well as the putatively strong meaning.[86]

Anyway, the concept "*Tao*" as the central terms could be interpreted by several special meanings linked in different concrete areas. The Five Virtues of the Confucianism, for instance, shape the concrete ethical structures around the *Tao*: Cordiality, Goodness, Respectfulness, Frugality and Deference.[87]

84 Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*, New York: Harper & Row, 1972, ch. 2.

85 Herbert Fingarette *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*, New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 20.

86 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 226; p. 231; Beijing: the Chinese version, p. 278; and p. 361.

87 Cf. D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, New York: Penguin Books, 1979; Rodney L. Taylor, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, vol. 2, with the assist. of H. Y. F. Choy, New York: Rosen, 2005, p. 696.

Here, let me introduce briefly the Christian use of the *Tao* in order to turn to the theme of the research.

The Western missionaries used the *Tao* to introduce the Logos in the Chinese version of the Bible. To translate the first verse of the Gospel of John, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God", they used the Chinese terms, literally, "*Tao* became Flesh". And the doctrine of the Incarnation is in Chinese also used the *Tao* to translate the Word.[88]

Unfortunately, the missionaries had not the time enough to interpret the theological meanings of the Tao in Chinese before 1949. The pietism influenced the churches in the countryside through stressing the inner pious and the severe morality of the public and political scope. During last half century, the theological works in the church remain at the very simple level. The strategy of the Accommodation by Matteo Ricci has not really been taken in the Protestant side.

Now, as the revelation of the doctrine of Incarnation, the Chinese terms Tao as the Word of Christ will be very easy to bring the truth of Christianity into the Chinese minds. The universal truth of the Cross will be interpreted with the witnesses of the church in all the aspects of the society and the history. If we could stress the existential messages about Tao from the tradition of the Reformation, the Protestant Church in China will encounter such rich possibilities to renew the messages of the faith.

The legacy of the Reformation in the Chinese world still remains very little and at most as slogans, and have not yet gotten systematic introductions and interpretations. The Word of God in Chinese is very popular in the oral preaching, but the Church has not organized the theological research and interpretation about the doctrines and the theories about the Word of God in the concrete social life. So many ideas of the modern western philosophy such as civil society, duty, responsibility, rule of law, and human rights have been well-interpreted in Chinese through links with the Chinese ancient philosophy; thus, they have become of universal value to the intellectuals in China. But, the affiliations between these values and the Word of God, the Bible and the Church

88 The Bible, Chinese Union Edition, "Gospel of John", Nanjing: Amity Press, 2006.

have not really introduced outside the Church in China, even inside the Church have not yet been well-introduced.

Luther dealt with the fundamental reasons for the Reformation, and Calvin deepened and continued the ideas of Luther. Protestantism then became the historic force over the world through their engagements in all aspects of the human life. The most important revelation from Confucianism to the Church in China is that we must study and interpret the universal truth from the Bible and the Reformation in Chinese from all aspects of the society.[89] Only in this way, the Tao of Christianity will become the real Truth in Chinese minds.

The serious problem to the church in China is that no organized work interprets the doctrines and the dogmas of the faith. The main task of church seminaries is to bring up the young students to preach the messages of the Bible. We can imagine that no dogmatic basis or that theological works will become an individual image; the church will take the risk of becoming the church of the Bible one day! In that case, the faith of Church (*Fides ecclesiae*) will come down to us!

6.3.2.2 The Faith of Church

At the level of the ecclesiastical documents, any religious organizations with the name of church must have a series of the documents to define the idea and the position as the rules. In the history of the church, the test of faith of church (*Fides ecclesiae*) is always the most important core of the institution of church. When we could not make clear, firm principles of a certain church in the actual situation, we will make sure that this church is weak in terms of its statue and influence in the social structures. The *Fides ecclesiae* is the inner construction of the church as the constitution for the modern state at the formal and structural sense.

89 Tu Weiming said: "The Confucian 'faith' in the intrinsic meaningfulness of humanity is a faith in the living person's authentic possibility for self-transcendence. The body, the mind, the soul, and the spirit of the living person are all laden with profound ethic religious significance. To be religious, in the Confucian sense, is to be engaged in ultimate self-transformation as a communal act. Salvation means the full realization of the anthropocosmic reality inherent in our human nature." Kang-nam Oh, "Sagehood and Metanoia: The Confucian-Christian Encounter in Korea," in: *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 61/2 (1993), pp. 303–320.

In the tradition of Protestantism, Martin Luther's theological principles such as three *sola* and the other positions functioned as the essential messages of faith in the frame of Protestantism. Meanwhile, confessions, catechisms, and statements of faith, etc., appeared gradually from different denominational churches in the following centuries. So far, nearly all the Protestant churches over the world have the proper "Faith of Church".

Irénée de Lyon was the first witness of the *Fides Ecclesiae.* In his work III, 24, 1, he claimed: "Wherever the Church is, wherever is the Spirit of God, and wherever the Spirit of God, wherever the Church and the Grace. The Holy Spirit is the Truth."[90]

In 325, all the bishops from the world gathered in Nicaea for the first ecumenical council convoked under the leadership of the Emperor Constantine. The Faith of Church was born from there with the form of the creed. The articles of the Nicene Creed are the dogmas of the faith since that time until today. The significance of the Nicene Creed was to make the criterion of the doctrinal interpretation in the church by the unified form. That was the beginning step in the history of Christianity to make the rules and the institutions for the church. During 392–397, the Old Catholic church gathered the bishops twice in the councils to promulgate the canonization of the Scripture. It was historic to the church because the controversies of the heresies had troubled the church about two centuries. These heresies mixed with the Gnosticism movements had produced the real crisis to the primitive church by the various thoughts such as the Ebionism, the Docetism, the Montanism, the Arianism and the Nestorians. Since the Council of Nicaea (325), the new model appeared that the institutional authority of the church confirmed the orthodox of the faith or "Canon of faith".[91]

As to Protestantism, Luther and the other reformers had repeated the orthodox of the apostolic faith inherited through the patristic tradition and the medieval Catholic Church to Protestantism, but they stressed the supreme authority of the Scripture instead of the Curia Romana at the

90 Irénée de Lyon, *Contre les hérésies*, III, 24, 1, Ed. crit. par A. Rousseau et L. Doutreleau, tome 2, Texte et traduction, SC, 211, Paris: Cerf, 1974, p. 474; PG, 7 966–967.

91 John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 2nd ed., New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, pp. 44–45.

proper political context. To go back to the orthodoxy of the historic church was a political requirement to the Reformation. At the same time, Luther had tried his best to avoid the religion of the Bible as the reality of Protestantism. He created so many theological principles through the heritages of the patristic father based on the prophets and the apostles in the Bible.

Calvin especially applied the prophetic tradition and the apostolic teachings in the institutional initiative in his reform in Geneva. He said:

> When we speak of the Kingdom of Christ, we must respect two things: the doctrine of the Gospel, whereby Christ doth gather unto Himself a Church, and whereby He governs it being gathered together; secondly, the society of the godly (*societas piorum*), who being joined together by the sincere faith of the Gospel are truly accounted the people of Christ (*populus Christi*).[92]

In a profound sense the Kingdom is wholly realized in Christ, realized in Him on behalf on the Church, but "this must be transferred to the whole body of the Church."[93] T. F. Torrance commented:

> Historically, however, Calvin thought of the renovation of the Church as beginning, and therefore of the Kingdom of Christ as commencing, when God called His people out of Babylon, and as established not simply when Jesus refounded the Israel of God in the twelve disciples, but when He Himself rose again from the dead as the Head of the Church, ascended His throne, and by pouring out His Spirit at Pentecost incorporated the Church once and for all into His resurrection-Body. Moreover, Calvin did not think of Christ only as the Author and Finisher of our faith but as Himself the whole substance or matter of regeneration or renewal, so that by substantial union with Christ the Church actually and continuously participates in the new humanity of the resurrection and in the *Regnum Christi.* Calvin thinks of the Church as at once a completed structure, the Body of Christ, the corporate election realized in Christ, and yet as the new humanity reaching forward to the *societas*

92 John Calvin: *Commentaries* (*On Acts* 1.3), ed. by J. Haroutunian (The Library of Christian Classics), Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958, p. 4.

93 John Calvin, *Commentaries* (*On Heb.* 2.1), ed. by J. Haroutunian (The Library of Christian Classics), Philadelphia: Westminster, 1958, pp. 28f; Instit. II. 9.3; *Commentaries* (*On Acts* 8.33), p. 194.

divinae gloriae. Launched into history, it grows and increases until the advent of Christ.[94]

Concerning the different understandings of the Lutheran and Reformed types of faith, Emil Doumergue commented:

> For the Lutheran, faith is a mystical union which assures the union of the believer with God in such a way that the believer finds the rule and impetus of his action within himself and thereby does not require receiving anything from outside. The law is no longer something outside of him and foreign to his will for his will has assimilated the law to itself. Thus, the law has become an internal impulse, stemming from his love which has been aroused by the Holy Spirit. […]
>
> For the Reformed also, faith is a union of the human and the divine, but this unity is only the beginning. The complete realization of this union is far away in the future. In so far as this union is already realized through the Holy Spirit, faith produces the will, desire, effort and general tendency to do good. But the rule for this faith and for individual wills continues to be the divine will which is above the individual believer.[95]

In this respect, we must recognize that all the texts relative to the faith of church were originated from the legacy of the Reformation into the Protestant world.[96]And it will become the position of the departure for today's Church in China.

94 Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 116.

95 Cf. Emil Doumergue, *Jean Calvin, Les hommes et les choses de son temps*, Paris: Bridel, vol. 4, 1910; vol. 5, 1917, quoted from I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publ., 1992, p. 256.

96 Karl Barth said: "The significance of the confession in the Reformed church can be clarified for us in the simplest way by first investigating the significance of confessions in the *Lutheran church*, which is the most immediate counterpart to the Reformed church […] The Lutheran confession intends to be an *ecumenical* confession […] Early Lutheranism *affirmed* this empire and its church. The protesting presentation of *its* faith was meant to be taken as its assertion of the true *catholic* faith, and thus it *insisted* upon this *visible* form of its catholicity, the public reading of the document before the emperor and the empire." "As far as the *Reformed* confession is concerned, there is *no victorious* confession here like the Augsburg Confession […] Thus, the Reformed churches *failed* to make the connection to the Roman *Empire* and its *imperial* church that Lutheranism formally attained." "A Reformed theologian or Christian could or can regard, either by free choice or in terms of the origins of one's church, *this* or *that* confession as definitive for oneself.

The most urgent for the future of the Church in China, in my personal reflection, is to set up as early as possible the "*Fides ecclesiae*"[97] in the *Sitz im Leben* of China Church. For this great and historical aim, we need to do the theological interpretations at least by connected with the four basic factors:

a) The existential messages of the Bible;
b) The Creeds and the patristic heritages;
c) The principles of the Reformation;
d) The Chinese traditions at the sense of the universality.[98]

Clearly, the weakness and the disorder of the faith of the church could describe the present situation of the church in China. We could not find

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One could and can eclectically affirm *all* of them in order to take from each what is *personally meaningful*. If capable of doing so, one could or can follow the example of Zwingli, Bullinger, Calvin, or Elector Johann Sigismund, and with due respect for the others write *one's own* Reformed confession. The only thing one cannot do is to argue to oneself or to others that *one's own* confession is the Reformed confession. Reformed confessions, as long as and to the extent that they are the Reformed, will always be *many* and not *one*." Karl Barth, *The Theology of the Reformed Confessions* (1923), trans. D. L. Guder and J. J. Guder, Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002, p. 1; p. 8; p. 16.

97 "Pour comprendre ici le sens et la portée de "*fides Ecclesiae*" il faut nous reporter, sinon aux cinq livres de l'Adversus Haereses, du moins a tout le troisième livre dans lequel on remarque une implication mutuelle de réalités telles que foi, tradition, prédication, Eglise, Esprit, unité, vie, vérité. Si, comme nous le croyons, "*fides Ecclesiae*" doit être rapproche des notions de vérité, prédication, tradition, cela veut dire que, pour Irénée, la foi de l'Eglise fait référence a un contenu. De fait, pour lui, la "*fides Ecclesiae*" signifie une doctrine s'opposant aux doctrines hérétiques et, plus précisément dans ce paragraphe, aux doctrines secrètes des gnostiques, et représente l'objet de la prédication des apôtres et de leurs successeurs." Marie-Thérèse Nadeau, *Foi de L'Eglise, Evolution et Sens d'une Formule* (Théologie Historique 78), Paris: Beauchesne, 1988, p. 42.

98 It is the moment for us to study the meaning of the tradition and the traditions while facing the growing Church in China with the present background of the multiplicity in the sense of the spirituality. The encounters between the Chinese cultural comprehensions and the Judeo-Christian comprehensions about the tradition will be very helpful for us to study the Church in China in the coming future. Concerning the Christian and theological definitions about the tradition, the works of Père Congar is very revelational: *La Tradition et les traditions*, vol. 1: *Essai historique*, vol. 2: *Essai théologique*, Paris: Fayard, 1960–1963.

out any statement about the doctrinal norms of the faith in the documents of the church in China. The contents relative to the ecclesiastical affairs have not functioned of the restriction or the sanction in the administrative level. In this case, the ethical emptiness of the ecclesiastical rules is characteristic of the institutional church in China. As to the so-called house churches and the family churches, in the sociological perspective, they belong to the Christian communities without any doctrinal system and the ethical norms of the church. Thus, they are facing also the urgency to set up the faith of church.

The Protestant official organization in China is the Three-Self and Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and the China Christian Council (CCC), which work together by the same team nominated politically by the authorities. In the frame of the state administration, the TSPM/CCC functions as the political department of the government in charge of the Protestant affairs at the original design.[99] An American expert gave such a comment:

> Unlike countries that have neither a state religion nor a bureaucracy for government supervision of religion, China does have a religious policy and a hierarchy of State and Party organs for implementing that policy. The purpose of the Religious Affairs Bureau, set up in 1954 under the State Council with branches at provincial and local levels, is to serve as the government's agent in dealing with religious groups to carry out religious policy.[100]

The historic context of the new authorities must integrate all the social and spiritual forces into the new political order as the common interest of the nation. Thus, the faith of the church will become the first step to construct the institutional church in China while external conditions appear. It is only based on faith of the church that the ethical system can function through doctrines and rules for the social role of the church.

99 "Neither the TSPM nor the CCC is the church." Cf. Philip L. Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China,* Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2007, p. 265.

100 Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989, p. 1.

6.3.2.3 The Ethical Principles of the Reformation: Ideal Type I, Legacy of Luther

We have studied the Ideal Type I, the legacy of Luther in terms of the ethics. Tao relates to the basic principle of the truth, the faith of the Church. And the ethical norms in Chinese tradition relate to the normative rules of the faith. Thus, the legacy of Luther should be interpreted as the theological thoughts about Tao, the eternal truth from the Bible with the concrete meanings are linked to social life.

The legacy of Luther stresses the fundamental doctrines to the necessity of the Reformation. Luther's theological thought contains very wide and rich insights about the Word of God, the Divine Revelation and interpretations about the rights of the believers in the secular order. We must show the most important point of the legacy of Luther in a Chinese way.

The heritage of Martin Luther for the church in China underlies the ethical principles of the church in the sociological model II and IV in terms of the theory of Troeltsch. In detail, the doctrines of the law-Gospel, of the Two-Kingdoms, of Christian Freedom and Adiaphora, etc., will be able to sustain the institutional church organization in the present legal regime.

According to Troeltsch, there are three types of the religious association: the church, the sect and the mystical orientation.[101]

It seems to me that the landscape of the three types is just exactly relevant to the Protestant situation in today's China. The disorder of Christianity in China has caused so many political and sociological conflictions in the religious areas and the in the international political area regarding the cases of religious persecution and religious freedom. To inspire from the typology of Troeltsch, we could clearly see the focus of the conflictions. Briefly, the norms and the rules of religious freedom in China reply on the ethics of the state by the legal approaches. The present church-type organization is the TSPM/CCC which runs all the official church buildings and the parishes with the legitimacy of the state.[102]

101 James Luther Adams, "Introduction," in: E. Troeltsch, *Religion in History,* Essays trans. J. L. Adams and W. F. Bense, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991, p. 7.

102 "We need a correct understanding of the relation between Three-Self and the church. The church is not subordinate to Three-Self. The church is the body of Christ, the

The backgrounds of the church-type in China were the church organizations developed by Western denominational churches in China before 1949.[103] Meanwhile, the sect-type evangelical movements are developing quickly not in the sense of the parishes and the believers, but in the political and international influences. They deny the evangelical nature of the church-type organization subordinated by the state that holds the atheistic ideology as the state ideal. They challenged with the great spirit of modern ideas such as human rights, liberty of the press, and freedom of the conscience, etc., against the present political order. Theologically they simply insisted on the principles of Luther, especially, the *Sola Scriptura* and the Justification by Faith without any other doctrinal interpretations of the church.[104] The third type belongs to the persecuted category in terms of the international impressions in China. They gathered in remote areas in secret. It is usually the mass from lower levels of society who follows a charismatic figure, as the guru outside any legal extent.[105] At the strict doctrinal sense, all the three types' churches in China now are not ecclesial, because most of the fundamental principles of Protestantism, *Sola Scriptura*, are essentially replaced by the words of the heads with the individual powers.

My sympathy to the third type is purely from the modern principles of human rights in the Declaration of the Human Rights, although the

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dwelling of the risen Christ, the fellowship of saints through the ages. The church is our subject while Three-Self and Christian Councils are products which have emerged under certain concrete historical conditions. They are servants of the church." K. H. Ting, "Building Up the Body in Love", cf. *A Chinese Contribution to Ecumenical Theology: Selected Writings of K. H. Ting,* Philip and Janice Wickeri (ed.), Geneva: Risk Books, 2001, pp. 81-86.

103 Sumiko Yamamoto, *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenization of Christianity*, Tokyo: T h Gakkai, 2000, pp. 88–90.

104 Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in: *Christianity on China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. by D. H. Bays, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 31–35.

105 In this kind of the Christian communities, the words of the guru function as the doctrines and the rules in the historic church. In some extent, they are much more radical and closed than the Anabaptists in the time of Zwingli and Calvin. Sociologically, this type of Christian communities is mixed with the syncretism and the folklore religions, especially in the countryside in China. Cf. Ka-Lun Leung, *Churches in China: Today and Tomorrow*, Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2006, pp. 105–106.

first type represents really the mainstream spiritual force to proclaim the Gospel in the society of China with huge risks. In this case, the building of the institutional church appears a special urgency because the risks are double in the sense of the political ethics in China. The church has benefited from the legal relationship with the political authorities for church interests, but meanwhile, radical impressions and prejudices so often use the political issues to exclude the latter two types in some special contexts in China.

> Luther's encounters with Karlstadt, Müntzer, and then the revolution strengthened his conviction that the world must be governed not by any religious ideology, including the Gospel, but by the reason and law. From Luther's perspective, all efforts to govern the world by the Gospel of free forgiveness would lead either to unrestrained chaos and destruction or to a demonic crusade against all perceived "evil empires". To Luther, the identification of any political program, regardless of its intrinsic merit, with the will of God subverts both politics and the Gospel. The political process is subverted because the claim to absolute righteousness precludes the ambiguity present in all social life as well as the art of compromise necessary in social relations. […] The Gospel is subverted when identified with a political program because then all citizens are forced to conform to a religious norm, and salvation is made dependent upon a particular political affiliation and program, a political form of good works.[106]

However, the most serious challenge to me is to construct the church with Christ as the head and as the body in China. Only in this way, can we balance the three types of the Christianity based on faith in Christ in a political actuality. The heritages of the Reformation have the direct significance for the ethical construction of the church in China.

6.3.2.3.1 The Ethical Norms of the Three Sola will Set up the Common Basis of the Protestants of the Three Types in China

This will become the basic ethical fundament with strict definition in Chinese one day, because the religion of the Bible actually composes the most remarkable characteristic of the second and the third types in China. They ignore radically the heritages of the historic church, especially the patristic tradition. They strongly imitate the primitive churches

106 Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, p. 167.

in the texts of the New Testament without any similar social ethical contexts in China as that of the first century in the Roman Empire, especially, in Rome, the Greek cities and Jerusalem. The abuses of the second and third types in China usually are the worship of the top charismatic leaders, who have held the monocratic power to interpret the Word of God and the Bible. The followers trust the Word of God through the interpretations of the top leaders. It seems that there is nothing between the apostles of the New Testament and their top leaders. They radically attack any ecumenical dialogues and the academic theological researches, especially the 19th German liberalism tradition. But in my research, if they really respect the principles of the Reformation, they will know the intrinsic correlations between the three *sola* and the church mission in the proper political society. This conclusion must be explained in the whole system of the Reformation at the doctrinal and ethical senses. Any separated interpretation of the principle of Scripture, the justification and the free grace will lead a divergence of the original writings. We must do the interpretation of the three *sola* in the context of the Reformation and the theological system of Luther-Calvin.[107] The ideal of Martin Luther had been achieved and continued by the successors of his great goals, the most remarkable successor was John Calvin. Thus, without the interpretations of the Reformation, it is always worrisome to stress the three *Sola* in isolated situations in China.

107 George A. Lindbeck said: "Modern scholarship can tell us much about what texts did not mean in the past and, with rather less certainly, reconstruct what they did mean; but, insofar as it remains critically historical, it provides no guidance for what they should mean in our present very different situations. It tells us at best what God said, not what God say now. There seems to be no exegetical bridge between past and present. This gap, much more than questions about inerrancy or inspiration, is the heart of the current crisis of scriptural authority and the source of the conflict of interpretations. When exegesis fails to span the distance between past and present, theology takes up the task. This has always been true, but historically theologians were also *doctores sacrae paginate* rather than a separate guide. More important, their task was structurally different. Narrative and typological interpretation enabled the Bible to speak with its own voice in new situation. Scripture, in Calvin's phrase, could serve as the spectacles, the lens, through which faith views all reality; and, to change the figure, the world of the reader could be absorbed into the biblical world." George A. Lindbeck, *The Church in a Postliberal Age*, ed. by J. J. Buckley, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003, p. 211.

6.3.2.3.2 *The Doctrine of the Law-Gospel will Underlie the Position of the Church Regarding the Relationship with the State no matter if It is Atheist or Democratic in the Future*

Little is known in the Chinese world, including the overseas Chinese churches outside the Mainland of China about the doctrine of the law-gospel that was one of the most important doctrines from Luther's heritage. The absolute separation between the law and the Gospel under the misunderstandings about Karl Barth has led to the negative effects of the church in China. Hesselink commented:

> Does one begin then with the law or with the gospel when preaching repentance and faith? The traditional Lutheran answer is an unhesitating, "with the law!" On the other side, many recent theologians–especially Barth and his followers – would reply emphatically, "with the gospel!" And Calvin…? He did not think in these terms, but his answer would probably be both – and. He obviously knows nothing of a strict "preaching of the law," for he also stresses that no one will turn to God in repentance and faith except they are drawn by a love of righteousness and the sweetness of God's grace. On the other hand, he maintains that this must be preceded by a sense of humility and unworthiness which is usually the result of being confronted with God's righteousness, wrath, and judgment, i.e., the law.[108]

More and more charismatic leaders encourage believers of their basic duty and moral responsibility in society for seeking the individual salvation through the closed circles around the gurus. The misunderstandings about the heritages of Luther and the phenomenon of the Nazi regime have also hurt the original meaning of this doctrine for Protestantism.

The ethical meaning of the Law-Gospel is an original of the thought of Luther just as Gerhard Ebeling introduced.[109] The importance of the correct understanding of the doctrine of Law-Gospel related to the correct interpretation of the entire theological system of the Reformation. In the common impression about the heritage of Luther in the Chinese

108 I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publ., 1992, p. 236.

109 Luther claimed: "Vous avez déjà souvent entendu dire qu'il n'y a pas de meilleure façon de transmettre et de conserver la pure doctrine que de suivre cette méthode: répartir la doctrine chrétienne en deux parties, soit la loi et l'Evangile." Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 100.

world, it seems that there is only the slogan, namely, the doctrine of the justification by faith (*sola fide*) without any liaison to the doctrine of Law-Gospel. It is very dangerous for the church to hold this one-sidedness.[110] Thus, Eberhard Jüngel used the "Justification as a hermeneutical category" to stress the meanings of understanding in concrete situations.

> The best way to express the central function of justification is to highlight its hermeneutical significance for the whole of theological knowledge and to see it accordingly as *the* "hermeneutical category of theology" […] By using the doctrine of justification, all theological statements gain their distinctive image, focus and character, as does all of theology. And conversely, all theological statements that slip past it betray views from the perspective of justification, their lack of distinctive theological image, their dullness, their lack of doctrinal character.[111]

In the context of the church in China, the doctrine of the Law-Gospel lies in the interpretations of the Creation and of the Providence of the Lord, and consequently, the Christian moral responsibility in the secular order has the origin from faith based on this doctrine. The law of God and the grace of God have no inner conflictions or paradox in the system of Luther. Actually, the disorder of the understandings of Luther's heritages separates the organic relation between the doctrine of Law-Gospel and the Word of the Lord. The Word of God is the essence of the doctrine of the Law-Gospel. At the ethical level, the right of Christian moral engagement has shown the calling of God in the secular affairs and the temporal duty. The misunderstandings have produced extreme results in China, namely, to escape the minimum moral responsibility in the civil society, and consequently to deny any civil law by the excuse of the pure life of the Gospel alone.[112]

110 Surely, the doctrine of justification by faith as the most characteristic of Luther's heritage has the special historicity. Luther claimed, "Without this article the world is nothing but death and darkness." (*Sine hoc articulo mundus est plane mors et tenebrae.*), 1537, *WA* 39/I, 205, 5.

111 Eberhard Jüngel, *Justification: The Heart of the Christian Faith, A Theological Study with an Ecumenical Purpose*, trans. J. F. Cayzer, with an Introduction by J. Webster, Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 1999, pp. 47–48.

112 Essentially, the ideology of the State in China remains the Marxism based on the Hegelianism, which is confirmed as the political faith by the elites who own the power of the state. The ideas of the state of Hegel could be considered as the

6.3.2.3.3 *The Ethical Principle of the Doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms is Evident to the Church in Today's Context in China*

The misunderstandings of the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms in China have resulted in errors about the nature of the church and the moral duty of the Christians in the civil society. For the first type, they exaggerated the abstract authority of the state based on the divinity from the Scripture. They never heard of the typology of Ernst Troeltsch about the four different ethics of the politics. The fundamental worldview in China is either Marxism or Confucianism. Nevertheless, any kinds of the interpretations of the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms must be positive to the faith and the freedom of the conscience.[113] Another kind of error is to trust that the church of the third type is the Kingdom of God grounded in opposition to the Kingdom of world, the state with the law. They put the two kingdoms on the paradoxical positions with essential conflicts. In this respect, salvation will be doomed only to the believers of their proper church. Under the guidance of misunderstandings, they refused any engagement and moral duty relative to social progress, human rights, moral responsibility and resistance of Christian conscience while facing political persecution. Their ethical orientation is negative, pessimistic, isolated, and determined by the divine destiny to some extent in social and political life. In some cases, they become very cynical and refuse any relationship with the political regime for the public interests, because the kingdom of man is under the control of Satan in their dualistic apocalyptical vision or minds.

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themes for the future dialogues with the Chinese theologians. Hegel as the modern Father of the Chinese political thought has executed the tremendious influences on the intellectuals in China more than any other Western thinkers including Karl Marx himself. Concerning the state, for instance, Hegel said: "The State is the realization of the ethical Idea. It is the ethical Spirit as revealed, self-conscious, substantial Will." "When the particular Wills of the States can come to no agreement, their controversy can be decided only by war. What offence shall be regarded as a breach of treaty, or as a violation of respect and honor, must remain indefinite […] The State may identify its infinitude and honor with every one of its aspects." Cp. *Philosophy of Law*, § 257, i.e. *Selections*, p. 443; p. 467.

113 Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther, Introduction à une réflexion théologique*, trad. par A. Rigo et P. Bühler, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1983, p. 151.

The ethical meaning of the doctrine in China lies in the faith of the church that the essence of the state must be the divinity of God based on the justice and the righteousness of Christ. The doctrine of the divine providence here correlates to the interpretations of the Christian citizenship in the China. We should encourage Chinese Christians to take moral responsibility in secular affairs in order to show the essence of the divinity of the human order. We need not avoid the secular duty by any other fundamentalist reasons from now on while interpreting correctly the ethical meanings of the doctrine of the Two-Kingdoms in Chinese.

6.3.2.3.4 The Ethical Meaning of Christian Freedom to the Church in China will Decide the Autonomy of the Christian Conscience as a General Principle of Faith

The doctrines of Christian freedom will be one of the ethical principles for the future of the church in China. The basis of Christian freedom in Luther's system is Jesus Christ, thus, the Christian freedom is not arbitrary without any restriction.[114] There are two radical situations in the three types of the church in China. The first is total freedom to a Christian beyond any legal rules. These types of Christians usually throw off all secular rules by the name of the Lord. Even regarding the financial affairs of the church, they do not follow the rules according to accountability. They refuse any ecclesiastical rules outside the Scripture by the name of *Sola Scriptura*.

Another case is to use the name of Christian freedom for seeking the absolute equality among believers including the interpretations of the Bible. They refuse any doctrines of the historical church by stressing

114 George Lindbeck pointed out: "Sociologically, Max Weber was right: the Christian freedom which the Reformers proclaimed was a change from other-worldly to inner-worldly asceticism, from an outmoded feudal form of life to an incipiently capitalist and bourgeois one. Yet it was experienced as religiously liberating. It was good to know in the face of medieval religiosity that God asked human beings simply to be what he had created them to be, observers of the Ten Commandments. These are without exception written in the inward parts and therefore observed also in paradise. Even the Sabbath, Luther said, was kept by Adam and Eva before the Fall." George A. Lindbeck, *The Church in a Postliberal Age*, ed. by J. J. Buckley, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003, p. 30.

their proper explications among the believers. The dangers appear here and there because of the arbitrary freedom they possess.

The ethical meaning of the doctrine will show that any freedom has the limitation by some rules; otherwise, it will hurt the legal right of the other people. The ethical restriction to the Christian is much stricter than the non-Christian in Luther's ethical system. His famous words, "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."[115]

We have studied the inner doctrinal correlations among the ethical principles of free will and bondage of will, the sanctification, etc., as the system of ethics of the most fundamental center, the cross in Luther's world. Here I stress that the ethical significance of the Christian freedom to the church in China will supply the real interpretation of the freedom based on the Word of God. Just like the position of John Calvin about the Christian right of resistance based on ethical principle of the conscience. The Christian freedom is defined to the extent that the Christians have owned at least the freedom of conscience while facing the persecution or other harmful forces.

In today's China, the ethical principle of Christian freedom has three requirements to the church. First, the Christians must know the essence of freedom is the Word of God. It requires that the believers dare to keep the spiritual freedom vis-à-vis any kind of theories or rules. The second, the believers must accept the restriction of the Faith of church regarding directly to their behavior. The faith of the church will explain Christian moral duties and responsibilities in the society, and the basic positions with the authorities, etc., through the doctrines of the church. The individual freedom at the ecclesial level means freedom within disciplines. Here the Christian freedom means the self-disciplines by the laws and by the Christian morality.[116] The third, the believers must make clear that the

115 *LW*, vol. 31, p. 344.

116 "Of the two perils identified by the fifth chapter of the Barmen Declaration, perhaps the church falls rather less into the temptation of assuming the state's authority, rather more into that of acquiescing with the state's assumption of its own. Political orders, whether or not they are professedly Christian, will tend to want to draw on the social strengths of the church for their support. The church need not always refuse such support; but it must be on guard against the danger that such a posture will distort its mission and message." Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Na-*

freedom of the conscience is holy and very independent from any kinds of the external forces and rules. To respect and protect the freedom of the conscience, the believers should know the importance of the laws and of the civil society in China. Any abuses of the freedom in the church will essentially hurt the ethical principle of the church, and finally, destroy the name of Christ.

The strange conflict between the faith and the reason in the fundamentalists, who claimed the absolute of the Bible through every word of the verses written directly by the Divine Revealer, Holy Spirit, has weakened the theological and the ecclesiastical development in Church historically in China. If we enter into the arguments and the discussions by the elites and the intellectuals who use the human reason and the theory of the rationalism against the religious spiritualities and the faith in the Church in China, we could find out that the images of the Church in their impressions and minds are really very emotional and irrational, even at the sense of the historic Church that stressed so much the importance of the Tradition composed by the doctrines and the dogmas. The arbitrary freedom of the Christians without any restriction has resulted to the charismatical, individual, emotional Christianity in China today with the strong forces. Luther's doctrines will be very helpful to balance the understandings of the reason and of the faith to the Church in China.[117]

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tions, Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 224.

117 Karl R. Popper claimed: "Since the terms 'reason' and 'rationalism' are vague, it will be necessary to explain roughly the way in which they are used here. First, they are used in a wide sense; they are used to cover not only intellectual activity but also observation and experiment. It is necessary to keep this remark in mind, since 'reason' and 'rationalism' are often used in a different and more narrow sense, in opposition not to 'irrationalism' but to 'empiricism'; if used in this way, rationalism extols intelligence above observation and experiment, and might therefore be better described as 'intellectualism' […] Secondly, I use the word 'rationalism' in order to indicate, roughly, an attitude that seeks to solve as many problems as possible by an appeal to reason, i.e. to clear thought and experience, rather than by an appeal to emotions and passions. This explanation, of course, is not very satisfactory, since all terms such as 'reason' or 'passion' are vague; we do not possess 'reason' or 'passions' in the sense in which we possess certain physical organs, for example, brains or a heart, or in the sense in which we possess certain 'faculties', for example, the power of speaking, or of gnashing our teeth." Karl R. Popper, *The Open*

Luther's legacy has functioned as the theological basis for me to construct the ethical structures of the church in China. The work of the interpretations of Luther's ethical thought in the Chinese language will be the first step. There are so many misunderstandings about the legacy of Luther in Chinese before me. My firm concern is how to explain the essential meanings of the ethical principles by the simple interpretations in the coming future.

The ethical principles of Luther had become the structures of the Protestant Church through the continued work of John Calvin and his followers. For the church in China, it is necessary to inspire the legacy of Calvin to know how to construct the church by the theological principles of Luther.

In a word, the ethical legacy of Luther shaped the theological frame of Protestantism, which is connected doctrinally and spiritually with the patristic heritages based on Scripture. The three *Sola* should not be considered only as the revolutionary slogans against the authority of the Curia Romana. They hold very rich meanings of the faith of Church.[118]

Because the theological principles of Luther were introduced into China mostly as slogans without any interpretations in terms of the doctrines of the historic church, huge misunderstandings appeared around these theological principles at the ethical level. For instance, the emphases on the Justification by faith in Chinese have led to subjective action arbitrary, and then widen the believers and the unbelievers by the absolute distance between the righteous and the sinners in the society. Originally, the subject of justification is the Lord, not the believers. The action of justification is the process of the grace of the Lord, not as the Last

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Society and Its Enemies, vol. 2: *The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath*, London: Routledge, 1945, p. 212.

118 Historically, Luther had shaped the idea of the human efforts in the temporal order in the Lutheran tradition, although he stressed the *Sola gratia*, and *Sola fide*. He had left the very rich thoughts about the eternal salvation and the human efforts in the secular world. "It will be a long time before men produced a doctrine or social order equal to that of the Ten Commendments […] Just concentrate upon them and test yourself thoroughly, do your very best, and you will surely find yourself with so much to do that you will neither seek nor pay attention to any other kinds of works or other kind of holiness." Cf. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (eds), *The Book of Concord (New Translation): The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001, p. 408.

Judgment.[119] But, without the doctrinal basis, the meaning of Justification by Faith in Chinese becomes that the subject is the believer who declares himself as righteous due to oral belief. There is not any necessary relationship between his oral declaration and his actual deeds. The concrete situation in China is much more complicated than through this short example. The urgent issue for us will be to set up the faith of Church in order to supply the ethical normative rules to believers and restrain the top leaders of the institutional Church.[120]

There is the equilibrium between the Ideal Type I and Ideal Type II in the Chinese context. Otherwise, the disequilibrium will occur between the rights and duties. How can we explain this key point to the Church in China? Confucianism is about the Order to establish the equilibrium and harmony will be the best hermeneutical approach for us and preunderstanding for discovering the great value of the legacy of Calvin.

6.3.3 The Ethical Order of the Church

In Chinese minds, *Tao* is eternal truth, and the world shows the variety without good and evil at the process of the mutation and change. Ying (Negative) and Yang (Positive) is the most fundamental factor of the cosmos and the world and can describe the forms and the relations of the phenomenon. The "good way" means the equilibrium and the harmony between the negative elements and the positive elements based on the Tao, are eternal truths.

As to the Church, the essence of Faith is the Word of God. It will be very weak without the ecclesial witnesses and the theological interpreta-

119 "Luther's formula must be used to bring out this theological imbalance between our being simultaneously righteous and sinners. Only then is it possible and necessary to emphasize the equally serious reality of the sinful state of Christians." Eberhard Jüngel, *Justification: The Heart of the Christian Faith, A Theological Study with an Ecumenical Purpose*, trans. J. F. Cayzer, with an Introduction by J. Webster, Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 2001, p. 219.

120 Werner Bürklin, *Jesus Never Left China: The Rest of the Story, The Untold Story of the Church in China Now Exposed*, Enumclaw, WA: WinePress, 2005, pp. 164–168.

tions.[121] Therefore, we must set up the ethical order of the Church first, and interpret the Faith of Christ through the witnesses and the works of the Church. In this way, we must make clear the role of the church in society in China in order to use the Confucianism method to establish the ethical order in China.

6.3.3.1 The Ethical Role of the Church in Society

According to John Calvin, the threefold task of the Church based on the threefold offices of Jesus Christ has made the role of the church in the temporal world since the apostolic time (*Institutio* II, 15).[122] The royal office, the prophetic office and the sacerdotal office as the essential nature of the vocation have been introduced into the Chinese world at the doctrinal level. The foundation is Christ, the *Logos* of the Trinity, in Chinese, *Tao*. Therefore, Christians with the Calling from the Lord in the secular society must practice these fundamental requirements in order to show the Gospel to the people.[123]

121 "Thus belief embraces, as essential parts of itself, the profession of faith, the word and the unity which it affects; it embraces entry into the community's worship of God and so finally the fellowship which we call Church. Christian belief is not an idea but life; it is not mind existing for itself, but incarnation, mind in the body of history and its 'We'." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. J. R. Foster, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990, p. 64.

122 Emil Brunner commented: "Ce n'est qu'avec Calvin que pour la première fois le *munus triplex* fut introduit dans la dogmatique (*Institutio* II, 15), cependant Luther ne l'ignore pas (cp. Le chapitre "Le triple office de Christ" in Th. Harnack, *Luthers Theologie*, chap. 16). Mais alors qu'il faisait de Christ l'objet d'un enseignement comme prophète, roi et prêtre, il n'a jamais parlé d'un triple office. Ce qui conduisit Calvin à représenter l'œuvre de Christ sous ce triple aspect, ce fut l'intérêt qu'il nourrissait pour l'interdépendance de l'Ancien Testament et du Nouveau Testament et sa pensée totalement orientée vers l'histore du salut." In: *La doctrine chrétienne de la création et de la rédemption, Dogmatique*, tome 2, trad. par F. Jaccard, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1965, p. 352.

123 Oliver O'Donovan said: "Society so conceived presents itself as a 'secular' reality. Within the traditional meaning of the term, of course, society as a whole could never be secular. Secularity pertained only to certain functions within society which had their *raison d'être* in relation to this age (*saeculum*), not the next. The distinction of spiritual and secular was a distinction of two kinds of government within the one society. When in pre-modern Christianity two societies were distinguished as 'two realms' or 'two cities', they were polarized as moral and eschatological alter-

The proclamation as the prophetic role means that the church must preach the Word of God to the society. The prophetic role at the same time must be held responsible of being the warning voice with a critical position in the social life.[124] To preach the good news doesn't mean that the church avoids the moral responsibility vis-à-vis the social problems and the corruption of the government. Thus, the prophetic role of the church in China will gain more respect from the intellectuals with different spiritual systems.[125] The prophetical critical image of the church itself is one of the most effective approaches to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ. During the last 2000 years, the prophetic role of the church occurred not only in the ordinary life in the parishes throughout the worship and the predications, but also in the historical crisis that the church encountered. Martin Luther and John Calvin pursued the reformation just in terms of the prophetic responsibility regarding the order of creation. They reformed the abuses of the church administration in the Roman theocratic regime and obeyed the authorities of the state under the precondition of the justice and the divinity of God.[126] Thus, the prophetic role made the Reformation to find out new ways, on which Protestantism was born and to continue the Calling as the divine vocation since the apostolic time.[127]

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natives. There were not a spiritual society and a secular society, only a society of the saved and a society of the damned." Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations, Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 247.

124 We must introduce the legacy of Calvin into China Church regarding the social discipline of the Reformed tradition. According to Calvin, the Church must take the responsibility in the social life. He made the church discipline covering not only the ecclesiastical duty, but also the moral areas of the social life in order to practice the vocation of the Christians. Cf. Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, A Social History of Calvinism*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 460–482; Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. 25–30.

125 K. H. Ting, *God is Love: Collected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting*, Colorado Springs, CO: Cook Communications Ministries International, 2004, pp. 25–30.

126 Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought, An Introduction*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1997, p. 195.

127 "The contribution of the Reformation understanding of vocation was to break the hold of the religious elite upon vocation and to democratize it and imbue all of life with religion. Vocation encompasses all human relationships at once in the sense

The prophetic role of the church in the society of China needs moral courage because the commercial time is different from the ancient time of agriculture, on which personal relationships built and developed simply as neighborhoods. The phenomenon of the alienation first appeared in the respect of personal relationships in the Industrial time. The prophetic spirit means to care for the public interest with the high moral responsibility as the judge.

Zhuo Xinping, a famous scholar of religious studies in China, said: "For the future of Christianity in China, there still needs to be a 'prophet voice,' a 'servant spirit,' a sincere dialogue, and a tolerant sympathy."[128]

Historically, the most serious challenge is to point out the abuses of the authorities who violated the law with a legal name in the totalitarian state. Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth renewed by their engagements the great prophetic tradition of the Reformers in modern times while Europe fell into historic crisis and danger! They devoted their life to act as the prophets before the world.

The royal role of the church in China means fidelity and authenticity of the church is the will of God within the secular order under divine providence. The Royalty in the ecclesial sense is the Kingdom of God. In this case, Christian royalty is the absolute obedience to the supreme sovereignty of the Lord, even in the secular world because the essence of the secular order is the divinity of God. The royalty of the church in the sense of the Kingdom of God, and was embodied in the model of John Calvin's reform in Geneva, and Calvinists in the Netherlands, Scotland, and the United States of America and so on. The position of the church in the political area must persist to be principle of justice based on the righteousness of Jesus Christ. To the church in China, the church must

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that a person may be a daughter, mother, wife, citizen, worker, student, etc., at the same time. For Luther, human life as a web of relationships, the many strands of which are anchored in the center of the forgiveness of sin. Vocation is practiced in these relationships of life; and this means that there is a 'God-givens' to life specific to the particular relationships and talents of the each other." Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, p. 60.

128 Zhuo Xinping, "Discussion on 'Cultural Christians' in China," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 300.

avoid the misunderstanding of Rom 13:1–7 in political affairs.[129] The fidelity and loyalty of the Church in the secular order must take the precondition, namely, the will of God in faith.[130]

The royal role of the church has the double meanings; one based on the doctrine of the attributes of God, the Omnipotence, and the King of the Kings and the supreme authorities of the Kingdom of the Heaven. In this respect, the political position of the church regarding the temporal affairs must be based on the justice of God over the secular order. Here the church in China must make clear that the church is never the kingdom of God on the ground, but as the way toward to the Kingdom of God when the time comes in the future. It is the essence of the faith of the Church in the temporal world. Luther claimed, "By virtue of his royal power he rules over all things, death, life, and sin, and through his priestly glory is omnipotent with God […] And to this glory a man attains […] by faith alone."[131]

Thus, the royal role of the church has the duty and the responsibility to show the glory of the Lord in the world. On the other hand, the royal role of the church means also the service in the social life. Jesus showed himself as the servitor of the entire servitor, and finally died on the cross for the redemption to the sinners in the world. In this doctrinal level, the King and the Redeemer defined the royal role of the church in the human world. That is the doctrinal origin of the Christian diaconia. In brief, the royal role of the church indicates the Christian responsibility and the moral duty in the socio-political dimension. The principle of justice related to the authorities and the people; the principle of the diaconia directly is to help the poor people of the lowest level in society. Thus, the

129 Bernd Wannenwetsch, "Members of One Another: *Charis*, Ministry and Representation. A Politico-Ecclesial Reading of Romans 12," in: G. Bartholomew et al. (eds), *A Royal Priesthood?: The Use of the Bible Ethically and Politically*, Carlisle/Grand Rapids, MI: Paternoster/Zondervan, 2002, pp. 196–220.

130 "The Church is the institution sanctified by him for ever, an institution in which the holiness of the *Lord* becomes present among men […] The existing interplay of God's loyalty and man's disloyalty which characterizes the structure of the Church is grace in dramatic form, so to speak, through which the reality of grace as the pardoning of those who are in themselves unworthy continually becomes visible present in history." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. J. R. Foster, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990, p. 264.

131 Martin Luther, *The Freedom of a Christian*, in: *LW*, vol. 31, pp. 355–356.

meanings of the royal office of Christ strengthened the socio-political functions and the moral forces of the church in society. The understanding of the Royal Office of Christ through the spirit of the Servant for the others shows the intention of the spirit of the disciples in the mundane world.[132]

The sacerdotal role of the church in China means to keep Christians through the institutional approach into the ethical order of society for the name of Christ. The sacerdotal office originally is to offer the sacrifice for honoring the Divinity, and then narrowly signifies the priesthood of the pastors. Usually, the sacerdotal role of the church has the double meanings; one is doctrinal definition about the worship of the church, including to administer the sacraments and to proclaim the Word of God; another is the ethical order through the priesthood of all the believers in secular society. "The Reformers rejected the distinction between priests and laity on the basis that justified sinners participates by faith in Jesus' royal and priestly offices. Jesus exercises his priesthood so as to make us priests in a very specific sense of the word."[133]

This is very acceptable in the Chinese world. The Chinese traditional culture emphasized so profoundly the sacerdotal order as the moral norms for the social, family and the political affairs. Although the Communist revolution wanted to destroy all the traditional customs during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the traditional value survived through the Chinese language, especially with the ideogram system of the characters. Since the end of the radical Communist in 1976, the traditional culture has shown the forces of the renaissances in China. Thus, the role of the church in today's China must encounter the Chinese classic culture for the ultimate aim of the church.

132 Emil Brunner said: "Parmis les théologiens plus récents, Ritschl et Frank ont rejeté la distinction d'un *munus triplex*, le premier, parce qu'il veut tout ramener à la notion de la souveraineté royale, le second parce que 'ni l'office prophétique, ni l'office royal ne se trouvent sur le même plan que l'office sacerdotal' (*System der christlichen Wahrheit* II, 194)." in: *La doctrine chrétienne de la création et de la rédemption, Dogmatique*, tome 2, trad. par F. Jaccard, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1965, p. 325.

133 Eberhard Jüngel, *Justification: The Heart of the Christian Faith, A Theological Study with an Ecumenical Purpose*, trans. J. F. Cayzer, with an Introduction by J. Webster, Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 2001, p. 252.

In the Chinese Christian mind, the *Tao* is the Word of Jesus Christ and the truth of the Church. Luther said: "Now just as […] Christ is the climax of the priesthood […] so He is also the end of all priesthood […] But at the same time, the high-priesthood of Christ has passed over to the fellowship of the faithful, so that Christians as a whole are called a priestly nation."[134] The priesthood shows itself through the sacerdotal forms in the society with normative rules.

The role of the church in the society shows the mission of the church in the social life. Essentially, "Luther, and in the next generation Calvin, claimed that God does not call the Christian out of the world but into it. Because God's acceptance occurs on the human level, people are not called to extraordinary tasks but to mundane ones."[135] Therefore, we must study the three fundamental functions of the role of Church in the mundane society of China, which contains structurally the institutions with the proper ethical and political norms from the Chinese traditional civilization.[136]

134 Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in: *LW*, vol. 36, 3–126, pp. 115–116.

135 Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, p. 130.

136 In the contemporary West, the role of the Church in the society through the question as "What are the social roles in which this modern society places faith, the congregation, the Church and finally Christianity?" by Jürgen Moltmann in his famous works, *Theology of Hope*. He gave his interpretation about the social roles of the faith and the Church, "The first and most important role in which industrial society expects religion as the cult of the absolute to be effective, is undoubtedly that of providing the transcendental determination of the new, liberated subjectivity […] The modern metaphysic of subjecthood with its consequences in the secularization of the world must then be represented as a consequence of Christian faith, and Christian faith must be represented as the truth behind this metaphysic of subjecthood […] The second role in which modern society expects religion to be effectual consists in the transcendent determination of co-humanity as community […] A third role in which modern society expects the Christian religion to be effectual is, surprisingly enough, once more to be found today in the institution with all it involves in the way of officialdom and official claims." *The Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, trans. J. W. Leitch, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, pp. 304–321.

6.3.3.2 The Order of Confucianism, Li

In the social systems of the Chinese world, Confucianism functions as the inner normative structures. In Confucius' terms, the *Li* could be considered as the ethical order in today's understandings. "In the *Analects*, it is repeatedly stated that it is 'ritual action' (*Li*) – also frequently translated as 'rites', 'propriety', 'ceremony', 'decorum', 'manners' – which enables one to determine, assume, and display his personal stance. (*Analects* 16/13)"[137] Jaspers commented the moral-political ethos of Confucius.

> Manners (*Li*) and music are fundamental. The essential is to shape men's nature, not to quench it. The ethos is fashioned in men's association with each other and in government. It is made manifest in the ideal of the "superior man". *Li*: Order is preserved by customs (*Li*, imperatives of conduct). "A nation can be guided only by custom, not by knowledge." The customs create the spirit of the whole and in turn draw their life from it. Only through the virtues of the community does the individual become a man. The *Li* are the unceasing education of all men. They are the forms which create the right frame of mind in all spheres of existence: earnestness, confidence, respect. They guide men through something universal which is acquired by education and becomes second nature, so that the individual comes to experience the universal not as a constraint but as his own being. The forms give the individual firmness, assurance, and freedom.[138]

Gilbert Rozman proposed several types of Confucianism by the hierarchical categorization which follows the stratification of East Asia societies with some overlap. The *Imperial Confucianism*, involving the proper ideology and the ritual surrounding the emperor; the *reform Confucianism;* the *elite Confucianism*, the *Merchant Confucianism*, and the *Mass Confucianism*.[139]

And, Mary Evelyn Tucker presented the four types of the Confucianism: 1) *Political Confucianism* refers to state or imperial Confucianism, especially in its Chinese form, and involves such institutions as the

137 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 85.

138 Karl Jaspers, *The Great Philosophers*, vol. 1, ed. by H. Arendt, trans. R. Manheim, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1962, p. 55.

139 Gilbert Rozman (ed.), *The East Asian Region: Confucian Heritage and Its Modern Adaptation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 161.

civil service examination system and the larger government bureaucracy from the local level to the various ranks of court minister…; 2) *Social Confucianism* alludes to what one might call family-based or human relations oriented Confucianism. This involves the complex interactions of individuals with others both within and outside of the family…; 3) *Educational Confucianism* encompasses public and private learning in schools, in families, and by individual scholars and teachers. It refers, although not exclusively, to the curriculum of study of the Four Books – the *Great Learning*, the *Mean*, the *Analects*, and the *Mencius* – selected as the canon by Zhu Xi (1130–1200). This was used as the basis of the civil examination system in China and Korea. Educational Confucianism incorporates the adaptation of that curriculum to other educational institutions and venues in East Asia…; 4) *Economic Confucianism* describes business company forms of Confucianism in the modern period and merchant-related Confucianism in the premodern period, especially in Qing, China; Yi, Korea; and Tokugawa, Japan. It includes the ideas of the collectivism, the familism and loyalty as critical principles for the transmission of family-based Confucian values into organizational structures within the business community.[140]

> Religiousness in this tradition does require deference to inherited meaning and value as it is captured in the institutions and structures of the cultural tradition. This is apparent in the important invested in the understanding and meaningful enactment of ritual (*Li*). But religiousness requires more. It requires the active evaluation, adaptation, and extension of this inherited meaning in the application of one's own moral judgment (*Yi*). That is, the ritual tradition (*Li*) is dependent upon the exercise of personal moral judgment (*Yi*) as its ultimate origin, as its vehicle for continuance, and as its source of novelty. The human being does not pursue integration with the whole by simply deferring to and imitating a preexisting order. The capacity to act in a truly ritual way presupposes personal achievement. […]
>
> The social aspect of ritual action is an important constituent in the evolution of this concept. Consensus has it that those originally ritual actions were formalized procedures enacted by the ruler in an attempt to establish and continue a relationship with the spirits and gods. These rituals were constituted in imitation of perceptible cosmic rhythms as a means of strengthening the coordination of the human being and his natural and spiritual environment. They were used to reinforce a sense of human participation and context in the regular processes of existence. Gradually,

140 Mary Evelyn Tucker, "Introduction," in: *Confucian Spirituality*, vol. 1, ed. by Tu W. M. and M. E. Tucker, New York: Crossroad, 2003, pp. 18–20.

> these ritual actions were extended outwards from the ruler himself to involve other members of the court and community, developing an increasing social significance […] Although changing conditions in Chinese society extended the range of ritual action from narrowly defined religious rites to include the various kinds of formal human conducts that structure interpersonal activity, this evolved notion of social ritual never lost the sense of sacredness and sacrifice. During the formative period of Chinese civilization in the Chou dynasty, society moved from a basically tribal-clan system to a more complex semi-feudal structure. The ritual actions which had originally constructed a code of rites and ceremonies governing specific religious observances came to embody the total spectrum of social norms, customs, and mores, covering increasingly complicated relationships and institutions. The focus of ritual actions shifted from man's relationship with the supernatural to the relationship obtaining among members of human society, and their application was extended from the court to all levels of civilized society.[141]

As Robert Gimello observes,

> One would do better to say that what was of ultimate and comprehensive value to Confucius and his followers (and was therefore "religious" in the trust, least culture-bound sense) was the process whereby one could live a rich and fulfilling spiritual life solely as "a man among other men". In this process, the *Li* themselves came to be regarded less as modes of hieratic action than as paradigms of human relations.[142]

In the normative order of Confucianism, there are the fundamental principles with the correlated function to organize the system of equilibrium in the society.

Jen

It is a central category in Confucianism. "*Jen*, in the *Analects*, appears to be discouragingly complex."[143] And Tu Weiming pointed out:

> It should be noted from the outset that the lack of a definitional statement about what *Jen* is in itself in the *Analects* must not be constructed as the Master's deliber-

141 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, pp. 226; 245; 286.

142 Robert M. Gimello, "The civil status of *li* in classical Confucianism," in: *Philosophy East and West* 22 (1972), p. 204.

143 Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*, New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 37.

> ate heuristic device to hide an esoteric truth from his students: "My friends, I know that you think that there is something I am keeping from you. There is nothing at all that I keep from you. There is nothing that I do which is not shown to you, my friends" (*Analects* 7/23). On the contrary, Confucius seems absolutely serious in his endeavor to transmit the true sense of *Jen*, as he understood and experiences it, to his students.[144]

W. T. Chan argued that Confucius was the first to conceive of *Jen* as the general virtue, or essential goodness.[145] Tu Weiming commented:

> *Jen* is not primarily a concept of human relations, although they are extremely crucial to it. It is rather a principle of inwardness. By "inwardness," it is meant that *Jen* is not a quality acquired from outside; it is not a product of biological, social or political forces. […] Hence, *Jen* as an inner morality is not caused by the *Li* from outside. It is a higher-order concept which gives meaning to *Li. Jen* in this sense is basically linked with the self-receiving, self-perfecting, and self-fulfilling process of an individual.

In general, the English interpreters of Confucianism, the *Jen* is variously translated as "benevolence; love; agape; altruism; kindness; charity; human-heartiness; and humanity, the first of Confucian virtues,[146]or Authoritative Person.[147]

Yi

In general, it means, righteousness, moral, appropriateness, second of the cardinal virtues.[148] Cheng Chung-Ying, a famous philosopher who tried his best to use the Western metaphysical terms to translate the Chinese classical philosophical terms. He claims "*Yi* determines the total significance of one's life and activities," and "*Yi* is a universal and total princi-

144 Tu Weiming, "*Jen* as a living metaphor in the Confucianism *Analects*," in: *Philosophy East and West* 31 (1981), p. 28.

145 Wing-tsit Chan, "Chinese and Western Interpretation of *jen* (humanity)," in: *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 2 (1975), pp. 107–129.

146 Mary Evelyn Tucker, "Introduction," in: *Confucian Spirituality*, vol. 1, ed. by Tu W. M. and M. E. Tucker, New York: Crossroad, 2003, p. 336.

147 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 110.

148 Mary Evelyn Tucker, "Introduction," in: *Confucian Spirituality*, vol. 1, ed. by Tu W. M. and M. E. Tucker, New York: Crossroad, 2003, p. 337.

ple which applies to every particular case of judging the worthiness or unworthiness of an action."[149] However, Hall and Ames claimed: "*Yi* cannot be a principle in any of the classical Western sense of that term. *Yi* is context-dependent and hence comes into being with its context […] *Yi* has normative force without itself actually constituting a norm."[150] According to D. C. Lau, the philosopher who translated the *Analects* with the introductory essay,

> Rightness (*Yi*) is basically a characteristic of acts, and its application to agents is derivative. A man is righteous only in so far as he consistently does what is right. The rightness of acts depends upon their being morally fitting in the circumstances and has little to do with the disposition or motive of the agent.[151]

Here, I would like to add that the *Yi* is used to translate the term of the *Righteousness* of Christ in Chinese, and also as the terms of the Justification in Chinese. However, we have not studied the understandings of the *Yi* of Chinese believers with the pre-understanding of Confucianism while they do not comprehend the meanings of these doctrines in Western languages. Anyway, the *Yi* in terms of the Chinese version of Justification and the Righteousness of Christ has caused so many conflicts and the controversies among the Chinese believers since the 19th century.

There are hundreds of metaphysical, philosophical and ethical terms in the system of the Confucianism. Here, I just present several terms in order to show the autonomous system of the spirituality in the Oriental world. Here, I should introduce literally some of them such as: *Zhong*: Loyalty, being completely committed; *Xiao*: Filial piety, Filiality, Deference, Respect; *Zhi*: Wisdom, Intelligence, etc.; *Xin*: Faithfulness, Honesty, Integrity of thought; Virtue of friendship, Credibility; *Shu*: Forgiveness, Tolerance, and Pardon; *He*: Harmony; *Li:* The principle that orders all things, people, events, form, pattern, norms, the defining pat-

149 Cheng Chung-Ying, "On *Yi* as a universal principle of specific application in Confucian morality," in: *Philosophy East and West* 22 (1972), p. 270.

150 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 102.

151 D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Series, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983, p. xxiii.

tern or principle of the cosmos.[152] In general, sense of the modern Chinese language, it means also the reason and the rationality.

Anyway, I just want to show that these categories of Confucianism are nearly normalized the ethical order of the Chinese world! To the Christians in this ethical system, we could not avoid these categories that function within the *Li* (the Order of the society). As Jaspers' judges,

> Confucius set forth the *Li* as a whole; he observed them, collected them, formulated and arranged them. His vision embraced the whole world of Chinese customs: the right way of walking, greeting, behaving in company, always in accordance with the particular situation; the ways of conducting sacrifices and observing holidays; the rites of marriage, birth, death, and burial; the rules of administration; the customs governing work, war, the family, the priesthood, the court; the order of the days and seasons, the stages of life.[153]

> In Confucius there is nothing absolute about the *Li.* "A man is awakened by the Orders, strengthened by the *Li*, perfected by music." Mere form, like mere knowledge, has no value without the originality that fulfills it, without the humanity that is enacted in it. "A man who does not love his fellow man – what will the *Li* avail him?" He who "overcomes his self and takes upon himself the restrictions of the *Li*, the laws of custom" – he becomes a man. Although righteousness is essential, "in practicing it the superior man is guided by the *Li*" (Analects: Weilinggong, 18). There must be a balance between the *Li* and the content (a man's original nature).[154]

Through this approach of Confucianism, we could apply the Ideal Type II, legacy of Calvin to the Order of Chinese society, or the world of the *Li* (Ritual, rites, ethical and social order, ceremonial propriety, etc.)

6.3.3.3 The Institutional Order of Church: Ideal Type II, Legacy of Calvin

Of missionary heritages, the Sacrament is translated literally as the *Sheng Li* (it means *Holy Li*). Unfortunately, the influences from the congregationalism and the Puritanism nearly dismiss all the ceremonies and the sacraments instead of the long time preaching in the countryside in

152 Mary Evelyn Tucker, "Introduction," in: *Confucian Spirituality*, vol. 1, ed. by Tu W. M. and M. E. Tucker, New York: Crossroad, 2003, p. 336.

153 Karl Jaspers, *The Great Philosophers*, vol. 1, ed. by H. Arendt, trans. R. Manheim, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1962, p. 55.

154 Ibid., p. 55.

China. No sacramental orders become the typical matter of the so-called "house church movements".[155]

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church in China has developed very firmly the tradition of the sacraments in Chinese cultural forms.[156] After the Rites Controversies, since 1980s, the ceremonies, the liturgies and the ministerial orders of the Catholic Church in China are showing more and more positive in the society of China. One of the reasons is the understanding of the *Li* of the people in the society regarding the Holy *Li* (Sacraments) of the church.[157]

155 T. F. Torrance said, "Luther thought of the form of the church, then, in two senses. '*Forma autem haec posita est primum in verbo et donis Spiritus Sancti*' (and he called that '*forma spiritualis*' [W.A. 31/2, p. 675.]. '*Deinde in externa administratione seu politia pulcherrimis legibus dvinitus institute.*' [W.A. 31/2, p. 658.] Of the later Luther did not speak very much, and here the contrast between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches is marked. In the Lutheran view all forms of Church life and order on earth are *adiaphora*, and will come under judgment at the Advent of Christ as part of the *schema mundi*. The Reformed Church laid greater emphasis upon shaping the Church here and now in accordance with the divine commands, and in building up its structure on the Word. For Luther, on the other hand, Reformation meant primarily letting the Word of God act critically upon the existing order and liturgy of the Church." Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 63.

156 That is why in Chinese minds it is easy to understand and accept some theological ideas of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, the present Pope Benedict XIV, even to the Protestants in China. He said once in 1968 concerning the Sacraments and the Church. "The Christian notion of man, the problem of sin and redemption, are echoed in them once again, but their chief function is to affirm the sacramental idea which for its part forms the heart of the concept of the Church: Church and sacraments would be an empty organization, and sacraments without a Church would be rites without meaning or inner connection." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. J. R. Foster, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990, p. 261. If we understand his theological ideas regarding the essence and the functions of the Sacraments in the Church by the Chinese term "*Holy Li*," we will quickly grasp the ethical structures of the Sacraments in the Church. It is obvious that the Confucianism is the basis of the understanding.

157 The English translations of *Li* as the ritual or rites are very used now in the English articles and works concerning the ethical principles of the Confucianism. But just like Jaspers' insights, the ritual or rites is only formal elements of the *Li*, in the wide scope and the essential level; it contains much more the meanings of the order, the grammars of the social behaviors and the norms of the communications in the social life. "One weakness of the translation of *li* as 'rites' or 'ritual' is that these

The Church Order should be interpreted by the references of the *Li* of Confucianism in Chinese for the ecclesial purpose. In my understanding, the ethical order is the ecclesial *Li* in the Chinese minds.[158]

In my precomprehension, the ethical Ideal Type II, namely, the ecclesial ethics of John Calvin is exactly the same as the *Li* to the Church in the understanding of Confucianism. The *Li* has the meaning of the order relative to the political institution, the polity of the government and the social system of the morality etc. If we could benefit from these meanings of the Chinese ethical tradition, the significance will be similar with the system of Aristotle to the patristic tradition of the Middle Ages.

Calvin systematically created a series of the ecclesial norms for the institutional church in Geneva. In the Chinese understanding, the Sacraments have the special meanings relative the divine orders for the Church. Originally, the legacy of Calvin concerning the Church Order is also ignored by the churches in the Chinese world. Calvin claimed, "Christ is the matter or the substance of all the Sacraments, since in Him they have their whole solidity, and out of Him promise nothing."[159] T. F. Torrance commented:

> The crucial point for Calvin in a doctrine of the Sacraments is the ascension and all that the ascension implies. He speaks in the most realistic terms of union with Christ through the Sacraments, of eating His Body and drinking His Blood, but re-

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terms often have negative connotations in English. 'Ritual' is sometimes used almost as a synonym for 'routine' and 'mechanical'. However, as the passage just quoted suggests, Confucius insists that the *li* must not be performed in an unfeeling or mechanical way: 'High office filled by men of narrow views, ritual performed without reverence, the forms of mourning observed without grief –these are things I cannot bear to see!' (Waley 3:26)". Bryan W. Van Norden, "Introduction," in: *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays*, ed. by B. W. Van Norden, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 20.

158 "The Church Orders stated the theological principles that determined how the churches celebrated the sacraments and other church rites, but they also explicitly addressed a variety of problems that might be faced in ordinary parish life." Eric Lund (ed.), *Documents from the History of Lutheranism 1517–1750*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002, p. 125.

159 John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, IV. XIV, 16, p. 1291.

> fuses to forget that fact that the withdrawal of Christ in Body from us in His ascension introduces an eschatological *distance* which must be observed.[160]

All his original designs are the most needed in the Church of China. We should plan to introduce as soon as possible the institutional references of John Calvin in Chinese.

The most peculiar role of the ethical thought of Calvin was the structural mechanism to construct the church through the institutional way. The types of the political ethics in Troeltsch have the inner relationships with institutional designs by different ideas. Thus, the Christian communities, no matter what type in terms of the ecclesiastical typology of Troeltsch, must retain the certain institutional elements in the society. The growing church in China is facing serious challenges from the inner structures.

There are three ethical principles from the legacy of John Calvin as the structural pillars for the church in China.

6.3.3.3.1 The Ethical Principle of "the Rule of Law"

Calvin's method of reform in Geneva was to promulgate of the *Ecclesiastical Ordonnances*. He used directly church law to set up the order for the Church with legal authority with autonomy and legitimacy. As Robert Gessert claimed the law in Calvin's system,

> in relation to man signifies governance in several respects. God's reign through law over fallen man is like the reign of a strong monarch over a traitorous people; every law seems to be a sedition law. His reign in his elect is like a loyal constitutional republic […] It is primarily the principle of sovereignty that allows Calvin to use the term law when speaking of other things than the revealed divine law. Positive or civil law still partakes of the nature of the law for Calvin, even when it does not clearly express good intention or righteousness, because it always explicitly expresses governance – God's mysterious governance as well as man's.[161]

The spirit of the law based on the legacy of Luther, i.e., the doctrine of Law-Gospel made Calvin quickly to create the legal order for the church

160 Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 130.

161 Robert A. Gessert, "The Integrity of Faith: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Law in the Thought of John Calvin," in: *Scottish Journal of Theology* 13 (1960), p. 257.

in the secular society. P. Lobstein interpreted the different views about the law in the system of faith between Luther and Calvin, which I think that Calvin continued and developed the heritage for Luther in his proper context of the reformation. He said:

> The Lutheran conception of the Law is distinguished above all by the way in which the Pauline passages in which the law is thought of as a correlate of sinfulness are utilized and emphasized much more strongly than by Calvin […] The occasion for this lies incontestably in the basic conception of Luther's that the peculiar attribute of the law is its condemning work and that where this attribute of the law is lacking, it is no more the law in its proper sense. Where Luther finds a free acquiescence in the law, the law for him completely disappears or at least it assumes a form to which the universal concept of the law is no longer suitable. Calvin, on the contrary, conceives of the law according to two diverse characteristics, namely, both with the apart for the believer, but only the *maledictio legis*… Thus, while for Luther the *usus praecipius* of the law is intended for the sinner, for Calvin the law is related above all to believers for whom, however, the *malediction* is removed.[162]

All Christians must be the authentic citizens with the twofold responsibility in the church as well as in the society.

> Calvin was indeed a man of law, but not in the negative sense suggested by certain Reformation scholars of a past generation. For Calvin, as we have seen, the law is a dynamic entity primarily expressive of the gracious will of God for the benefit of his people. Because of the sin, it can also play negative role, but even then the ultimate goal is the redemption of individual and the restoration of order in the church and the cosmos.[163]

The legacy of Zwingli had well developed through the career of Calvin with the great historicity, from which the idea of the Covenant became the inner part of the Calvinism in the tradition of Protestantism, although the successor of Zwingli in Zurich, Bullinger, had some special ideas

162 Paul Lobstein, *Die Ethik Calvins in ihren Grundzügen entworfen*, Straßburg: C. F. Schmidt, 1877, pp. 55–56. Quotation is from I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publ., 1992, p. 256.

163 I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publ., 1992, p. 277.

differed from Calvin's ideas, for instance, the doctrine of the predestination, the thesis of the salvation of noble pagans and so on.[164]

The Puritans tradition transplanted this principle to the New Continent and later this principle became the structural pillar of the American democracy. The weakness of the Chinese traditional culture was the aristocratic monarchy without the constitutional democracy based on the divinity at the institutional level. If the church could stress the construction of democracy, it will be the great image to the public in China.[165] The intellectuals, since the modern time, one hundred years ago never ceased to struggle for realization of democracy in constitutional institution in China until today. The hierarchical tradition was too strong throughout the classic Chinese civilization. Thus, the first step of democracy in the church will be the rule of law. The ecclesiastical law in Calvin's system was the ethical rule as grammar of faith. He used the rules to define the offices of the ministry and the various works in the church. The ethical principle of Church Order means that the church must obey the regulations and the ordinances promulgated by the conference.

The present situation of the church in China is that there is no place of the principle of the law in the Church. The leadership lacks ideas that the church constitution is the normative rules to all the members including themselves. In my observation, the church in China will need the office of the surveillance over the top leadership in the doctrinal and administrative level. In the 19th century, the missionaries in China worked so often in the divergent forms without the institutional restriction. There were so many problems caused by the bureaucratic powers in

164 Karl Barth, *The Theology of the Reformed Confessions* (1923), trans. D. L. Guder and J. J. Guder, Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002, p. 157; p. 175.

165 "Despite the obvious political weakness of Chinese Protestantism under the present Chinese regime, however, the question of the relationship to the state concerns not only the impact of the state on Protestants, but also its converse, the impact or potential impact of Chinese Protestants on state and society." Ryan Dunch, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 209.

the Church as in the secular organizations based the individual interests in the denominational churches.[166]

It accorded with the social situation in China by psychological means. The external political order was extreme totalitarianism; thus, the desire of individual freedom showed strongly. In this case, the missionaries with arbitrary forms satisfied the mass. Since the beginning of Protestantism in China in 1807, the church order always remained in the state of disorder even at the level of the liturgical rules. Now, the disorder appears with the different form. That is, that the believers were not able to interfere in the arbitrary abuses of the power taken by the church leaders. Therefore, the legacy of Calvin is very helpful to us.

6.3.3.3.2 To Restrain the Individual Power of the Leadership through the Ecclesiastical Institutions

The second point of Calvin's legacy for us is to create the special ecclesiastical mechanism to restrain the power of the church leaders in the administrative area, especially regarding their relations with the political authorities, financial affairs and the church magistrate, etc. His method was to create the Consistory, the Synodic conference, and the closed relationship with the civil law. The separation of the state and the church did not mean that the church avoided the civil duty in the legal extent. On contrary, the church encouraged the believers by faith to engage in the social progress and development. The principles of the democracy need the institutional methods to produce social effects. The church with the influences of Calvin used the parliamentary methods to form the mechanism of the surveillance during the 16th century.

I think that we should confirm the ethical principles of John Calvin theologically in the context of the church in China. Then, to start up the demarches by creating the structure of the balance, will be a heavy task because of the totalitarian situation. But after more and more believers

166 "Such abuses move many Christians to reject all church structure, whether at the denominational or local level. Yet, if formal structures are refused, informal ones will gain their own validity in practice. Churches that reject denominational connection will often form their own connections by participation in Para church structures." Edmund P. Clowney, *The Church, Contours of Christian Theology*, Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995, p. 201.

clearly recognize the reasonable designs of the democracy in the church according to Calvin's legacy, that will be possible one day in China. In a word, the ethical significances of the ecclesiastical structures are very profound in the traditions of the Calvinism. The principles throughout the institutional methods and the designs have made us convinced about the institutional weakness of the Chinese culture in the modern society. The phenomenon of the gurus and the patriarchy, in the regional churches, especially in so-called "house churches", is very popular and dominant. That is one of the reasons that the intellectuals and the elites in China mostly keep suspicious of the Church and the intention of the mission since the 19th century until today.[167] One of the tasks of the ecclesial ethics in China will restrain the individual power of the Church leaderships for the private interests, which have become the serious abuses to the Church now in China! In this respect, the model of the Reformed Church in Geneva and Calvin's thought appear very significantly to the future of the Church in China. In a word, for the universal truth, we need the experiences of John Calvin for reforming our church in China.

6.3.3.3.3 To Shape the Powerful Sense of the Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Church

The third point is the sense of the discipline in the tradition of Calvin.

The misunderstandings of the three *Sola* through the enthusiasm of the missionaries had produced the irrational emotion in religious affairs. The ethical principle of the sanctification through the church discipline essentially corrected the irrational emotion of the church by John Calvin in history.[168] In today's China, Christianity remains relatively the minor-

167 "The Church is indeed composed of men who organize her external visage. But behind this the fundamental structures are willed by God himself, and therefore they are inviolable. Behind the *human* exterior stands a *more than human* reality, in which reformers, sociologists, organizers have no authority whatsoever." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *The Ratzinger Report*, with V. Messori, trans. S. Attanasio and G. Harrison, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985, p. 46. Essentially, the importance of the loyalty to the Faith as the criteria of the top leadership of the Church must be considered in the existential level. Luther and Calvin, Bonhoeffer and Barth, they historically stressed the urgency of this issue through their practices and thinking.

168 In the tradition of the Reformation, the discipline played the special role in the foundation of the Church at the ethical frame. Calvin inherited and expanded this

ity in the civil society. If we do not stress the church disciplines for everyone in the church, we could always avoid the two consequent facts in the church. One is the irrational proclamation of the Gospel by excluding all the virtues outside the Scripture literally.[169] We will risk that one day, the church will become the church of the Bible, and Protestantism as the religion of Bible in the isolated state. Another situation is that the top leaders use the charismatic methods to cancel all the doctrines of the historic church and control the believers with the name of divinity. In this respect, the church leaders will become the gurus of the cults.

As long as the ethical structures of the church is concerned, the introductions to the ethical principles through the ecclesiastical deigns will

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principle from Martin Bucer (or Martin Butzer). T. F. Torrance commented: "Thus in contrast to Luther's sharp distinction between the *Regnum spirituale* and *Regnum corporale*, the *Regnum Christi* in Butzer's theology constitutes a third dimension, the *Communio Christiana*, which, through the Word and the Spirit, is visible and actively realized on earth, and through obedience to the Church's preaching of the Word and daily witness also in the State. The relations of the Church and State are mutual. The Word of God is communicated to the State through the Church, and in obedience to that Word the State creates within the world a sphere of liberty, setting bounds to the kingdom of Satan, so that the life of the Church protected by the State may freely grow in obedience to God's Word and in the exercise of love, and so assume the character of a *Respublica* or *Societas Christiana.* This is the reason why *disciplina* must be added to *doctrina*, to the true preaching of the Word and the right administration of the Sacraments, as a third mark of the true Church, for it is through the godly exercise of discipline (*disciplina vitae communis*) in matters of faith and life that the Church assumes public as well as private form as the Kingdom of Christ promoted on earth." Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 87.

169 The church discipline in Luther's tradition was directly related to the correct preaching and the duty of the pastors. "Lutheran church discipline became more and more influenced by the state. Church discipline came under the control of the so-called consistories (*Konsistorien*), ecclesiastical governing bodies which were established by princely ordinances" "For Calvin, church disciplines had a very different meaning than for Luther. From the point of view of his theology, church discipline was indispensable in a truly reformed church because only through church discipline could the purity of the congregation at the Lord's Supper be ensured. This idea thus provided a strong impetus to establish institutions of church discipline on the level of the congregations." Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Imposing church and social discipline," in: *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. : *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, ed. by R. P. Hsia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 251; p. 254.

be very historic tasks in China, because the Chinese traditional culture stressed so much the function of the ethics based on the spiritual ideas since ancient times until today. Any institutional initiatives must show ethical reasons; otherwise, it is very difficult for intellectuals to accept and practice them in actual situations.

Finally, to know the historicity of the institutional designs in Calvin's legacy, we must study the ethical role of the church in modern civil society from his spirit. The Church plays a very special role in Western society with democracy. It is the special community in the society with proper ethical norms and values of the faith. Historically, the Reformation produced the fundamental principles into modern democracy such as the legacy of Luther and Calvin showed.[170] That is the ethical principle of the Christian conscience. The Christian right of the resistance since Calvin has sustained essentially the Protestant church in the secular order. That was why there were always the great minds such Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Karl Barth and so many ordinary pastors, theologians and believers while the church encountered the crisis in the political level. In this way, the Ideal Type IV has the special significance in the time of crisis.

The image of the church in the Western political history was moral and spiritual with the dominant forces to the people and the authorities. Nevertheless, in the modern history of China, although there were so many Christians with the moral courage to engage in the social progress, their meanings showed rather the individual significance of the Chinese traditional spirituality, not with the identity of the Church. More and more intellectuals, as common people, have converted to be Christian; therefore, the church will play more and more important role in the modernization in China. As Zhuo Xinping's conclusion, "If most Chinese could consider the Christian values system and social teaching as a powerful spiritual strength for their social modernization and cultural recon-

170 Oliver O'Donovan said, the democracy in the West signifies, "a civil society in which one person's voice may be heard to the same extent as another's where responsibilities are not so structured and assigned that deliberation about the public good is confined to a particular class of deliberators. It rejects the classical thesis, common to Plato and Aristotle, that the rationality of a society belongs to a special ruling class within it." Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations, Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 269.

struction, there would be a real hope for Christian revival and prosperity in the Chinese context."[171]

6.4 Conclusion: the Challenges toward the Future

Briefly, I would like to say that there are three Ideal Types of the ethics for me to study the basic issues of the ecclesial ethics in China. The Ideal Type I, the legacy of Martin Luther, supplies the fundamental theological principles to the Church in China; the Ideal Type II, the ethics of John Calvin, through the institutional way set up the special structural ethics for the church. The relationship between the Ideal Type I and II naturally shaped the equilibrium between the faith of the Church and the ethical order of the Church; the ideas and the institutions; and the theological principles and the ecclesiological constitution etc.[172] All of these are still empty in China although Protestantism has spread into China for the last two hundred years (since 1807). Without this model of balance,

171 Zhuo Xinping, "Discussion on 'Cultural Christians' in China," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 300.

172 Even if to the Western theologians, the ecclesiology remains one of the important theological themes today. George A. Lindbeck claimed: "Ecclesiology is a dogmatically undeveloped area. As historians remind us, there have been until recently no comprehensive pronouncements on the nature of the Church in any manor Christian tradition. Much has been said about it, but not what it is. There are, for example, the four *notae ecclesiae*, spoken of in the ancient creeds: one, holy, catholic and apostolic. The Reformation confessions add to the list. The Church is said to be, among other things, *creatura verbi*, the creation of the word (cf. Confessio Augustana VII), but it is also in its visible form a *corpus mixtum* of the elect and the reprobate (Westminster Confession, 25.5). These, however, are attributes that can also be predicated of other subjects. […] Not only church doctrine but also theological reflection has been lacking in this area […] Among all the major theological loci, ecclesiology has been the last to develop." George A. Lindbeck, *The Church in a Postliberal Age*, ed. by J. J. Buckley, Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003, p. 146.

the principles of the Reformation remain the charismatic slogans in the Church in China.

My proper vocation will introduce and research the model of the historical Church with the proper traditions, especially the legacy of the Reformation for the Church in China.[173] My way is to study the basic principles of Luther and the practical initiatives of Calvin, and the correlation between these two models. Finally, I find that we must seek the available way for effective solution, after reflecting on the historical teachings of the missionaries and the actual situation of the Protestant Church in China. This solution is the ethical way, because the ethical way will reach the Chinese traditional culture, and then easily communicate with the Chinese people.

The Fourth Ideal Type should be the Ideal Type of Confucianism. The *Li* will become the theological object regarding the ecclesial ethics. The *Li* includes so many ethical normative categories covering all the aspects of life in China. We must try to use the strategy of accommodation to do cultural and spiritual communication between the ecclesial ethics of the historical church and Confucianism first, and then, we will

173 Because there is no any similarities between the West and China regarding the conflicts existed in the relationships of the Catholic with the Protestant in China, we should pay the attention to the theological thoughts of the Roman Catholic theologians at the ecumenical perspectives for the future of the Church in China. For instance, the theological views about the Church by the Catholic theologians are very profound and significant. J. Ratzinger interpreted "the three historical modifications" of the Church from the historical position with the special relevance to my concerns. He said: "1. The biblical-patristic notion: Church as the people of God that comes together in the Eucharist as the body of Christ. One could speak of a *sacramental-ecclesiastical understanding* of the Church; a valid comparison would be: *ecclesia* = *communion* = *corpus Christi.* 2. Next to that stands the understanding of the Middle Ages: the talk turns to the 'mystical body of the Church'; the Church appears as the corporation of those in Christ. One could speak here of a *jurisdical-corporate* conception of the 'body of Christ'. 3. The modern period introduces a romantic notion: *corpus Christi mysticum* – the obscure, mysterious, living body of Christ; the word 'mystical' derives from 'mystic'. We have here an understanding of the Church as a mystical organism." Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Das neue Volk Gottes* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1969, p. 99), quoted from Miguel M. Garijo-Guembe, *Communion of the Saints*, *Foundation, Nature, and Structure of the Church*, trans. P. Madigan S.J., Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1994, pp. 82–83.

move toward ecclesial ethics of the church in China. Thus, the legacy of the Reformation will take the root on the ground of the Church in China through way of Confucianism. Additionally,

> Confucius seems to take for granted […] that there is one *Li* and that it is in harmony with a greater, cosmic *Tao*. He assumes that this *Li* is the *Li* of the land in which he lives (other lands being barbarian), that the Ancients of his tradition lived this *Li*. He assumes that this *Li*, and the cosmic *Tao* in which it is rooted, are internally coherent and totally adequate, and that, finally, the only moral and social necessity is, therefore, to shape oneself and one's conduct in *Li*. Each and every one of these interconnected and basic assumptions is initially placed in grave doubt when we take account of the now familiar facts of a plurality of great cultures each with its distinct history.[174]

Here, I think of the narrative of the "Unknown god" and St. Paul in Athens! (Acts 17: 23). The *Li*, as the structural order of the *Tao*, is just the ethical order of the Church to the Chinese Christians! The Chinese Christians live in the *Li* according to the moral norms of the *Li* in China, by which they communicate with their neighbors and others in society, deal with the various relationships including the basic attitudes with the state and the world.[175] While the Communist revolution got the legitimacy of the state in 1949, the government with the ideology of Marxism, which totally differed from Confucianism and other Chinese traditional cultures, quickly launched the political movements one by one to destroy all the Chinese traditional orders in the cultural and spiritual areas, espe-

174 Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*, New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 57.

175 A. S. Cua claimed, "For more than two millennia, traditional Chinese moral life and thought have been much preoccupied with *Li* as a means for the realization of the Confucian ideal of *Tao* (Way) or human excellence (or goodness). Implicit in this notion of *Li* is an idea of rule-governed conduct […] The *Liji* is one of the three extant ancient texts on *Li*: *Zhouli*, *Yili*, and *Liji. Zhouli* deals with Zhou organization and institutions, *Yili* with codes of social conduct. The *Liji* mainly deals with the meaning and significance of organization and institutions as well as with rules of social life and certain related academic matters […] In the *Liji*, we find a wide scope of *Li*, ranging from the *Li* governing special occasions, such as mourning, sacrifices, marriage, and communal festivities, to the more ordinary occasions relating to conduct toward ruler, parents, elders, teachers, and guests." A. S. Cua, "The Ethical and the Religious Dimensions of *Li*", in: *Confucian Spirituality*, vol. 1, ed. by Tu W. M. and M. E. Tucker, New York: Crossroad, 2003, pp. 252–253.

cially in the religious aspects. They have essentially realized the totalitarian control of society through the ideological order! The *Tao* in the Chinese minds was replaced as the Communism Ideal by the state. And the Chinese traditional *Li* (the harmony order of the social life, the equilibrium institution, etc.) was changed into the class struggle through the new idea, namely, the eternal struggles between the Proletariat and the Bourgeois, the Socialism and the Capitalism, etc. Now, the government is recovering the state statue of Confucianism after the social shocks since 1977 from which the time of the socio-political reformation of Deng Xiaoping started.

To construct ethical pillars of the church in China, we must reflect on the three issues while benefiting the references of the Reformation and of the Western thinkers:

6.4.1 The Theological Level: to Avoid the Two Extreme Tendencies

We should avoid the two extreme poles of the faith:

1) The normalization of the syncretism in the post-modernity

The syncretism around Protestantism with the mysticisms and new religious movements including various philosophic schools is becoming more and more a growing spiritual phenomenon. This kind of spiritual tendency has benefited the tolerance and the freedom of modern order. Therefore, the identity of faith of the Church will encounter serious challenges from the religious dialogues and communication. The results of the interreligious communication should avoid the modern form of Gnosticism, which appear with the powerful influences among the intellectuals in China now. The syncretism is imposing more and more danger to the identity of faith of the Church.[176] In the countryside, the multi-

176 In Reinhold Bernhardt's system, there are three forms of the interreligious dialogues: *Exklusivismus*, *Inklusivismus und Pluralismus.* The Christian identity in the interreligious dialogues should be confirmed itself with the open mind. "Der Synkretismusbegriff wurde von Beginn des Dialogprogamms an als Gefahrenwarnung gegen eine zu weitgehende Dialogoffenheit ins Feld geführt und dabei als Gegenbegriff zu 'Identität' profiliert." Reinhold Bernhardt, *Ende des Dialogs? Die*

ple religions are mixed together to be the faith of the masses, especially with the folklores, and with the names of well-known religions, such as Protestantism, Buddhism and Taoism, etc.[177]

2) The religion of the Bible or the Church of the Biblicist

The religion of the Bible is the external impression to the public in China today. "In doctrine, most Chinese Protestants have a literal belief in the Bible as the inspired word of God, and the Bible plays a central role in preaching, which in turn is the core of the worship service in most Chinese Protestant churches."[178] The principle of the Scriptures in the tradition of the Reformation did not mean to exclude the theological tradition of the historical church. T. F. Torrance claimed:

> It is to be remembered that for Luther the word of God means primarily Christ Himself, Christ through the Scriptures, but primarily Christ over against the Scriptures, so that if necessary we have to urge the authority of Christ against the authority of the Bible (*WA* 39/I, p. 47). The Bible cannot be used legalistically to provide the laws of the Church.[179]

This problem historically originated from the missionaries who ignored so strongly the theological tradition of the historic church and stressed only their proper individual witness and the experiences directly with the Lord in the intimate minds while they worked in China.

According to Christopher J. H. Wright, the Bible is "the production of God's mission", not God Himself. He said:

> A missional hermeneutic of the Bible begins with the Bible's very existence. For those who affirm some relationship (however articulated) between these texts and the self-revelation of our Creator God, the whole canon of Scripture is a missional phenomenon in the sense that it witnesses to the self-giving movement of this God

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Begegnung der Religionen und ihre theologische Reflexion, Zürich: TVZ, 2005, pp. 103–137.

177 Alan Hunter and Kim-Kwong Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 68.

178 Ryan Dunch, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 204.

179 Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church, A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, p. 63.

toward his creation and us, human beings in God's own image, but wayward and wanton. The writings that now comprise our Bible are themselves the product of and witness to the ultimate mission of God. Furthermore, the processes by which these texts came to be written were often profoundly missional in nature. Many of them emerged out of events or struggles or crises or conflicts in which the people of God engaged with the constantly changing and challenging task of articulating and living out their understanding of God's revelation and redemptive action in the world. Sometimes these were struggles internal to the people of God themselves; sometimes these were highly polemical struggles with competing religious claims and world-views that surrounded them. So a missional reading of such texts is very definitely not a matter of (1) finding the "real" meaning by objective exegesis, and only then (2) cranking up some "missiological implications" as a homiletic supplement to the text itself. Rather, it is to see how a text has its *origin* in some issue, need, controversy or threat that the people of God needed to address in the context of their mission. The text itself is a production of mission in action.[180]

Obviously, the radical and fundamentalist view of the Scripture has formed the special fact in the church in China that there is nothing between the Bible and their leaders, including the doctrines and the dogmas of the patristic tradition and the theological works of the Reformation. This is characteristic of fundamentalism now in China. The most urgent task for the Church in China is the theological research in order to establish the foundation for theological education in the Church.

I am afraid of the nationalism position of the theological tendency in China which shows often the reason of the contextualization for denying the universality of the Faith and of the Church.[181] Surely, so many West-

180 He added: "This is easily demonstrated in the case of the New Testament. Most of Paul's letters were written in the heat of his missionary efforts: wrestling with the theological basis of the inclusion of the Gentiles, affirming the need for Jew and Gentile to accept noe another in Christ and in the church, tackling the baffling range of new problems that assailed young churches as the gospel took root in the world of Greek polytheism, confronting incipient heresies with clear affirmations of the supremacy and sufficiency of Jesus Christ, and so on." Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God, Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative*, Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2006, pp. 48–49.

181 Karl R. Popper warned: "The tendencies denoted by this term have undoubtedly a strong affinity with the revolt against reason and the open society. Nationalism appeals to our tribal instincts, to passion and to prejudice, and to our desire to be relieved from the strain of individual responsibility, which it attempts to replace by a collective or group responsibility. It is in keeping with these tendencies that we find that the oldest works on political theory, even that of the Old Oligarch, but more

ern theologians have made self-reflection on Europeanism of Christianity, especially, the history of the mission in Asia and Africa with great minds. As to the considerations about the Christianity from the West with the universal teaching in China, Philip Wickeri claimed:

> The expressions of Christianity which we reflect upon in the West today are seldom referred to as universal teachings. Rather, our focus is on contextualization and the particularity of all our reflections in the pluralistic situation in which we find ourselves. For Christians, the universal has to become particular if we take the Incarnation seriously.[182]

However, we should think of the way to make the equilibrium between the unity, the catholicity, the holiness and the apostolicity of the Church and particularity, the diversity and the nationality of the Christians in the temporal state. The Unity of the Church is based on the Universal truth of Faith of the Trinity. The nationalism in the Faith of the Church will destroy the Catholiticity and the Unity of the Church through the relativism and the narrow national minds. In China, we must be aware of the danger of relativism of the faith and of the Church, on which Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger warned so often in his theological works.[183] Any consequence from the relativism, which leads to the value of relativism and syncretism, will not be in accordance with the hermeneutic theological

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markedly those of Plato and of Aristotle, express decidedly nationalist views; for these works were written in an attempt to combat the open society with its new ideas of imperialism, cosmopolitanism, and equalitarianism." Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, vol. 2: *The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath*, London: Routledge, 1945, p. 48.

182 Philip Wickeri, "Christianity and China: Toward Further Dialogue," in: S. Uhalley Jr. and X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity, Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY/London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, p. 346.

183 Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith, The Church as Communion*, trans. H. Taylor, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005, pp. 145–146. H. Richard Niebuhr put forth theologically critical positions concerning the plurality of the religious institutions in the USA in his *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1957). The ideal will be the interfaith dialogue and the mutual respect in the harmony with the proper identity, thus, the syncretism under the cover of the religious pluralism will lead to the disorder. In this case, the democratic method will be used as the method by some figures with the special ideology to control the masses and the state.

position, by which the interfaith dialogue and communications become possible and reasonable.[184]

6.4.2 The Political Level: the Equilibrium between the Right and Duty based on the Ethical Principle of the Law-Gospel

Actually, in the West, many theologians are engaging in social progress, human rights and political concerns. They have already widened the theological attention outside the Church for taking responsibility in society. The theological thinking on socio-political issues is becoming their ethical task. The ethical principles of the Reformation relate to modern values, especially democracy, human rights and the constitutional polity, which will show the great vocation of the Church in the process of the modernization of China.

The church in China is facing the serious challenges in the area of politics. The fundamental ideas of the Reformation remain much unknown to the intellectuals, although many of them dream of democracy and rule of law as an essential definition for the modernization of China.

The political concerns of the Christian thinkers have never ceased since the end of the Second World War.[185] The significance of the Ref-

184 Armin Kreiner, "Rationalität zwischen Realismus und Relativismus," in: R. Bernhardt and P. Schmidt-Leukel (eds.), *Kriterien interreligiöser Urteilsbildung*, Zürich, TVZ, 2005, pp. 26–31.

185 Jürgen Moltmann analyzed the origin and the negative results of the private tendency of the Religion in the Western society since 19th century with the critical position. He said: "'Religion' ceases to be a public, social duty and becomes a voluntary, private activity. 'Religion' in the course of the nineteenth century becomes the religiosity of the individual, private, inward, edifying. By giving free rein to religion and leaving it to the free unfolding of the personality in complete freedom of religious choice, modern society as a modern 'society of needs' emancipates itself from religious needs. This process was furthered by many revivalist and pietist movements within Christianity. There prevailed within it a pious individualism, which for its own part was romanticist in form and withdrew itself from the material entanglements of society. The Church thus slipped over into the modern *cultus privatus* and produced in theology and pastoral care a corresponding self-consciousness as a haven of intimacy and guardian of personality for a race that had developed a materialist society and felt itself not at home there. This certainly means that the Christian religion is dismissed from the integrating centre of modern

ormation is to maintain the order of justice in the secular world. The terrible memories of the totalitarian regimes made the Christian theologians to be reminded of many kinds of the totalitarian regimes no matter with what kind of the ideologies. The political ethics of the Christian theologians become the collective conscience of the church in the contemporary panorama. Even if they showed their thinking with the various names, deep concerns relative to the ethical duty and moral responsibility for human beings are their deep motives and purpose.[186] The political meanings of the legacy of Bonhoeffer in terms of the tradition of the Reformation in modern times could help the church in China know the ethical power of the church in the modern society. If the church becomes indifferent in the civil morality and public affairs, the ethical role of the church will become weak and die.[187] Bonhoeffer was an isolated case in the Christian landscape of Germany at the period of the Nazi regime. There were many pastors and Christians as he with the sense of the righteousness in Germany against Nazism. So many good Germans died without their names and reputations in history. To us, from the non-European culture, they were the Christian conscience with the special calling of the Lord for human beings! Jürgen Moltmann warned:

> The consequence for Christian theology is that it must adopt a critical attitude towards political religions in society and in the churches. The political theology of the cross must liberate the state from the political service of idols and must liberate men from political alienation and loss of rights. It must seek to demythologize state and society […] If the churches become "institutions for the free criticism of society", they must necessarily overcome not only private idolatry but also political

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society and relieved of its duty of having to represent the highest goal of society, but that is not by any means the end of it." *The Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, trans. J. W. Leitch, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, p. 311.

186 Georg Pfleiderer, *Politische Ekklesiologie in der Neuzeit. Ein Einführender Bericht,* in: Albrecht Grözinger, Georg Pfleiderer and Georg Vischer (eds), *Protestantische Kirche und moderne Gesellschaft, Zur Interdependenz von Ekklesiologie und Gesellschaftstheorie in der Neuzeit*, Zürich: TVZ, 2003, pp. 21-44.

187 Pierre Bühler, "Compréhension éthique et responsabilité sociale: l'apport d'une éthique théologique," *Ethique et lien social: Réflexions développées à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de l'Institut d'éthique sociale de la Fédération des Eglises protestantes de la Suisse* (Etudes et Rapports 54*)*, Lausanne: Institut d'éthique sociale, 1998, pp. 85–97.

> idolatry, and extend human freedom in the situation of the crucified God not only in the overcoming of systems of psychological apathy, but also in the overcoming of the mystique of political and religious systems of rule which make men apathetic.[188]

The elites with the moral duty and the spiritual subjectivity in China really need to listen to such a voice from human history!

6.4.3 The Ethical Level: the Civil Religion and Radical Nationalism Will Be Very Dangerous for the Church in China

To study the cases of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and that of Karl Barth is necessary for us to interpret the ethical value of the church based on the certain theological principles. They had also shown that their Christian conscience and responsibility while the church suffered together with nations, people and the world.

The phenomenon of civil religion was the background of the interpretation about the significance of Barth and Bonhoeffer in the ethical perspective. The totalitarianism and the state ideology with the holy and moral forces control the people in the spiritual aspect. The Western theologians have already warned the danger of the civil religion.[189]

188 Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, trans. R. A. Wilson and J. Bowden, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993, pp. 327–329.

189 "The term *civil religion* was first introduced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his book *The Social Contact* (1762). Rousseau used the term in the context of the European Enlightenment and the revolutionary movement toward democratic statehood. The concept applied to the ordering and organization of modern democracies preceding the French Revolution and the overthrowing of religious and political hierarchies as the ordering principles of the state […] But even after their revolutions democratic European states still possessed the residue of ancient traditions embedded in their histories and institutions. In other words, they were already 'a people' prior to the foundation of democratic institutions." Carole L. Stewart, "Civil Religion," in: *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, ed. by L. Jones, New York: Thomson Gale, 2005, pp. 1812–1816.

> "Civil religion" poses a more serious objection to the cooperative church-state arrangements of Christendom than religious coercion does. Both, of course, offend against the Gospel, not merely against natural justice: coercion violates the openness of unbelief to come to belief freely while God's patience waits on it; civil religion wears the form of the Antichrist, drawing the faith and obedience due to the Lord's Anointed away to the political orders which should have only provisional authority under him.[190]

The extreme nationalism with the cloth of patriotism is the cancer of the conscience of the nation, and the enemy of the Church. The most serious challenge to the Church in China will encounter the reasonable and doctrinal interpretations about the Christian patriotism based on the Tao of the Lord! Stanley Hauerwas warned the great danger in the U.S. of the purely worship sentiments on the American ideology as the ultimate universal truth.[191] Furthermore, the ideology of pluralism and relativism with the image of the absolute tolerance will become the new human religion in the West in the sense of the "civil religion".

> Civil religion is a corruption to which the church is liable when it enjoys a close cooperation with the state. It is not a matter of serving the interests of *government* solely – civil religion can flourish in opposition, too – but the interests of the state at large, bolstering its legitimacy, supporting its political philosophy, including virtues, both active and passive, which are useful to the political constitution of society […] However, civil religion is only one manifestation of a more general temptation: that of accommodating the demands of the Gospel to the expectations of society. Any successful mission will leave the church inculturated; any inculturated church is liable to lose its critical distance on society. Forms of prophetic criticism may

190 Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations, Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 224.

191 Stanley Hauerwas, *After Christendom*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991, p. 15. Since 1960s, so many outstanding American sociologists explained their insights about the *Civil Religion* in the political and ethical contexts of the USA with the critical spirits, such as Will Herberg and his *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1960; Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," in: *Dædalus* 96, (1967); Sidney E. Mead, *The Nation with the Soul of a Church*, New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

persist, but they become increasingly intra-mural, taking up those causes which were controversial anyway rather than finding deeper grounds for an evangelical challenge.[192]

As the solution to the danger of the "civil religion" in this type of political ethics of Troeltsch to the church in China, I confirm the historical value of the doctrine of the Law-Gospel and the Two-Kingdoms from the heritage of Martin Luther! If we interpret the significance of Luther's doctrines in Chinese, we could use the terms and the categories of Confucianism. According to Confucianism, the ideal state is the Harmony constructed by the equilibrium between the negative and the positive (*Ying* and *Yang*) of the world. It is the principle of *Li* to organize the proper order.[193]

Finally, in my vision, the Church in China will continue the holy and catholic way toward the future under the providence of God in the panorama of the human world. The Church in China must go beyond any kinds of the nationalisms with the patriotical reasons linked with the secular requirements in terms of the essence of the Church, although the Church always holds the responsibility and the duty in the socio-political areas historically. The research of the ecclesial ethics will serve for the Church in China. In the terms of Ernst Troeltsch, the constitutional and

192 Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations, Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 225.

193 "In the employment of ritual action (*Li*) to effect order, these *Li* and the people who perform them are mutually determining and refining, *Li* permits and in fact encourages an emergent harmony that is expressive of the demands of insistent particularity. The society in its reliance upon *Li* maximizes its possibilities for qualitative harmony. Where ritual action (*Li*) fails, however, *Fa* (law) simply serves as a coercive means to prevent decline into social discord from a level at which the more effective and enduring methods of ritual action (*Li*) can again be applied. In this vision of social order, the harmony which can be achieved through ritual action is an end in itself, whereas the imposed order achieved by *Fa* (law) has only functional, instrumental value as a temporary means to the higher end." David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 173.

democratic ethics will be studied for the structural model of the church in China.[194] In this case, the study of the heritage of the Reformation will become the first step in this demarche.

194 "In itself, the democratic principle stands for the transcending of the class struggle; its ideal is social peace […] The idea of democracy is an ethical one, the great idea of human right. Human right signify the more right of the person to independent value, or, as Kant formulated it, the right never to be considered merely as a means but rather also always as en end […] The declaration of human rights in the American and French constitutions is therefore a fact not only of the greatest importance for modern history, but also of the greatest significance for ethic." Ernst Troeltsch, "Political Ethics and Christianity," in: *Religion in History*, Essays trans. J. L. Adams and W. F. Bense, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991, p. 181.

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Minjung and Process

Minjung Theology in a Dialogue with Process Thought

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This book reconstructs the legacy of Korean minjung theology by reformulating its essential ideas in a dialogue with process thought. In a minimal sense, this study is a theological reinterpretation of the doctrine of the minjung messiah, an idea which historically suffered from a misunderstanding that minjung theology created a 'messianic confusion' while replacing christology and soteriology by a radical anthropology. This erroneous conception occurred when the idea was placed within the philosophically dualistic framework of traditional doctrines in which the work of minjung is totally separated from the work of Christ. In order to avoid such a dualistic understanding, the author critically adopts process panentheism and makes minjung ideas more communicable and more comprehensive in current theological, religious, and philosophical debates. Beyond defending the idea of the minjung messiah, he also argues for an *inclusive* minjung *hermeneutics* that promotes the fundamental insight of minjung theology, in philosophical clarity. Through minjung hermeneutics, minjung theology expands its practical concern and overcomes the theoretical nihilism in postmodern studies.

Contents: Minjung Theology and Its Minjung-Centered Perspective – A Reformulation of the Idea of the Minjung Messiah – Philosophical Contributions of Process Panentheism and its Relevance to the Idea of the Minjung Messiah – A Dialogue between the Idea of the Minjung Messiah and Process Panentheism – Minjung Hermeneutics.

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The Protestant Church in China is growing very fast. However, the role of the Church in society is still fragile and marginal. The Church needs a strong ethical and structural development. This study analyses the theological, ethical and ecclesiological heritage of the Reformation and it shows how this can build the foundation for the future of the Church in China. Four models serve as orientation: the Reformers Luther and Calvin and the theologians Bonhoeffer and Barth in the 20th century, with their vision of Christian faith and a humane society. The critical analysis of the missionary heritage since the 19th century shows its contribution for the acceptance of the tradition of the Reformation for the growing Church in China.

The author combines this theological and ethical perspective with the inculturation in the strong ethical tradition of the Chinese culture. He proposes the encounter between the spirituality of the Western culture and that of the traditional culture of China through the relationship with Confucianism. The book also offers elements for the dialogue around modern values such as human rights and civil society. In this dialogue, Chinese Protestantism can play more and more an important role.

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