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## The Reception of Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulas florum* in Calvinist Geneva: Sex and Marriage in Jacob Stoer's 1593 Edition

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The Reception of Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* in Calvinist  
Geneva: Sex and Marriage in Jacob Stoer's 1593 Edition

Nicholas Must

Bachelor of Arts, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2005

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of History  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Master of Arts

Wilfrid Laurier University

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of the first edition of Jacob Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum*, along with a comparison to an earlier edition (which served as Stoer's proximate source), based on topics relevant to marriage and sexuality. Placing Stoer's collection within the context of the Genevan printing industry and the Calvinist reforming of morals, this study shows how a popular medieval *florilegium* was brought into the era of the Reformation and confessionalization.

Examining the physical characteristics of Stoer's editorial work and the resultant effect on the message, it shows that, by employing a variety of editorial techniques, Stoer brought the *Manipulus florum* more into line with a Calvinist sexual ethic, creating not a thoroughly Calvinist text, but a collection of quotations that would have had pastoral and polemical value to Reformed ministers. To that end, this thesis also explores the various ways in which Stoer's version could have been employed in Calvinist communities.

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In a profound way, sixteenth-century Protestants ushered in a new form of marriage, something which occurred on many fronts, and which remains pertinent to the modern institution of marriage too. By rejecting both the sacramental nature of marriage and the esteemed position of celibacy, there was effected a fundamental change to the views of sexual morality. Marriage became repositioned as the ideal and natural sexual state, and it also gained in stature as a cornerstone of society. In Calvinist areas, there were important institutional changes as well, as the dynamics of power among secular and religious authorities *vis-à-vis* marriage were affected through, for instance, the enactment of marriage ordinances and the creation of consistories. The net effect of these changes served to create a uniquely Calvinist perspective on marriage, and sexuality more generally, a perspective which was not only different from that of other confessions, but consciously so. This moral and institutional re-ordering of sexuality, moreover, has remained relevant to the current day. In their efforts to shape and define moral behaviour, early modern Calvinists had many tools at their disposal. Famously, there was, as mentioned, the Consistory, a body made up of lay and church leaders, which was charged with regulating morals through interviews, admonishments and punishments. In conjunction with the mission of the Consistory, the task of inculcating confessional identity and reforming morals was also approached, significantly, through the medium of sermons. As a likely aid to that end, Jacob Stoer published, for the first time in 1593, a revised edition of the *Manipulus florum*, a Latin commonplace book, printed on his press in Geneva.

There have been a few studies concerned with the *Manipulus florum*, such as Richard and Mary Rouse's seminal work *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, which is an

extensive study on the formation and history of Thomas' collection.<sup>1</sup> Ann Moss, in *Printed Commonplace-Books*, frequently references the *Manipulus florum* in her discussion of *florilegia* and intellectual culture,<sup>2</sup> while Chris Nighman, beyond putting together a critical edition of Thomas' text, has offered a revisionist interpretation regarding Thomas' intention in constructing the *Manipulus florum*.<sup>3</sup> Within Reformation historiography, there has been research on the intellectual and doctrinal authority of patristic sources,<sup>4</sup> and on the importance of sermons in Protestant culture.<sup>5</sup> Both the Rouses and Ann Moss briefly discuss the influence of the *Manipulus florum* in the Reformation era, although without any real depth. Irena Backus, meanwhile, has also done some work on the existence of *florilegia* in Protestant intellectual culture, examining content and patristic authority in the framework of examining Protestant historical awareness.<sup>6</sup> However, there is a clear lack of scholarship concerned with the reception and utility of Protestant *florilegia*, or with looking at such texts according to their relationship with, and influence on, aspects of Protestant culture and confessionalization. Meanwhile, studies on Calvinist sexuality have concentrated on examining Consistory records, or the writings of important figures such as John Calvin

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<sup>1</sup> See Richard A. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979).

<sup>2</sup> See Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> See Chris L. Nighman, "Commonplaces on preaching among commonplaces for preaching? The topic *Predicacio* in Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*," *Medieval Sermon Studies* (49 [2005], 37-57). For the critical edition of the *Manipulus florum*, see *The Electronic Manipulus florum Project*, <<http://www.manipulusflorum.com>>.

<sup>4</sup> See Backus, *Historical method*; Scott H. Hendrix, "Deparentifying the fathers: the reformers and patristic authority", in *Tradition and Authority in the Reformation* (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1996, V55-V68); James W. Johanson, *The Exegetical Technique of John Chrysostom and his Influence upon Calvin* (MA Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> See, among many others, Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter four of Irena Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation, 1378-1615* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 196-252.



and Theodore Beza.<sup>7</sup> By thoroughly studying certain topics within Jacob Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* according to the collection's content and context, this paper provides a first step towards a better understanding of Protestant *florilegia*, while it also offers another possibility to further the understanding of the formation and inculcation of Calvinist gender constructions and sexuality.

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<sup>7</sup> For studies employing Consistory records, see the many articles in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, Raymond Mentzer ed. (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1994), and E. William Monter "The Consistory of Geneva, 1559-1569" in *Enforcing Morality in Early Modern Europe* (London: Variorum Imprints, 1987); for a study on gender and sexuality as found in Calvin's writings, see J.L. Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin, His Predecessors, and his Contemporaries* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1992).

THE *MANIPULUS FLORUM* AND JACOB STOER

The *Manipulus florum* was originally compiled in 1306, nearly three hundred years before Jacob Stoer's version first appeared. Created in Paris by Thomas of Ireland, the *Manipulus florum* was reproduced many times in manuscript form, and owned by both individuals and institutions.<sup>8</sup> This *florilegium*, filled with passages from patristic, medieval and classical sources, originally contained approximately 6000 quotations organized under 266 different topic headings; the topics were arranged according to absolute alphabetization, while the quotations within each topic-chapter were grouped according to author.<sup>9</sup> In that way, the topics proceeded from *Abstinencia*, *Abusio* and *Acceptio personarum* to *Xpianus* (*Christianus*) and *Xpus* (*Christus*), while each quotation within a topic was also assigned its own letter designation as a reference symbol (going through the alphabet thus: a, b, c...z, ab, ac...az, ba, bc...). At the end of each topic-chapter, moreover, there is a list of cross-references to direct the reader to thematically relevant quotations found in other topics. Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* was, then, at the cutting edge of medieval information technology, whereby ease of information retrieval and accessibility were important factors in construction and presentation. Thomas compiled his book of quotations from sources at the Sorbonne library, employing other florilegia such as the *Flores paradysi* and the *Liber exceptionum*, as well as a number of original source texts.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 162-164.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 117-121.

The authors in the text also possessed a specific organization, so that within each topic-chapter Augustine and the Fathers of the Church were presented first, followed by other theologians and then the pagan sources, with Seneca last.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-126.

The print tradition of the *Manipulus florum* began in 1483, when it was printed by Jacobus de Tyela at Piacenza.<sup>11</sup> In 1550, a pivotal edition was printed in Venice, an edition that contained many changes that would be continued through the rest of the text's print history. The changes included the replacement of Thomas' prologue by one written by the anonymous Venetian editor (which would, in turn, be replaced by later editors), the alteration of the title *Manipulus florum* to '*Flores doctorum*' (which, with slight variations, would be perpetuated through the later versions too), and the expansion of the topic headings *Xpianus* and *Xpus* into *Christianus* and *Christus*, changing their alphabetical position in the text accordingly.<sup>12</sup> Publication of the *Manipulus florum* then moved to Paris, Antwerp and Lyon; in the last of these it enjoyed a number of print runs, first under Guillaume Rouillé and then Thibaud Payen. Another pivotal edition was printed in 1567, in Lyon, when Payen produced an enlarged edition in which he added over 200 additional quotations and also a new topic (*Animal brutum*). Generally, Payen would mark his additions with an asterisk (\*).<sup>13</sup> It is this 'enlarged' edition that served as Stoer's source for his own edition.

Before briefly introducing the topic of Stoer's editorial hand, however, it must be explained that the actual editorial agency for the text is slightly obscured. In his introduction, Stoer explains that he enlisted the help of a learned scholar ("quodam Orthodoxae antiquitatis studioso") who remains nameless.<sup>14</sup> This could refer to a specific person, such as Theodore Beza or a scholar from the Genevan Academy, or to a reliance

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>13</sup> It was previously assumed that Payen marked all of his additions with asterisks (see Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 184). However, I have discovered that Payen added other quotations to the text, integrating them into the pre-existing lettering system without indicating them to be additions in any way. The exact number of lettered additions is not yet known, nor is the reason for utilizing two different systems for adding quotations.

<sup>14</sup> *Flores doctorum*... (Stoer, 1593), n.p.

on another text (by Jean Crispin or Calvin, for instance), or it could simply be a literary device to humbly divert credit from himself. Due to this indeterminacy, I refer to Stoer as the agent of editorial change within the text, his name being the only one definitely attached to the text. Moreover, it is in this introduction that Stoer briefly refers to the rationale behind offering a reworked version of the *Manipulus florum*. Stoer criticizes editors who have followed Thomas of Ireland, accusing them of allowing errors to creep in.<sup>15</sup> Stoer explains that, in order to rehabilitate the text, he “fixed the corruptions, supplied the omissions, and added what seemed necessary”.<sup>16</sup> This is the only reference to the need and impetus for revision and, of course, reveals nothing about the actual substance of Stoer’s editorial work.

Like Payen, Stoer added many quotations, marking most of them with daggers (†), while he also inserted many other quotations, without any indication, into the lettered structure of the *Manipulus florum*. Also like Payen, Stoer added completely new topic-chapters – *Adulterium*, *Clementia*, and *Zelus*. Unlike what Payen is known to have done, however, Stoer also purged the text of a number of quotations, and replaced some of them, but he indicated neither type of alteration in any way. Finally, Stoer also manipulated individual quotations by changing the wording and content within them. An example of this is seen in a quotation found in *Eucharistia* in which Stoer changed the word “in corruptabiliter” to “in corporaliter”, which, in this case, shrewdly brings the quotation more exclusively towards the Calvinist definition of the Eucharist.<sup>17</sup> In

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* “...vt collatis prioribus editionibus, et erroribus non paucis qui sciorum quorundam audacia et impurorum ingeniorum temeritate irrepserant”.

<sup>16</sup> “...corrupta emendaret, omnia suppleret, et adderet quae necessaria viderentur.”

<sup>17</sup> Nicholas Must, “Thoroughly or Sufficiently Calvinist? Establishing the Extent of the Calvinist Bias in Jacob Stoer’s 1593 Edition of the *Manipulus florum*, Based on Selected Quotations” (Senior Honour’s Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2005), 18.

printing an edition of the *Manipulus florum*, then, Stoer inherited important aspects of its tradition – from Payen, he inherited the notion of editing and expanding upon the original text. From Thomas of Ireland, Stoer inherited, first of all, a text whose primary purpose was usability; but, in terms of construction, Stoer also took from Thomas the concept that assembling the *Manipulus florum* meant not just compiling quotations, but also arranging them to suit a purpose.<sup>18</sup> That meant that a quotation found in the *Manipulus florum* could take many forms in relation to its original or proximate source other than a completely accurate transmission – an abbreviation of a longer passage, for instance, or the product of splicing together two or more separate passages.

In particular, previous research of mine has determined specific ways in which Stoer editorially engaged with the inherited version of the *Manipulus florum*, both physically and in terms of content, at least within certain topics.<sup>19</sup> This previous research was concerned with topics of a more theological nature, topics that were of great doctrinal conflict during the Reformation. These topics include *Eucharistia*, *Scriptura sacra*, *Confessio*, *Antichristus*, *Martyrium et martyres*, *Maria* and *Zelus*. By examining these topic-chapters, I was able to determine the many ways in which Stoer edited the text and also the various degrees to which his editorial work affected different topics.

In terms of the various forms of physical changes that Stoer made to the *Manipulus florum*, they range from adding quotations to a topic but leaving the inherited text unchanged, to adding and removing quotations from a topic, to completely changing a topic. An example of the first kind of editorial approach is *Scriptura sacra*, where Stoer retained all of the quotations found in Payen's edition, and then added several

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<sup>18</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Must, "Thoroughly or Sufficiently Calvinist?".

quotations. An example of the second kind of approach is seen in *Eucharistia*, where Stoer both added and removed quotations. Finally, *Antichristus* is an example of a case where Stoer completely changed the topic-chapter, by removing a number of quotations and replacing the rest. Stoer also had the option of indicating his changes by marking them with daggers, or of making more covert changes by incorporating his added quotations into the inherited system of alphabetization. Again, Stoer made use of both approaches, using daggers in topics such as *Eucharistia* and *Scriptura sacra*, while using the more covert method in topics such as *Confessio* and *Maria*. These different approaches probably reflect the relationship between Calvinism and the topic, as in how Calvinists simply rejected the Catholic doctrine of auricular confession and the Cult of Mary, whereas they offered an alternative interpretation of the nature of the Eucharist. Regardless, these various forms of editorial technique provided different forms of change to the content of the topics, and these substantial changes have a strong correlation to the type of editing technique employed.

Where Stoer simply added quotations to a topic, such as with *Scriptura sacra*, the effect was one of added emphasis or slight reorientation. In *Scriptura sacra*, Stoer added a number of quotations so that the topic-chapter remained more or less uniform in the message expressed, yet also expressed a perspective on Scripture that, in practice, agrees with a Protestant position more than a Catholic one. However, where Stoer performed a more thorough re-editing, such as with *Eucharistia*, a similarly more extensive reorientation of the topic's message is the result. *Eucharistia*, therefore, in Stoer's version, offers a perspective that is clearly Calvinist. Briefly, then, this is, at least with

these topics, how Stoer inherited and transmitted Payen's version of the *Manipulus florum*.

What is also true, then, is that Stoer also inherited Payen's expanded version as his proximate source for the *Manipulus florum*. Not only did he "seiz[e] with enthusiasm" the concept of an expanded edition, Stoer also used Payen's expanded edition as the base for his own, perpetuating in most cases Payen's asterisked additions, and his new topic-chapter *Animal brutum*.<sup>20</sup> Proximate sources for Stoer's additions are harder to determine, however. He would have had access to a large collection of original source texts at the Genevan Academy; for, although the Academy had passed its pre-eminent period, it contained a relatively extensive library and remained an important centre of higher learning and theological study.<sup>21</sup> A list of works printed in Geneva during the few decades prior to Stoer's first publication of the *Manipulus florum* reveals that many pertinent works were, indeed, available in that town. Works by Tertullian and Cyprian were printed together in 1580, Cyprian's *Opera* was printed in 1593, and Augustine's *Liber de haeresibus* was printed twice (1576, 1578), while Stoer himself printed Plutarch (1576) and Cicero (1592), and extracts from Chrysostom's *Homeliae* (1593).<sup>22</sup>

Another possible source for Stoer's additions is found in other florilegia available at the time, especially Protestant florilegia. Collections such as Martin Bucer's *Unio dissidentium* and Jean Crispin's *Bibliotheca studii theologici* contain quotations that also appear as additions in Stoer's edition of the *Manipulus florum*, and they both predate

<sup>20</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*. 184.

<sup>21</sup> Karin Maag, *University or Seminary?: The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> Paul Chaix et al., *Les Livres Imprimés à Genève de 1550-1600* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966, c1959), *passim*.

Stoer's publication.<sup>23</sup> Crispin's florilegium, above all, would have been the most convenient, since its format was more similar to that of the *Manipulus florum*, and since, as a product of Calvinist scholarship, its contents would have had approval *ipso facto* within Calvinist circles. Moreover, Stoer apprenticed with Crispin when he first arrived in Geneva.<sup>24</sup> As Stoer arrived in Geneva just a couple years after Crispin's first publication of the *Bibliotheca*, it is possible that Stoer even participated in reprinting the text under Crispin.

The first section of Crispin's text is filled with passages taken from the works of Augustine, and organized according to topic. Some topic-headings include *Coniugio*, *Antichristo et cetera*, *Ornatu et habitu indecenti*, *Haeresibus*, *Abstinentia* and *Luxuria seu libidine*, among many others, and thus dealing with themes similar to those of Stoer's editorial work.<sup>25</sup> The second part of Crispin's text is like the first, although shorter and dedicated to Jerome. The third part, meanwhile, offers a series of biographical sketches of other patristic writers followed by topically-organized quotations taken from those same writers. Again, this third section includes quotations which are topically relevant to the editorial work of Stoer, being grouped according to subject-headings, like earlier sections, such as *Antichristo*, *Haerectico*, and *Coenae Dominicae*.

Both texts contain some of the same passages from Augustine's *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus CXXIV* in their respective topic-chapters related to the Eucharist.<sup>26</sup> Both texts also contain passages in common from Augustine's *De bono coniugali*, both

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<sup>23</sup> Martin Bucer (under the pseudonym Hermann Bodius), *Unio dissidentium* (Cologne, 1531); Jean Crispin, *Bibliotheca studii theologici* (Antwerp, 1581, c. Geneva, 1555).

<sup>24</sup> Paul Chaix, *Recherches sur l'Imprimerie à Genève de 1550 à 1564* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1954), 223.

<sup>25</sup> Whereas Thomas of Ireland used nouns in the nominative case to title his topics, Jean Crispin used nouns in the ablative case without prepositions for his topic headings.

<sup>26</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 365; *Bibliotheca studii*, I.75.2, I.80.1.



within their topic-chapters concerning marriage.<sup>27</sup> It is possible, then, that Stoer obtained some of his quotations from Crispin's *florilegium*. There is, however, evidence that would indicate that Crispin's text was not, in fact, used as a source by Stoer. For instance, within their topic-chapters on Scripture, both editors provide quotations from Hilary's *Libri de trinitate*, but there are no passages common to both texts.<sup>28</sup> In another case, both Crispin and Stoer include the same passage from Cyprian's *Sermo de coena Domini* in their topic-chapters on the Eucharist. However, while in Crispin's text the passage ends at "...connectimur et unimur", Stoer's text presents a slightly longer excerpt from Cyprian, including another few lines of text.<sup>29</sup> So, whereas in other cases of overlapping quotations it was Crispin who offered a longer version, it was, in this case, Stoer who did so. Thus, while in the former cases it would have been possible for Stoer to reproduce, in whole or in part, quotations gleaned from Crispin's collection, in the latter case it would have been clearly impossible for that to be the case. Therefore, it would be very difficult to determine whether Crispin's *Bibliotheca studii* was a proximate source for Stoer's additions to the *Manipulus florum*. Many passages *could* have come from Crispin's text, but there is much evidence which indicates that in instances where Stoer might have been able to make us of Crispin's text he did not, in fact, do so.

<sup>27</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 174; *Bibliotheca studii*, I.268.1-I.268.2.

<sup>28</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 892; *Bibliotheca studii*, III.59.2-III.60.1.

<sup>29</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 363-364; *Bibliotheca studii*, III.90.2, "Haec quoties agimus, non dentes ad mordendum acimus, sed pane[m] sanctu[m] sincera fide frangimus et distribuimus, du[m] quod diuinu[m] et quod humanu[m] est distinguimus et separamus, itemque separata simul iungentes vinum Deum et hominem fatemur. Sed et nos ipsi corpus eius effecti sacramento et re sacramenti capiti nostro connectimur et vnimur singuli alter alterius membra, ministerium dilectionis pro inuicem exhibentes, communicamus charitate, participamus solitudine, eundem cibum manducantes, et eundem potum bibentes, qui de petra spirituali profluit et emanate, qui cibus et potus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus." [This is the passage as found in Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum*, while the underscore indicates the part that is also found in the *Bibliotheca*.]

Perhaps Stoer used Crispin's collection as a guide for further reading, which is how many *florilegia* were intended to be used and actually employed. Even Thomas of Ireland refers to this in his preface of the original version of the *Manipulus florum*, where he states: “[b]ut do not despise the fertile original field on account of these paltry ears of grain, for he who strives to warm himself with sparks and neglects the fire is unwise, and so too is he who tries to quench his thirst with droplets and ignores the fountain”.<sup>30</sup> Finally, Crispin's *Bibliotheca studii* may still have been important to Stoer as demonstrative of the possibility of a Latin commonplace book for Protestant (or Calvinist) consumption. For, while there may have been a narrower market for such *florilegia* in Protestant areas as compared to Catholic ones, both publishers and consumers did exist. As Irena Backus explains, while Catholic *florilegia* were aimed at both clergy and laity – or a “cultivated reader in general” –, Protestant *florilegia* were more exclusively “intended for pastors”.<sup>31</sup> Stoer's edition of the *Manipulus florum*, like those texts alluded to in Backus' general observation, would have also been useful to pastors, especially itinerant ministers since, like Crispin's *florilegium*, it is what Backus describes as “a handy collection of patristic quotations which they could incorporate into their work without ever having access to the full text of the fathers”.<sup>32</sup> Again, Thomas of Ireland, in his preface, states that it seemed to him “more useful to have a few sayings of the doctors at hand rather than too many”.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, many physical characteristics of Stoer's text, along with the nature of the Genevan printing industry, also indicate that Stoer's text was likely intended for Calvinist ministers, both in Geneva and abroad.

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<sup>30</sup> Thomas of Ireland's Preface to the *Manipulus florum*, Chris Nighman trans., as found at: <<http://www.manipulusflorum.com>>, n.p.

<sup>31</sup> Backus, *Historical method*, 251.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas of Ireland's Preface to the *Manipulus florum*, n.p.

Concerning the physical aspects of Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum*, there are two important features that shed light on the intended audience and destination of the text. The first is the size of Stoer's text. Jacob Stoer printed his version of the *Manipulus florum* in small formats, such as in *sexdecimo* or *octavo*. These were the most common sizes of books that were intended for export from Geneva, as they were most conducive to the clandestine book trade to France – known as the system of *colportage* – leading up to and during the French Wars of Religion.<sup>34</sup> These small sizes were cheaper to print, easier to conceal, and a *colporteur* could carry many more volumes than would have been possible with a larger format. Furthermore, this small format also would have been attractive and useful from the point of view of the itinerant minister, for these same reasons of concealability and portability. Secondly, Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* was printed *sine loco*. A book coming from Geneva would have raised the suspicions of the French authorities and, in fact, books originating from Geneva (or from other Protestant areas) became illegal in France after the Edict of Châteaubriand of 1551; the Edict also forbade books without the publisher's name and place of publication (and although this article was ostensibly directed at domestic publishers, any book without this information was immediately suspect).<sup>35</sup> Perhaps as a response, many copies of Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* had a place of publication added later, by hand stamp,

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<sup>34</sup> A good overview and chronological treatment of this book trade and its context is Francis M. Higman. "French-speaking regions, 1520-62", in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by Jean François Gilmont, trans. by Karin Maag (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998, c1990).

<sup>35</sup> Edict of Châteaubriand, 27 June 1551, registered by the Parlement of Paris 3 September 1551, as found in *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, ed. by F.A. Isambert. (Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg, 1964-1966. Vol. 2, 189-208), Article VI: "...à toutes personnes soient nos subjects et autres quelconques, d'apporter en nos royaumes et pays de nostre obéissance aucuns livres quels qu'ils soient, de Genève, et autres lieux notoires séparés de l'union et obéissance de l'Eglise et du sainte siège apostolique, sur peine de confiscation de biens et punition corporelle." Article IX: "Et ne pourront lesdits imprimeurs imprimer aucuns livres si non en leurs noms et en leurs officines et ouvroirs, comme dit est, sans ce qu'ils supposent le non d'autrui, sur peine de confiscation de corps et de biens, et d'estre déclarez faussaires."

being stamped either accurately as from Geneva, or falsely as from Cologne.<sup>36</sup> Most likely, the name provided is an indication of the intended destination of that copy of the text, so that it would be stamped as coming from Cologne if it was destined for Huguenot communities in Catholic France, or stamped as coming from Geneva if the book was expected to remain in Protestant lands. Finally, with regards to the *Manipulus florum*, Stoer might also have taken into consideration the practice of producing ‘pseudo-Catholic’ texts, whereby a Protestant book was discreetly distributed with an unassuming Catholic title, and sometimes a vague preface as well.<sup>37</sup> This would have been very plausible, since there were editions of the *Manipulus florum* coming off the presses of French Catholic printers contemporaneously with Stoer printing his own version;<sup>38</sup> Stoer’s preface, meanwhile, states that he is simply rehabilitating the text of Thomas of Ireland, a man whom he greatly esteems.<sup>39</sup> With some of the other texts that Jacob Stoer printed, he practiced several other methods characteristic of the clandestine book trade. For example, he engaged in the method of providing books with a false publisher’s name and address in an attempt to evade French censors; it has been found that he occasionally produced books purportedly printed by Pierre Davantes in La Rochelle.<sup>40</sup> The Genevan printing industry more generally also provides indications as to the likely intended market.

<sup>36</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 185.

<sup>37</sup> Gabrielle Berthoud, “Livres Pseudo-Catholiques de Contenu Protestant”, in *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse*, by G. Berthoud et al. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1957), 143-146.

<sup>38</sup> See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 243-244: There were editions printed throughout the 1570s up until 1580 in Lyon, and also in Venice, Antwerp and Cologne. The next ‘Catholic’ edition was published in 1606, in Cologne. This 1606 edition included an introduction which denounced Stoer’s version (Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 185-186).

<sup>39</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), n.p.

<sup>40</sup> Louis Desgraves, “Les Relations entre les imprimeurs de Genève et de la Rochelle à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle” in *Cinq Siècles d’Imprimerie Gènevoise: Actes du Colloque International sur l’Imprimerie et du Livre à Genève, 27-30 avril 1978* (Genève: Société d’histoire et d’archéologie, 1980), 203. “L’usage des fausses adresses typographiques destinées à tromper la censure ou à faciliter l’écoulement d’une contrefaçon était un procédé fréquemment utilisé par les imprimeurs”.

Soon after the reformation of Geneva, and due to the increased persecution in France, the population of Geneva began to swell with French Protestants, arriving as religious refugees. Among these refugees, there was a large number of Protestant printers arriving from Paris, Lyon and elsewhere. They were one of the more visible segments of the Huguenot population in their native France, and it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to operate their presses faced with mounting scrutiny and harassment by French officials trying to root out heresy. As a result, more than 130 printers and vendors came to Geneva between 1550 and 1560 in order to re-establish themselves and continue their profession.<sup>41</sup> Beyond those immigrants already part of the trade, many more became apprenticed to the printing industry after arriving in Geneva, Jacob Stoer included.<sup>42</sup> Jacob Stoer was born outside of Strasbourg, in the town of Otlingen, in the year 1542.<sup>43</sup> In 1559, he arrived in Geneva and began his printing apprenticeship, first with Jean Crispin and later with Jean Rivery. As an apprentice, Stoer first had the chance to work for important Genevans such as Jean Sleidan, Theodore Beza and Calvin himself.<sup>44</sup> Stoer became an independent printer in 1568, having purchased a press from Rivery and, in the same year, Stoer gained bourgeois status in Geneva. From then until his death, Stoer remained an active printer, producing many books of various genres in French, Latin, German and Italian. He was best known as a printer of legal texts and school books, but also printed a wide variety of other genres, ranging from classical works to religious and spiritual books to scientific texts.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Francis M. Higman, "French-speaking regions, 1520-62". 113.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Chaix, *Recherches*, 223.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 223-224. Also the source for the following biographical information.

<sup>44</sup> Alain Dubois, "L'éditeur réformé Jacob Stoer (1542-1610): Recherches sur son officine typographique d'après la bibliographie de ses éditions", <<http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/document1071.html>>, n.p.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

For instance, he printed books by Théodore de Bèze (*Adversus sacramentariorum errorem...* in 1574) and Jean Calvin (*Soixante cinq sermons... sur l'harmonie ou concordance des trois évangélistes...* in 1590),<sup>46</sup> among other contemporaries. He printed both Bibles and Psalters (*La Bible* and *Les Psaumes de David*, in 1580), as well as Augustine (*De civitate Dei libri XXII*, in 1596).<sup>47</sup> Finally, he also printed classical literature such as Plutarch (*Les oeuvres morales et meslées...* in 1576) and books on medicine (*Universa medicina, tribus et viginti libris absoluta...* by Jean Fernel, in 1578).<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Jacob Stoer was a rigorous and committed Calvinist, and he was also very much occupied with financial and commercial concerns, both of printing and more generally – he had a successful print shop and store in Geneva, a small shop at the Frankfort book fair for decades, links with vendors as far away as England, and worked closely with book-sellers from Lyon and La Rochelle throughout his career, while he also earned income from the sale of wheat and wine.<sup>49</sup> When these two forces in Stoer's life came into conflict with each other, the result was being called before the Company of Pastors at least once for his printing activities.<sup>50</sup> On the whole, though, Stoer appears to have led a commendable life both as a Calvinist and as a printer.<sup>51</sup> Important for the purposes of this paper is what Stoer's emphasis on commercial success and what his commercial ties to Lyon and elsewhere may mean for his decision to publish the

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<sup>46</sup> Paul Chaix et al., *Les Livres Imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966, c1959), 80, 127.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 96, 146.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 87, 92.

<sup>49</sup> Alain Dubois, "L'éditeur réformé", n.p.

<sup>50</sup> Bernard Lescaze, "Livres voles, livres lus à Genève au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Cinq Siècles d'Imprimerie Gènevoise*, 139. "Jacob Stoer doit comparaître en 1592 pour avoir imprimé le *Silva nuptialis* pour le marchand Vincent. Lorsqu'on lui demande s'il ne sait pas que de tels livres sont interdits, il répond que celui-ci n'est pas du nombre des livres prohibés par les arrêts du Conseil, comme le sont certains livres religieux. Il est tout de même renvoyé avec de bonnes remontrances".

<sup>51</sup> Alain Dubois, "L'éditeur réformé", n.p.

*Manipulus florum* and his expectation of a sufficient market. For, while the multiple print-runs and long print history of Stoer's version testify to the popularity of the text, Stoer must have had some initial indication that his version of the *Manipulus florum* would be commercially viable. He must, therefore, have had a fairly good idea of the text's likely market, informed by the genre of the text itself, but also by the nature of the Genevan printing industry and its markets, and Stoer's own commercial networks.

As was previously noted, Geneva experienced a dramatic increase in the number of resident printers during the middle of the sixteenth century. This transformed Geneva from a modest printing centre to one of much greater importance. As Colin Clair has noted, "[w]hat Basel was to Germany as a production centre of Reformation writings, so Geneva was to France".<sup>52</sup> For, the vastly increased book production necessitated foreign markets as there were far too many books produced for solely local consumption, while most of the printers in Geneva were of French origin. Added to this was Calvin's own strong desire to "win his homeland for Reformed Christianity".<sup>53</sup> These conditions resulted in the Genevan printing industry being very export-oriented, both by necessity and design, and able to address the various needs, both pastoral and polemical, of a militant confession, while not ignoring the domestic market either. In many ways, then, Jacob Stoer was both a product of, and a reflection of, the Genevan printing industry in which he earned his livelihood.

From this evidence, it is clear that Jacob Stoer, as a printer, was knowingly a participant in the clandestine book trade that characterized the Genevan printing industry at this time and, furthermore, that his version of the *Manipulus florum* was very likely

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<sup>52</sup> Colin Clair, *A History of Printing* (London: Academic Press, 1976), 183.

<sup>53</sup> Fredric J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 142.

intended to be a part of it. That is, the text was created not only for local consumption, but also to be easily carried to Calvinist communities near and far. To add Backus' observations into this consideration, the text would have been intended, specifically and primarily, for Calvinist ministers. Moreover, the *Manipulus florum* itself was commonly employed as a sermon aid and recommended as such prior to the Reformation,<sup>54</sup> and perhaps this reputation entered into Stoer's decision to print his own version.

During the rise and spread of Calvinism, we can describe ministers as falling into one of two categories: itinerant ministers and those with settled congregations. At first, as Calvinism initially spread outwards from Geneva, most ministers would have been of the mobile sort, proselytizing and attempting to win converts. However, as the Reformed faith took root – in France, Holland, the Palatinate and Scotland, for instance – and established permanent churches, more and more pastors would have become sedentary, ministering to the needs of a newly-formed fixed congregation. In both circumstances, Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* would have been a very useful instrument to facilitate preaching. It was very portable and served as a substitute for a library of source texts. Certain topic-chapters would have been useful during the process of conversion, whereas others, perhaps, would have been more applicable for later processes, such as that which has been called the reforming or enforcement of morality, or the creation of a 'godly society' – the socio-cultural aspects of confessionalization. Among such processes of reformation was the re-ordering of sexual ethics in which, again, Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* might have proved useful.

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<sup>54</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 188-197.



## SEX AND MARRIAGE IN CALVINIST GENEVA

In the Calvinist program to reform society, the reformation of sexual morality involved a complex and multi-faceted formula. There were various structures in place to effect the process of reform and, importantly, it involved not just a stricter adherence to a system of morals, but a re-evaluation of the system that dictated what constituted licit and morally proper sexuality. The most fundamental change concerning the construction of a new sexual ethic was focused on the redefinition of marriage. The inherited sexual ethic was that which came from the medieval Catholic Church, and which developed as the product of a long tradition of various writings and teachings, and Canon Law, powerfully shaped and streamlined by Peter Lombard and Gratian, by commentaries and glosses, and reiterated during the Catholic Reformation by the Council of Trent and new orders, such as the Jesuits.<sup>55</sup> At the most general level, the medieval Catholic position held that marriage was a sacrament but that, in the hierarchy of sexual states, it was less esteemed than celibacy. Since marriage was a sacrament, it was indissoluble. Therefore, divorce with the ability to remarry was not an option, although separations were possible, as were annulments, if it was found that not all of the conditions for a proper marriage had been met. Furthermore, due to its sacramental nature, performing the matrimonial rites was the exclusive monopoly of the Church, although clandestine marriages were also considered valid, since God was present. Within marriage, sexual relations were, officially at least, very much regulated and curtailed. Marriage was what made sex permissible, or excusable, since sex was then directed towards legitimate procreation and

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<sup>55</sup> Pierre J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 5; James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 485, 563-564.

the avoidance of fornication, under the auspices and permanence of a sacrament;<sup>56</sup> sex, meanwhile, in a reciprocal manner, was necessary to establish a proper marriage through consummation and fulfilment of the marriage debt.<sup>57</sup> Perceptions of marital sexuality were also informed by a comparison to chastity or celibacy, the avowed sexual state of priests, monks and nuns, and the sexual state that was seen as the most holy and pleasing to God. Yet, even in the Middle Ages, marriage was understood as the “connective tissue” of society.<sup>58</sup> Marriage, then, and the sexuality therein, occupied an often ambivalent and conflicted position within medieval Catholic sexual morality. It was the most common form of sexual organization and a sacrament, but also in competition with celibacy from a spiritual perspective. This remained the case from the High Middle Ages, through the Black Death and into the Catholic Reformation, as little changed conceptually about the Church’s view of sexuality. The Tridentine decretal *Tametsi* reiterated the essential Catholic ideas about marriage, while making marriage laws more rigid and making it more difficult to contract clandestine marriages.<sup>59</sup> Ignatius Loyola, meanwhile, in his *Spiritual Exercises*, echoed earlier religious thinkers, stating that Catholics must “praise highly religious life, virginity, and continency; and matrimony ought not to be praised as much as any of these”.<sup>60</sup> This conception of sexual morality was the natural starting point for the Calvinist redefinition (as with Protestantism more generally), as it was the dominant view in Europe at that time. It was also, therefore, the Calvinist point of departure, and that from which Calvinism set itself apart.

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<sup>56</sup> Pierre J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire*. 81.

<sup>57</sup> James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 504.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 497.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 563-564.

<sup>60</sup> Ignatius Loyola, “To Have the True Sentiment”, in *Spiritual Exercises*, (n.d., “Christian Classics Ethereal Library”, < <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/ignatius/exercises.html/>>).

A pivotal shift in the redefinition of marriage came when Calvin, echoing earlier Protestant ideas, removed its sacramental status. In his *Institutes*, Calvin states that, while marriage is an “institution of God”, it is not a sacrament, since “in a sacrament, the thing required is not only that it be a work of God, but that it be an external ceremony appointed by God to confirm a promise”.<sup>61</sup> He goes on to say that the Catholic reasoning – that marriage is a sacrament because it is a sign of Christ’s union with the Church – is erroneous and that, if it were to be accepted, it would make every biblical metaphor, all the “parables and similitudes in Scripture”, sacraments as well.<sup>62</sup> He does not deny that marriage serves as a sign and metaphor for Christ’s union with the Church, only the conclusion that this makes it a sacrament. Calvin, therefore, rejected the theological basis upon which the Catholic definition of sacramental marriage was founded. This, then, led to certain structural and conceptual changes for the institution of marriage. Since marriage was no longer considered a sacrament, it was no longer necessarily indissoluble, and soon divorce entered into the discourse of marriage as a possible response to adultery or desertion. Celibacy, while still a legitimate sexual option, was no longer revered as superior to marriage but, rather, as a unique gift given to only a few by God.<sup>63</sup> This was epitomized by the clergy who, under the Catholic Church were obliged to take vows of celibacy, but who, within the Reformed Church, were allowed, and indeed encouraged, to marry, as did Calvin himself. Again, Calvin notes what he sees to be inconsistencies and contradictions in the Catholic position, when he writes: “Marriage being thus recommended by the title of a sacrament, can it be anything but vertiginous levity afterwards to call it uncleanness, and pollution, and carnal defilement? How absurd is it

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<sup>61</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4, 19, 34.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 8, 42.

to debar priests from a sacrament?”<sup>64</sup> Marriage began to be viewed as the common “natural state” of men and women.<sup>65</sup> These shifting conceptions also generated a new focus for the purpose and value of marriage.

Marriage in Calvinist areas and in Protestant areas more generally was, therefore, no longer considered a sacrament, nor was it posited in an inferior position vis-à-vis virginity or celibacy. Marriage was, of course, still considered an ‘instrument of God’ but, importantly, it gained greater prominence as a social institution. That is, marriage was now seen more clearly as an essential element of society, as the foundation to familial and community relationships, and what Lyndal Roper, in describing the role of marriage in Lutheran Augsburg, calls the “corner-stone of its moral and religious universe”.<sup>66</sup> Marriage was already accepted as the “basis of social organization” in the Middle Ages;<sup>67</sup> the Reformation ushered in a period in which marriage was further promoted as such. This was another factor in the appearance of divorces – marriage became much more important in society, but so too did a properly functional and normative marriage. Celibacy, while no longer seen as a permanent sexual state, was emphasized as necessary outside of marriage; everyone was expected to remain chaste until they had a spouse with whom to have sex. If someone could not remain chaste in mind and body, which was considered to be nearly impossible, they were obliged to marry.<sup>68</sup> Fornication, already a sin, gained an added dimension as contrary to this proper progression towards marriage, and this added another inducement to marriage. In fact,

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<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 19, 36.

<sup>65</sup> André Biéler, *L’Homme et la Femme dans la Morale Calviniste*, (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1963), 38.

<sup>66</sup> Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals, in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 66.

<sup>67</sup> *Homo Carnalis* Helen Rodite Lemay ed., (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), iv.

<sup>68</sup> Calvin, *Institutes*, 2, 8, 43.

the virginity of the woman was an essential pre-condition of most marriages.<sup>69</sup> Adultery, too, was affected by this new emphasis on marriage, which can be seen in the hierarchy of punishments: adultery was penalized more severely than most other sexual offences because it undermined marriage, and cases in which both parties were married received the harshest punishment.<sup>70</sup> This, again, was a departure from the medieval condition in which adultery was seen as a predominantly female offence.<sup>71</sup> In another example, also from Augsburg, courts ceased to refer to prostitution or prostitutes and, instead, called them fornicators and adulterers, as a reflection of the centrality of marital concerns, and the negative effects of prostitution upon marriage.<sup>72</sup> Calvin, meanwhile, saw the presence of prostitution in soteriological terms.<sup>73</sup> This redefinition of marriage, then, had an important impact on all aspects of sexuality, both licit and illicit, as such things began to be judged based on their relationship to, or impact upon, marriage. Finally, within the marriage itself, the concept of an affective marriage (*affectus coniugalis*) became a central concern. The concept of ideal marriage now promoted the importance and benefit of intimacy and affection.<sup>74</sup> As a result, even sex was, to an extent, rehabilitated – sex in marriage was good, if it was tempered by modesty and sobriety.<sup>75</sup> Clearly, the Calvinist (or Protestant) process of redefining marriage had an important impact on its conceptual framework. The structural changes, however, are in many ways just as great.

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<sup>69</sup> Pierre Bels, *Le Mariage des Protestants Français, jusqu'en 1685*, (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1968), 204; “Ordonnance sur les mariages, le jeudi 13 de novembre, 1561”, as found in *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol.10 (G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss eds., Brunswick: C.A. Schwetschke et filium, 1871-1972; 105-114), 107.

<sup>70</sup> E. William Monter, “Women in Geneva (1550-1800)”, in *Enforcing Morality*, I.191-I.192.

<sup>71</sup> James A. Brundage, “Sex and Canon Law”, in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* Vern. L. Bullough and James. A. Brundage eds., (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996, 33-50), 42.

<sup>72</sup> Roper, *The Holy Household*, 112.

<sup>73</sup> Biéler, *L'Homme et la Femme*, 42.

<sup>74</sup> Bels, *Le Mariage*, 92; Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 581-582.

<sup>75</sup> Calvin, *Institutes*, 2, 8, 44.

The course taken during the process of reformation necessitated that many structural changes take place within Protestant societies. Both the ways that weddings were performed and the ways that the supporting ideas were inculcated and maintained went through important changes during the Reformation. The de-sacralization of marriage and the abolition of ecclesiastical courts in Protestant areas ended the two institutional means by which the Catholic Church had governed marriage and sexuality. From the fourteenth century onwards, secular authorities began to take a somewhat more active role in regulating sexual behaviour;<sup>76</sup> yet, in that regard, the Reformation was a major watershed. In Geneva and elsewhere, the vacuum left by the abolition of ecclesiastical courts was filled with a strong secular presence, in keeping with the ‘magisterial Reformation’ that typified mainstream Protestantism, and created a situation of ‘power sharing’. Marriage ordinances were passed by secular authorities (in 1545 and 1561 in Geneva), Calvinist Consistories were staffed by secular and religious leaders, and the corporal and fiscal punishments for illicit sexuality were meted out by secular authorities. Together, these institutions were able to carry out the functions necessary for officiating and regulating marriage and sexuality. However, it was also necessary to instill within the minds of Calvinist parishioners the new Reformed ideas that supported and informed this new sexual ethic. To do so, consistories played an important role, as did preaching.

The Consistory was one of the defining aspects of Calvinist communities and the Calvinist conception of regulating society. It served to correct moral lapses and transgressions and help members of the community remain on the proper path; it served, in E. William Monter’s words, to ‘enforce morality’. The Consistory performed this by

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<sup>76</sup> Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 487.

summoning any member of society who had reportedly erred in his or her way to account for their errors. A large number of Genevans were summoned before the Consistory every year, and it was a “remarkably intrusive institution”.<sup>77</sup> The Consistory’s punitive powers consisted of verbal disciplining and exhortations, while its most powerful weapon was excommunication. Excommunication was doubly effective as a punishment since it withheld the Eucharist from the offender, and because it was public and humiliating. For further punishments, however, cases had to be handed over to secular authorities. In cases of corporal punishment, banishments or, in extreme cases, death sentences, the Consistory would provide evidence, advice and recommendations to the town magistrates who possessed the power to punish, and it was they who authorized such punishments. However, the Consistory was only one aspect of the Calvinist process of creating and regulating a ‘godly society’. There was also, importantly, the preached word.

Many scholars have noted the centrality of sermons to the Protestant movements. They were integral to the teaching of Protestant theology and culture, and, in general, served as the “central pivot around which Protestant worship was shaped”.<sup>78</sup> From the pulpit, ministers would explain points of doctrine and articles of faith, and imbue the congregations with specific moral codes. It is this last point that is of interest here; for, if the Consistory was, in a sense, concerned with correcting moral failings after the fact, although not exclusively, the sermon can be seen as a medium of persuasion against those same acts before the fact. Issues of temperance and sumptuous living, for instance, were popular topics of Genevan sermons, even before and on the eve the Reformation.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Robert Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin’s Geneva* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 180.

<sup>78</sup> Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 38.

<sup>79</sup> André Biéler, *L’Homme et la Femme*, 29.

Moreover, while Protestant sermons were very much centered on the Bible, part of the “return to Scripture”,<sup>80</sup> Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* would still have been useful as a source for relevant and memorable quotations, ideas for expositions and exegetical examples. Furthermore, the *Manipulus florum* could have been useful for ministers in ways other than sermon writing too, since they, like their Catholic counterparts, were very active in moral control and counselling away from the pulpit, perhaps in areas where they were less bound by convention to rely as heavily on Biblical references. At the most general level, Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* would have been a very practical sourcebook for itinerant ministers, or for those in newly established churches or communities. So, considering the evident demand for the text, the orientation of the Genevan printing industry and Stoer’s printing career more specifically, along with the general understanding about the role and usage of *florilegia* in Protestant areas, it seems clear that Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* played a significant role during the later stages of the Reformation and confessionalization. Therefore, it is worthwhile to examine how, to what extent, and for which topics Jacob Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* reflects Calvinist positions on issues of moral integrity – specifically, sexual morality – to better understand how the text could have been used to reinforce those positions.

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<sup>80</sup> Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 19.



*CONIUGIUM: MARRIAGE REDEFINED*

As marriage was at the centre of the Calvinist refashioning of sexuality, it seems only fitting that *Coniugium* should, therefore, be the first topic-chapter examined. This section examines the editorial work performed on the topic by Jacob Stoer and the resultant shift in message, looking at what Stoer removed from the topic, what he added, and finally how, and to what extent, the final product offers a perspective on marital issues consistent with a Calvinist position. In general, Calvinists were concerned with rehabilitating the institution of marriage as a sexual state and as a social institution, with promoting it as a social good, and with defining their specific stance with regard to contracting and dissolving a marriage. In many ways, Stoer's editorial work reflects this same project.

In the first place, Jacob Stoer removed the most inflammatory and anti-marriage quotations from the version of the *Manipulus florum* that he inherited from Thibaud Payen. Most of these are taken from two sources: a tract titled *De nuptiis* of unknown authorship and Walter Map's short satirical letter, *Dissuasio Valerii ad Rufinum ne ducat uxorem*.<sup>81</sup> These quotations that were removed do not provide theological reasons against marriage, but are, rather, sardonic passages that provide 'warnings' about the dangers of marriage. The first five quotations, *Coniugium m* to *Coniugium q*, that Stoer removed all come from the *De nuptiis*, and are all concerned with describing perceived pitfalls of a man taking a wife, or of contracting a marriage. *Coniugium m*, for instance,

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<sup>81</sup> The author of the *De nuptiis* may be Hugo of St. Victor, and that is how it is cited in the *Manipulus florum*. However, the text relies heavily on Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, almost exclusively so in the passages found in the *Manipulus florum*. The *Dissuasio* is attributed to Valerius Maximus in the *Manipulus florum*.

explains the incompatibility of being a scholar and having a wife, bluntly stating that “a wise man must not take a wife, first because his study of philosophy will be impeded, and also it is impossible to attend equally to books and a wife”, since wives will take up too much time and money.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, *Coniugium o* states that, with a wife, one “must always praise her beauty”, that if you let her manage the house you must become her slave and, finally, that if you keep anything from her, “she will have the poison ready”.<sup>83</sup> While these two passages reflect an opinion about perceived problems within marriage, two of the other passages are more concerned with the process of entering into marriage.

*Coniugium n* offers a sort of *caveat mariandus* when taking a wife. It says that, although cattle, slaves and other wares are “first tried and then bought[,] only a wife is not shown before”, so that her shortcomings, like a bad temper or blemishes, are not known until after marriage.<sup>84</sup> *Coniugium q* takes another perspective by decrying the materialistic reasons that many men marry, stating that “men now do not take wives to avoid fornication but for the sake of lust, not for the sake of progeny, but for riches”, and that men, when looking to take a wife, “do not use their eyes, but their fingers”.<sup>85</sup> In these four examples, there is a blatant anti-marriage attitude presented, based not upon

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<sup>82</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Payen, 1567), 165. “Non uxor ducenda sapienti, primum quia studia philosophiae impedit, nec potest quisqua[m] libris et uxori pariter inservire. Multa sunt, quae matronarum usibus necessaria sunt, videlicet pretiosae vestes, aurum, gemmae, sumptus, ancillae, supellex varia, deinde per totas noctes garrulae quaestiones.”

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 166. “Attendenda est semper eius facies, et pulchritudo laudanda, ne si alteram inspexeris, se existimet displicere. Si totam domum ei regendam commiseris, serviendum est. Si aliquid tuo arbitrio reservaveris, fidem sibi haberi non putabit. Et in odium vertitur, et iurgia. Et nisi cito consulveris, parabit venena anus.”

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* “Adde quod nulla est uxoris electio: sed qualis advenerit, talis sit habenda. Si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si foetida, quodcunque vitium est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis, et vilissima mancipia prius probantur, et sic emuntur: sola uxor non ostenditur, ne ante displiceat, quam ducatur.”

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* “Ducuntur hodie uxores non causa fornicationis vitandae, sed causa luxuriae: non causa proles, sed causa pecuniae. Unde Marci Catonis filia iunior, quu[m] quaereretur ab ea, cur post amissum virum denuo non nuberet, respondit se non invenire virum, qui se magis vellet, quam sua, quo dicto eleganter ostendit divitias magis in uxoribus eligi solere, quam pudicitiam, et multos non oculis, sed digitis uxores ducere.”

religious reasons, but upon the lasciviousness of women and the worldliness of men, with a discernable misogynistic undercurrent. Meanwhile, the misogynistic sentiments become, if anything, more acute in the other passages that Stoer removed from the topic-chapter *Coniugium*.

The next set of quotations omitted by Stoer, *Coniugium r* to *Coniugium z*, all come from Walter Map's *Dissuasio*, and they present arguments against marriage akin to those just examined, save that the sentiments expressed in the passages taken from Map are often done so in a more blunt and severe language, and offer quite extreme examples against taking a wife. *Coniugium r*, for example, says that "a disobedient wife is an affront to her husband", and that, using the example of David and Bathsheba, even a silent or obedient wife can cause ruin.<sup>86</sup> *Coniugium t* and *Coniugium u* use similar examples, citing the cases of Solomon and Jupiter respectively. *Coniugium t* notes that Solomon, the "sun of men", went from being the Lord's preacher to a member of the devil because of women.<sup>87</sup> *Coniugium u* warns the reader to be wary of women, unless he is "greater than Jove", lest he, like Jupiter, be "reduced to lowing by a woman".<sup>88</sup> In these examples, the argument criticizing marriage is made by an appeal to its destructive power against great men. In the others taken from the *Dissuasio*, such appeals are absent, but the antagonistic rhetoric is increased.

Accordingly, *Coniugium s* states that an excellent woman is "rarer than a phoenix" but that she cannot be loved without bitterness and misfortune, while bad

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-167. "Amice contumelia viri, uxor inobedie[n]s, cave tibi. Veritas quae non potest falli, ait de beato David: Inveni virum secundu[m] cor meum, hic tamen egregie[m] praecipitatus est amore mulieris ab adulterio in homicidium: amica Bethsabée siluit, in nullo malignata est: nihilominus facta est stimulus subversionis viro perfecto, et mortis aculeus innocenti marito."

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 167. "Sol hominum Salomon... lucem animae suae, gloriam domus suae foeminarum facinore amisit, et postremo curvatus coram Baalim ex Ecclesiaste Domini, mutatus est in membrum Zabuli."

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* "Amice ecce, quem bonitas super coelos extulit, foemina brutis comparavit, poterit et te foemina cogere ad mugitum, si non es maior love."

women, who are all too common, can afflict the men who love them so as to effect the “dividing of the body and the soul”.<sup>89</sup> In these formulations, marriage is inevitably a hardship for men, regardless of the disposition of the wife. In *Coniugium x*, an even more vicious misogynistic and anti-marital message is expressed, in the form of a dialogue between Patimius and his neighbour Arrius. In it, Patimius, distraught, explains to Arrius how all three of his wives have hanged themselves from the same tree in his garden. Arrius responds in three cruel, clever ways: first, by being amazed that Patimius would actually be sad after such events; second, quipping “what expenses that tree has suspended for you”; and third, asking for cuttings from the tree to plant himself.<sup>90</sup> The passage ends by cautioning the reader that he may be forced to ask for such cuttings, but only after it is too late. In both of these examples, the misogynistic sentiment is strongly felt, as they posit that all women make poor wives and that the death of a wife should be celebrated. It seems clear, then, that for an agenda of rehabilitating marriage, these are counterproductive attitudes. It is the same case for the other quotations that Jacob Stoer removed from the text, both those that were presented here and those that were not. For, although the quotations did not assail marriage along religious lines – as reference to the Bible was for anecdotal purposes and not for doctrinal support – they were damaging due to the way they appealed to certain negative popular perceptions of women and marriage and, as such, created a uniformly negative view of women as wives.

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* “Optima foemina, quae rarior est Phoenice, amari non potest sine solitudinis amaritudine, et metus frequenter infortunii. Malae vero, quatum tam copiosa sunt examina, ut nullus locus sit expers malignitatu[m] earum, quum amantur, amare pugnant, et afflictioni vacant usque ad divisionem corporis et spiritus.”

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 167-168. “Patimus fiens ait Arrio vicino suo: Amice arborem habeo in horto meo infelicem, de qua se prima uxor mea suspendit, et postmodum secu[n]da, et iam nunc tertia. Cui arrius, Miror te in tantis successibus lachrymas invenisse. Et iterum, dii boni, quae dispendia arbor illa tibi suspendit, et tertio, amice da mihi de arbore illa surculos, quos feram amice, et ego dico tibi: metuo ne te oporteat arboris huius surculos mendicare, et inveniri non poterunt.”

Beyond being able to discern this attitude by a simple reading of the passages, it is interesting to note other instances of usage for the texts cited. Walter Map's *Dissuasio*, for instance, was cited (as a letter from Valerius to Rufinus) more than once in the *Malleus maleficarum*.<sup>91</sup> The *Malleus maleficarum* was the 'handbook' that strongly shaped processes and attitudes during the witch trials and, beyond offering a thorough and systematic program for identifying and prosecuting witches, it also organized and reiterated many anti-female ideas.<sup>92</sup> That the topic-chapter *Coniugium*, before Stoer's changes, and the *Malleus maleficarum* both share common sources may, therefore, point to the desired opinion of women to be presented in the *Manipulus florum*, at least in relation to the institution of marriage. It is clear, then, why a Calvinist would have wanted to remove these passages from the section of the *Manipulus florum* explicitly concerned with marriage, and so the reason that Stoer did, in fact, excise these quotations would indicate a rejection of the most flagrant misogynistic attitudes that informed the pre-Reformation Christian view of marriage. That Stoer intended a more substantial reorientation of the message expressed by the topic becomes even clearer when examining the quotations that he added to the topic-chapter *Coniugium*.

Whereas Jacob Stoer's approach to eliminating parts of *Coniugium* was to delete a group of thirteen quotations that all contained a similar theme, he added to the topic-chapter by including six quotations, all from Augustine, which support specific aspects of the Calvinist view of marriage. This is, perhaps, the most striking feature of Stoer's editorial work on this topic-chapter – the very efficient way in which he chose a handful of quotations to address concisely certain unique and integral aspects of the Calvinist

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<sup>91</sup> See Part I, Question VI of Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger's, *Malleus maleficarum*.

<sup>92</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 116-117.

conception of marriage. Moreover, while those that he eliminated were based on negative socio-cultural views of women and marriage, the passages that Stoer added offer a systematically more positive portrayal of marriage, having a much more religious inclination, making more explicit reference to Scripture and doctrine, while also emphasizing the innate goodness of marriage and its social utility.

With that in mind, a telling example is a quotation that Jacob Stoer took from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, which states that "the weakness of both sexes, with its propensity to shameful ruin, is rightly saved by honourable marriage", and goes on to say that marriage is not good because it transforms an evil (incontinence) into a venial sin, but that incontinence becomes allowable because marriage is good.<sup>93</sup> This is a delicate but important repositioning of the role of marriage in relation to sin. The pre-Reformation and Catholic position held that marriage was good and useful insofar as it functioned to direct a sin towards the productive purpose of the procreation of offspring (*ad officium*) and away from fornication (*ad remedium*) – Gratian's 'twofold institution of marriage'.<sup>94</sup> This quotation offers a different relationship between marriage and sexual intercourse as a sin. It posits that there is an innate goodness to marriage, and it is from this goodness that other positive aspects have their origin. This is an important statement for the purpose of rehabilitating marriage, since it esteems marriage in its own right, rather than due to a function that it performs, inverting the relationship of goods between sex and marriage. Similarly, another quotation which further substantiates claims to the

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<sup>93</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 173. "Utriusque sexus infirmitas propende[n]s in ruinam turpitudinis, recte excipitur honestate nuptiarum, ut quod sanis possit esse officium, sit aegrotis remedium. Neque enim quia incontinentia malum est, ideo connubium, vel quo incontinentes copulantur, non est bonum: imo vero non propter illud malum culpabile est hoc bonum: sed propter hoc bonu[m] veniale est illud malum: quoniam id quod bonum habent nuptiae, et quod bonae sunt nuptiae, peccatum nunquam esse potest."

<sup>94</sup> Payer, *The Bridling of Desire*, 63-64.

worthiness of marriage states that “the Lord confirmed the good of marriage in the Gospel”, appealing, in a secondary manner, to the authority of Scripture and Christ’s presence at the wedding in Cana.<sup>95</sup> Certain positive effects that result from marriage (as opposed to innately belonging to marriage) were also emphasized by Calvinists, especially the social function of marriage, which, again, is demonstrated in quotations added by Stoer.

One such quotation, which comes from Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*, says that marriage is good so that people may “be bound by the bonds of many different relationships”, and so that the greatest number of people will be devoted to a united social life.<sup>96</sup> This passage is saying, then, that marriage is instrumental in creating ties throughout a community, serving, in effect, as a cornerstone of society. Another quotation refers, again, to the good of marriage, stating that marriage is the good whereby incontinence is “turned to the honourable charge of having children”.<sup>97</sup> This was fundamental to the pre-Reformation understanding of sex and marriage, too; but, importantly, immediately preceding that statement, the passage, which comes from Augustine’s *De bono coniugali*, says that marriage is good, “not only because of the procreation of children, but also because of the companionship [it creates] between the two sexes”.<sup>98</sup> This quotation illustrates the view of marriage as having many functions: that of avoiding sin and having children, and of establishing social connections. This

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<sup>95</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 174. “Bonum co[n]iugii Dominus in evangelio co[n]firmavit...”

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 173. “Habita est enim ratio rectissima charitatis, ut homines quibus esset utilis et honesta concordia, diversarum necessitudinum vinculis neclerentur: nec unus in una multas haberet, sed singulae spargerentur in singulos: ac sic ad socialem vitam diligentis colliganda[m], plurimae plurimos obtinere[n]t.”

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 174. “Habet etiam id bonu[m], quod carnalis vel iuvenilis incontinentia, etiam si vitiosa est, ad propagandae prolis redigitur honestate[m], ut ex malo libidinis aliquid boni faciat copulatio coniugalis.”

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* “Coniugium mihi bonum videtur, no[n] propter solum filioru[m] procreatione[m], sed propter ipsam etia[m] naturale[m] in diverso sexu societatem.”

quotation, then, takes the medieval understanding of the goods of marriage and expands upon it by citing its social utility, while it also refers to another concept that was emerging within Reformation-era Protestantism: an affective relationship between the marriage partners.<sup>99</sup>

Next, Stoer added an interesting quotation, from Augustine's *De civitate Dei* again, that grapples with the issue of celibacy. It states that a married Christian (*fidelis*) is better than a celibate pagan (*infidelis*), that a married Christian with more faith (*obedientissimus Deo*) is better than a celibate Christian of less faith (*minoris fidei*), but that, with all things being equal, "who would hesitate to prefer a celibate person to a married one?"<sup>100</sup> The addition of this quotation by Stoer seems very intriguing, but perhaps the comparison of faithful to faithless would have found new resonance during the era of confessionalization. It must be remembered that the concept of celibacy was not completely abandoned by Protestants but, with their view of human lustfulness, a completely continent life was considered impossible to achieve for all but a few people. Indeed, Calvin himself says that God "clearly invites all who burn on account of the flesh to the legitimate use of [marriage]", intending that those who are able to remain chaste may do so, but that for those who cannot, which is the vast majority of people, marriage is the preferable and necessary state.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, socially, Calvinists saw marriage as better for a number of reasons. It established social links within communities and, unlike

<sup>99</sup> Bels, *Le Mariage*, 92: the notion of *affectus coniugalis*.

<sup>100</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 173-174. "Etiam si continentia coniugio praeferatur melior est tamen fidelis coniugatus, quam co[n]tinens infidelis. Sed continens infidelis homo non solum minus laudandus est, quia se continet, dum non credat: verum etiam multo magis vituperandus, quia non credit, cum se continet. Constituamus ergo ambos bonos: etia[m] sic profecto melior est coniugatus fidelissimus et obedie[n]tissimus Deo, qua[m] co[n]tinens minoris fidei, minorisq[ue] obedientiae. Si vero paria sint caetera, continentem coniugato praeferre quis ambigat?"

<sup>101</sup> John Calvin, *Concerning Scandals*, trans. by John W. Fraser (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1978), 104; Calvin, *Institutes*, 2, 8, 43.



celibate and isolated monastic communities, it tended towards maintaining that everyone, all laity and clergy included, worked for the spiritual and temporal good of the whole community. Spiritually, marriage and celibacy were equal, since Protestants had divorced from celibacy notions of increased piety or improved chances of salvation. Perhaps that is implicitly addressed in the quotation, since it ends by asking rhetorically “*praeferre quis ambigat?*”, implying a human judge of the comparison (“*what person would hesitate to prefer?*”), as opposed to stating “God prefers”, and, thus, defusing the message of some of its doctrinal potency. Nonetheless, it seems that, during a time of confessional debate and dialogue, this quotation could easily have been used effectively by Catholics, especially in challenging the Protestant doctrine of clerical marriage. Conversely, it could have been employed by Calvinists to imply that that married Calvinist minister (of greater faith) was preferable to a celibate Catholic priest (of lesser faith). It seems that this passage, like in so many other cases, could have been used by either side of the confessional divide, due to the existence of overlapping sources and authorities.

One final unique aspect of Calvinist marriage, beyond their view of the social and spiritual benefits, was the legal ability to dissolve a marriage, once consummated, and the ability to remarry. Indeed, divorce and remarriage, and the conditions thereof, had a unique incarnation in Calvinist areas, and this issue is addressed by one final quotation added by Stoer, although it is actually the first of the additions. In the Genevan Marriage Ordinances, two reasons are given that make divorce with the right to remarry permissible: adultery and abandonment.<sup>102</sup> There was also a third possibility, which was much debated and was discussed in Theodore Beza’s *Tractatio de repudiis et divortiiis*:

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<sup>102</sup> “Ordonnance sur les mariages”, 110-114.

the so-called Pauline Privilege, to be invoked when the two parties to the marriage were of different religious faiths.<sup>103</sup> The quotation provided by Stoer, which comes from one of Augustine's *Epistolae*, is concerned both with adultery and the Pauline Privilege, stating that "God has commanded that no one will divorce his wife, except for the cause of fornication", but that "if an unbeliever wishes not to remain with a believer, let the faithful one acknowledge his own liberty".<sup>104</sup> By adding this quotation, Stoer efficiently addresses two controversial aspects of the marital laws adopted by Calvinist Geneva providing patristic as well as biblical support, since Augustine closely cites (and Stoer reproduces) Matthew 19:9 in support of divorce in cases of adultery,<sup>105</sup> and I Corinthians 7, the Scriptural origin of the Pauline Privilege.<sup>106</sup> These are both important points to make, since the position expressed in this quotation is an unmistakable departure from the medieval Catholic position. For much of the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church held that adultery was "not destructive of marriage";<sup>107</sup> the Pauline Privilege, meanwhile, would have been a moot point in Catholic Europe before the Reformation. So, although abandonment was not directly addressed in Stoer's text, it may be because there was more familiarity with such an occurrence (since a husband, missing for a certain number of years was considered dead and the wife, therefore, allowed to remarry), and since it

<sup>103</sup> Theodore Beza, *Tractatio de repudiis et divortiiis* (Geneva, 1569), 275.

<sup>104</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 172-173. "Coniugib[us] christianis Dominus praecepit ne quisquam dimittat uxorem, excepta causa fornicationis. Ubi aut[em] quaelibet ex eis persona infidelis est, co[n]silium Apostoli atte[n]datur, ut si infidelis co[n]sentit habitare cum viro fideli, vir non dimittat uxorem. Similiter et uxor fidelis virum, si cu[m] illa habitare consenserit. Quod infidelis, inquit, discedit, discede[n]tis no[n] est servituti subiectus frater aut soror in huiusmodi. Id est, si infidelis noluerit esse cum coniuge fideli, hic agnoscat fidelis suam libertatem, ne ita se subiectum deputet servituti, ut ipsam dimittat fidem, ne coniugem amittat infidelem."

<sup>105</sup> Matthew 19:9: "And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery."

<sup>106</sup> I Corinthians 7:15: "But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace."

<sup>107</sup> Payer, *The Bridling of Desire*, 70.

was sometimes closely related to matters of differing faith, in a way conflating abandonment and invocation of the Pauline Privilege in some cases, tempering the controversial nature of the latter.<sup>108</sup> The Caracciolo case explored by Kingdon is a famous example of the conflation of desertion and the Pauline Privilege, or religious desertion. In that case, an Italian nobleman converted to the Reformed faith and moved to Geneva. However, his Catholic wife refused to join him. After much discussion and attempts to summon her to Geneva, it was determined that she had abandoned him, thus allowing him to divorce and remarry.<sup>109</sup> There were less famous cases too, but it was, of course, not as simple as that. Since Protestant churches accepted the validity of a marriage performed by the Catholic Church, converting did not nullify the union. So, in order to assure sincerity and avoid bigamy, there was a formal and drawn-out process to obtain such a divorce.<sup>110</sup> In any case, with the inclusion of this passage in support of divorce under certain circumstances, Stoer provides the final dimension for his short series of quotations which effectively support the Calvinist position on marriage.

Looking at the topic-chapter *Coniugium* as a whole, then, it seems clear that Stoer had very specific aims in mind, and that they were accomplished by means of eliminating a number of specific quotations, while adding a smaller group of quotations of great specificity. In the end, the topic-chapter is much more favourable towards marriage in general, and offers support to many important aspects of the Calvinist view of marriage. Stoer excised from the version inherited from Payen the quotations that are exceptionally belligerent *vis-à-vis* the institution of marriage, ones which express the most negative

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<sup>108</sup> See Robert Kingdon, "The Galeazzo Caracciolo Case: Divorce for Religious Desertion" in *Adultery and Divorce*, 143-165.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

sentiments towards marriage and women, creating a very unfavourable image of the union. The elimination of these quotations would have been an important component in bringing this topic-chapter of the *Manipulus florum* more closely into line with the prevailing Calvinist conceptions of marriage and sexuality.

Why these quotations were included in Thomas of Ireland's original version requires, it would seem, a re-evaluation of the Rouses' conclusions about the original purpose of the *Manipulus florum*. To include quotations that malign the institution of marriage seems to be contrary to a message that would be expressed in a preaching-aid used by parish priests and friars. Had its purpose originally been as a learning aid for those entering the clergy, as proposed by Chris Nighman, these quotations could have served to reinforce anti-marital ideas to those who were not allowed to marry.<sup>111</sup> Stoer's version could also have functioned as a study aid for prospective preachers, inculcating a more positive view of marriage, since marriage was being encouraged among Calvinist ministers. However, Stoer's version would have also worked well within the 'adopted usage' of the *Manipulus florum* as a preaching aid, since there was, obviously, a strong need to instruct parishioners about the important points of the Reformed concept of marriage. So, as opposed to Thomas' original version, which would have functioned well as a schoolbook for preachers-to-be (its intended purpose) but poorly as a preaching aid (its received purpose later on) within the structure of medieval Christianity, Stoer's version would have functioned well in both circumstances within Calvinist communities.

Regardless, the quotations that Stoer eliminated would have been, if left in the text, counterproductive to the Calvinist process of redefining marriage. For the process included not only offering and instilling a specific doctrinal position concerning the

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<sup>111</sup> See Nighman, "Commonplaces on preaching".

various aspects of marriage and creating a complementary social apparatus of laws and institutions, but there was also the need for a rehabilitation of the concept and purpose of marriage. The removal of these quotations addressed that need. More important to the expression of a Calvinist perspective on marriage, however, is the contribution of the quotations that Stoer added. They served the purpose of rehabilitation by offering a positive view of marriage in terms of its social and religious functions, while also addressing some important specifics of the Calvinist position, such as the legitimacy, under certain circumstances, of divorce with the right to remarry. So, in these ways, the changes that Stoer made to *Coniugium* indicate a concerted effort to place the topic-chapter in a position that better reflected Calvinist views of marriage and, as a result, could be better employed to promote those views. Along with Calvinist and Protestant views on marriage *vis-à-vis* the Catholic position, Stoer's editorial work serves to turn the Catholic position on sex and marriage on its head, while also expanding the role and purpose of marriage.

*MULIER: PERPETUATING PATRIARCHY*

In comparison to *Coniugium*, Jacob Stoer, as an editor, approaches the topic-chapter *Mulier* in a starkly different manner. Despite the apparent similarity in the subject-matter of the two topics, despite the frequency of common source-texts used in the compilation of both topics, and despite what might be expected, Stoer left the text of *Mulier* completely unchanged. Moreover, this is the case despite the fact that many of the quotations in *Mulier* express similar attitudes to those found in Payen's and Thomas of Ireland's original version of *Coniugium*, many come from sources that were excised from *Coniugium* and, in two instances, a quotation that Stoer removed from *Coniugium* remains in *Mulier*. The question, therefore, is why does this seeming discrepancy in editorial techniques exist and can the textual results of these different editorial approaches be reconciled within Calvinist notions of sexual morality and gender?

The quotations found in *Mulier* present a view that is consistent with the construction of the feminine gender in Early Modern Europe – they are, not surprisingly, thoroughly patriarchal and varyingly misogynistic, and they portray women as generally vain and lustful. One quotation, attributed to Augustine, which perfectly exemplifies this is one added by Payen and retained by Stoer, which states that “a wife is not able to teach, nor to be a witness, nor to speak the faith, nor to judge: how much more is she unable to govern?”<sup>112</sup> In this case, ‘to govern’ can be taken in two ways, both of which were consistent with European and Calvinist views. In the first place, it could mean to govern as a magistrate or monarch, a situation that was harshly criticized by, for instance, John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*,

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<sup>112</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 655. “*Mulier nec docere potest, nec testis esse, nec fidem dicere, nec iudicare: quanto magis non potest imperare?*”

which was first published in Geneva in 1556, and which decried the regency of Mary of Guise in Scotland and the reign of Mary Tudor in England.<sup>113</sup> The idea of a woman ruler went against the natural order of the world and was troubling in the minds of men. However, ‘to govern’ could also be applied to ‘domestic politics’ or the management of households. In this case, too, it was commonly held that the husband was to be the undisputed head of a household, although the woman did have many responsibilities. This passage, therefore, is in agreement with the Calvinist view of gender power dynamics, whereby the wife was to be the ruled, not the ruler. As Calvin held, while men and women were equal spiritually, women were subordinate to men politically and historically.<sup>114</sup> Other quotations, however, are not as easily reconciled with a more positive view of relationships in marriage, or with marriage in general as found in Stoer’s version of *Coniugium*.

*Mulier g*, for instance, which comes from Ambrose’s *De officiis ministrorum*, warns that young priests should not go to the houses of widows or virgins, unless accompanied by older clergy, so as to avoid raising suspicions, or worse, since the greatest temptation for clergymen is too frequent contact with women.<sup>115</sup> The target audience of this passage, and of Ambrose’s text more generally, is the clergy, and this lends further support to the theory that the *Manipulus florum* was originally intended as a learning aid, rather than a preaching aid. Here, it serves as a caution about creating situations that may tend towards scandal, warning about the dangers of the enticement of

<sup>113</sup> De Lamar Jensen, *Reformation Europe: Age of Reform and Revolution 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.* (Lexington, MA and Toronto: D.C. Heath and Co., 1992), 154, 184.

<sup>114</sup> Biéler, *L’Homme et la Femme*, 148-149.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 655-656. “Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visita[n]di gratia, iuniores adire non opus est, et hoc senioribus: hoc est cu[m] episcopo, vel si gravior causa est, cum presbytero. Quid necesse, ut demus secularibus obtrectandi locum? Quod si aliqua illarum forte labitur, cur alieni lapsus subeas invidiam? quanti non dederunt errori locum, et dederunt suspitioni: prima tentamenta clericorum, sunt foeminarum frequentes accessus. Iste sexus reprehensibiles reddit clericos.”

women; moreover, this quotation could serve as a warning about the problems of unmarried and independent women and, thus, as an impetus for ensuring that as many women as possible to be under the control of a man, either a father, a husband or a male relative. In that spirit, *Mulier l*, which largely comes from one of Jerome's *Epistolae*, warns that the foot of a (another man's) woman should rarely, if ever, tread into one's house.<sup>116</sup> So, again, there is a negative view presented of women's continence, while also doubting men's ability to resist their advances. This quotation, perhaps, is suggesting the necessity of close supervision and, while neither this quotation nor the last present a positive image of women or wives, they are at least encouraging in the sense that, by emphasizing certain perceived dangers of women, they provide for the possibility of remedy. Other quotations in the topic-chapter, however, are much more unequivocally negative regarding wives and women.

*Mulier k*, which comes from Ambrose's *De paradiso* (although it is attributed to Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*), appeals to the common notion that women's inferior status in relation to men could be traced all the way back to Adam and Eve.<sup>117</sup> This offers a *de facto* grouping of all women into the same category and inferior status, since they have all inherited Eve's sinfulness and less-perfect nature. *Mulier y*, a long passage attributed to Chrysostom, repeats the same theme, noting that it was "Adam's wife" who caused his fall from paradise and, elsewhere in the passage, that there is "no beast in the

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 656-657. "Hospitiolum tuum, aut raro, aut nunquam mulierum pedes terant: omnes puellas, aut virgines Christi, aut aequaliter ignora, aut aequaliter dilige."

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 656. "Illud adverte, quod extra paradysum vir factus est, mulier intra paradysum, ut advertas, quod non loci, non generis nobilitas, sed virtute unusquisque sibi comparet gratiam. Denique extra paradysum, hoc est in inferiori loco, vir factus, melior invenitur, et illa, quae in meliori loco, hoc est, in paradiso facta, deterior invenitur."



world that compares to an evil woman".<sup>118</sup> Together, these passages provide an added component to the topic-chapter *Mulier*, by invoking long-held concepts of female character flaws being inherited from Eve. Furthermore, these passages offer more generalized warnings against women, since they refer to all women regardless of context or condition and, as such, provide another element to the anti-female disposition of the topic-chapter. There are two other groups of quotations that, like these two, offer more general and unequivocally negative views of women; however, from the point of view of this study, these final examples may be much more revealing about Stoer's engagement with the text than many of the others are.

Indeed, in many ways it is with these quotations that Stoer's editorial approach becomes most intriguing. For, while he eliminated all the quotations in *Coniugium* attributed to the *De nuptiis* and the *Dissuasio*, Stoer retains them in *Mulier*, although it must be said that, in *Coniugium*, the passages that can be traced to Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum* were cited as from the *De nuptiis*, while, in *Mulier*, they are attributed directly to Jerome's text. In any case, the following quotations contain much of the anti-female polemic that was excised from *Coniugium*, and from the same sources too. *Mulier* *s*, which is from *Adversus Jovinianum*, begins by stating that "it is difficult to support a poor wife; it is torture to endure a rich one", and continues by stating the futility of being a guardian to a wife since "an unchaste wife cannot be guarded, [and] a chaste one does not have to be".<sup>119</sup> This quotation, then, offers two no-win situations within marriage,

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 659. "Quid quis dicat, aut quomodo quis enarret mulierem illam crudelem et malitiosum? ego quidem existimo nullam esse in hoc mu[n]do bestiam comparabile[m] mulieri malae... Per mulierem Adam ab initio in paradise cecidit, mulier ipsum exterminavit."

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 658. "Uxorem pauperem alere difficile est: divitem ferre tormentum est. Quid prodest dilige[n]s custodia, cum uxor servari impudica non posit, pudica non debeat? Infida enim custos castitatis est necessitas. Et illa vere pudica dicenda est, cui licuit peccare, sed noluit."

concluding that a husband will be unhappy if his wife is rich *or* poor, chaste *or* promiscuous. *Mulier t*, also from Jerome's text, expands on this and continues the same theme, saying that "it is difficult to guard what many men want. It is annoying to have what no one thinks is worthy to have; but the misery of having an ugly wife is less than [the misery of] protecting an attractive one".<sup>120</sup> These quotations, therefore, appear much bleaker than the other ones already mentioned, since they advance the notion that any marital relationship will, inevitably, be unpleasant for the husband. That is, they seem to be saying that, for a man, a marriage is a disagreeable experience, regardless of any quality of his wife. It is interesting that these quotations remain in Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum*, not only because these quotations seem to be clearly in opposition to the Calvinist program of rehabilitating marriage, but also because Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, with its line of arguments and position on sex, was generally rejected by Protestants.<sup>121</sup> Yet, they remain in Stoer's version, offering foreboding statements on marriage.

The quotations taken from the *Dissuasio*, likewise, do not offer any positive remarks on marriage (which is natural, considering the title of the letter); instead, they are filled with warnings about women. *Mulier ae* talks about how Cato, having been hurt by a woman, knows "why the flower of Venus is the rose: because beneath its deep-red colour lurks many thorns".<sup>122</sup> *Mulier af*, meanwhile, exclaims "may God Almighty grant

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.* "Pulchra cito adamatur, foeda facile concupiscit, difficile custoditur, quod plures amant. Molestum est possidere, quod nemo habere dignetur: minore tamen miseria deformis habetur, quam formosa servatur."

<sup>121</sup> David G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

<sup>122</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 661. "Ait Cato Uticensis: Si absque foemina esset mundus, conversatio nostra non esset absque diis. Amice, Cato non nisi sensa et cognita loquebatur, nec quisquam foeminarum execratur ludibria, nisi lusus: nec pene conscius his fidem habere debet, nisi expertus, is noverat quod flos Veneris, rosa, et quod sub eius purpura multi latent aculei."

for you not to be deceived by the tricks of a woman”.<sup>123</sup> Interestingly, Stoer removed this same passage from *Coniugium*, but he retained it here, perhaps because of the thematic difference between the two topics – it was removed when explicitly associated with marriage (and hence, wives), but allowed to remain when it refers to women in general. A third quotation, again taken from the *Dissuasio*, and a quotation added by Payen and marked with an asterisk as such, complains that a woman will risk everything for love and hate, and “is skilful in doing harm when she wishes”.<sup>124</sup> This is a quotation that is also found in *Coniugium*, although in *Mulier* it is one that was added by Payen, as opposed to in *Coniugium*, where it is from Thomas of Ireland’s original version. In any case, these are strongly anti-female messages being expressed in these passages, about the dangers or pitfalls of being with a woman or taking a wife, and seem to be at odds with any enterprise to ameliorate the reputation of marriage.

It seems highly unlikely that Stoer would have mistakenly failed to revise this topic-chapter, since his editing throughout the *Manipulus florum* seems both systematic and purposeful, and that, therefore, he consciously chose to retain *Mulier* unaltered. If that is true, then Stoer’s decision to transmit the topic *Mulier* unaltered raises some important questions. The topic is unmistakably misogynistic, offering a portrait of women that is unapologetically negative. To a large extent, this can be expected, given that Calvinist Geneva, like earlier and contemporary societies, remained thoroughly patriarchal. As was mentioned before, while Calvinism preached a spiritual equality between the sexes, such gender equality did not exist in other aspects of life, a situation

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.* “Amice, ne longo dispendio te suspendam, lege Aureolum Theophrasti, et Medeam Iasonis, et vix pauca invenies impossibilia mulieri. Amice, det tibi Deus omnipotens foeminae fallacia non falli.”

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* “Audax est ad omnia quaecunque amat vel odit foemina: et artificiosa est nocere quu[m] vult.”

that was historical and political.<sup>125</sup> This political inequality, meanwhile, included public, domestic and church politics. Quotations that express an attitude of female inferiority or quotations that call for women to be closely controlled would, thus, have been compatible with a patriarchal Calvinist belief system. However, there are other quotations found in *Mulier*, ones that malign wives and the married life, which seem completely at odds with the Protestant effort to rehabilitate the institution of marriage. How might it be possible, then, that this topic-chapter was envisioned to belong to the same purpose or audience as *Coniugium*; or how, in other words, due to the similar theme but dissimilar content and message of the two topic-chapters, can they be reconciled so as to both be coherent with the same system of beliefs about sex and gender?

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<sup>125</sup> Biéler, *L'Homme et la Femme*, 148-149.

RECONCILING *CONIUGIUM* AND *MULIER*: CAN MARRIAGES BE GOOD IF WOMEN ARE SO BAD?

There are, clearly, different concepts being expressed in the topic-chapters *Coniugium* and *Mulier*. In terms of marriage and gender relations, these two topics offer contrasting opinions on their value and utility. Moreover, considering that these two topics are found in the same text, they seem to be often in direct conflict with each other. This means, then, that either Stoer did not recognize the conflict that arose between the topics after changing *Coniugium* (or, for some reason did not edit *Mulier* accordingly), or he believed that they were compatible as they are found in his text. If the latter situation is the case, which is more plausible since it seems unlikely that Stoer would have inadvertently failed to change *Mulier* had he wanted to considering his thoroughness elsewhere, then it is important here to briefly examine the way in which these two topics, as they exist in Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum*, can be reconciled with one another.

The first part of this reconciliation can stem from the fact that, although the topic-chapters *Coniugium* and *Mulier* refer, in many instances, to a common theme (since women are a necessary component of marriage), there are important conceptual differences between them. For, while there was a concerted effort to position marriage at the centre of society, and to grant women a slightly greater standing within the institution of marriage, by emphasizing the necessity of reciprocity and equal access to legal action for instance, this existed in a society that was still overwhelmingly patriarchal.<sup>126</sup> There existed, therefore, a difference between the Calvinist conception of marriage and the conception of the roles, rights and responsibilities of the male and female partners in the

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<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-76.

marriage and in society more generally. An important study in this regard, which illustrates the delicate and multi-faceted social and cultural existence of women in Early Modern Calvinist communities, is by J.L. Thompson. In his book *Calvin and the Daughter's of Sarah*, Thompson examines the restrictions and manoeuvrability of women within certain social settings, such as in marriage, the household and church. Yet, while a strong focus of Thompson's text is on Calvin's biblical exegesis and views in relation to women and gender roles, he is also very much concerned with capturing and communicating the actual situation of women of Calvinist Geneva. As such, Thompson's study provides an interesting view of the theoretical and the actual position of women in relation to gender roles, and the interrelationship thereof. Thompson, like E. William Monter, explains that, in terms of marriage, Calvin posited the notion of 'differentiated equality', whereby both female subordination and reciprocated obligations were to be practiced.<sup>127</sup> André Biéler, meanwhile, while stressing the point that, in marriage and in society, Calvinist theory held that men and women could not be viewed alone since they are complementary, and that there was spiritual equality between the sexes, there were profound gender differences, expressed in Biéler's phrase: "égalité fondamentale, diversité fonctionnelle".<sup>128</sup> For example, both men and women were expected to fulfill their 'marital debt' to their spouse. Elsewhere, in legal practice at the time, this can be seen in the equal access allowed in cases of marital problems, although, as Monter points out, that equality faded after Calvin's death.<sup>129</sup> In other words, women and men could equally bring cases of marital strife or dissatisfaction before the Consistory or

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<sup>127</sup> J.L. Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin, His Predecessors, and his Contemporaries* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1992), 7-16; E. William Monter, "Women in Calvinist Geneva (1500-1800)", I.191.

<sup>128</sup> Biéler, *L'Homme et la Femme*, 38, 76.

<sup>129</sup> Kingdon, "Women in Geneva", I.192.

magistracy. In other areas of social and private life, however, Calvinists retained a much more traditional position on gender dynamics, so that women were more thoroughly restricted from power. This, then, might help to explain Stoer's editorial approach in *Mulier* and *Coniugium*. *Coniugium*, after all, contains quotations that, first of all, define the doctrinal boundaries and justifications for the Calvinist interpretations of a proper marriage and, secondly, quotations that offer a positive evaluation of marriage from a social and a religious point of view. It is this second group of quotations that are most interesting here, since the way in which they extol the benefits of marriage, in contrast to some of the quotations under *Mulier*, offers a telling parallel to the condition of gender dynamics in Calvinist Geneva as discussed by Thompson. This situation, where the two sexes were instructed to cooperate in marriage but where, in general, women were to be subordinated and controlled, can be seen elsewhere as well.

One of the most fruitful studies into Calvinist societies to be done recently has been the examination of consistory records. This has been especially important for the study of morality in Early Modern Calvinist communities, since surviving documents transmit not only the frequency of certain offences, but also the opinions and the decisions of the consistories as well. Many of these studies, moreover, describe similar concerns about the importance and centrality of marriage, and a strict adherence to specific roles for both sexes and gender-specific moral norms.<sup>130</sup> For, although divorce with the right to remarry was allowed under Calvinist law, it was, in fact, very difficult to achieve, as ministers and the Consistory, when faced with a case of marital strife,

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<sup>130</sup> See, for instance: Heinz Schilling, "Reform and Supervision of Family Life in Germany and the Netherlands" and Philippe Chareyre, "'The Great Difficulties One Must Bear to Follow Jesus Christ': Morality at Sixteenth-Century Nîmes", both in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, Raymond Mentzer ed. (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1994).

preferred to admonish the aggrieved parties so as to effect their reconciliation. Beyond such extreme situations, consistories were very much concerned with all things related to marriage or the family, with the central task being to resolve the problems in order to re-establish stability within the social unit. It was often the case, therefore, of women's concerns having to take a backseat to the promotion and maintenance of the social and familial status quo.

In these ways, it becomes possible for these two topic-chapters to co-exist in the same text in a way that is largely productive and conflict free. On the one hand, it was important to promote the institution of marriage within communities, due to its newly-acquired social importance. What was necessary, beyond that, was to encourage stable and properly ordered marriages, in which a woman's subordination to a man was an important component. So, while some of the quotations found in *Mulier* seem to be more inflammatory, as opposed to constructive, regarding the proper gender ordering of a marriage, they may, nonetheless, have been useful for instilling a sense of urgency or imperativeness towards making sure women were properly managed both within and outside of marriage. The other quotations, however, provide slightly clearer or more specific appeals to that need to properly control women, and to the problems with deviation from that social norm. Yet, a couple of the quotations found in *Mulier* seem completely antithetical to trying to promote marriage, even marriage that is thoroughly patriarchal; for, the passages which plainly malign marriage and are unapologetically misogynistic prove to be problematic in this regard.

Nonetheless, taken together, *Coniugium* and *Mulier* can be seen to impress upon people both the importance of marriage *and* the requisite gender difference and



asymmetry within marriage. Yet, from this perspective, they are not fully reconcilable due to the presence of certain inflammatory passages. By and large, though, these two topics work together to promote marriages that consist of certain elements of equality but within a thoroughly patriarchal relationship, something that was also an important function of the Consistory. Beyond this, consistories were also concerned with moral temperament and comportment with regards to people's behaviour, and these were, again, informed by their bearing on issues of sexual probity, although in a less direct manner, and they were coloured, as always, by strong gender differentiation.

*ORNATUS* AND *LUXURIA*: INCITATIONS TO EXCESSIVE OR ILLICIT SEXUAL CONDUCT

If the topic-chapter *Mulier* can be seen, largely, to function legitimately within Calvinist notions of sexuality and marriage, addressing and vocalizing certain fears of a male-dominated society, and providing a specific and accepted context in which to express negative views of women, this can be further extended to the topic-chapters *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*, since they also demonstrate similar concerns about the disposition of women. However, while *Mulier* offers what are, in many respects, more general negative appraisals of women, both *Ornatus* and *Luxuria* contain more specific criticisms of female comportment, especially regarding vanity and dress, aspects of female culture that that were seen as very problematic to Calvinists, and which, while regarded as sinful in their own right, were also closely linked to sexual misconduct too. Also like marital concerns, issues of female behaviour and dress feature prominently in consistory proceedings, in the form of prohibitions against practices such as excessive make-up or plunging necklines on dresses, for instance. These warnings or prohibitions and, in a sense, Calvinist austerity more generally, are central to Stoer's editorial work with *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*, while this work, unlike his approach to other topic-chapters, seems to be a matter of added emphasis, rather than reorientation. This makes sense because, while these topics were a major concern of Calvinist authorities and were popular in Calvinist sermons, they also worried medieval moralists and appeared in pre-Reformation sermons in Geneva, being seen as 'signs of lust'.<sup>131</sup> In the case of both topic-chapters, Stoer retains the text as inherited from Payen, and then adds more quotations within it – in *Ornatus* Stoer added five quotations towards the beginning of the section, while in

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<sup>131</sup> Biéler, *L'Homme et la Femme*, 29.

*Luxuria* he added one new quotation towards the beginning, and three towards the end. In the case of both topics, Stoer's additions tend to reinforce the content and message of the section, as opposed to altering it in any significant or specific manner.

Turning first to *Ornatus*, Stoer added two quotations that come from Tertullian's *De cultu feminarum*, two from Cyprian's *De habitu virginum* and one quotation attributed to Gregory Nazianzenus. All five added quotations are marked with daggers, while there are not any changes made to the text that were not noted at such by Stoer. The first quotation added by Stoer is from Tertullian, in which he wonders whether, during the end times, heavily made-up, or decorated, women will ascend to heaven.<sup>132</sup> Interpreted through Calvinist doctrine, this would imply that such women are not considered to be among God's elect, or that a woman's inclination to cover herself in ornate decoration can be seen as an indication, or sign, about her spiritual state.

The next quotation added by Stoer is equally critical of the ornate dress and accessories of women, although for different reasons. For, whereas the previous quotation is framed within soteriological concerns, the next quotation, which comes from Cyprian's *De habitu virginum*, discusses the dress of women in terms of social or cultural propriety, stating that "the signs of ornaments and clothes, and the allurements of beauty are not appropriate except for prostitutes and immodest women".<sup>133</sup> This passage advises, then, that extravagant and revealing clothing are not to be worn by respectable women, as it is not befitting their place in society, while also proposing that such dress serves as a 'uniform' for prostitutes, as a mark of separation from the rest of society.

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<sup>132</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 704. "Vtinam miserrimus ego in illo die Christianae exultationis, vel inter calcanea vestra caput elevans videam an cum cerussa et purpurisso, et croco, et in illo ambitu capitis resurgatis, an taliter expictas angeli in nubila sublevent obviam Christo."

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* "Ornamentorum ac vestium insigniaet lenocinia formarum no[n] nisi prostitutis et impudicis foeminis congruunt, et nullarum fere pretiosior cultus est, quam quarum pudor vilis est, et cetera."

This passage, moreover, also posits the relationship between immodest dress and illicit sexual desire. This agrees with what Calvin explains in his *Institutes* when he says that lascivious dress, among other things, is immoral because it ensnares a neighbour's chastity.<sup>134</sup> This, then, serves to provide another dimension to engendering sexual reform and control.

If this last quotation offers a commentary on what can be considered the social problem of the immoderate dress of women, the next quotation offers, in a sense, the proper response, or an appeal to possess the appropriate state of mind with regards to dress. This passage, which is also taken from Cyprian, directs women to “overcome dress” and to “seek not the ornaments of necklaces or clothing, but rather the ornament of morals”.<sup>135</sup> This, then, is instructing women to abandon elaborate clothing and accessories and to dress moderately, adorning themselves only with clothing which advertises their good reputations. Closely echoing this sentiment is a quotation which comes from *Castitas sive continentia* (which is also ‘cross-listed’ with *Pudicitia*), a closely related topic, but one left untouched by Stoer. This quotation, which comes from *De duodecim abusioibus* of unknown authorship, begins by stating that “[p]urity is the ornament of the noble”.<sup>136</sup> These both seem like appropriate maxims for Calvinist areas, since there was a strong concern about the way women were dressing while, at the same time, sin became more public in many ways, as the Consistory and monitoring by Elders replaced institutions like private confession and penance. Moreover, in confessionally-mixed communities, which were common, above all, in France, Calvinists formed part of

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<sup>134</sup> Calvin, *Institutes*, 2, 8, 44.

<sup>135</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 704. “Vince vestem, quae virgo es, quae Deo servis: vince aurum, quae carnem vincis et seculum. Nec monilium aut vestium quaere ornamenta, sed morum.”

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 142. “Pudicitia, est ornamentum nobilium...”.

their self-identity through their sense of moral superiority and religiosity, and fashioned their identity accordingly.

The fourth quotation added by Stoer which, again, is from Cyprian, is concerned with a much more basic or fundamental issue about women dressing extravagantly, namely the relationship between ornate dress and God as creator. The passage asserts that such dress is an alteration and affront to God's design, since it constitutes "laying hands on God", trying to "re-form what He formed", while not grasping that "everything that comes into being is the work of God, while things that are changed are that of the devil".<sup>137</sup> This, again, adds further impetus behind the campaign against immodestly dressed women – it is itself sinful, it leads to increased sexual impropriety, it is socially unacceptable, *and* it is going against the nature of God's creation. Each of these quotations, then, offers important arguments in favour of curbing the extravagant clothing, make-up and accessories worn by some women. However, from the point of view of Stoer's editorial work, the addition of these quotations does not realign the topic-chapter *Ornatus* but, rather, adds emphasis to the message already present in the form inherited from Payen.

The quotations added by Stoer do not differ in any significant way from those which he retained in the topic-chapter, which happens to be all the quotations found in Payen's edition. After all, the dress of women had long been a concern of Christian men. However, as opposed to the preceding few centuries, Calvinists regulated and policed such matters more closely, bringing more attention to the perceived problems of such

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 704. "Foeminae manus Deo inferunt quando id quod ille formavit reformare et transfigurare contendunt: nescientes quia opus Dei est omne quod nascitur, diaboli quodcunque mutatur."

dress and the need for reform.<sup>138</sup> Again, though, the message of *Ornatus* was not effectively altered by Stoer. Many of the same issues are addressed, such as the inappropriate nature of ornate clothing and the associated vanity; and, while most of the passages, like those added by Stoer, are directed towards women (both wives and virgins), *Ornatus n*, which is attributed to Jerome, is addressed to men and women alike.<sup>139</sup> This, too, follows pre- and post-Reformation beliefs and regulations, whereby men, not just women, needed to be controlled against the excesses of “le luxe vestimentaire”.<sup>140</sup> There are other similarities, such as *Ornatus f*, which states, like the third quotation by Cyprian that Stoer added, that “you erase God’s picture if you smear your face in flashy substances”.<sup>141</sup> This quotation parallels ones already discussed which decry ornate dress as a blasphemous offence to God’s design. In many ways, then, what Stoer did, editorially, to *Ornatus* was to offer more quotations that are similar in spirit to those which were already contained in the topic-chapter, perhaps to reinforce the importance of the topic’s message. This process is repeated in *Luxuria*, another topic-chapter with a similar theme as *Ornatus*.

Like in *Ornatus*, Stoer kept all of the quotations in *Luxuria* and then added a few more. Similarly, Stoer reinforces the existing content of the topic-chapter, as opposed to repositioning the message through significant editorial changes. Finally, the two topic-chapters are alike due to their similar thematic concerns – as antitheses to the austerity and temperance esteemed by Calvinists and in their shared capacity to incite illicit sexuality. Therefore, much of *Luxuria* is dedicated to decrying the lustfulness and

<sup>138</sup> Biéler, *L’Homme et la Femme*, 28.

<sup>139</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 705. “Si vir vel mulier se ornaverit...”

<sup>140</sup> Biéler, *L’Homme et la Femme*, 28-29.

<sup>141</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 704. “Deles picturam Dei, mulier, si vultum tuum materiali candore oblinias, si exquisito robore perfundas.”

libidinousness of the human body and spirit, the extravagance that incites those desires, and the consequences of those desires. This is already the major theme in the topic-chapter as it was inherited by Stoer. *Luxuria f*, for instance, which comes from Jerome's *Epistolae*, begins by stating that "excess is the enemy of God, the enemy of virtue".<sup>142</sup> *Luxuria i*, which comes from Ambrose's *De lapsu virginis*, exclaims "how unpleasant are the fruits of excess, more bitter than poison, crueller than the sword!"<sup>143</sup> *Luxuria t*, moreover, which comes from Bede's *In proverbial Salomonis*, states that "the pleasure of fornication is brief, but the penalty is eternal",<sup>144</sup> while *Luxuria u*, which comes from the same source, says that excess debilitates the body and weakens a strong spirit.<sup>145</sup> From this sample of quotations, it can be seen that there is a strong sentiment presented against excess and libidinousness, where the quotations offer statements to dissuade against the dangers of such desires. An interesting theme of many of the quotations, moreover, is that they seem most concerned with conveying the deceptive nature of these seemingly desirous passions, perhaps judging that it was both most essential and most difficult to impart the idea that the apparent benefits are only superficial and fleeting, while such actions are immoral and had long-lasting negative repercussions.

Like with *Ornatus*, too, Stoer took an average- or slightly above average-sized topic-chapter (*Ornatus* had twenty-six quotations prior to Stoer's additions while *Luxuria* had twenty-seven) and added only a small number of new quotations. Also, the quotations added by Stoer follow the themes already present in the topic-chapter. One quotation that Stoer added, which comes from Ambrose's *De Cain et Abel*, states that

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 568. "Luxuria est inimica Deo, inimica virtutibus..."

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* "O quam acerbis fructus luxuriae, amarior felle, crudelior gladio!"

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 570. "Brevis est voluptas fornicationis, sed perpetua poena fornicationis."

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* "Luxuria, est immoderata carnis petulantia, dulce venenum, importuna lues, pernitiosa potio, quae humanum corpus debilitat, et virilis animi robur enervat."

“the libido is a fierce stimulus for crimes”, that it does not like to remain at rest, and that it “is seething at night, and waits eagerly during the day”.<sup>146</sup> This is saying, then, that an unrestrained libido is destined to evil and sinful activities, and is always either acting or preparing to act. This passage also highlights the increased action of the libido at night time. Another quotation, which comes from Cicero’s *De senectute*, says that “a lustful and intemperate youth surrenders a weak body to old age”,<sup>147</sup> an idea that is echoed in another quotation, which Stoer took from Cicero’s *De officiis*.<sup>148</sup> Again, these quotations offer more statements against yielding to lust and excess by explaining the negative lifestyle and consequences of such passions. It seems clear, then, that in the case of both topic-chapters, the result of Stoer’s editorial work is to reinforce what was already present. In fact, considering the extent to which he edited other topic-chapters, it seems that perhaps Stoer was content with the condition of both *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*, and added only a small number of quotations that he found particularly pertinent or memorable.<sup>149</sup> As a result, there is a general reinforcement of the inherited text in both cases.

This seems appropriate since, with or without Stoer’s added quotations, both sets of quotations for *Ornatus* and *Luxuria* would have been useful sources for creating

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<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 568. “Saevus criminum stimulus libido est, quae nunquam manere quietum patitur affectum. Nocte fervet, die anhelat”.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 571. “Libidinosa intemperansque adolescentia effoetum corpus tradit senectuti.”

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* “Luxuria cum omni aetate sit turpis, tum maxime senibus foedissima est.”

<sup>149</sup> This also seems to be the case with Stoer’s editorial work on the topic-chapter *Abstinentia*, a topic that is philosophically related to *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*, although concerned, largely, with food. For *Abstinentia*, a slightly longer topic-chapter (with over thirty quotations), Stoer adds a handful of quotations that agree thematically with the form inherited from Thibaud Payen’s version. These quotations, again, agree with the Calvinist ideal of an ascetic, self-denied lifestyle of shunning excess, intemperance and gluttony. Moreover, as Karras states in *Sexuality in Medieval Europe* (see pages 152-155), there was a relationship, in people’s minds, between food and sex. More broadly, these different aspects of temperance worked together, for the sake of a general ‘good way of life’. So, like *Abstinentia*, other topic-chapters that are similarly philosophically related, such as *Ebrietas* and *Temperantia*, also look similar, although on a smaller scale, with Stoer adding a handful of quotations to reinforce the appeals to austerity and moderation.



sermons on these popular topics, to aid in instilling important Calvinist social ideals about modest dress and chaste lifestyles. Since Calvin frequently emphasized the extent and inescapability of human sinfulness and depravity, correcting – or at least controlling – these human failings was an important component to creating a Calvinist confessional identity. The self-consciousness of communities in this regard is evident in Consistory records, where many of the most frequently occurring offences are related to excess, lustfulness and extravagance. Sexual offences, in their many forms, often comprised the largest group of Consistory trials, be it for fornication, adultery, or other forms of illicit sexual conduct.<sup>150</sup> However, other offences occurred frequently too. Regulating comportment was an important part of what Philippe Chareyre calls the ‘struggle against worldly dissolutions’.<sup>151</sup> Divided into three components – makeup, intricate hairstyles and “‘dissolute’ clothes” – these different forms of dress, rooted in vanity and excess, were often problems dealt with by consistories.<sup>152</sup> These were problems on their own, but were also related to the excitation of libidos, adding further concern to elaborate hairstyles or revealing dresses. Furthermore, while men were not exempt from being brought before the Consistory for such offences, it was largely women who were censured for extravagant dress, especially when it was seen to be inciting sexually. As Chareyre’s research has shown, while both men and women were brought before the consistory for overly-elaborate hair, offences that were more ostensibly sexual, such as low necklines and exposed bosoms, were the domain of women.<sup>153</sup> Both *Ornatus* and

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<sup>150</sup> See Chareyre “Morality at Sixteenth-Century Nîmes” and Raymond A. Mentzer “Marking the Taboo: Excommunication in French Reformed Churches”, both in *Sin and the Calvinists*, where their statistical analyses of Consistory records offer compelling visual representations of the prominence of sexual-related offences.

<sup>151</sup> Chareyre, “Morality at Sixteenth-Century Nîmes”, 85.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

*Luxuria* reflect these concerns of ministers and consistories, as they elaborate upon the evils and dangers of excess and extravagance, and the resultant libidinousness, with long passages and short maxims. Finally, while Stoer did not make significant changes to either topic-chapter, he did add a small number of suitable quotations to each one, reinforcing the messages already present; and, in any case, the decision to make only minor changes to the text is an equally revealing editorial choice as completely reinventing a topic-chapter. That is, as it reveals Stoer's view of the relationship between the inherited version of the *Manipulus florum* and his desired product, such an approach indicates that Stoer evaluated all of the quotations found in Payen's edition and, finding them appropriate for a Reformed audience, perpetuated them in his own edition.

*ADULTERIUM: AN AFFRONT TO MARRIAGE AND SOCIETY*

Jacob Stoer's editorial approach to the *Manipulus florum* included many techniques, such as adding or removing quotations from topics, altering quotations, while he also had the option of indicating his changes (by marking them with a dagger) or adding them covertly (by incorporating them into the pre-existing lettering system).<sup>154</sup> There was, however, another option for Stoer, one that he utilized in three cases during his revision of the *Manipulus florum* – adding a completely new topic-chapter. This was a practice, like adding individual marked quotations, that Stoer inherited from Thibaud Payen. Payen added *Animal brutum* as a new topic, while Stoer added *Zelus*, *Clementia*, and *Adulterium*. This is interesting, since passages concerned with adultery are also included in *Coniugium*; however, the grave nature of adultery in Calvinist views of sin and society along with its refashioning in relation to medieval views perhaps warranted, in Stoer's estimation, a topic unto itself. *Adulterium* is, by the standards of the *Manipulus florum*, a relatively short topic-chapter, as it contains only six quotations. However, the topic-chapter effectively expresses the sinfulness, abhorrence and pitfalls of, and responses to, adultery in its many forms and, in doing so, engages the medieval perspective that Calvinism left behind.

Just as much of *Luxuria* is concerned with lust, desire and libidinousness, so too is *Adulterium*, since the failure to control those passions could lead to extramarital trysts. One quotation, which is attributed to Athanasius, explains the sinfulness of the thoughts

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<sup>154</sup> The topic-chapters examined in this paper, by and large, make use of two editorial techniques: adding quotations and/or taking other ones away. Elsewhere in Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum*, as has been briefly explained earlier, his editorial work shows a much more varied approach, where covert changes are much more frequent. The final manner of editorial approach available to Stoer, however, was to create a completely new topic, which is the case here with *Adulterium*.

and desires that lay behind adultery, stating that “he who desires a body, although without occurrence, commits a sin”.<sup>155</sup> This quotation, then, serves to set up the rest of the topic-chapter (although, in keeping with Thomas of Ireland’s prioritization of authors, it is found in the middle) as it describes the root cause of adultery as the human mental state of lustfulness, and that, even without the physical act, there is already an inherent sinfulness present. This quotation also draws effectiveness from its correlation with the ‘Adultery in the Heart’ portion of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>156</sup> The other quotations in *Adulterium*, meanwhile, deal more directly with the act and consequences of adultery.

The next quotation, which is attributed to Chrysostom, refers again to the mental state of an adulterer, although from a different point of view. It states that an adulterer is the most wretched of people, and that they are “constantly in grief, even in obscurity”.<sup>157</sup> This could, perhaps, serve as a warning that, beyond the spiritual and temporal repercussions of adultery, there would also be a powerful personal guilt attached to adulterous acts. This may have been an important conceptual inclusion, as the persistence of guilt may have weighed more heavily on communities where the processes of confession and penance were no longer practiced; in this context it can be seen along the transition from shame towards guilt. Furthermore, while Consistories and secular courts dealt with adulterers after the crime had been committed, the role of the pastor, through the medium of the sermon, was to teach and discourage *before* the act, a role that

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<sup>155</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 28. “Qui forma concupiscit, quamvis sine facinore, peccatum sine teste commisit.”

<sup>156</sup> Matthew 5: 27-28. “Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.”

<sup>157</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 28. “Adulter vel ante gehennam est omnium miserrimus... In dolore semper est adulter, etiam in tenebris”.

could have been well served by this quotation which stresses the dimension of personal guilt to what was already considered a gravely serious crime to Calvinists.

Another quotation, which comes from Augustine's *De bono coniugali*, states that "it is better to die without children than to seek offspring from illicit copulation".<sup>158</sup> This passage can refer to some of the social problems that might result from adulterous relationships. After all, a very possible result of adultery was the creation of illegitimate children, and this would have confounded the situation, making the liaison difficult to conceal, while also complicating acceptable familial arrangements through the introduction of an illegitimate child. Furthermore, having a child through an adulterous relationship also circumvented what had long been considered one of the 'goods of marriage' – gainful and legitimate sex for the sake of offspring.

In looking at the choice of quotations added by Stoer that have thus far been examined, it is evident that one of the purposes of Stoer's creation of the topic-chapter *Adulterium* was to give voice to what were seen as some of the biggest problems associated with adultery as sinful and socially destructive. However, another important component of Stoer's decision to include a topic-chapter dedicated to adultery seems to be to provide support and justification to the specifically Calvinist response to adultery. Adultery had always been condemned by the Catholic Church, and had been punished with varying effectiveness and severity throughout the history of Christianity. Moreover, as was previously mentioned, adultery had been considered a primarily female offence during the Middle Ages, and was, as a result, punished as such.<sup>159</sup> Meanwhile, while adultery was undoubtedly a grave sin during the Middle Ages, it was not considered

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.* "...ita sanctius est defungi sine liberis, quam es illicito concubitu stirpe[m] quaerere".

<sup>159</sup> Brundage, "Sex and Canon Law", in *Handbook*, 42.

“destructive of marriage”.<sup>160</sup> For these reasons, the extent and severity of enforcement were more limited and less uniform. In Calvinist Geneva, however, there began a new era of punishing adulterers, since it was seen as “not only grounds for divorce but also as a crime”.<sup>161</sup> Due both to the general concern about sinfulness, and to the specific position of adultery as the most damaging and dangerous enemy of marriage, it began to be punished more thoroughly and more severely than it had previously been: in Geneva, all illicit sexuality was penalized more harshly, adultery above all else.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, many Calvinists, largely theoretically but in practice also, espoused the notion of the gender-equal program of punishing with equal severity the male and the female adulterer (a policy which existed in Geneva under Calvin, but slowly reverted back to a system of punishing the female more harshly after Calvin’s death).<sup>163</sup> In two of the quotations that Stoer included in *Adulterium*, then, a clear espousal of this uniquely Calvinist position against adultery is evident.

The first quotation, which comes from Ambrose’s *De Abraham*, states that “all fornication is adultery” and that “it is not allowed for a man because it is not allowed for a woman”.<sup>164</sup> This plainly states that there should not be any gender-based double standards regarding what constitutes adultery or regarding who could get away with such acts. This is important because it posits a broader definition of adultery, saying, in essence, that all illicit sexual relations are destructive like adultery, and should be considered as such, although clearly (and necessarily) not punished as such. Moreover, it

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<sup>160</sup> Payer, *The Bridling of Desire*, 70.

<sup>161</sup> Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce*, 5.

<sup>162</sup> Monter, “Women in Geneva”, in *Enforcing Morality*, I.191-I.193.

<sup>163</sup> Monter, “Women in Geneva”, in *Enforcing Morality*, I.192-I.193.

<sup>164</sup> *Flores doctorum* (Stoer, 1593), 28. “Omne strupum adulterium est: nec viro licet, quod mulieri non licet”.

further states that this definition should be equally applied to men and women, without loopholes or different standards and expectations regarding sexual conduct, as opposed to the common practice in earlier times and surrounding areas (and, often, in Calvinist Geneva too). This is supplemented by another quotation that Stoer included in this topic-chapter, one which is, in fact, the first quotation in the chapter.

This first quotation is taken from Augustine's *De coniugis adulterinis*, and states that "men become indignant if they hear that adulterous men pay the same penalty as adulterous women".<sup>165</sup> It goes on to say that, in fact, "they [men] should be punished more severely", since men should be more virtuous and are, moreover, supposed to govern their wives by example. On its own, this quotation is important since it puts forth the idea that men should be punished at least as harshly for adultery as women, an idea that was different from the accepted practice of the time, whereby women were either the only ones punished or punished more so than men. Taken together with the previous quotation, however, and they vocalize a significant shift in the policing and prosecution of adultery.

Whereas before the Reformation there had been a system in which there was great gender inequality in the way that acts of illicit sex were regulated and punished, Calvinists created a different framework for such moral supervision and attempted to effect a different mentality behind it. Such offences became much more thoroughly punished, and more severely too, while the gender dynamics were significantly altered. There were, first of all, important structural-institutional changes in this regard, as consistories were charged with investigating cases of adultery, while magisterial

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 27. "Indignantur mariti, si audiant adulteros viros pendere similes adulteris foeminis poenis: quum tanto gravius puniri eum oportuerit, quanto magis ad eos pertinet, et virtute vincere, et exemplo regere foeminas."

authorities were charged with punishing those found guilty. This was a significant change from the ecclesiastical courts that had previously been responsible for such tasks. There had been a shift to more secular participation and activism in the policing of sexual morals from the High Middle Ages onwards,<sup>166</sup> but the Reformation was much more of an important watershed in this regard. Other Protestant areas created secular marriage courts designed specifically for hearing cases of sexual misconduct.<sup>167</sup> To this new system of policing and punishing there was a new attitude added, where adultery was punished with greater severity – Geneva, for instance, became well-known for its use of the death penalty in cases where both parties were married, while Geneva even had debates as to whether they should adopt the Old Testament practice of stoning adulterers to death.<sup>168</sup> The Calvinist approach to adultery also included a transformation in the application of gender to cases of adultery. As was previously noted, Calvin espoused, in many ways, a certain gender equality in sexual and marital matters. This was echoed by the Genevan Marriage Ordinances (the model for ordinances in other Calvinist areas) which invoked Paul about the reciprocity of marital relations (since husband and wife are to be equally subject to each other) in the section about divorce, stating that men and women should have equal access to divorce on the grounds of adultery.<sup>169</sup> While this equality was never attained in Early Modern Calvinist communities, this was due to many factors: the slow acceptance of new ideas, socio-economic conditions (since it would be much more burdensome for a woman to sue for divorce and, thereafter, be without the financial support of a husband), and physical reasons (pregnancy was a very evident sign

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<sup>166</sup> Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 487.

<sup>167</sup> Lorna Jane Abray, *The People's Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500-1598* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), 188.

<sup>168</sup> Monter, "Women in Geneva", *Enforcing Morality*, 1192.

<sup>169</sup> "Ordonnance sur les mariages", 110-111; Biéler, *L'Homme et la Femme*, 73.



of adultery, but it only exposed the female adulterer).<sup>170</sup> Nonetheless, late sixteenth-century Calvinism vocalized the concepts of greater gender equality in terms of culpability and punishment in cases of adultery, despite the fact that there was significant delay before it was commonly accepted.

In this respect, *Adulterium* reflects the general Calvinist position on adultery. First of all, the topic-chapter decries adultery as a great social and moral evil. More striking, however, are the quotations that support and justify combating adultery in a way that punishes men and women with equal frequency and equal severity. After all, exacting harsher punishments in general might have been much more easily accepted in communities, since it would have only been a different point on the same scale while reflecting an increased piety and concern. However, doing so according to a different concept of gender dynamics would have been a slightly more difficult process and concept to enshrine. This would have been, therefore, an appropriate conceptual innovation for which to provide supporting arguments, and this seems to be an important component of the creation of *Adulterium* as a topic-chapter. Furthermore, when it is taken together with *Coniugium*, a full picture of the Calvinist concept of adultery emerges. *Coniugium* offers passages that explain the relationship of adultery to marriage and divorce, stating that it is one of the few cases that justifies the extreme measure of divorce, since marriage was central to Calvinist society, but a proper and functioning relationship was central to marriage. There is still the issue of why Stoer felt compelled to structure *Adulterium* in the way that he did. The fact that Stoer saw the need for a topic-chapter dedicated to adultery is an indication, on its own, of the seriousness with which Calvinists viewed the sin. However, there are a couple quotations that Stoer added

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<sup>170</sup> Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce*, 183.

to *Coniugium*, but which would have been perfectly at place in *Adulterium*. The quotations found in *Adulterium* are concerned with the sinfulness of adultery and the appropriate punishment, while the adultery-related quotations that Stoer added to *Coniugium* are concerned with the effects of adultery on marriage. So, since the cross-referencing system that Thomas of Ireland originally incorporated into the text had become problematic and less reliable by the time of editions printed in the late sixteenth century due to the accumulation of variants through the successive editions, perhaps Stoer's division of similarly-themed quotations into different topics reflects a concerted assessment of where a given quotation more appropriately belongs. In any case, *Adulterium* and *Coniugium* together offer a full picture of the Calvinist view of the moral and social consequences of adultery, with *Coniugium* explaining its relation to, and effect on, marriage, and with *Adulterium* reiterating the sinfulness of adultery, and then supporting the legitimacy of harsh punishments being given equally to men and women. In those ways, Jacob Stoer's creation of the topic-chapter *Adulterium* provides useful support to Calvinist responses to adultery.

## CONCLUSION:

The reformation of sexual morality was but one part of the Calvinist Reformation, but it was an important one. Likewise, editing topic-chapters thematically related to sexuality was but one part of Jacob Stoer's revisions to the *Manipulus florum*. Again, though, it was an important one – he reworked these topics, some significantly, and even added a new one. An important question, then, is this: to what extent do these topics in Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* reflect the more general Calvinist developments in sexual morality? This is a difficult question to answer, since Calvinist sexual morality, like other moral codes, is a complex and, at times almost conflicting, system of beliefs, rules and institutions. Again, though, Stoer's text also offers a similarly complicated view of human sexuality, aided by his various editorial approaches.

First of all, it is important to see the different ways in which Jacob Stoer edited and physically changed the text of the *Manipulus florum*. In the topic-chapters examined, Stoer employed the strategies of removing quotations, adding quotations marked with daggers, or both. In different topics that I have previously studied, Stoer employed more techniques, such as the covert strategy of replacing quotations but placing his new quotations into the received system of alphabetization, rather than marking them with daggers. This is the case, as was mentioned earlier, with topics such as *Confessio*. He also, at least in one instance, changed the wording within a quotation, as is the case with the quotation in *Eucharistia* in which Stoer replaced the word “in corruptabiliter” with “in corporaliter”. In the topics examined here, however, Stoer uses a more limited selection of editorial techniques. In *Mulier*, Stoer perpetuated the inherited version of the

text unchanged, an approach which is, really, as valid as his intrusive cases of editorial work. In *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*, Stoer retained all of the quotations from Payen's edition, and then added a few more thematically coherent passages, marked with daggers. In *Coniugium*, Stoer made even more substantial changes, since, not only did he add quotations marked with daggers, but he removed a number of quotations as well which, by design, could not be indicated in any way. Finally, Stoer also created an entirely new topic in *Adulterium*. These are the ways in which Stoer physically edited the text of the *Manipulus florum*; and these changes, naturally, had an effect on the content of the text.

With regard to Stoer's editorial work on the *Manipulus florum*, the form of physical work performed on the text had a clear bearing on the extent of change or reorientation with the content or message of the text. That is, where Stoer simply added new quotations to a topic, the result was added substance to the topic or, at most, a slight shift in the emphasis. This is the case with both *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*. In both topics, Stoer's added quotations serve to reinforce the topic as it is found in Payen's version of the *Manipulus florum* and, as a result, Stoer's additions are compatible with the earlier versions, making Stoer's version of both topics cohesive sections unto themselves.

In the case of *Coniugium*, Stoer's editorial work affected the substance of the topic to a much greater extent. Because Stoer removed certain quotations and added others, there is a significant departure from the message expressed in Payen's version of the text. Stoer removed quotations that are rabidly and unapologetically disparaging towards marriage, while adding new ones that esteem marriage and offer support for a specific marriage type according to form and practice. Stoer, therefore, significantly reworked *Coniugium* from the form adopted from Payen.

*Adulterium*, meanwhile, cannot be analyzed like the previous topic-chapters here have been, because it has no precedent, or point of departure, in Payen's edition. However, this in itself is significant, as the creation of an entirely new topic is a potent editorial technique. The topics examined here as a whole differ significantly from their form in Payen's edition. On their own, *Coniugium*, *Mulier*, *Ornatus*, *Luxuria* and *Adulterium* have different relationships with their antecedent counterparts in Payen's edition, ranging from a complete reproduction to a substantially different product; however, taken together, they provide an image of sexual morality and organization that is a clear departure from the topics as they are found in Payen's edition, supporting a perspective on sexuality and marriage that is not found in Payen's version or in Thomas of Ireland's original version of the *Manipulus florum*.

Another important aspect to consider is Stoer's relationship with his sources, as evidenced by his transmission of them. As I have already explained, there are examples where Stoer, while perpetuating Payen's version of the *Manipulus florum*, altered parts of quotations in significant ways. In the topics examined here, on the other hand, everything that Stoer retained from Payen's edition was transmitted without any alterations. Moreover, the quotations which Stoer added to the topics examined here also appear accurate insofar as they essentially agree with the modern editions of the sources, which can be observed in the appendix provided at the end of this paper. Specifically, Stoer either produced exactly what is found in the modern editions of the source texts (and, therefore, most likely what Stoer found in his sources), or offers an abbreviated version of a longer quotation without changing the spirit or the meaning of the passage. It appears, then, that Stoer accurately, or at least faithfully, transmitted both the

perpetuated and the added quotations in all the topics studied here. In what ways, though, do these topics, as a result of Stoer's reworking, agree with the Calvinist view of sexuality and marriage?

In an earlier paper, I argued that, at least in reference to topics of a theological nature, Stoer's revision did not transform the text into a "thoroughly Calvinist" *florilegium*, as was asserted by the Rouses but, rather, a sufficiently Calvinist text, what Ann Moss calls "suitably adapted" to the Calvinist cause.<sup>171</sup> This seems to be the case, again, with the topics concerned with sexual morality. In *Coniugium*, for instance, Stoer does not offer a fully comprehensive set of quotations, but he does present a group of quotations which effectively and concisely provide support for many of the integral and innovative aspects of the Calvinist position on marriage. In the other topics, Stoer also offers quotations that are suitable and useful to the inculcation of Calvinist sexual morality.

Interestingly, the product of Stoer's work on the *Manipulus florum* (in relation to Payen's version), mirrors, in a certain way, the emergence of a Calvinist sexual morality and its departure from its medieval roots. First of all, the Calvinist view of marriage differed from its medieval antecedent in many ways – the loss of its sacramental status, the (limited) possibility of divorce with remarriage, the new emphasis on conjugal affection and its central role in society – and most of this is reflected not only by the content of *Coniugium* and *Adulterium*, but also by the extent of editorial work carried out on these topics. Within society, however, patriarchy and misogyny were still firmly entrenched, and this is represented by the fact that Stoer left *Mulier* unchanged. Finally,

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<sup>171</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 185; Must, "Thoroughly or Sufficiently Calvinist", 47; Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 205.

the contributing or supplementary aspects and concepts surrounding sexuality – such as lust, extravagance and, conversely, modesty – were important issues in medieval Europe, for both the clergy and magistrates. During the Reformation, these concepts stayed the same, as did the perceived consequences of such intemperate qualities, but they became more closely regulated, through Consistories, ordinances, codes, and the general push towards a ‘godly society’. Again, this is represented in the way that Stoer reworked topics such as *Ornatus* and *Luxuria*: by adding more quotations of similar spirit to those already found in the topic-chapters. In these ways, then, the relationship between a Calvinist tenet and its medieval equivalent seems to have a parallel correlation in the relationship found between the form of these topics in Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* and in Payen’s version. In the end, then, it is clear that Stoer’s reworking of these specific topics creates a set of quotations which corresponds with Calvinist sexual morality. Individually, the topics agree with their respective places in the Calvinist belief system and, together, they agree with Calvinist sexuality and gender beliefs in general. These topics contained in Stoer’s text do not offer an exhaustive or fully comprehensive collection of quotations, but they provide important support from patristic authorities (and some secondary biblical support) for essential and sometimes controversial points of Calvinist doctrine and practice, and, at the most general level, Stoer gathers together a group of good and memorable relevant quotations.

So, with Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* being a useful source of quotations that experienced many print runs during and after Stoer’s life, the question remains: for what purpose was the text intended, and for what purpose was it employed?

First of all, the Rouses' assertion that Stoer's version served as a "Protestant polemic"<sup>172</sup> seems to underestimate the utility of the text as an aid to the Calvinist mission. Stoer's collection would have been useful in the construction of Calvinist (or Protestant) polemics, no doubt; but, an examination of its content shows that it would have had pastoral value too. Any conclusions about ownership and usage must remain largely hypothetical at this point; yet, the number of copies and print runs of the text at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century indicates, through volume alone, that there was significant ownership and, as a result, that the text had some influence as an instrument or resource for inculcating Calvinist ideas. Moreover, some important, if not tentative, inferences can be made, based somewhat on its specific content, but largely on its context.

This paper has examined both these internal and external aspects of the text, explaining the intellectual and commercial context in which Stoer produced the text, and examining its content in relation to Reformed views on sexuality and gender. The incorporation of both into a study is a valuable approach. This is especially important for a text like the *Manipulus florum* which, throughout its history, was employed in a variety of ways. After all, Chris Nighman has convincingly argued that Thomas of Ireland originally intended his collection of quotations to be used as a resource and study aid for university students.<sup>173</sup> A number of copies of Stoer's version may have also participated in this legacy, since Stoer frequently printed academic textbooks.<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, Mary and Richard Rouse have demonstrated that Thomas' text was employed as a preaching

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<sup>172</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 185.

<sup>173</sup> See Nighman, "Commonplaces on preaching".

<sup>174</sup> Alain Dubois, "L'éditeur réformé".



aid, and even recommended as such,<sup>175</sup> while, as Irena Backus argues, *florilegia* in Protestant areas were, more or less, used exclusively by pastors.<sup>176</sup> This, then, seems to have been the destiny for Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* – to be used by pastors, either in training or in ministering. For, both the history of the text and the manner in which similar collections were used in Protestant locales suggest that Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* would have been used primarily by Calvinist pastors. The physical characteristics support this (it would have been inauspicious and portable), as do its contents (a large number of useful quotations from respected authorities on a diverse range of topics), making it a valuable alternative when actual libraries were unavailable.

Moreover, in the hands of Calvinist pastors, the *Manipulus florum* did not need to be restricted to being a sermon aid. Long before the Reformation, even, the *Manipulus florum* had been used for purposes other than sermon construction, as the Rouses have found, such as for creating other *florilegia*, religious writings, and even secular and vernacular writings.<sup>177</sup> So, although there may not have been such a variety of applications in Protestant areas, Stoer's version would still have been very helpful to the Calvinist clergy in the production of other religious writings or polemical tracts. Essentially, Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* was a handy book of quotations that could function as a little portable library suitable for the many compositions that Calvinist ministers would have to craft.

The fact that Stoer's version of the *Manipulus florum* went through numerous print runs over thirty years testifies that there was not only a demand for the collection, but a sustained demand. It is beyond the scope of this paper, however, to establish

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<sup>175</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 188-197.

<sup>176</sup> Backus, *Historical method*, 251.

<sup>177</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 197-213.

definitively patterns of ownership and usage. What can be said is that Stoer's text follows many conventions consistent with a text that was portable and inconspicuous, inexpensive, and used by pastors. The *Manipulus florum* was also well-established, in Catholic Europe, as a navigable and versatile collection of commonplaces, a reputation that could have followed it across the confessional divide. Finally, the product of Stoer's editorial approach seems, in every additional topic examined, to bring the *Manipulus florum* more into line with a Calvinist perspective. This sometimes required a great deal of reworking, at other times very little. Again, this does not mean that it was, therefore, transformed into a 'thoroughly Calvinist' text, but that it now contained many quotations useful to, and supportive of, the Calvinist cause, and quotations which did not contradict Calvinist doctrine. Stoer's text, then, contained a collection of quotations valuable to Calvinist ministers, and a physical design that was conducive to Calvinist ministering. The topics examined here – *Coniugium*, *Mulier*, *Ornatus*, *Luxuria* and *Adulterium* – all follow this model, as they conform to prevailing Calvinist ideas about sexuality. Taken together, they promote a sexual morality which esteems marriage and the resultant conjugal affection and social stability; a strongly gendered perspective of 'differentiated equality', where women are given some standing within a thoroughly asymmetrical and patriarchal society; and a very tempered sexuality, to avoid lustfulness and lasciviousness. Meanwhile, with the espousal of an affective relationship, along with outlining the conditions in which divorce and remarriage were permissible which are contained in some of these topics, this text also promotes aspects of marital theory that define a 'modern' European marriage. These topic-chapters, then, contained in a convenient text, reflect and reinforce numerous integral aspects of Calvinist sexual

morality. There are still many unanswered questions – both questions about Stoer’s version of the *Manipulus florum* and questions that can be answered by his text. This study illustrates Stoer’s editorial agency and its effect on the text, it explains how his version fits into the history of the *Manipulus florum*, and it begins to explore how this collection, and *florilegia* in general, could have been employed in Protestant culture and confessionalization. As a result, it becomes clear that there are extensive possibilities for research into Protestant *florilegia* in terms of the diffusion and usage. As a start, though, this study shows how a medieval *florilegium* was reworked according to its physical appearance and its substance and brought effectively into the Protestant camp during the Reformation.

## APPENDIX:

Quotations from Jacob Stoer's *Additiones* which are referenced in this paper, provided along with their modern editions.

Coniugium (p.173)

Utriusque sexus infirmitas propende[n]s in ruinam turpitudinis, recte excipitur honestate nuptiarum, ut quod sanis possit esse officium, sit aegrotis remedium. Neque enim quia incontinentia malum est, ideo connubium, vel quo incontinentes copulantur, non est bonum: imo vero non propter illud malum culpabile est hoc bonum: sed propter hoc bonu[m] veniale est illud malum: quoniam id quod bonum habent nuptiae, et quod bonae sunt nuptiae, peccatum nunquam esse potest.

Idem de Genesi ad litteram caput 7.

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Denique utriusque sexus infirmitas propendens in ruinam turpitudinis, recte excipitur honestate nuptiarum, ut quod sanis esse posset officium, sit aegrotis remedium. Neque enim quia incontinentia malum est, ideo connubium, vel quo incontinentes copulantur, non est bonum: imo vero non propter illud malum culpabile est hoc bonum, sed propter hoc bonum veniale est illud malum; quoniam id quod bonum habent nuptiae, et quo bonae sunt nuptiae peccatum esse nunquam potest.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 9, 7, 12 (PL 34, col.397).

Coniugium (p.174)

Bonum co[n]iugii Dominus in evangelio co[n]firmavit, no[n] solu[m] quia prohibuit dimittere vxorem nisi ex causa fornicationis, sed etiam quia venit inuitatus ad nuptias.

Liber de bono coniugali.

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Dominus in Evangelio confirmavit, non solum quia prohibuit dimittere uxorem, nisi ex causa fornicationis (*Matth.* XIX, 9), sed etiam quia venit invitatus ad nuptias (*Joan.* II, 2), cur sit bonum merito quaeritur.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De bono conjugalis*, 3 (PL 40, col.375).

Coniugium (p.173)

Quam initio viri sorores suas co[n]iuges acceperunt, profecto id quanto est antiquius co[m]pellente necessitate, tanto postea factum est damnabilius, religione prohibente. Habita est enim ratio rectissima charitatis, ut homines quibus esset utilis et honesta concordia, diversarum necessitudinum vinculis necterentur: nec unus in una multas haberet, sed singulae spargerentur in singulos: ac sic ad socialem vitam diligentis colliganda[m], plurimae plurimos obtinere[n]t. Pater quippe et socer duarum sunt necessitudinum nomina. Vt ergo alium quisq[ue] habeat patrem, alium socerum, numerosius se charitas porrigit.

Liber 15. de ciuitate Dei, caput 16.

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Cum igitur genus humanum post primam copulam viri facti ex pulvere, et conjugis ejus ex viri latere, marium feminarumque conjunctione opus haberet, ut gignendo multiplicaretur, nec essent ulli homines, nisi qui ex illis duobus nati fuissent; viri sorores suas conjuges acceperunt: quod profecto quanto est antiquius compellente necessitate, tanto postea factum est damnabilius religione prohibente. Habita est enim ratio rectissima charitatis, ut homines quibus esset utilis atque honesta concordia, diversarum necessitudinum vinculis necterentur; nec unus in uno multas haberet, sed singulae spargerentur in singulos; ac sic ad socialem vitam diligentius colligandam plurimae plurimos obtinerent. Pater quippe et socer duarum sunt necessitudinum nomina. Vt ergo alium quisque habeat patrem, alium socerum, numerosius se charitas porrigit.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De ciuitate Dei*, 15, 16, 1 (PL 41, col.457-458).

Coniugium (p.174)

Coniugium mihi bonum videtur, no[n] propter solum filioru[m] procreatione[m], sed propter ipsam etia[m] naturale[m] in diverso sexu societatem. Habet etiam id bonu[m], quod carnalis vel iuvenilis incontinentia, etiam si vitiosa est, ad propagandae prolis redigitur honestate[m], ut ex malo libidinis aliquid boni faciat copulatio coniugalis.

Ibidem [Liber de bono coniugali].

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Quod mihi non videtur propter solam filiorum procreationem, sed propter ipsam etiam naturalem in diverso sexu societatem. Alioquin non jam diceretur conjugium in senibus, praesertim si vel amisissent filios, vel minime genuissent. Nunc vero in bono licet annoso conjugio, etsi emarcuit ardor aetatis inter masculum et feminam, viget tamen ordo charitatis inter maritum et uxorem: quia quanto meliores sunt, tanto maturius a commixtione carnis suae pari consensu se continere coeperunt; non ut necessitatis esset postea non posse quod vellent, sed ut laudis esset primum noluisse quod possent. Si ergo servatur fides honoris et obsequiorum invicem debitorum ab alterutro sexu, etiamsi languescentibus et prope cadaverinis utriusque membris, animorum tamen rite conjugatorum tanto sincerior, quanto probatior, et tanto securior, quanto placidior castitas perseverat. Habent etiam id bonum conjugia, quod carnalis vel juvenilis incontinentia, etiamsi vitiosa est, ad propagandae prolis redigitur honestatem, ut ex malo libidinis aliquid boni faciat copulatio conjugalis.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De bono conjugalis*, 3 (PL 40, col.375).

Coniugium (pp.173-174)

Etiam si continentia coniugio praeferatur melior est tamen fidelis coniugatus, quam co[n]tinens infidelis. Sed continens infidelis homo non solum minus laudandus est, quia se continent, dum non credat: verum etiam multo magis vituperandus, quia non credit, cum se contineat. Constituamus ergo ambos bonos: etiam sic profecto melior est coniugatus fidelissimus et obedie[n]tissimus Deo, quam co[n]tinens minoris fidei, minorisq[ue] obedientiae. Si vero paria sint caetera, continentem coniugato praeferre quis ambigat?

Liber 16. de ciuitate Dei, caput 36.

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Ac per hoc sano veroque iudicio, cum continentia coniugio praeferatur, melior est tamen homo fidelis conjugatus, quam continens infidelis. Sed infidelis homo non solum minus laudandus, verum etiam maxime detestandus est. Constituamus ambos bonos; etiam sic profecto melior est conjugatus fidelissimus et obedientissimus Deo, quam continens minoris fidei minorisque obedientiae: si vero paria sint caetera, continentem conjugato praeferre quis ambigat?

[Sic magno consensu manuscripti. At editi, *Sed continens infidelis homo non solum minus laudandus est, quia se continet, dum non credat; verum etiam multo magis vituperandus, quia non credit, cum se contineat. Constituamus ergo ambos bonos.*]

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De ciuitate Dei*, 16, 36 (PL 41, col.515).



## Coniugium (pp.172-173)

Coniugib[us] christianis Dominus praecepit ne quisquam dimittat uxorem, excepta causa fornicationis. Ubi aut[em] quaelibet ex eis persona infidelis est, co[n]silium Apostoli atte[n]datur, ut si infidelis co[n]sentit habitare cum viro fideli, vir non dimittat uxorem. Similiter et uxor fidelis virum, si cu[m] illa habitare consenserit. Quod infidelis, inquit, discedit, discede[n]tis no[n] est servituti subiectus frater aut soror in huiusmodi. Id est, si infidelis noluerit esse cum coniuge fideli, hic agnoscat fidelis suam libertatem, ne ita se subiectum deputet servituti, ut ipsam dimittat fidem, ne coniugem amittat infidelem.

Augustinus epistola 89.

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Ambobus quippe christianis Dominus praecepit ne quisquam dimittat uxorem, excepta causa fornicationis. Ubi autem quaelibet ex eis persona infidelis est, consilium Apostoli attendatur: Ut si infidelis consentit habitare cum viro fideli, vir non dimittat uxorem. Similiter et uxor fidelis virum, si cum illa habitare consenserit. *Quod si infidelis*, inquit, *discedit, discedat: non est enim servituti subjectus frater aut soror in huiusmodi (I Cor. VII, 12, 15)*: id est, si infidelis noluerit esse cum conjugem fideli, hic agnoscat fidelis suam libertatem, ne ita se subjectum deputet servituti ut ipsam dimittat fidem, ne conjugem amittat infidelem.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *Epistulae*, 157, 4, 31 (PL 33, col.689).

Ornatus (p.704)

Vtinam miserrimus ego in illo die Christianae exultationis, vel inter calcanea vestra caput elevans videam an cum cerussa et purpurisso, et croco, et in illo ambitu capitis resurgatis, an taliter expictas angeli in nubila sublevent obviam Christo.

Tertullianus libro de cultu foeminarum.

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Atque [utinam miserrimus ego] in illo die christianae exultationis [vel inter calcanea vestra caput elevem!] videbo, an cum cerussa et purpurisso et croco et in illo ambitu capitis resurgatis, an taliter expictas angeli in nebula sublevent obviam Christo.

Tertullianus, *De cultu foeminarum*, 2, 7 (PL 1, col.1324A).

Ornatus (p.704)

Ornamentorum ac vestium insignia et lenocinia formarum no[n] nisi prostitutis et impudicis foeminis congruunt, et nullarum fere pretiosior cultus est, quam quarum pudor vilis est, et cetera.

Cyprianus libro de habitu virginum.

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Ornamentorum ac vestium insignia et lenocinia formarum non nisi prostitutis et impudicis feminis congruunt, et nullarum fere pretiosior cultus est quam quarum pudor vilis est.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Liber de habitu virginum*, 12 (PL 4, col.450A).

Ornatus (p.704)

Vince vestem, quae virgo es, quae Deo servis: vince aurum, quae carnem vincis et seculum. Nec monilium aut vestium quaere ornamenta, sed morum.

Ibidem [Cyprianus de habitu virginum].

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Vince vestem, quae virgo es: vince aurum, quae carnem vincis et saeculum.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Liber de habitu virginum*, 21 (PL 4, col.460A).

Tantum maneat et duret solida et illaesa virginitas, et ut coepit fortiter, jugiter perseveret; nec monilium aut vestium quaerat ornamenta, sed morum.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Liber de habitu virginum*, 22 (PL 4, col.462A-462B).

Ornatus (p.704)

Foeminae manus Deo inferunt quando id quod ille formavit reformare et transfigurare contendunt: nescientes quia opus Dei est omne quod nascitur, diaboli quodcumque mutatur.

Ibidem [Cyprianus de habitu virginum].

---

Manus Deo inferunt quando id quod ille formavit reformare et transfigurare contendunt, nescientes quia opus Dei est omne quod nascitur, diaboli quodcumque mutatur.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Liber de habitu virginum*, 15 (PL 4, col.455A).

Luxuria (p.568)

Saevus criminum stimulus libido est, quae nunquam manere quietum patitur affectum.  
Nocte fervet, die anhelat.

Ambrosius de Abel et Cain.

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Saevus criminum stimulus libido est, quae nunquam manere quietum patitur affectum.  
Nocte fervet, die anhelat, de somno excitat, a negotio abducit, a ratione revocat, aufert  
consilium, amantes inquietat, lapsos inclinat, castis insidiatur, potiundo inflammat,  
usuque accenditur.

Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De Cain et Abel*, 1, 5, 20 (PL 14, col.327B-327C).

Luxuria (p.571)

Libidinosa intemperansque adolescentia effectum corpus tradit senectuti.

Idem [Cicero] libro de senectute.

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mihi vero et Gnaeus et Publius Scipiones et avi tui duo, Lucius Aemilius et Publius  
Africanus, comitatu nobelium iuvenum fortunate videbantur; nec ulli bonarum atrium  
magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint; etsi ipsa ista  
defection virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis: libidinosa enim et  
intemperans adulescentia effectum corpus tradit senectuti.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De senectute*, 9, 29 (J.G.F. Powell ed., p.67, ll.4-11).

Luxuria (p.571)

Luxuria cum omni aetati sit turpis, tum maxime senibus foedissima est.

Cicero libro 2. Officiis.

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Nihil autem magis cavendum est senectuti quam ne languori se desidiaequae dedat; luxuria vero cum omni aetati turpis, tum senectuti foedissima est.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, 1, 123 (M. Winterbottom ed., p.51, ll.4-7).

Adulterium (p.28)

Qui forma concupiscit, quamvis sine facinore, peccatum sine teste commisit.

Athanasius apud Antonium sermo 85.

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[locus nondum inuentus]

Adulterium (p.28)

Adulter vel ante gehennam est omnium miserrimus, omnia suspicans, vel ad vmbriam contremiscens, ad nullum liberis respiciens oculis, sed omnes pertimescens, et qui sciunt, et qui nesciunt, acutos videns gladios, impende[n]tes lictores, iudicia. In dolore semper est adulter, etiam in tenebris.

---

[locus nondum inuentus]

Adulterium (p.28)

Sicut satius est fame mori, quam idolothytis vesci: ita sanctius est defungi sine liberis, quam ex illicito concubitu stirpe[m] quaerere.

Idem [Augustinus] de bono coniugali.

---

Sicut ergo satius est emori fame, quam idolothytis vesci; ita satius est defungi sine liberis, quam ex illicito coitu stirpem quaerere.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De bono conjugalis*, 18 (PL 40, col.385-386).

## Adulterium (p.28)

Nemo sibi blanditur de legibus hominum. Omne stuprum adulterium est: nec viro licet, quod mulieri non licet. Eade[m] a viro, quae ab vxore, debetur castimonia. Quicquid in ea, quae non sit legitima vxor, commissum fuerit, adulterii crimine damnatur.

Ambrosius de Patriarcha.

---

Nemo sibi blandiatur de legibus hominum (33, q. 4, cap. Nemo). Omne stuprum adulterium est, nec viro licet quod mulieri non licet. Eadem a viro, quae ab uxore debetur castimonia. Quidquid in eam quae non sit legitima uxor, commissum fuerit adulterii damnatur crimine.

Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De Abraham libri duo*, 1, 4, 25 (PL 14, col.431A-431B).

## Adulterium (p.27)

Indignantur mariti, si audiant adulteros viros pendere similes adulteris foeminis poenis: quum tanto gravius puniri eum oportuerit, quanto magis ad eos pertinet, et virtute vincere, et exemplo regere foeminas.

Augustinus libro de adulterinis coniugiis.

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Et tamen indignantur, si audiant adulteros viros pendere similes adulteris feminis poenas; cum tanto gravius eos puniri oportuerit, quanto magis ad eos pertinet et virtute vincere, et exemplo regere feminas.

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De coniugiis adulterinis ad Pollentium*, 2, 8 (PL 40, col.475).

For the equivalent presentation of the other quotations discussed in this paper, those which were inherited from Payen's edition and either perpetuated or excised, see *The Electronic Manipulus florum project*, at <[www.manipulusflorum.com](http://www.manipulusflorum.com)>. For quotations that were originally included by Thomas of Ireland in his first edition of the collection, they can be found through the hyperlink *[Manipulus florum index](#)*, while quotations that were added by Thibaud Payen can be found through the hyperlink *[The 1567 Lyon Edition](#)*.



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