

der Reise durch zweimaligen Wagenbruch werden ihm dann Sinnbild für den Lauf von Staaten und Kirche (Nr. 6679).

Was die Bezüge zur Schweiz betrifft, so steht auch Anfang der fünfziger Jahre Basel im Zentrum. Von dort schrieben an ihn Sigismund Gelenius (9. März 1550, Nr. 5748), Oswald Myconius (14. Juni 1550, Nr. 5826; 28. Mai 1551, Nr. 6090), Celio Secondo Curione (1. März 1551, Nr. 6008; 1. Dezember 1552, Nr. 6658). Den ersten Brief Curiones beantwortete Melanchthon am 1. Mai 1551 (Nr. 6073), ferner schrieb er noch an die Basler Bonifacius Amerbach (13. Januar 1551, Nr. 5974) und Johannes Oporinus (20. April 1551, Nr. 6056). Nicht sehr hoch schätzte Melanchthon Johannes Oekolampads lateinische Übersetzung des Evangelienkommentars von Theophylakt ein, da der Basler Gelehrte seiner Arbeit ein durch Interpolationen entstelltes Manuskript zugrunde gelegt habe (Nr. 5810, 5861). Die drei Stücke aus der Korrespondenz zwischen Calvin und Melanchthon offenbaren die Unterschiedlichkeit ihrer Charaktere. Während Calvin Melanchthons theologische Position kritisiert, ihn der Nachgiebigkeit zeihet und die dogmatischen Differenzen bei Prädestinations- und Abendmahlslehre markiert (19. Juni 1550, Nr. 5830; 28. November 1552, Nr. 6655), verzichtet Melanchthon auf eine präzise Standortbestimmung, legt indes Wert auf einen Gedankenaustausch (1. Oktober 1552, Nr. 6576). Allerdings hatte die Schweiz für Melanchthon auch einen angenehmeren Klang, ob aber der versprochene Wein aus Graubünden tatsächlich eintraf (Nr. 6449), ist nicht überliefert. Ansonsten erwartete der Wittenberger Professor von Briefen nichts Gutes, denn er machte es sich zur Gewohnheit, abends eingehende Korrespondenz zur Schonung der Nachtruhe erst am folgenden Tage zur Kenntnis zu nehmen (vergleiche Nr. 6611).

Ohne daß die Reihe «Regesten» abgeschlossen wäre, ist mittlerweile der erste Band der Textedition (1514–1522) erschienen (bearbeitet von Richard Wetzell, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1991, Rezension folgt).

Ulrich Gäbler, Basel

Cornelia Seeger

Nullité de mariage, divorce et séparation de corps à Genève, au temps de Calvin

Fondements doctrinaux, loi et jurisprudence, Lausanne: Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande 1989 (Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande, troisième série, Tome XVIII), 502 p., Fr. 60.–

Seeger's book is, as its title suggests, a detailed study of annulment, divorce, and legal separation in Calvin's Geneva. But her exhaustive study of both doctrinal and archival sources addresses much more, too. A preliminary chap-

ter surveys the theory and practice which prevailed before the Reform in Geneva, focusing especially on the dictates of canon law concerning grounds for annulment and for divorce or marital separation. Following this, about a fourth of the book is devoted to an analysis of Calvin's teachings on these same subjects. Here, three individual chapters address, first, the major theological loci which bear on Calvin's doctrine of marriage (e. g., the relationship between scripture and temporal law, ecclesial authority in light of the abuses of the Roman church, etc.); second, his specific teachings concerning marriage, such as its non-sacramental character, the respective jurisdictions of church and magistrate, and his pronouncements concerning annulment, divorce, and separation; and, third, Calvin's relationship to the teachings of Luther and Zwingli on the subject of marriage and its dissolution.

The remainder of the study (constituting well over half the book) seeks to complement the «theoretical» analysis of Calvin's marriage legislation and related texts by studying the actual application and outworking of judicial doctrine and legislation in Geneva in the years 1536–1564. Here, Seeger makes thorough use of archival records in order to document and analyze a seemingly endless number of marital disputes which came before the Genevan Consistory and the Petit Conseil during those years. Individual chapters on annulment and on divorce and legal separation are preceded by helpful chapters on the judicial organization of Calvin's Geneva and on the legal procedures of these two bodies. The draft of Calvin's matrimonial ordinances – a document which Seeger describes as Calvin's «sole systematic exposition of matrimonial law» (96) – is included in its revised edition (ca. 1546–1547) as an appendix to the volume. There is a substantial bibliography but no index.

Seeger's surveys of canon law and of the «general conceptions» which underlie Calvin's doctrine of marriage break no new ground (nor were they so intended), but they do offer some introduction to both these topics for those unfamiliar with either the discussion of marriage among the canonists or the outlines of Calvin's theology. Of greater interest to this reviewer were her two chapters on Calvin's doctrine of marriage. The first of these sets out in detail Calvin's understanding of marriage and, in particular, the dissolution of marriage. Here, Seeger discovers not only Calvin's indebtedness to canon law (qualified, to be sure, by his greater commitment to biblical norms), but also at least one point – on the question of marriage between first cousins – where he followed canon law rather than the less restrictive Mosaic legislation. Seeger reads Calvin's rationale (namely, to avoid scandal) as an index of the degree to which incest was feared in his day.

Of equal interest is the question of Calvin's indebtedness to earlier Reformers. In analyzing Calvin's teachings on marriage, annulment, and divorce, Seeger focuses on the ordinances which he drafted in 1545 and looks for the influence (direct or indirect) of Luther and Zwingli in particular. Such influence

is admittedly difficult to establish, but Seeger does correlate many aspects of Calvin's marriage legislation with possible precedents in Luther and other Reformers. She concludes that Calvin drew eclectically and critically on several sources. Luther was indeed Calvin's «preferred teacher» on this subject (though he probably did not have the text of Luther in hand in 1545), but Zwingli – himself indebted to Luther here – also exercised some influence, if not directly then at least by way of the Bernese marriage legislation which had drawn heavily on that of Zürich. Calvin's legislation also echoes some of the provisions of Strasbourg marriage laws, with which he would have become acquainted during his sojourn there in 1538–1541. Here, one could wish that Seeger had analyzed the legislation in Strasbourg (as well as the independent views of Bucer) with the same detail lavished on Luther and Zwingli.

The second part of the book, devoted to how Calvin's laws were applied in practice, sheds some new light on a traditional question, namely, whether Calvin truly abolished the «double standard» (whereby women found it more difficult to shed an adulterous mate than did men). It is true that his draft ordinances affirmed woman's equal right on this point, but Calvin cannot thereby be called an innovator, insofar as both Basel and Zürich had taken this position in the early years of the Reform. Moreover, Seeger calls attention to a curious imbalance in Calvin's text. While husbands are not to be forced to pardon a wayward wife, nothing is said to exclude such coercion in the opposite case. Thus she asks (403), «Did Calvin wish to avoid repetition, or did he rather wish to make a concession to the tradition which considered a wife's adultery a graver offense than that of the husband?» Seeger argues for the latter reading, and finds some confirmation in two findings: first, that men in Geneva sought to divorce adulterous wives twice as often as women did, and, second, that women were far less likely to have such petitions granted. To be sure, it is scarcely surprising to discover that Calvin saw adultery on the part of a wife as having more serious consequences (e. g., confusing lineage and inheritance) than the same offense among men – a view which has a long history of advocacy and which survived among other Reformers. Still, one could wish for comparable statistics from the other cities mentioned by Seeger.

Drawing on both parts of her study, Seeger concludes that Calvin felt free to utilize the insights and provisions of canon law as well as of Luther and Zwingli, so long as he could square them with his own understanding of biblical norms and precepts. All of these sources were employed critically by Calvin and synthesized with his own innovations. The result was a body of legislation in Geneva which was «more elegant and more intellectually satisfying» than that of Zwingli, but also «more rigid, with an acute sense of hierarchy» (464; cf. 178, 455f.). Indeed, Seeger contrasts the «evangelical» spirit of Luther and Zwingli with the «patriarchal» tone of Calvin's legislation and goes on to characterize Calvin as «truly a Reformer of the second generation,» who

«reorganized and restructured» much of what his predecessors had sought to overthrow (466).

Others have characterized Calvin in similar terms, albeit on different grounds, but one may still inquire whether Seeger has not been over-generous to Luther at Calvin's expense (see especially 455). In any case, specialists in family history will be indebted to Seeger for the wealth of information which she has mined from some challenging sources. Reformation historians will be interested in her efforts to reconstruct the lineage of Calvin's marriage legislation and the theory and doctrine on which it is based. And all readers will be grateful for the careful organization and readable prose of Seeger's monumental study.

John L. Thompson, Pasadena

Kommunalisierung und Christianisierung

Voraussetzungen und Folgen der Reformation 1400–1600, hrsg. von Peter Blickle und Johannes Kunisch, Berlin: Duncker und Humblot 1989, (*Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 9*), 163 S., ISBN 3-428-06683-9, br. DM 68,-

Im einleitenden, programmatischen Beitrag (Die Reformation vor dem Hintergrund von Kommunalisierung und Christianisierung. Eine Skizze) wendet Blickle sein bekanntes Thema des «gemeinen Mannes» auf die Vorbereitung und die Prädisposition der «bürgerlich-bäuerlichen Welt» für die Reformation an. Er kritisiert die bisher allgemein akzeptierte «Akkulturationsthese», welche die einfachen Laien des späten Mittelalters als nichtchristianisierte Anhänger diverser Aberglauben, ja schlicht als Heiden darstellt. Nicht die heranrückende evangelisch oder tridentinisch geschulte Phalanx katechesierender Amtspfarrer des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts, sondern die geistige und die politische Verfassung des späten Mittelalters sei verantwortlich für die Christianisierung der unteren Schichten, zumindest im südlichen Teil der deutschsprachigen Reichsgebiete. Der Ertrag dieser Ausführungen dürfte die Erkenntnis sein, daß die spätmittelalterlichen religiösen und sozialen Hintergründe der Reformation kaum voneinander zu trennen sind.

R. Po-Chia Hsia (Die Sakralisierung der Gesellschaft: Blutfrömmigkeit und Verehrung der Heiligen Familie vor der Reformation) geht in seiner Definition von Volksfrömmigkeit noch einen Schritt über Blickle hinaus. Er beschreibt die Frömmigkeit des gemeinen Volkes im Spätmittelalter nicht als «eine Angelegenheit abstrakter Dogmen und systematischer Theologie», sondern als «[eine] Anzahl von Ritualen und Symbolen, die zwischen ihrer Erfahrung der Gesellschaft und dem Heiligen vermittelten». Der so aufgestellte Unterschied