

«Was deutsche Landesherren im 16. Jahrhundert dazu gebracht haben mochte, in ihren Territorien allen Unsicherheiten und Unwägbarkeiten zum Trotz sich auf eine Umgestaltung der Kirche einzulassen, wie sie in der Geschichte bisher ohne Beispiel war» (S. 1), das ist die Frage dieser Tübinger theologischen Habilitationsschrift. In der Tat handelt es sich um ein gleichermaßen großes wie dringliches Thema, das trotz neuerer Arbeiten (z. B. Wright, Ludolphy) nicht befriedigend beantwortet ist.

Als empirische Grundlage dienen Sch. die Territorien der wettinischen Fürsten. An ihnen wird gezeigt, wie sich die Fürsten bereits im Jahrhundert vor der Reformation um die Verbesserung von Sitten und Frömmigkeit, um Klosterreform und Kontrolle der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit bemühten. Daraus ist eine äußerst quellenreiche, profunde, umfassende und gewissermaßen paradigmatische Gesamtdarstellung fürstlicher Kirchenpolitik entstanden. Ziel der Reformen waren, so resümiert Sch. seine Einsichten, «Gottesdienst und Landeswohl zugleich» (S. 192), das Amt der Obrigkeit und deren Verpflichtung auf das Gemeinwohl sind treibende Kräfte, um in religiöse Angelegenheiten «zur Besserung der Kirche im Lande» (S. 194f.) einzugreifen.

Die Ausgangsfrage Sch.s ist damit nur zum Teil beantwortet. Das Kernproblem, nämlich das der Motivation der Fürsten, wird durch zwei Kunstgriffe umgangen: Erstens spricht Sch. überhaupt nicht von der Reformationszeit und umgeht so die Frage, wie die massiven Rechtsbrüche der Fürsten (Säkularisation der Klöster, Usurpation der bischöflichen Gerichtsbarkeit, Verbürgerlichung des Klerus etc.) zu bewerten seien. Indem er zweitens den Begriff der «fürstlichen Staatsfrömmigkeit» einführt, unterstellt er einen durch das Amt der Obrigkeit gegebenen Auftrag zur Reformation, der jeden Fürsten von einer individuellen Verantwortung frei hält. Sch. schilt, nicht ohne rhetorisches Geschick, die jüngere Reformationsforschung gewaltig mit dem pauschalen Vorwurf der «Vernachlässigung der Definitionsaufgabe». Reformation sei nicht definiert, sondern voluntaristisch dem vorwissenschaftlichen Meinen jener ausgeliefert, die sich mit diesem Gegenstand beschäftigen. Fürsten «und Reformation» heißt Sch.s Buch. Eine Definition von Reformation sucht man in ihm vergeblich.

Peter Blickle, Bern

Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze, recueillie par Hippolyte Aubert, publiée par Alain Dufour et Béatrice Nicollier, tome 15: 1574, Genève: Droz 1991 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 254), xviii, 267 p., Fr. 70.–

Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze, recueillie par Hippolyte Aubert, publiée par Alain Dufour, Béatrice Nicollier et Reinhard Bodenmann, tome

16: 1575, Genève: Droz 1993 (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 273), xix, 315 p., Fr. 70.–

The seventy letters of volume 15, all dating from the year 1574, demonstrate Beza's importance as a theologian and political advisor within the network of the international reformed movement. Beza's primary correspondent is Heinrich Bullinger; their letters comprise over one-third of the entries in this volume, attesting both to their friendship and to the close relationship between the churches of Geneva and Zurich. Beyond Switzerland, Beza corresponds most frequently with Heidelberg (Daniel Toussain, Wenceslas Zuleger), Nuremberg (Laurent Dürnhoffer, Christophe Hardsesheim), and Poland (Christophe Thretius), in addition to the German princes Guillaume IV, Landgrave of Hesse and Louis of Nassau.

The *Correspondance* is full of the day to day concerns of the pastor and professor: recruiting instructors for the Genevan Academy (namely, François Pithou and Matthieu Beroald), visiting friends stricken by the plague, bemoaning unreliable mail couriers and negligent printers. Beza's letters frequently touch upon theological themes. He attacks Lutheran interpretations of the Lord's Supper, especially as they relate to the «communicatio idiomatum» (#1107); he sustains the deposition of a Heidelberg minister, Johannes Matthaeus; and he attempts to defuse tensions between the churches of Geneva and Zurich on the question of ecclesiastical discipline, evoked by the publication of his *Epistolae theologicae* the previous year (#1049, #1052). Beza's response to the *Confessio* of the Bohemian Brethren provides a particularly vivid testimony to his doctrinal position and his suspicions of religious ritual (#1099). More than a theologian, Beza's political judgment is sought by the reformed churches of Switzerland and the Rhineland, as well as by Condé, whom he meets in Strasbourg at the end of August.

The perilous situation in France continues to be of primary concern. The horror of the Saint Bartholomew's day massacres (1572) is very much present in these letters, as Beza and the reformed now attempt to assist the flood of refugees and mitigate the consequences of that «unexpected butchery». With obvious pleasure, he reports to Bullinger in February that the newly-elected king of Poland, Henri of Anjou, had been rebuked by the Protestant princes in a recent state visit to Germany and taunted with the words «executioner» and «murderer» by children in Frankfurt (#1051).

The death of Charles IX in May of 1574 provided the reformed with new concerns and new opportunities. To Beza's dismay, the regency of the kingdom passed to the queen mother Catherine de Medici «contra jura omnia divina et humana» (#1072). As Henri slipped out of Poland and journeyed to France, the queen – this «foreign woman» – inaugurated her reign by executing Montgomery. Despite these alarming developments, Beza and his colleagues

believed that the interregnum and subsequent ascendance of Henri III provided the reformed with a unique chance. Damville, the *gouverneur* of Languedoc, had formed a military alliance with the Huguenots; moderate Catholics were becoming weary of continued war. If the protestant princes in Germany would supply Condé with money and troops, Beza suggests, «nulla unquam servando regno et evertendo simul papatui oblata fuit melior occasio» (#1073). While agreeing with Bullinger that Condé and the Huguenots should seek a negotiated peace with Henri III, nonetheless, Beza insists – as he does in his *Du droit des magistrats* published this same year – that armed resistance may well be justified: «... non video cur non optimo jure isti tyrannidi justissimam defensionem opponere liceat...» (#1076)

In the second half of 1574, however, it was Saxony, not France, which consumed Beza's attention. Elector Auguste of Saxony, at the prompting of Selnecker, had vowed to destroy «Zwinglianism» and «Calvinism» (#1077). In the spring, several «crypto-Calvinist» ministers were arrested at Wittenberg and Leipzig, and forced to sign the articles of Torgau which condemned the errors of the «sacramentarians». Jacob Andreae, the «apostle of ubiquitarianism», provoked the confessional crisis by writing slanderous treatises against the reformed, accusing them of «Mohammedism» (#1095). As the theological and political divisions within Protestantism widened, Beza became increasingly alarmed lest «Christianismus» degenerate into «anathematismus», with the protestant church being ruined by internecine feuds. Throughout the fall, the churches of Geneva, Heidelberg, and Zurich attempted to formulate a common response to the Saxon crisis. Although Beza initially recommends convening a general synod to answer the accusations of their theological opponents, he later supports the Genevan magistrates' initiative to write the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony demanding an end to the persecutions (#1106, #1107).

It is difficult to find fault with a volume that displays so handsomely a collection of letters offering so many fascinating glimpses into the concerns of embattled reformed Protestantism. As with preceding volumes, this correspondence is carefully edited and richly annotated. In these annotations, the editors have not only examined the minutiae of the text, but have set the letters in the larger historical context of the period. The French *précis* contain detailed and accurate summaries of the letters which they preface. Occasionally, the *précis* are ambiguous: for example, Beza reports (inaccurately) that Don Juan of Austria has received not simply «une récompense en Avignon» as the summary states, but rather the whole territory of Avignon as a fief (*comitatus*) from the «satanic» See (#1051). Although typographical errors are infrequent, the discrepancy in letter #1108 between the date listed in the heading and in the text itself should be noted and corrected. Such rare «errata» notwithstanding, this edition of Beza's *Correspondance* deserves high praise. The editors

have made available letters filled with religious passion and personal anguish, evincing the «crisis» of the reformed movement in an age of «confessionalism» and «confessionalization».

The sixteenth volume of Beza's *Correspondance* contains sixty-six letters dating from 1575, two-thirds of which were written by the reformer himself. As in previous years, these letters provide a compelling portrait of the psychology and life of the Genevan reformer, as well as valuable insights into the religious mentalities and political conditions of the epoch.

The specter of death recurs frequently in this collection. On the first day of January, Beza informs Bullinger of the death of Charles de Guise – this «cordinalus, cardinalis atheus» – whom he will «eulogize» in a scurrilous epitaph several months later (#1111 and #1124). With similar delight Beza reports the death of the gnesio-Lutheran Flacius Illyricus in April (#1130). But neither the decease of Charles nor the death of Illyricus could console the reformer as he monitored the declining health of his colleagues Johannes Haller and Bullinger through the Summer of 1575. Beza's letters betray the anxiety of living at a time when the ranks of the reformed «founding fathers» are growing thin: «je voy rester au monde si peu de fideles serviteurs de Dieu, ce qui me fait beaucoup plus de paour que toutes les menaces et les persecutions du monde» (#1124, see also #1144). Bullinger died on September 17th – less than three weeks after Haller – and was buried in the Großmünster the next day. Beza's admiration and love for this «pater» and «communis parens» is preserved in his eloquent epitaph (appendix VI); his acute grief is captured in a pained letter to Dürnhoffer in early October: «... plura nunc quidem prae moerore non possum» (#1165).

The loss of Bullinger and Haller came at a particularly desperate moment for the reformed in Germany and France. In Saxony, the persecutions of «crypto-Calvinists» which had begun the previous year continued unabated. The gnesio-Lutherans, like a vicious «Cyclops», were «devouring» the reformed, banning their books and imprisoning their ministers (#1169). In Dresden, an effigy of Calvin was burned by the Elector Auguste during a state visit of Maximilian II (#1131). Benedict Thalmann, a German Calvinist, complained to Beza from his prison cell in Ansbach that «magis pugnant pro Lutheri quam Christi gloria» (#1153). Beza joined this confessional battle from his desk in Geneva, completing his *Apologia* against the articles of Torgau in late January, and sending paraphrases of the Psalms and letters of encouragement to the persecuted «brothers» in Germany (#1124, #1145, #1156). But an initiative by the pastors of Geneva to mobilize the reformed churches in Switzerland, England, Scotland and Poland against the Saxon «inquisitio» never materialized, due in part to the hesitations of Bullinger, and to the absence of the Elector Palatin from the Assembly of Ratisbonne in October.

The situation of the reformed in France remained equally precarious. Civil war continued to rage in Languedoc, Dauphiné and Poitou, transforming a kingdom, once «tant grand et opulent», into «une Arabie la deserte» (#1142). Three times during the course of 1575 (February, June, November) Beza journeyed to Strasbourg and Bern to meet with Condé in order to deliberate acceptable conditions for peace in France. Beza fears that the reformed will be treacherously crushed «sub pacis speciei», unless the new king Henri III guarantees the Huguenots liberty of conscience and safe havens (#1135). While the Genevan reformer both dreads and desires peace, Bullinger has no such misgivings. In his last letter to Beza, dated June 16th, the Zurich minister begs one final time for an end to bloodshed: «peto et oro ne belli et sanguinis sis cupidus...» (#1140). In the end, however, Bullinger's «via pacis» was rejected; within three months of the reformer's death, Jean Casimir had invaded France with 16,000 German and Swiss soldiers, hastening the Peace of Monsieur the following May.

The correspondence of 1575 underlines how important and divisive the issue of ecclesiastical discipline had become within the reformed movement. In April, John Lyon, Lord Chancellor of Scotland seeks Beza counsel on the legitimacy of the episcopal office, the convening of synods, the application of discipline, and the authority of the king in ecclesiastical matters (#1128). Beza's lengthy response four months later forms the basis of his treatise *De Triplici Episcopatu* (1580), implicitly critiquing the Elizabethan settlement by rejecting the office of bishop and advocating a presbyterial-synodal ecclesiology as well as a restrained use of excommunication (#1154). Zurich, however, continued to reject this ecclesiastical vision in theory and practice. In the Spring, Bullinger urges Beza to use his influence in tempering the passions of Olevianus in Heidelberg who, with a group of «foreign-born» ministers, had abused church discipline in order to persecute «pious and learned brethren» such as Thomas Erastus and Simon Grynaeus (#1129). Although Beza suspects that these accusations are unfounded, he diplomatically asks Olevianus to restrain his «vehementia» and moderate his use of discipline «ut quantum conscientia recta pati potest» (#1138). Beza is obviously irritated that Zurich believes the rumors of «random malcontents», and continues to view Geneva's consistory and discipline as excessively harsh (#1148, #1161). It is the «calamitas» of the age that small disagreements and differences of opinion are no longer permitted among friends (#1161).

This fascicle of Beza's *Correspondance* achieves the high standard set by the previous volumes. The reader is well-served by the detailed précis; the extensive annotations provide broad access to secondary literature, while containing valuable historical and theological information. The index offers a complete listing of persons and places, but does not contain those entries which would be of most interest to social historians, such as references to the plague, famine,

crime, magic, and inflation. A separate index of biblical citations would have made the volume more accessible to students of sixteenth-century exegesis. These limitations aside, the sixteenth volume of Beza's *Correspondance* offers a fascinating window into the internal tensions and external troubles confronting reformed Protestantism a decade after Calvin's death.

Scott Manetsch, Tucson

Melanchthons Briefwechsel. Kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe, hrsg. von Heinz Scheible, Band T1: Texte 1–254 (1514–1522), bearb. von Richard Wetzel, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog 1991, 558 S., ISBN 3-7728-1175-2, DM 310,–

Das Erscheinen des ersten Textbandes markiert einen bedeutenden Schritt im Rahmen des großen Unternehmens Melanchthon-Briefwechsel. Denn damit ist das Heidelberger Herausgeberteam in seinem auf die drei Hauptreihen Regesten/Register, Texte und Sachkommentar angelegten Editionsplan früher als erwartet zum eigentlichen Kernstück vorgestoßen. Eine personelle Erweiterung machte es möglich, daß nun schon vor Abschluß der Regesten-Ausgabe bearbeitete Volltexte vorliegen. Bearbeiter Richard Wetzel präsentiert auf gut 500 Seiten ein gewichtiges Stück philologischer, bibliographischer und handschriftentechnischer Erschließungsarbeit. Der Band enthält 257 Dokumente (Briefe von und an Melanchthon, Widmungsvorreden und -nachworte, Gutachten usw.), davon unter 12 Nummern 15 z. T. in Auszügen edierte Fremdbriefe; er umfaßt die Jahre 1514–1522.

Die Briefe illustrieren einen Zeitabschnitt, in dem unspektakuläre Gelehrtenarbeit im Wechsel mit bewegten und bewegenden Vorgängen steht. Spiegeln die Briefinhalte vorerst Melanchthons Bildungsgang, seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit (belegt durch einen hohen Anteil an Vorreden und Nachworten), seinen regen Umgang mit Humanisten, den Antritt des Lehramtes an der Universität Wittenberg im September 1518 sowie den Studienbetrieb, vermischt mit Privatem wie etwa der Heirat mit Katharina Krapp im November 1520, so tritt von 1518 an zunehmend das reformatorische Geschehen in den Vordergrund. Wir erleben den Durchbruch Luthers und die damit verbundenen Auseinandersetzungen. Besonders um den Wormser Reichstag und während des Aufenthaltes Luthers auf der Wartburg (April 1521 bis März 1522) wird die Bewegung virulent; Melanchthon, Vertreter Luthers in Wittenberg, steht der stürmischen Entwicklung – von den Aktivitäten der Zwickauer Propheten über Karlstadts eiferndes Tun bis zu den Auseinandersetzungen um die neue Meßordnung – manchmal etwas ratlos gegenüber. Nach der Rückkehr Luthers im März 1522 dominieren wieder die Probleme des akademischen