

detailed summaries as an aid to those who struggle with the Latin or early modern German texts. Reinhard Bodenmann, the head of the editorial team, presents a helpful overview of the correspondence in a lengthy introduction to the volume. He also draws readers' attention to an important new resource, the digital edition of volumes 1–14 of Bullinger's correspondence now available through the website of the Institut für Schweizerische Reformati- onsgeschichte (www.irg.uzh.ch). Bullinger's correspondence is an incredibly rich source for all early modern scholars, who owe the Schweizerischer Nationalfond a tremendous debt of gratitude for making this critical edition so readily available.

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Robert M. Kingdon mit Thomas A. Lambert, Reforming Geneva: Discipline, Faith and Anger in Calvin's Geneva, Genf: Librairie Droz, 2012 (Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance 103), XVI & 154 S. – ISBN 978-2-600-01584-4.

In his last book Robert Kingdon (1927–2010) summarizes his study of the Genevan consistory. In a preface, Thomas Lambert, who helped him finish the book, explains its genesis. Since the 1980s Kingdon's research focused mainly on the transcription and the edition of the Genevan consistory records, though this book draws on his entire career of scholarship.

The first chapter introduces the Genevan consistory project as well as the goal of this book. Why do these registers deserve the painstaking and time-consuming work of transcription and publication? He presents three justifications. The first is that these records are a rich source about the lives, ideas, and behavior of ordinary people in a period of extraordinary change, even for those who normally would have left no written record at all. The second is that in these registers we find Calvin the very human pastor, a person different from the theologian or charismatic preacher. The third justification is that these registers help us to understand the Reformed movement in its uniqueness between Catholicism and other branches of Protestantism. In short, they offer rich material not only for Church historians, but for histo-

rians of popular religion, social historians, and biographers of Calvin as well. To this I would add that by providing information on Calvin's colleagues, these registers also emphasize that the Genevan Reformation was not a one-man show.

Chapter 2 opens with an interesting summary of reformed positions on the relationship between church and magistrate before explaining in more detail what the consistory was and how it operated in Geneva. The Reformation created a considerable vacuum within Geneva because previously the Catholic clergy handled the educational system, poor relief, control of marriage, and other social functions. To fill this vacuum the consistory, a new standing committee responsible for maintaining church discipline, was created, in parallel to the committees such as those keeping the city accounts and maintaining the city fortifications. It consisted of city commissioners and the city's pastors. It became the mother and model for all other Calvinist disciplinary institutes, i.e. in France, Scotland, the Netherlands, and parts of Germany. Scotland's kirk sessions provide the closest parallel to the Genevan consistory, while in France and the Netherlands consistorial discipline could be exercised only within the congregation of believers. Dutch consistory records are often less detailed and known to be intentionally incomplete. The special importance of these Genevan registers, therefore, is that they provide the most complete and detailed records of the working of any consistory.

In the remaining chapters, Kingdon describes what this consistory did and what it reveals of Genevan society. His argument in Chapter 3 is to show from the consistory records that the revolutionary change in public worship affected in important ways the texture of daily life, of which it was the central element. In an appealing way Kingdon makes clear the changes brought by the Reformation: a change in church decoration and furnishings, ministers with a different character and appearance. Also, the worship experience became fundamentally different: the parishioners now were expected to understand the sermons and not to engage in private devotions with only a vague connection to the actions of the celebrant.

The records show that Christianity was more than just a thin veneer. Both before and after the Reformation the Genevans, in-

cluding the illiterate, partook in the same liturgy with considerable passion and understanding. They provide evidence that Genevans learnt from the sermons and prayed their Our Father with a »level of intention and feeling« (compare pp. 109–110). He concludes that liturgy is a better index of the religious commitment of a community than institutional structures or a theological system, as these religious rituals deeply engaged the entire population, both the elites and lower classes, thus avoiding the invidious distinctions between elite religion and popular religion. To understand the Genevan liturgy more fully, we therefore need to consider not only Calvin's writings but also the consistory records.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the reformation of religious education. As in the other chapters, the author compares the situation before and after the Reformation. The sources give the impression of a wide and effective network of religious home instruction before the Reformation. However, Calvin considered most parents not well enough informed for this instruction and noticed »a crying need for religious education« (p. 57). He therefore wanted the parental instruction supplemented and supported by church services turned into catechism classes conducted by the pastors. He expected every child to attend in the parish in which his family lived and the meetings were open to adults interested or in need of instruction as well.

The next chapter examines in which ways the Reformation shaped the lifestyles of people in Geneva in regard to family, marriage, and sex. The consistory proved it to be possible to enforce morality in these aspects of life on virtually the entire population. The single approved lifestyle was that of the nuclear family – or better: household – usually consisting of a man, his wife, children, and a servant or servants. The clergy is no longer set apart. Ministers should join their flocks in lifestyle and therefore need to marry in order to set a good example. Though no longer a sacrament, marriage continued to have an ecclesiastical character. The wedding had to be celebrated in church at the beginning of the worship service. When someone was excommunicated by the consistory, he or she was not only barred from the Holy Supper, but also could not marry or be a godparent. That was a significant consequence, as godparent-

age was an important arrangement, binding together families in social, economic, and political ways.

Though from a historical point of view the consistory may have been most important for its role in winning public acceptance of the new liturgy and new systems of belief, and is perhaps best known for regulating morals and marriage, it actually spent more time helping Genevans control their emotions by resolving quarrels. This function, which Kingdon describes in his last chapter, is an aspect of the Genevan consistory on which he has never published before. In this respect the consistory was less a tribunal and more of a compulsory counseling service. The consistory intervened in family quarrels and urged people to abandon all past »hates and rancors« – the usual expression – encouraging them to live in peace and friendship. Living in hatred prevented people from receiving communion. As Holy Supper was designed to bring all people together, the consistory did its utmost to pacify quarrels as much as possible before a communion service and to weld the Genevans into a single community of love. Reconciliation was most often achieved in a semi-private ritual during a consistory meeting. Only selected cases required more public reconciliations, for example after a church service. However, one desired to avoid making a spectacle of these reconciliations and they were therefore usually scheduled outside the main church and not on Sundays but on Saturdays or on weekdays when fewer people would be present. According to Kingdon the positive results of this control of interpersonal hatred in early modern Geneva deserve our continuing attention.

Where historians of ecclesiastical discipline in Geneva most often have been either pro or contra this institution, Kingdon wants to equip his readers to adopt a more nuanced view. He states: »It is sometimes startling to realize that Calvin, one of the greatest intellectuals of his age, devoted several hours every week listening to Genevans stumble through their prayers, go on about their petty differences and lie about their sexual adventures. Not only did Calvin willingly attend these sessions, when pushed to the limit, he threatened to lay down his life rather than compromise on the principle of church discipline.« (p. 131) Today we would experience its controlling of lifestyles and emotions as problematic, ac-

customed as we are to more freedom and privacy. At least the consistory was remarkable for its evenhandedness with respect to class and gender. After all, the consistory was rather an educational instrument than merely an enforcer of orthodoxy. Despite negative stereotypes, it is fair to say that pastors relied more on persuasion than on persecution. The registers of the Genevan consistory provide an ideal source for reconstruction of its pastoral concerns.

By continually comparing the situation before and after, Kingdon paints a clear picture of the changes and the impact of the Reformation. It is interesting to see that in more than one area, for example the control of prostitution, most historical studies tend to depend heavily on legislative sources, and therefore are measuring intent rather than effect. In all aspects of society the study of consistory records can help to flesh out the prescriptions with information on the actual practices. Unfortunately Kingdon focuses too much on Calvin and less on the many other members of the Genevan Company of Pastors. Kingdon's important introduction to the study of the Genevan consistory should be compulsory reading for anyone studying consistory records from the early modern period. An index therefore would have been a very helpful feature to this succinct and highly readable guide.

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Christian Moser, Die Dignität des Ereignisses: Studien zu Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012 (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 163), 2 Bde., xii & 1110 S. – ISBN 978-90-04-22978-5.

Der Reformator Heinrich Bullinger hat in den letzten Jahren zu Recht endlich mehr Aufmerksamkeit in der Forschung gefunden. Insbesondere im Umfeld des 500. Geburtstags 2004 sind zahlreiche Arbeiten entstanden, die die Theologie und die Bedeutung des Nachfolgers Zwingli für die europäische Reformationsgeschichte gewürdigt haben. Vereinzelt wurde dabei auch herausgestellt, dass Bullinger wie kein zweiter Reformator historiographisch gearbeitet und sich dies auch unmittelbar in seinem theologischen Schrifttum