

kannte Dilemma zwischen liebhabermäßiger Geschichtsforschung und universitärer Wissenschaft besonders deutlich. Hier erste Pflöcke gesetzt zu haben, um einen Brückenschlag zu ermöglichen, ist ein weiteres Verdienst dieser Publikation.

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John Calvin on the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving

Genève, Librairie Droz S.A., 1984 (Travaux d'Humanism et Renaissance No. CXCVII), 268 S. + index + bibliographies.

Elsie Anne McKee connects the office of deacon and donations by the faithful in the context of worship services by the notion that the two represent complementary aspects of Calvin's doctrine of *caritas*. McKee uses what she calls a contextual method to elicit this doctrine as well as to probe aspects of Calvin's ecclesiology. Thus she focusses on Calvin's exegesis of Scriptural passages in the history of interpretation, relying on Calvin's commentaries but not neglecting his sermons and other publications. McKee conducts her study around the twin poles of the history of the Reformed liturgy and the history of the institution of the diaconate; assorted passages from *Acts* and the Pauline epistles as understood by Calvin, his predecessors, contemporaries and successors orbit around these poles.

The first part of the book investigates the way in which Calvin sought to integrate the giving of alms into worship services in Geneva. As she does throughout the study, McKee seeks to trace the historical as well as the historiographical aspects of her topic. In this section, therefore, McKee discusses the scholarly debates which center on the genesis of Calvin's liturgy in his Strasbourg period, the indictment of the Reformed tradition for separating benevolence from worship as well as questions relating to whether or not Protestants of the sixteenth century replaced the offertory part of the Mass with almsgiving and the various ways and means of collection of charitable contributions among Reformed churches in England and on the continent. McKee's conclusions, that sixteenth century almsgiving (both Protestant and Roman Catholic) differed from its medieval antecedents by virtue of a new organization and centralization, that Protestantism was theologically indisposed to begging, that Protestant almsgiving was associated with official worship services, seem indisputable within the boundaries that she establishes. McKee's further qualification as regards the theological underpinning of the liturgical formulae is a well-taken one: Protestant and especially Reformed ordinances regarding charitable contributions to the poor function as much in the civil as in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Re-

formers certainly saw almsgiving as one of the physical forms that the spiritual virtue of charity could take, but most saw this activity as one of the civil duties of a good citizen living in a Christian commonwealth.

Thus although McKee freely admits her theological bias, there is some question, in my mind at least, as to whether she can legitimately skirt the issues of church and state which she describes and then all but ignores. One feels oneself abashed to suggest further inclusions in McKee's already voluminous list of secondary literature, but the omission of, for example, Hanno Hopfl's *The Christian Polity of John Calvin* and other works on the political aspects of Calvin's Geneva, has a telling effect on the persuasiveness of McKee's description of social and liturgical habits in Geneva.

Part II, on the office of deacon, carries the weight of the book in the literal as well as the figurative sense. Here McKee considers social welfare reform in the sixteenth century in general and in Geneva while she pays careful regard to the problems which have plagued historians as they use and abuse the ideas of secularization and resacralization. Chapters 6–10, which give an exegetical history of the diaconate, can be said to be something of a triumph of method. In each chapter McKee looks at examples of patristic and mediaeval exegesis of a particular passage relating to the diaconate and examines how sixteenth century Protestant and Roman Catholic exegetes used these passages. Calvin thus becomes a particularly strong and interesting representative of the Reformed tradition; McKee also considers his influences and those whom he influenced. What Calvin loses in uniqueness we gain in understanding.

Furthermore, by restricting herself to the history of exegesis McKee solves the problem of what to make of the actual status of deacons in Calvin's Geneva. Although it is easy to carp at the choice of this figure or that as representative of a given trend or tradition – how typical was Ambrosiaster's exegesis? Why focus on Aquinas? – McKee's work with the sources combined with the happy editorial decision to put footnotes at the bottom of the page and not at the end of the chapter allow the reader to verify her work as both admirable and convincing.

Part III of the book carries the title «Theological Context» and consists of one chapter with the awkward name, 'Diaconal Themes in Calvin's Commentaries'. After noting that the themes of almsgiving and the diaconate in fact only rarely appear in Calvin's biblical commentaries, McKee notes that nonetheless, 'not a little is said about the *caritas* (love) and/or *justitia* (justice, righteousness) owed to all people, especially those oppressed in any way.' (p. 227) This sentence represents the author's justification for appending a chapter which considers benevolence as an ethical or theological concept to an essentially historical and otherwise well-focussed study. McKee extrapolates from Calvin's exegesis of the Bible an identification of the first table of the law with *pietas* and the second table with *caritas* to show how the two interact to form the necessary

superstructure for Calvin's ethics. Along the way McKee investigates such integrated and integrating notions as the love of God, fear of God, faith, offices of piety, justification, humanity and integrity; in an appendix she sketches the vocabulary of love in the 1559 *Institutes*, a job no doubt made easier by Battles *Computerized Concordance* of the same. For the chapter itself, however, McKee uses Calvin's scriptural commentaries as her basis, exploring in depth some of the lesser known works of the reformer. In spite of an obvious mastery of the sources, however, McKee strains to establish the connection between this discussion of benevolence and the two previously considered historical phenomena.

The third section therefore, interesting though it is, does not fulfil the integrative function for which the author intended it. Although McKee's theological inclinations and abilities are evident throughout the study, Parts I and II essentially use Calvin's commentaries to display the underpinning of social institutions which McKee argues are unique to those churches following the tradition of the Genevan reform. Part III turns from the development of the liturgy and ecclesiastical institutions of Geneva to questions of doctrine and dogma which the author consider without reference to historical phenomena. McKee's abilities as both a systematic theologian and historian of exegesis are obvious, but in the study she has not effectively integrated the two. The final section of the book on Calvin's dogma of benevolence, stands apart from the previous discussions of the development of the two historical developments of the office of the deacon and liturgical almsgiving. The connection between the historical and the systematic parts of this study is implied by the arrangement of the book but never fully worked out.

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Seit dem 19. Jahrhundert unterschied man in der niederländischen Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung eine streng calvinistische von einer «National-reformierten» Richtung, deren Hauptvertreter, Johannes Anastasius Veluanus, unter dem mäßigenden Einfluß zürcherischer Theologen gestanden sei. Jüngere Arbeiten bestätigend, verweist Morsink zwar die Existenz einer solchen Partei in das Reich der Fabel, zeigt aber zugleich eindrücklich, wie Anastasius Anregungen von Zwingli und Bullinger aufgenommen hat. In seinem Hauptwerk «Der