

## Reviews

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*The Oxford classical dictionary*. 3rd revised edn. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Pp. lv + 1640. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 (first publ. 1949, 1970, 1996). £90. 0 19 860641 9  
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*The Oxford classical dictionary* is an exceptionally rich one-volume, multi-author encyclopaedia which covers all aspects of Graeco-Roman antiquity and much else besides, providing (economical) bibliographies at the end of almost every article. The editors who undertook and completed the Herculean task of producing a third edition fully deserve the thanks and praise widely accorded to them, for the result of their labours is indeed a triumph. Its 6,250 entries by 364 scholars regale the reader with authoritative information on subjects as diverse as Attila and Aristotle, Babylon and Boethius, capitalism and chastity, or even Zeus and Zoroaster.

As its preface declares, the third edition (1996, revised, i.e. with minor changes, 2003) deliberately differs from the previous ones of 1949 and 1970 in several respects, all of which can be praised without reserve. It has been rendered more accessible through the translation of the ancient languages, and more user-friendly by widespread cross-referencing. It has gained in quality through the editors' determination to 'secure the best experts on the topics covered, wherever in the world they happened to be'. It also includes some 700 new entries. These attest to the third edition's determination to be interdisciplinary (for example 'economic theory, Greek'), and reflect a new solicitousness in offering readers survey articles containing useful cross-references (for example 'technology'). More specifically, inadequacies in coverage have been set to rights for women, Judaism and the Near East.

The third edition includes a substantial number of new entries of interest to ecclesiastical historians. For Christian authors and literature we note: apologists, Christian; Paul, St; Acts of the Apostles; apocalyptic literature; Boethius' musical writings; epic, biblical; Epistle to Diognitus; Latin, medieval, literary; *Chronicon Paschale*; Seven Wonders of the Ancient World; Ambrosiaster; Theophilus (2) of Antioch; Paulinus (2) of Pella; Maximianus; Tatian; Methodius; *Didascalia apostolorum*. For early Christian beliefs and practices: pilgrimage, Christian; cemeteries; chastity; asceticism; churches; statues, cult of (includes 'Judaeo-Christian' section). For 'heresies': Naaseenes; Arianism.

Students of the early Church will also welcome new entries on many related themes. Thus, the rising interest in the relationship between Christian and pagan healing (see, for example, Hector Avalos, *Health care and the rise of Christianity*, 1999) is well served by entries on the following subjects: body; gynaecology; hysteria;

midwives; humours; pathology; pharmacology; hypothesis, scientific; purification, Greek; pneuma; pneumatists; and on the following individuals: Callimachus (4) of Bithynia; Demetrius (21) of Apamea; Paul of Aegina; Hegetor; Chrysermus; Alexander (15) Philateles; Alexander (16) of Tralles.

Judaism is covered by new entries on: religion, Jewish; rabbis; Dead Sea Scrolls; Mishnah; Talmud; Midrash; Jewish-Greek literature; synagogue; Samaria; Galilee; Judaea; semitism (pagan), anti-; Sadducees; Pharisees; Hasmoneans; Essenes; Babatha; Ezechiel [NB not biblical book]; Maccabees [NB not biblical book]; Aristeas, letter of; Aphrodisias.

More generally, there is much that is new on non-Judaeo-Christian religion and philosophy: paganism; oracles (late antiquity); deisidaimonia; superstitio; atomism; death, attitudes to; deus/divus; incense in religion; myrrh; intolerance, intellectual and religious; oriental cults and religions; sanctuaries; rites of passage; ritual; women in cult; Hermias (3); pollution, the Greek concept of; portents; theodicy; theurgy; suicide; dreams; incubation.

Where articles have not been added, they have often been revised (for example Vulgate; magic; Constantine; Tertullian) or rewritten (for example atheism; medicine; Rome; Constantinople; Christianity). And even when the entries themselves are left unchanged (for example Augustine, Origen) the bibliographies have been brought up to date (to 1996).

The sum of these modifications represents an improvement on an improvement. For while the first edition of 1949, a somewhat idiosyncratic work ('Valerian was neither a fool nor a knave'), took little interest in early Christianity and church history, the second of 1970 did much to compensate, both writing them into articles where they were relevant (for example Aelianus; Ammianus Marcellinus; Ephraem Syrus; names, theophoric personal), and by adding a large number of fresh ones (for example Christianity; Donatists; Manichaeism; Priscillianists; and many individuals). In short, partly because of a rich inheritance, and partly because of good investment, *OCD* 3 (revised) is brimming with material relevant to the study of the early Church.

While it neither supplants handbooks of ecclesiastical history such as *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, nor claims to, its potential for quick reference in the subject should not be underestimated. *Inter alia*, it includes the following entries which *ODCC* lacks: 'Eustattius' (of Constantinople), 'Merobaudes, Flavius', 'Praetextatus', 'Dicta Catonis', 'Eunapius'. And quite apart from entries with direct bearing on early Christian matters, ecclesiastical historians will find *OCD* 3 (revised) invaluable for its coverage of imperial Roman history, Greek philosophy, etc.

We might, however, make a few comments in a spirit of cautious constructive criticism. Since the excellent article 'Christianity' stops around the fourth century, there is no obvious reservoir of cross-references to individuals of later times, which is a pity, since entries on them abound, but at present the reader can only discover them if he knows they exist in the first place. Perhaps a small number of additional entries or entry sections are called for. One such possibility is 'bishops'. Another might be 'monasticism' (crossreferring, for example, with 'Cassian' and 'Cassiodorus'); and if Sumerian, Akkadian and Lydian get their own entries, then perhaps Coptic should too. Similarly, the number of crossreferences to individuals might be increased in the thematic articles: 'Athanasius' in 'Arianism', 'Paulinus (1) of Nola' in 'asceticism', etc. (also 'Themistius' in 'Julian'). On a different matter,

there is frustratingly little about the crystallising of the Church's institutional aspects, especially the papacy. An entry 'pope' or appropriate extension of 'pontifex' would not go amiss. A few particulars: a cross reference to 'apologists, Christian' should appear at the end of 'Christianity', which should somewhere crossrefer to the new section 3.4 'the impact of Christianity' at the end of 'Rome', and to 'asceticism'. Constantine should be asterisked in 'Christianity'. 'Dropped' under 'Gratian' contradicts 'refused to accept' under 'pontifex', while 'Christianity' has a 'deathbed surrender'.

As the revised edition of 2003 differs from the third edition of 1996 only in small corrections, the bibliographies are already slightly out-dated. For instance, Peter Heather's standard work, *The Goths* (Oxford 1998) and the important article 'Un Aspect ignoré des persécutions des chrétiens dans l'antiquité' by Andrzej Wypustek in the *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* xxiv (1999) appeared too late for inclusion. A possible way to palliate this tedious but inevitable fact of bibliographic ageing might be to refer the reader to the annual bibliographies in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain), for example at the end of the article 'Christianity'. But all in all, the reader/user will doubtless agree: 'ubi plura in carmine nitent, non ego paucis offendi maculis!'.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

MARTIN WORTHINGTON

*Mönchtum in Ost und West. Historischer Atlas.* Edited by Juan María Laboa. (Trans. by Franziska Dörr of *Atlante storico del monachesimo orientale e occidentale*, Milan: Editoriale Jaca Book SpA, 2002.) Pp. 272 incl. 456 black-and-white and colour plates. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003. €49.80. 3 7954 1497 0  
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The hubbub of urban life easily drives people to withdraw to the countryside, or at least to seek quiet and solitude. This book provides maps marking the location of monasteries where world religions, especially Christianity, provide for renunciation. This remarkable and weighty volume is adorned by a magnificent array of plates, mostly in colour, illustrating ascetic life and its buildings with portraits of leading figures. Originally published in Italy, it has been skilfully translated into German; but printing remains Italian. Pictures include Hindu and Buddhist sites and a Chinese portrait of Mani; Jewish asceticism is represented by Qumran and the Negev. Origen, not himself a monk and expressly denying the need to retire to the desert as in his time some had already done, is a seminal figure. By 400 both east and west had Christian communities of ascetics, inspired by Athanasius' *Life of Antony*.

A spectacular plate shows the panorama from the summit of Mount Athos. Several Athonite houses are well portrayed as also the wonderful frescoes in northern Romania such as Voronets. For England and Henry VIII there are the sad ruins of Fountains, but a sympathetic inventory of Anglican houses.

OXFORD

HENRY CHADWICK

*Eastern orthodoxy through western eyes.* By Donald Fairbairn. Pp. xiii + 209. Louisville–London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002. £12.99 (paper). 0 664 22497 0  
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As a general introduction to the subject, *The Orthodox Church* by Bishop Kallistos Ware has been pre-eminent over several editions and four decades (together with his later *The Orthodox way*). Donald Fairbairn's comprehensive work does not supplant the revised versions of these, but is equally valuable for the reader who wants to cover the basic theology and tradition of the Orthodox Church. The perspective is different, because Fairbairn writes as an American Protestant, whereas Bishop Kallistos is a British convert to the Orthodox Church. However, this may even be an advantage, as he hopes to persuade his fellow-believers, who might be disinclined to look at a work by a committed Orthodox Christian, to pick up this book and take its subject seriously. Anyone who does so will be richly rewarded. As Fairbairn writes in his preface, addressing his Protestant constituency: 'I hope this book will help you establish a point of contact, begin to understand the mysterious vision of Eastern Orthodoxy, and see and evaluate the major differences between Orthodoxy and Western Christianity.' This it certainly does, in a logical presentation and a style free from theological jargon. The inevitable Greek terms are there, of course, but when they arise they are carefully explained. The scope of the book is entirely theological, and does not attempt to recount the complex modern history of the Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, Fairbairn writes with an obvious knowledge of post-communist Russia: see especially chapter ix ('Popular Orthodoxy') and his disquisition on the work of an Orthodox polemicist, Deacon Andrei Kouraev.

OXFORD

MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

*The general councils. A history of the twenty-one church councils from Nicaea to Vatican II.*  
 By Christopher M. Bellitto. Pp. xi + 156 incl. 4 ill. New York–Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2002. \$16.95 (paper). 0 8091 4019 5  
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Forty and more years ago, the convocation of the Second Vatican Council stimulated the publication of a series of short histories of the general councils of the Church. The last few years have seen the breaking of a new wave of similar histories written or edited by Giuseppe Alberigo, Klaus Schatz, Norman Tanner and, now, Christopher Bellitto. Less probing, challenging and original than Tanner's *The councils of the Church: a short history* (English version, 2001), the obvious alternative choice for an anglophone readership, it tends to gloss over or sidestep the neuralgic moments that have punctuated conciliar history. No reason, for example, is given for including Constance (1414–18) while excluding Pisa (1409), a very important assembly that was far better attended than its predecessor councils at Lyons (1274) and Vienne (1311–12) had been. And no indication is given of the reasons (purely diplomatic) inducing the council fathers at Constance to permit the delegates of the Roman claimant, Gregory XII, to go through the charade of 'convoking' the council when they themselves clearly adhered to the view that it was John XXIII who was *verus papa*. None the less, Bellitto's book provides a clear, well-constructed, cautiously

reliable, and essentially ‘mainstream’ account of the ecumenical councils of antiquity and of the medieval and modern general councils of the Latin or Roman Catholic Church.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE,  
MASSACHUSETTS

FRANCIS OAKLEY

*The library of Eusebius of Caesarea.* By Andrew Carriker. (Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language, 67.) Pp. xv + 360. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003. €97. 90 04 13132 9; 0920 623X  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904250801

Andrew J. Carriker has produced what deserves to be called an important book. His fine reconstruction of the contents of the famous library at Caesarea Maritima in Palestine fills a significant *lacuna* in patristic studies (see Mras, 1954; Runia, 1996). It will provide a firm basis for any further work on Eusebius as well as on Christian scholarship in late antiquity in general. Carriker establishes the contents of the library by focusing on four primary sources, namely Eusebius’ *Chronicon*, *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Praeparatio evangelica* and *De vita Constantini*. These four texts contain numerous quotations and references from philosophical works (for example presocratic and middle Platonic works), works of poetry and oratory, historical works, Jewish and Christian literature and documents and contemporary documents as well. The careful compilation of these quotations produces a ‘summary list’ of the contents of Eusebius’ library (pp. 299–311). This list is the result of Carriker’s study. However, the book is far more than a mere compilation of references. The author deals carefully with the difficult problem of establishing whether Eusebius used his sources first-hand or through intermediaries (pp. 45–74), and rightly favours the former option. Moreover, he provides a fine reconstruction of the history of the library in Caesarea Maritima from the end of the second century to the beginning of the fourth (pp. 2–36). One might criticise the fact that other important works by Eusebius such as *Demonstratio evangelica*, *Theophania*, *Martyrs of Palestine*, *Contra Hieroclem*, *Contra Marcellum*, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, the *Commentaries* on Isaiah, Psalms and Luke, and last but not least the *Onomasticon*, have not been examined satisfactorily. Although Carriker is right in stating that these works do not contain the variety of evidence of the four primary sources (p. xiv), they nevertheless merited more careful examination, since they do contain a considerable number of explicit and implicit references. A more thorough reading of these works would have given Carriker’s study an even broader and more reliable foundation. Nevertheless, this book produces some close examination of the question of Eusebius’ sources and fills a distinct gap in contemporary scholarship. It will no doubt become an important reference work for further studies.

MARTIN-LUTHER-UNIVERSITÄT,  
HALLE-WITTENBERG

JÖRG ULRICH

*Engaging Augustine on Romans. Self, context, and theology in interpretation.* Edited by Daniel Patte and Eugene TeSelle. (Romans Through History and Cultures.) Pp. xiii + 290. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002. \$35 (paper).  
 1 56338 407 8

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‘How can we, present day biblical critics, envision a practice of scriptural criticism which would follow Augustine’s practice as a guide?’ This question, posed by Daniel Patte, sums up the insights and conclusions of the team of scholars who, beside himself, have contributed to this impressively learned collection: Eugene TeSelle, Thomas F. Merton, Paula Fredriksen, Simon J. Gathercole, John K. Riches, Peter J. Gorlay and Krister Stendahl – and indicates the motive which governs it. It constitutes the second volume in the series *Romans Through History and Cultures: Reception and Critical Interpretations*, inaugurated by Cristina Grenholm and Patte himself. The present volume is inspired and provoked by Krister Stendahl’s *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (1976), which suggested that western exegesis of Romans has been vitiated, immediately by Martin Luther, but ultimately by Augustine and his medieval disciples, into reading it within a primarily ethical/judicial framework, which has produced the introspective, individualistic conscience of western culture, ‘a Western development and a Western plague’ (p. 176), as opposed to considering the question, more immediately relevant for Paul, regarding relations between Christian Gentiles and Christian Jews, now that the Messiah had come and Paul was the Apostle to the Gentiles. In order to explore this question adequately, Grenholm and Patte urge the development of an ‘integrated tri-polar’ approach to the interpretation of Scripture, the three ‘poles’ being the scriptural text, the believer’s life-context and the believer’s religious perceptions; and within any particular scriptural interpretation, three interpretative frames, analytical, contextual and hermeneutical, these frames being indicated by the letters ‘A’, ‘C’ ‘H’, and ‘I’, which signifies passages in which two or three frames are involved. (This device may not appeal to all readers, but one becomes accustomed to it.) The essayists are either church historians or New Testament specialists. All are well-acquainted with patristic writing in general and with Augustine in particular. To single out any particular author for discussion would be invidious in a notice as necessarily brief as the present; suffice it to say that the picture which emerges of Augustine as a student of the Bible, as an exegete and as a preacher, anxious to expound the Bible as an instrument of human salvation, is predominantly a favourable one, though Stendahl remains persuaded that Augustine is ‘the pioneer of the introspective reading of Paul’ (p. 270). The reader must judge for himself. What has impressed the reviewer of these essays is the evidence for Augustine’s claim to be the earliest Latin theoretician of the science of biblical criticism, even if he drew on Tyconius’ *Liber regularum*; and to his need to vindicate Paul as a Catholic theologian against the arguments of the Manichees, which in turn affected Augustine’s personal attitude towards Judaism in the context of the world of the Christian Roman empire. The present excellent volume may perhaps inspire further studies of Augustine’s Pauline exegesis, perhaps involving a comparison of Pelagius’ Romans commentary, following on from Theodore de Bruyn? In the meantime, we may be grateful to the contributors to this collection.

DURHAM

GERALD BONNER

*The bishop as disciplinarian in the letters of St. Augustine.* By Daniel Edward Doyle. (Patristic Studies, 4.) Pp. xxi + 397. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. £48. 0 8204 6130 X  
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This is a lucid and painstaking doctoral study of how Augustine understood his duty as a bishop to use his ecclesiastical authority in fostering the spiritual formation of those entrusted to his oversight as both understanding and practice are revealed in his letters. It is itself a disciplined enquiry which first sets out briefly what others before Augustine, in particular Tertullian and Cyprian, had meant by *disciplina*, drawing for this purpose on the lexical work of Morel and Seagraves, before looking in greater detail at Augustine's own use of this term to mean primarily 'the rule of Christian life which is both taught and lived in the school of Christ, namely, the Church' (p. 25), but also to mean the fraternal correction, including punishment, by which that rule is secured. In the process of elucidating these different senses of *disciplina* we catch glimpses of the north African Christians who were not always willing subjects of correction, like the Catholics whom Augustine accuses in *Letter* 108 of seeking rebaptism in Donatist churches rather than endure ecclesiastical penances in their own church (p. 43). When reviewing how deftly Augustine handled Roman law Doyle sides with scholars such as Rougé against an earlier generation that tended to make little of the bishop's legal knowledge. The exercise of pastoral discipline is set in the context of Augustine's wider views of a human happiness found only in God and of a wayward human heart which is to be schooled by temporal punishment in this life if it is to avoid eternal punishment in the next. Throughout the author draws helpfully on the relevant European as well as anglophone scholarship from the past two decades. Where scholars have differed, for example in their assessment of how Augustine and his fellow bishops viewed and used the bishop of Rome's authority, the evidence and varying interpretations are carefully reviewed. The author is sensitive to changes in the use of individual words across Augustine's correspondence (for example the sense of *anathema*; p. 337). References at the bottom of each page helpfully include extensive quotations from the Latin critical editions. On the other hand, the lack of index entries for individual letters, unfortunate when letters are discussed in more than one place, is only partly compensated for by entries for individual correspondents. Overall, it may be said that the book holds few surprises for scholars, but is certainly a welcome addition to college libraries and reading lists. The book's final section on pastoral discipline and excommunication is of particular merit.

BLACKFRIARS,  
 OXFORD

RICHARD FINN OP

Maximus the Confessor and his companions, *Documents from exile.* Edited and translated by Pauline Allen and Bronwell Neil. Pp. xv + 210 incl. 2 maps. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £45. 0 19 829991 5  
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This book contains a collection of seven Greek and Latin texts recently edited by the authors in *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, together with a new English translation. The texts have not previously been easily available and most are translated here into

English for the first time. Those chosen illumine one of the sorriest stages of the Monoenergist-Monothelite Controversy, chronicling events from the first trial of Maximus the Confessor in 655 to his death in 662. Maximus had been the champion of the opposition to the imperially-sponsored attempt to woo back the so-called Monophysites to Byzantine orthodoxy through an affirmation of the one operation or (later) will of Christ. Maximus' dissent from an imperial policy he saw as irreparably damaging the integrity of the humanity of Christ and thereby imperilling our salvation brought down upon him a number of cruel and ultimately fatal punishments. The texts gathered here are for the most part of historical and biographical rather than theological interest. Perhaps the most interesting are the *Record of the trial* and the *Dispute at Bizya*. The former of these contains a number of arresting mentions of the terms 'Byzantines' and 'Greeks' as against 'Romans' (pp. 62, 70). In both cases we have an extremely early example of these terms being used in contradistinction, giving us (presuming they are not a later interpolation) an intriguing glimpse, on which the authors do not appear to comment, of the way in which the controversy contributed to the bifurcation between Greek east and Latin west. The volume comes with an excellent introductory section that admirably and accessibly sets the documents in context. The translation is precise and accurate, albeit at times erring slightly towards the character of a crib (something one can forgive in a parallel translation). On the subject of translation I would also enter a plea for the avoidance of contractions in order to spare us painful exchanges such as the following between Maximus and his judges: 'Aren't you in communion with the throne of Constantinople?' [...] 'No, I'm not.' (*Trial*, p. 61 but cf. p. 71). I felt a similar banality in the rendering of *Sakellarios* as 'finance minister' (p. 48). In fairness, however, I must own that my points of criticism are more subjective than substantive and that this is a most valuable work on which its authors should be warmly congratulated.

CAMBRIDGE

MARCUS PLESTED

*Historiam perscrutari. Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. Ottorino Pasquato*. By Mario Maritano (Presentazione di Sua Em. il Card. P. Poupard). (Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose, 180.) Pp. 882 incl. colour frontispiece and 13 figs. Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 2002. €50 (paper). 88 213 0513 9  
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The present volume contains fifty-six essays presented to Ottorino Pasquato on the occasion of his retirement from a chair in church history at the Pontifical University Salesiana in Rome. The wide span of themes is held together by a focus on the main scholarly interests of the honoured. Pasquato's philosophical PhD thesis in 1979, on H. I. Marrou, spurs an entire section on historiography: four contributions discuss Marrou's concepts (P. Chenaux, G. Fornasari, P. Riché and J.-P. Saranyana); in addition, G. Coffele analyses H. Lubac's view of history in the context of the *nouvelle théologie*, and J.-D. Durand and L. Sartori discuss 'catholic' and 'ecumenic' perspectives of history writing aiming at a 'reconciliation of memory'. Ten essays on John Chrysostom (by K. Akanthopoulou, B. Amata, M. Cimosà, A. Cioffi, A. Miranda, I. Ognatibia, M. A. Schatkin, W. Turek, S. Voicu and S. Zincone), to whom Pasquato's thesis for the theological doctorate in 1973 was devoted, reflect his main patristic interests. To pick out but a few more contributions on other Fathers,



L. Cracco Ruggini depicts the use of Elisha as model for the bishop in Athanasius and Ambrose; L. Pietri interprets a letter of Gregory the Great concerned with what seems to be the earliest case of iconoclasm in the west; C. Kannengiesser is concerned with the rhetorical culture informing Tyconius' exegetical rules and provides a critical review of the present state of debate; G. Bonney evaluates Bede's history writing in the light of his biblical scholarship; E. Dassmann describes the Christ-centred piety of Ambrose as the driving force of his theology and church leadership; M. Spanneut compares some Christian to other ancient notions of divine apathy; and V. Grossi sketches aspects of Augustine's ecclesiology. The volume is complemented by a bibliography and a brief biographical sketch of Ottorino Pasquato. Given the range of subjects, it is a pity that there is no index.

FACULTY OF DIVINITY,  
CAMBRIDGE

THOMAS GRAUMANN

*Lateinische Biographie von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart. Scripturus vitam. Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag.* Edited by Dorothea Walz. Pp. xvii + 1287 incl. frontispiece. Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 2002. €75. 3 930978 15 6  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904300801

It seems particularly appropriate to have presented Walter Berschin, one of the most distinguished mediolatinists, with a collection of essays entitled *Scripturus vitam*. With these words St Jerome began his *Life* of Hilarion (c. 390), and in this he was followed by other notable hagiographers like Gregory of Tours, Einhard and William of Saint-Thierry. This is not to suggest, as the editor, Dorothy Walz, hastens to explain, that the present *Festschrift* is a hagiographical nod to the addressee. On the contrary, the *Festschrift* is a fitting tribute to the man who more than anyone else in the twentieth century has made a magnificent contribution to our understanding of the Latin tradition of medieval biographical writing. It contains contributions from ninety-nine (!) of his pupils, colleagues and friends, which have been sensibly arranged according to three broad themes: ten essays on methodology and development of the genre, thirty-eight on individual subjects of medieval *Lives*, and the rest devoted to various biographers and biographies. The range of the topics varies from early texts on Alexander the Great, via a biographical note on the grandfather of the dedicatee of Rudolph Agricola's Latin *vita* of Petrarca, to a poem on Heloise by Alexander Pope. Altogether the *Festschrift* forms a fitting *laudatio* to a pioneer in the study of the medieval biography.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ELISABETH VAN HOUTS

*The ways that never parted. Jews and Christians in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.* Edited by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed. (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, 95.) Pp. viii + 413. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003. €74. 3 16 147966 1; 0721 8753  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904310808

This volume, which is made up of papers given at a conference of the Oxford–Princeton project, held in Princeton on 9–11 January 2002, seeks to challenge a

model of Jewish–Christian relations which has, we are informed, become dominant in the discussion of the subject. Referred to as ‘the parting of the ways’, a term first used by James Parkes, it posits the view that up until approximately the middle of the second century, the Jesus movement was still negotiating its relationship to Jews and Judaism, both inside and outside its own as yet not clearly defined communities. But after this period differences between the two entities became institutionalised and contact between them became more an exception than the rule. In a helpful opening essay, the two editors claim that different aspects of this model have come to be questioned, and that insofar as it fails to take account of a swathe of evidence which apparently contradicts its central claim, it has lost its heuristic value. ‘[W]e wish’, they write, ‘to call attention to the ample evidence that speaks against the notion of a single and simple “Parting of the Ways” in the first or second century CE and, most importantly, against the assumption that no meaningful convergence ever occurred thereafter.’ The title of the volume is deliberately provocative but lying beneath it, and expressed to varying degrees within the individual essays, is the idea that Jews and Christians may have been engaged in the task of ‘parting’ throughout late antiquity and the Middle Ages, precisely because the two never really ‘parted’ during that period with the degree of decisiveness or finality needed to render either tradition irrelevant to the self-definition of the other, or even to make participation in both an unattractive or inconceivable option. Individual papers are not arranged under specific section headings and so, typically for such a work, its contents have no straightforwardly systematic aspect to them (the editors agree that the essays betray sometimes different perspectives) but there are prevailing themes. Some have to do with the very notion that there existed a straightforward conception of Judaism or Christianity in the period prior to the fourth century and that therefore it is meaningful to talk about their separation before that point (Daniel Boyarin, one of the chief debunkers of the ‘parting’ model, whose growing body of work is possibly the inspiration behind the volume, argues that Judaism [*ioudaismos*] as a religious entity was the invention of Christianity. In doing so he perhaps overlooks those places in the pre-Christian period and a little after when Judaism is explicitly referred to as ‘*religio*’ or ‘*threskeia*’). Others relate to the place of Jewish Christianity within the whole debate and the extent to which a model of the parting of the ways tends to downplay, unjustifiably, the speed and nature of its demise (Frankfurter, Yoshiko Reed and Gager). Others address in different ways the issue of alternative models for considering the subject of separation and interaction (Jacobs and Goodman), and others look more closely at the question of evidence for cultural and ideological convergence between Jews and Christians both in the west and the east (Tropper, Salvesen, Stökl Ben Ezra, Koltun-Fromm, Abusch and Becker). Although, as stated above, in broad terms the essays cluster around a central theme, namely the dissatisfaction with a prevailing model for talking about Jewish–Christian interaction in antiquity, no clear-cut alternative emerges and it is not clear that all contributors are as radically opposed to the old model as others. This is as it should be for the evidence is complex in a variety of ways and, as Martin Goodman reminds us, variously interpreted dependent upon the perspective one is seeking to examine (it would seem, for instance, that by about the middle of the second century pagan writers could clearly distinguish between Jews and Christians but that may not have been so easy from the perspective of certain ‘Jews’ and ‘Christians’). Much of the evidence we have is in fact evidence from what some term the ‘proto-orthodox’

and a number of essays, in particular Paula Fredriksen's contribution, seek to mirror-read this evidence, particularly as it manifests itself in the *Contra Iudaeos* material, so as to argue that precisely the desire of the authors of these texts to argue against a convergence of Judaism and Christianity, is evidence for a more complex and intermeshed understanding of how they relate to each other in circles other than their own. Such an argument may carry with it the dangers that some other essays point to, namely seeking to uncover an apparent reality behind these highly charged rhetorical texts. We are certainly in a position to question the *Contra Iudaeos* paradigm for Jewish–Christian interaction and by implication aspects of the ‘parting’ perspective. But whether we are in a position to do away with it altogether and talk about the ways that never parted is another matter. One final point needs to be made. In spite of the somewhat radical title and the claims of the editors to be overthrowing a prevalent paradigm, there is much in this volume that is continuous with work being done on ancient Jewish–Christian relations. As the editors point out, Parkes himself was aware that the separation of Jews from Christians was perhaps a more gradual, staccato and complex affair and many scholars would now affirm that the very fact of the diversity of the entities we broadly call ancient Judaism and Christianity implies a subtler account of their separation. Moreover, a number of the contributors understand the title of the volume more in terms of the shared concerns and emphases of Jews and Christians, rather than in terms of non-separation at what for want of a better term we might call the institutional level, and such claims for ideological continuity are becoming more and more a standard part of the literature. Some essays are certainly more radical than others and the overriding emphasis of the book is distinctive. But in much that it says, it clearly emerges from a scholarly approach with which readers will be more familiar than the volume's title in fact implies. But it would be wrong to end on a critical or sceptical note. The volume makes a significant and often times suggestive contribution to a much-discussed subject and provides plenty of material for future debate.

PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*Northumbria, 500–1100. Creation and destruction of a kingdom.* By David Rollason. Pp. xxvii + 339 incl. 38 ills, 18 figs and 10 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £55. 0 521 81335 2

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904320804

This is an erudite volume. The creation of Northumbria in the post-Roman period, examined with the aid of theoretical models, and the transformation of the kingdom over time from the ninth to the eleventh century constitute its core, set within the framework of the geography of the territory's frontiers and heartlands. David Rollason clearly believes, rightly or wrongly, that at a time when it is necessary in his view to demonstrate that history does illuminate matters of fundamental importance to the understanding of human activity, it was essential to make this more than just another book about Northumbria by placing his Northumbria in the context of a study of ‘the mechanisms underlying the formation and dissolution of states’ (p. xviii). His thesis is that the population of Northumbria was ‘predominantly

composed of English incomers who had killed, displaced or degraded the native British inhabitants' (p. 109) to create a remarkably stable realm on which the 'preponderant role of the church' (p. 208) bestowed the culture of western Christendom (p. 170). In a challenging alternative to the image of a 'powerful and sophisticated' Viking kingdom of York, Rollason attributes the emergence of this area as a prosperous region in the tenth century not to Scandinavian kings but to successive archbishops. Though the 'great Christian achievements of the eighth century ... found no echo in the Viking period' (p. 238), the decline of the great churches was 'more than balanced by an increase in the number of rural churches' (p. 239) and north of the Tees the 'liberty' of the newly-located community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street maintained a political, juridical and territorial dominance (p. 246). Whereas, therefore, it might seem as if the Northumbrian kingdom was destroyed in 866–7 (pp. 214–15), 'the essential characteristics of a kingdom were not destroyed just because its political unity was fractured' and the successor-states into which Northumbria broke 'preserved important aspects of the former kingdom' (p. 255) (at least, that is, until they were absorbed into England or Scotland). The fundamental problem, of course, is one of sources. Rollason himself stresses time and again the inadequacy of the source material to tell him what he needs to know (though surprisingly little is said here about Bede's *Ecclesiastical history* or about the historical limitations of much of even this material). Whether, therefore, to take just one issue, the stability of the pre-Viking kingdom of Northumbria was 'because of royal government, aristocratic influence or ecclesiastical dominance' (p. 208) (or indeed a mixture of these and other social and economic factors) is left unresolved, necessarily limiting Northumbria's usefulness as a model in a greater scheme. Moreover, we are not well-informed about the more outlying regions and Northumbria could well have been falling apart under powerful local lords even before 866–7. The bibliography is somewhat selective and unaccountably omits Nicholas Higham's *The kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350–1100*.

SNAPE

D. P. KIRBY

*Merovingian mortuary archaeology and the making of the early Middle Ages*. By Bonnie Effros. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 35.) Pp. xviii + 272 incl. 1 map and 22 ills. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2003. \$70. 0 520 23244 5

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904330800

In this ambitious work Bonnie Effros reviews the development of Merovingian archaeology and discusses its use as a tool of historical interpretation. Chapter i, entitled 'Antiquaries, historians and archaeologists', begins with the medieval interest in relics and *spolia* and discusses the early development of fieldwork, from the discovery of the richly-furnished burial of the Frankish King Childeric at Tournai in 1653 to the eve of World War I. The next two chapters offer a useful critical discussion of the various ways in which these funerary practices have been interpreted over the past century: as evidence of ethnic identity (correlation with historically attested peoples, like the Franks or Goths), of religious belief (grave goods reflect traditional paganism, in retreat during these centuries as Christianity advances with its own funerary customs), as social markers (varying levels of wealth in the grave goods reflect social structure). Her preference, well-informed by recent

work in anthropology and cultural history, runs toward the ritual expression of identity, as elites, new and old, negotiate and compete for power and visibility with ritual and symbol which distinguish ‘privileged burial’ from the more ordinary kind. Her final chapter focuses on the topography of cemeteries: the creation of a ‘visual landscape’ which ‘pointed to the social relations between inhabitants and potentially their view of the ordering of the afterlife’. The introduction of funerary churches into this landscape is evidence that by the seventh century the funerary domain was becoming part of a developing Christian infrastructure encompassing life and death. There is an excellent bibliography. This work complements Effros’s recent book *Caring for body and soul: burial and the afterlife in the Merovingian world* (2002).

EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

BAILEY K. YOUNG

*The end of time in the order of things. Science and eschatology in early medieval art.* By Bianca Kühnel. Pp. 384 incl. 61 colour and 113 black-and-white plates. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003. €66. 3 7954 1505 5

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This is an ambitious book. It examines the interface between two groups of illustrations from the seventh to the eleventh centuries: the eschatological dealing with the end of time in subjects like the last judgement; and the scientific and diagrams in essential school works on time or the *computus* such as Bede’s *De temporum ratione* and Carolingian compendia. The scope of the second extends from simple *schemata* showing periods of time (months, years) to broader ones of the ages of man and the ultimate destiny of Christians, and thus impinges on the last things. This book argues that art history has largely ignored the connection between eschatology and the *computus*, and that the numerous *schemata* and *rotae* of the latter had a sometimes decisive input into the better known illuminations of the former: the geometrical layout, for instance, of some eschatological images – and the *Maiestas Domini* is included in these – is seen as owing much to similar patterns in computistical *rotae* or *schemata*. It further claims that there was an increasing interaction between the two groups of illustrations at the approach of the years 800 (or *annus mundi* 6000) and 1000. The numerous excellent illustrations (both coloured and black-and-white) in this volume provide the visual evidence for Kühnel’s thesis, and nowhere else have so many *schemata* and *rotae* been usefully brought together: two fascinating manuscripts in particular, Cologne, Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 83 II and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 422, are extensively reproduced. Indeed the two chapters on these ‘computus’ illustrations and their development are valuable and enthralling. It is much more difficult to pin point exactly how diagrams concerned with time and sometimes with its end affected the designers of eschatological illuminations. It can rarely be shown that a particular illuminator at one place, say Tours, had used or had himself drawn one of the *rotae* or *schemata* which may have influenced him. That there was increasing interconnection as the two ‘terminal’ years approached is obviously equally difficult to establish. The significance of the links between eschatological and scientific images remains uncertain. Some interface yes, but symbiosis unproven.

WOODFORD GREEN,  
ESSEX

P. MCGURK

*Corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, VI: Northern Yorkshire.* By James Lang, with contributions by Derek Craig, Rosemary Cramp, Louise Henderson, John Higgitt, D. N. Parsons and John R. Senior. Pp. xvi + 540 incl. frontispiece, 20 figs and 4 tables. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 2001. £130. 0 19 726256 2

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904350803

The publication of the volume for northern Yorkshire was anticipated keenly in that it would complete the northernmost section of the *Corpus*. The region encompasses some of the finest monuments of late eighth-century Anglo-Saxon art, such as the Easby shaft now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the pillar at Masham, both delicately carved and replete with Christian iconography. It is also where, in the tenth century, an entirely new kind of monument was introduced, the massive recumbent grave-markers known as hogbacks, often with bear-like end-beasts carved in the round. The assemblage of these monuments at Brompton is one of the wonders of early medieval art. James Lang had long made this his particular area of expertise, and to have his analyses and conclusions within the covers of a single volume was always going to be an event which advanced knowledge in the field. As it turned out it was thanks to his great courage in soldiering on with the work during his last illness and to the sensitive resourcefulness of the *Corpus* team that the volume was completed. It forms a fine memorial both to Lang's life work as a teacher and scholar and to the stamina and commitment of the general editor, Rosemary Cramp, over the years, aided here by the photographic and other skills of the research fellow, Derek Craig. Readers of this JOURNAL will be particularly interested in the fifty-six items of sculpture found in and around the monastic site of Whitby ranging from the date of the foundation in the mid-seventh century (the plain cross series) to sculpture marking burials made on the headland after the Viking settlement. The inscriptions on Whitby sculpture account for half of the total of inscribed stones in the area, and as Higgitt points out in his general account of the epigraphy, they have a special significance as the output of a single centre, reflecting possibly the development of its book-script otherwise unattested. Interestingly, the lettering styles used for inscriptions on the plain crosses suggest dates spanning the later seventh century to the ninth century, whereas Lang treats them as early and approximately contemporary. Both accept the possibility of reuse or recutting in later letter styles. Lang plays down the austerity of the plain crosses as evidence for the simple taste of the Irish tradition at Lindisfarne seeing in analogous monuments strong connections with York and the European continent, which provide material evidence for Whitby's role in the emerging acknowledgement of the primacy of Rome, first manifested at the Council of Whitby in 664. This orientation of Whitby chimes with its documented importance as a royal mausoleum of the Deiran kings, something only dimly perceived in the diverse nature of the sculpture, and possibly in one inscription which Higgitt tentatively suggests may have been raised in honour of Acha, at the time of the translation to Whitby of the remains of her brother King Edwin.

The pull of Rome for metropolitan York, has, for Lang, its most powerful visual expression in what he has termed the genre of 'Apostle pillars': sculpture typified by the Masham columnar shaft displaying on its top tier, and now only faintly discernible, paired Apostles facing towards an enthroned Christ. The predominant Apostle iconography on the Easby shaft puts it into the same category, although in

stark contrast, this most accomplished piece of carving with its sophisticated grouping of bust length Apostles is preserved in perfect condition. Its consummate art is beautifully described here. Lang has argued that the Apostles as the 'pillars' of the Roman Church are to be associated in particular with baptism, the fundamental sacrament, distinct from the message of redemption which dominates so many monuments of the period. Lang makes a connection with the rare appearance of the Apostles in Irish sculpture, a theme, indeed, limited to the granite crosses of the Barrow valley, notably at Castledermot and Moone, both in Co. Kildare. His development of this particular Irish connection (there are others, for example the preferred crucifixion type) is listed here as 'forthcoming' in a joint paper with Louise Henderson, who worked closely with Lang on the volume during his illness. This comparison will be interesting, for while subject matter and lay-out will no doubt sustain its significance, there is a marked discrepancy in style. This volume brings to the fore several important methodological issues. The confident detection of 'the same hand' behind the carving of different monuments in the region, and the creation of 'schools' and 'workshops' largely defined by shared techniques, without constraining individual creativity, carries the authority of Lang's knowledge of tooling techniques, and of design lay-out based on fixed units of measurement and the employment of templates. He invariably prefaces catalogue entries with a value judgement on these matters, noting with approval disciplined craftsmanship and disparaging the slipshod, but also showing an awareness of when a sculptor is being what he calls 'adventurous', a favourite word of his, which conjures up the the pleasure and engagement of Lang when he stood in front of a monument. Other practical matters such as sourcing the stone, is covered extensively by John R. Senior. He shows, for example, how the quarries at Aislaby, near Whitby, supplied not only its own needs at all periods but was able to export stone throughout Yorkshire. Like all thinking specialists involved in a project, Senior has a theory, making a case for the carving of sculpture at the quarry followed by its transport to the patron. This reviewer would instinctively regard such a view as controversial, but a considered debate of such an important issue can only be beneficial. A judicious chapter on earlier research in the region ends with suggestions for pursuing further the interconnections which this volume, taken with the findings already published for the adjacent regions, reveal. Lang's volume, *Northern Yorkshire*, is not only work well completed, but work which will continue to influence understanding of the rich *corpus* of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, and its role as a feature in the landscape which provides tangible evidence for both localised social needs and for far flung contacts which reflect developments in both Church and State.

NIGG,  
ROSS AND CROMARTY

ISABEL HENDERSON

*Helena of Britain in medieval legend*. By Antonina Harbus. Pp. viii + 215. Woodbridge:

D. S. Brewer, 2002. £45. 0 85991 625 1

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In *Helena of Britain in medieval legend* Antonina Harbus considers the history of a misapprehension: that Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, to whom writers

since the 390s had attributed the finding of the True Cross, was of British descent. Her study thus investigates a local offshoot of a large, widely circulated and important body of apocryphal matter about Constantine, notably the *Actus beati Sylvestri*, which provided the basis for the Donation of Constantine. The story begins in late antiquity with the historical Helena and early posthumous traditions linking her with the True Cross. Harbus then turns her attention to the British Isles, pursuing evidence for the cult in pre-Conquest English sources, Latin and vernacular, before finally locating the British Helena in Welsh genealogies of the tenth century. She documents the elaboration of the tale at the hands of twelfth-century writers like Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Jocelin of Furness, before considering aspects of the later and post-medieval cult of Helena in Britain. Harbus concludes: 'We are not dealing with a singular figure, but rather with a series of representations and constructions generated from a central idea with variations in shape and texts' (p. 142). The eclecticism of her study is not in doubt: she ranges dizzily from Eusebius to Evelyn Waugh, far beyond the 'medieval legend' of her title. The 'central idea', Helena of Britain, however, emerges much less clearly. Harbus allows that a British birth is claimed for Helena in only a proportion of the evidence which she presents, but the distinction between Helena's culting in Britain and belief in Helena's British birth is not satisfactorily addressed. Why did the natural corollary of Helena's presumed British birth, that Constantine, imperial sponsor of Christianity, belonged to these shores, go curiously unexploited until the polemicists of Reformation England got to work (chapter vi)? By what mechanism might early Northumbrians have known of local traditions of Constantine's alleged birth in York and so been influenced in their championing of the cult of the cross? Harbus offers much, not least texts of two previously unedited sources for Helena's cult, the *Vita S. Helene* and the Middle English *St Elyn*, and one must welcome the volume as a pioneering study, but the tangle of high medieval traditions which have grown up around the figure of Helena resist analysis in so few pages.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

JULIA CRICK

*Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, IV: Ottonische Biographie: das hohe Mittelalter, 920–1220 n. Chr. Erster Halbband, 920–1070 n. Chr.* By Walter Berschin.

(Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 12, 1.) Pp. xiii + 276. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999. DM 220. 3 7772 9921 9

*Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, IV: Ottonische Biographie: das hohe Mittelalter, 920–1220 n. Chr. Zweiter Halbband, 1070–1220 n. Chr.* By Walter Berschin.

(Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 12, 2.) Pp. viii + 273–671. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2001. 3 7772 0128 6

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The present two volumes are the last of a series of five, which together constitute Walter Berschin's *magnum opus* tracing the history and development of the biographical genre in medieval Latin over a period of 1,000 years. Begun in 1986 with a study of the *Passio perpetuae*, Berschin analyses the writing of the medieval *Lives* right up to William Brito's verse biography of Philip Augustus and the now lost *Vorlage* of the collection of Irish Saints' *Lives*. While the chronological range is impressive enough,



the broad geographical scope, encompassing the whole of western Europe, leaves Berschin's audience with a sense of immense admiration. The main theme running through the volumes is the legacy of the classical Roman tradition, which as we all know was followed and developed, imitated and emulated, and above all mirrored and adapted to vernacular fashions. Naturally, any work (even one as comprehensive as the present one) cannot but sketch an introduction to the richness and wealth of *Lives* in various forms. In his discussion of each of these, however, Berschin shows his mastery in characterising the individuality of the Latin deployed, the literary heritage displayed and the quirks of each biographer's style. The last book, in two volumes, in the series runs from the tenth-century gap between *c.* 920 and *c.* 960, during which hardly any biography was written, to the peak of biographical writing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. It is very interesting and intriguing that the lows and highs of biographical writing were similar across Europe. Admittedly, there are areas that stand out in certain times. The Ottonian production in late tenth-century Germany can be profitably contrasted with the dearth of such writing at the same time in France, and, to a certain extent, in England. On the other hand, the explosion of hagiographical writing, almost single-handedly produced by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin in late eleventh-century England, is not rivalled by anyone anywhere else in the Europe covered by Berschin. A particularly valuable contribution concerns the last chapter on 'Latin on the fringes of Europe'. Here we are offered, in a masterful summary, the Latin of the Irish hagiographers, the remarkable *Life* of St Margaret of Scotland, the handful of biographies written in Portugal with a concentration at Coimbra, some Hungarian *Lives*, the dramatic story of St Ludmilla's murder in Bohemia and the heroic *Life* of King Olaf of Norway, to name but a few. Yet, regrettably, somewhere on the fringes of Europe, the Normans have vanished into thin air. Thus, there is no trace of the first serial biography of secular rulers of Rouen by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, nor that of his successor William of Jumièges on the dukes of Normandy. With them has also disappeared William of Poitiers as biographer of William the Conqueror, as well as the anonymous author of the short tract on this William's death, a more or less verbatim copy of Einhard's portrait of Charlemagne and the Astronomer's of Louis the Pious. The omission of the two wonderful biographies of the Norman leaders in southern Italy means that we miss William of Apulia's verse *Life* of Robert Guiscard with its unrivalled portrayal of Sichelgaita and Geoffrey Malaterra's dual penportrait of Robert and his younger brother, Roger I of Sicily. Let us hope that the Norman contribution to biographical writing may be included in a future reprint of what truly remains a most impressive achievement.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ELISABETH VAN HOUTS

*Kings, politics, and the right order of the world in German historiography, c. 950–1150.* By Sverre Bagge. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 103.) Pp. xii + 444. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2002. €116. 90 04 12468 3; 0081 8607  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904380802

Few English-speaking historians have entered the thicket of medieval German historiography and none so extensively as in this book, which is a welcome addition

to the scholarship on several levels. It provides an excellent overview and analysis of the chosen texts (Widukind, Thietmar, Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi*, Lambert of Hersfeld's *Annales*, the *Vita Heinrici IV* and Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*) on multiple fronts and makes accessible to anglophone audiences a large body of continental ideas and scholarship on the topic. Sverre Bagge adds original contributions in his detailed analyses of the narrative structures and strategies of the medieval authors. Moreover, the book strikes an intelligent balance in terms of evaluating the relative importance of the religious/theological versus the political/constitutional contents of the texts. Some might question the texts chosen for inclusion: Bagge addresses this issue directly (pp. 19–22), providing justification for his specific selection on the basis of his primary objectives while recognising some limitations to his selection. Throughout he stresses the importance of historical context in interpreting these texts and demonstrates how one can exploit the narratives for indications of the 'mentality common to the author and his milieu'. Finally, Bagge argues that over the time span of these texts German narrative historiography shows signs of evolution: a shift from episodic to integrated narratives and from representation to greater argumentation, clearer institutional concepts of monarchy and society and an increasing Christianisation of the texts in conjunction with an emerging concept of a 'right order in the world'. Rising intellectualism and new ideas of objective justice fuelled this change. Students and scholars alike should find this work interesting and thought-provoking.

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY,  
CALIFORNIA

JOHN W. BERNHARDT

*The struggle for mastery. Britain, 1066–1284.* By David Carpenter. (The Penguin History of Britain.) Pp. xxiv + 616 incl. frontispiece, 9 maps and 7 genealogical tables. London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 2003. £25. 0 713 99065 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904390809

Any attempt to comprehend in one volume the history of England for the two centuries after the Conquest is going to be a mighty work. So we might consider a volume which attempted the same task for all of Britain to be a truly epic endeavour. Nothing daunted, David Carpenter has attempted just that. The result is indeed heroic. Carpenter knows very well the great array of source material available for the period, but he has also synthesised the even vaster body of secondary materials: a mass of articles and monographs which has expanded enormously over the past three decades. That the resulting book is a success is a great tribute to Carpenter's lucidity of style and narrative sense. He writes a good story, with a grasp of telling detail and a deep sense of the humanity of the people he describes and whose actions he analyses. The task set him by his publishers was not an easy one. Medieval 'British' history has had its vogue since the 1980s, and although the British context has provided a new way of interpreting Scottish, Welsh and Irish histories, it has offered little new to the study of the kingdom of England. As David Carpenter admits in his introduction, and as medievalists have long known, English society and politics after 1066 were far more profoundly affected by their relationship with France than by the impoverished insular societies to west and north. So the central concept of the book throws it off balance. Hardly surprising therefore that Carpenter's narrative is continually dragged across the Channel to Flanders, Brittany, Anjou and,

above all, to Normandy. Even a writer of Carpenter's skill cannot construct a wholly satisfactory British narrative, and the disjointed and repetitive structure of the book is the price he has had to pay for attempting to do so. It was perhaps a wise move to take as his theme the 'struggle for mastery'. The only common element to all the British narratives was the English impulse to dominate and disadvantage their neighbours. Behind this problem is another. There are so many histories: which one do you choose? Other recent writers have found different routes to explore. Robert Bartlett's recent (2000) volume for the *New Oxford History of England (England under the Norman and Angevin kings, 1075–1225)* emphasised social and cultural history over political narrative. Martin Aurell's *L'Empire des Plantagenêt, 1154–1224* (2002) dealt with Britain as part of a French 'espace' and focused on rulership and ideology. Barbara Harvey's *The twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (2001) for the *Short Oxford History of the British Isles*, offered a series of elegant, multi-authored studies on discrete themes, and did not even try to promote an overall narrative. David Carpenter's solution distances his book from these other recent works, although this is not in itself a bad thing. To take all four of them together is to walk up to a set of contrasting views on the same great landscape. But the fact that you need all four to get any sort of perspective on the present scholarship on English and British high medieval history is itself significant. Readers of this JOURNAL are likely to be disappointed in this book's limited treatment of ecclesiastical history and spirituality. Within the choices the author has made, the book can only dedicate a small space to these subjects within one chapter headed 'Church, religion, literacy and learning'. We hear most about popes, abbots and bishops, and the bishops of Lincoln in particular. But the accent throughout the book really has to be on ecclesiastical politics, administration and monastic proliferation, in view of its overall plan. We can only regret this. We hear barely an echo of the compelling recent debate on the transformation of the local church in the twelfth century (p. 100), and although there is some intriguing observation on almsgiving and the influence of the friars there is little about the singular lay piety of the age. Carpenter gives us a glimpse of what he could have done had things been otherwise in one telling case study of the spirituality of Hubert de Burgh. It is a subject on which he can marshal more detail than one would have ever expected, especially about Hubert's predilection for Marian devotion. But he withdraws, and does not adequately pursue the context and antecedents of de Burgh's spirituality, and as a result he gives the misleading impression that de Burgh represented a watershed in lay practice. A didactic tendentiousness is an occasional weakness in the book. To the undoubted devotion of Henry III to the mass, Carpenter opposes the highly-suspect anecdote of William of Newburgh that Henry I liked it said quickly so that he could get on with the day's business (p. 454). In fact the exequies of Queen Mathilda II, the foundation charter of Reading Abbey and the surviving oblations register of his court (contained in the Herefordshire Domesday) tell us that Henry I was quite as devoted to the repeated and opulent celebration of the mass as his great-great-grandson. Furthermore, Henry's devotion was probably inherited from his father, the Conqueror, a prince who his chaplain tells us liked to join in the daily office of his chapel clerks. There is an unconscious evolutionism in Carpenter's intellectual approach to his history that in this case betrays him. But this is a mighty work, and in such monoliths the occasional blurred line does not mar the effect. Few, if any, historians of his generation could duplicate David Carpenter's achievement, and we can be confident that students of many

generations to come will be grateful for its narrative power and the breadth of its intellectual vision.

UNIVERSITY OF HULL

DAVID CROUCH

*The visual culture of Wales. Medieval vision.* By Peter Lord. Pp. 288 incl. 440 colour and black-and-white plates. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003. £30. 0 7083 1801 0

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904400803

Peter Lord's *Medieval vision* is the final volume to appear in a remarkable trilogy entitled *The visual culture of Wales*. It is in every way a magnificent achievement and an outstanding tribute to the energy, drive and enterprise of Peter Lord (who for this volume has been ably assisted by John Morgan-Guy). The volume (in common with its modern successors) excels in particular in two directions. Negatively it gives the lie to the common prejudice, fed by metropolitan elitism, that Wales was an impoverished wasteland for the visual arts. Of course as a thinly populated, rural society Wales had neither the wealth nor the rich patrons which were the life-blood of so much medieval art and it was bled white by the exploitative habits of its English and anglicised lords. Even so, to turn the pages of this magnificently illustrated and splendidly annotated volume is to realise what a rich – if not always outstanding and not infrequently imported – collection of artefacts still survives from the medieval period. That brings us to the second achievement of this volume. It draws upon, and greatly augments, a great deal of antiquarian and specialised work on the medieval artefacts of Wales, hitherto often tucked away in archaeological and local history journals. Here the work of pioneers such as Nash-Williams (on early Christian inscriptions), Colin Gresham (on funerary stone memorials), Mostyn Lewis (on stained glass), J. M. Lewis (on brasses) and others is now placed in a fuller context in a remarkably comprehensive gazetteer. The evidence becomes particularly rich and impressive in the century or so before the Reformation. Text, illustrations and annotations are admirably juxtaposed. In short, everyone associated with this enterprise deserves the warmest congratulations.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

REES DAVIES

John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1066–1300*, IX: *The Welsh cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)*. Compiled by M. J. Pearson. Pp. xxvii + 83. London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2003. £20. 1 871348 88 9

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Pearson's edition of le Neve's *Fasti* for the four Welsh cathedrals in the years 1066–1300 complements B. Jones's earlier volume covering the years 1300–1541. Together they provide a valuable chronology, and, taken in conjunction with Conway Davies's *Episcopal acts (1946–48)*, David Crouch's *Llandaff episcopal acta* (1988) and Julia Barrow's *St Davids episcopal acta* (1998) help illuminate the formative and developmental years of the post-conquest Church in Wales. In addition to the lists of

bishops and dignitaries – there is more here than just names and dates – Pearson gives us a succinct, up-to-date and useful introductory essay and a select list of sources consulted. The succession lists for the canonries and prebends show how the chapters of the four Welsh cathedrals evolved in different ways. That at Bangor clung tenaciously and conservatively to a structure derived ultimately from the *clas* which preceded it, whereas at Llandaff, St Davids and St Asaph the arrangements were, by the early thirteenth century, those familiar at the English secular cathedrals. Pearson makes the valuable point that, in comparison with English and continental developments, this was late, being related to the equally late restructuring of the Welsh Church with recognisable territorial dioceses and a diocesan episcopate. However, one curious feature is that at neither St Davids nor Llandaff was the chapter headed by a dean until the nineteenth century. At the former the precentor and at the latter the archdeacon seems to have fulfilled that role. Pearson does not speculate as to why this should have been the case.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES,  
LAMPETER

JOHN MORGAN-GUY

*Women and religion in medieval England*. Edited by Diana Wood. Pp. xi + 185 incl. 27 ills.

Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003. £20 (paper). 1 84217 098 8

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The articles collected in this volume were delivered as papers at a meeting aimed at conveying recent research to a wider audience. The pieces are thus universally clear and well documented, and they represent some of the directions and materials which scholars are currently using to gain insight into women's experiences of religious life. Arranged chronologically, the volume begins with a study of Anglo-Saxon burial of women (Sally Crawford), and the ceremonies by which women took the veil (Sarah Foot). Henrietta Leyser identifies contexts within which women were represented as offering religious instruction, such as Anne teaching Mary to read. Combining archaeological method and documentary scrutiny James Bond demonstrates that nunneries tended to be isolated institutions, and unlike male houses, little marked by distinctive styles of the orders to which they belonged. Carole Rawcliffe turns to lay women, considering the ways in which their religious experiences became intertwined with the rhythm of domestic and family life. She identifies provision within hospitals for pregnant women, and considers the value of images of the holy kinship, of the motherhood of Anne and Mary, highly popular late medieval images. Privileged aristocratic women are shown by Rowena Archer to have been knowing and active in their choices. They were patrons of academic colleges, hospitals, chantries, wielding large sums of money and the ability to mould institutions in to the future. These choices have left numerous books, images and commemorative arrangements, highly conventional in their religious tone. The last two articles deal with women who digressed from the norms of parochial religion. Robert Swanson offers an unusual glimpse at the much-studied Margery Kempe by concentrating on her travel and itinerancy. Margaret Aston considers the domestic life of women associated with 'lollardy'; their lives were marked by enhanced reading, instruction and hospitality to like-minded people, but as important were the rhythms of parish and neighbourhood life, of which such women and their families remained a part.

There is much useful material and careful thought in these studies. Its inclusion of archaeological sources and some visual imagery is to be saluted. Yet much remains to be done. Historians should consider bolder steps towards other areas of medieval studies – drama, literature, art history, law – as guides to devotional, liturgical and legal materials produced in the British Isles, which historians have yet to encounter. These have a great deal to contribute to our understanding of medieval religious cultures, and to the experiences and creativity of women within them.

QUEEN MARY,  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

MIRI RUBIN

*The Jews in medieval Britain. Historical, literary and archaeological perspectives.* Edited by Patricia Skinner. Pp. x + 175 incl. map. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003. £45.00 85115 931 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904430802

A collection of essays on medieval British Jewish history is a welcome sight. It proves that medieval Jewish history is finally gaining the recognition it deserves in British academia. And although the rich documentary evidence concerning medieval Jewish financial affairs in England has been studied in depth, much still needs to be discovered about other aspects of the medieval Jewish experience in this country. Unfortunately, many of the essays in this volume do not seem to offer much that is really new and exciting. Notable exceptions are Patricia Skinner's own good overview of the state of research and excellent analyses by Robert Stacey and Robin Mundill of Henry III's and Edward I's dealings with the Jews. They show how royal policies manoeuvred the Jews of England into an untenable position *vis-à-vis* the rest of society. Official, judicial violence from above rather than mob violence from below is what determined the fate of the Jews in the long run. And Barrie Dobson adds new insight into his extensive research on the Jews of York. As a whole, the volume is marred by some strange references to Jews and Jewish customs. Jews are not a race (p. 101) and this outdated term should no longer be used to describe them. Medieval Jews are much more likely to have spoken French amongst themselves than Hebrew (p. 117). It is not for nothing that Rashi's (d. 1105) commentaries contain so many French words. What is the point of even mentioning a sheitl in an article about medieval Jewish women (p. 116) when everyone knows this is the wig married women only started to wear in some eastern European communities in the late eighteenth century? It is a pity that these infelicities and quite a few others were not ironed out before publication.

LUCY CAVENDISH COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ANNA ABULAFIA

*Preacher, sermon and audience in the Middle Ages.* By Carolyn Muessig. (A New History of the Sermon, 3.) Pp. xix + 322 + 26 plates. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2002. €109.90 04 11416 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904440809

The number of scholars who study medieval sermons would astonish most people not working in this interdisciplinary subfield. Volumes like this (there have been a

number) testify to the vitality of research in the area. The individual contributions escape notice more easily than journal articles and monographs, both of which are increasingly easy to find through electronic searches. Probably the most useful service a reviewer of such a volume can render is to give an idea of the main argument of each essay.

Augustine Thompson provides a remarkably rich overview of the 'state of research' into medieval preaching. I think he is too pessimistic about what the surviving sermons themselves tell us. He himself has done his best (very fine) work on other kinds of evidence for preaching, and he draws attention to the great variety of sources and approaches. *Artes praedicandi* used to be at the centre of research on medieval preaching, but they have been sidelined to some extent in the last few decades of intensive work on the sermons themselves. P. Roberts provides a welcome survey and update, including other kinds of preaching aids (for example *distinctiones*) but not model sermons in her discussion. The tone is sensible, balanced and uncontroversial. Blake Beattie analyses the sermons preached at the papal court in Avignon which are transmitted in MS Valencia cat. bib. 215. They sound conventional in some ways, but the prominence of Gratian citations is interesting, as is the legal imagery. Beattie argues that the sermons helped to cement a sense of community in the audience of prelates. Kienzle asks how performance theory can help us understand medieval sermons and preaching, listing concepts and approaches she thinks could be useful. Next she asks whether they have counterparts in the *artes praedicandi*. I would say that analytical concepts do not need to have contemporary counterparts to work. Still, the *artes praedicandi* do provide material for analysis in the light of these modern concepts, by taking us to aspects of preaching that one cannot reconstruct from surviving sermon texts alone – gesture is an example. Other sources too tell us about non-verbal aspects of preaching and may correct the *artes*: notably, there is evidence of more gesticulation than they recommend. This piece has a section on miracle-working as sermons which makes one wonder whether Kienzle is analysing actual behaviour or textual descriptions and perceptions of behaviour. Most of what she says could have been noted without the help of performance theory, but it may have provided a stimulus and a checklist. N. B.-A. Debby collects comments about the visual arts in sermons by Giovanni Dominici, San Bernardino and Savanarola. Her material will be exciting for art historians. She contributes another paper also, on Dominici's apostolate to women as well as their influence on him. She summarises what his sermons have to say on topics relevant to women (marriage, prostitutes etc.) and stresses the reciprocity of the preacher–audience relationship. M. Gill connects preaching to wall painting in England. She shows imagination and finds more links than that one might expect: sermon specialists get used to discouraging art historians who expect to find a ready-made key. The recurrence of *ignorencia* for *ignorancia* in this chapter is, however, unfortunate. Images of the saint as preacher in fifteenth-century Italy are collected and analysed into themes (Franciscan saints, Dominican saints etc.) in an essay by R. Rusconi which compresses years of research into a small compass. Charles Wright argues that the Anglo-Saxon Vercelli homilies were aimed at secular clerics (as opposed to monks or laypeople). Close observation of how the homilies subtly modify sources is his method. The editor of the volume, C. Muessig, suggests that *ad status* sermons should be studied for the insight they give 'into what each preacher desired to maintain or eliminate from his social landscape', and gives some examples.

G. Ferzoco puts the spotlight on sermons about saints, a genre which has been somewhat neglected in comparison with *ad status* and *de tempore* preaching. In an ambitious and successful essay J. Hanska attempts to determine whether one can match up particular Sundays of the liturgical year with particular preaching themes (the answer is a qualified 'yes'). Overall this is good volume, well-edited, symptomatic of the lively state of the subject, and all the more encouraging in that many of the contributors are relatively young.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
LONDON

DAVID L. D'AVRAY

*Byzantium and the crusades.* By Jonathan Harris. (Crusader Worlds.) Pp. xvii + 259 incl. 5 maps + 8 plates. London–New York: Hambledon and London, 2003. £19.95. 1 85285 298 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904450805

Deep differences in outlook between Byzantines and crusaders are discernible from the inception of the crusading movement. Among the merits of this book are its clear appreciation of the tensions between Byzantine imperial strategy and ideology on the one hand and the expectations of popes and crusaders on the other, and its raising of the question how – if at all – these are related to the Fourth Crusaders' sack of Constantinople. Rejecting the view that such a confrontation was the inexorable outcome of 'a clash of civilizations', the author focuses on Byzantine emperors' pursuit of very different ends from those of the crusaders and the papacy and on their use of traditional diplomatic methods which 'succeeded in giving the impression that the empire was failing to participate in the pious cause of defending Jerusalem and the Holy Land' (p. xvii). Isaac II Angelos's exchanges with Saladin at the time of the Third Crusade, with their intimations of collusion against the crusaders, had a loose precedent in Alexius' warnings to the Fatimids of the crusaders' approach in 1099. This in turn raises the question why the technique broadly succeeded at the time of the First Crusade, but not in 1189–90 or subsequently. Harris goes a fair way towards an answer. Isaac's attempt at a balancing act between western Christian leaders such as Frederick I and Saladin fooled nobody: Harris cites a cool appraisal of Isaac's attempt at divide-and-rule prepared for Saladin on the basis of a report from the *katholikos* of Armenia (p. 136). The various parties interested in the Holy Land were now better-informed about Byzantine diplomatic dealings and, if many of the First Crusaders had been gullible, the mood of the Third was hyper-critical of Byzantine behaviour. At the same time, the resources at the disposal of the imperial government were scantier than they had been at the time of the First Crusade and less money and material aid was usually on offer to the crusaders. The crusaders, for their part, were also hard-pressed for funding and Richard the Lion-Heart's seizure of Cyprus in 1191 set an ominous precedent. As Harris emphasises, the legalistic, partly spurious arguments used by Richard and, above all, contemporary apologists in the west for his conquest came close to stating that appropriation of Byzantine resources or territory was justified if it furthered the end of regaining the Holy Land. At first sight this makes it surprising that the implicit response of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade to Byzantine non-cooperation was to sidestep it entirely by planning to make Egypt their spring-board



for recovering the Holy Land. But, as Harris shows, this bespeaks exasperation with the Greeks on the crusaders' part: the Egyptian strategy was itself a fairly desperate measure and it is understandable that the leader of an underfunded force facing disintegration should not have looked too closely at the gift-horse which Prince Alexius and his pledges of aid appeared to constitute. Moreover, senior churchmen on the Crusade were familiar with the charges that could be levelled against the schismatic Greeks to justify *force majeure*, if not conquest, and they would have been well-attuned to the line taken by Innocent III in June 1203, that 'necessity, especially when one is occupied in necessary work, excuses much in many situations' (cited at p. 150). One is, none the less, left wondering as to the rationale of the Doge and other Venetian leaders in becoming so closely involved with the enterprise. The Venetians had not hitherto been conspicuous in showing enthusiasm for, or gaining profit from, the Crusades. Their acceptance of the leaders' optimism concerning the funds at the disposal of the Fourth Crusaders is out of character and Dandolo, of all people, should have been prescient of the likely response of Constantinople's churchmen and populace to the installation on the throne of, in effect, a Latin puppet-emperor. But if Harris's account raises further questions, it also offers a readable yet reliable concise introduction to the multi-channelled course of relations between Byzantium and the assortment of powers, trading states and crusading movements that beset it by turns from the mid-eleventh to the earlier thirteenth century. This work contributes an independent-minded round to the scholarly jousting that the octocentenary of the crusaders' capture of Constantinople is set to unleash.

KEW

JONATHAN SHEPARD

*Inquisition and power. Catharism and the confessing subject in medieval Languedoc.* By John H. Arnold. (The Middle Ages Series.) Pp. ix + 313. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. £38.50 (\$55). 0 8122 3618 1

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John Arnold's first book, *Inquisition and power*, is an attempt to create a new methodology of source criticism, and then apply it to the sources themselves, in this case a varying range of texts on the repression of heresy in Languedoc in the late Middle Ages, particularly trial depositions. In doing so, Arnold divides his book into two halves: a first, theoretical one, and a second where the theory is then practically applied. The long shadow of Michel Foucault is cast on the book. The work of the French philosopher is indeed at the core of the book's central thesis and shapes Arnold's whole theoretical framework. The idea of a Middle Ages – indeed, of a Past – transmitted through texts 'created' mostly by relationships of power, and therefore through highly biased sources, has been enormously successful with post-modernist historians. Arnold embraces this approach in his analysis of Languedocian depositions. Although attempting 'to engage with the voice of the deponents' (p. 13), he does so only after a long preliminary discussion on the biases imposed on the sources by the power struggle between the inquisitor and the witnesses. He correctly distinguishes between 'Inquisition' as an institution, 'inquisition' as enquiry, 'inquisition' as the judicial power (*officium inquisitionis*) and the individuality of the single inquisitors. Such a distinction is then carefully maintained throughout the first part which, although highly theoretical, is very engaging. Arnold's prose reads very well,

the argument is led with care and through strict consequentiality. However, under such a theoretical scrutiny the sources would inevitably ‘disappear’. This operation of deconstruction is so effective that very little could be said on the texts after such a clearing operation. In fact, when attempting to use his method in order to hear the ‘voice of the deponents’, Arnold is obliged to return to a more traditional analysis of the depositions, which gives life to a really lively second part (chapters iv and v). Here, by extracting some of the juiciest stories told during the trials, he tackles well important issues such as the real weight of Cathar belief within the interrogations, and the ‘autobiographical’ voice of the deponents. Although one can see here a deliberate ‘wink’ at his audience, it is undoubtable that Arnold’s choice of characters, the pace of his discussion, and the titles of the chapters themselves, are very effective. However, the juxtaposition of the book’s two halves leaves the reader a little puzzled as to how effectively the sophisticated introductory section has shaped the process of source criticism. One can feel some struggle in linking the book’s two ‘bodies’, especially noting that Arnold somehow needs to recall statements made in the first part in order to support his own use of the sources. Setting aside one’s own interpretation of the subject under scrutiny, I see the two ‘sections’ more justified as two independent pieces of work. Nevertheless, the main merit of this book is its innovative approach: Arnold has contributed to raising important questions of methodology, enriching a recently rediscovered debate on the reliability of sources about the repression of heresy in the late Middle Ages.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

CATERINA BRUSCHI

*The Carmelites and antiquity. Mendicants and their pasts in the Middle Ages.* By Andrew Jotischky. Pp. xii + 370. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £55. 0 19 820634 8

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In this volume Andrew Jotischky establishes himself as the foremost scholar currently working on the medieval Carmelites. He provides an illuminating and important account of their own sense of history and its intricate relationship with their struggle to establish and maintain an identity in the west. This is also an important contribution to our understanding of mendicant ideas of antiquity, a subject pioneered by Beryl Smalley (*English friars and antiquity in the early fourteenth century*, 1960). While weaving a closely argued account of Carmelite writers, their texts and images, he also maintains a constant thread of comparisons with the experience of other religious and in particular of the great variety of mendicant orders. As he argues in his preface, when the Carmelites began to move west, they ‘found that a detailed statement of their origins and function was necessary in order to make headway in the competition for patronage’. In part because they had no canonised saint and were relative latecomers in their chosen field, theirs was a ‘more precarious grip on the affections of the laity and the papacy’. The first ‘Carmelites’ had been hermits living on Mount Carmel. Their first rule was approved by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, in the early thirteenth century. Once they began to move west in large numbers from the 1240s however, they adopted ever more ‘mendicant’ characteristics, engaging in preaching and pastoral care. Partly because of a lack of sources, the precise sequence of this transition, and the reasons for the adoption of a new

habit in 1287, have long been debated by historians of the order. Jotischky presents a compelling outline of 300 years in a forty-page chapter and follows this with an account of the issues behind the change of habit. Between them these resolve a whole range of issues, placing the change of habit firmly in the context of challenges to the order's existence at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and the need to respond with a 'coherent historical identity', including a uniform appearance. The exegetical potential of the new white habit was to be successfully exploited by the Carmelites in spite of hostility from other white-robed orders. Their early critics famously included Nicholas Gallicus, the prior general of the order himself, but author of a scathing attack on the new engagement in the active apostolate, here sympathetically evoked. A more difficult issue, however, dominated the historiography of the order throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages: their attempt to establish continuity and antiquity by claiming to have been founded by Elijah. Critics, in particular the Dominicans, were quick to spot the flaws in this account with its implicit need for a transition from Judaism to Christianity. One theme of Jotischky's account explores the ways in which Carmelite authors responded to the ridicule and derision of critics by remedying the gaps and problems with the early history of the order. But there is more to the picture than this. In tracing the ways in which the Carmelites constructed their past, Jotischky also allows the reader to enter into the intellectual and imaginary world of the Carmelites themselves, exposing their capacity for reinvention of self. He neatly demonstrates the strengths of particular arguments and the reasons behind them, allowing the reader to trace their development and show how history was constructed to meet contemporary needs. Individual chapters explore these themes through their ecclesiology and the development of a corpus of Carmelite saints as a 'microcosm of the order's history [and] the identity which Carmelites wished to portray to the outside world' (p. 191). The texts are also occasionally linked to images (for example on the Sobac legend in Pietro Lorenzetti's Siena high altarpiece of 1329). Jotischky is aware of the limitations of an approach which cannot trace the lay reception of the arguments presented, but this remains an important project, accomplished with enviable lightness of touch.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

FRANCES ANDREWS

*Cistercian Europe. Architecture of contemplation.* By Terryl N. Kinder. Pp. 407 incl. numerous black-and-white and colour plates. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans/Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 2002. £49.95 (\$70). 0 8028 3887 1; 0 87907 391 8

JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904480804

The publication of an English translation of Terryl Kinder's *L'Europe cistercienne* is much to be welcomed. Since the appearance in 1982 of her thesis on the abbey of Pontigny Kinder has established her reputation, by means of a series of articles and other publications and particularly through her editorship of *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses*, as the *doyenne* of Cistercian studies in the English-speaking world. The theme of her present study, appropriately sustained by a richly diverse multitude of illustrations, is Cistercian architecture as 'devotion in stone'. Starting with a characterisation of the usual Cistercian valley site – often picturesque to the modern eye but frequently proving intolerable to its first inhabitants or at best requiring

immense effort to be tamed – as itself manifesting the order’s ethos of ‘interiorisation’, Kinder goes on to analyse every aspect of the monastic buildings as diverse expressions of the order’s distinctive character. Her theme is Cistercian spirituality finding its articulation in stone; that is, the indissoluble relationship between form and function. And this approach is illustrated with regard to every part of the monastic complex. At its centre lies the Cistercian church itself: Kinder sensitively demonstrates how the characteristic lack of overtly decorative features is compensated by the varied flow of light, providing an appropriately measured rhythm as the sun moves from east to west. At a more specific level a detailed analysis of the various forms of *mandatum*, or ritual washing of the feet, practised by the order is deployed to illuminate the spiritual dimension of the cloister. Or even the single rosette sculpted on the keystone over the monk’s door to the cloister at Sénanque can have resonances to the initiated of Christ’s exaltation as a rose in Jericho. Yet this theme is not a straitjacket. At all points Kinder’s detailed knowledge of the history of the order makes her sensitive to circumstance and variety, to ‘adaptation, improvement, experimentation’. The early building processes were diverse; church design ranged widely; primitive simplicities were modified by frequent rebuildings; spaces changed their function as, for example, lay brothers’ rooms became libraries; and even statutory rules concerning church design proved flexible. At times indeed Kinder can seem unquestioning towards these various ways in which the order accommodated itself to the spirit of the age, whether in separate abbots’ lodgings or separate cubicles in the dormitory, in the emergence of national congregations, or even in the schism within the order represented by the Strict Observance. There are perhaps unresolved problems here in reconciling the order’s unity of purpose with the historian’s stress on diversity, localism and change over time. Hence Kinder tends to play down the influence of secular patrons in shaping their new Cistercian foundations, the ‘piper and the tune’ phenomenon. Nor does she give prolonged attention to a later period when the spirit of the age seems to overwhelm any identifiable Cistercian spirituality. How are we to comprehend the lush fittings of Morimond now at Langres? At Pontigny itself, what are we to make within the Cistercian ethos of the sinuously carved and lightly-clad angels, the chubby *putti* trumpeters, who decorate the choir stalls, or more strikingly the sumptuous organ loft of Abbé Carron, festooned with an array of harps, sackbuts, viols and even bagpipes, all capped with the arms of the abbey? At this point Professor Kinder’s excellent survey of Cistercian architecture, and of the life that it manifests, provokes as many questions as it answers.

PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ROGER LOVATT

*Des Clercs au service de la réforme. Études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen.* Edited by Mathieu Arnoux. (Bibliotheca Victorina, 11.) Pp. 404 incl. 3 maps. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000. €70. 2 503 50834 0  
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The regular canons could be described as the unsung heroes of the Gregorian reform movement. While popes battled with emperors and new orders of reformed Benedictines impressed the European nobility with their austerity and discipline, it

was very often the regular canons who brought the tenets of reform to the populace. The main orders of canons mostly originated in north-east France but the present work offers a survey of their implantation in Normandy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a subject which has hardly been investigated except by the late Jean Fournée. The work falls into three parts. The first, and by far the longest section, by Mathieu Arnoux, considers the establishment of regular canons in Normandy. It began with the establishment of the Augustinians at Sausseuse (in the Norman Vexin) and at Eu in 1118–19; it took a new turn with the substitution of Victorine canons for the cathedral chapter of Sées in 1131, an event without an exact parallel anywhere else in France; the Premonstratensians became prominent in Normandy soon afterwards; and by 1220 the various orders of canons had over forty houses in the ecclesiastical province of Rouen, almost double the number of Cistercian houses there. The majority were Augustinian but Arnoux argues that affiliation was much less significant in determining the importance and function of a particular foundation than its date, size, location and relationship with its patrons. He notes the influence of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen (1128–64) upon the canons' early success, but also emphasises the role of their own networks in their acquisition of the patronage of a vast number of Norman parish churches. Nevertheless, the orders of canons infiltrated Normandy more slowly than other parts of France, which Arnoux plausibly ascribes to the strength of a ducal authority that was naturally suspicious of these representatives of ecclesiastical independence. He considers the ideological, social and economic impact of the canons upon both rural and urban society as well as, more conventionally, their relations with the aristocracy as benefactors and recruits. A whole chapter is devoted to the superb evidence for the orders found in Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's register of visitations. The second part of the book (pp. 190–268) comprises three studies of specific houses, namely Corneville and Saint-Lô de Bourg-Achard near Pont-Audemer (Véronique Gazeau), Notre-Dame du Val in the Orne valley west of Falaise (Mathieu Arnoux) and Friardel near Orbec (Christine Demetz-Van Torhoudt). The final part of the collection consists of selected primary sources: they include the foundation narratives of Île-Dieu (dioc. Rouen) and Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge near Lisieux, extracts from the neglected cartulary of Sées Cathedral (which, most unusually for a French cathedral, is still housed in the episcopal library) and numerous charters, notably for Notre-Dame du Val. Many are published here for the first time. This informative set of essays will be the starting point for all future discussion of the orders of canons in Normandy, but it also has much broader implications for the history of the church reform movement in medieval France.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

DANIEL J. POWER

*Lazamon. Contexts, language, and interpretation.* Edited by Rosamund Allen, Lucy Perry and Jane Roberts. (King's College London Medieval Studies.) Pp. xii + 493. London: Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, King's College London, 2002. £21. 0 9539838 1 1; 0953 217X  
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Almost all of the papers making up this book derive from a conference held at King's College London two years earlier. They number twenty-three in all, and represent a

wide variety of critical approaches; there is no index, but papers with significant features in common have as far as possible been juxtaposed within each of the three main sections named in the title.

'Contexts', the first of these, begins with Eric Stanley's presentation of Lazamon as 'Priest and historiographer', which champions the poet's 'saintly ferocity' against the strictures of earlier critics. The praise that is given here to Madden's edition is amplified by Daniel Donoghue, who points out that both editor and edited contrived to balance the contemporary with the nostalgic, while John Frankis notes Lazamon's blending of the 'conservative antiquarianism' of Worcester with the 'taste for romance and fantasy' of Hereford. Worcester is also crucial to Carole Weinberg's *illuminated* and illuminating location of the decorative style of the Caligula MS, while Lazamon's 'elves' (already discussed by Frankis) are considered in relation to their narrative contexts by Cyril Edwards as (further) proof of the poet's eclecticism. Wider geographical contexts turn up in Andrew Breeze's identification of the Giant's Ring (Stonehenge-to-be) with the hill of Uisneach, Westmeath; in Herbert Pilch's account of Lazamon's unfavourable view of the Irish and uncertain first-hand knowledge of Ireland itself; and in Elisabeth Bryan's presentation of Maximien's conquest of Brittany as an image of both medieval and modern empire-building. Finally, Ray Barron returns us to Worcester (and to Areley Kings in particular) in a wide-ranging survey that takes in the poet's audience, the eclecticism of his metrical form and possible archaism of his style.

'Language' begins with Richard Dance's survey of orthographic variants in Caligula, and of the Norse words to be found there. His warnings against emendation find an echo in Philip Durkin's 'brief report' on the ongoing third edition of OED, which notes the relevance to Lazamon of some of the new entries there (one of which, incidentally, shows that Madden's line-numbering is to persist there). The greater lexical variety of MS Caligula over MS Otho emerges from Michiko Ogura's study of verbs of motion in both, while Robert Millar notes anomalies in Lazamon's use of demonstrative forms, suggesting 'register' as a possible cause, and Gloria Mercatanti draws attention to his use of both rhetorical and patristic models. The section ends with Rosamund Allen's reappraisal of Lazamon's verse-form, which charts the distribution of rhyme, 'chime' (consonantal rhyme and assonance together) and alliteration in selected parts of the two manuscript copies, and notes the conjunction of earlier Worcestershire texts as a possible model for his formal synthesis.

In 'Interpretation', comparisons of Lazamon with Wace become more frequent. Marie-Françoise Alamichel and James Noble use them to throw into relief distinctive features of Lazamon's Arthurian story (the first, its apocalyptic dimension, the second, the king's regal qualities); Lucy Hay, to define the excess or moderation displayed by such earlier kings as Mordridus and Gorbonian. Joseph D. Parry, like Dorothy Everett before him, examines Lazamon's distinctive use of tags to provide a commentary on Vortiger's character and actions, while Kelley Wickham-Crowley and Lucy Perr draw attention to the story of Cadwathlan and Brien in particular, and to cannibalism in general – whether as a metaphor for the assimilation of source material, or to set it within a 'homosocial-homosexual' context. Both these approaches have affinities with Kenneth Tiller's intervening study of Lazamon's Prologue as an image of male domination, which in turn connects with Wayne Glowka's study of ideals of male sexuality and kingship in Wace. This, the last piece

in the collection, while barely mentioning Lazamon at all, provides an apt pendant to a symposium that agreeably reflects both the range and the interest of the *Brut* itself.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERYSTWYTH

MALDWIN MILLS

Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the abbey of Evesham*. Edited and translated by Jane Sayers and Leslie Watkiss. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Pp. lxxxix + 597. Oxford: Clarendon, 2003. £95. 0 19 820480 9

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904510801

In the 1220s the prior of Evesham, Thomas of Marlborough, compiled a book containing Hamon of Auxerre's *Expositio in Apocalypsim beati Ioannis* followed by some saints' *Lives* and miracles associated with Evesham and finishing with the deeds of the abbots of Evesham from the eighth century to 1214. Having partially rewritten the saints' *Lives* and miracles and the deeds of the earlier abbots Thomas wrote the long final section, a vivid and detailed personal account of Evesham Abbey's struggles in the papal courts to codify the house's customs and financial structure (from 1203 onwards), to gain exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishops of Worcester (in 1205) and to secure the removal (in 1213) of Evesham's dissolute abbot, Roger Norreis. Thomas, who trained as a canon lawyer, had taken the lead in all the proceedings. His first-hand narrative puts him with Joceline of Brakelond among the few eye-witnesses to describe the sometimes turbulent inner life of a great monastery of the period, but Thomas also gives a unique personal view of Evesham's dealings in and around the papal courts, including a full record of his own appearances before Innocent III, whose interjections are given verbatim. Thomas could not be a detached observer and Jane Sayers makes clear that Thomas's own contributions to his compilation turned the 'deeds of the abbots' into more than a chronicle and made the whole book into what she terms a 'history', a work purposely 'arranged to argue and explain a particular theme' (that of Evesham's freedom) in order to 'support and boost the status of the abbey'. Sayers's introduction and generous footnotes to this edition of the 'history' are masterly, especially in their investigation of Thomas's motives and methods as its compiler and in their guidance as we follow his narrative journey through the legal system of the day. The relevance of Hamon's *Expositio* to the rest of the book, if any, remains unexplained (p. lxvi) and it has not been necessary to include the text in this edition. Moreover Thomas's book (now Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 287) has later continuations bound into it, which record the deeds of the abbots up to 1418; the continuations are included in W. D. Macray's edition of the manuscript for the Rolls Series entitled *Cronicon abbatiae de Evesham, ad annum 1418* (1863) but are mostly omitted from this edition because they were not part of Thomas's plan. Nevertheless, in order to round off his life the present editors include the continuations from 1214 to Thomas's death in 1236. Leslie Watkiss's translation makes all the material accessible to a new generation of students, and for their sakes one hopes that the part of it containing Thomas's personal narrative can soon be reissued in paperback.

KEELE UNIVERSITY

DAVID COX

*The merchant in the confessional. Trade and price in the pre-Reformation penitential handbooks.*

By Odd Langholm. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 93.)

Pp. vii + 293. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003. €89. 90 04 12904 9; 0585 6914

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Odd Langholm introduces his work with a general description of the two main types of penitential handbooks: long reference works for the guidance of confessors and brief interrogatories for use when hearing merchants' confessions. A series of analyses is then made of the best part of 100 such handbooks, divided into transalpine and Iberian ones and cisalpine, accompanied by learned biographies and bibliographies. As all the handbooks derive at first, second or third hand from the major scholastic works, especially Aquinas's, they are mostly repetitive and seldom highly interesting in themselves; but all agree that merchants were open to temptations springing from avarice, namely false weighing and measuring, fraudulent description, usurious credit terms, regrating, forestalling and engrossing, all of which merited penances. By its very nature, the evidence is one-sided and inconclusive, but Langholm's treatment of it is impeccable. In his general surveys and conclusions, however, he is found wanting in sufficient knowledge of catallactics and even of religion. When the later Dominicans first noted the laws of supply and demand, they had only discovered what laymen had known for centuries. Nor did Christian beliefs forbid businessmen the keen pursuit of profit. The use of *forum* to mean an area much larger than a market square was nothing new; it dated from the early thirteenth century, and long-distance trade was still being conducted mainly in fairs in the early sixteenth. Also, pitched markets were sharply distinguished from sample ones. The author's demolition of Max Weber's notion of 'the spirit of capitalism' and its bearing on the Reformation is sound, but hardly better than H. M. Robertson's in 1935. Although ill-served by his copy-editor and proof-reader, Langholm writes well and his book is worthy of study by all kinds of historians, economists and theologians.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES,  
BANGOR

ERIC KERRIDGE

Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans chronicle. The Chronica maiora of Thomas*

*Walsingham*, I: 1376–1394. Edited by John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs and Leslie Watkiss. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Pp. cxx + 1030 incl. frontispiece and 2 plates.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003. £135. 0 19 820471 X

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Thomas Walsingham was the last major chronicler of medieval England. He revived the tradition of historical writing at St Albans, first brought into prominence by Matthew Paris a century and a half earlier. Like Paris, Walsingham was one of those chroniclers who 'make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments' (Matthew xxiii.5, cited by Gervase of Canterbury in his disquisition on historiographical modes). That is, while keeping a chronological structure for each annal, he wrote narrative prose at length in literary style and embellished the facts with his own reflections and strong opinions. Walsingham wrote a number of historical works but his principal one was the *Chronica maiora* covering the period from the Creation to 1420 (though his authorship of the section from 1393 to 1420 is not beyond dispute). He began writing the chronicle up to 1393 in the 1380s, while



precentor of St Albans, but his work was interrupted by his appointment in 1393 as prior of Wymondham, one of the abbey's cells. Since the annals for the last years of Edward III's reign and for Richard II's reign to 1394 were composed shortly after the events recorded took place, the *Chronica maiora* is a source of first-rate importance for that period, complementing the two other principal authorities – the chronicle of Henry Knighton and the Westminster chronicle. Unfortunately for prospective editors, the manuscript tradition of the *Chronica maiora* is extremely complicated. Numerous copies were produced at St Albans; the earliest extant, British Library, MS Cotton Otho C II (damaged in the fire in the Cottonian library in 1731) was written in the 1380s and the other copies in the period c. 1390–6. Moreover, the texts in the various copies are by no means identical. The picture is further confused by another St Albans' chronicle, the so-called *Short chronicle*, 1327–1422, mainly an abridgement of the *Chronica maiora* and often appearing in the same manuscript. Scholars have had to piece together a text from scattered portions embedded in three chronicles published in the Rolls Series: the *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (1974); the *Historia anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley (1863–4); and Johannis de Trokelowe, *Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (1866). We are indebted to these nineteenth-century editors for making the *Chronica maiora* accessible, but they lacked the knowledge and facilities available to a scholar nowadays and their editions fall short of modern editorial standards. Invaluable work was done by V. H. Galbriath in disentangling the manuscript tradition of both the *Chronica maiora* and the *Short chronicle*, and of relating it to the Rolls Series editions (*EHR* xlvii [1932] and the introduction to his edition of the *St Albans chronicle*, 1406–20 [1937]). Taylor and Childs build on Galbriath's work (which they gratefully acknowledge) but also on that of John Taylor himself in his *English historical literature in the fourteenth century* (1987), greatly expanding scope, with their comprehensive and meticulous scholarship. Watkiss is responsible for the good and readable translation. The printed text is based successively on the earliest and least contaminated copies, first Otho C II, then BL, MS Harley 3634, followed by BL, MS Royal 13 E IV; the latter takes the text to 1392, at which point the text to the end of 1393 is on a detached leaf mistakenly bound into another St Albans' volume, now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 7, where there is also a continuation for the year 1394. The editors have collated the texts in these manuscripts with those in other copies. One result of the editors' Herculean labours is that for the first time the so-called 'Scandalous Chronicle' covering the annals for 1376–7, is printed for what it originally was, an integral part of the *Chronica maiora*. The original text for those years contains high-flown invective, much of it against John of Gaunt, some of which owed more to Walsingham's prejudices and imagination than to actuality. In the course of the 1380s Walsingham modified his views, as the social and political scene changed, and revised his chronicle. The revision included the excision of the 'Scandalous Chronicle' from Royal 13 E IV and the substitution of a more moderate text (which the editors print in an appendix). The editors have, in fact, established a text as definitive as existing evidence allows. The introduction follows its analysis of the manuscript tradition with a thorough and well-balanced assessment of the chronicle's historical value considered in the light of recent scholarship on the period. This involves a certain amount of repetition with the section on the manuscripts as the evolution of the text could not be discussed except in the context of contemporary social and political developments. Had it been possible without loss of scholarship to shorten the introduction and some of the more discursive footnotes it would have

been an improvement since the volume, comprising about 1,150 pages, is very clumsy to handle and very expensive – too expensive for the pockets of most scholars. Especially in view of the price, the quality of the three plates is disgracefully bad: the pages of text which they reproduce are all but illegible. Nevertheless, the edition is an invaluable contribution to the study of the later Middle Ages in England, and medievalists will look forward to the publication of the second volume, continuing the text of the *Chronica maiora* to 1420, which the present editors project.

OXFORD

ANTONIA GRANSDEN

*The Bible in English. Its history and influence.* By David Daniell. Pp. xx + 900 + colour frontispiece and 47 black-and-white plates. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2003. £29.95. 0 300 09930 4  
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This is a massive book. But then the subject is massive. The aim is a chronological study of the English-language Bible from the earliest manifestations (the Lindisfarne Gospels, dated to AD 698) to the end of the twentieth century. But this also includes the study of the texts in other languages from which translations were made, so the history of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin versions and the progressive amelioration of those versions need to be investigated. The question of the means of communication available must be addressed, from the individual manuscript created by the individual scribe as a work of piety in itself to the multiple copies of the *scriptoria* to the explosion of availability offered by printing. For whom were these texts intended? The individual scholar, the monastic community, the clerics, the common man, the common woman (sometimes a separate question), the cultured elite, the academic world, the spiritual leaders of the Christian community? Was the translation intended for private study (fidelity to the original text at a premium, and generous study aids like notes, variants, cross-references) or for public reading, requiring rather a plain text without distractions, but also paying attention to matters of style and rhythm? Behind these questions are vast domains of cultural, political, scientific and social history: what is the presence of the Bible in these manifold intellectual activities?

Professor Daniell's basic aim is – at a time when the Bible is often regarded as irrelevant, outdated, or worse – to bring out the enduring and fundamental influence of the Bible on the manner of thinking and writing of the English-speaking peoples, at least since the time of the Reformation. Briefly, the result is a magnificent success, in presenting, in considerable detail, the rich and varied history of the Bible in English.

Professor Daniell is well equipped for his task: to his deep knowledge of, and sensitivity to, English literature he adds the necessary competence in cultural and political history, languages, theology, printing techniques, musicology (the metrical Psalms and the *Messiah*, for example). The core of his analysis of biblical translation is of course his work on William Tyndale, and here he is thoroughly in his element: Tyndale's huge achievement in his translation of the New Testament (1526) and of half of the Old, completed by Miles Coverdale (1535); and the subsequent profound influence of their work on the Geneva Bible (1560) and on the Authorised Version or King James Bible (KJV, 1611). Inevitably, in other parts of his survey, Professor Daniell has to rely on the work of others, in particular as regards more recent history

of Bible translations in America and in Britain. There are occasional inaccuracies: the Geneva Academy was founded in 1559, not 1555 (p. 279), so too late for the Marian exiles to benefit; Calvin's definitive edition of the *Institutio* was published in 1559, not 1599 (p. 308). There are glancing references to 'editions' as opposed to 'reprints' which suggest that the author is insecure on the history of printing techniques in the early modern period. But these are quibbles. On the whole Professor Daniell weaves his information, from his numerous sources, into a coherent and lively narrative, whether about the spectacular statistics of Bible editions in the nineteenth century, the role of the Bible in the American Civil Wars or *The Book of Mormon*.

Far more important, the evaluations of the many translations considered are the author's own. This brings us back to the central question of the Bible in English. Professor Daniell has an admirable gift of evaluating lucidly the qualities and faults of various renderings, and also great skill in communicating his point, usually by means of telling quotations. Again, his starting point is Tyndale. He identifies three great achievements of Tyndale's translations: the short sentence, the choice of Anglo-Saxon, frequently monosyllabic, words, and his sense of rhythm: 'Take up thy bed and walk', or 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak', for example. This is not just a matter of stylistic choice: 'Tyndale was faithful to the rough everyday Greek, translating in English only a notch above ordinary speech' (p. 138); and that has theological significance: 'The central figure in the Gospels is not entirely Our Lord and Saviour, pictured as a still icon with an elaborate, aureate fixed halo. The Gospel accounts of Jesus in rough Greek are also about him being shunned by the religious for sitting and eating with whores and layabouts.'

Professor Daniell's greatest contribution to Bible scholarship (now seconded by others) is to have illuminated the extent to which the other major translations of the following century, in particular the Geneva Bible of 1560 and the KJV of 1611, take over a great deal more of Tyndale than had previously been known (the reliance of KJV on Tyndale's New Testament used to be evaluated at 18 per cent, but is now seen to be 83 per cent). Indeed, while his admiration for Tyndale is almost boundless, and he recognises the scholarly achievement of the (heavily annotated) Geneva Bible, he is quite scathing about KJV:

The Geneva annotations, so often so helpful in pure clarification, could have been revised: it was only bigotry that kept such illumination away. The music of the English text would not have been lost, as Tyndale could have been even more present. [...] The New Testament *Textus receptus* which the KJV translated was already in Germany shown up for the ridiculous thing it was – and it is notable, in the making of KJV, how firmly the gates were slammed shut on anything from beyond Dover. [...] The forcible replacement from 1611 of the remarkable, accurate, informative, forward-looking, very popular Geneva Bibles at the time of their greatest dissemination and power, with the backward-gazing, conservative KJV was one of the tragedies of western culture (p. 442).

But his evaluations of the detail of translation is always even-handed, even recognising points at which KJV gives an improvement over previous versions (p. 430). Later, he pays serious attention to the New Testament translation published by Edward Harwood in 1768, which is usually ridiculed: the Prodigal Son, rather than 'wasting his substance with riotous living', became degenerated 'by a course of debauchery, profligacy and very expensive and fashionable amusement and dissipation'. But Daniell sets this improbable 'translation' in a cultural context, that

of the sentimental novel of the mid-eighteenth century and of the ‘triumph’ of high civilisation, in which one can understand the aim: ‘The New Testament’s «native elegance and charms» are made to appear by Harwood, good Augustan gentleman that he was, for his fellow after-dinner scholars, the cultured and cultivated, secure in their uniform classical standards.’ But he adds: ‘The Incarnation, however, speaks to all human life, the poor and penniless, the homeless and dying, the lonely and terrified, the filthy and diseased, the desperate and the ignorant – one does not have to have a classical education to enter the Kingdom of Heaven’ (p. 613).

Daniell’s evaluation of the many twentieth-century translations is sometimes hilarious. *The Message* (1993), he says (p. 764), ‘seems to be translating a different book from the New Testament altogether, with «Don’t bargain with God. Be direct. Ask for what you need. This isn’t a cat-and-mouse, hide-and-seek game we’re in».’ The Good News Bible (1976), in its quest for ‘dynamic equivalence’ in modern English, loses innumerable poetic images in the original (‘a land of milk and honey’ becomes ‘a rich and fertile land’, ‘the apple of the eye’ becomes ‘what is most precious to me’). On the other hand, he has much praise for the New English Bible (1970), and even more for the Revised English Bible (1989):

It is good to have the problems of translating not in the world of cultural anthropology or advanced theory of linguistics, but Pauline theology. REB consistently reads aloud very well. John 14 begins: «Set your troubled hearts at rest. Trust in God always; trust also in me. There are many dwelling-places in my Father’s house; if it were not so I should have told you.» If Tyndale has to be changed, that is the way to do it – and the last ten words are pure Tyndale anyway, apart from «would» to «should» (p. 764).

Finally, this is not an arid and impersonal account. It is entertaining reading, as some of the above quotations show. Daniell has a lively and critical wit, as for example in his reaction to the ‘Inclusive Version’ of the New Testament and Psalms (1995):

‘Jesus’ naming of God as his «Father» would not do, and became – in defiance of the Greek, and indeed of both understanding and sanity – «Father-Mother», causing Jesus to say «I am in the Father-Mother, and the Father-Mother is in me ...» It was maintained that the resulting incomprehensibility revealed the otherness of God. That is not New Testament Christianity (p. 743).

More fundamentally, Daniell knows where he stands. Right from the beginning (p. 1), he states: ‘To Christians, the Bible is the Word of God’; this is developed in the following page. Not all Christians would perhaps be happy with that bald statement, though to the author it is self-evident (Professor Daniell mentions that he is the son of a Nonconformist minister, so he does not hide his colours – indeed, the present reviewer has a similar background, so we are in harmony). This is a book not only about questions of translations and cultures, as it were a historical consideration of translations of Plato or Cicero; it is deeply *engagé*. Daniell writes with passion, about a book, *the Book*, of the profoundest importance to culture and history and human experience. And he is asserting the importance of that book against those who would minimise it. His very first footnote, in the preface, is an attack on Eamon Duffy who claims that his *Stripping of the altars* (1992) is ‘a contribution to the history of the Reformation’, yet who scarcely mentions the Bible. It is as a counterblast to that position that Daniell brings out the immense impact of Tyndale’s first New Testament translation, the enthusiasm with which bible study was embraced during

the Reformation, the joy of singing the Psalms, the vibrant debates surrounding the Geneva Bible, the sheer statistics of Bible printing in England and in America over nearly five centuries, the very multiplicity of new translations of the Scriptures up to the present day. As Baudelaire put it, great history should be *partiale, passionnée, politique*: Professor Daniell achieves this superbly.

GENEVA AND CONQUEYRAC

FRANCIS HIGMAN

*Natural law and civil sovereignty. Moral right and state authority in early modern political thought.*

Edited by Ian Hunter and David Saunders. Pp. xii + 257. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Macmillan, 2002. £45 (\$79.95). 0 333 96459 4

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This collection of fifteen essays – virtually all of high quality – delivers both less and very much more than its title promises. The book stems from a conference held in Australia in 2000. It is divided into five sections – on ‘Natural law and civil authority’, ‘The struggle over Church and State’, ‘Natural law and the limits of sovereignty’, ‘Natural law and sovereignty in context’ and ‘Early modern thought and modern politics’. Not surprisingly, there is a great deal of overlap between the various sections. Some important themes and authors receive repeated attention, while others are altogether ignored. In this book the term ‘early modern political thought’ seems to mean the political thought of Protestant Europe especially in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Very few sixteenth-century authors are dealt with in more than cursory fashion. Such Catholic writers on natural law and sovereignty as Vitoria, Molina, Suárez, and Lessius, are treated cursorily or passed over in silence. Annabel Brett has recently demonstrated the importance of Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca in the history of natural law theory, but he too is ignored here. Vázquez was a major source for Hugo Grotius, but this book for the most part begins its account of natural law thinking with Grotius (in their fine essays Knud Haakonssen and Dieter Hüning provide something of an exception to this rule, doubting the extent to which Grotius’ arguments were novel). In a book on early modern sovereignty and state authority we might expect to find discussions of Machiavelli, Botero and reason of state, or of Richelieu, Cardin Le Bret, Naudé and Bossuet. This book does not fulfil such expectations. It is mostly about the canonical authors of the so-called modern school of natural law – Grotius, Hobbes, Cumberland, Pufendorf, Thomasius, Locke, Barbeyrac and Burlamaqui (John Selden is omitted). Of these writers, some receive far more attention than others. There is comparatively little here about Locke, for example, but much about Grotius, Hobbes, Thomasius and especially Pufendorf. Indeed, the chief merit of the book is that it makes available in English some excellent recent scholarship on German thinkers by authors who generally publish in other languages, including German and Finnish. Kari Saastamoinen, for example, offers a succinct and precise, if somewhat controversial comparison of the thinking of Hobbes and Pufendorf on natural equality and civil sovereignty; Robert Von Friedeburg presents a lively and stimulating discussion of German influences on early modern British thought, especially on self-defence; and Thomas Behme’s excellent treatment of the natural law foundations of Pufendorf’s doctrine of sovereignty provides perhaps the best available account of its subject in English. Many contributors touch on questions of

ecclesiastical history. Writers like Pufendorf and Thomasius have often been treated as cynical secularists. A more interesting and richer picture emerges from the nuanced and informed analyses of the religious thought of these two thinkers by Frank Grunert, Thomas Ahnert and Michael J. Seidler. This book should be read by anyone interested in the history of the modern school of natural law, or in the intellectual history of Germany in the century or so after the Peace of Westphalia.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,  
MADISON

JOHANN P. SOMMERVILLE

*How the idea of religious toleration came to the west.* By Perez Zagorin. Pp. xvii + 371 incl. 14 ills. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003. £19.95. 0 691 09270 2  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904560803

After demonstrating a knack for unconventional thinking in *Ways of lying* (1990), Zagorin here offers us a conventional approach to a venerable topic, in some ways more Whiggish than its one-volume predecessor of 1967, Henry Kamen's *Rise of toleration*. Zagorin admits that he offers neither fresh evidence nor novel interpretations. His major concern is the causal relationship between toleration and religious freedom, which he asserts rather than demonstrates. The book's focus is narrower than its subject seems to warrant: in practice Zagorin confines himself to intramural quarrels within Reformed Protestantism, from the Servetus affair to the early Enlightenment of Locke and Bayle. Lutherans or Catholics can scarcely be found here, although they shared about 85 per cent of confessional Europe. Zagorin cavalierly dismisses the conventional wisdom of early modern Europe that religious deviation necessarily leads to sedition. Moreover, he ignores the relevance of Islam, today Europe's second religion, whose history suggests that toleration of infidels is something completely separate from religious liberty. A telling detail lies buried at the end of this book (pp. 364–65 n. 40): no Moslem was involved in drafting the UN's 'Universal' declaration of Human Rights, and the major state which refused to approve it (apart from the atheistic Soviet Union) was Osama Bin Laden's homeland, Saudi Arabia.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM MONTER

*The Reformation in Germany.* By C. Scott Dixon. (Historical Association Studies.) Pp. xxvii + 212 incl. 4 maps and 4 figs. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. £50 (cloth), £13.99 (paper). 0 631 20252 8; 0 631 20253 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690457080X

In this textbook Dixon sets out to analyse the relationship between the Reformation and the German people. A key theme throughout the book is lay engagement with the Reformation movement, from the peasants' invocation of evangelical ideas during the war of 1524–5 to the religious decisions taken by Germany's urban patriciate and territorial princes. Dixon's discussion of the Reformation's political context is particularly strong. As he reminds us, relations between the princely states and the empire are fundamental to understanding the spread of the Reformation, since its introduction was primarily a political decision. Alongside these themes,

Dixon provides a useful account of German cultural and religious life on the eve of the Reformation, exploring the preconditions for reform, as well as a narrative overview of the movement's early years. His discussion of key theological concepts is concise and clear. Throughout, brief case studies are used to illustrate the complexity and diversity of the German Reformation. A chapter on the Reformation legacy touches on a number of other issues and debates: confessionalisation; the nature of the Protestant state; the aftermath of the peace of Augsburg; Protestant culture. The lack of detail in this section is perhaps inevitable given the nature and length of the book, but somewhat disappointing, especially given Dixon's excellent earlier work on the reception of the Reformation in the rural parishes. Overall, an impressive work of synthesis, which will provide a good introduction to the field for students and general readers.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

BRIDGET HEAL

*Reformation England, 1480–1642.* By Peter Marshall. (Reading History.) Pp. xiii + 241.

London: Arnold, 2003. £50 (cloth), £14.99 (paper). 0 340 70623 6; 0 340 70624 4

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904580806

It is a pleasure to be able to welcome a text that offers students an accessible guide through the quicksands of Reformation scholarship. Peter Marshall has already proved his academic credentials in his work on the clergy, on popular religion in the Henrician period and most recently on concepts of death. Here he offers a lively survey of the state of historical debate on the 'long' Reformation, extending to the breakdown of Civil War. The chronological range is ambitious, the secondary literature covered is extraordinarily extensive and the judgements meted out are measured and sensible. The volume should become required reading for undergraduates. The only danger is that, in endeavouring to do justice to the fierce controversies that characterise this historiography, Marshall strives too hard for balance and inclusiveness, overwhelming some sections with secondary references. However, when he is addressing subjects about which he cares deeply – the religion of the people and the experience of Catholicism after 1559 – his approach transcends the existing literature and opens new questions. The chapter on Catholicism, in particular, moves forward the old debates about survivalism and revivalism to consider afresh the relationship between Catholics and their enemies. It is perhaps unfortunate, after this excellent material, that Marshall feels obliged to take his text up to 1642. Charles I's reign raises new and often distinctive issues: ones that this reviewer at least feels are still best treated in their own right rather than as an appendage to the analysis of Reformation change.

JESUS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

FELICITY HEAL

*Lady Margaret Beaufort and her professors of divinity at Cambridge, 1502–1649.* By Patrick

Collinson, Richard Rex and Graham Stanton. Pp. v + 97. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2003. £9.95 (paper). 0 521 53310 4

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904590802

This is a celebratory volume for the quincentenary of the chair. Graham Stanton provides a brief background to its establishment and a run-through of most of the

professors since 1649. The most substantial contribution is Richard Rex's. He looks at John Fisher as an 'academic entrepreneur', then goes on to correct the 'canonical' list of professors up to 1560 on the basis of manuscript research. Erasmus, amongst others, disappears, while new names include James Pilkington (1550–3), subsequently Elizabethan bishop of Durham. The most interesting newcomer is Sir John Cheke, a layman (1549–50). Rex attributes to Cheke a hitherto unidentified inaugural lecture, an example of 'typically English Protestantism' in its emphasis on biblical moralism rather than evangelical interpretation. Patrick Collinson provides entertaining anecdotal pen-pictures of professors between 1538 (in spite of the chapter title) and 1649, concentrating inevitably on the men rather than on their achievements in the chair, which up to 1574 was typically held for a two-year period only. His favourites are evidently Richard Redman (1538–40) who distinguished Augustinian from Lutheran views on justification, and that 'most moderate of our Calvinist professors', Richard Holdsworth, promptly imprisoned by parliament on his appointment in 1643.

WADHAM COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

C. S. L. DAVIES

John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1541–1857, X: Coventry and Lichfield diocese*.

Compiled by Joyce M. Horn. Pp. xv + 100. London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2003. £20. 1 871348 85 4

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904600807

It is a pleasure to welcome the latest volume in a series which is indispensable to any student of the Church of England, particularly since the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, with its multiplicity of capitular offices, was most inadequately dealt with by Le Neve himself. Although T. Duffus Hardy's revision of *Fasti* (1854) plugged a few gaps from the Public Records his references to the material he used were minimal or non-existent and, through occasional misreadings, he and his researchers inadvertently created a number of spurious office-holders. By contrast Joyce Horn's meticulous attention to the exchequer records, to letters patent and to the surviving chapter act books at Lichfield has, as usual, resulted in a volume upon which scholars can rely without having to ferret out such references for themselves. A brief but wide-ranging introduction, full listing of all the sources consulted and an accurate index completes an elegantly-produced handbook which, it is pleasant to note, is printed on paper of much better quality than some recent volumes in this series.

UNIVERSITY OF READING

BRETT USHER

*Eifriger als Zwingli. Die frühe Täuferbewegung in der Schweiz*. By Andrea Strübind. Pp. 620.

Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003. €63.80. 3 428 10653 9

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904610803

The author of this book describes herself as a church historian and Baptist theologian linked to the historical Anabaptist tradition. The book begins with 100 pages of historiographical and methodological discussion, contending for the legitimacy of applying an explicitly Christian frame of reference, together with theoretical and



critical methods, in the writing of church history. A strong polemic is directed against a 'revisionist social-historical Anabaptist research', which is said to have dominated the field since the 1970s and to have taken a reductionist and positivist approach which distorts the religious character of early Swiss Anabaptism. The core of the book, about 300 pages, explores the prehistory of Swiss Anabaptism and the early months of the movement in Zurich and Zollikon, a period from 1522 to March 1525. Examining the extensive interpretive literature on this subject, and subjecting it to critical analysis, it is the most detailed and closely argued study of this subject now available. The concluding 150 pages, less extensively researched, pursue the development of the early Anabaptist movement in Zurich and St Gall and their territories from early 1525 to early 1527, the time of the composition of the Seven Articles of Schleithem. Essentially, the book argues that, instead of marking the beginning of a second phase of Anabaptism that began after the suppression of the Peasants' War, the Schleithem Articles are a logical development of the original Anabaptism of Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz, the Zurich founders. While much of the study is marked by exaggerated polemic, it is distinguished by valuable analysis of the documents of the early Swiss Anabaptist movement: the letter of Grebel and associates to Thomas Müntzer in September 1524, Mantz's *Protestation* to the Zurich government in December 1524, the extensive concordance on faith and baptism attributed to Grebel and found in the possession of Hans Krüsi at the time of his arrest in June 1525 and, of course, the Seven Articles of Schleithem of February 1527.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
KINGSTON,  
ONTARIO

JAMES M. STAYER

*Heinrich Bullinger and the doctrine of predestination. Author of the other reformed tradition?* By Cornelis P. Venema. (Texts and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought.) Pp. 137. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002. \$17.99 (paper).  
0 8010 2605 9

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690462080X

Is Heinrich Bullinger the 'Author of the other reformed tradition'? He is not, and the author's goal is to show this. This book is thus an explicit analysis of J. Wayne Baker's well-known thesis (*Heinrich Bullinger and the covenant: the other reformed tradition*, Athens, Ohio 1980), and is only to be understood with this background. Baker has not only portrayed Bullinger as a federal theologian, like some before him, but at the same time has connected this with the assertion that Bullinger takes a fundamentally different theological route to that of, for instance, Luther and Calvin. They retain a 'unilateral' line of Augustine's predestination doctrine, whereas Bullinger advocates a 'bilateral' (and therefore true) covenant understanding. Baker's stimulating thesis has long influenced the Bullinger image, but in recent years was casually criticised on occasion (for example A. A. Archilla, *The theology of history and apologetic historiography in Heinrich Bullinger*, San Francisco 1992; P. A. Lillback, *The binding of God: Calvin's role in the development of covenant theology*, Grand Rapids 2001). Venema's book dedicates itself entirely to this criticism by reviewing Bullinger's important text passages and comments concerning the predestination doctrine: from Bullinger's *Oratio* from 1536 on his position regarding the Bolsec lawsuit in Geneva, the Traheron letter and the

conflict between Vermigli and Bibliander up to the Zurich expertise from 1561. The *Decades*, the *Summa* and the *Confessio helvetica posterior* are also discussed. The result is the realisation that over the course of time Bullinger has not changed his view regarding predestination, and that he stays essentially in the tradition of Augustine, yet never loses sight of the pastoral situation. His predestination teaching is a 'homiletical Augustinianism'. In 1957 Peter Walser (*Die Prädestinationslehre bei Heinrich Bullinger im Zusammenhang mit seiner Gotteslehre*, Zürich 1957) arrived at a similar result.

The analysis of Baker's thesis also constitutes the book's (self-imposed) boundary. The question of whether Bullinger himself related in differentiated ways to the 'Augustinian tradition' is not addressed. However, he has actually done this by explicitly referring to the writing 'De vocatione gentium' by Prosper from Aquitaine. Venema's conclusion is that Calvin and Bullinger differ in 'characteristic emphases' and not by a 'fundamentally different theological system' (p. 119), which is doubtlessly correct. It is the book's service to capture this clearly and in a well-founded manner, and at the same time to insist that one may not project questions from the seventeenth century back into the sixteenth. Nevertheless the question of the different emphases of Calvin and Bullinger in the predestination doctrine regarding their origins as well as their effects and implications continues to remain exciting.

ZÜRICH

PETER OPITZ

*Faith, reason, and revelation in Theodore Beza (1519–1605)*. By Jeffrey Mallinson. (Oxford Theological Monographs.) Pp. xii + 268. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. £50. 0 19 925959 3  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904630806

This is a fine study of the relation of the theological thought of Theodore Beza to that of his friend and predecessor John Calvin, concentrating on themes in religious epistemology. Jeffrey Mallinson's book is based on thorough research, and a good use of sources and clearly situates his own account of that relationship in the spectrum of other accounts, from Barthian to Kuyperian. The Calvin–Beza relationship has often been a test case of whether or not the pristine Reformation was regarded as degenerating into 'arid scholasticism', 'abstract rationalism', 'aristotelianism' and other nasty things. Those who see degeneracy also see Beza as a key figure, playing Lenin to Calvin's Marx. Mallinson's study adds further weight to those who see continuity between Calvin and subsequent Reformed scholasticism rather than discontinuity, building especially on the work of Richard Muller. The author draws many parallels between the thought of the two theologians, for example on natural law, philosophy, the *sensus divinitatis* and faith. Many more parallels might have been drawn, even to the extent of showing that Beza adopted the very phrasology of Calvin. Despite demonstrating the massive indebtedness of Beza to Calvin, Mallinson also sees some 'hardening' in Beza away from Calvin's more 'experiential' approach to the validation of Scripture to a more discursive and didactic mode. One unfortunate feature of the book is that having warned against the anachronism of using the terms 'subjective' and 'objective' to characterise this shift (p. 20f.) Mallinson then employs them himself (p. 180f.). This misleads him into thinking that Calvin was more fideistic, ('subjective') less 'evidential' ('objective') than in fact he

was. For Calvin the internal testimony of the holy spirit was not a unique sort of evidence for Scripture but a unique mode of apprehension of the evidence. It is to be hoped that this excellent study will result in more positive attention being given to Theodore Beza in his own right.

FIFIELD

PAUL HELM

*The construction of martyrdom in the English Catholic community, 1535–1603.* By Anne Dillon. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xxviii + 474 incl. 69 figs.

Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £59.50. 0 7546 0305 9

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904640802

Anne Dillon writes about a fascinating topic in a lucid, accessible and straightforward style. Yet while her book is a pleasure to read, it is difficult to review. It should be said at the outset that Dillon's book marks a major advance on previous scholarship and that it is the finest book on English Catholic martyrs and martyrologies in or out of print. It is well-researched (with a few *lacunae* which will be discussed below) and often insightful. Yet there are limitations in both the conception and execution of this monograph which prevent a very good book from being a path-breaking one. These limitations, moreover, are significant and worth some discussion as they have inhibited the study of English martyrs and martyrdoms in the past and may continue to do so. Yet in discussing them there is the real danger of giving an unduly negative assessment of Dillon's work.

Part of the difficulty in reviewing this monograph also lies in its being, in certain fundamental ways, two books under the same cover. The first is a book on visual depictions of English Catholic martyrs. This part of Dillon's monograph (essentially chapters iii, iv and v) is uniformly excellent and also wide-ranging, covering book illustrations, broadsheets and paintings. Richard Verstegan's illustrations of Catholic martyrdoms have received a great deal of recent scholarly attention; Dillon provides the best and most thorough discussion of his works. Her analysis of the murals at the English College in Rome are superb, and her brilliant hypothesis, that the murals presented a version of history designed to counter that of the Protestant historian John Bale, is entirely persuasive. The only criticism I would make of this part of Dillon's monograph is that it ignores John Fowler's edition of Peter Frarin's *Oration against the unlawful insurrections of the Protestants*. This book, published three years after Foxe's martyrology, contained thirty-six woodcut illustrations depicting Protestant 'atrocities' and was an early instance, probably inspired by Foxe's example, of English Catholic reliance on visual imagery for confessional propaganda.

The second book (essentially chapters i, ii, vi and vii) provides an overview of the development of English Catholic martyrology through the sixteenth century. This is the necessary context for Dillon's work on martyrological illustrations and she is to be commended for not neglecting it. Nevertheless her ambitious attempt to describe and analyse the English Catholic martyrological tradition, although it contains much of merit, is not entirely successful. For one thing, there are organisational problems as the two sections of Dillon's monograph are awkwardly joined together and some of these difficulties are compounded by her decision to organise her work chronologically rather than thematically. Thus, for example, Dillon's statements on the attitudes of Catholic martyrologists towards the miraculous are desultory and

often seemingly contradictory, because she never discusses this topic systematically. Surprisingly, Dillon fails to capitalise on the great advantage of a chronological treatment of a topic, the ability to analyse its development. Dillon's depiction of English Catholic conceptions of martyrdom emphasises continuity within that martyrological tradition and is, to this reader, overly static. Too little attention is given to the ways in which English Catholic conceptions of martyrdom changed in response to events, most notably Pius v's excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth.

In fact, Dillon can be rather weak on the legal and political background in general. She largely ignores changes in the recusancy laws and the ways in which they were enforced. (This omission is exacerbated by the decision to end the book in 1603.) Internal Catholic politics are often neglected as well, although Dillon does discuss the Archpriest Controversy and its relationship to Robert Persons's seminal anti-martyrology *The three conversions*. But in the case of the martyr Margaret Clitherow, to whom Dillon devotes a chapter, this background is ignored; Dillon touches on the role John Mush's account of Clitherow played in the controversy over church papistry, but does not develop this important insight. Dillon is also incorrect in maintaining that Clitherow is 'a type or example of the new Counter-Reformation saint' (p. 281); the emphasis on Clitherow's domestic role, which Dillon also notes, is very atypical of Counter-Reformation hagiography. (For a discussion of this point, and a persuasive effort to contextualise Mush's martyrology within its political and social background the reader will have to consult the article, forthcoming in *Past and Present*, by Peter Lake and Michael Questier, on Clitherow's martyrdom.)

Even more troubling, because it perpetuates a long-standing weakness within studies of English martyrs and martyrologies, is Dillon's relative neglect, indeed dismissal, of works written in Latin. At one point she declares that Bridgewater's massive, and important, *Concertatio*, 'remained in Latin without illustration, remote and inaccessible' (p. 7). And in discussing Nicholas Harpsfield's *Dialogi sex*, the most important of numerous contemporary attacks on John Foxe's 'Book of martyrs', Dillon makes a revealing comment: 'Harpsfield made the mistake of writing in Latin for a scholarly audience' (p. 342, my emphasis). Some of the authors who most critically shaped English Catholic ideas of martyrdom, such as Hosius and Staphylus, are ignored by Dillon. (She correctly emphasises Thomas More's influence on Harpsfield, but Hosius' *De expresso dei verbo*, unmentioned by Dillon, is the contemporary work most cited in Harpsfield's *Dialogi sex*.) And Laurentius Surius' seminal *De probatis sanctorum historiis* is only mentioned in connection with its illustrations. Admittedly Dillon, refreshingly, gives the grossly neglected Harpsfield something of his due as one of the most important English writers on martyrdom, but, in striking contrast to the rest of her book, the discussion of Harpsfield is, revealingly, superficial and relatively poorly researched. When carefully examined, it is clear that Dillon's summary of Harpsfield's arguments is based on a translation of his chapter headings, not on his actual text. This not only means that much of the subtlety and detail of Harpsfield's reasoning is lost but also many of his essential points. Nor are the differences between the two editions of Harpsfield's *Dialogi sex* mentioned; nor are Foxe's extensive responses to Harpsfield's verbal attacks discussed in any detail. Even one or two examples of this pattern of attack and response would have graphically illustrated the ways in which Catholic conceptions

of martyrdom shaped the Protestant martyrological tradition and, indeed, the historiography of the English Reformation.

And this points to the fundamental weakness of Dillon's book: it is concerned only with the English Catholic conception of martyrdom. At the most venial level, Dillon's erudition about Catholic martyrology is matched by surprising ignorance about contemporary Protestants. Errors on Protestant martyrs and martyrologists sprinkle her text: she claims that Anne Askew held 'Lollard beliefs on the nature of the Eucharist' (p. 30); that Heinrich Pantaleon's *Martyrum historia* was printed in Strasbourg in 1555 (p. 35; it was printed in Basle in 1563) and that the English Protestants found it expedient to downplay Pius v's bull excommunicating Elizabeth (p. 12). This last assertion ignores, *inter alia*, the works by Heinrich Bullinger (which were printed with English episcopal encouragement) and Thomas Norton attacking the excommunication. (Surprisingly, Dillon does not seem to know who Norton was, see pp. 102, 151.) Dillon also maintains that 'Crespin's accounts of the Huguenot heroes of St. Bartholomew's Day were especially cherished' (p. 145). Had Crespin written any such accounts they should indeed have been cherished since they would have been written posthumously; Crespin died two years before the massacre took place. More disturbingly, Dillon is on some rare occasions uncritical in her reading of Catholic polemic. For example, she accepts at face value, and repeats, Robert Persons's claim that the Marian martyrs Nicholas Scheterden and Humphrey Middleton would have been burnt under a Protestant regime (p. 344). It is true that Middleton was imprisoned in Edward vi's reign, but he was not put to death until Mary's reign and no one was ever executed in England for rejecting predestination (the particular unorthodoxy of Sheterden and Middleton).

Yet these flaws are only important, especially when set against the many excellencies of Dillon's book, because they point to its greatest flaw: its general neglect of the interaction between English Protestants and Catholics in creating a common concept of martyrdom, one which was significantly different from the medieval conceptions of martyrdom which had preceded it. (One reason why Dillon's analyses of illustrations is superior to the rest of her book is that in them, Dillon, on occasion, as when suggesting that the English College murals were a response to Bale, does discuss these interactions.) Dillon may object that this is not the book which she set out to write, but it should have been. As it is, her book suffers from the same basic limitation as John Knott's (in other respects markedly inferior) *Discourses of martyrdom*; both works explore the rich and complex subject of early modern martyrdom on only one side of the confessional divide. Historiographically, this division is arbitrary and misleading; Hosius, More and Harpsfield are as important in understanding Foxe as Bale is, while without Foxe, the martyrological works of Persons and Verstegan would probably not have been created at all.

Dillon's achievement towers over other works written on English Catholic martyrology in the past 200 years, particularly in its attention to pictures as well as printed sources, and its readiness to examine the subject in a European context (although this last virtue is more apparent in her analysis of illustrations, as her over-emphasis on works written in English inhibits it in her discussion of print sources). But in crucial ways Dillon's book shares some of the weaknesses of that tradition, especially in its relative neglect of works written in Latin and its failure to examine the interaction between Protestant and Catholic conceptions of martyrdom. Conceptions of martyrdom were shaped by Catholic and Protestant, persecuted

and persecutor, spectator and participant, magistrate and martyr interacting with each other. Anne Dillon has written the best book to look at one side of this process in isolation; with all due respect to her undoubted talent and erudition, let us hope that it is the last.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

THOMAS S. FREEMAN

*The forgotten writings of the Mennonite martyrs.* Edited by Brad S. Gregory. (Kerkhistorische Bijdragen, 18. Documenta Anabaptistica, 8.) Pp. xlv + 403. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2002. €119. 90 04 12087 4; 0169 8451

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Much of what we know about sixteenth-century Mennonites in the Netherlands derives from the prison writings they produced. Scholars rely especially on Thieleman Jansz van Braght's *Martyrs' mirror* of 1660 that brought together much of the martyrological material that had been published in the preceding century. Brad Gregory has discovered, however, that van Braght omitted some material from his collection. These forgotten letters, songs and tracts – the work of eight Mennonite martyrs – are republished here for the first time in four centuries. Gregory shows that the decision to omit this material from the Mennonite martyrological canon was taken as early as 1615, probably by Hans de Ries. Because de Ries aimed to reconcile the deeply divided Mennonite communities, he omitted those texts that were suggestive of internal divisions and doctrinal disputes. Gregory also has useful points to make on the transmission of the texts, their initial publication (as in his earlier work, he insists that there was little editorial interference in the texts themselves), and on the way their authors used Scripture. The texts are presented and annotated clearly, and offer a valuable additional source for Mennonite history.

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JUDITH POLLMANN

*Sensuous worship. Jesuits and the art of the early Catholic Reformation in Germany.* By Jeffrey Chipps Smith. Pp. x + 262 incl. frontispiece and 188 plates. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002. £35. 0 691 09072 6

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The title of this book refers to the teachings of Ignatius of Loyola, whom the author claims as a 'sensualist', meaning that he advocated the use of all the senses in meditation. Indeed he demonstrates plainly that throughout the *Spiritual exercises* Ignatius urged the exercitant to form mental images, activated by the senses. *Sensuous worship* is concerned with the Jesuits' mission in the German lands, and in particular their use of art for pedagogical and missionary work. Jeffrey Chipps Smith explains how, though there was no definite Jesuit architectural or artistic style, their churches were not simply decorated in a haphazard way but had thematic programmes to lead the worshipper to meditation. The chapter on St Michael's church in Munich, subtitled 'Ways to read a church', is particularly useful in this respect. The many facets of the Jesuits' work are discussed in an erudite text which is amplified by

generous illustrations of religious artefacts, from popular devotional prints (in the production of which the Jesuits excelled) to the highly wrought architecture of their churches. There is a superb bibliography, too. All in all, *Sensuous worship* is a valuable addition to the ever-growing historiography of the Catholic Reformation.

ST MARY'S UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

MARIA DOWLING

*Collegii a forma di seminario. Il sistema di formazione teologica nello stato di Milano in età spagnola.* By Simona Negruzzo. Pp. 535. Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 2001.

L.75,000 (paper). 88 350 9958 7

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In recent years, historians have begun to think in terms of the 'long Catholic Reformation'. A key factor in this process has been an appreciation of the challenge presented by the need to educate the secular clergy. Although the decrees of Trent required bishops to set up diocesan seminaries for that purpose, this was scarcely achieved even by the end of the eighteenth century. This book contributes to our understanding of this important theme in several ways. First of all, it offers a coverage which although strictly regional (covering just Lombardy), is genuinely polycentric (clerical education is studied as it existed not just in Milan but also in Pavia, Como, Cremona, Novara, Lodi, Alessandria, Tortona and Vigevano) and covers the entire period of Spanish domination. This allows the reader to appreciate straight away the important role played by religious orders other than the Jesuits (for example the Somashi in Pavia, the Barnabites in Lodi). The book also includes within its purview the role played by such institutions not only in replicating a lay elite, but also the contribution made by the latter's patronage of such educational institutions (as, for example, in Cremona and Lodi). Moreover, the significance of the archdiocese of Milan, not only owing to its size, but also to its position on the frontier of the Roman Catholic faith, makes it an excellent place to examine the role played by education in reinforcing religious orthodoxy. This is a substantial study, which goes far in making the most of the extensive available documentation.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

SIMON DITCHFIELD

*Storia del culto della Madonna dell'Arco attraverso le fonti scritte e figurative dei secoli XVI–XVIII.*

By Giovanni Battista Bronzini. (Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa. Studi 10.) Pp. xi + 172 + 24 colour plates. Florence: Olschki, 2000.

L.39,000 (paper). 88 222 4938 0

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904680808

The shrine of the Madonna dell'Arco, situated in the small town of Sant'Anastasia at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, some 12 kilometres east of Naples, arose out of a miracle which occurred on Easter Monday 1450 when an outdoor, frescoed image of the Virgin bled on being struck by a ball thrown by a blasphemous young boy. The cult was, however, effectively relaunched by a further miracle in 1590. This revival was accompanied by a major rebuilding of the shrine, overseen (from 1596) by a community of reformed, male Dominicans who ran the contiguous convent. What is remarkable about this particular shrine is the richness of its collection of *ex-voto*

images, which span a continuous period from the late sixteenth century to the present. It is these which form the focus of Giovanni Battista Bronzini's study and which provide the subject of the book's forty-eight colour illustrations (which date from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the twentieth). The book is divided into two, roughly equal parts. The first consists of a discussion of four important written accounts of the cult composed by its Dominican custodians between 1608 and 1715. The second of eyewitness accounts of the cult from 1618 to 2000. The author, a widely published folklorist, has much to say about the interpretive potential of his material, but for historians of Christian cults, his work will be of utility principally for its iconographic richness and collection of written primary material.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

SIMON DITCHFIELD

*De Michel de l'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes. Politique et religion face aux églises.* By Thierry Wanegffelen. (Histoires croisées.) Pp. 612 incl. 19 ills. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2002. €38 (paper). 2 84516 159 X  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904690804

Thierry Wanegffelen first came to wide attention with the publication of his important and provocative, if not always wholly convincing, book, *Ni Rome ni Genève: des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1997). His next major publication, the revised edition of Jean Delumeau's classic survey *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* (Paris 1998), will have cemented his place in the affections of a new generation of French students. These two books well illustrate the challenge facing historians of early modern religion, steering their narrow course between the Scylla of prosopographical peculiarity and the Charybdis of over-general generalisations. Unsurprising then that the conference on Michel de l'Hospital, organised by Wanegffelen at the University of Clermont-Ferrand in September 1998 (and of which this volume is the acts) contains a nice balance of breadth and depth. The list of participants reads like a *Who's Who* of the best current specialists, and the quality of the contributions is extremely high. The volume is given coherence by a number of tight and detailed studies of L'Hospital himself in several of his many incarnations: jurist, orator, politician, neo-latin poet, even (in the study by Jacqueline Lalouette) son of the Auvergne! A typically beguiling analysis by Frank Lestringant of two portraits by Bèze and Thevet is one of the highlights of a series examining L'Hospital's contested reputation in his own day. Denis Crouzet immerses himself in the evangelical theology of the chancellor's *Carmina* to give us a picture of an Erasmian divine, too good for the world in which he lived, while the legal historian Marie Seong-Hak Kim reviews L'Hospital's juridical reform programme, comparing him to Thomas More for his emphasis on 'justice' at a time when religious conflict was rapidly changing the conditions of political debate. Around the central figure of L'Hospital, there are a number of essays which treat more widely the political and religious situation in France in the second half of the sixteenth century. Some are case studies of individuals: Joachim du Bellay, Étienne Pasquier and Michel de Montaigne get predicably mentions, as do lesser-known figures such as the diplomat Arnaud du Ferrier (in a fine essay by Alain Tallon) who looked to the Venetian Republic for inspiration for his proto-Gallican views. Robert Descimon takes a longer perspective with his piece on the Hotman family, examining how



the conflicts between Protestant and Catholic relations were resolved in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Other contributors take a wider view. Arlette Jouanna, Mack Holt and Mario Turchetti are among those reassessing tensions between the 'politiques' and the League in the Wars of Religion more generally. There are studies of the political thought of the 'politiques', of their use of political rhetoric in particular and of their sense of history. There are also some more general essays, for example on religious toleration by Mark Konnert, and finally a small number of comparative contributions from German, Dutch and Scottish perspectives. While specialists will want to read this excellent volume in detail, non-specialists will be more interested for what it shows us about the current state of research into sixteenth-century French religious history. Particularly of note are the number of careful reassessments of the term 'politique', grounded in a forensic approach drawing on the precise insights of various distinct disciplines, with special attention paid to close readings of texts. Wanegffelen's introductory chapter also contains a survey of recent historiography as well as some useful methodological asides, makes a number of suggestive comments and indicates several fruitful directions for further research.

Finally, a regret and a challenge. Anglophone readers of this JOURNAL will wish to note Wanegffelen's comment that it was not possible to find someone to come and speak from an English perspective (though Ian Hazlett provides a piece on Mary, queen of Scots). Conferences of this quality and depth really ought to inspire English Reformation historians to dust off their 'O' level French and dig out their Languaphone cassettes from the attic. In the meantime, they will want to make the effort to read a volume which gives an excellent condensed overview of the work of many of the best sixteenth-century historians writing in French at the moment.

CHEMIN NEUF COMMUNITY,  
INSTITUT DE THÉOLOGIE DES DOMBES

TIMOTHY WATSON

*The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War. Kings, courts, and confessors.* By Robert Bireley.

Pp. xii + 300 incl. 1 map and 10 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £47.50. 0 521 82017 0

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For his latest book, Robert Bireley has investigated the activities of Jesuit confessors at the courts of France, Spain and the leading Catholic princes of the Empire during the Thirty Years' War. The Society's influence was greatest at the courts of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and the Emperor Ferdinand II, whereas their position in Spain and France was determined by the more intricate workings of court politics there and by the state of relations between the Catholic monarchs whom the Jesuits hoped in vain to unite in the fight against heresy. Bireley draws on the extensive correspondence of generals Muzio Vitelleschi (1615–45) and Vincenzo Carafa (1646–9) to illustrate the problems of control and coordination which confronted the Jesuit superiors who had to reconcile the demands of service to the Catholic princes with the terms of the Society's constitutions which prohibited involvement in political affairs. The centrifugal forces of nascent national sentiment among the

Society's members in the provinces posed additional problems. Though similar difficulties could be shown to have beset the Jesuit mission in the sixteenth century, Bireley is right in stressing that they took on a new dimension during the Thirty Years' War. The clash of interests among the Catholic princes, cross-confessional diplomacy and conflicting opinions regarding the permissible scope of concessions to the Protestants revealed the illusory nature of the idea of a Catholic crusade as propagated by Urban VIII and Muzio Vitelleschi. The Society was repeatedly confronted with the awkward choice between acquiescence in the Catholic princes' confrontational policies or complete withdrawal from the sphere of politics. With Vitelleschi and Carafa, the Jesuits elected superiors who felt that sacrifices had to be made to avoid antagonising those monarchs upon whom the Church effectively depended for her survival. In 1638 Vitelleschi sent a deferential letter to Richelieu in the matter of Nicolaus Caussin in which he abjectly apologised for the Jesuit's 'grave error or rather guilt' in opposing the Cardinal. Caussin had been confessor first of Louis XIII and then of Marie de Medici, but had been exiled from Louis's court for working against Richelieu's designs for the continuation of the war. About a decade after this, General Vincenzo Carafa, in a letter to Maximilian of Bavaria, promised to mete out exemplary punishment to the Bavarian Jesuit Hans Wangnreck whose acerbic criticism of the Catholic participants in the Münster peace negotiations had gravely offended the Elector.

Bireley's meticulous study of the generals' correspondence thus offers an instructive inside view of the workings of ecclesiastical diplomacy in the Thirty Years' War; it also shows how the Jesuits managed to adapt to the decline of confessional politics in the seventeenth century. The reader senses, however, that successful adaptation came at a price for the Society's spiritual mission.

UNIVERSITY OF BOCHUM

REGINA PÖRTNER

*The English Benedictine community of St Edmund king and martyr. Paris 1615/Douai 1818. Woolhampton 1903–2003. A centenary history.* Edited by Geoffrey Scott. Pp. xiv + 200 + 44 black-and-white and colour plates and CD-ROM. Worcester: Stanbrook Abbey Press, 2003. £16.50 (paper). 0 900704 43 8  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904710805

Douai Abbey is one of the English monasteries founded on the continent after the Reformation. Its life in Paris was extinguished by the French Revolution but it was re-established at Douai, benefiting from reparations paid by the restored Bourbon government to the dispossessed English. New anticlerical legislation finally forced the monks to migrate to Berkshire in 1903 but they retained the name of their last home in France. The seventeenth and eighteenth century community, as well as following the round of monastic observance, provided Benedictine priests for the English mission and became a strong centre of Jacobite loyalties. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century community continued to serve parishes in England and ran a school that was closed in 1999. This centenary history is prefaced by the writer P. J. Kavanagh and ends with an amusing and sympathetic memoir by Henry Mayr-Harting, both Old Boys of the school. Four solid and learned chapters outline the history from 1615 to 2003, firmly locating the community against the background of

the changing character of English Catholicism. It is accompanied by a CD-ROM with lists of monks and former pupils, together with music and photographs.

ST BENET'S HALL,  
OXFORD

BERNARD GREEN

*Barbarism and religion, III: The first decline and fall.* By J. G. A. Pocock. Pp. xiii + 527. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £45. 0 521 82445 1

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This volume continues Professor Pocock's study of the context and contents of Gibbon's *Decline and fall*, offering, as is made clear, 'a history of historiography, not a history of Rome' (p. 43). The first 400 pages explore the background to Gibbon's work by surveying ways in which the history of the events covered by that work was treated by earlier writers. Even while the empire of ancient Rome was expanding, some predicted its collapse. The qualities of *libertas* and *virtus* that had produced it became increasingly incapable of sustaining it: 'Liberty achieves empire, but is corrupted by it, and empire cannot be retained once it has destroyed the liberty that once conquered and no longer defends it' (p. 419). In late antiquity and medieval times other ways of understanding what had happened emerged, particularly interpretations based on the Augustinian concept of the 'two cities', and on papal and imperial notions of the *translatio imperii*. By the sixteenth century, however, the notion of a secular 'decline and fall' had become the dominant concept for understanding the events. In developing his history of this historiography, Pocock considers works of such ancient authors as Tacitus, Appian of Alexandria, Orosius and Augustine before turning to the views of, among others, Otto of Freising, Marsilius of Padua, Leonardo Bruni, Flavio Bondi and Niccolo Machiavelli, and of modern authors, including Pedro Mexía, Lipsius and Harrington as well as French and Scottish authors of Gibbon's own time. These studies give important insight into situating Gibbon's work. They also incidentally use texts that may be unfamiliar to many readers to provide an interesting example of how variously historians may read what are regarded as 'the same' events. In the sixth part of the third volume of this study of Gibbon, Pocock turns to examining in detail the first fourteen chapters of Gibbon's own text. In these Gibbon deals with 'the first decline and fall', that of the ancient Roman empire. Pocock judges, however, that 'a sharp and profound breach in the continuity of Gibbon's narrative' (p. 2) separates chapters fifteen and sixteen from the earlier ones. Hence his treatment of the final two chapters of the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and fall* await a volume still to appear. Tantalisingly for the readers of this JOURNAL, these are the chapters that caused controversy because of their views on the origin, rise and treatment of Christianity until the reign of Constantine. Although these chapters have generally dominated and distorted discussion of Gibbon's views on Christianity, Pocock argues that they are 'to an important degree preliminary' (p. 485). They were composed to set the scene for the story of the complex interactions between civil and ecclesiastical authority that is to be discussed in later chapters. Those who want to know the background and content of Gibbon's *Decline and fall* will find Pocock's study a rich and perceptive source of

information; those who want to know more about Gibbon on Christianity must wait for further volumes.

STOCKPORT

DAVID A. PAILIN

*The decline of Christendom in western Europe, 1750–2000.* Edited by Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf. Pp. ix + 234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £40. 0 521 81493 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904730808

The twelve papers in this collection are the product of a conference held in Paris in April 1997. It was the third in a series of gatherings with the theme ‘The rise and decline of Christendom in western Europe’ and part of an ecumenical project on the missiology of western culture. The work that is published here is from the history study group – one of seven that also included the arts, ecclesiology, epistemology, social structures and systems, the individual and health and healing.

The processes that shaped the book mean that it offers significant insights into the ways in which the place of Christianity in western European life changed during the period. It also enables the contributors to adopt a variety of approaches to the question of religious change. With the engaged concern that is implicit in the framework of the project, and with the benefit of the comparative context of western Europe, these papers raise important questions about how historians approach the question of what from one perspective could be seen as religious decline, but from another as the opening of new dimensions of religious experience.

Christendom is defined by the editors as ‘a society where there were close ties between the leaders of the church and those in positions of secular power, where the laws purported to be based on Christian principles, and where, apart from certain clearly defined outsider communities, every member of the society was assumed to be a Christian’. This definition emphasises the significance of the over-arching institutions of Church and State and, as David Hempton observes in his study of Christianisation and secularisation in England since 1700, concentrates less on the performance of Churches and more on their social significance. This might be measured in terms of the influence of the Churches on the making and delivery of social policy. It might find expression in the varied arrangements that retain a link between the Church and the State such as the church tax system in Germany and Scandinavia. Yet this type of arrangement is an empty shell if society as a whole is no longer aware of what, according to Callum Brown, ‘it *ought* to believe and *ought* to do religiously’. It is the area that lies between the institutions of religious life and the general cultural milieu in which they are located that provides a fruitful field of enquiry for the historian of religious life.

The book, which is divided into four untitled parts, is concerned to analyse the state of western Christendom at the close of the twentieth century and to explain and understand the extent of the general decline that is posited by its title. The first group of its twelve chapters reviews the situation at the end of the twentieth century. In the second section, chapters on England, Ireland, the Netherlands and Germany mostly cover relatively long periods, and explore the reasons for the decline of Christendom, a theme that is continued in part II of the book through an examination of what are described as ‘key themes’. Those selected are technology, death and language,

although the chapters that are concerned with them have a national basis: death and technology in France, language in Germany. A final section of the book relates to the use of wider explanations – ‘master narratives’ and contexts of religious change.

At first sight this is an uneven book, both in terms of the topics and geographical areas with which its authors engage, as well as the depth with which different topics are approached. Moreover, and perhaps inevitably, some of the themes and arguments of contributors are not entirely new. Yet the book bristles with ideas and insights that, if they do not give an impression of total coherence, and if they can be contradictory, remain provocative in their conjuncture and invaluable for the perspectives that they offer.

The general definition of what is understood as Christendom is shaped and reshaped by the contributors as they work to analyse the nature and causes of its decline. A final paper by one of the joint editors, Werner Ustorf, moves outside the European framework to emphasise the need to take account of the variety and diversity of the cultural and social contexts in which Christianity has developed. While this development and, in a western European context, this decline, is conceived of in terms of Churches, it is argued that the very notion of the Church becomes more elusive in the variety of situations that is created by mission, including the western European Churches working on their home ground.

It is a perspective that challenges what is described as the ‘standard historiography’ of Christianity and refocuses it in terms of the relationship between religion and culture. While, from this perspective, the historian of institutional Christianity contributes to an understanding of the decline of the structures through which the Christian faith was mediated to the people of western Europe, it is in the reaction of the people to the faith – expressed in conventional terms as its success or failure – through their own understandings and interpretations, that the place of Christianity in society is to be understood. These understandings and interpretations are generated by the variety of cultures that comprise western Europe.

While an approach to the history of Christianity in these terms is capable of taking a polemically optimistic turn, it is also capable of giving full weight to the more bleakly ambiguous perspective that is reflected in the book’s dust jacket. It is a pity that space could not have been found inside the book for a plate of Courbet’s ‘Un enterrement à Ornans’ particularly since Thomas Kselman refers to it in his paper – a piece of work that in its focus, methodology and the insights that it offers, typifies a collection of material that challenges the historian in both the range of its content and the approaches that it generates.

UNIVERSITY OF HULL

R. W. AMBLER

*The distinctiveness of Moravian culture. Essays and documents in Moravian history in honor of Vernon H. Nelson on his seventieth birthday.* Edited by Craig D. Atwood and Peter Vogt. Pp. vi + 297 incl. frontispiece. Nazareth, PA: Moravian Historical Society, 2003. \$29.95 (paper). 0 9719060 1 7

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This collection of essays and documents offered as a *Festschrift* to Vernon Nelson, for forty years archivist of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, is better described by the subtitle than the title, and the documents (here all

accompanied by English translations) are particularly appropriate, since one of the honorand's public services was to maintain that rarity in America, German palaeography classes. Among the most interesting of the documents is the diary kept by Anna Johanna Piesch of the transatlantic crossing of a party of Moravian ladies in 1752 which fully bears out John Wesley's account in his own journal of the bravery and quiet assurance of Moravians in danger at sea. There are a couple of interesting *Lebensläufe* (which are a distinctive Moravian creation) and a not too successful attempt to apply a critique to the *Lebenslauf* of Abraham, a Mohican convert, by printing his trading account with the Moravian community at Gnadenhütten. The intrinsic interest of the contributions is enhanced by the fact that they are strikingly abreast of European scholarship, itself fittingly represented by that pillar of Moravian scholarship, Dietrich Meyer, who explains how the Moravians became a theocracy in 1764 by formally appointing Christ as Chief Elder of the congregation.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*Modern Christianity and cultural aspirations.* Edited by David Bebbington and Timothy Larsen. (Lincoln Studies in Religion and Society, 5.) Pp. xvi + 359. London–New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003. £75. 0 8264 6262 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904750800

Clyde Binfield, in whose honour this volume of essays has been produced, has an encyclopaedic knowledge of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Nonconformity. In books and some 150 essays he has evoked the lives of chapel families, their interrelationships, their architectural tastes, in a way that is both erudite and entertaining. This *Festschrift* mirrors not only his particular interests but also his distinctive approach to dissenting history, the use of microcosmic studies to throw light on wider issues. Starting from a cameo of a single Northamptonshire congregation, Hugh McLeod traces the stages by which sporting activities became an integral and unquestioned part of chapel life. John Hargreaves uses Halifax as a case study of Methodist attitudes to education and youth. John Briggs shows how dissenting networking operated within the pottery industry. John Handby Thompson, who contributes a piece on chapel-building, claims to unravel 'familial and churchly relationships ... just for the fun of it', but in this volume, as in Binfield's own work, fun goes hand in hand with illumination. Fascinating vignettes evoke the flavour of dissenting life, its sense of inferiority and its confidence, its sensitivities, its changing emphases. Attempts to redress inequalities are discussed by David Bebbington, who charts the 1830s shift from deference to militancy, and by John Wigley who examines the 1906 education bill. Timothy Larsen shows how honorary degrees were often the only way in which the intellectual abilities of dissenting ministers could be recognised but notes that some declined to use titles conferred by unworthy institutions. As time passed, increasing numbers of dissenters studied at Oxford and Cambridge: David Thompson depicts the Cambridge men while Elaine Kaye traces the lives of the first students at Mansfield College, Oxford. Ecclesiological developments are examined by David Cornick, who explains how Presbyterians from Scotland developed into an English denomination, and by Alan Sell, who recalls how Congregationalists of the 1960s eventually decided to describe themselves as a Church. The majority of contributors concentrate on English Nonconformity but some range more

widely: Sheridan Gilley pays tribute to Binfield's architectural interests by discussing the Gothic and Baroque buildings of Victorian Catholics; Frances Knight looks at the educational background of Anglican clergy in Wales, who like Nonconformists have sometimes been unjustly caricatured as uncultured, while Richard Carwardine examines the religious thought of Abraham Lincoln, the child of a hyper-Calvinist home. Alongside an appreciation by a fellow scholar, Reg Ward, this *Festschrift* contains a piece by Binfield himself, his after-dinner response to tributes paid during the conference at which these papers were originally delivered. In characteristic fashion he traces the various influences, familial and academic, which contributed to 'A dissenting historian's formation', subjecting his own life to the same wry scrutiny with which he has so successfully illuminated the lives of his dissenting forebears.

CANTERBURY

DOREEN ROSMAN

*John Henry Newman*. By Avery Cardinal Dulles sj. (Outstanding Christian Thinkers.) Pp. xi + 176. London–New York: Continuum, 2002. £40 (cloth), £12.99 (paper). o 8264 6286 3; o 8264 6287 1

*Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman, and the Catholic University of Ireland, 1845–1865*. By Colin Barr. Pp. xvii + 288. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press/Leominster: Gracewing, 2003. £17.99 (paper). o 85244 594 6

*The Church of the Fathers*. By John Henry Newman (intro. and notes Francis McGrath). (The Works of Cardinal John Henry Newman, Birmingham Oratory Millennium Edition, 5.) Pp. lxxix + ix + 679. Leominster: Gracewing/Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002 (first publ. 1840, 1972–3). \$40. o 85244 447 8; o 268 00279 8

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904760807

It was an excellent idea to ask the distinguished theologian Avery Dulles, who would not claim to be a Newman scholar, to contribute a volume on Newman for the *Outstanding Christian Thinkers* series. As Dulles notes, there is a lack – strangely enough given the enormous amount that has been written on Newman – of 'a volume that strives, as I do here, to survey Newman's teaching about the classical theological questions in a comprehensive and systematic way'. Writing as a modern Catholic theologian, Dulles provides valuable perspectives on Newman for both specialist and general reader. For, on the one hand he provides a useful, succinct and very readable account of Newman's theology, and on the other hand he offers a critique of it from the standpoint of a Catholic theologian writing in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. For Dulles, Newman's 'most enduring contributions were in the realm of ... fundamental theology', especially his theology of faith. Although often called 'the Father of Vatican II', Newman needless to say did not anticipate all that that council had to say, for example, on ecumenism and episcopal collegiality. I was surprised that Dulles doesn't give Newman more credit for his early Anglican view on the possibility of revelation outside Christianity, which is more 'advanced' than the teaching of Vatican II. Nor, in my view, does he do justice to Newman when he writes that 'the Council went considerably beyond Newman in ... its sacramental ecclesiology'. I would have thought that the Anglican Newman had already grasped the essentials of the scriptural and patristic teaching on the fundamental nature of the Church in the first two crucial chapters of the Constitution on the

Church – including, I might add, its rediscovery of the charismatic dimension of the Church. Where Dulles is positively misleading is in his contention that Newman would have welcomed one of the ‘two principal goals’ of Vatican II, *ressourcement*, that is, the retrieval of the scriptural and patristic sources, but not the other, *aggiornamento* or the updating of the Church. It is perfectly true that as an Anglican he fought as a Tory against the encroachments of the reforming Whig government on the Church of England. But he only supported establishment because he was afraid of heretical innovations that a self-governing Church might introduce if the evangelicals or liberals were in control. Again, he may as an Anglican have been a ‘Tory of Tories’, but as a Catholic he grew much more liberal in many respects. Dulles thinks that Newman ‘might have come to agree’ with Vatican II’s ‘preference for disestablishment’ of the Church in Catholic countries. In actual fact, Newman, at least by the 1860s, was convinced that the establishment of Catholicism by the state was anachronistic and harmful to the Church’s interests. He hoped that the Church would become once again a popular Church as it had been in the first centuries. He took the then very radical view that the papacy should lose its temporal power. He also saw that the refusal to grant religious freedom to non-Catholics in Catholic countries was impractical and indeed self-defeating in a modern, pluralist world. To say that he ‘would probably have been disappointed’ by Vatican II’s call for ‘adaptation to the modern world’ is only true in so far as *aggiornamento* has been interpreted in the post-conciliar period in a secularising direction. Newman would have greatly welcomed the thrust of *Gaudium et Spes*, the constitution on the modern world – although it is true he would have been suspicious of a certain optimism of tone that reflects the climate of the 1960s.

Colin Barr has written a most judicious and illuminating history of the Catholic University of Ireland and the roles played by Archbishop Cullen and Newman in its founding and failure. With one notable exception, he carefully gives both sides of the story. He sees the root cause of their differences as the failure to agree initially on the period of residence in Dublin during the year that would be necessary for Newman, who still remained superior of the Birmingham Oratory, to fulfil his duties as rector. He gives the lie to the idea that there was any difference between Newman and Cullen over the content of the education at the Catholic University which was the same standard classical curriculum as that provided at Trinity College and the Queen’s Colleges. *Pace* V. A. McClelland, again, he dismisses the charge that Newman discriminated against Irish students. He defends Cullen against Newman’s complaints about his procrastination and failure to reply to letters, and explains his blocking of Newman’s appointment to the episcopate, as being due to the very difficult tightrope he had to walk between supporting the English Newman and appeasing the nationalist Archbishop MacHale and his allies. On the other hand, he criticises Newman for alienating Cullen by insisting on appointing nationalist Young Irelanders to university posts and for his excessive expenditure in the matter of appointments. This was not intentional provocation on Newman’s part: he simply wanted a first-class university and the freedom to appoint the best candidates even if they were laymen, while he in turn blamed Cullen for refusing to allow laymen to sit on a proper finance committee that would have improved fund-raising. I think that Barr fails to grasp that it was above all the clericalism of the Church he had joined which so horrified Newman and which he saw as the root cause of the problems between him and Cullen. For this clerical system also included the right of bishops to



treat subordinates as inferiors rather than collaborators. Had Cullen taken him into his confidence and explained his difficulties, Newman thought the relationship would have been very different indeed. Nor does Barr discuss Newman's view that Cullen's treatment of him was not in the least exceptional, his 'great fault' being that 'he makes no one his friend, because he will confide in no body, and be considerate to no body' – it was a wonder really he did not 'cook his own dinners', he was so distrustful of everyone. Where both men failed was in not appreciating at the outset the insurmountable problem caused by the lack of a charter for the university, which therefore could not legally grant degrees.

Francis McGrath's detailed and scholarly edition of Newman's *The Church of the Fathers* makes available the original Anglican text before its subsequent revisions and incorporation into the uniform edition of Newman's works. Including hitherto unpublished material, this is a critical edition which stands out among the other volumes so far published in this Birmingham Oratory Millennium Edition.

CAMPION HALL,  
OXFORD

IAN KER

*High Calvinists in action. Calvinism and the city. Manchester and London, c. 1810–1860.* By Ian J. Shaw. Pp. xii + 413 incl. 14 tables. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

£55. 0 19 925077 4

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The High Calvinist preachers of early nineteenth-century England have had a bad press. They have been accused of rigidity and aridity, of neglecting evangelism, of lacking social concern. They have been seen as marginal to the religious life of the time – according to some because they neglected the poor, and according to others because they appealed only to the poor. In this well-researched and carefully argued study Ian Shaw seeks to put the record straight. His method is to focus on four 'high' Calvinists, and two 'evangelical' Calvinists all active in London or Manchester between about 1810 and 1860. The former comprise the Anglican William Nunn, the Strict Baptists William Gadsby and James Wells, and the Independent Joseph Irons; the latter are the Presbyterian William McKerrow and the Independent Andrew Reed. In each case Shaw analyses congregational records, sermons and their involvement in politics, education and relief of poverty or other forms of suffering. The evidence concerning their congregations is clear: these were in all cases large, and so far as can be ascertained, socially varied, drawn predominantly from the upper working class and lower middle class, and predominantly female. Although High Calvinists rejected revivalism and were reluctant to accept the genuineness of those suddenly converted, the patterns of recruitment to their churches were very uneven, with numbers being particularly high in cholera years and in the revival year of 1859. In other words, these churches had much in common with numerous other Nonconformist congregations of the time. Shaw's main message is that although their Calvinist theology certainly influenced the attitude of these men to every other area of life, many other factors also influenced them, and on many points they differed among themselves. This might seem obvious, but both contemporaries and historians have been too ready to generalise about the consequences of Calvinist theology. The two evangelicals were somewhat more active than the others in politics and philanthropy. However, Gadsby was involved in anti-Peterloo protests

and other forms of radical politics, and all were involved to some degree in schemes for the relief of poverty and sickness, conditioned of course by belief in the virtues of self-help. Shaw emphasises that these men were above all preachers. While they had a penchant for polemic, he insists on the emotional appeal of sermons which drew on their own experience of forgiveness. On the whole, Shaw's case is convincing, though he has hard work defending the anti-Catholic and anti-Arminian rantings of Irons. The book consists essentially of a series of micro-studies, and in this respect it is successful. What is less evident is the wider context. While there is a useful discussion of the theological background, more might be done both to place this period in the longer context of the history of English Calvinism, and to place High Calvinists within the overall religious life of the two cities.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

HUGH McLEOD

*Brethren in Scotland, 1838–2000. A social study of an evangelical movement.* By Neil T. R. Dickson. (Studies in Evangelical History and Thought.) Pp. xxviii + 509 incl. 12 tables, 20 figs and 14 maps. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002. £29.99 (paper). 1 84227 113 X

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This is an authoritative social history of the Scottish Christian or Open Brethren, whose membership peaked at around 30,000 (just 0.62 per cent of the Scottish population) and stands today at about a third of that figure (in addition, there are the Exclusive Brethren and the Churches of God, numbering some 1,400 between them in Scotland in 2002, whose annals are mostly not recounted in this study). The first assembly was founded in 1838, but early progress was largely owed to John Bowes, the erstwhile Primitive Methodist. Thereafter, a combination of revivalism, itinerant evangelism, church plants and transfer growth underpinned a late-Victorian heyday of expansion relative to population until the mid-1890s, retarded somewhat by emigration and the secession of the Churches of God in 1892–4 (some of whom rejoined the Open Brethren after 1905), but with ongoing absolute growth until the mid-1930s. The greatest headway was made in the industrial Lowlands, notably in Lanarkshire, Edinburgh and the Lothians, Glasgow, and Ayrshire and Bute, and particularly among the skilled working class and, to a lesser extent, the lower middle class. A revision of a Stirling PhD thesis of 2000, this book incorporates the fruits of fifteen years of research, reflection and writing. The bibliography extends to fifty-five pages, and there are no fewer than 2,400 (sometimes intrusive) footnotes. An extensive range of manuscript and printed primary sources is used, among them a substantial collection assembled by Dickson himself, including through oral history, which compensates for the Brethren's cavalier approach to the preservation of their archival heritage. Especially valuable is the database which Dickson has constructed of over 8,000 obituaries published in *The Witness* between 1903 and 1978. The structure of the volume is essentially chronological, which, despite an underlying logic in teasing out key Brethren polarities (sectarianism and denominationalism, integration and withdrawal, continuity and change, growth and decline, cerebralism and supernaturalism), has the unfortunate effect of fragmenting consideration of major topics, such as the dynamics of joining and leaving membership or attitudes to women's ministry, war and politics, leisure and culture, or ecumenical relationships. Although there is some comparative analysis, relating the findings to work on the

typology of religious organisations or the broader religious history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain, on the whole this is not very deep. More sustained contextualisation of the Scottish Brethren experience within the wider evangelical movement would have been helpful, for instance comparison with the Scottish Baptists, to whom there has been significant Brethren leakage in recent years. The appendices include a list of almost 700 Open Brethren assemblies, with dates of formation and discontinuation, and fourteen maps showing their location. These might usefully have been expanded to thin out the main text which becomes encumbered with topographical detail. Dickson writes from the perspective of an insider (fifth-generation Brethren), but this does not generally detract from an objectivity of judgement, although certain aspects of Brethrenism which might now be perceived in a negative light (such as its anti-Catholic stance, dismissed in two passing references) are downplayed.

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

CLIVE D. FIELD

*Stewart Headlam's radical Anglicanism. The mass, the masses, and the music hall.* By John Richard Orens. (Studies in Anglican History.) Pp. xii + 188. Urbana–Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003. \$29.95. 0 252 02824 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904790806

Stewart Headlam (1847–1923) is best known as the Anglican clergyman who sheltered Oscar Wilde during his 1895 trial and helped him to leave England when he was released from prison in 1897. After his death, Headlam was remembered as one more eccentric radical priest, but John Richard Orens, an Anglican church historian at George Mason University, sets out here to establish him as an important figure in the history of Anglican Christian Socialism. Orens writes well and knows the period, but Headlam resists being made over: he was an Old Etonian with a private income, a rebel with far too many causes and no enthusiasm for the discipline of a serious political movement. He believed in the power of the mass to draw the working-class into the Church of England, in Henry George's Single Tax, and in God's aesthetic approval of London music halls. The Anglo-Catholics upon whom he relied preferred Charles Gore and the Christian Social Union, the workers chose the Labour movement and it was T. H. Green's 'ethical socialism' which mattered most in the growth of an English intellectual Left. Orens's book is well worth reading, but fails to prove that Headlam is more than an example of a sincere priest's desire to dominate the political world. That was impossible in England in his lifetime.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

JOHN KENT

*An apostle of the north. Memoirs of the Right Reverend William Carpenter Bompas.* By H. A. Cody (intro. William R. Morrison and Kenneth S. Coates). (Western Canada Reprint, 7.) Pp. lxxxv + 391 incl. 42 ills. Edmonton, Alb.: University of Alberta Press, 2002 (first publ. London: Seeley & Co. Ltd., 1908). £16.50 (\$29.95) (paper). 0 88864 400 0; 0820 9561; 7  
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Historians will welcome this reissue of H. A. Cody's 1908 *An apostle of the north*. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison had intended to write a biography of

Bompas (1834–1906), the pioneer Anglican missionary in the Ruperts Land and Yukon dioceses, but the dearth of personal papers led them to edit a contemporary's memoir. This indicates how Bompas gained renown for solitary labour at distant posts and defence of aboriginal peoples against government agents. He differed with the Church Missionary Society on its native church policy. He agreed to become a bishop in 1873 so as to counter French Roman Catholic oblate efforts in the Mackenzie River region, and with the aid of his wife, Charlotte Selina Cox, made the Yukon into Anglican mission territory. Coates and Morrison set their historical introduction in the context of legal cases regarding Indian residential schools during the twentieth century. They might explain further aboriginal peoples' reception of nineteenth-century missionaries by reference to June Helm, *The people of Denendeh: ethnohistory of the Indians of Canada's Northwest Territories* (2000) and Robert Choquette, *The oblate assault on Canada's Northwest* (1995).

DOUGLAS COLLEGE,  
NEW WESTMINSTER,  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

JACQUELINE GRESKO

*Christian missions in the American empire. Episcopalians in northern Luzon, the Philippines, 1902–1946.* By Arun W. Jones. (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, 132.) Pp. 308. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2003. £28 (paper). 3 631 39468 3; 0 8204 5977 1; 0170 9240  
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This is a useful introduction to the missionary work of the American Episcopalian Church in the Philippines in the early twentieth century. It contributes to the growing body of work on the complex interplay between missions and imperialism, and illuminates the processes whereby the Philippines has become the only Asian nation, a majority of whose people are Christian. It concentrates on two styles of missionary work – that of ‘translating’ Christian belief for the indigenous people, both literally through work on local languages and the translation of parts of the Bible, and culturally through close interaction with local people; and that of ‘civilising’ indigenous people according to the assumptions of Americans who believed that Christianity was part of a cultural, economic and political package which they had a duty to share in the context of imperial rule. It culminates in the missionary recognition of the need to create an indigenous clergy if Christianity was to survive and put down deep roots. One of the main strengths of the argument is its attempt, marked by debates in the secular historiography of imperialism, to see the vital contribution indigenous people made to the missionary endeavour and to the development of a Philippino Christianity. However, a significant weakness is its handling of sources, which is curious as the work is essentially a doctoral dissertation. The bibliography does not distinguish between primary and secondary published sources. Nor is there any description or discussion of the Episcopalian archives used, which would have been of considerable significance for other historians. A scholarly opportunity has thus been lost.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JUDITH BROWN

*Hierarchia catholica medi et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum – S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series. E documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta – digesta – edita, IX: A pontificatu PII pp. x (1903) usque ad pontificatum Benedicti pp. xv (1922).* Edited by P. Zenonem Pięta. Pp. xvi + 446. Padua: Messaggero di Sant'Antonio, 2002. 88 250 1000 1

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This is the latest volume in the series listing the popes and cardinals chronologically and the Roman Catholic bishops of the world alphabetically by diocese. The entire text is in Latin. It includes indices which provide the vernacular names of the dioceses and also the surnames of all the people listed in the volume. In the main lists, every name is footnoted with an outline of his career.

ST BENET'S HALL,  
OXFORD

BERNARD GREEN

*Karl Barth vs. Emil Brunner. The formation and dissolution of a theological alliance, 1916–1936.*

By John W. Hart. (Issues in Systematic Theology, 6.) Pp. ix + 262. New York: Peter Lang, 2001. £36. 0 8204 4505 3; 1081 9479

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Received accounts of the Barth–Brunner relationship focus on their angry exchanges over natural theology in 1934. John Hart here offers a well-executed analysis which is both deeper and more extensive, drawing on the Barth–Brunner correspondence now available in the Barth *Gesamtausgabe*, and on a thorough knowledge of the primary texts and the events and writings of the period. Beginning from the formation of their alliance in the later part of World War I, the book gives a very full presentation of their often tense and troubled interactions in the dialectical theology period of the 1920s, and the dissolution of the group around Barth. On Hart's account of the matter, the initial similarities of interest between Barth and Brunner masked deep-seated divergences. Theologically, Brunner had strong interests in philosophical anthropology as part of the task of 'eristics' (debating with the unbeliever); Barth, on the other hand, found himself increasingly committed to dogmatics, and so distanced himself from Brunner and others, fearing that they could offer no serious resistance to Nazi religious ideology in the German church crisis. The relation ended with disagreement over Brunner's involvement in Buchman's Oxford Group Movement, for which Barth had little time. Personal differences fuelled the dispute: Barth, by far the intellectual superior, was abrasive and impatient of Brunner's sensitivities; Brunner, less gifted, could never quite summon the force to go his own way without an anxious glance at Barth for understanding and approval. This is an excellent essay which fills an important gap in the history of modern Protestant divinity.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

JOHN WEBSTER

*Die evangelische Christenheit und die deutsche Geschichte nach 1945. Weichenstellungen in der Nachkriegszeit.* By Martin Greschat. Pp. 476 incl. 1 map and 18 ills. Stuttgart:

W. Kohlhammer, 2002. €35. 3 17 017565 3

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Martin Greschat, formerly Professor of Church History at Giessen, is one of the most versatile and prolific historians of German Protestantism. Best known for his work on

the nineteenth century, he has also published on the Reformation, and recently has concentrated mainly on the Nazi period and after. His new book provides a highly detailed narrative of four years – four fateful and very dramatic years, beginning with the collapse of Nazi Germany in May 1945 and ending with the establishment of the two German states in 1949. He begins with two relatively brief sections on the attitude to the Protestant Churches of the four occupying powers, and on the reconstruction of the *Landeskirchen* immediately after the war. While the Soviets were willing to use the Churches when it suited them, and the French were inclined to ignore them, the British and Americans saw the Churches as having a key role in converting the German people to democratic ways of thinking. For the British military and civil authorities, Greschat suggests, ‘Christianity’ and ‘democracy’ were more or less interchangeable terms. There are then three longer sections. The first looks at the various competing attempts to unite German Protestantism, and focuses especially on the Stuttgart Declaration by representatives of the Protestant Churches. This provoked huge controversy by its confession that the Churches had done too little to resist the crimes of the Nazis. The second section is called ‘Church and society’ and covers a variety of themes, including programmes for the ‘reChristianisation’ of Germany, education and welfare, and attitudes to ‘denazification’. Tensions between ‘Ossies’ and ‘Wessies’ were already rife at this time. Because of the supportive attitudes of the occupying powers, the early moves towards the unification of German Protestantism developed in the American and British zones, and did little to involve the Churches in the Soviet zone. Moreover clergy and churchgoers in the east faced pressures and threats of which those in the west knew nothing. The third section is entitled ‘The Church in east–west conflict’, though it ranges more widely, taking in, for instance, the formation of the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* and the first meeting of the World Council of Churches in 1948. The brief conclusion looks forward to the fifties and early sixties. Written in a clear and crisp narrative style, the book makes compelling reading. Emphasising that this is a story of people ‘at the limits of their physical and psychological capacity’, Greschat vividly depicts the harsh conditions of life at the time, as well as the bitter disputes between church leaders each of whom had his own vision of the Church’s and Germany’s future. The story is enlivened by frequent quotation from the three central characters – Martin Niemöller, the charismatic maverick, Hans Meiser, the arch-conservative Lutheran confessionalist, and Theophil Wurm, the veteran bishop of Württemberg, whose tireless efforts in the cause of Protestant unity might earn him the title of hero, if such a soberly written book could be said to have a hero. In spite of significant new beginnings in this period, Greschat’s main theme is continuity with the past. ‘German Christians’ were removed from positions of leadership and replaced by members of the Confessing Church, but in the parishes many who had been German Christians and members of the Nazi Party continued to act as pastors. More significant, however, in Greschat’s view was the fact that so many church leaders had been socialised in a ‘national conservative’ milieu in the years before 1914. At the local level pastors were often too exhausted to be in a mood for listening to new ideas: apart from the hunger and the cold which they shared with everyone, there were the added problems of shortages of clergy, parish numbers swollen by the influx of refugees and the burden of constantly conducting funerals. This point is made in a section on ‘Everyday church life’, but on the whole this local perspective is relatively absent. The main focus is on the church leaders, and to a lesser extent on

the occupying powers and on the German politicians. For instance, we learn a lot about the hopes that Niemöller and other Confessing Church radicals invested in the parishes, but we seldom hear the ordinary parish member speak. There is another book to be written on this. But so far as the view from above is concerned, this is the definitive account.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

HUGH MCLEOD

*Pablo VI y America latina. Jornadas de estudio, Buenos Aires, 10–11 de octubre de 2000. En colaboración con la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina S. María de los Buenos Aires.*

By Renato Papetti. (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Paolo VI, 24.) Pp. x + 246. Brescia: Istituto Paolo VI/Rome: Edizioni Studium, 2002. €25 (paper).

88 382 3905 3

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The protracted title of this volume is as accurate as it is precise, the contents of the book following the formal order of business of a conference over two days and thereby including some material that those unconnected with the event will find unnecessary and unnecessarily formalist. Equally, whilst a reading knowledge of Spanish is essential, that of Italian will also be most useful since some of the round-table discussion and three of the ten substantive presentations are in that language. The discussion is, in general, more direct, autobiographical and suggestive than the formal papers, providing a good sense of the regional 'feel' of the 1960s and 1970s. There is an unusually balanced regional coverage, with speakers from Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador and Chile as well as the stronger representation of Argentina and Italy. However, the absence of close discussion of Central America and Colombia means that the 'limit cases' in terms of political radicalism and clerical conservatism are more referred to than directly represented. The balance between broadly doctrinal and pastoral concerns is good, and, fittingly, there is even some social science. This, though, is no introductory text, assuming a working knowledge of Latin American history as well as quite close familiarity with Vatican II.

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JAMES DUNKERLEY