

## Reviews

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*King Arthur. Myth-making and history.* By N.J. Higham. Pp. xi + 303 incl. 39 figs.  
London–New York: Routledge, 2002. £25. 0 415 21305 3

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The problem of whether Arthur is a historical figure or not will never be definitively resolved unless a dateable and authenticated inscription from the sub-Roman period turns up. Hopes were raised by the ‘Artognou’ find at Tintagel in 1998, but, as N.J. Higham shows in this sceptical survey of the debate on the historical Arthur, it has nothing to do with the case. Nor, in Higham’s view, is there much else – indeed, anything else of any substance – that will help us. He analyses persuasively the political and cultural background of the earliest evidence, the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae*, and shows why each author had reason to create an Arthur-figure. His most interesting discovery is the parallel between Joshua in the Old Testament and Arthur, which certainly offers a new framework for the account in the *Historia Brittonum*. He is keen on the idea of a folkloric Arthur figure, but mixing folklore and historical analysis is always difficult: none of the folklore evidence can be shown to pre-date the literary Arthur – the *Historia* is probably our earliest source for both – and most of it is very much later. The arguments for a folklore Arthur as the origin of a pseudo-historical Arthur rely on a high valuation of folklore as evidence. The weight of argument must still be in favour of a historical personage called Arthur, of whatever period, to whom both the history (invented or borrowed from other historical figures) and the popular fictions of folklore were attached. This apart, Higham’s survey is an admirably measured and wide-ranging contribution to the ever-growing literature on the subject. Alas, it will not stem the tide of popular ‘solutions’ to the identity of Arthur, but it will put them firmly in their place.

WOODBIDGE

RICHARD BARBER

*Per una storia dei santuari cristiani d’Italia. Approcci regionali.* By Giorgio Cracco. (Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento. Quaderni, 58.) Pp. 504. Bologna: il Mulino, 2002. €28.50 (paper). 88 15 08789 3

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Volume lviii of the *Quaderni*, published by the Italo-German Historical Institute in Trent, contains twenty-three studies relating to pilgrimage centres in the various regions of present-day Italy, both mainland and insular. Many of the pieces are by teams of apparently younger scholars, though some of the single-authored contributions suggest a more mature hand, quite apart from the introduction and conclusion by established scholars. The survey of such centres, their history (and where

possible their archaeology or relevant architectural history), for which this volume represents an interim report, is typical of much historical endeavour in contemporary Italy: admirable for its initiative, but inevitably varied in the speed or otherwise with which substantial results are reported from different regions, reflecting the state of local resources. The most fully evolved findings in this book take care to distinguish not just between the eras of probable or certain foundation of shrines and pilgrimage centres, or their geographical and social location within a region, but also their sacred 'type'. Thus Marian can be contrasted with non-Marian original or subsequent dedications, sometimes with a finer categorisation between Marian dedications themselves, and non-Marian dedications can obviously be further divided, for instance setting sites associated with martyrs and/or their relics against subdivisions such as cave/mountain settings (often but not exclusively related to St Michael). Apparitions, as original attributes of such sacred sites, can be compared with the historical presence (birth, life, preaching presence for instance) of saints of the centuries from the early Middle Ages to the contemporary era. The death or burial-place of saints of any age, especially if associated with miracles (commonly physical cures or rescue in accidents), is naturally a frequent though not certain location for a place of pilgrimage. However what chiefly strikes the reader of these studies, even though the reports from some regions are much less comprehensive than the preceding analysis, based on the most sophisticated chapters, would suggest, is that much of the richness of varied categories or types of shrine, whether with a purely local or a more peninsular or even international attraction (from Loreto to Padre Pio, as it were), can be found in areas from the (partly) German-speaking north to the deep south, and from Friuli to Sardinia. Historical evolution, in the case of changing popularity, most often recorded by virtue of successful post-foundation development, is in some essays presented in helpfully clear graphic or tabulated form.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

A. D. WRIGHT

*Christianity in Ireland. Revisiting the story.* Edited by Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh. Dublin: Columba Press, 2002. €30 (£19.99). 1 85607 350 5  
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This collection on Irish church history began life as a colloquium held under the auspices of the Fondazione Ambrosia Paolo VI at Varese in September 1999. That event was organised by the well-known Irish historian the Revd Dr Donal Kerr, and the proceedings were published as *Storia religiosa dell' Irlanda* (Milan 2001). This and some additional material and revisions is now made available for the English reader. Donal Kerr died rather suddenly in May 2001. The collection therefore now includes a fitting, but brief, appreciation of his life and work penned by Professor Kevin B. Nolan of University College, Dublin, with the whole being dedicated to his memory.

In all there are twenty-three chapters and a carefully compiled 'Chronology of Irish history', which cover the main events of Irish Christianity from the coming of St Patrick to the present. For the most part the collection represents a lucid presentation of the essential elements of Irish Christianity. It is without doubt a valuable

contribution to the history of the Church in Ireland and will become an essential touchstone for all who approach the subject, both the student and those who are merely curious.

As with all such collections not every essay is of equal standard and stylistic inconsistencies do detract from presentational uniformity. Some essays have a bibliography, others have footnotes and a bibliography and some have neither. Most of the essays deal with a specific topic such as Brendan Bradshaw's essay on the Reformation or Mary Ann Lyons's valuable piece on the piety and patronage of laywomen in late medieval Ireland. By contrast those on the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches aim to give a quick guide to the whole history of those communities, and although well written sit uneasily with the detailed analysis of most of the other contributions. The Church of Ireland is better served by Kenneth Milne who confines his treatment of that communion to its post-Partition history in an argument clearly and pithily reasoned.

The opening four chapters by the expert hands of Alfred P. Smyth, Marie Therese Flanagan and John A. Watt, tell the history of the Irish Church to the high Middle Ages. Four other chapters deal with the Reformation and eleven others deal with the Catholic Church from the 1690s to the present. Hugh Fenning gives a particularly valuable summary of the operation of the penal laws. One essay, by the veteran Irish ecumenist Michael Hurley, is concerned with ecumenical developments in Northern Ireland in the post-Vatican II era. Given the origins of the work it was probably inevitable that so much attention would be given to the Catholic Church, but none the less the concentration on Catholicism in the modern era does not do justice to the title of the work.

It would be impossible in the space available to give an adequate epitome of the range and quality of even the most important points made by the individual authors. A number of highly significant observations are, however, worthy of notice. Ray Gillespie, drawing on his well-received 1997 study, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland*, makes the valuable point that if the Church of Ireland in the eighteenth century is judged not as a national Church but as a provider of services to the Protestant minority then its traditional record of apathy is seen as a caricature and its credibility as a Church is more readily established (p. 113). Of course its motivation for such a role in Irish society is still open to question.

Donal Kerr's own contribution, 'The Catholic Church in the age of O'Connell', is, as one would expect, a masterful summary of the state of the country and of Catholicism in the 1840s. He candidly admits that it is difficult to estimate what their religion meant to the poverty-stricken millions of the famine era, but quotes with approval the German Lutheran J. G. Kohl, who visited Ireland in 1844, and stated that the Irish were the most genuine Catholics in the world (p. 165).

Emmet Larkin, the doyen of nineteenth-century Irish Catholic studies, reiterates with panache and verve ideas that first occurred to him some twenty-five years ago, but they are presented here within the context of the parish mission movement of 1850–80. Mary Harris, in a sensitive and intelligent study, outlines the relationship between Catholicism and unfolding Irish nationalism from the fall of Parnell to Partition. I am not, however, completely convinced of her argument that Patrick Pearse saw himself as 'a redeeming Christ-like figure' (p. 211), although he clearly stressed the need for blood sacrifice as a means of cleansing the nation and giving it rebirth.

Tom Bartlett revisits and reappraises the late John H. Whyte's 1971 tome *Church and state in modern Ireland, 1923–1970*. Although keyed to the weaknesses of Whyte's study Bartlett demonstrates that despite the limitations under which the work was written many of its conclusions remain essentially sound. Furthermore, drawing on his own expertise, Bartlett identifies the period 1780–1830 as the significant period for understanding the context for Church–State relations in Ireland. Therefore he concludes that the episcopacy of that towering figure Archbishop John Charles McQuaid (1940–71), ought to be compared with that of his eighteenth- and nineteenth-century predecessor John Thomas Troy (1786–1820), rather than with that of his other, conventionally more obvious point of comparison, Cardinal Paul Cullen, archbishop of Dublin (1852–78).

The final two essays in the collection, by James S. Donnelly Jr, and Noel Barber, address themselves to the difficulties that beset the contemporary Irish Catholic Church. The issues dealt with cover, among other things, the problems of secularisation and the various sex scandals that have afflicted Irish Catholicism in the last ten to fifteen years. If Donnelly's analysis is too pessimistic and carping, Barber's is too defensive and ends on too pietistic a note.

This collection sets the parameters for a narrative history of Christianity in Ireland. All subsequent labour on the topic will be conditioned by the work here presented. Many of the chapters are excellent and the collection will, I have no doubt, be widely read.

JOHN CARROLL UNIVERSITY,  
CLEVELAND

OLIVER P. RAFFERTY SJ

*An introduction to the Christian Orthodox churches.* By John Binns. Pp. xiii + 270 incl. 12 ills and 3 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45 (cloth), £15.95 (paper). 0 521 66140 4; 0 521 66738 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903247199

This excellent overview of the history, church life, and contemporary situation of the Orthodox Churches has one general merit and two more particular ones. In general, it strikes a good balance between the need to furnish basic historical data and the desirability of an explanatory and reflective grasp of their implications. The reader is neither submitted to information overload nor deprived of a decent factual diet. This renders it well suited to function as a course-book. The first of its more particular merits is the way it gives proportionately due attention to the non-Chalcedonian (and non-Ephesian) Churches, as well as to eastern Catholicism. That is anticipated in the unaccustomed phrase 'Christian Orthodox Churches' which figures in the title. The second such merit is the use made of its author's personal knowledge of certain regions of the eastern Christian world – notably, it would seem, Serbia, Ethiopia and Russia – and his familiarity with chronicle reports of church-political developments in (especially) the Byzantine Orthodoxy of the twentieth century. (There is, for instance, a lucid account of the curious juridical history of the Orthodox in the United States which could not, I think, readily be gleaned from any standard bibliographical source.) In addition to a two-chapter introduction and a conclusion devoted to current prospects, eight substantial chapters consider liturgy,

doctrine, icons, monasticism, popular piety, mission, Church and State, and the east/west divide. Although the approach is thematic rather than generic, a great deal of the matter of each chapter is historical in character. The author employs a straightforward and workmanlike prose style, and his choice of illustrative material is very well judged in the light of his overall purpose. The bibliography, however, suffers from an unaccountable failure to reproduce many of the sub-titles of the books mentioned. As a result, the student will sometimes be unable to connect a given title with any one of the topics the book covers. So this is hardly a quibble. The account of the eastern Catholic Churches is occasionally somewhat jaundiced: the author fails to note that the Balamand Statement of the Joint Orthodox–Roman Catholic Theological Commission was not only criticised by many Orthodox for what they perceived as comparative leniency towards Uniatism. It was also criticised by many eastern Catholics for what they perceived, with rather more reason, as its comparative rigour. Uniatism, it is true, reduces the charm of difference. But it also increases the chances of combining eastern fidelity to historic tradition with western sophistication in handling modernity, and this is a *desideratum* on which John Binns lays great weight.

BLACKFRIARS,  
CAMBRIDGE

AIDAN NICHOLS OP

*Petrus und Rom. Das Petrusbild in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten.* By Joachim Gnilka.

Pp. 286. Freiburg: Herder, 2002. €24.90. 3 451 27492 2

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In this helpful and clearly written book Joachim Gnilka seeks to accomplish two things. The first is to describe as fully as possible the life and martyrdom of Peter. The second is to take account of the position he came subsequently to occupy in the developing Church's history up to approximately the middle of the third century. In pursuit of this latter aim particular attention is placed upon the development of Christianity within Rome.

Any account of the historical Peter's life is dogged by lack of information and by the problem of the reliability of the information we do in fact have about him, mainly found in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Gnilka wanders cautiously through the available material. He accepts that Peter came from Bethsaida, identifying the town with modern et-Tell, and that the town had a broadly cosmopolitan aspect, perhaps reflected in the Greek-sounding names of Peter and of his brother Andrew. Gnilka posits a move to Capernaum probably as a result of marriage. It was there that Peter the fisherman (the trade had been learnt at Bethsaida) first met Jesus and decided to become his follower and that Jesus performed one of his earliest miracles, the healing of Peter's mother-in-law. It is likely that Peter's house became a regular place in which Jesus stayed. Peter became a spokesman of the Twelve and was given the name 'Kepha' by Jesus. The term is best translated as 'precious stone' and should not be understood in its original sense in an ecclesiological manner. There is no reason to doubt that Peter denied Jesus at the time of his arrest and fled from his captors. He had a vision of the risen Lord in Galilee and then returned to Jerusalem. He soon became a leading figure in the nascent movement but for whatever reason shared the leadership of the Church with James, the brother of

John, and John. Missionary activity amongst Jews in particular took him away from the Church in Jerusalem, allowing James to become sole leader. His dispute with Paul at Antioch, recorded in Galatians ii. 11f. shows him not as a supporter of 'extreme' forms of Jewish Christianity, but as a man seeking to negotiate between Paul and his opponents. The rift with Paul, signalled by the dispute at Antioch, was not permanent. He died in Rome during the persecution of Nero in 64 CE, probably at a different time and in different circumstances to Paul. The whereabouts of his tomb, if such a thing existed, and not just a memorial, cannot be located with any certainty in spite of the best efforts of more recent archaeology.

The substance of the previous paragraph is contained within four chapters. What follows is an analysis of the picture of Peter, 'das Petrusbild' of the title, which emerges in the early Church. The pictures of Peter in the Gospels and Acts are analysed first. Amongst many other things Gnilka seeks to emphasise the way in which the individual evangelists seek to portray him more and more as the rock, understood ecclesiologically. This view of Peter is classically represented in Matthew xvi. 17–19 but can be viewed elsewhere. A developed ecclesiological understanding of the Apostle can be seen in John xxi. 15–17 where Peter appears as the one who will feed the burgeoning Church. The other New Testament documents which give evidence of a developing 'Petrusbild' are the two letters attributed to Peter, 1 and 2 Peter. Gnilka argues, uncontroversially, that both are pseudonymous and that both give evidence of the growing importance of the martyr figure of Peter in the early Church and, in the case of 2 Peter, his growing association with Paul. The letters do not give evidence of a Petrine school. The fact that both were probably written in Rome is evidence of the growing attachment of Peter to that city.

The last two chapters of the book investigate the image of Peter as it is found in some early non-canonical Christian sources. Gnilka's observation about a growing association of Peter with Rome, found in his final comments on the Petrine Epistles, forms the interconnecting thread of much of what he has to write here. 'Die nachneutestamentliche Entwicklung – soweit wir sie verfolgt haben – verlagert den Schwerpunkt auf Rom. Selbstverständlich bleibt Petrus im Blick, aber die Linien, die sich aufzeigen lassen, führen hin zur Hauptstadt des Imperiums' (p. 273). Hence the explanation for the title of the book, 'Petrus und Rom'. This section is made up of helpful discussions of 1 Clement, Ignatius' letter to the Romans, the Quartodeciman Controversy, Irenaeus' understanding of the position of Peter, relevant texts from Tertullian and Cyprian and the pseudepigraphic texts which have Peter's name in their title. Gnilka emphasises how Peter and Paul, though in their historical lives only occasionally in contact with each other, came in their posthumous existences to be firmly placed together as martyr figures of the early Roman Church. He notes the gradual development of a unified Roman Church, first witnessed in the Quartodeciman Controversy in the 180s CE (unfortunately we have no way of knowing whether Victor, the bishop of Rome, appealed to the fact of Peter and Paul's martyrdom in Rome in support of his own authority), and argues that developing ideas of Roman primacy, witnessed to in a notably ambiguous way in Cyprian, were not straightforwardly linked with Peter in this early period. In this regard Gnilka notes the lack of usage in this period of Matt. xvi. 18f. in precisely this context. In fact in the east this text came in particular to be associated with an image of Peter as a figure to whom important, and sometimes secret, theological truths had been revealed, a point clearly evident in Gnostic texts bearing Peter's name.

Joachim Gnilka has provided us with an accessible and readable *entrée* into the related problems of the historical Peter and his developing image. The book is appropriately filled with unanswered questions (why, for instance, do we have so little information about Peter in Acts?) and tentative-sounding conclusions. That is as it should be, particularly in relation to discussions of the historical Peter. Indeed, perhaps the author's greatest achievement lies in his clear presentation of the relevant evidence and the problems related to it.

PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*Ecclesia alexandrina. Evolution sociale et institutionnelle du christianisme alexandrin (IIe et IIIe siècles)*. By Attila Jakab. (Christianismes anciens, 1.) Pp. xv + 373. Bern: Peter Lang, 2001. £36 (paper). 3 906767 79 5; 1424 8999  
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As the opening chapter of this book reminds us, ancient Alexandria was a Hellenistic rather than a classical city, playing host to Greek and native, Jew and Roman, before the whole palimpsest was tardily but thoroughly overwritten by the emergence of a hierarchic Church. Reinach traced its growing-pains in the troubles of the Synagogue under Claudius; Bauer opined that Gnosticism preceded orthodoxy, which prospered only as the tool of the episcopate in the third century. Jakab shows with great lucidity that neither view commands the assent of scholarship, but his answer to Reinach would have been both subtler and more instructive had he widened his account of Judaism to include the Therapeutae, a group regarded by Eusebius as Christian and by some modern authorities as precursors of monasticism in Egypt. Nor can Bauer be overthrown by drawing up a battery of 'non-Gnostic' texts to match his 'Gnostic' arsenal (pp. 83–9), for no text is composed entirely of features that were peculiar to the Gnostics. Even without the Nag Hammadi codices, an unprejudiced perusal of the New Testament reveals that 'Gnostic' is not a simple antonym to 'orthodox', and hence that Bauer's thesis is not so much false as vacuous. The line between pagan and Christian was less permeable, but teaching took place across it, and if nine pages can be given to proving Clement's tutor Pantaenus to have been no-one in particular (pp. 107–15), one might have thought that Origen's tutor Ammonius would have merited more than a footnote (p. 164 n. 113). Both associations raise the question what it means to call one man another's student in antiquity – a question that might also have been broached in the excellent survey of opinions on the existence of a 'Catechetical School'. To complain of the neglect of Philo's influence would be to harp unnecessarily on one theme, for it is clear that Clement and Origen are of less interest in this study as theologians than as laymen who desired to retrench the authority of their bishop. To my mind the evidence culled from their works by Jakab is as friable as any other confession under torture: it is one thing to censor the morals of the clergy and another to deny them the right to office, and if Clement speaks of *episkopoi*, *presbuteroi* and *diakonoi* in the same sentence (p. 182), I see no reason to deny that he endorsed this three-fold norm. On the other hand the sociological method proves itself in chapter ix in the analysis of names in the correspondence of the great Bishop Dionysius: the conclusion that



the citizens of higher rank made up a smaller fraction of the martyrs than their numbers in the Church would seem to warrant may be just (p. 253), but would perhaps be less invidious if we knew how often the rich employed their wealth to preserve their clients, and whether they were rich because in times of persecution it was more prudent for ecclesiastical property to remain in private hands.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

M. J. EDWARDS

*First converts. Rich pagan women and the rhetoric of mission in early Judaism and Christianity.* By Shelly Matthews. (Contraversions. Jews and Other Differences.) Pp. xiv + 164. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. £35.50 (\$45). 0 8047 3592 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903277198

To what extent are we able to attribute early Christianity's emphasis on evangelisation to Judaic missionary practices? Further, how should we understand the role of women in extending these faiths throughout the Roman empire? According to Shelly Matthews, these two questions help illumine the key role women played in the missionary activity of both Synagogue and Church. In Juvenal's sixth satire, for example, we meet 'a palsied Jewess' who is busy 'filling her palm' by interpreting the law for anyone willing to stop and listen. In this raillery, argues Matthews, we catch a glimpse of how women were employed as professional missionaries, 'if not, [Juvenal's] lampoonery could not have been effective' (p. 4). Choosing two first-century authors, Matthews relies on those passages which represent either explicit religious activity or those which depict upper-class Gentile women interceding on behalf of Jews and Christians, showing how women were far from the gullible and greedy lot as portrayed by Juvenal.

The first two chapters (pp. 10–50) turn to Josephus' *Antiquities* and helpfully situate his accounts of women religious figures in the late first-century emperors' hatred of the Jews. Matthews concentrates on the episodes in Josephus where women are shown to influence religious choice and where imperial *patronae* intercede for their Jewish clients: 'Josephus presents Gentile noblewomen as effective historical agents with great political acumen, neither constrained by the Roman propagandistic ideal of the virtuous matron as a homebound spinner of wool, nor condemned as transgressors of proper social roles' (p. 45). It becomes clear how Josephus emphasises various women's proselytising successes as well as, if not the outright conversions of Gentile women, at least, their ability to subvert the state's disdain of the Jews through their financial and social favours.

Chapters iii and iv (pp. 51–95) take up the book of Acts and show how this rhetorical strategy is continued. Like Josephus, Luke recognises the benefits which high-standing Gentiles can bestow upon his fledgling community and thus highlights the baptisms of such 'God-fearing' women. Helpful here are the pages outlining parallels between Luke's association of the 'synagogue of women' with Dionysiac propagandistic themes as well as the special attention paid to the important contrast in Acts xvi between the generosity of Lydia and the mantic slave girl's harassment of the Apostles.

This work demonstrates how Josephus and Luke successfully employ the Gentile matron as a figure who at once materially supports Judaism and Christianity and



gives such perceived *superstitiones* a certain social credibility within her own circle. It is unfortunate that Matthews was not able to extend her analysis to other texts or prosopographical evidence of the period. None the less, she raises important issues for those interested in the struggles and the role of women in the New Testament period. Shelly Matthews's latest contribution is a limited, although helpful, look into the role women played in the expansion of Judaism and Christianity at the turn of the first century.

UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK

DAVID MECONI

*Werkstattgruppen römischer Katakombenmalerei.* By Norbert Zimmermann. (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, 35.) Pp. 309 + 238 colour and black-and-white plates.

Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2002. €94. 3 402 08118 0

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For the past four hundred years, since Antonio Bosio (1575–1629) began to assemble material for his classic *Roma sotterranea* (publ. 1632), the Roman catacombs have been intensively studied. Now, with 469 separate catacombs identified covering 175 square kilometres and containing 875,000 burials, scholars remain little further forward in identifying the artists of the scenes adorning many of the *cubicula*, their organisation and the exact period of their work. Up to now much effort had been spent in dating the scenes on stylistic grounds alone, but as the dispute between Kollwitz and de Bruyne demonstrated at the Trier Conference of Christian Archaeology in 1965, little common ground exists. Norbert Zimmermann, in his doctoral dissertation for the Ludwig-Maximilian University at Munich, tries a different tack. He examines the paintings themselves, including the brush work, seeking to identify particular compositions with specific groups of craftsmen who in many cases were also the constructors (*fossores*) of the catacomb. He has chosen for his study six of the larger catacombs, including the Via Latina, San Pietro Marcellino and parts of the vast Domitilla catacomb. In the last named he is able to demonstrate a range of social classes among the owners of each burial chamber who commissioned the designs. In the Via Latina, groups of craftsmen are shown to have been working together, under the leadership of a master, on different burial chambers. The research for this book has been carried out with great thoroughness, but in the end, though he can point out the inadequacy of the stylistic approach the author admits to a lack of evidence to sustain his own solutions. A major difficulty remains that Roman craftsmen, unlike Gallic potters manufacturing fine samian ware vessels, never signed their names and hence their identities and dates remain unknown. In addition, until more research is carried out on the day-to-day objects dropped by the *fossores* during their work, such as coins and pottery, research will continue to rely mainly on stylistic judgement for the painters as well as the designers. The author, however, has opened up a new line of catacomb research. The value of his diligent and scholarly work has been greatly enhanced by a superb series of coloured and black-and-white illustrations of scenes in the catacombs that he has studied.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

'Concord and peace'. *A rhetorical analysis of the first letter of Clement with an emphasis on the language of unity and sedition*. By Odd Magne Bakke. (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2, Reihe 143.) Pp. xv + 390. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2001. DM 188 (paper). 3 16 147637 9; 0340 9570 *JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903297190

The essential claim of this lengthy and carefully presented monograph is that 1 Clement is best understood as a piece of deliberative rhetoric centred around the concept of concord or ὁμόνοια. Odd Bakke, writing in his second language, but doing so with some facility, shows how the author of the letter, possibly a well-educated slave in the service of a Roman aristocrat, possibly Flavius Clemens, and writing in the first decade of the second century, shows knowledge of what he takes to be the main features of deliberative rhetoric: the letter is hortatory in tone, it shows a strong concern with the future, it makes use of a set of appeals common to such rhetoric (for example the appeal to advantage and justice), and it shows a proclivity for the use of examples, also a feature of the deliberative style. That the letter centres on the theme of ὁμόνοια is made clear to Bakke by the fact that its author makes considerable use not only of the term itself (much more so than any other Christian writing of a comparable period), and sometimes in significant places (note in particular 63.2 where Clement refers to the 'entreaty which we have made for peace and concord in this letter'), but of many words from the semantic field related to the term (a semantic field should be taken to include antonyms as well as synonyms, so words relating to a lack of ὁμόνοια such as στάσις or sedition form part of the field). This is particularly the case in the first three chapters. In this section of the book, Bakke is at pains to show that many of these words should be understood against a contemporary political background and not necessarily with reference to the LXX or other non-pagan sources. There then follows a detailed compositional analysis in which Bakke divides the letter up into an 'exordium' (1.1–2.8), a 'narratio' (3.1–4), a 'probatio' (4.1–61.3) and a 'peroratio' (62.1–64.1). Such a structure betrays its deliberative rhetorical origins, and demonstrates, according to Bakke, amongst other things, the fact that, contrary to standard scholarly opinion, there is a leading theme in the first part of the letter (4.1–39.9). In fact this section should be described as 'a treatise on the principles of concord for a Christian Community' (p. 323). Bakke concludes the main part of his work with an analysis of what he terms 'the social-historical situation' addressed by the letter, arguing that in 3.3 the terms used by Clement to describe the different people involved in the strife betray an essentially sociopolitical origin. The ἄτιμοι, ἄδοξοι, and ἄφρονες refer to poor people while ἔντιμοι, φρόνιμοι and ἔνδοξοι refer to the rich. The poor of the Corinthian community, according to Bakke, were striving to gain influence over the distribution of resources, and to attain for themselves some honour in the community. This explains their interest in occupying the position of presbyter. Such a socioeconomic analysis is compatible with what we know of the essential causes of *stasis* in the ancient world, a key concept for Clement, and, as previously mentioned, an antonym of concord. Hence in Bakke's reading of the letter, the central issue is not related to a conflict between 'spirit' and 'office' nor to a matter of doctrine but rather to a conflict 'between people of different socio-economic status in which striving for honour appeared to be an important aspect' (p. 325).

This is a helpful book which argues its case with clarity and rigour. In particular Bakke's analysis of the vocabulary of 1 Clement and his claim that its author makes

consistent use of words related to the semantic field of ὁμόνοια is to be welcomed, as are his frequent references to relevant pagan literature which give the thesis an intentionally contextualised quality. There are some criticisms, however. Too often the author makes a rather glib distinction between so-called Jewish-Hellenistic and pagan usage of a term. This may seem a necessary procedure to Bakke as he argues his case for Clement's intentional usage of a pagan rhetorical *topos*. But too often it assumes a stark division between the two worlds. Moreover, Clement is a man keen to emphasise the importance of Scripture for his readers. Bakke, in pursuit of his argument, makes too little of this point. But more important, even if Bakke's argument that the letter is in fact a συμβουλευτικός λόγος περί ὁμονοίας is correct, and the experts in ancient rhetoric will no doubt quibble over certain things (on occasion in fact the author seems to indulge in a form of special pleading), I wonder to what extent such a hypothesis enables the reader better to unravel the underlying historical realities of the document. Bakke's own reconstruction of the purposes of the letter in terms of a socioeconomic reading does not seem to emerge straightforwardly from his argument about the rhetorical form and content of the letter. It is true that he may have made the reader more aware of the political origins of Clement's language and this may superficially allow for a more socioeconomic reading. But such a reading in fact emerges from a contentious interpretation of a single verse (3.3), almost entirely dependent upon Gerd Theissen's understanding of 1 Corinthians 1.26. Moreover, it should be noted that political language, whatever its original sense, can be used in a whole variety of contexts for which it was not originally devised. The promise, therefore, of an elucidation of the origins and purpose of the letter by means of a rhetorical analysis remains, in the opinion of this reviewer at least, unfulfilled.

PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*Augustine. Biblical exegese.* Edited by Frederick van Fleteren and Joseph C. Schnaubelt. (Augustinian Historical Institute.) Pp. xvii + 397. New York: Peter Lang, 2001.

£44. 0 8204 2292 4

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903307195

This is a curate's egg of a volume. It bears all the marks of hasty editing: no bibliography, index or information about authors; poor proof-reading; an enormous unevenness in quality among the eighteen essays included. The rather laboured survey of the history of exegesis in the foreword is also off-putting. However, there are some fine pieces here. A. Bastiaensen, by a careful and cautious comparison of texts, concludes that Augustine used 'Ambrosiaster' as well as Jerome (but not Marius Victorinus) for his commentaries on Romans and Galatians, though without knowing the former's identity. There is also evidence that Pelagius' use of 'Ambrosiaster' drew Augustine's attention to his interpretation of 2 Cor v.21. Michael Cameron gives a close analysis of the way in which Augustine treats texts from the Song of Songs in debating with the Donatists, and shows his preference for an ecclesiological reading of the book (by contrast with Origen and Ambrose); Cameron makes several penetrating points about how Augustine uses figurative exegesis. Robert J. O'Connell focuses on the odd image in Ecclesiasticus x.9–14 of the will 'casting forth its insides and swelling outwards' and uses this to follow the

development of Augustine's idea of pride, under the influence, as he argues, of Plotinus, and to see how he comes to link together sets of texts in his exegesis. Carol Harrison contrasts the *Harmony of the Gospels*, in which Augustine's aim is to discover a single authorial intention in different evangelists' treatments of the same episode, with *Confessions* XII, where what matters to him is a single ultimate meaning (whatever Moses's intentions). She attributes this difference to the fact that the Gospels are about the Word itself becoming flesh, and therefore the details of what is done by the Word become crucial. There are also useful essays by Joseph T. Lienhard on Augustine's exegesis of John the Baptist, by John Norris on his use of sign in the *Tractates on John*, by Kenneth B. Steinhauser on his reluctant treatment of Job in response to the Pelagians and in particular Julian, by Eugene TeSelle on the idea of willing in his sermons on Romans vii and viii and by Roland Teske, who defends against modern commentators Augustine's Christological reading of the Good Samaritan. J. Patout Burns gives an interesting account of Ambrose's analysis in *On paradise* of the knowledge of good and evil acquired by the Fall; unfortunately he does not have room to compare Augustine's treatment of the same verses of Genesis.

HORSFORTH

MARGARET ATKINS

*Heracleon Philologus. Gnostische Johannesexegese im zweiten Jahrhundert.* By Ansgar Wucherpfenning. (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 142.) Pp. xiv + 482. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002. €99. 3 16 147658 1; 0512 1604  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903317191

Even in the title of this book the author signifies his allegiance to the new school of patristic study in Germany by taking as his subject a heretic rather than a heresy, a named individual rather than one of the influences or trends that furnished the *dramatis personae* of the older German histories. Wucherpfenning treats Heracleon not as a representative of Valentinianism – with its myth of fallen Wisdom, its feeble demiurge and its hyperbolic antithesis between spirit and matter – but simply as a pioneer in Johannine exegesis. While he assumes, as every German scholar does, that all the teachers now described as Gnostic espoused a common form of *gnosis*, he is more disposed than his predecessors to entertain the notion that this knowledge is derived from, rather than read into, the Fourth Gospel. Origen, whose adversarial commentary is the quarry for almost all the acknowledged fragments of Heracleon, is not regarded either as a privileged interpreter of the Gospel or as a knowledgeable polemicist: what he tells us of Heracleon's allegiance to Valentinus he knows from hearsay, while even his quotations call for some winnowing, as he may not have been able to discriminate the master's words from those of his disciples, which convention allowed them to intercalate in the *hypomnemata* or working *scholia* which a commentator prepared for the instruction of his pupils. When Origen's testimony is divorced from his animadversion, Heracleon proves to be steering a middle course between the later orthodoxy and the revolt against Judaism which is typified by Marcion. Even when he identifies the *basilikos* of John iv.49 with the Gnostics demiurge, his allegory implies collusion rather than opposition between the saviour of the world and its present rulers; the equation of human messengers with angels in the same chapter marks an attempt to 'reintegrate' biblical cosmology with the Evangelist's austere conception of Christ as the unmediated utterance of God. Philo and the

Greeks are laid under contribution here, and it is to Greece that Heracleon turns for his distinction between pneumatic and psychic *phusis*; this term, however, denotes a ubiquitous element in human nature, not (as in orthodox stereotypes of Gnosticism) a fated class of beings. In short, Heracleon does what he judges needful to adapt the original preaching of the kingdom to a Greek audience, and his object thus coincides, in Wucherpfenning's view, with that of the Fourth Evangelist. It seems to me that Wucherpfenning exaggerates Origen's bias and arbitrarily belittles the knowledge of other ancient witnesses; nevertheless one can only hope that this learned and sympathetic evaluation of John's first commentator will force itself upon the notice of historians who have hitherto either given Heracleon no place in the 'development of doctrine', or remained content with the repetition of outworn calumnies.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

M. J. EDWARDS

*Irenaeus of Lyons*. By Eric Osborn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

£45. 0 521 80006 4

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In this major study Osborn notes that 'Today, the worthwhile pursuit in the study of Irenaeus is to see ways in which he brings together ... apparently disparate elements. Here, in the interpretation of apparently conflicting views, we find his own authentic thought' (p. 243). No longer is Irenaeus to be labelled, in Koch's phrase, 'doctor constructivus et confusus'. Osborn recognises that Irenaeus employs two criteria to structure his thought: truth, pursued by logical argument, and aesthetic fitness, which governs exposition. So it is that examination of the relationship between argument and imagery remains an unavoidable requisite in the study of Irenaeus. In addition to establishing these criteria, Osborn's analysis of Irenaeus and his interpreters also shows that four concepts govern Irenaeus' thought. These are the divine intellect, economy, recapitulation and participation, and they are best understood in succession. 'The divine Intellect plans the economy, which ends in recapitulation and the sharing of divine goodness' (p. xii). The author devotes four of the five major parts of the book to studying each of the four concepts. Parts III and IV (recapitulation and participation) are quite rich, with the roles of each of the two criteria evident in both. In particular, chapters ix ('Aesthetics: participation in beauty'), x ('Human growth from creation to resurrection: participation in life') and xi ('Goodness and truth: ethics of participation') reward careful study. This wise and balanced book belongs in university libraries, and on the shelves of patristics scholars.

JESUIT SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY,  
BERKELEY

MARY ANN DONOVAN

*Cyprian the bishop*. By J. Patout Burns, Jr. Pp. xi + 240. London: Routledge, 2002. £50

(cloth), £15.99 (paper). 0 415 23849 8; 0 415 23850 1

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This is a Routledge text aimed clearly at a student market in which the author seeks, self-confessedly, 'in very limited ways' to go beyond Graeme Clarke's groundbreaking commentary on Cyprian's letters, as well as the more general earlier work of Benson, Sage and Fahey (p. viii). Bénévot is included in the list, with what is now

generally accepted as Cyprian's own revision, in the course of the baptismal controversy with Stephen, of the Petrine passages on the Roman primacy in *De unitate* 4–5 (pp. 79–126), for which there are two versions in the manuscript tradition (pp. 156–9). Thus a new presentation of Cyprian, in this form and with this intention, must be welcomed.

However, the author also attempts a cultural anthropological interpretation of both the controversy on the lapsed, and that of rebaptism, drawing on his earlier work on the baptismal controversy alone. The model of explanation is purportedly that of Mary Douglas. There is a correlation between a community's trust in the efficacy of its rituals of purification, and the experienced success of its internal organisation. The Church's institutional survival was dependent on boundary maintenance between itself and pagan society, justified in terms of a cosmic narrative. Allowing heretical or schismatic baptism blurred that boundary, and was construed only problematically in terms of the cosmic narrative that required redefinition by both sides. Could the Holy Spirit be received outside the Church? If it could, the boundaries of Christian identity were blurred as was the status of the internal hierarchy of the community.

In the present work, Burns extends his analysis to the earlier issue of the lapsed in persecution. If the claims of Privatus, bishop of Lambaesis, and the deacon Felicissimus had been accepted, then, in their case Cyprian's later words on Novatian would have been fulfilled: 'the Church would surrender herself to the Capitol ... and pagan statues and idols would come over and in' (*ep.* lvix.18.1 [pp. 500–3]). In that case, clearly both boundaries would have been removed, and the authority of the cleric to impose a penitential discipline and to absolve would have been made ambiguous. Such was the character of the threat to the social fabric of absolution by the confessors. But why should Cyprian make the same criticism of Novatian and his rigorist group who surely were maintaining boundaries more strongly than Cyprian? Burns needs to show that Cyprian's success here can be accounted for by his anthropological model. So he now makes the ingenious response that Novatian was in fact threatening both boundaries and internal order in a different way (pp. 126–31). The rigorist schismatic held that the sacramental system of the Church was threatened with impurity by communion with the lapsed, and thus threatened confidence in the security of the internal order of the community.

Cyprian, to the contrary, held that the sacraments themselves could not be contaminated (pp. 137–41). The reason why they could not be given without repentance was in the interests, not of the preservation of sacraments and hierarchy, but of the health of the schismatic and the lapsed, who would be themselves destroyed by such participation (pp. 73–7). Cyprian, moreover, was able to refashion the cosmic narrative of the community in a way that supported identity maintenance through hierarchy. The persecution was sent by God to discipline the laxity of the community, and in order to identify the weaker members who needed penance (pp. 30–1). Thus the Novatianists also failed to reassert boundaries between Church and pagan society in a way that preserved internal order.

One problem with Burns's presentation is that, although he duly references the source for Douglas's anthropological thesis, he nowhere sets this out in detail nor discusses its status. Is the thesis one of a moderate historical determinism that predicts that any movement or individual that reasserts the boundaries of a community commensurate with the re-establishment of its internal hierarchy will succeed? Did therefore Cyprian succeed, not for the overt reasons that he gives, but because his

solution was the one of maximum utility? Was Cyprian himself conscious of these implications of his actions, or has Douglas simply described the sociological laws by which he was unconsciously controlled?

I believe the fundamental problem with Burns's thesis is that it presupposes a clearly existing internal hierarchy, with established procedures for boundary maintenance, that the novelty of the Decian persecution disturbed and which required re-establishing. I find that Burns accepts Cyprian's account far too much within the latter's own terms. The schism of Privatus and Felicissimus rested upon an authoritative and ancient, traditional counter claim, that the Church was the Church of the martyrs, so that the martyrdom of one member could provide forgiveness and absolution for another, in the name of the corporate, suffering whole. Cyprian was moulding and developing, through his devastating rhetoric, one definition of Christian social order and identity. Any account that does not give due weight to that fact will fail to account adequately for the events and actions in which Cyprian was involved. The anthropological model presupposes a fixed community disturbed, rather than a community with rival definitions of its communal life in tension awaiting events that will refine them in one way rather than another. In reality, there was no unambiguous community structure to re-establish.

Furthermore, despite general references to a cosmic view, Burns tells us very little of the Pagan and Christian eschatological backcloth, in which both sides were seeking their own version of *renovatio saeculi* from the age of iron that marked the *senectus mundi*. Rather than being confronted by a fixed order needing restoration in this age, Cyprian saw the divisions of Novatian and others as fulfilment of AntiChrist prophecies and the assurance, with the renewal of the persecution under Valerian, that the last judgement was near.

But, as I say, as a text in an introductory series, these make perhaps too great demands of a project that the author may well fulfil in greater detail in the future.

ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ALLEN BRENT

*The theology of St Cyril of Alexandria. A critical appreciation.* Edited by Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating. Pp. xv + 269. London–New York: T & T Clark, 2003. £35. 0 567 08901 0; 0 567 08882 0

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The editors, in their preface to the nine essays in this volume, claim that Cyril's theology 'is neither well understood nor fully appreciated' by anglophone theologians. Having myself heard much ignorant rubbish about him, not only from anglophones nor yet theologians, I have earned the sterile right to agree. So it is good to have this expert 'critical appreciation' of the life and thought of 'the seal of the fathers': 'life', because although 'theology' alone is mentioned in the title, Cyril's pastoral work and posthumous authority are looked at in essays by McGuckin and Russell. Indeed, it is Cyril's exercise of his role as pastor and prelate that occasions the necessary and well balanced reassessment offered by McGuckin. He shows us a careful strategist with a missionary vision. The pope of Alexandria was certainly powerful, but the role brought with it responsibility. Successful prelates are unamiable and McGuckin cannot make him as sympathetic nor certainly as exciting as Athanasius, but I will add to this judicious portrait some warmer aspects. He



thought that subscription to doctrinal formulae should not be demanded of simple souls like the Messalians and nothing more than the Nicene Creed from bishops; that the dead in the Church's peace should not be unchurched even if they had taught wrongly and that heretics about some things were not necessarily wrong about everything; and that the laity were not obliged to follow bad pastors. Obvious but necessary truisms. His last recorded act was getting someone a pension. The most displeasing thing one can account him directly responsible for is cheating: by starting the Council of Ephesus (431) before the opposition had arrived. But he always claimed that John of Antioch had given him leave to do so and he had a letter from John to prove it. The other essays deal with Cyril as Old Testament commentator (Wilkins): a brief guide with some telling examples. Weinandy looks at the Christology: the main points are clearly made but I do not care for the line 'the whole problem could have been solved if Cyril had consistently used *prosopon* or *hypostasis* instead of *physis*'. Frances Young considers 'Theotokos': a fresh approach here, exploring the Old Testament symbolism. I think we have to bracket out (Ps.? Cyril's) *Homily 4*. It is uncharacteristic of him to talk of the BVM, and not the human body or the humanity of Christ, as the Word's Temple. Imagine him shown a picture by Raphael, say; he would call it (I fancy) not 'Madonna and Child' but 'Our Lord and God in his Mother's arms'. Boulnois helpfully condenses the main points of her fine book on Cyril's doctrine of God, *Le Paradoxe trinitaire chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie*. Daley, writing about Cyril's doctrine of the Spirit, traces its antecedents and emphasises the filioquist aspects. Keating analyses divinisation in Cyril, wisely concluding that it certainly does not mean automatic impartation of divine life; human choice is always involved. O'Keefe looks at Cyril's eschatology and his attitude to Origen and notions of human perfectibility in this world. Something more might be added about his attitude to Pelagius, original sin and prayers for the dead; but all the important points are here validly made. The all too brief *Nachleben* by Russell concludes this intelligent 'critical appreciation'.

SKELMANTHORPE,  
WEST YORKSHIRE

LIONEL WICKHAM

*Anachorese und Zönobium. Der Rekurs des frühen westlichen Mönchtums auf monastische Konzepte des Ostens.* By Andreas E. J. Grote. (Historische Forschungen, 23.) Pp. 383.

Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001. €49 (paper). 3 7995 0472 9

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The title of Andreas Grote's book is misleading: the book does not offer what the title promises. That is a pity, because there is still room for work on the issues of how distinct *Anachorese* and *Zönobium* were, and whether the words had chronological significance, one style of life leading to, or reacting against, the other. The subtitle tells us more: *der Rekurs des frühen westlichen Mönchtums auf monastische Konzepte des Ostens*. It becomes at once apparent, however, that neither the structure nor the conclusions of the work are particularly original. After an examination of Augustine's monastic teaching and practice – concluding that it relied surprisingly little on eastern models – the author turns to Martin of Tours, contrasts his endeavours with those characteristic of Lérins, presents an interesting section on Priscillian and his aftermath, and concludes with a long study of Cassian, comparing him with Pachomius and Basil. Discussion has been ordered along those lines for well over twenty-five

years. Although Grote provides exhaustive references to textual associations (which, given his bulky *Stellenregister*, makes his book a handy source of information), he engages very little with current scholarship. Originality may reside in the section on Priscillian (although the author could have been more generous in his acknowledgement of Virginia Burrus). Grote's argument is that the impact of the 'Priscillian affair' in Gaul (especially as the controversy developed and the issues changed and multiplied) made ascetics in the province very nervous and encouraged, at Lérins in particular, a movement away from the style of Martin, which, for all its episcopal engagement, the author associates with *Anachorese*, and towards a more coenobitic pattern of ascetic association, potentially less vulnerable to accusations of heresy. That cannot survive, however, as a tidy contrast. Although Sulpicius may have been biased in his emphases, he could not disguise the fact (supposing he wanted to) that Martin was highly social in his ascetic arrangements. Meanwhile, Honoratus and his successors were still deeply affected by eastern admiration for a more idiosyncratic way of life – even though many of them ended up being as 'pastoral' as Martin was. The tension in each case was often between texts that espoused one emphasis and practices that reflected another among those who read and wrote them. Texts by themselves do not constitute the processes they record and encourage. Furthermore, to divide ascetic practice in Gaul between 'Martinian' and 'Lérinian' schools is highly problematic. If we project the accounts of Gregory of Tours back into the previous century, which we are certainly entitled to do, especially when we add to the story the *regulae, vitae* and *canones* that emerged in Gaul during the later fifth and early sixth centuries, then we discover (not, surely, to our surprise) that a considerable number of ascetics in Gaul subscribed to neither paradigm, Martinian or Lérinian. We are also left wondering what the long section on Cassian is designed to prove. Grote's chief point is that Cassian was surprisingly different from his eastern models. How does that place him in relation to a nervous and Priscillian-induced reaction against Martin? In that respect, the two halves of the book are not fully integrated. (One would also have to ask more carefully whether Cassian's relation to the east was not governed by theological anxieties almost wholly unrelated to the recent history of the Gallic Church.) Finally, what about Italy? Once we part company with Augustine's *De moribus*, little more is said. Any line that might run from late fourth-century practice to the endeavours of the Master or of Benedict in the sixth receives scant attention – and there were such lines, which did not all pass through Lérins, Lyon or Arles. One welcomes, therefore, a clearly structured work that will speed one's ability to relate, say, Cassian with Pachomius (or at least the *Institutes* with the *Rules*); but, even with its Priscillian catalyst, Grote's image of 'early western monasticism' is conservative and truncated.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

PHILIP ROUSSEAU

*The medieval theologians. An introduction to theology in the medieval period.* Edited by G. R. Evans. Pp. xx + 383. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001. £60 (cloth), £19.99 (paper). 0 631 21202 7; 0 631 21203 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903367193

Strange though it may seem, whereas the student of medieval philosophy is faced by a bewilderingly rich choice of histories and introductory guides, a newcomer to medieval theology will find few general works to orientate and instruct him. For this

reason, Gillian Evans's new collective volume answers an important need. Of course, her book shares some common ground with the various available accounts of medieval philosophy. The two first thinkers it considers are Augustine and Boethius, who are also very often the first two figures to be examined in histories of medieval philosophy. Later chapters consider such outstanding medieval philosophers (as well as theologians) as John Scottus Eriugena, Anselm, Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, Aquinas, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham. But *The medieval theologians* also contains chapters or sections on figures or topics usually present only in the background of books on medieval philosophy: for example later Greek theologians, such as Maximus the Confessor and John of Damascus; Gregory the Great; Bede; Bernard of Clairvaux and the Victorines; Peter the Lombard; and mystics such as Mechthild of Magdeburg and Julian of Norwich. The collection also looks at some of the theological controversies and heretical movements, in a rich final section that includes essays on the Waldenses (Euan Cameron), dualism (Gerhard Rottenwöhler), ecclesiology and politics (Matthew Kempshall) and Wyclif and Lollardy (Stephen Lahey). As with almost any collection, the quality of the individual chapters varies. But, for the most part, it is high: Evans has taken care in her choice of contributors, and has often been successful in persuading one of the best specialists in a given area to write for her. For example, the chapter on Augustine by John Rist, though brief, is a precious summary from the author of a magnificent study of this writer. Lauge Nielsen contributes a very fine comparison of Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers, and Marcia Colish condenses her vast knowledge of Peter the Lombard into an elegant chapter. As these comments indicate, the range of this book is wide (although it should, perhaps, have been called 'The medieval Christian theologians', since the tacit assumption is made that Muslim and Jewish theology is beyond its purview). It is a pity that, although it includes a chapter looking forward to the Reformation, there is nothing on theologians such as Suárez, who belonged to the great flourishing of scholastic thought in the Iberian peninsula in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Even the coverage of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century scholastic theology in Paris and Oxford is surprisingly thin: Godfrey of Fontaines, Peter John Olivi make their appearance in a (good) chapter on 'academic controversies' by Takashi Shogimen, and Ockham and Scotus are treated in the collection's most overtly philosophical chapter, written by Alexander Broadie. But important figures such as Peter Aureoli, Walter Chatton, Adam Wodeham and Thomas Bradwardine are ignored. Despite such weaknesses, Evans has provided a genuinely useful introduction to a central, and yet surprisingly neglected, area of medieval studies.

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JOHN MARENBNON

*Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola. Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen.* By Sigrid Mratschek. (Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben, 134). Pp. ix + 732 + colour frontispiece, 15 plates and 2 maps. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002. €99. 3 525 25232 3

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'Paulinus of Nola would not be the kind of candidate for biography that Peter Brown had shown Augustine to be' was the advice Robert Markus once gave a student who

was about to immerse himself in the enormous oeuvre of letters left by this aristocratic bishop of late antiquity (c. 354–431). The student, Dennis E. Trout, later published a valuable biography (Berkeley–London 1999) without trying to collate comprehensively the wealth of data found in Paulinus' letters, and to evaluate it entirely in order to reconstruct the new 'Christian society' built by Christian aristocrats at the time of Augustine. To achieve this, however, is the big task addressed by Sigrid Mratschek in this substantial contribution, and, to anticipate judgement, she has succeeded.

Paulinus became famous for renouncing the world and his enormous wealth in order to live the isolated life of an ascetic, and thus set an example for many an educated Roman in the fifth and sixth centuries. Looking at Paulinus' immense and laboriously drafted literary output presented here and connecting him with the Christian elite of the time, one cannot but be astonished that anyone could ever have reduced him to a lonesome and isolated hermit. People like him were also not subversive innovators responsible for the decay of classical Roman education, but rather carried it into the new medieval age at a time of great socio-cultural change. Mratschek's study also shows that Paulinus by no means gave up his control of money, resources and power, but rather used his wealth, relations and other connections in order to create an impressive and extensive 'aesthetic-cultural centre' around Felix's tomb in Nola which soon became the most important place of pilgrimage in Italy after Rome, eventually surpassing even Milan. In fact, Paulinus' influence certainly grew after his conversion, and pioneered a new 'career opportunity' for the Roman elite: that of *Adelsheiliger* (noble saint).

Not without humour, Mratschek portrays Paulinus as someone who introduced economic thinking into the whole salvation business. Indeed, Paulinus himself spoke about 'this spiritual transaction (*commercium spirituale*) when we sell our land and the Tenth in order to gain tax relief and eternal life in the Realm' (*ep.* xxxii) – a model that could nicely be conveyed to his wealthy and educated peers from the senatorial elite.

Paulinus considered his correspondence a most religious duty, a *religiosissimum officium* (*ep.* xxxiii.1). It enabled him to advocate a new concept of aristocratic life in which personal wealth and the maintenance of peer relations through the exchange of letters accompanied by rare animals or 'expensive fish sauces' was replaced by socialised wealth and the exchange of letters accompanied by uncomfortable monastic garments, relics and consecrated bread. In this respect it is worth noting that by identifying forty-three addressees as opposed to the twenty-six named in the relevant sources, Mratschek is able to demonstrate that Paulinus' network of correspondence was almost twice as extensive as hitherto presumed.

Paulinus brought with him St Felix, whose grave was at the centre of his community in Nola. Together, the powerful ascetic and the dead martyr became *bahnbrechend* (pace-setting) for a new, though not undisputed lifestyle and system of values. Thus they offered, in Paulinus' own words, a *pulchrum spectaculum* in the theatre of the world (*ep.* xiii). Most important, Paulinus knew how to convey this *spectaculum* to the world, and thus to form public opinion. His special relationship to Felix enabled Paulinus to establish his new values through 'supernatural authority' with considerable sociopolitical consequences.

Mratschek's meticulous investigation of the letters, their addressees and purposes brings to light several other interesting points. To name just one, a glance at the maps in this book reveals that Paulinus had virtually no contact with other like-minded Christians in the theological centres in the east with the sole exception of Bethlehem

where his correspondent Jerome lived. Moreover, in the beginning he was more or less isolated in Italy. His relationship with the Church at Rome appears to have been an especially uneasy one; his ambitions to build a 'second Rome' at Nola were not met with approval in the existing one. This did not disturb Paulinus' own explicit conviction that he was at the centre of a 'truly global' network of Christian intellectuals, and thus was able to express universal claims and values. These were not reserved for the rich and famous; as *amator pauperum*, Paulinus took great care to provide for the poorer and less educated pilgrims through lavish pictorial displays at Nola, and they reciprocated by spreading reports of the miracles happening at Felix's tomb and of Paulinus' holy life all over the world.

It is amazing that in this day and age a sociocultural survey of this kind can manage without any fashionable theory. The way in which Mratschek presents her immense data collection differs little from the approach of patristic monographs written a hundred years ago. On the one hand, this makes one ask why Mratschek shied away from risking more far-reaching conclusions about the anthropological mechanisms employed by the peer/non-peer system erected through Paulinus' network of correspondence and through his patron-client relations, or the sectarian dynamics and patterns of value-reversal within the Nola community. She hints at all these things without abandoning her strategy of simply presenting the evidence in a neutral, though refreshingly readable fashion. One could lament a missed opportunity. On the other hand, what we have is a serious handbook, which will be a powerful tool for anybody adventurous enough to risk such deliberations, and should thus be a part of any patristic library. However, there are major differences in her work to monographs of a hundred years ago: W. Riepl (*Das Nachrichten-wesen des Altertums*, Berlin 1913, 244) expressed the then common opinion that 'the letters published in late antiquity do not speak to us as directly and as animatedly as those by Seneca, Pliny, Fronto and Sidonius Apollinaris'. Anyone who has read this book will consider such a judgement redundant.

With his letters, Paulinus left us a wealth of insights into late ancient society, but also a deliberately new image of an ideal Christian life, a true *Leitbild* for later times – his own. It is thanks to Sigrid Mratschek that anyone interested in these issues can now profit more easily from these riches. In the words of Paulinus' contemporary Uranius 'Those who failed to see him in person desire at least to touch his letters' (*Epistola de obitu* 9, *PL* liii. 864).

RHEINISCHE FRIEDRICH-WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT,  
BONN

ULRICH VOLP

*The reign of Heraclius (610–641). Crisis and confrontation.* Edited by Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte. (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, 2.) Pp. xiii + 320.

Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002. €45. 90 429 1228 6

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903387196

This book is a collection of thirteen papers given at a symposium which took place in Groningen between 19 and 21 April 2001. The subject of the volume is the reign of Heraclius (610–41), one of the most crucial periods in Byzantine history, when the empire won a final victory over Persia but then lost all its eastern provinces to the Muslim Arabs and found itself near to destruction. In earlier research, the emperor Heraclius was regarded as one of the most capable rulers in Byzantine history, with

whom, as Georg Ostrogrosky pointed out in his famous *History of the Byzantine state*, ‘the heroic era of Byzantine history began’.

The first contribution to the book under review, by John Haldon, is devoted to a general overview of the reign of Heraclius, mainly based on previous research by Haldon himself, whereas the second, by Wolfram Brandes, gives a comprehensive *resumé* of recent – and sometimes older – research on the subject. Other papers concentrate on the picture of Heraclius in Armenian (James Howard-Johnston), Syriac (John W. Watt) and Arabic (Lawrence I. Conrad) sources, on his presentation in apocalyptic (G. J. Reinink) and epical (Mary Whitby) texts and on his ‘popular’ image as it was drawn in hagiographical texts of this time (Jan J. van Ginkel). Unfortunately, there is no contribution on Heraclius’ religious policy, though there is a paper on symbolism and ideology (Jan W. Drijvers). If one bears in mind that, especially in the religious field, some important measures were taken by the government, for example the introduction of monenergetism resp. monotheletism or the anti-Jewish activities, a study on this topic would have been desirable. Moreover, the almost total absence of non-English scholarship (except for Wolfram Brandes’s paper) is to be regretted. One has the impression, that it seems to be no longer necessary – or even desirable? – to take into consideration research in other languages (for example French, German, Greek, Italian or Russian) though there has been a lot of work done in this field by scholars from these countries. Nevertheless, this volume is a considerable contribution to the understanding of the specific situation of the empire in the first half of the seventh century. Taken with the new book by Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius: emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge 2003), it provides – despite its flaws – a good guide to this turning point in Byzantine history.

BRANDENBURGISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN,  
BERLIN

R.-J. LILLIE

*Shenoute and the women of the White Monastery. Egyptian monasticism in late antiquity.* By Rebecca Krawiec. Pp. xii + 248. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £40.

0 19 512943 1

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Rebecca Krawiec explores the intersection of two major lines of inquiry in late Roman asceticism: how did ascetic leaders (often, like Shenoute, autocratic and unrelenting) attract and retain the loyalty of hundreds, and what were the mutual effects of ascetic practice and relations between men and women? That alone gives her work broad significance. Breadth might seem open to question, given that Krawiec has focused on a mere thirteen often badly fragmented texts: letters from Shenoute, as supreme head of the community, to leaders and others in the women’s section of the White Monastery complex. She is right, however, in asserting that letters provide an *entrée* to the past markedly different from the deceptive portrayals encased in hagiography, which was governed by literary conceits that could carry a text away from the *milieu* it described. Shenoute was responding to particular events and problems; and we can more safely deduce something of their nature from the response they provoked. Krawiec is also rewarded by being able to show how different Shenoute was, in his preoccupations and remedies, from comparable figures like Pachomius. Her argument is, in general, finely layered, peeling away from the same

texts theme after theme, which makes for a degree of repetition that, despite her defence of it, could have been substantially reduced. However, the complexity of the argument, which inevitably exposes its author to debate, is a merit in itself. A longer review might contest more details, but would not have to be less generous in overall praise. Three elements are elegant and convincing. First, Krawiec contrasts nicely the symmetry that sprang from Shenoute's attachment to an egalitarian and universally applicable ascetic ideal, and the asymmetry enforced by the assumption of male power (paradoxically, in the service of the same ideal). Second, she presents a theoretically informed discussion of power and authority, although I was not entirely assured that the distinction, or perhaps better the relation, between them was always as clear as she seems to suggest. Finally, in the closing sections of the book, there is a splendid assessment of familial structures and vocabulary, which contributed both to the models that Shenoute felt able to make use of and to the conflicts that he attempted to resolve. His desire to weld together the disparate components of the community – solitary and coenobitic, rural and urban, male and female – were, in the cases examined here, brought up short against women's senses of independence, in themselves immensely revealing. In sum, therefore, we have a precise study, richly illustrated with both texts and translations, which, alongside the increasing industry surrounding the huge and fractured corpus of this obscure but pivotal writer and leader, helps us to place him in his wider Egyptian context and to assess his relevance to an understanding of late antique asceticism in general.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

PHILIP ROUSSEAU

*Christ in Celtic Christianity. Britain and Ireland from the fifth to the tenth century.* By Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown. (Studies in Celtic History, 20.) Pp. xii + 321 incl. 5 figs + 16 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002. £50. 0 85115 889 7  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903407197

This is an important book. The two authors seek to move understanding of the Celtic Church in western Britain and Ireland between 450 and 700 from discussion of tonsures and the Celtic versus the Roman calculation of the date of Easter to the theological issues that lay behind these controversies. The study is divided into three main sections: the broad aspects of Celtic monasticism and the influences, whether orthodox or heretical, that made it unique among western Christianities; its characteristic institutions reflecting its understanding of the nature of Christ; and, finally, the images of Christ represented by monuments and illuminated manuscripts, notably the Books of Durrow and Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels.

On the whole Herren and Brown reject the influence of Coptic monasticism in the spiritual formation of Celtic Christianity and look for its roots nearer home. They find the answer in Pelagius and Pelagianism, 'the most important development in the fifth-century British Church'. Pelagius emphasised the value of human effort and proper spiritual discipline based on natural goodness as the means of salvation. The authors point to his influence on Faustus, the British abbot of Lerins after 433, and possibly on the teaching of Columbanus (c. 600). Though Patrick took an opposite view, regarding himself simply as the instrument of God's grace in all his actions, Celtic monasticism in the sixth and early seventh centuries emphasised the merit of striving towards human perfection. The monk would be guided by strict adherence



to the commands of Scripture as containing the entire will of God and would reject the Augustinian concept of original sin. 'It was in the nature of every man to do good and avoid evil', an Irish glossator of Jerome's *Preface to the Psalms* claimed. In this theology Christ was regarded as 'the perfect monk' whose precepts of poverty, chastity and obedience were founded in His life as recorded in the New Testament. He was also 'the strong man and Saviour', freeing souls from hell through victorious combat with Satan. Only in the mid-seventh centuries did the romanising Christ the King replace Christ the Guide and Good Shepherd in Celtic theology.

It is difficult to accept the author's Pelagian thesis. There is no surviving evidence for organised Pelagianism in the British Isles after Germanus' mission against the sect in 429. A more likely source of inspiration could be the monasticism of Lérins and the *Conferences* of John Cassian. The south Gallic semi-Pelagianism of the late fifth century would appear to provide the nearest model for the theology of the Celtic Church. Exaggerations of penance for which that Church was renowned could reflect also something of the prevailing violence of Celtic tribal society.

There is much of great value in this study. The authors have challenged traditional stereotypes and have proposed new meanings behind some of the masterpieces of Celtic Christian art. Though much remains to be proved much of what they assert will stand. *Studies in Celtic History* have published a notable monograph.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*Studies in Irish hagiography. Saints and scholars.* Edited by John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain. Pp. xii + 418 incl. numerous ills. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001. £35.44. 1 85182 486 3  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903417193

This volume is a collection of papers, the product of a conference held in Cork to mark the 1400th anniversary of the death of St Columba. It ranges, however, far beyond the confines of Columban hagiography. As a whole, it constitutes one of the most important recent contributions to the interpretation of Irish hagiography and therefore to our understanding of the early Irish Church. Yet its scope is wider than that of Ireland itself – appropriately so since Columba was a *peregrinus*. One of the book's six sections is devoted to 'Irish saints and Brittany', another to 'Irish saints in continental Europe'. The latter contains an excellent paper by Clare Stancliffe on Jonas's *Life of Columbanus and his disciples*, of great significance for anyone studying Frankish history in the seventh century. In an earlier section of the book Walter Berschin, in a brief and sensitive study, offers a characterisation of the hagiographical *personae* of two very different female saints: Radekund, a retired queen devoted to the cult of the cross, and Brigit, an ex-slave with a concern for the natural world. In David Dumville's account of the *Life* of St Cathróe (Caddroe) we meet a *peregrinus* who did not even originate from Ireland but from tenth-century Scotland. The paper shows very nicely the particular interest of the *Life* and the historical influences on its composition.

The first of the six sections into which the book is divided is devoted to the Columban tradition. Its five papers all share a common focus, in one form or another, on Adomnán, author of the *Life* of St Columba. Two are concerned with

aspects of the *Life* of St Columba, two make connections between that *Life* and other texts, while the fifth is devoted to the tenth-century Irish *Life* of Adomnán himself. Nathalie Stalmans makes a careful and penetrating analysis of the conception of the judgement of the soul found in Adomnán's *Life* of Columba, while Aidan MacDonald takes up the theme he has pursued in other papers, the material conditions of monastic life on Iona. Thomas O'Loughlin makes connections between ideas of the tombs of the saints in the *Life* of Columba and in Adomnán's other surviving work, the *De locis sanctis*. Máire Herbert investigates the *Life* of St Cainnech, itself influenced by the *Life* of St Columba. This fine essay deserves to provoke further discussion: it is one of the first major explorations of the early collection of saints' *Lives* contained in one section of the *Codex salmanticensis*, a collection the importance of which was demonstrated by Richard Sharpe in his *Medieval Irish saints' lives*. Herbert seeks to date the *Life* of Cainnech to the period 766–80 and argues that it marked the rupture of previously close ties between the *familiae* of Columba and Cainnech. The occasion of this break was, in her view, the killing of Follamon mac Con Congalt, king of Mide, in 766, together with the alliance between the *familia* of Columba and the Cland Cholmáin kings of Tara, Domnall mac Murchada and his son Donnchad. Some cooling of relations between the main churches attached to Cainnech and the Columban monasteries would not be entirely surprising: Cainnech's *familia* held a strong position in Osraige, still within Munster at this date; and Munster was one of Donnchad's targets; another area closely linked with Cainnech was the kingdom of Ciannacht Glinne Geimin in the north, within the area now dominated by Cenél nÉogain, rivals of the Cland Cholmáin kings of Mide. The hardening divisions between Mide and 'the north' and between Mide and Munster put pressure on old alliances that straddled these boundaries. Yet the way Máire Herbert develops her arguments depends on seeing Donnchad as personally responsible for the death of Follamon, who had been his supporter in a succession struggle only the previous year. The annal entry ascribes no responsibility, merely saying that the killing was done *dolose*, 'treacherously'. Such opprobrium would have been deserved if Follamon had been killed by his clients or close kinsmen; the entry does not require one to suppose Donnchad to have been responsible. The fifth section of the book, 'Approaches to Irish hagiography', is perhaps the most heterogeneous of them all, with essays on the hypocoristic names (pet-names) characteristic of early Irish monastic life (Paul Russell), saints in the Leinster genealogies (Edel Bhreathnach), folk-motifs (Dorothy Bray) and reproductions of Irish saints (Joseph Falaky Nagy). A final section on later hagiographical scholarship rounds off an excellent volume, a credit to its editors and to the publishers: it is in every way a nicely produced book.

JESUS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS

*Gregory of Tours. History and society in the sixth century.* By Martin Heinzelmann, translated by Christopher Carroll. Pp. xii + 235 incl. 7 figures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. £40. 0 521 63174 2  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690342719X

The appearance of an English translation of Martin Heinzelmann's interpretation of Gregory's *Histories* is a godsend to teachers of undergraduate courses centred

around the world of the bishop of Tours, whose students can now engage much more readily with this dense and challenging analysis. The text is unchanged from the original German edition of 1994, but for the addition of a short postscript summarising the arguments of subsequent articles by the author on aspects of Gregory's work. The translation is somewhat stilted and not entirely accurate, while the curious seventeenth-century image of a haggard Gregory staring gimlet-eyed from the dust-jacket makes him look every bit his age, but the publishers are nevertheless only to be congratulated on making this significant work available in English. Heinzelmann's analysis in part expands effectively upon lines already suggested by, among others, Thürlemann, Mitchell and Goffart. So Gregory certainly did not write a *History of the Franks*, despite the efforts of later redactors to make it seem as if he did. He was anything but a naïve recorder of events, but instead adroitly manipulates their chronology and content to encode his ideas, exploiting as many literary devices as a modern novelist along the way. But Heinzelmann goes further than his predecessors in seeking to identify a putative master plan lurking within Gregory's *Histories*. He suggests that it finds expression in a typological system of reference, developed particularly through the rhetorical device of antithesis, and in an elaborate internal structure within which books, or groups of books, carry particular themes indicated by key chapters within them. The theme of the *Histories* emerges as royal government, and their aim as programmatic, setting out a model for the realisation of Christian values in contemporary society through the close co-operation of secular and religious leaders – a theory of *Bischofsherrschaft* – which, it is intriguingly suggested, would have held less appeal for Gregory's fellow-bishops than for the righteous King Guntram. Many sections of the argument are essential reading, but the parts are ultimately more satisfying than the overall thesis. Heinzelmann rightly identifies typology as an important facet of Gregory's thought, but its application in the books dealing with contemporary history is neither transparent nor methodical. Their supposed themes rely primarily upon the reassertion of a time-honoured contrast between godless King Chilperic (books V–VI) and good King Guntram (VII–IX) which can only be sustained by an artificial emphasis on some chapters at the expense of others. If Gregory's prime objective had been to mould them into didactic models of good and bad rulership, then he could easily have made a more thorough and consistent job of it. One is forced to conclude either that Gregory tried and failed to extend a conception of universal history derived primarily from Orosius to the detailed coverage of recent events (both the debt to Orosius and the case for books I–IV having originally been conceived separately are purposefully reiterated here), or that his grand design, if indeed he had one, lay elsewhere.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

S. T. LOSEBY

*Women and religious life in Byzantium*. By Alice-Mary Talbot. (Collected Studies, 733.)

Pp. xii + 310 incl. frontispiece. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £55. 0 86078 873 3

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903437196

This volume is a recent addition to the *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, which aims to collect into single volumes articles on specialist subjects written over a period of years by leading scholars, to make them more easily available to researchers in related disciplines. Professor Talbot's volume comprises twenty-three articles written between

1983 and 2000, divided thematically under the headings of 'Women and the religious life', 'Sanctity and hagiography', 'Monasticism' and 'Nunneries'. They constitute a large part of the secondary literature available on this subject, and should be of particular value to those working in gender studies and medieval church history. Talbot's work is based upon the interpretation of Byzantine saints' *Lives*, miracle accounts, correspondence and, most important, *typika* (monastic rules). The Dumbarton Oaks Institute, where Talbot is based, is in the process of translating all extant Byzantine monastic *typika*. It is unfortunate that this work has been undertaken before scholars have determined precisely what function *typika* had in monastic foundations, and without prior textual and linguistic analysis. It should also be noted that in the west, Byzantine scholarship has largely been the province of medieval political, economic and social historians, often without reference to specialists in ecclesiastical history or theology. With these *caveats*, Talbot's volume should be of much use to those interested in Byzantine religious life.

ITALY

JANET RUTHERFORD

*Eastern approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999.* Edited by Antony Eastmond. (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications, 9.) Pp. xxi + 297 incl. 51 figs. Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2001. £45. 0 7546 0322 9  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903447192

This volume maintains the very high standard of the Spring Symposium series. Speros Vryonis, Jr, sets the scene with an appreciation of his *Decline of medieval hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization* (1971), which opened up new ways of looking at the relations between Byzantines and Turks. The great strength of the volume under review is that it broadens its approach and includes the Armenians and the Georgians. For obvious reasons – the languages primarily – the study of these peoples has been left to a handful of distinguished specialists and has never formed part of the mainstream of Byzantine scholarship, despite the fact that it was Byzantium's role as a meeting place of so many different cultures and societies that explains much of its intrinsic interest. The interaction of Armenians and Byzantines was always more intense and fractious than that between Georgians and Byzantines. As Robert Thompson shows, by the tenth century Armenian historians were working in a well defined tradition with a strong sense of Armenian identity. Prolonged contact with Byzantium inevitably brought friction. By the thirteenth century, as Helen Evans argues, the rulers of Armenian Cilicia were laying claim to the imperial status forfeited by the Byzantines in 1204. On the surface, the Georgians had a more comfortable relationship with the Byzantines, but Giorgi Tcheishvili warns that 'the attitude of Georgians towards Byzantium in the Middle Ages is a subject which has received scant scholarly attention'. He shows that the veneration of the Georgians for Byzantium, a consequence of their adherence to Orthodoxy, did not survive the closer contacts of the tenth and eleventh century. From being the 'country of pilgrimage' it became the 'alien country'. Georgians liked to think of their country as a new Byzantium. Even more striking was their claim that their Church was the equal of Byzantium in its Orthodoxy. Had they not defended it against the Turks, in contrast to the Greeks who to their mind had abandoned

Christians to their fate? Their rulers reacted to 1204 in much the same way as their Armenian counterparts, but provided a thoroughly Georgian explanation for the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204: the crusaders only attacked when they learnt that the Georgians would not be coming to the aid of the 'Queen of Cities'. The volume closes with a challenging piece by Pamela Armstrong. The case she makes here for a pre-Mantzikert context for nomad pottery from sites in south western Asia Minor has to be taken seriously. But not even in an Anatolian context are all nomads necessarily Turkomans. In a short review it is not possible to do justice to the rich and varied fare this volume contains. It is enough to say that it has fashioned a context that sheds interesting new light on Byzantium's position in the world.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

MICHAEL ANGOLD

*Pilgrimage in medieval English literature, 700–1500.* By Dee Dyas. Pp. vii + 288. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001. £50. 0 85991 623 5

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903457199

Dee Dyas's study encompasses more than just English medieval literature: it is also historical and theological. As such it is a brilliant and richly-woven tapestry, full of insight and fresh ideas. Dyas's declared aim is to 'identify and map some of the roads to be taken' in reconciling the often contradictory pilgrimage motifs in Old and Middle English literature. There are three dominant types of pilgrimage: geographical, to a place made holy by association with a person, whether Christ himself, as in the case of Jerusalem, or a particular saint; interior, or contemplative, where the Christian withdraws from the world in order to concentrate on God and the spiritual journey to the heavenly Jerusalem, as did those pursuing solitary lives through enclosed monasticism, anchoritic life or mysticism; and moral or 'life' pilgrimage, where pilgrims remained in the places and occupations to which God had called them, living active, yet obedient lives on their spiritual journeys to Heaven, characterised by avoidance of the 'Seven Deadly Sins' and use of the sacrament of penance. The author traces the evolution of these ideas through biblical and patristic writings, and their practical implementation through monasticism, both cenobitic and eremitic, the development of the cult of saints, and of place pilgrimage, following the conversion of Constantine. They raise a number of questions. For example, which had greater merit, place or life pilgrimage, mobility or stability? If God was omnipresent why should he be worshipped in a particular place? Were the varied experiences of place pilgrimage a distraction from the true aim of moral or life pilgrimage? Might not journeying to the earthly Jerusalem obscure the ultimate Christian destiny of the heavenly one, or the worship of saints obscure that of God himself? Could such contradictions be reconciled? Such questions form the background to Dyas's analysis of key texts. A notable feature of her examination of the spirituality of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as manifested in pilgrimage, and of a range of Old English texts – Bede, poetry, saints' *Lives*, and riddles – is her convincing explanation of the apparent inconsistencies in the *Seafarer*. The desire to harmonise also emerges in her study of Middle English literature – in particular *Piers Plowman*, the *Canterbury tales*, *Pearl*, the *Book of Margery Kempe* and a selection of mystical writings. It leads her to demonstrate the hitherto questioned theological consistency of *Piers*

*Plowman* and to reinterpret the place of the *Parson's tale* in the *Canterbury tales*. In an unlikely juxtaposition Chaucer's Parson and Margery Kempe emerge as the two late medieval pilgrims best able to integrate the differing concepts of place, moral and interior pilgrimage. It is not possible to do justice to the wide range and complexity of this exciting book in a brief review.

DEPARTMENT FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION,  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

DIANA WOOD

*Pilgrimage. The English experience from Becket to Bunyan.* Edited by Colin Morris and Peter Roberts. Pp. xvi + 268 incl. 30 plates and 2 figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45. 0 521 80811 1

*Medieval European pilgrimage, c. 700–c. 1500.* By Diana Webb. (European Culture and Society.) Pp. xviii + 201 incl. map. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. £45 (cloth), £14.99 (paper). 0 333 76259 2; 0 333 76260 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903467195

To be a pilgrim did not necessarily require distant and arduous travel. The rich manifestations of pilgrimage thought evoked in both these volumes show that travel is neither essential, nor is it sufficient. The purpose of the pilgrimage – whether to achieve a destination (Canterbury, Rome, Jerusalem) or an escape (the Pilgrim Fathers) was just as much to do with spiritual journeying, as described in a fourteenth-century pilgrim guide: ‘These are the journeys that pilgrims who go beyond the seas to save their souls must perform and that everyone can perform, standing in his house, thinking at every place which is described below and saying in every place a Paternoster and Avemaria’ (Webb, p. 176). The marks and records of such journeys – real and virtual – are to be found in the art, architecture, music and literature, associated with pilgrimage. These marks provide the evidence for two new accounts of medieval Christian pilgrimage. For Diana Webb the geographical spread of her reading is important: her account provides a systematic When? Why? Who? and Where? of pilgrimage – a valuable scoping exercise which reveals the impulses supporting pilgrimage ways, and exploitation of shrines and cults. Contributors to the Morris and Roberts volume focus on English pilgrimage – though this, by definition, takes the reader further afield: in Morris's own chapter as far as Jerusalem itself. Others explore its role in politics and the lives of kings (Vincent, Bush, Roberts), shrine architecture and imagery (Tatton-Brown, Gameson), pilgrimage motivation – sickness, cures and penitence (Rawcliffe, Duffy), and an important chapter on the Reformation and later appropriations of pilgrim thinking (Keeble), including setting sail for an unknown destination in the New World. Though designed for different audiences (Webb for students, Morris and Roberts for scholars) both volumes are well presented and accessible and require little prior knowledge of medieval religious practice and belief. Diana Webb's excellent introduction identifies ‘religious activity’, ‘form of travel’ and ‘economic activity ... which required investment and expenditure (but) produced income’ (p. xiv) as essential contingent features of pilgrimage history. The account of cure-seeking given by Rawcliffe, like shrine-making on behalf of Thomas Becket described by Tatton-Brown, show these practicalities in action. From the individual's perspective, such as Margery Kempe's as evoked by Morris, this was

immaterial. Deeply personal, ‘Dame Margery only took an interest in what was important to her own spiritual life. Her meditation was rigidly centred on the sufferings of Christ. ... “a desire to see those places”’ (Morris, p. 149). As Morris notes, ‘She bridges the gap between outward pilgrimage and inner experience.’ It is that gap that the great variety of artifacts of pilgrimage bridge, as Gameson puts it: ‘Art determined the experience of the pilgrim’ (p. 46). This does not, however, except in the loosest possible reading, make all depictions of a saint, all decorations of a shrine, all architectural settings, comprehensible only in the context of pilgrimage: image proliferation (Gameson, ‘The early imagery of Becket’), was less about pilgrimage to Canterbury than an export effort to strengthen the cult. But, acknowledging Colin Morris’s frustration at the lack of knowledge about home worship and the consequent value of evidence drawn from pilgrimage, the distinction between cult and pilgrimage needs to be maintained. Clearly presented here in both of these important new contributions to a crowded field, pilgrimage as ‘a symbol of the Christian life’ (Morris, p. 10) provides many insights into the rich variety of motivation and manifestation of the progress of pilgrims in medieval Europe.

DARTINGTON COLLEGE OF ARTS

CLAIRE DONOVAN

*Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and canonization.* By Christian Høgel. Pp. 204. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002. £32 (Dan.Kr. 348). 87 7289 675 2  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903477191

Malgré le grand nombre des manuscrits du Ménologe de Syméon Métaphraste (près de 700, sans compter les fragments), cet hagiographe n’avait jamais fait l’objet d’une monographie. Cette lacune est comblée par cet ouvrage, qui de surcroît veut réhabiliter un auteur que les occidentaux ont longtemps critiqué, et pour avoir supplanté les vieux textes, et pour leur avoir ajouté, deux accusations infondées; quant au reproche d’avoir transformé le style de ses sources, il ne tient pas compte du goût de l’époque, qui appréciait beaucoup le style précieux de ses compositions. Le premier chapitre est consacré aux écrits hagiographiques qui ont précédé Métaphraste: il décrit les importants changements qui ont affecté ceux-ci de l’antiquité tardive à l’époque médio-byzantine, étudiant les variations de leur style et de leur genre, dues à des contextes sociaux, politiques et géographiques différents, le statut qui devient le leur lorsqu’ils rentrent dans des collections liturgiques (collections annuelles, ménologes, homiliaires, panégyriques), puis lorsque l’hagiographie devient, après la Bible et les Pères, une troisième catégorie d’écrits. Ceux-ci ont leur place dans la liturgie, mais leur texte n’est pas aussi fixé et peut être l’objet d’adaptations et de réécritures, Constantinople s’imposant alors (entre 750 et 1050) comme le nouveau centre où ils sont rédigés. Le Ménologe de Syméon s’inscrit dans ce processus de réécriture, qui est aussi un processus de centralisation et de canonisation, voulu et promu par la cour impériale. Le second chapitre retrace la vie de Syméon: à partir des écrits de celui-ci et de sources externes, il situe sa naissance entre 886 et 912, sa mort après 912 (un 28. 11), la rédaction du Ménologe après 976, relève les étapes de sa carrière (*asecretis*, puis *magistros* et *logothetes tou dromou*), cite la liste des œuvres qui peuvent lui être attribuées. Le troisième chapitre étudie la composition du Ménologe, la manière de travailler de Syméon (à partir de nombreux exemples): insertion



de textes anciens, reformulation, nouvelles compositions. Il recherche aussi quels ont été les critères de sélection des 148 textes retenus par lui (on peut remarquer l'absence de saints fous). Mais Syméon, visiblement, n'a pas achevé son ouvrage, et le quatrième chapitre s'interroge sur la publication de celui-ci: une première publication, sous le règne de Basile II, semble avoir été 'privée' et incomplète, par suite de la disgrâce de Syméon; une seconde publication, introduisant peut-être la division en 10 volumes, prit place après le règne de Basile, sous Constantin VIII. Le quatrième chapitre étudie le style des textes métaphrastiques, qui assure leur autorité dans le public de son temps: un style modérément atticisant, un souci d'homogénéiser les textes rassemblés; on y retrouve aussi les *topoi* habituels de l'hagiographie, recherche de l'utilité, mais aussi (plus inhabituel) du plaisir du lecteur. Un dernier chapitre évoque le postérité du texte, son grand succès, sa réutilisation dans d'autres collections (ainsi les ménologes impériaux). Une bibliographie et une liste des textes métaphrastiques (avec leurs éditions) complètent cette excellente étude.

PARIS IV—SORBONNE

PIERRE MARAVAL

*Mount Athos. Renewal in paradise.* By Graham Speake. Pp. x + 295 incl. frontispiece, 2 maps and 112 colour and black-and-white plates. New Haven—London: Yale University Press, 2002. £25. 0 300 093535

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The Holy Mountain of Athos has for over a thousand years been the principal centre of eastern Orthodox monasticism and the guardian of a spiritual tradition rooted in the radical asceticism of the Egyptian desert. Graham Speake is the latest in a long line of distinguished English writers who have tried to convey something of the nature and quality of Athonite monasticism, among them Robert Curzon, Athelstan Riley, Robert Byron, Philip Sherrard and John Julius Norwich. The justification for 'another' book on Athos is to be found, in part, in the subtitle. Athos has been undergoing a substantial revival in recent years. In the 1960s, faced with a seemingly inexorable decline in numbers, many shared John Julius Norwich's gloomy prognosis that there was nothing whatsoever that could be done to avert the disaster: 'The disease is incurable. There is no hope.' However by some then unhopedor miracle, an extraordinary revival has since begun, witnessed most notably in the increased quantity and quality of monastic recruits to the Athonite monasteries (occasionally, it has to be said, at the expense of other ascetic centres such as Meteora). Speake is the first to attempt a systematic account of this revival (which has not been without its downside: witness the advent of roads, motorised vehicles and even a bus). But it is not only as a chronicle of a revival that this book is shown to be worth the writing. It constitutes the most comprehensive survey to date of the history, culture, theology and spirituality of Mount Athos, from the cutting of Xerxes's canal to the present day. Inevitably, in a book that seeks to cover so much, there is a great deal that might have been explored further. Equally, the book's straightforward chronological structure, while perfectly understandable, does inhibit the tracing out of themes through the long history of the Holy Mountain. Those wishing, for example, to explore further the spiritual tradition of the mountain will still be well advised to look to Philip Sherrard's *Athos: the mountain of silence*. But it would be unfair

to pick holes in what is an avowedly generalist book. As a survey of Athos in all its dimensions, it could hardly be bettered. The writer has a close knowledge of Mount Athos, having been for many years a regular pilgrim and indeed one of the founders, with the late Sir Steven Runciman, of the Friends of Mount Athos. This is, therefore, a book by an ‘insider’ albeit one who is not afraid to criticise the Athonites on occasion. He also has a splendid gift for understatement, my favourite being his observation that, ‘Athos has never been at the forefront of ecumenical dialogue.’ In sum, this is an excellent, sumptuously illustrated, survey which can be unhesitatingly recommended.

CAMBRIDGE

MARCUS PLESTED

*Lanfranc. Scholar, monk, and archbishop.* By H. E. J. Cowdrey. Pp. xi + 252. Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 2003. £45. 0 19 925960 7

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Archbishop Lanfranc has always presented something of a challenge to the historian. In the memory of the Anglo-Norman Church, and particularly at Canterbury, he was a giant figure. In the fourteenth century the monks of his cathedral dressed the church on his anniversary as they did for the feast of St Augustine himself. Yet, although we have some sixty letters in his name, a limited amount of his scriptural exegesis, a body of monastic customs and a significant if sometimes enigmatic body of Canterbury documents relating to his rule, the exact nature of his achievements, at Bec, Caen and in England, remains oddly elusive. The first substantial monograph by McDonald in 1926 dealt well with the English material; Margaret Gibson’s splendid study of 1978 placed the archbishop’s intellectual life in a broad European context quite unlike anything attempted before, and provided a sharply analytical account of the sources – an analysis she pressed to more destructive lengths in her edition of the mid twelfth-century *Vita Lanfranci*. For all its abundant merits there were many readers who felt that the archbishop remained a much more shadowy figure than the scholar in her account. After forty years of detailed work on Gregory VII, the England of the Conqueror and monastic reform in the eleventh century John Cowdrey is wonderfully well-placed to fill out these perceived gaps in the Gibson account. Where the archbishop of Canterbury occupied less than half her study, Cowdrey gives him two-thirds of his. He has been able to use a certain amount of material not available to Gibson, in particular the work of Philpott and Gullick on the *Collectio Lanfranci*, a text in which she had only a modest interest, and some important further studies on his *Monastic constitutions* – a code Cowdrey would place later than most modern commentators have done. The important discoveries made at Canterbury Cathedral over the last twenty years have also altered our sense of Lanfranc’s principal monument. Nevertheless, most of the building materials remain the familiar ones but the edifice itself is a good deal more than a learned restatement of the familiar. The novelty lies in the depth of the close reading of all the surviving materials, particularly Lanfranc’s commentary on the Pauline epistles, the documents of the Berengarian controversy and the monastic constitutions, and on the range and breadth of the European background in which the whole is set. In the nature of things it is hard to determine the extent to which Lanfranc’s experiences in Pavia did indeed shape his later approach to the world, as Cowdrey argues, but the

case can be made, and made well. It is frustrating that the most puzzling aspect of Lanfranc's career, the decision to settle in Normandy at a time when the duchy was sliding into anarchy after the death of Duke Robert I, remains wholly unexplained. Cowdrey has very reasonably sought to avoid the perils of Anselmian hindsight in his account, yet it remains difficult to avoid the reflection that Lanfranc's most distinctive actions in England, the assertion of the primacy of Canterbury and the subordination of Rochester and St Augustine's to the archbishop, were to prove fragile, contentious and ultimately largely destructive. What was less disputed is by its nature less visible, and the archbishop's part in it less certain; it is not for lack of learning or care that Lanfranc's enduring work remains tantalisingly out of focus.

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MARTIN BRETT

*Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche.* By Georgij Avvakumov. (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes der Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie, 47.) Pp. 435. Munich: Akademie Verlag, 2002. €64.80. 3 05 003715 6

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Georgij Avvakumov is a Russian by birth who was educated in Orthodox theology in Russia, but whose doctoral studies were undertaken in the Catholic theological faculty at Munich. He thus brings to bear an unusual breadth of approach and understanding in this study of large areas of the relations between western and eastern Christians during the central Middle Ages. His discussion largely, but by no means exclusively, covers the period between the dramatic events at Constantinople in 1054 and the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. His subject matter is differences in, and polemic concerning, matters of ritual; debates about the *filioque* are mentioned only incidentally, and the issue of the papal primacy does not loom large. On the other hand, although Avvakumov sets a focus upon western theology and controversial positions, a strong point of his monograph is that he always also gives ample scope to eastern arguments and draws illuminating conclusions about their differences from subject to subject and period to period.

His work has three parts. First, and at greatest length, he deals with the principal ritual differences between east and west: the use of unleavened or leavened bread in the eucharist was a major issue throughout; the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were also vexed by the problem of the mixed chalice, with the west sometimes being unclear about the different usages of Greeks and Armenians; in the thirteenth century the correct baptismal formula was an added subject of contention. Second, Avvakumov considers the political dimension of the ritual disputes. He deals particularly well with the thirteenth century and with such episodes as the debates in 1234 at Nicaea and the Nymphaion. He impressively argues that between 1204 and 1261 – the years of the Latin empire of Constantinople – the mutual aversion of Latins and Greeks reached its high point. As both apostle and aggressor, Pope Innocent III is severely judged for his part in bringing this about. Third, there is a thought-provoking consideration of Latin reflections upon the otherness of the Greek world, especially as seen in theological discussions. In summary, Latins began

from ecclesiological considerations and proceeded to sacramental, historical, and legal and practical ones. Throughout the period concerned, Latins dealt with the peculiarities of eastern rites upon an alternation of the models of disfavour, sufferance (rather than toleration) and recognition; in practice Latin authorities tended to be somewhat more accommodating towards Greeks than *vice-versa*, and Latin practice could be less exigent than Latin theology. Nevertheless, St Thomas Aquinas stands out among schoolmen for his perceptiveness and for a preparing of the way towards such union as was contemplated at Florence in 1439; the Council of Florence is discussed in a brief conclusion. The book ends with the suggestion that scholasticism was thus less decisive than has been argued in consolidating the barriers between east and west. Scholastic rationality with its *sic et non* could foster an understanding of plurality and a sense of unity in diversity.

This admirably researched and presented monograph offers a major contribution to an understanding of the relations between the Latin and Orthodox Churches of Christendom.

ST EDMUND HALL,  
OXFORD

H. E. J. COWDREY

*De esse ad pulchrum esse. Schönheit in der Theologie Hugos von Sankt Viktor.* By Lenka Karfíková. (Bibliotheca Victorina. Subsidia ad historiam canonicorum regularium investigandam, 8.) Pp. 537. Turnhout: Belgium, 1998. B. Fr. 3,348. 21.2 503 50672 0

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Lenka Karfíková's book is an extremely detailed exposition of some of Hugh of St Victor's theological writings, with special reference to the motif of 'being beautiful' ('pulchrum esse'), which she rightly sees as one of his key concepts and as a means of entering into many aspects of his thought. In six long chapters she traces diverse modulations in Hugh's reflections on beauty. The first two, devoted to his *De sacramentis*, begin with his treatment of the 'work of the six days'. Here the unusual element lies in the way the temporal nature of creation is interpreted. God did not create *omnia simul*: what was created formlessly at first only gradually acquired form; gradually it could proceed from mere 'being' to 'being beautiful' – that is, fully formed. Yet beauty arises, for Hugh, only in relation to human beings, who confer beauty on the universe and thereby 'cause' it: 'causa omnium homo est'. So, too, the human being is not created complete and perfect, but becomes beautiful in the course of *conversio* towards God (here Hugh would seem to have taken inspiration from Eriugena's thought). The second chapter, 'Trinitas creatrix', explores the ways in which the Trinity is reflected in the beauty of the created world. The next chapter is about Hugh's *De tribus diebus* – the earliest of the rare medieval treatises that are entirely devoted to discussing the nature and forms of beauty. (It was long printed, erroneously, as the final book of Hugh's *Didascalicon*.) Of the three principal concepts that feature here – *immensitas*, *decor* and *utilitas* – *decor* is analysed in four aspects: in position, in motion (itself divided into four kinds, that ascend from the natural to the rational), in appearance and in quality.

The fourth chapter concerns parts of Hugh's commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Dionysius, where beauty is seen as the 'multiplicity and variety of all things', and

these two qualities are themselves interpreted as a diffusion of divine light. A very different conception of beauty – that of the divine bridegroom and his bride, *tota pulchra* – is evoked in the following chapter, which focuses especially on two of Hugh's most eloquent and inspiring briefer works: his sermon on Mary's Assumption, which he celebrates in the imagery of the Song of Songs, and his dialogue, the *Soliloquium de arrha animae*. Karfiková leaves open whether Anima's interlocutor, H, is H⟨ugo⟩, or Everyman (H⟨omo⟩, as it is expanded in some manuscripts). To me the parallel with Augustine's *Soliloquia*, where the speakers are A⟨ugustinus⟩ and R⟨atio⟩, or again, the contemporary parallels of Abelard's *Soliloquium* (between A⟨baelardus⟩ and P⟨etrus⟩) and Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi* (between his unconverted self, M⟨oyses⟩, and his new self, P⟨etrus⟩), all indicate that we should understand Hugh's *De arrha* likewise as an interior dialogue – that is, between Hugo and his own Anima. The *arrha* is the beautiful universe which the bridegroom, 'most beautiful of all', gives to his bride, the soul, as her betrothal gift.

In the last long chapter, on Hugh's Ecclesiastes homilies, the ascent from the transient beauty of the visible world to the invisible beauty of God, which had often been present thematically in earlier chapters, is directly perceived in its most tragic aspect – the conviction of the Speaker, that all beauty is vanity. Yet the bitterness of transience can also give rise to a joyous intuition about the created world: 'I loved you once, when you were there, and love you again now, when you are not . . . I am in exile, you are in your homeland.' This is because, as the Assumption sermon makes explicit, the beauty of the created world, there epitomised in the spring landscape of the Song of Songs, can be transformed into an inner landscape, within the human being: 'This earth is in us, and contains the whole world.'

These chapters contain much patient and subtle analysis, and have admirably full documentation. At the same time, the almost exclusively theological focus of the book means that certain questions of medieval intellectual history which are bound up with Hugh's texts are not grasped adequately. Thus for instance Karfiková gives the misleading impression (pp. 135, 140) that Hugh was familiar with Aristotle's *Poetics*, or again (pp. 116–18, 425–6), familiar with the Greek theological concept of *perichóresis* (cyclical movement, interpenetration). Neither had yet reached the Latin west by the time of Hugh's death in 1141. (While *perichóresis* had featured in the works of Maximus the Confessor, Eriugena's Latin translations of Maximus, which Hugh could have known, do not mention it explicitly.) There are also some misunderstandings of the Latin which seriously affect the course of Karfiková's discussion. Thus in the section on *utilitas*, the expression 'aptum vel congruum' means 'what is apt or fitting', and not, as Karfiková translates, 'das Luxuriöse oder Edel' (p. 149). I should like to conclude with two slightly fuller illustrations. In one, a central problem concerning Hugh's conception of beauty can be formulated much more precisely; in the other, a passage in Hugh's non-theological writing has been overlooked in this book, even though it constitutes one of his most original contributions to aesthetics.

In introducing the hexaemeral discussion, Karfiková claims that 'Biblical exegesis, in its affirmation of the created world, could find support in the ancient cosmogony and cosmology adumbrated in Plato's myth in the *Timaeus*' (p. 30). This is only half true. Hugh himself frequently highlights discrepancies between the account of creation in the *Timaeus* and the biblical account, and this leads him several times to polemicise against the falsity of 'the philosophers'. In this Hugh is

quite unlike his contemporaries, Abelard, William of Conches and Bernard Silvestris, whose efforts went deeply into harmonising the Platonic and biblical narratives.

We should, moreover, recognise a distinction of another kind: Plato, in his affirmation of the world in the *Timaeus* (29a), does not quite say what his Christian translator, Calcidius, makes him say. Plato asks if the maker (*demiourgós*), when fashioning the cosmos, looked to an eternal model, or to one that had been generated, and answers: 'If this universe is *kalós* [a term that may suggest 'of fine quality', or 'shapely', as readily as 'beautiful'], and its maker is good (*agathós*), then it is clear that he looked to an eternal model'. A moment later this view is endorsed with superlatives: 'For the universe is finest/fairest (*kállistos*) among things generated, and the maker is the best (*áristos*) of causes'.

Whilst Cicero's brief surviving fragment of a Latin version does introduce the expression *pulcher* here, it is Calcidius' translation of a large part of the *Timaeus*, which became a classic of the medieval west, that transforms Plato's Greek into a passionate celebration of beauty: 'If this universe is – as indeed it is – of incomparable beauty (*si est – ut quidem est – pulchritudine incomparabili mundus*), and its maker and artist is supremely good ... it is the loveliest to behold (*speciosissimus*) of all things generated, and he is the greatest of authors (*auctor maximus*)'. When Boethius, in his *Consolation of Philosophy* – another classic throughout the Middle Ages – recasts the Timaeian passage in verse, he adds a further insight: the maker is not just 'good', and 'the best of causes', as Plato had said – he is invoked as 'yourself most beautiful, carrying a beautiful universe in your mind (*pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse/mundum mente gerens*), and forming it in a like image'. It is ultimately in the Calcidian and Boethian praises of beauty, physical and divine, that Hugh of St Victor's *pulchrum esse* is grounded.

It is surprising, finally, that Karfíková omits all reference to Hugh's remarkable discussion of plays. In his *Didascalicon*, Hugh distinguishes not only the traditional seven liberal arts but the seven arts of technology (*mechanica*). The last of these, *theatrica* (*Didasc.* II. 27, ed. Buttimer), extends beyond theatre in the stricter sense to what Hugh calls the 'scientia ludorum'. He describes a range of games and entertainments, including *gesta* 'performed in the theatre with songs, or characters, or masks, or puppets'. What to me is noteworthy is that while Hugh uses past tenses in his descriptions, as if this was 'as it used to be' ('solebat ... recitabantur'), when he comes to affirm play as legitimate, he changes to the present tense. Such activities have a beneficial effect, both physical and spiritual: 'the natural warmth in the body is sustained through temperate motion, and through joy the spirit is renewed'. The raising of *theatrica* to the dignity of *artes* such as medicine and navigation, and the praise of its effects on body and mind, are, to the best of my knowledge, quite unparalleled among the all-too-familiar clerical fulminations against theatre, from the church Fathers to the twelfth century and beyond. These ideas can hardly be unrelated to Hugh's praises of beauty in all its diverse manifestations, earthly and heavenly: 'multiplicatio et variatio universorum est pulchritudo'.

CAMBRIDGE

PETER DRONKE

*John Le Neve. Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1066–1300, VII: Bath and Wells.* Compiled by Diana E. Greenway. Pp. xxix + 141. London: University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 2001. £24. 1 871348 58 7  
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Le lecteur français des *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae* n'est guère dépaysé à la lecture du septième volume des *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae* de Diana Greenway. L'introduction, d'une trentaine de pages, fait le point sur les sources publiées et manuscrites, puis présente un intéressant aperçu historique sur un siège épiscopal double, réalité à laquelle les Français sont peu habitués. Au-delà de cette particularité, on retrouve dans l'ouvrage, sous une forme légèrement différente de celle adoptée pour le modèle français, des listes définitives concernant les évêques du diocèse (pp. 1–6), les dignitaires (pp. 8–38) ou les simples chanoines prébendés (pp. 38–115) de Saint-André de Wells. Par contre, on n'y trouve qu'occasionnellement – cela tient à la documentation disponible – mention des moines de Bath, si l'on excepte la liste des prieurs (pp. 6–8). L'ouvrage s'achève par l'indispensable index qui mêle personnages et localités (pp. 125–41).

Par delà les qualités que l'on trouvait déjà dans les ouvrages antérieurs de Diana Greenway, l'ouvrage dont nous rendons compte devrait servir de point de comparaison aux collaborateurs des *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae* qui doivent traiter des diocèses méridionaux créés par Jean XXII. De fait, la situation du diocèse de Bath et Wells où un prieuré cathédral monastique partage – à compter de 1173 – son droit d'élection avec un collège de chanoines séculiers rappelle tout à fait la situation méridionale.

Pour le diocèse de Bath et Wells, le Professeur Greenway décrit parfaitement le processus historique qui conduit à cette situation qui se pérennise après 1245. En 909, au moment de la création de l'évêché de Somerset, l'évêque installe son siège à Saint-André de Wells. Sous l'évêque Giso (1061–88) les chanoines sont réformés et astreints à la communauté de dortoir et de réfectoire. Cette voie réformatrice est brutalement abandonnée par son successeur John of Tours (1088–1122) qui sécularise Wells et transfère – la question fait l'objet de débats – son siège épiscopal à Bath. Bien que siège épiscopal unique de 1090 à 1245, la cathédrale de Bath, pourtant installée en un point stratégique, ne connaît pas un essor considérable alors que Wells évolue à l'instar de cathédrales comme York, Lincoln ou Salisbury dont elle reçoit les statuts en 1206. A cette date, cinquante-six chanoines de Wells et quarante moines de Bath signent le procès-verbal d'élection du nouvel évêque, Jocelin, issu du chapitre de Wells... C'est une étape importante avant la reconnaissance d'une égalité pure et simple de statut entre Bath et Wells en 1245. La mort de Jocelin, en effet, a ouvert une crise que tranche l'autorité pontificale: désormais l'évêque doit être élu alternativement à Bath et à Wells et l'évêque désigné par la double titulature de Bath et Wells installé sur le trône épiscopal de son lieu d'élection.

Au total, au-delà de l'instrument de travail d'une érudition exemplaire, Diana Greenway nous livre un ouvrage qui ouvre d'intéressantes pistes de réflexion sur le phénomène de concathédralité qui ne semble pas avoir fait l'objet d'une étude d'ensemble.

PARIS

H. MILLET



*Adrian IV. The English pope (1154–1159). Studies and texts.* Edited by Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan. Pp. xv + 343 incl. colour frontispiece. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. £47.50. 0 7546 0708 9  
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Very little is known about the early life of Nicholas Breakspeare, who was to become Pope Adrian IV. The sources for the early years are weak, often fanciful, and often too late to be trustworthy. Nevertheless the challenge has always been there to provide, if not a biography, at least an account of the importance of this one English pope. The challenge was taken up briefly in 1954 by two of the most influential medieval historians of the last generation Walter Ullmann and Richard Southern. In the present volume there is little new evidence but some new and important reinterpretation. Anne Duggan in particular has shaken up several recently held views on the significance of Adrian's stand against the Emperor Frederick I, obscured by propaganda on both sides, and has effectively demolished the idea that the papal letter 'Laudabiliter' was the result of a plot between the English pope and the archbishop of Canterbury to include Ireland in the southern province. She promises more on 'Laudabiliter' elsewhere, which is presumably why it is not included among the texts at the end of this volume. Christopher Brooke, whose unique knowledge of John of Salisbury enables him to bring out everything of importance from one of the key witnesses of Adrian's papacy, suggests that John may have intended to make Adrian the central figure in his *History of the papacy*. It is the cosmopolitan nature of this period of the twelfth century, exemplified so strikingly in the careers of John and of Adrian, that probably explains, if not the reason, at least the background to the decision of the young Breakspeare to go south and to seek a life eventually at the Augustinian house of St Ruf just outside Avignon. Christoph Egger suggests that he studied at Arles, that the study was Roman law, and that he perhaps served the church at Melgueil before becoming a canon at St Ruf and abbot in 1147. That he had leadership qualities and acumen is brought out in Damian Smith's succinct and careful consideration of Breakspeare 'the abbot-crusader' in Catalonia – where there were further Augustinian houses founded from St Ruf – and in Adrian's relations with the Iberian peninsula after he became pope. His success on the Scandinavian legation of 1152–4, after which he came to be revered in the north as a virtual saint, is excellently assessed in Anders Bergquist's contribution. Brenda Bolton considers the pope's relations with St Albans and, in another essay, his activity in the Patrimony. This pope's significance to the history of the community at St Albans has never been doubted: the abbey's exempt status was certainly improved by Adrian, but further *Papsturkunden* volumes for other parts of Europe may reveal more on the issue of these large papal privileges in the wider European scene. Susan Twyman provides a fascinating account of the ceremonial of the papal court at the time (her interesting work has been recently published in the Henry Bradshaw Society). The volume ends with selected texts that should be of use to students.

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JANE SAYERS

*Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem. Von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291.* By Klaus-Peter Kirstein. (Berliner historische Studien, 35. Ordensstudien, 16.) Pp. 684. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 2002. €88 (paper). 3 428 09964 8; 0720 6941

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With the exception of Bernard Hamilton's magisterial *The Latin Church in the crusader states*, the most detailed work on the institutional Church in the Latin East has been by German historians, notably Kaspar Elm, Rudolf Hiestand and Hans Mayer. It is no surprise to see a new generation of ecclesiastical historians of the east emerging, in the last few years, from the tutelage of Hiestand and Elm. Klaus-Peter Kirstein's systematic study of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem from 1099 to 1291 is one of a number of prominent PhD dissertations undertaken at the Free University, Berlin, under this joint guidance. It is particularly fitting that it should appear in the same series, and only a few months later than, Johannes Pahlitzsch's study of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit*. Kirstein's approach is fundamentally institutional. After a brief chapter outlining his methods and use of sources, he analyses the history and nature of the patriarchal office from the New Testament to 1099, and surveys the role played by patriarchs of Jerusalem in the worsening relations between Rome and Constantinople. The bulk of the book, however, is dedicated to a chronological survey of the patriarchs themselves. Kirstein provides full biographies, where possible, for each patriarch, and analyses their career according to categories that he sets out in his introductory chapter (pp. 56–7). Naturally, these categories are subject to modification where more or less is known, or – as, for example in the case of Heraclius (c. 1180–90/1), when a more detailed analysis of his involvement in political affairs is necessary. The discussion is invariably accurate and well-informed, and in some cases (that of Albert of Vercelli impressed me particularly) Kirstein offers new and incisive interpretations. Finally, there is a chapter on some of the themes underpinning the patriarchate that cannot be linked to specific careers: the development of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, relations with the crown of Jerusalem and the papacy, episcopal organisation, and so on. Finally, there are some maps – though these have all been reproduced more clearly elsewhere – and a very full bibliography. Although Kirstein's approach allows the development of a narrative of the office, it means that the treatment of some themes – for example, the relations between the patriarchate and the military orders – is broken up and subsumed in the careers of individual patriarchs. Moreover, although the thematic discussions at the beginning and end of the book go up to and even beyond 1291, the survey of patriarchs runs out with Albert in 1214. This is a pity, not only because some interesting personalities, such as Thomas of Lentino, are thus omitted, but also because it means that the friars and their role in the pastoral and institutional life of the Church are treated only sketchily. This is the one omission in an otherwise impressive and valuable book.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY

ANDREW JOTISCHKY

*Studien zur Geschichte der Juden zwischen Rhein und Weser im Mittelalter.* By Rosemarie Kosche. (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A:15.) Pp. ix + 423 + 7 black-and-white and 2 loose-leaf colour maps. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002. €56. 3 7752 5624 5

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The time has come to alert the English-reading public to the important work being done on the history of medieval Jews at the University of Trier. From humble beginnings as part of a regional research project and by now in the more permanent framework of an 'Institute for the History of the Jews', Professor Alfred Haverkamp and his students have expanded into a vibrant community of scholarship. Their conferences, publications and a steady stream of dissertations attest to a conscious effort to reintegrate Jewish into German history. In Trier they do so by choosing for their questions confined regional frameworks rather than general ones. This allows them to abide by the best of German traditions of thoroughness and attention to detail, as a result putting at our disposal meticulously researched work that is also informed by modern concepts. Placed as Trier is at the very western end of Germany, its scholars also have a welcome inclination to cross national borders in their work. Kosche's book, a revised doctoral dissertation of 2001, is the seventh in a series of dissertations. The topics treated are, after the introduction, the question where and when Jews settled in medieval Westphalia; focusing then on the community of Dortmund as the central place of Jewish settlement in the region, yet subservient and intimately tied to the much larger community of Cologne, persecutions and expulsions; the legal basis of the Jewish presence; economic activities; and lastly, the vexing question of Jews cited to appear in a typically Westphalian institution, the Feme-courts of the later Middle Ages. Two textual appendices, a lengthy bibliography and a thorough index complete the volume. Of the author's conclusions, one might cite the following: Westphalia was a region of late and tardy Jewish settlement; Cologne was the indisputable centre also for Westphalian Jews, as witnessed by the personal connections between the Jews of Dortmund and the archiepiscopal city as well as by the fact that after the expulsion of Jews from Cologne the whole region was quickly emptied of a Jewish presence. This is a dissertation as it should be: a solid piece of research into a confined area, an exhaustive perusal of primary sources as well as of the research literature, a balanced and informed catalogue of questions put to the material, and a well-written presentation.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

MICHAEL TOCH

*Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung des 12. Jahrhunderts.* By Helmut Plechl with Werner Bergmann. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae, 2. Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 8.) Pp. xl + 414. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002. €54. 3 7752 1811 4; 0343 074X

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Although individual letters and groups of letters from the Tegernsee letter-collection have been published before (many of them by Meichelbeck, Pez and Scheidt in the eighteenth century), this is the first complete edition of all 306 letters and charters and eleven love-letters. The manuscript (Clm 19411) was written by several scribes between 1160 and 1186 and contains in addition to the letters excerpts from works

by Otto of Freising (in whose name a number of the letters were written), Wipo and Otloh, two treatises of *dictamen*, various poems and other works. Some of the letters are form-letters and stylistic exercises; others were really sent. They mostly date from the twelfth century, but at least two (including one attributed to Otto III and one by Gregory VII) from the eleventh. Forty have not been published before, including interesting letters dealing with the procedure for bringing a complaint against the advocate of Tegernsee (no. 151), the mistreatment of a Jew by two *famuli* of the abbey (no. 163) and an altar consecrated by an 'heretical' bishop (no. 271). There are a few well-known letters, such as the Concordat of Worms (no. 23) and a version, with many omissions and a few additions, of Bernard of Clairvaux's letter to Eugene III after his election as pope (no. 13). Two letters of Innocent II dealing with the election of the archbishop of Bourges in 1136 (nos 298–9) also found their way into the collection. A large group of letters are concerned with the negotiations for peace between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa. Others deal with more local affairs, such as the thirteen letters concerning the dispute between Tegernsee and Dietramszell, which go from 1107 until at least 1173 and are scattered, in no discernable order, throughout the collection (see the note to no. 17). Many deal with points of political, legal, social, economic and institutional history, including the elections of bishops and abbots, the details of family affairs and marriages, and the difficulties of running an important monastery. Several relate to student life, such as the letter to the abbot of Tegernsee from 'the least of his clerics', who was studying the liberal arts in Paris (no. 132). There are many references to books. Frederick Barbarossa asked for a missal and lectionary (no. 164) and B. asked the 'scientie claviger' E. for works by Pliny, Ptolemy, Ablavius, Marcellinus, Lactantius, Augustine, Tertullian and Jerome on Job and Leviticus, which the writer most greatly desired 'if I may hope ever to have [them]' (no. 230). No. 167 is a request for a map. Among other matters touched upon are art and architecture (nos 130, 134–6 and 165), gardening (no. 240), clothing (nos 263, 286), medical treatment (no. 232), relics (no. 226), the misuse of the eucharist as a charm (no. 249) and the cost of housing in Regensburg (no. 151). Two of the love letters include passages in German. There is something for everyone, in short, in this rich and varied collection.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY,  
PRINCETON

GILES CONSTABLE

*The original acta of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c. 1122–1263*. Edited by Robert B. Patterson. (Gloucestershire Record Series, 11.) Pp. lxi + 354 + 44 plates. £30. 0 900197 47 1 *JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903577193

By gathering together the earliest surviving original charters of St Peter's Gloucester from more than a dozen archives, Robert Patterson has rendered a significant service to historians both of the post-Conquest English Church and of medieval diplomatic. Many of these charters are previously unpublished, having escaped notice in the Gloucester cartularies edited or calendared since Hart's pioneering work of the 1860s. Patterson's introduction, whilst skating over the wider questions of the abbey's role in politics or the land market, marks a rare attempt to establish palaeographical criteria by which to establish the identities and the working practice of the various scribes who wrote charters on the abbey's behalf. However, readers should note

that Patterson's edition is that of a palaeographer-historian rather than a historian-diplomatist, so that in attempting to reproduce every palaeographical nuance, up to and including the precise reproduction of medieval punctuation marks, he has occasionally allowed his eye to wander from the Latin. The edition is not without its share of venial editorial slips. In a similar vein, there are some surprising omissions from the indices, where, despite their considerable interest, terms such as the *vexillum* used in payment in no. 30, the customs names *strene* in no. 54, or the 'putchers' nominated as a rent in no. 180 are left unsignalled, and where one must search long and hard for an identification of the final destination of a Gloucester tenant whose service lay in making annual visits to London, Winchester and 'St Paternum' (no. 59, perhaps referring to the church of St Padarn, at Llanbadarn Fawr). In certain cases, reference to cartulary copies would have corrected readings from damaged originals: in no. 353, for example, where the surviving copy in the St Guthlac's cartulary demonstrates not only that the witness here named Anselm should be identified as Manasser Biset, but that the purported author of the charter was not King Henry III but his grandfather, Henry II. These are fairly minor points. Elsewhere, however, two more significant questions arise. By painstaking analysis both of texts and endorsements, Patterson attempts to build up a picture of scribal culture at Gloucester, identifying the hands of nineteen 'Gloucester' scribes. Yet, on Patterson's count, these nineteen scribes were responsible for writing no more than 71 of the 393 original charters assembled here: less than one in five of the collection as a whole, or an average of less than four surviving charters per scribe. As with the contemporary royal chancery, it appears that a high proportion of the abbey's charters was written by unidentifiable scribes who may well have stood beyond the confines of any sort of specialised chancery or writing office. Although of fundamental significance for our understanding of charter production in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, this is a point that Patterson, with his affection for the Gloucester *scriptorium*, is somewhat reluctant to develop. Affection for his scribes may also explain a second, and arguably more serious, problem. Patterson allows that a mere dozen or so of the charters transcribed here are forgeries, manufactured from the mid-twelfth to the late thirteenth century. However, if we bear in mind the catastrophic fire of 1122 (explaining, no doubt, the absence from this collection of any original charter earlier than the 1120s); the accretion of the abbey estate in controversial circumstances both before and after 1066; and the considerable litigation faced by the monks during the succeeding 200 years, then Gloucester, as Adrian Morey and Christopher Brooke long ago pointed out, has all the hallmarks of an abbey ripe for forgery. That forgery did indeed run deep is suggested by the presence amongst Patterson's collection of a number of spurious royal charters. Quite how great a number remains in question, but, having spent some time with them, I would not wish to vouch for the authenticity of a considerable number of the 40 or so charters of Henry II preserved either as originals or in the Gloucester cartularies: a problem that is at its most acute in respect to the archives of the abbey's dependent priories at St Guthlac's, Bromfield and in south Wales. Even as late as the 1250s, a letter patent of Henry III (no. 2), passable on palaeographical grounds, should set alarm bells ringing: it seems not to have been enrolled, it employs a dating clause using the Roman calendar and it was given at Westminster on a day when the king was in fact at Oxford. Either it was issued from the Exchequer, under the Exchequer seal, or, more likely, it is a forgery. Below the level of forged royal charters, which were the most perilous to produce,

not least because they were and remain in many ways the easiest to detect, it is worth questioning the authenticity of various of the abbey's charters attributed to the twelfth-century bishops of Worcester. One of these (no. 53) is reproduced by Patterson unqueried, despite the fact that it employs the verb *inspicere* some thirty or forty years before the date at which the 'inspeximus' form was adopted in other episcopal charters. Amongst baronial charters, Patterson himself allows for the forgery of at least one or two examples (nos 203–4, not signalled in the introduction). If the monks were prepared to admit forgeries in the names of kings, bishops and barons, and if these forgeries – appearing as sealed single-sheet originals – were produced across many decades, then surely this must raise questions about other documents in the Gloucester archive, issued in the name of the abbey itself or of relatively minor benefactors, where forgery may have been as desirable to the monks as it has become difficult for historians to detect? Even the great series of abbatial leases, that begins as early as the 1130s and which has few counterparts from other English monasteries save for Westminster – England's greatest *entrepôt* of forgery – may or may not provide an authentic account of the abbey's disposition of its estate. Historians setting foot on these shores should be warned that the ground they tread upon is more prone to subsidence than the soundings of a great but perhaps too trusting palaeographer might suggest.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE,  
CANTERBURY

NICHOLAS VINCENT

*A journey to the promised land. Crusading theology in the Historia de profectione danorum in Hierosolymam (c. 1200).* By Karen Skovgaard-Petersen. Pp. 84. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2001. £14 (€19) (paper). 87 7289 714 7  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690358719X

The little Latin treatise analysed here is well-known to Scandinavian medievalists, among other things for its uniqueness and, correspondingly, the insight it provides into Scandinavian crusading history around 1200. Without knowing about the other's work, the historian of the Premonstratensian Order, Father Norbert Backmund, and the Norwegian scholar, Arne Odd Johnsen, treated this source in the 1970s. The results were interesting but hard to place in the context of twelfth-century mentalities in Scandinavia. The author of the book under review does not enter into the problems of the Premonstratensian background of this source, the White Canons' Abbey of St Olav in Tønsberg, Norway, founded from Børglum in Denmark, the episcopal see with a regular cathedral chapter of that order. Instead, the medieval author's conditions and the motives ascribed to armed pilgrims to Jerusalem are her focus – how the medieval author formulates the crusaders' motives and their reactions to what happens both before and on leaving Norway. The intention of the treatise, which may have been composed by one of the canons of Børglum, was evidently to describe and interpret the planning of the crusade, the disagreement which erupted upon departure from Norway and the North Sea storm the crusaders ran into in which a number of participants drowned. The expedition was re-organised in Frisia and finally reached Jerusalem, but this is described only in a few sentences, so we get the impression that the author was more interested in defending the crusading character of the expedition than in describing its final outcome.

One of the main contributions of Karen Skovgaard-Petersen's work is to show that in defining the expedition as a pilgrimage the medieval author demonstrates his familiarity with other crusading literature and its general notions. The crusaders 'renounced their homes and families in order to follow the command of Jesus to his disciples', they put the conquest of the Holy City of Jerusalem before their eyes, and it was all begun in obedience to a papal letter which arrived in the middle of the Christmas celebrations of 1187. The letter is quoted by the author of the treatise but its wording does not correspond to any known letter of Pope Gregory VIII – elected 21 October and died 17 December 1187 – so its authenticity has been doubted (cf. *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1,3 Nr. 144 which takes it as authentic). Skovgaard Petersen discusses it in several passages, though not always quite consistently (pp. 28, 31, 35f, 47, 65). She asks why, in his quote, the author does not mention the protection of family and home while the pilgrims are away, or the spiritual rewards and the remission of spiritual punishment after confession of sins. She finds further traces of general crusading ideology in the treatise: influence from the Book of Maccabees in Esbern's speech constructed by the author in positive response to the papal letter, a reference to divine inspiration of the crusaders' decision to go to the 'Promised Land' and the fact that the shipwrecked are hailed as martyrs. Skovgaard-Petersen supports such findings by comparison with German crusading literature.

This little book draws our attention to the spread and weight of crusading ideology in Scandinavia and the significance of its influence upon age-old customs of travelling and war in northern Europe.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN DENMARK

TORE NYBERG

*The correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux. A semantic and structural analysis.* By Gillian R. Knight. (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.) Pp. vii + 303. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £45. 0 7546 0067 X

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That the great medieval letter collections should be read as complex literary and artistic productions and not merely mined for evidence is a proposition more often acknowledged than acted on. Yet the two activities cannot be separated – as Constable noted 'No clear line can be drawn between the "historical" and "literary" aspects of medieval letters ... their worth as historical sources must always be evaluated in the light of their literary character' (*Letters and letter-collections*, Turnhout 1976, 11–12). Gillian Knight's immensely rich and detailed study of one of the best known epistolary exchanges of the twelfth century is therefore a most welcome addition to the literature. Less welcome to some historians may be its declared intent to 'deconstruct' the epistolary relationship. Yet it would be wrong to be put off by this. While the term 'deconstruct' is frequently misused by many, as for example a synonym for 'disprove' or 'analyse', Knight's study represents a rigorous application of literary criticism, and it produces a wealth of insight – indeed the range of issues raised is very great and varied, from the order of the letters through to issues like the private–public dichotomy. It is also concerned with the relationship between literary analysis and the use of texts as historical evidence. Knight's starting point, 'that the letter is a literary artefact' and the epistolary relationship 'an artificial construct' (p. 8), is surely now uncontentious ground anyway (as she herself implies),



and this ‘paves the way’ for a detailed examination of use of *topoi*, intertextual allusion, irony and subtext, approaching the correspondence not from its historical context but on its own terms and in the context of its own influences and sources. The central argument is that interpretation of this exchange depends largely on recognition of the pervading but rarely explicit reference to the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome, and that this frames the Cistercian–Cluniac debate. It is suggested that this ‘raises the exchange to a higher level and distracts attention from actual points of conflict’ (p. 280). What this means is that much of the nature of that crucial debate is in fact lost to us without an understanding of its terms and allusions, which need to be recovered by the sort of painstaking literary analysis presented here. Readers may be suspicious of the subtlety of allusive intelligence apparently assumed of the letter writers for this to work in every instance of the Augustine–Jerome model cited – although it is surely both more dangerous and too common to underestimate this capacity. But Knight has made an important contribution not by theorising about the possibilities for detailed analysis of such letters but by actually doing it. If anything her final conclusion, that these letters may be used as historical source material provided that they are approached with due regard to the ‘parameters of epistolary dialogue’ (p. 282), is too modest, for she has demonstrated an immense amount about the interpretation of such dialogue and its application to historical problems.

UNIVERSITY OF HULL

JULIAN HASELDINE

*The ordinal of the abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp. (Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, Ms 186).*

Parts 2, 3 and 4. Edited by David Chadd. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 112.)

Pp. vii + 379–885. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Henry Bradshaw Society),

2002. £35. 1 870252 20 9; 0144 0241

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The second volume of David Chadd’s exemplary edition of the ordinal of Fécamp completes the publication of one of the most important surviving Norman liturgical records. The introduction, Temporal and first part of the Sanctoral have already been published in pt 1 (reviewed this *JOURNAL* liii [2002], 582–3). As Chadd showed in the introduction, the early thirteenth-century ordinal was the cantor’s book, which not only embodied much of the liturgy based on that of St Bénigne at Dijon in the time of William of Volpiano, but also showed in marginal insertions some of the changes adopted up to the end of the seventeenth century. The second volume contains the Sanctoral from 7 January to 29 November, so completing the liturgical year. The miscellaneous material printed after the end of the Sanctoral required much careful editing, as the principal manuscript gave only headings, and Chadd has added further details taken from other Fécamp manuscripts. His edition therefore gives a very full account of all the variations in the liturgy of the monastic year at Fécamp, including further details of processions for the Feasts of the Annunciation and Purification, which indicate the increasing veneration of the Virgin Mary characteristic of the early twelfth century. The *Miscellanea* and ten appendices include details of other aspects of the monastic life and discipline, including the *lectiones ad prandium*, the procedure for blood-letting and the duties of the abbot and a number of obedientiaries, notably the cellarer, chamberlain, almoner, pantler, sacrist and

steward. There is precise information about the celebration of the anniversaries of founders and benefactors throughout the year, with appropriate pittances and almsgiving. Full descriptions of the rites and ceremonies connected with sickness and death come from sections incomplete in the principal manuscript. As Chadd pointed out, these, amplified in notes added later, show how 'the book, though incomplete in its original form, continued in use'. The original calendar is missing, and the two calendars in this edition have been carefully reconstructed from other Fécamp manuscripts. In their final form they include anniversaries established after the mid-twelfth century, among them one for Henry II and (after the loss of Normandy) one for St Louis of France. The book is completed by very full liturgical indices, and a rather summary index of names and subjects. The whole edition will be invaluable in promoting a deeper understanding of monastic life in Normandy from the time of William of Volpiano throughout the Middle Ages.

CLARE HALL,  
CAMBRIDGE

MARJORIE CHIBNALL

*Visualizing kingship in the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle.* By Alyce A. Jordan. (Publications of the International Center of Medieval Art, 5.) Pp. xi + 263 incl. 78 figs + 2 plates + 7 loose leaf plates. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. €120. 2 503 51184 8  
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In this compact, well-illustrated and thoughtful first book, Alyce Jordan takes on one of the classic sites of thirteenth-century stained glass. Like that on many great monuments, the literature on the Sainte-Chapelle, built by Louis IX in the 1240s to house the crown of thorns, is extremely mixed. The lack of a full-scale English-language architectural monograph is still keenly felt. The building is a dazzling statement of the possibilities of mature Parisian Gothic; it is also famously dense in its signification, being adorned not just with glass, much of it original, but also sculptures and paintings, whose importance survived through nineteenth-century restoration. The present study is not a monograph, and as a result much inevitably is left out, not least on the totality of function of the building as a chapel and reliquary, and so as a religious building. The focus of interest is on the style of story-telling in the windows, which relate the Old Testament and the narrative of the reception of the crown of thorns by Louis. Jordan's thesis is that the particular style of narration in the glass is indebted to prescriptive treatises on artful story-telling written in Paris in this period, known as the *ars poetriae*. The most popular of these was composed by Geoffrey of Vinsauf in the early years of the century. Adopting a broadly narratological approach, Jordan argues that the *ars poetriae* were a particular influence on the way the glass conveyed its various beliefs about contemporary French kingship. Her account of this impact is thoroughgoing and committed, even though she recognises – or at least assumes – (p. 78) that it is unlikely that the artists had first-hand knowledge of these manuals of narrative rhetoric. More emphasis than is given here is needed on the issue of conception and planning, and a more inclusive approach might have helped to strengthen the conclusions. The *ars poetriae* themselves might also have benefited from a more broad introduction. The methods they recommend are, after all, essentially those of standard rhetorical theory in Cicero and Quintillian, and certainly did not start with Geoffrey of Vinsauf. This is

demonstrated by the pedagogic writings of John of Garland, whose prescriptions for student *mores* are Ciceronian. The wider background is important, because if such methods were older commonplaces, their specific relevance to the Sainte-Chapelle becomes less obvious, and the issue of their wider applicability beyond the ‘court style’, and to medieval art in general, more pressing. Despite these *caveats*, this is a valuable and thoroughly documented study which will be of interest to art and literary historians as well as to students of medieval theories of kingship.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

PAUL BINSKI

*Knowing the love of Christ. An introduction to the theology of St Thomas Aquinas.* By Michael Dauphinais and Matthew Levering. Pp. ix + 146. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002. \$25 (cloth), \$14 (paper). 0 268 03301 3; 0 268 03302 1

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The authors of this strange little labour of love say that it is best described as ‘an invitation to enter into the Church’s conversation about the meaning of the gospel’. The eight chapters – on ‘The triune God’, ‘Creation, providence, and sin’, ‘Happiness and virtue’, ‘Law and grace’, ‘Jesus Christ’, ‘Salvation’, ‘Church and sacraments’ and ‘Eternal life’ – are said to ‘mirror the *Summa*’s structure’ and, since each chapter ‘refers the reader to key passages in the *Summa*, so the book should serve as a guide for further reading of the *Summa* itself’. Perhaps the best thing about the book is the lengths to which the authors go to emphasise the biblical character of Aquinas’s thought. Yet how well it will serve its purpose as an ‘introduction’ is uncertain, for four reasons. In the first place, the intended readership is unclear. For the most part, this appears to be college-educated Christians in general. I doubt, however, that they will make much of ‘ontological exemplarity’. ‘The human mind is spirit, not physical matter’: what other kinds of matter are there, and what sense of ‘spirit’ is implied? In the second place (as that last example perhaps already indicated), the authors have, ‘in all cases ... sought the most literal translation’, but the quest has let them down. Working with an American translation of the *Summa theologiae* now over eighty years old, ‘dici potest aliquo modo quod creatura sit similis Deo, non tamen quod Deus sit similis creaturae’ is rendered as: ‘Although it may be admitted that creatures are in some sort like God, it must nowise be admitted that God is like creatures’. A more ‘literal’ translation, I suggest, would go something like: ‘It can be said, in a way, that a creature is like God, but not that God is like a creature.’ The imperatives are gone, the exploratory returns (I shall come back to this). A very different example: the sense of a remark in *ST. IaIIae, 1.10* is not too much distorted by the claim that, for Aquinas, ‘the authority to publish creeds belongs to the pope’, and yet the passage (in Aquinas, not here) makes it quite clear that he takes for granted that the context for such ‘publication’ is synodical, which puts a different spin on things. In the third place, the theology of Aquinas (who was a human being) had a past, a present and a future. It had a past, in that he sought to weave a pattern from the richly varied, often conflictual, theological and philosophical threads which he inherited; a present, in that his thought developed over time; a future, in that there grew up (as Fergus Kerr has brilliantly displayed, in

*After Aquinas*) vastly varied, sometimes incommensurable, traditions of reading him. On all these things, this 'introduction' is quite silent. Finally, there is no music here: just a small selection of the notes. In place of that strong sense of exploration, of the questing mind, which is so central to Aquinas's thought, we have, in this 'nano-summa', a sequence of smooth certainties, untroubled and untroubling assertions.

FACULTY OF DIVINITY,  
CAMBRIDGE

NICHOLAS LASH

*Spätmittelalterliche Frömmigkeit zwischen Ideal und Praxis*. Edited by Berndt Hamm and Thomas Lentjes. (Spätmittelalter und Reformation, New Ser., 15.) Pp. x + 214. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2001. DM 178. 3 16 147414 7; 0937 5740  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690363719X

The tension between religious expectations and realities within the framework of late medieval piety is the subject of the six essays in this volume. Five are revised versions of presentations on the subject in the Church History section of the forty-second Conference of German Historians held in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1998. One additional essay and two brief textual editions have been appended. The essays deal primarily with facets of piety in Germany and the Low Countries during the late Middle Ages, defined in the preface as 1300 to 1520. Although several focus exclusively on attempts by members of religious communities to reconcile the contradiction between pietistic ideals and the practical realities of daily living, the laity is given its due as well. Thomas Lentjes introduces the field of inquiry, noting that for almost two centuries scholars have posed similar questions concerning the nature of religious experience: Is religion objective or subjective? Is its essence to be found in external forms or internal ideas? Lentjes summarises various phases of scholarship on these questions during the past 150 years. The subsequent contributions address diverse but interrelated topics. Petra Seegets demonstrates how renewed spiritual devotion among religious women in southern Germany, particularly Nuremberg, was stimulated by the reform movement of the time and manifested itself in various aspects of daily community life. Eva Schlotheuber shifts the focus to the Low Countries. She highlights the attitude of male religious toward their female spiritual charges, exemplified by the Latin handbook of the Windesheim confessor Frederik van Heilo for the women in his care. Christoph Burger's essay also draws on writings by adherents of the *devotio moderna* as well as other preachers; the importance of the laity comes to the fore as he characterises how homiletic texts are formulated for specific audiences. The struggle of individuals between the desire to be obedient to God's will and their inability to do so because of human limitations is the subject of Berndt Hamm's study. According to Hamm the late medieval tendencies to minimise human capability and maximise God's mercifulness had a notable impact on Reformation theology. The essay by Hans-Martin Kirn inquires into anti-Jewish sentiment in late medieval sermon literature, examining this phenomenon as a corollary of the ideal of Christian discipleship and the concept of *contemptus mundi*. Kirn's survey, which spans the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries and includes examples from more than half a dozen geographically distinct areas, seems rather broad and unfocused, especially compared to the other essays. The volume concludes with an edition of Johannes Herolt's sermon 'De Iudaeis' and Stephan

Fridolin's 'Lehre für angefochtene und kleinmütige Menschen'. Given the range of topics, it is doubtful that many readers will find all the contributions equally engaging. However, the collection will appeal to anyone interested in the practical application of pious ideals to the lives of real individuals, lay and religious, in late medieval times. Its contents provide worthwhile perspectives on significant aspects of a topic that until recently has not been given its due.

UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO

DEBRA L. STOUTT

*Selling the Church. The English parish in law, commerce, and religion, 1350–1550.* By Robert Palmer. (Studies in Legal History.) Pp. xi + 330, incl. 3 tables and 9 figs. Chapel Hill, NC–London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. £38.95. o 8078 2743 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903647196

This study of common law records highlights a crucial and badly neglected body of sources for the late medieval English parish. Scrutiny of plea rolls reveals that pre-Reformation English rectors 'typically' leased their parishes (p. 99). As growing numbers of lessees acquired control over tithes, glebes, mortuary fees and the appointment of minor clergy, incumbents became increasingly detached from the cure of souls, while the interests of leaseholders – often lay people from outside the community – added new complexities to the matrix of parish governance. For Robert Palmer, the late medieval English parish was 'completely commercialized' (p. 248) and an instrumental factor in the redistribution of agricultural surpluses. From 1529, however, the crown took statutory measures to compel rectors to reside and refrain from commercial activities. Ingeniously, Henry VIII enlisted the laity to enforce these laws: within a few years, hundreds of parishioners brought suits against offending clergymen, a genuinely impressive phenomenon with allegedly revolutionary effects. From this point in time, the author argues, the Reformation was under way: rectors increasingly resided in their parishes, concentrated on spiritual duties and effectively became 'prisoners on the parish' (p. 249).

The book offers a highly valuable legal approach to parish affairs, a range of intriguing insights (for example about the interaction of 'local' affairs and 'national' law or the extent of lay powers over ecclesiastical resources) and much useful data in its appendices, particularly lists of 'Parish leases from the plea rolls' and of 'Enforcement suits under the statutes of 1529'. As such, it is an important contribution to the lively field of parish studies. Unfortunately, Palmer wants to press his case further. From an extremely limited basis ('This study about the reformation of the English parish is unconcerned with Lutheran or Calvinist doctrine', p. 9), he proceeds to general conclusions on late medieval religion and Reformation change. The year 1529, we are told, marks the watershed when parishes metamorphosed from 'commercial' units into 'spiritual' communities. In such judgements, a shallow grasp of non-legal scholarship takes its toll: non-residence, whatever its frequency (Palmer makes some highly speculative attempts to inflate the figure), is no longer perceived as a principal problem for late medieval religious life, as most curates and an army of unbeneficed clergy officiated effectively. The local laity, as evident from numerous churchwardens' accounts, invested massive amounts of effort and resources to ensure that parishes were spiritual units in pre-Reformation England, quite independently

of their incumbents, and often with recourse to equity courts and ecclesiastical justice (rather than common law). As for commercial activities, plenty of these continued well beyond 1529: management and leases of communal lands, contracts with craftsmen and artists or the provision of credit facilities, none of which are considered here. Overall, abstracting from a tendency to over-interpret its evidence, *Selling the Church* sheds welcome new light on lay influence in the English Church. In this respect, however, it emphasises continuities rather than revolutionary change over the Tudor period.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

BEAT KÜMIN

*The London charterhouse*. By Bruno Barber and Christopher Thomas. (MoLAS Monograph, 10.) Pp. xii + 126 incl. 95 figs and 26 tables. London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2002. £14.95 (paper). 1 901992 23 3

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903657192

Combining finds of 1998 with those of numerous other small excavations, this book gives an admirably clear description of the development of the charterhouse, and also illuminates the monks' diet and economy. Founded in 1371, already with a great cloister design, construction (starting with temporary wooden buildings) was prolonged, and the stages of building are elucidated here with conjectural plans of *c.* 1400, *c.* 1450 and *c.* 1532. The post-Dissolution period is summarised. The monks' cells, possibly on two floors, with individual latrines and (probably) wells – but not drains – had plastered walls and in some cases decorated tiled floors. Those built after 1430–1 enjoyed piped water, an early plan of which shows a feeder pipe to the cells which the excavators uncovered – a system destroyed at the Dissolution. The fifteenth century also brought the chapter house and enlargement of the church, now provided with a separate area for women, and new chapels to accommodate lay chantry chapels and burials. The contributors show how much the analysis of botanical and biological finds can reveal of local environment and food. It remains unclear whether meat (cooked in a special flesh kitchen) was purely consumed by seculars. But finds of fruit stones and seed (grape, fig, apple, plum, walnut, mulberry etc.) and grains of cereals shed light on Carthusian diet, which seemingly included an unusual amount and variety of fruit, as well as fish and vegetables. And recovered remains of plants make it possible to envisage what was growing inside the monks' gardens and outside their walls.

CHIPPING ONGAR,  
ESSEX

MARGARET ASTON

*Religious warfare in Europe, 1400–1536*. By Norman Housley. Pp. ix + 238. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £35. 0 19 820811 1

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903667199

Norman Housley ranks as a leading authority of the late crusades to which he has devoted much of his very considerable scholarly output. Working, as ever, on a broad geographical canvas, he has now turned to discuss those conflicts within the western Christian community, from the early fifteenth century to the first years of the

Reformation, in which religion was in some way involved. In these new ‘crusades’, who were the ‘crusaders’? They were not always followers of the pope. Although the Emperor Sigismund regarded himself and his supporters as crusaders, defending both orthodoxy and his own temporal authority in his wars against the Hussites, the Czechs saw themselves as God’s people (‘the warriors of Christ’, as Zizka called them); now each side was on ‘crusade’ against the other, divided (where they should have been united) by the symbols of cross and chalice in a civil war within Christianity itself. The ever-present external enemy during this period was the Turk, against whom the Hungarians held the line on behalf of the Christian republic. But that was not a fully religious war. It involved many other factors which makes the author admit that no war was ever purely ‘religious’ in cause or character, although it could certainly be about religion. The Old and New Testaments gave rather inconsistent teachings on war; texts could be read in different ways at different times. How could any faith-group claim the right, duty or responsibility to fight another in God’s name? And how was defeat in such an event to be interpreted? That ‘their’ God was wrong, or that defeat was due to human failing or inadequacy? And what about the use of violence, nominally in the name of religion? Many, of varied theological persuasions, opposed its use in the name of religion with determination. The book is full of important questions to which no short review can possibly do justice. Housley is very good on the Hussites, as well as on the various Reformation groups, not least on Luther and on the Anabaptists. A particularly interesting aspect of this work is the link which recent scholarship has made between chivalry, crusading, conversion and certain patterns of eschatological thought in which both the Spanish and the Portuguese played a major role. This is an impressive book, broad in its learning, solidly based on contemporary evidence, up-to-the-moment in its appreciation of international scholarship. It is a major contribution to an important subject, bringing together both thought and action, which emphasises the continuity and the changes in the nature of ‘religious’ war in Europe from the twelfth to the seventeenth century. In Toulouse (significantly) some Catholics were still fighting for the cross against the Huguenots (demonised as ‘the inner Turk’) in the 1570s, while the English civil war would have its own religious character. This, and a good deal else, is to be found in a book hardly spoiled by small mistakes giving Pope Adrian VI and Queen Elizabeth I incorrect identifying numbers.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND

*Trewlich ins Teütsch. gebracht. Lateinisch-deutsches Übersetzungsschrifttum im Umkreis des schweizerischen Humanismus.* By Wilfried Kettler. Pp. 416. Bern: Peter Lang, 2002.

£44. 3 906764 84 2

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903677195

In this study, Kettler aims to examine the German translations of Latin texts (both classical and contemporary) by nine translators, who worked within the general sphere of Swiss humanism: Albrecht von Bonstetten, Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, Leo Jud, Huldrych Zwingli, Jacob Ceperin, Georg Binder, Johannes Fries, Johannes Stumpf and Johann Fischart. Except for von Kaysersberg and



Fischart, who worked in Strasbourg, the other seven worked within the vicinity of Zürich. The translations Kettler has selected cover the years from 1480 to 1580. Kettler's broad definition of translation allows him to include translations that are either word-for-word, literal or quite free. With each author, he uses the same steps: first, he employs a linguistic and stylistic analysis of the text by using examples comparing the Latin original with the German translation; then, he compares the linguistic style of each translation with others in order to make a general conclusion for the time period that he has chosen. The book is divided into eight chapters, the longest of which, chapter iii, is devoted to Leo Jud, the most significant translator of the group. The author also introduces each translator with a brief biography in order to provide a context for the selected translation, and shows how each translator used a different translation style so that it would resonate better with the intended audience. For instance, he notes that Johann Fischart changed the names of the characters in Erasmus' 'Coniugium', a Latin dialogue meant for schoolboys, from Eulalia and Xanthippe to Rosamunde and Grimmhild. This book demonstrates how, between 1480 and 1580, the German language evolved into an academic language in its own right and will be very useful to anyone interested in translating, in linguistics and in the development of the German language.

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY,  
ONTARIO

MILTON KOOISTRA

*Bibles imprimées du XVe au XVIIIe siècle conservées à Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne. Bibliothèque Mazarine. Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français. Bibliothèque de la Société biblique.* Edited by Martine Delaveau and Denise Hillard. Pp. xlvii + 862 incl. 11 ills. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002. €130. 2 7177 1846 X

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This lavish and finely produced volume offers an annotated catalogue of 4,825 editions of the Bible, or component parts of the sacred canon, published before 1801 and now located in Paris libraries. The catalogue collates data from seven important collections: the Bibliothèque nationale, Arsenal, Sainte-Geneviève, Sorbonne, Mazarine, the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français and the Alliance biblique française (located at Villiers-le-Bel). The vast proportion of the editions recorded are, as one might expect, either in Latin or French, but there are respectable collections of German, English, Italian and Dutch editions, as well as interesting examples of bilingual or polyglot editions. Each entry offers an abbreviated collation, notes on translators and collaborators, classmarks of copies and reasonably full descriptions of provenance. For the French Bibles before 1701 the bibliography does not add greatly to those listed in the exhaustive bibliographical surveys of Bettye Chambers, though this volume also includes editions of the Psalms not covered by Chambers. There are useful indices of printers, provenance and secondary authors, as well as a concordance with Darlow and Moule. Introductory essays sketch briefly the history of the bible collections of the participating libraries.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

ANDREW PETTEGREE

*Reading Cusanus. Metaphor and dialectic in a conjectural universe.* By Clyde Lee Miller. (Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy, 37.) Pp. ix + 276. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003(2). \$64.95. o 8132 1098 4

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903697198

The English-speaking world has produced a rich harvest of studies of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64), the Renaissance cardinal and polymath, in recent years. The latest major contribution is Clyde Lee Miller's *Reading Cusanus*. Miller provides critical readings of six major speculative works by Cusanus: *De docta ignorantia* (1440), *De coniecturis* (1442–3), *Idiota de mente* (1450), *De visione dei* (1453), *De li non aliud* (1461) and *De venatione sapientiae* (1463). These are introduced with reflections on 'god unknown but adored', based on *De deo abscondito* (1444). All these readings underline Neoplatonic elements in Cusanus' thought, not the Scholastic or even Kantian approaches sometimes taken to them. The result of this undertaking is a plentitude of insights into these works and the larger shape of Cusanus' thought. Particularly useful are the final chapters. *De li non aliud* is one of the more challenging of Nicholas's works because it tries to explain, within limits, the way creation is grounded in the creator. *De venatione sapientiae* is one of the least examined of the major Cusan writings, but it offers a recapitulation of themes already addressed (like 'learned ignorance') while leaving room, as *De deo abscondito* did, for praise of the creator who cannot be known perfectly by creatures. There are some blind spots in these readings, insufficient attention to Cusanus' accounts of his 'experiences' and to the posthumously published papers of F. Edward Cranz on Cusanus' adaptation of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite to his own needs. None the less, anyone interested in Cusanus' speculative thought, which reaches toward the divine while acknowledging human limitations, will benefit from reading Cusanus over Miller's shoulder.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THOMAS M. IZBICKI

*Hidden heritage. The legacy of the crypto-Jews.* By Janet Leibman Jacobs. (The S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.) Pp. xi + 197. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2002. £35 (cloth), £13.95 (paper). o 520 23346 8; o 520 23517 7

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The author has interviewed fifty individuals who consider themselves to be descendants of Iberian crypto-Jews. These crypto-Jews were converts or descendants of converts from Judaism to Catholicism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; later generations arrived in the New World and eventually found their way to the south-west United States. The material that Leibman Jacobs has is intrinsically fascinating, and provides the anthropologist with a great deal of food for thought. Nevertheless, this material and these individuals are extremely controversial as the criteria for determining who is truly a descendant of a crypto-Jew has not been universally established (and it is doubtful if it ever will be). While Leibman Jacobs provides her own indicators (existence of Jewish-based rituals in the family of origin; existence of inquisition records bearing Jewish family names; oral transmission of Jewish ancestry by family members), it is difficult to determine what is truly a carry over from the past that constitutes part of the Sephardic heritage, what is the result of

syncretism and what might be little more than wishful thinking. The material is dealt with creatively, and many interesting theories are applied in the attempt to analyse this phenomenon. On the other hand, there occasionally seems to be a lack of historical accuracy, such as the reference to the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1496 (pp. 8, 87), an event which never occurred (see p. 8) or when the impression is given that most of the information to be gleaned about crypto-Judaism is available from confessions that were obtained under duress (p. 7), an assumption implying that inquisition files contain little more than these confessions. In addition, the discussion of antisemitism and racism is problematic, for the author moves from an analysis of medieval antisemitism to the blood purity statutes as though the motives for both were identical (p. 25). The brief discussion of Kabbalah which is supposed to explain the existence of female healers (p. 74) is not convincing, not only because woman healers exist in every society, but also because only one example is presented as proof of this contention. Many of the chapters, however, do contain interesting personal accounts and equally interesting ideas, and deal with syncretism, conversion, social construction of ethnic identity and the transformation of the religious consciousness. While it has been accepted that women were the transmitters of the crypto-Jewish heritage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I am not certain that the case has been proved regarding the modern descendants. On the other hand, Leibman Jacobs had made an important contribution to providing the basis for serious consideration of this crypto-Jewish legacy by discussing notions such as ethnic masking, cultural persistence, 'secrecy and subterfuge as weapons against cultural annihilation' (p. 10), and the role of fear, danger, anxiety and historical oppression in forming a collective memory as well as in forming an identity.

SCHECHTER INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES,  
JERUSALEM

RENÉE LEVINE MELAMMED

*English works of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester (1469–1535). Sermons and other writings, 1520–1535.* Edited by Cecilia A. Hatt. Pp. xv + 465 incl. frontispiece and 1 ill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £70. 0 19 827011 9  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903717199

That the works of John Fisher have long languished in obscurity seems strange, given his central importance in the Catholic Reformation. In his lifetime he was an educational reformer, an exemplary bishop, a devotional writer and an opponent of Luther and other controversial theologians. *Post mortem* he exerted an influence at the Council of Trent. This scholarly edition of the later English works is the fruit of many years of study and research. It presents the sermons and other writings in an accessible format, and in this respect it is certainly a vast improvement on its predecessor, an edition of all the English works by J. E. B. Mayor for the Early English Text Society in 1876. This made abundant use of the medieval thorn but hardly any of punctuation, and made no attempt at either commentary or context. Cecilia Hatt's edition, while scrupulous in its scholarship, avoids unnecessary archaisms and obscurantism. Each piece of writing is meticulously edited, and provided with a useful but unobtrusive commentary. The works presented here are the two polemical sermons against Lutheranism, three pastoral sermons and the devotional writings produced in the Tower shortly before Fisher's execution. There are also valuable

chapters which set these writings in the context of contemporary genres. Thus, for example, the editor sees Fisher's homiletic work as part of the medieval sermon tradition. At the same time she comments wisely that he 'had not the sort of historical sense which inexorably categorises people and their ideas into consecutive ages, so it did not occur to him that his interest in Greek and Hebrew, and his concern for good Latin at Cambridge University, would later be seen as conflicting with his religious beliefs'. In addition, she notes that his English prose style is somewhat old-fashioned in its syntax, in contrast to his elegant, humanistic deployment of Latin. This edition does much to bring Fisher to life; particularly attractive is the affection between siblings that is evident from the Tower works he wrote for his sister Elizabeth. The tone of the whole volume is sympathetic, reverent and even affectionate, yet this is not an uncritical piece of hagiography. Commenting on the anti-Lutheran sermon of 1526, for instance, Hatt is not afraid to point out that Fisher strained the meaning of the text, nor that he had in effect written two sermons and combined them in a rather ungraceful whole. In other places she shows both the richness of his language and the diversity of his sources. It is to be hoped that this timely edition by Cecilia Hatt will make more widely known the controversial and pastoral works of this extraordinary, versatile and prolific writer.

ST MARY'S COLLEGE,  
STRAWBERRY HILL

MARIA DOWLING

*Gender and politics in early modern Europe. English convents in France and the Low Countries.* By Claire Walker (Early Modern History, Society and Culture.) Pp. xii + 247 incl. 5 tables. Basingstoke–New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003(2). £50.00 333 75370 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903727195

Among the treasures in the British Library is a late medieval martyrology compiled by the scholarly Birgittine nuns of Syon Abbey, near Richmond (MS Add. 22285), which the sisters conveyed away with them when they fled England, and continued to read until the beginning of the eighteenth century in Lisbon, where their community relocated. Few documents better symbolise the survival of a pre-Reformation convent, and now Claire Walker's *Gender and politics in early modern Europe* explores the life of the nearly two dozen religious houses which were established in France and the southern Netherlands for English Catholic expatriate women of good birth, from the end of the sixteenth century onward. Walker traces many of the struggles that are perennial to houses of nuns: the challenges of living up to the demands of the rule; the stresses of coping with poverty; and their contests with local bishops for some measure of autonomy. For this set of convents, their problems were also exacerbated by the peculiarities of their status on the continent, and the precariousness of their survival. How to maintain an English identity when England itself had turned away from Catholicism was a serious issue for nuns who were far removed from their native soil and helping kin. For their fields of action, Walker captures a sense of how narrow the nuns' elbow room was, compared with the scope allowed to religious orders for men after the Council of Trent. At the same time that the apostolic life was being redefined in the light of fresh opportunities for missionary work, a renewed emphasis upon strict enclosure for nuns meant that they were

literally closed in just as men's orders were opening to the wider world. While friars preached publicly and Jesuits built schools, the nuns sat in their cloisters immersed in contemplation and prayer. To pay their bills, they embroidered or fashioned flowers from silk. Something more might be made, though, of what Walker describes as the mainly masculine language of governance and power that nuns confronted inside an 'idealised patriarchal order' (p. 55), and its implications for our understanding of the meaning of gender in the early modern period. In considering the traditional notion that every nun is a bride of Christ, and that women's experience in religion, even inside their own convents, might have had to be mediated through men, the potentialities of gender erasure was also an issue, not just the subordination of nuns to episcopal or other male authority. For the Christian Church offers its believers the potential to triumph over any limitations that the body imposes by its mere physicality, including gender. The great ideal of the marriage of the soul to Christ crosses gender lines, and does not refer only to virginity and female submission. If male martyrs went to their deaths dressed as for their weddings, then something broader than the subordinated status of womankind is at work here when we consider the eternal nuptials that nuns encountered, in living and dying, with their divine Spouse. But Walker's study, in exploring a little-noticed group of English convents that struggled to survive despite all of the hazards of exile, is a useful addition to the bookshelf.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

SUSAN WABUDA

*Convent theatre in early modern Italy. Spiritual fun and learning for women.* By Elissa B. Weaver. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) Pp. xiv + 306 incl. frontispiece and 16 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45.00 521 55082 3

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In her acknowledgements, the author refers to her father 'who loved languages and literature but wasn't too sure about nuns' and to her paternal grandmother 'who was pretty sure, yet I think I might have changed her mind' (p. xi). These remarks, with their affectionate humour, have resonances beyond the purely personal and familial, however – indeed they gave the present reader pause for thought as regards her own changing relationship with the religious history of Renaissance and early modern Italy. Women's history is a territory whose religious and spiritual dimensions cannot conveniently be ignored and therefore constitutes an arena in which relations between more secularly minded scholars and historians of religion can usefully be reconfigured. Within the field of women's history, in turn, nuns have been the focus of a particularly flourishing research culture. Elissa Weaver's contribution to that research culture is internationally respected and her most recent book, eagerly anticipated, can now be most warmly welcomed.

*Convent theatre in early modern Italy*, rather than merely reproducing Weaver's earlier publications as listed in the bibliography, represents instead a rewriting and often rethinking of this material articulated in six chapters (p. 6). Chapters i and ii provide the context in terms of convent life before and after the Council of Trent and review the evolution of Tuscan convent theatre in terms of texts and practices. Chapters iii–v offer a detailed chronological study from fifteenth-century *sacra rappresentazione*,

through the new sixteenth-century genre of spiritual comedy, on to seventeenth-century developments. Chapter vi briefly shifts the geographical focus to offer a comparative dimension which reveals a broad similarity between the Tuscan examples and others from Umbria, Bologna, Reggio Emilia and even nineteenth-century France. An appendix containing longer transcriptions from manuscript play texts and a bibliography, which includes details of collections of convent plays in manuscript held in mainly Florentine libraries, complete the volume.

It is calculated that about half the women belonging to the sixteenth-century Florentine propertied classes became nuns (p. 12). Their social status had a bearing on their extra-conventual relations with the Florentine patriciate and the Medici court, on their literacy levels and on their cultural interests and aspirations, both in terms of investment or participation in music and the arts, and in terms of literary creativity. Although there was intermittent opposition from both lay and religious authorities, particularly after the Council of Trent (not least at the prospect of nun actresses dressing in male costume or being exposed to male spectators), this appears to have done little to dampen the nuns' particular enthusiasm for theatre, frequently justified with arguments relating to the status and fame of their particular institution, to theatre as an educational tool, or just plain 'spasso' ('fun'), sometimes seen as a sort of pay-off for the increased austerities of the post-Tridentine era. Male authors such as Giovan Maria Cecchi or Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger made something of a specialism out of producing plays for Tuscan nuns; the authors on whom Weaver concentrates, however, are the nuns (or tertiaries) themselves, dating from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century and representing a range of religious orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Benedictines and Camaldolese: Antonia Tanini Pulci (whose career as a playwright began when she was still a married woman), Raffaella de' Sernigi, Beatrice del Sera, Plautilla di m. Ruggieri della Casa, Annalena Odaldi, Cherubina Venturelli, Maria Costanza Ubaldini, Maria Clemente Ruoti, Clemenza Ninci, Eleonora Ramirez de Montalvo and Maria Rosa Maggi. Occasionally famous in their own day, these women writers were routinely ignored or dismissed as unworthy of study by generations of literary historians.

Weaver's story begins with the *sacre rappresentazioni* of Antonia Tanini Pulci (1452–1501), who has had a higher profile in recent years than perhaps any of the others except for del Sera. Although there is no evidence as yet of performances of Antonia's plays before her death, annotated published editions of her work reveal that by the early sixteenth century nuns were indeed performing it. The older form of the *sacra rappresentazione* was to survive throughout the cinquecento, but the filtering into the convent of information about developments in secular comedy led, possibly from as early as the 1520s, to a multi-act spiritual equivalent with a more complex plot comprising a morally and spiritually uplifting main action and a lighter, often comic, secondary element. Beatrice del Sera's *Amor di virtù*, composed in 1548/49 and published by Weaver in 1990, has become the best-known example. The seventeenth century saw an increased professionalism underpinned by a now well-established tradition, with increased recognition given to at least some authors. Maria Clemente Ruoti, for example, was the first woman and the only nun to be a member of the Florentine Accademia degli Apatisti, although Weaver is probably correct in surmising that she is unlikely actually to have attended its meetings (p. 182). The greater variety achieved within convent theatre of this later period permits a

contrast between Annalena Odaldi, a Franciscan nun at Santa Chiara in Pistoia, author of entirely secular farces, Eleonora Ramirez de Montalvo who, during the course of a career in female education, changed her mind on the value of theatre as a pedagogical tool, eventually composing her own plays in order to satisfy her strict moral requirements, and Clemenza Ninci, whose mid-century *Sposalizio d'Iparchia* explores the tension for women between marriage and a life of study. As Weaver well demonstrates, 'like all successful theatre, convent drama depicts the lives, the attitudes and the spirituality of the audience, albeit sometimes obliquely' (p. 114). Issues of faith mingle with those of the frustrations of claustration, as well as with more strictly laywomen's concerns regarding marriage and dowries. The writers' internalisation of conflicting male discourses leads in turn to ambivalent views on their own sex as exemplified, for example, in Ruoti's *Giacob patriarca* (1637) compared with her *Natal di Cristo* (1657) (pp. 187, 190).

One of the fascinations of early modern convent theatre, Weaver proposes, is that it 'was and perhaps remains a unique instance of an all-female theatre: women authors, performers, and audience' (p. 239). The present study still represents 'only a fraction of the theatrical repertoire of Tuscan women religious' and much more work also remains to be done in relation to Catholic Europe and even the New World (p. 238).

If there is any criticism to be made, I would note an element of unsignalled repetition between chapters, some misprints and even misspellings which surely should have been picked up by a copy editor. Manuscript sources, other than of the plays themselves, seem not to have been included in the bibliography, appearing only summarily in the table of abbreviations. Articles in edited volumes do not have dates if the volume has a separate entry, thereby involving the reader in two searches. These are minor quibbles, however, which do not detract from the importance of the volume as a contribution both to women's religious history and, more generally, to the history of women's writing.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

JUDITH BRYCE

*The anointment of Dionisio. Prophecy and politics in Renaissance Italy.* By Marion Leathers Kuntz. Pp. xviii + 446 incl. 18 figs. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. \$55. 0 271 02134 9

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903747198

This book examines a set of previously unpublished documents held in the Venetian state archives that recount the curious appearance and swift repression by the inquisition in Venice of a French humanist and preacher, calling himself Dionisio, 'king of the Gauls', who arrived in that city in 1566 to prophecy the coming of a sweeping reform of the Church which was to begin on Venetian soil. Kuntz's examination of the primary sources is extremely detailed, and provides an illuminating illustration of the activities of a singular individual, a man adept in manipulating the signs and symbols of prophecy to best effect, as well as more broadly offering insights into the workings of the Venetian inquisition in this period and the concerns of local patricians interested in reform. The author quite rightly states in her introduction that the particular can often provide important insights into the general, an approach that serves to justify the attention devoted to such a minor figure. The



broader significance of this particular individual's story, however, is thrown into doubt as the narrow focus and confusing nature of the few extant sources lead to a certain amount of repetition and lack of clarity (which is added to by insufficient footnoting), and a heavy reliance on hypothesis. Ultimately, it appears, the Venetian authorities, like the French before them, are compelled to dismiss Dionisio as a madman, 'agitated by certain disquieting humours' (p. 176), and while the author convincingly links this madness to the 'foolishness' recommended by Pauline doctrine, thus ascribing a theological motive to the preacher's exaggerated behaviour, the reader is none the less left wondering if their judgement is indeed a plausible one. The Venetian populace that witness Dionisio's public pronouncements and testify at his trial seem to have been more struck by the elegance of his clothing and his Latin diction than the veracity of his message, and there is no sense of a popular response to this lone voice. Such doubts ultimately prevent the reader from achieving a sense of any broader reassessment of the importance of prophecy in post-Tridentine Italy, although the work does highlight to good effect the status of Venice, the *serenissima*, as the magnet for this type of troublesome reform-minded individual, and the problems this posed for the city's authorities.

ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ABIGAIL BRUNDIN

*The rise of the laity in evangelical Protestantism*. Edited by Deryck W. Lovegrove. Pp. xiv + 273. London–New York: Routledge, 2002. £75 (cloth), £24.99 (paper).  
0 415 27192 4; 0 415 27193 2  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903757194

This collection of fifteen essays originates from an international conference held at the University of St Andrews in 1999, at which the successes and failures of evangelicalism in emancipating the laity were explored. The papers, introduced and skilfully edited by Deryck Lovegrove, focus mainly on Britain, but North America and Germany also feature. They range from the Reformation to the twentieth century, and three papers demonstrate the important role of women in evangelicalism. Carl Trueman roots the lay component of evangelicalism in the Reformation: conversion is paradigmatic for evangelicals, and Trueman notes how a Luther-style conversion became part of standard evangelical literature, culture and experience. In the experiential analysis of saving faith found within Puritan conversion narratives Crawford Gribben discerns the development of a lay hermeneutic of Christian experience, whilst Bruce Hindmarsh notes the influence of the Enlightenment on the individualism of the eighteenth-century conversion narrative. An evangelical emphasis on personal bible-reading has created a similar lay hermeneutic of the Christian Scriptures: as Gribben observes, the faith of the laity 'has rarely been the faith of the theologian'. Challenges to the monopoly of the professional theologian in interpreting the Bible were found within German Pietism as Hans Otte demonstrates, and Neil Dickson sees this in the radical rejection of clerical ministry found in the Christian Brethren. Pneumatology has also been an important theme within evangelicalism. David Wright assesses the recent Charismatic Movement as popular, populist but not always lay, with strong leadership, emphasising the direct work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and Christian experience. Marilyn Westerkamp shows

how African-American women of the early nineteenth century were drawn into a public ministry of preaching through a sense of the direct inspiration of the Spirit and of extra-ordinary call. The essays also emphasise some of the inherent tensions within evangelicalism: individual conversion sits alongside a desire for *koinonia*. Mark Noll argues that although attributing authority to the personal interpretation of the Bible gives the laity an enhanced role in ecclesiology, the priesthood of all believers has remained a powerful but elusive ideal in evangelical Churches. So too has a coherent evangelical ecclesiology. Other essays focus on itinerant preaching, and lay patronage. Andrew Walls explores the important contribution of the laity to the evangelical Protestant missionary movement, which had a role in transforming the demographic and cultural composition of the Christian Church to being predominantly black and southern hemisphere. Sadly, no paper explores how the role of the laity amongst these dynamic younger Churches has been played out. Similarly there is little about the range of mundane and unspectacular activities in which the often working-class evangelical laity were most likely to be engaged actively from the late eighteenth century onwards: as Sunday School teachers, Methodist class leaders, domestic visitors, town and city missionaries, Bible women, or leaders of children's and youth organisations. None the less, here is a significant and important contribution to the study of evangelicalism, ably demonstrating that evangelical religion and lay Christianity have proved a powerful impetus to each other.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,  
GLASGOW

IAN J. SHAW

*Die Heiligerhebung Benno von Meissen (1523/24). Spätmittelalterliche Frömmigkeit, landesherrliche Kirchenpolitik und reformatorische Kritik im albertinischen Sachsen der frühen Reformationszeit.* By Christoph Volkmar. (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 146.) Pp. vi + 231 incl. 11 ills and 2 tables. Münster: Aschendorff, 2002. €34 (paper). 3 402 03810 2; 0171 3469  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903767190

This admirable Leipzig master's thesis breaks with the oft-repeated assertion (made by Otto Clemen, Gustav Kawerau and Heribert Smolinsky, among others) that in campaigning for more than twenty-four years in Rome for the canonisation of the eleventh-century Bishop Benno of Meissen, the Albertine Duke George 'the Bearded' strove to provide an official saint for his half of the Wettin dynastic lands after the land division of 1485. Instead, having closely studied the arguments put forward in all surviving texts, in Rome as well as Dresden, Volkmar provides a more deeply contextual list of the duke's motives. First, George, his mother Zedena and his wife Barbara were personal, late-medieval *devotés* of Benno who believed that they had benefited from invoking this holy personage, reputed author of 538 miracles. Second, they reflected an existing dynastic loyalty to him that had already expressed itself in the grouping of family tombs around Benno's own in Meissen cathedral. Third, a sense of competing with the prestigious relic collections of Wittenberg and Halle moved them to promote their own saint's shrine as the destination of pilgrimage and indulgence. Fourth, the quest to elevate Benno was part of Duke George's heartfelt as well as politically-motivated campaign to reform the Catholic Church

within his lands and in the process to gain control over it. Martin's Luther's emergence just before Benno's canonisation and the translation of his bones (1523, 1524) lent new meaning to the duke's successful endeavour. The author sees the publicity accorded Benno as exemplifying 'Reformation methods of communications'.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

*Melanchthon und Europa, II: Westeuropa*. Edited by Günter Frank and Kees Meerhoff. (Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretton, 6/2.) Pp. 364 + 2 plates. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002. €24. 3 7995 4807 6

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903777197

This book is a compilation of papers presented at a Melanchthon conference in Bretton in 1999. The unifying theme has to do with Melanchthon's reception in western Europe and America in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. A companion volume (no. 6/1 in the same series) covers Melanchthon's reception in Scandinavia and eastern Europe. The volume under review contains seventeen articles – seven in English, five in German and five in French. These will prove useful to the serious researcher of Melanchthon but, due to their very high degree of specialisation (one resists the urge to use the word 'obscurity'), the casual reader should be cautioned before picking up this volume.

The work begins with a densely-written article by Lawrence D. Green, in which he cogently lays out Melanchthon's view of rhetoric and the soul, arguing that for Melanchthon rhetoric properly used stirs the mind and heart, which in turn affect the soul. Peter Mack then takes up the subject of Melanchthon's writings on Latin literature, and helpfully proposes a five-point system of classification for these commentaries. This is a useful but peripheral contribution to Melanchthon studies, as even Mack concludes by conceding that 'Commentaries on Latin literature are not at the centre of Melanchthon's work in the way that the *Loci communes* and the commentaries of St. Paul are'. The next paper, by Riccardo Pozzo, entitled 'Melanchthon and the Paduan Aristotelians: the shift from the topics to the analytics', argues that the Paduan Aristotelians (Piccolomini, Patrizi and Zabarella) were influenced by Melanchthon. However, Pozzo acknowledges that none of these three ever actually cited Melanchthon, and hence the link Pozzo attempts to draw between Melanchthon and the Paduans is rendered rather tenuous. In another paper, 'Philip Melanchthon und Melchor Cano: zur theologischen Erkenntnis und Methodenlehre im 16. Jahrhundert', Peter Walter notes the similarity between Melanchthon and Cano in their use of the *loci* method and insistence on the importance of faith, but he also sheds light on their divergences – most notably in the fact that for Melanchthon doctrine springs from Scripture alone, while for Cano history and philosophy are also requisite factors.

Limitations on space do not allow full commentary on every article, so we shall resort to a list of the remaining articles, with occasional passing comments: Olivier Millet, 'Les *Loci communes* de 1535 et l'*Institution de la religion chrétienne* de 1539–41, ou Calvin en dialogue avec Melanchthon' (an article of great interest – the theological relationship between Melanchthon and Calvin has been insufficiently explored in the literature); Isabelle Pantin, 'La Réception française des *Initia doctrinae physicae*'; Jean-Claude Moisan and Marie-Claude Malenfant, 'Une Lecture melanchthonienne des

*Métamorphoses* d'Ovide: le commentaire de Barthélemy Aneau'; Marie-Luce Demonet, 'La Place de Melanchthon dans la logique française'; Knees Meerhoff, 'Philippe Melanchthon aux Pays-Bas et en France: quelques sondages'; Heinz Scheible, 'Melanchthons ökumenischer Einsatz in Frankreich' (this article is intentionally written at a more popular level, and the editors attach special importance to it); Ian Maclean, 'Melanchthon at the book fairs, 1560–61: editors, markets and religious strife'; Sachiko Kusakawa, 'The reception of Melanchthon in sixteenth-century Cambridge and Oxford'; Ann Moss, 'Truth and fiction: Melanchthon as medium for change'; Gerhard Weng, 'John Rogers' Wirken in Ditmarschen'; Günter Frank, 'Religionsphilosophie statt philosophische Theologie: Melanchthonische Theologietradition und der Einfluss der Religionsphilosophie Lord Herbert von Cherbury's in Johann Musäus' Schrift *Examen Cherburianismi*'; Herman J. Selderhuis, 'Melanchthon und die Niederlande im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert'; and Ashley Hall, 'The influence of Philipp Melanchthon on nineteenth-century American Protestantism'.

Overall, this volume is a good example of international scholarship, published with a scholarly and multilingual audience in mind. The writing varies in quality from an engaging narrative lucidity (for example Ashley Hall), to a more densely specialised, challenging presentation (for example Lawrence D. Green, Günter Frank). Each article is well documented, with only the occasional typographical error. The articles are highly focused, and only loosely fit under the general umbrella of the book's title. Be that as it may, this attractive volume would be a useful addition to the library of a Melanchthon specialist.

WYCLIFFE HALL,  
OXFORD

GREGORY GRAYBILL

*Franz Xaver – Patron der Missionen. Festschrift zum 450. Todestag.* Edited by Rita Haub and Julius Oswald sj. (Jesuitica. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur des Gesellschaft Jesu im deutschsprachigen Raum, 4.) Pp. 378 + 24 black-and-white and 35 colour plates. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002. €34.90. 3 7954 1252 8

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903787193

This volume of essays, all in German, is published to commemorate the death in 1552 of St Francis Xavier, the Jesuit who effectively founded the Society's missions in the Far East. He has been claimed, with possibly less critical attention, as the founder of the Jesuits' distinctive method in such missions, that of accommodation or, as might now be said, acculturation. Certainly his grasp of the need for some such approach seems established for the case of Japan, and for his intended entry into China (although he died before achieving this), if less obviously so in the case of the Indian subcontinent. The Jesuit, and indeed the whole Catholic missionary presence in Japan was, in any case, brought to a violent end after a bare century, by a native political reaction; while in the eighteenth century the powers of Catholic Europe, papal and secular, suppressed first the distinctive Jesuit missionary methods attempted in India and above all China and then the entire Jesuit enterprise in the Far East, by the suppression of the Society. In the early essays in this volume the editors and others review the life and work of Xavier in ways which, while clear and

concise, do not seem to add much that is new. For less specialist readers of the book they might nevertheless be considered to be providing valuable summaries of the monumental research on Xavier's life and ministry published originally between 1955 and 1973, in two volumes (four parts in all), by the Jesuit Georg Schurhammer. There are also, especially towards the end of the work, a few essays of a more devotional than truly historical nature. The earlier life of Xavier, not without its financial and intellectual or spiritual difficulties during his student years in Paris, where he met Ignatius Loyola and others of the first generation of the Society of Jesus, was in a sense eclipsed by his relatively sudden departure for foreign mission in the Indies, as the Society with Loyola as its first Father General was only just managing to secure Roman approbation and confirmation at an institutional level. This aspect was enhanced by the relatively early canonisation of Xavier, in 1622, alongside Ignatius (and other, largely Spanish, saints), which standardised a number of visual images of him, relating to his sacramental and evangelising ministry, his miraculous acts and other moments in his missionary life where history and legend combined. Even his lonely death, off the Chinese coast, was put to triumphant use, as he became a saintly protector of the dying, as well as a patron of plague-threatened communities, a healer of the sick and accident-afflicted, and a helper of those in child-birth. The second half of the book, moreover, presents some valuable specialist studies, on a Jesuit neo-Latin poetic celebration of Xavier cleverly turning Vergilian idioms to Catholic effect, for instance, or the reasons for the continued vibrancy of Xavier's cult in German-speaking Catholic Europe, not only among Jesuits themselves, but at popular levels too. His role as an inspiring model for Jesuits facing particular difficulties of ministry in the non-Catholic Netherlands in the early modern period is also considered. His liturgical cult at the great Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich and, later, at the Catholic court chapel in Dresden, with its musical fame, is discussed in two complementary essays. The adoption of the cult of Xavier at the centre of Catholic life in Counter-Reformation Luzern provides a fascinating study, though some of the relevant information is then repeated in a following essay. Stricter editing could have removed such repetition throughout a volume which is nevertheless of real value.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

A. D. WRIGHT

*The Swiss Reformation.* By Bruce Gordon. (New Frontiers in History.) Pp. xxiv + 368. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2002. £49.99 (cloth), £16.99 (paper). 0 7190 5117 7; 0 7190 5118 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690379719X

This volume gives a comprehensive and accessible overview of the Reformation in (primarily) German-speaking Switzerland (i.e. this work does not discuss the Reformation in Geneva). Gordon includes a prosopographical list as well as a useful chronology. His first chapter considers the socio-political and religious situation in the late medieval Swiss Confederation. He then launches into the details of the Reformation in Zurich under Zwingli. Thence, the third chapter relates the spread of the new faith in various Swiss urban centres (for example Berne and Basle). The fourth chapter focuses on the politics that led to the first and second Kappel battles. In the wake of Second Kappel and Zwingli's death on the battlefield, Gordon charts

the turmoil that ensued as well as the rolling back of Protestantism in a number of areas. He then considers, as a separate section, the challenge of radical reform (for example Anabaptism). As a single unit this chapter is exceptionally useful though readers must be aware that the chronology largely pre-dates the events in the two preceding chapters. Chapters vii and viii consider the process of establishing ecclesiastical structures (church-building) and the impact of the these new churches and structures (especially church courts) on society. Gordon's ninth chapter is very interesting in establishing the important impact of Zwingli and other Swiss reformers across Europe before this branch of Protestantism was subsumed into the wider Calvinist *internationale*. The final chapter places Swiss German Protestantism in a wider cultural context largely shaped by Erasmian humanism in a series of thumbnail sketches of prominent figures (for example Paracelsus). This volume successfully and happily manages to rescue Swiss-German Protestantism from the shadow of Geneva and Calvin. Gordon's main thesis is the importance of individuals (for example Zwingli and Bullinger) in the story. Of course the terminology of Calvinism and Lutheranism reminds one of the centrality of key individuals to the success of Protestantism elsewhere. Indeed, even Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan make a similar point as well as highlighting (as Gordon does) the absolute necessity of gaining magisterial support for a successful reform of religion. By noting the peculiar Swiss habit of taking surveys on attitudes to religion, Gordon is able to stress just how limited was the popular support for reform outside the urban areas (and support was by no means overwhelming even in the cities). Consistently, one sees the enthusiasm of urban leaders for the 'nationalisation' of their Churches (one cannot stress how 'normal' the Henrician reform is in this sense in relation to those in city-states and German principalities). Gordon rightly stresses the importance of powerful and persuasive preachers and their control of pulpits in initiating and directing reform. However, the narrative of his volume repeatedly reminds the reader that the major difference between a successful reformer and a Protestant 'martyr' was the response of politicians. This work will be of use to undergraduates, scholars and interested amateurs. It forcefully reminds the reader that the Swiss Reformation is not the Genevan/Calvinist Reformation. For that alone the work is to be commended.

ABERDEEN

WILLIAM G. NAPHY

*Christ's churches purely reformed. A social history of Calvinism.* By Philip Benedict. Pp. xxvi + 670 incl. 18 figs, 10 maps and 2 graphs. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. £30.00 (cloth). 0 300 08812 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903807194

In *Christ's churches purely reformed*, Philip Benedict presents a reappraisal of Reformed Protestantism in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His purpose is to combine existing studies with his own archival research into this re-examination of the religious movement in light of two recent trends: a growing interest in social history over the past fifty years, and the movement away from confessional bias in historical research. However, it is not necessarily the approach to the subject that makes this study unique and valuable, but rather its broad scope, which surveys Reformed Protestantism as it spread throughout Europe up to the end of the seventeenth century.

The book is divided into four distinct parts. The first section examines the origins of Reformed Protestantism and focuses primarily on Zurich, Geneva and the contributions made by such men as Zwingli, Bullinger and Calvin. Benedict makes a compelling case for how the diversity that existed within this religious movement made possible its rapid spread across Europe during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The second section looks at Reformed Protestantism as it spread across Europe to France, Scotland, the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire, England, Poland-Lithuania and Hungary. While differences existed between these Churches in administration and practice, Benedict argues that they shared a powerful solidarity that was demonstrated by the discussions over doctrine that took place across national boundaries and by the 1581 *Harmony of confessions*. The third section addresses some of the important theological debates that transformed the movement between 1560 and 1700, such as disputes over Reformed scholasticism, predestination and the emergence of rational theology. Through these debates the Reformed tradition came to encompass even greater diversity. The final section discusses the legacy of the religious movement in practice and belief. As the author explains, his purpose is to judge the extent to which 'Reformed churches changed the manners, morals, and beliefs' of their members (p. 431). To achieve this he looks at the lasting impact of the Reformed tradition on church administration, discipline and piety.

At the end of the book, Benedict turns to the question of Calvinism's relationship with modernity. He attempts to replace the discussion of the historical importance of Calvinism to the narrative of modernity with an examination of how the principles and structures of this religious movement were incorporated into European society – a question he has sought to answer with this book. There is much useful information to be found in this study. The title indicates that this is a social history of Calvinism, but there is more to be found here. Benedict brings together a number of studies to provide a readable and compelling survey of the history and significance of the wider Reformed Protestantism, discussing the nature and development of the religious movement from its inception until the close of the seventeenth century.

REFORMATION STUDIES INSTITUTE,  
ST ANDREWS

MICHAEL S. SPRINGER

*Die Zürcher Bibel von 1531. Philologische Studien zu ihrer Übersetzungstechnik und den Beziehungen zu ihren Vorlagen.* By Wilfried Kettler. Pp. 521. Bern: Peter Lang, 2001. £48. 3 906755 74 6  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903817190

Zwingli praised Luther's text in the foreword to the 1531 Bible, frankly acknowledging his debt to it. Luther himself sharply criticised Zwingli's and his colleagues' translation. Second- or third-generation German Lutherans, on the other hand, cried 'foul' and accused Zwingli of stealing 'our Martin's' words. Other scholars have pursued this question: Zwingli's indebtedness to Luther is not therefore the question posed by Wilfried Kettler. His project focuses rather on the translation process itself, the relationship of the Zwingli 1531 and the Luther 1534 texts to the Greek and Hebrew Ur-texts and the intermediate Latin-language Vulgate precursor. Kettler acknowledges that other important textual points of reference exist in the many pre- and post-Luther Catholic translations. He is less aware of, or at least



does not discuss, the several reprintings of Luther's Bible in German-speaking cities which would also have been available to Zwingli's team of translators in the 1520s. Principal among them were Basle and Zürich printings of the Luther Bible in the 1520s: the Old Testament (Basle: Adam Petri, 1524; Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525) and the New Testament (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525). In 1531 Zwingli himself acquired a copy of Froschauer's 1530 *Ganze Bibel* and inscribed it 'Hulderich Zwingel von Einsidel' (SPCK Collection, Cambridge University Library). Even though that copy probably did not influence his team's 1531 Zürich translation, it could be of collateral interest, if Zwingli made marginal notations. (My examination of this Bible some years ago was limited to its illustrations.)

Kettler's comparison of the Luther and Zürich Bibles is the first to situate them in the context of German literature translated from Latin in the twin eras of Swiss humanism and the Zürich Reformation, and he understands his study as a contribution to the broad history of the Reformation. A rare combination of language skills (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Swiss German and standard German) and talents (a sensitivity to linguistic nuance) enabled Kettler to carry out his task with great delicacy.

Eight Old Testament and four New Testament texts from the Zwingli and Luther translations provided Kettler with comparative and contrastive examples from Zwingli 1531 and Luther 1534. Kettler's exacting listings of differences in meaning and/or sense of the translations of these twelve texts raise provocative questions about larger cultural patterns. One such emerges from the Zwingli 1531 Joseph story where (1) Jacob 'punishes' Joseph; (2) one of his brothers suggests 'strangling' him (*vs* the Hebrew text's 'killing'); (3) psychological investment is greater when Jacob 'recognised' Joseph's cloak (rather than 'looking at it closely'); and (4) the emotional load is heavier in the 'long time' spent mourning Joseph's apparent death (as opposed to the Ur-text's 'many days'). Zwingli's altogether more dramatic and emotion-laden text in this instance lead one to wonder if the psychological urgency surrounding Joseph and Jacob is repeated in the Zwingli 1531 translations of other son/father narratives.

Kettler's examination of the twelve Zürich Bible texts shows no dominant pattern in terms of their relationship to the Hebrew, Greek or Latin precursor texts, or to Luther's final word in his 1534 translation. Some of the test texts agree overwhelmingly (Psalm lxxxi. 1–8), but more are distinguished by syntactic and lexical alterations (Psalm xxxi. 1–14; Isaiah xxvii. 1–13; Amos vii. 1–17; Matthew vi. 1–30). Jacob's Dream (Genesis xxviii) represents a tightening of the Hebrew text's prose; Joseph's youth (Genesis xxxvii) an expansion (p. 164). Differences such as these may have resulted from the fact that many individuals – Leo Jud, Jakob Ceporin, Konrad Pellikan, Kaspar Megander, Oswald Myconius, Johann Jakob Ammann and Rudolf Collin – had a hand in the project and, on occasion, worked together, as Kettler's stylistic analysis of two texts (Romans viii. 1–39 and 1 Corinthians xii. 1–13: 13) demonstrates (p. 449).

This is not a book that one can read in the normal sense of the word. (I recommend tackling first the 'Rückblick' and 'Ausblick' sections (pp. 461–81).) It is, however, a book to be *used* – and often – for reference. Kettler has provided an invaluable, and classic, body of scholarship in a remarkable set of painstaking analyses, the results of which could be further analysed in the context of socio-cultural history.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT STONY BROOK

RUTH B. BOTTIGHEIMER

*Usury, interest and the Reformation.* By Eric Kerridge. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xiii + 191. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £45.00 7456 0688 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903827197

One of the elder statesmen of economic history here turns his attention to a helpful clarification of how Protestant reformers discussed one of the most intricate and often-misunderstood questions of Christian morality: the taking of interest on money. With characteristic iconoclastic originality, Kerridge argues that simple confusions between usury and interest have misled many leading scholars, notably his old *bête noire* R. H. Tawney. They have thought that Christianity imposed a theoretical blanket ban on the taking of interest on loans, and that therefore Christians had to perform some theological gymnastics in order to justify the interest transactions which underpinned the economic life of medieval and early modern society. Confusion has been understandable, since much hinges on definition: the difference between the compensation due an individual's *verum interesse* (his true interest in a business), the practice of *usura* and the word to describe interest, *foenus* (from which 'fenory'). Hence Psalm xv condemns the usurer, but Jesus Christ in the parable of the Talents emphatically recommends deposit accounts with interest attached. Fenory should be understood as unjust taking of interest. Usury is a much more loosely-used word which might sometimes even have a positive meaning, while those wishing to disguise dubious transactions have naturally tried to construct their activities in terms of a *verum interesse*, thus bringing all interest transactions under suspicion by association. Usury was generally condemned from the time when Jews were allowed by God to use it only as a weapon against the Canaanites and other threatening Gentiles, but as soon as Christianity emerged as powerful enough to need a social philosophy applying to all society, the Church distinguished between sinful usury and legitimate interest. The Reformers continued making this distinction, and have often unfairly been condemned as muddle-headed or disingenuous for doing so.

Theologians entering this minefield did well to try and set out general principles and otherwise imitate the honesty of the pastors of Zürich in Heinrich Bullinger's time: 'we do not understand worldly matters very much, and are perfectly happy to leave the judgement of them to others who understand them better than we do' (quoted at p. 35). Given this gingerly attitude, the confusion has not been confined to modern historians, a point which Kerridge might have stressed more. Some less bright Christian theologians did indeed think that their religion prohibited interest-taking, and their theological statements squirmed accordingly to get round the problem of what they took to be a clash between precept and practice. This was probably particularly true in the early Church, which faced a further complication: it contained an ascetic wing virtually unknown in its Jewish predecessor, and which therefore in its rejection of ordinary society, was inclined to read and comment on the biblical condemnations of usury, and not the commendations. Nevertheless, Kerridge provides illuminating discussion of the ancient background, the general discussion by the Reformers and then the English situation. What amounts to an extended essay of seventy-six pages is followed by a very valuable though remarkably generously-spaced appendix of primary sources of similar bulk.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
 OXFORD

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

*Alterations of state. Sacred kingship in the English Reformation.* By Richard C. McCoy.

Pp. xxv + 218 incl. frontispiece and 43 figs. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. £20.50 (\$29.59). 0 231 12616 6

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Richard McCoy, Professor of English at the City University of New York, offers a highly readable but eclectic review of the English concept of divine monarchy. The book is replete with thematic mottos: the cyclical ‘alteration’ of the religious and civil orders, the Reformation’s eradication of ‘sacred space’, the ‘migration of the holy’ from the real presence of Christ in the eucharist to the royal presence, the celestial dissipation of the monarch’s ‘two bodies’, the cessation of majesty bringing social chaos, the ‘essential absence’ of God and monarch as opposed to a ‘conjunction’ in the eucharist or the court revealed by faith, the ‘rights of memory’ for a deceased monarch, the satirical rejection of royalist efforts at ‘hooking things up to heaven’, etc. Some of these mottos are culled from period literature, others from modern historians, still others from literary theorists. The title reveals an ambitious project, but the contents may disappoint specialists in history or theology. From the historical viewpoint, other than the writings of four literary giants – John Skelton, William Shakespeare, John Milton and Andrew Marvell – the work is heavily dependent on secondary sources. Admitting that the scope of his work ‘kept expanding’ (p. xxi), the author seeks to explain the movement of English thought from medieval eucharistic sacred kingship through the Tudors’ royal supremacy and the Stuarts’ divine right monarchy to the post-Restoration sentimental and satirical dismissal of royal pretensions. He even reviews recent responses to the death of Diana, princess of Wales. Only with the concept of *ecclesia semper reformanda* would such a long definition of the English Reformation from medieval to modern times be acceptable. Although a capable literary critic and philosopher, the author is less adept with theology. For instance, he caricatures Ulrich Zwingli’s concept of spiritual presence as purely symbolic and then taints Thomas Cranmer with an error neither of the two Reformers made (p. 12). Moreover, most modern theologians do not assume the Apostle Paul was the author of Hebrews (p. 115). In conversation with postmodern deconstructionism and building on Romantic literary theory, McCoy believes Shakespeare’s fictional Hamlet allows later readers to participate in a truth above history with a quasi-religious commitment (p. 85). In spite of some philosophic excess and theological miscues, this is a worthy addition to the growing contemporary literature focusing on sacred kingship (cf. Paul Kleber Monod, *The power of kings: monarchy and religion in Europe, 1589–1715*, New Haven 1999.) McCoy’s review of Skelton’s historic switch from anticlerical critic to defender of traditional religion (pp. 34–47), his careful interpretation of Hamlet’s ghost scene (pp. 72–4), the retelling of Satan’s temptation of Christ in Milton’s *Paradise regained* (pp. 116–21) and the summary of Stuart thought about divine right and hereditary right (pp. 88–97) make the book worthy of purchase. The forty-three plates of period art and sculpture are especially helpful but reduce the body of the text to some 113 pages.

MIDWESTERN SEMINARY,  
KANSAS CITY

MALCOLM YARNELL

*Theater, culture, and community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555*. By Glenn Ehrstine. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 85.) Pp. xviii + 350 + 42 plates. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2002. €100. 90 04 12353 9; 0585 6914  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690384719X

This erudite and imaginative book dispels any lingering idea that the Zwinglian Reformation carried with it an impoverishment of communal culture and a concentration of religious messages within the formally preached Word of God. Statuary and altarpieces, the equipage of the mass, organ-music and song may have disappeared from the sanctuaries, but the ongoing genres of public drama and song expanded into the performative gap. Whatever their liturgical differences, both Luther and Zwingli approved of edifying theatre, which flourished in the south as well as the north; and Luther's influence was initially evident.

Ehrstein reveals how the ten Reformation plays of Niklaus Manuel (c. 1484–1530) and the neglected Hans von Rüte (?–1558) fit into the cultural and political context of Bern's reform and 'continue the religious rhetoric of the carnival play through other means' (p. 10). Rüte, he says, 'consummates the marriage of theatre and Reformation initiated by Manuel' (p. 11). Plays taught and reinforced the Gospel message. Disputing Peter Pfrunder's overly Turneresque interpretation of Manuel's dramas,<sup>1</sup> Ehrstein regards theatre as a mirror of Bern's social, economic and religious concerns; as a result, because of their broad resonance, dramatisations fostered communal identity.

Bernese drama initially continued within a Carnival-tide tradition, including its aggressive qualities, but by 1531 the magistrates had finally suppressed the old liturgical calendar. Before then, Manuel (*Vom Papst und seiner Priesterschaft* and *Der Ablasskrämer*) expressed Swiss fears of revived imperial claims to Swiss territory, as well as harsh critique of papal corruption and bellicosity. These sentiments were still within the Catholic fold. But Ehrstein's analysis of four dramas appearing subsequently displays the pro-Protestant polemical elements as theatre was turned to converting those who have not been persuaded, and to confirming their emerging identity.

In 'Theocracy and theatre' (pp. 135–200) we see biblical plays evolve and flourish under conciliar supervision. Bernese protagonists are heroes (David, Joseph, Gideon, Noah) rather than the Lutheran heroines (Susanna, Esther, Judith). They underscore manly civic and moral virtues and feature themes of liberty that were characteristically Swiss.

The final two chapters assess the visual and aural dimensions of drama. Backdrop, placement and costumes enhanced the messages of speech but also entertained. Numerous citizens took part, if not in the acting, then in the technical aspects of production. The people's love of song found gratification in the choral interstices, in some of which the audience sang along. The Swiss were thus hardly unfamiliar with hymns, even though the Bern magistrates did not reintroduce them into divine services until 1574. Looking across the communicative spectrum, Ehrstein calls the Protestants 'masters of media manipulation' (p. 289). This monograph is a sparkling

<sup>1</sup> Peter Pfrunder, *Pfaffen, Ketzler, Totenfresser: Fastnachtskultur der Reformationszeit – Die Berner Spiele von Niklaus Manuel*, Zurich 1989.

corrective to our stereotype of the calm, undecorated Zwinglian liturgy when viewed alone. It nicely complements R. W. Scribner's *For the sake of simple folk*.<sup>2</sup>

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

*A religion of the Word. The defence of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI.* By Catharine Davies. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) Pp. xxiii + 264. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2002. £49.99. 0 7190 5730 2

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903857196

From its beginnings Protestantism was linked inextricably to the new technology of printing; the lightning-like spread of Lutheran ideas between 1517 and 1520, for example, would be impossible to explain without it. In England printed Protestant works were banned until Protector Somerset lifted the statutory constraints on such writings in 1547. When his government actively began promoting evangelical authors, book-publishing shot up immediately to an annual average rate of 131 titles, nearly double that of Henry VIII's last years, as John King has shown. Of all books published during the Protectorate (1547–9) 70 per cent treated religious subjects (274 of 394 titles), and of those, 160, or about 60 per cent, addressed the most heated controversies of the day – rates not to be exceeded until the Civil War era. All but one of those 160 works were penned by fervent Protestants who self-consciously seized the new medium of print as the instrument God had given them in their war against AntiChrist, the pope. Quite suddenly the book became the weapon for the promotion of 'true religion'. John King and others have analysed the output of such books in various ways – by type of controversy, by genre, by author, etc. For the reign of Edward VI (1547–53) Catharine Davies is the first to treat the material as a whole (excluding translations and devotional writings), drawing out the most important themes. It is a systematic, exhaustive analysis: Davies cites 119 printed works of known and anonymous authorship, helpfully including the RSTC number for each, and in a twelve-page appendix provides thumbnail sketches of fifty-two authors, including some crucial conservatives like Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Davies writes with clarity and authority; given the comprehensive nature of her coverage, her conclusions will command the attention of all students seeking to understand the impact of the Edwardian Reformation, arguably one of the few true revolutions in English-speaking thought and culture. Davies examines this revolution 'through the medium of the reformers' own words and explanations' (p. xv). She finds that the reformers were uniformly on the defensive against conservatives and the 'false religion' of Rome. By definition, to promote 'true religion' was therefore to attack the mass, the pope and his agents of propaganda, of whom Gardiner was the greatest. Davies argues that the methods reformers developed in pursuing this strategy of 'inversion', that is in attacking all things popish, also stamped their constructive approaches to the problems of a sinful society, ecclesiastical reform and government by magistrates of doubtful moral characters. Ironically, although many Protestant authors were associated with those very magistrates, increasingly they sought to distance themselves from the regency governments

<sup>2</sup> Subtitled *Popular propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge 1981.

of Somerset and Northumberland, feeling that the young king had been betrayed or misled by godless royal advisers. The tensions inherent in the reformers' relations with the court were intensified by feelings of insecurity as an embattled minority within the nation. The hostility or indifference of the common people posed perhaps the greatest threat to 'true religion': such at least was their perception. Ultimately, they believed, only the untrammelled Word of God – 'the Word gone free' in Davies's phrase – would save the nation from popery, and for this reason their faith in the power of a Protestant press and pulpit bred in them an 'almost reckless expectation of the profound and speedy change in society that would constitute the true and complete reformation' (pp. 232–3). This of course is the faith that shaped Foxe's vision, a vision which, because it was 'only made possible by the Marian burnings', retrospectively rendered the progress of 'true religion' in Edward's reign 'a far more doubtful prospect' (p. 233). Davies has opened up a new and important window into that faith as originally expressed by the Edwardians themselves.

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY,  
WILLIAMSBURG

DALE HOAK

*Christianity and community in the west. Essays for John Bossy.* Edited by Simon Ditchfield. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xxix + 322 incl. frontispiece and 9 figs. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. £49.50. 0 7546 0240 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903867192

A good *Festschrift* is like a successful birthday party: chosen for their friendship and congeniality, the guests/contributors bring their distinct voices to a common *encomium* of the person being honoured; they remember themes common to the interest of all and add fresh excitement to a retrospective of a life's achievements. Happily for the reader, the present volume represents just such a felicitous occasion. The seventeen essays in this collection echo the wide-ranging scholarship of John Bossy. Altogether there are five contributions on the Middle Ages, seven on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, two each on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the last, by Peter Jupp, is entitled 'A personal appreciation'. Medieval Latin Christianity, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the history of English Catholicism between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries – the central themes of Bossy's forty years' scholarly labour – are all presented in these essays, often in dialogue with Bossy's work. Several central Bossian concepts – peacemaking, community, migration of the sacred – constitute the key to many of these contributions.

The theme of peacemaking is approached in Peter Biller's study of mid thirteenth-century inquisition records from Toulouse on the Cathars. The migration of the sacred inspires two contributions on the Middle Ages: R. Barrie Dobson's comparative study of the cults of St Cuthbert of Durham and St Thomas of Canterbury in the fifteenth century and Colin Richmond's study of devotional life and cultic objects in Suffolk between 1450 and 1550. Two more medieval essays address the question of community. While Ken Farnhill criticises Herbert Westlake's work on late medieval English confraternities (too exclusive a focus on the cult of the dead), Claire Cross examines the fortunes of the minor Benedictine priory of Monk Bretton from the early sixteenth century to the Reformation and follows the post-dissolution lives of its monkish inmates.

The seven essays in the early modern section cover a wider range of themes and are more difficult to summarise under a few conceptual headings. Four of these are devoted to England. The Catholic story in the tumultuous religious changes of these years is told by Eamon Duffy, who stresses the emergence of a strong Catholic voice during the reign of Queen Mary, one absent during the previous Protestant reigns and that would remain vocal in opposition after the Elizabethan Settlement as radical as that of the Puritans. The Protestant perspective is presented in three essays. Margaret Aston traces the journey made by some illustrations of the 1572 Bishops' Bible, as they reappeared to illustrate broadsheets of popular ballads in the early seventeenth century. She argues that these biblical woodcuts were victims of the Puritan purge of images, as the Genevan Bible assumed hegemony displacing the Bishops' Bible, in a process that documented the pictorial and sacred migrations of Reformation England. Patrick Collinson questions the notion of the 'Decline of merry England', arguing that many of the 'time immemorial' rituals were in fact created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Instead of representing a golden age of universal popular religion, these urban festivals were often the focus of fierce political struggles. Ian Green outlines the importance of sacred music for Protestant England, centering his discussion on the reception of the hymnal of Sternhold and Hopkins. Turning to the continent, three other essays reflect Bossy's own interest in European Catholicism in general. Taking his cue from the theories of the psychology of rumour, Peter Burke gives a very useful and insightful analysis of the Black Legend of the Jesuits. A particularly impressive piece is that by the volume editor Simon Ditchfield, who reconstructs the sociological and textual contexts for the work of Antonio Gallonio, Roman Oratorian, author of a hagiography of ancient Roman virgin saints and their families, and close collaborator of Baronius in the making of early church historiography in Counter-Reformation Rome. Adriano Prosperi gives a provocative and wide-ranging discussion of the theories of individual origins in the seventeenth century, as scientists and theologians wrestled with the question of the life and soul of the foetus, and came away seized with the urgency of foetal/infant baptism even at the cost of the mother's life. A short and entertaining piece on the changing status of meat in French Christian feasts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century is offered up by Jean-Louis Flandrin, which brings the volume to the last section, on modern Christianity.

The bulk of Ludmilla Jordanova's essay is devoted to a methodological reflection on the history of science, stressing the failure hitherto to find the right approach to the study of religion and science. Using 'belief system' as her central concept, Jordanova explores the somewhat different relations between science and medicine in the example of the eighteenth-century London physician Richard Mead. William Sheils's 'Church, community and culture in rural England, 1850–1900' is an interpretation of J. C. Atkinson's memoirs of the parish of Danby in Cleveland. In her essay, Mary Heimann traces the memory of St Francis of Assisi in early modern and modern Christianity. Dismissed as a papal toady by Protestants, St Francis was almost forgotten in the early nineteenth century until Victorian evangelical revival created an ecumenical fame for the reception of a gentle, sensitive and sentimental saint purged of his fierce papal obedience and stigmata.

This carefully edited volume is graced with a select bibliography of Bossy's writings and a personal reminiscence by Peter Jupp, a touch so often lacking in many bone-dry *Festschriften* aiming for scholarly immortality by entombing the recipient in



the mausoleum of dessicated writing. There is deep learning and warm personal moments in this collection, which helps to illuminate a life of scholarship that continues to exert its wide influence.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

R. PO-CHIA HSIA

*Histories of heresy in early modern Europe. For, against, and beyond persecution and toleration.*

Edited by John Christian Laursen. Pp. xi + 290. New York–Basingstoke:

Palgrave, 2002. £40. 0 312 29404 2

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This collection of essays on ‘heresy’ and ‘toleration’ in early modern Europe originated as papers read at a conference held in UCLA in 2000 before the events of ‘nine/eleven’ brought with them a renewed international interest in the complexities of, and threats posed by, religious fundamentalism. The contributors are largely from American universities (entirely ignoring possible British contributions from historians like John Coffey), and their academic disciplines are weighted towards political thought and philosophy, with just two historians contributing. The editor, John Christian Laursen, has already established a reputation as an authority on the history of toleration and two of the contributors, J. G. A. Pocock and Richard Popkin, require no introduction. Leading thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes, Pierre Bayle, Baruch Spinoza and Edward Gibbon feature in the book alongside less well-known figures like Thomas Edwards, Francis Lee and Gabriel Naudé. The essays are arranged in five sections: part I, hardline defences of orthodoxy and attacks on heresy; part II, heretics seeking to defend themselves and calling for toleration; part III, radical heretics assuming the offensive; part IV, attacks on fanaticism by ‘moderates’; and part V, ‘enlightened orthodoxy’. Drawing all the essays together, and bringing them into conformity with other recent studies, is the argument that the study of religious toleration necessarily requires an understanding of religious persecution. Among the most interesting and original essays are Popkin’s fascinating exploration of two Jewish heresies (Spinozism and Sabbatianism); Pocock’s incisive piece on Edward Gibbon and the history of heresy; Martyn Thompson’s attack on attempts by modern scholars to present Hobbes as a champion of religious toleration; Sally Jenkinson’s piece on a debate about heresy at the turn of the eighteenth century involving a Catholic, a Huguenot and a Dutch Remonstrant (Louis Maimbourg, Pierre Bayle and Jean Le Clerc respectively); and Stacey Searl-Chapin’s account of the fortunes of Francis Lee, Montanism and the French prophets in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Sammy Basu adds to our understanding of the arguments presented against religious toleration by Thomas Edwards in his *Gangraena* (1646), yet Basu perhaps needs to include Sir Henry Vane, Jr, in his list of mid seventeenth-century radical tolerationists. The *History of the inquisition* (1692) written by the Dutch Remonstrant, Philip van Limborch, is scrutinised by Luisa Simonutti. The existence of the inquisition, as Antony McKenna points out in his essay, encouraged the circulation in manuscript of heretical ideas. The two essays on magic and Socinianism, contributed by Maryanne Cline Horowitz and Martin Mulso respectively, have little fresh to say. The final essays, three of which appear under the heading of ‘enlightened orthodoxy’, are mainly concerned with the eighteenth-century rejection of fanaticism and arguments

for religious peace: Simone Zurbuchen's account of Heinrich Corrodi's attack on chiliasm; Patrick Coleman's piece on the enlightened orthodoxy of Abbé Pluquet; and Clorinda Donato's informative analysis of the *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*. However, Kathleen Hardesty Doig's essay on the Abbé Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier confirms that religious intolerance remained alive and well in that century.

UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

KEITH LINDLEY

*The bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549–1999*. Edited by David N. Griffiths.

Pp. vii + 616 incl. 38 ills + 16 colour plates. London: The British Library/New

Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2002. £65. 0 7123 4772 0; 1 58456 081 9

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This magnificent, splendidly-illustrated and definitive volume results from a lifetime's bibliographical effort, revealing that scholarship is not entirely dead within the Church of England's parochial ministry. It has chronological listings of around 4,800 editions of the Prayer Book or liturgies stemming from its Scottish and American derivatives, around 1,200 of which are in 199 other languages ranging from the Acholi of Uganda to Zulu: a testimony to the worldwide spread of anglophone culture with an Anglican flavour. Griffiths shows that the peak year for production of versions of the Prayer Book was at the height of the second British empire's vigour and self-confidence, 1850, and despite predictable subsequent decline, around 1,000 editions appeared in the twentieth century (this reviewer was gratified to find the edition in which he had a hand appearing as the penultimate English item). It is a shame that the introduction contains some inaccuracies about the years preceding the Prayer Book's creation in 1549, but otherwise there is a feast of scholarship. Among English editions it is interesting to know that black-letter editions, although rarer after the renewal of 1662, persisted until 1707; we are also reminded that the Prayer Book is one of the few books to have survived into modern times without routinely employing page-numbers. One modification in the minor revision of 1604 was the introduction of a saint's day for the massively obscure and apparently misspelt St Enurchus, bishop of Orleans: less a compliment to the French than an oblique reference to the late Queen Elizabeth's birthday on 7 September (perhaps initially it was a learned printer's joke). The most enjoyable section of the catalogue is the subject which first sparked Canon Griffiths's interest: the Prayer Book in other languages. Archbishop Cranmer's publisher and posthumous relative by marriage the printer-historian Reyner Wolfe took a great interest in translation. In 1569 he saw through the press a Greek translation of the Prayer Book (Griffiths, 45/1) by the Cambridge don William Whitaker: Whitaker was clearly one Puritan who did not feel that Cranmer's work was culled out of a popish dunghill. Wolfe also published the first proper Latin version in 1560, for use in Ireland (Griffiths, 87/3), which is a tribute to the scale and sophistication of Irish Gaelic culture at the time – presumably churches in the Pale would have been expected to use English. By contrast no one listened to the 1549 Cornish rebels' plea that some of them spoke no English (it was probably hardly true even then). Early translations into major European languages were for diplomatic purposes: French in 1616 (Griffiths, 36/2) and Spanish in 1623 (Griffiths, 162/1) were both in connection with proposed royal marriages to Roman Catholics. An Italian version (Griffiths, 66/1) was sponsored after

1607 by Sir Henry Wotton as English ambassador in Venice, in an optimistic effort to cash in on the Serene Republic's row with the pope and convert the Venetians to Anglicanism. Portuguese came later, in 1695 (Griffiths, 137/1), and was significantly sponsored by the East India Company, as the first British empire was beginning to make inroads on the decaying Iberian overseas possessions. In 1821 the Wesleyan Methodists were still close enough to their Anglican roots to feel it worthwhile to translate the Prayer Book into Portuguese pidgin-Creole for their Ceylonese work (Griffiths, 138/1). Polish had to wait until 1836, in an English effort at mission among Jews in Eastern Europe (the book was suppressed by the Russian authorities, no doubt without regret on the part of the Roman Catholic Church). And who would have expected the king of the Sandwich Islands to have undertaken the translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Hawaiian?

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

*The Scottish witch-hunt in context.* Edited by Julian Goodare. Pp. x + 230. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2002. £47.50 (cloth), £14.99 (paper).  
0 7190 6023 0; 0 7190 6024 9

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The book's title – 'carefully chosen' its editor insists – is misleading. A context is certainly provided by two of the contributors. Ronald Hutton, in an essay of huge erudition and intelligence, distils a series of 'global' themes and categories from studies of witch belief from a vast sweep of historical periods and ethnographic studies. Less ambitious, James Sharpe compares the Scottish and English experiences; his essay provides a subtle and sensitive delineation of the key resonances and dissonances of the two belief systems and prosecutorial forms. But the other nine essays, despite the editor's pious injunctions, do not suggest much enthusiasm in their writers for the comparative method. Almost all would have benefited from a deeper engagement with studies of other areas, even anglophone areas, such as those on New England in general and Salem in particular. Louise Yeomans's essay, 'Hunting the rich witch in Scotland', is a fine example of what can be achieved: an elegant, sensitive but ultimately critical discussion of themes raised in the New England context by Carol Karlsen.<sup>1</sup> What the bulk of the essays do have in common is less a sense of context than a focus: they develop and criticise ideas first advanced in Christina Larner's 1981 study, *Enemies of god: the witch-hunt in Scotland*. New minds, quarrying new sources and working in admirable co-operation have now begun to re-engage with a topic which Larner's magisterial work had dominated for two decades. This volume represents only some of the conclusions of this revisionist ferment: its footnotes refer to a welter of papers, some forthcoming in journals; others that remain unpublished. This can be frustrating for the reader intrigued to pursue certain issues, but the study of Scottish witchcraft is clearly vital and robust. Yet it is still dominated intellectually by Larner. The central themes of her work continue to inform the detailed studies in this volume. We have essays on the relationship of elite and popular belief (Cowan and Henderson; Macdonald; Miller); on the role of

<sup>1</sup> Carol Karlsen, *The devil in the shape of a woman*, New York 1987.

gender (Marten; Yeomans); on the degree to which the prosecution of witches is shaped by the process of state-building (two essays by the editor; Levack; Wasser). What is underplayed in this volume is that which was neglected in Lerner – notably any sustained discussion of the role of the Kirk in the witch prosecutions. A number of hints of the possibility of pursuing this theme are provided in almost all the essays, particularly those dealing with the later history of witch prosecution and belief. But only the comparativist, Sharpe, recognises the need to analyse the recruitment and education of the ministry, and the relevance of the complexities of ecclesiastical politics for the full contextualisation of the Scottish witch-hunt. Given the energy displayed by the scholars whose work is published here and the initiative of the new ‘Survey of Scottish Witchcraft’ under the aegis of the Department of Scottish History of Edinburgh University we may assume the omission will soon be rectified.

LADY MARGARET HALL,  
OXFORD

CLIVE HOLMES

*Baptism in the reformed tradition. An historical and practical theology.* By John W. Riggs. (Columbia Series in Reformed Theology.) Pp. ix + 187. Louisville–London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002. £20. 0 664 21966 7  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903907196

John Riggs begins this study by noting that the Liturgical Movement, which in both origin and essence was a Roman Catholic movement, has resulted not only in new rites of initiation in that Church, but has spilled over into many Protestant Churches. The new rites of baptism were inspired by a return to the patristic era, and Riggs asks whether this is entirely appropriate for the Reformed tradition. To illustrate that there may be some incompatibility, he looks at Luther’s teaching, and his baptismal rites, particularly the ‘Flood Prayer’, and compares this with the present rite of the ELCA in the 1978 *Lutheran book of worship*. He argues that certain theological shifts have been made. To ascertain whether the Reformed tradition has experienced a similar shift, he presents studies of a number of Reformed theologians’ teachings on baptism. Riggs gives particular attention to Luther, Zwingli, Bucer and Calvin, as well as Bullinger – especially the perceived difference in covenant *vis à vis* predestination. He also looks at some of the Reformed Confessions, the articles and catechism of the Anglican Church (incorrectly dated by a printing error) as well as the Reformed Orthodoxy, Schleiermacher, Barth and one or two other more recent Reformed theologians. He finally examines the baptismal rite in the PCUSA *Book of common worship* of 1993. While appreciative of this new rite, he suggests that the former Reformed emphases on proclamation and covenant have been lost, and suggests that these might be restored. Riggs’s study, extremely detailed on Calvin, is eirenical in tone, and is quite persuasive – though seductive might be a more appropriate word. A number of criticisms need to be voiced. First, though Riggs discusses both Luther’s theology and his liturgical text in order to compare the latter with the modern liturgy, his treatment of the Reformed figures deals only with their theology. There is no discussion of their liturgical texts. Had Riggs studied these, he would have realised that often the Reformed liturgical texts failed to express explicitly the theological teachings. An obvious example is Calvin, who took over much of Farel’s baptismal rite, and replaced Farel’s explication with his own (yet Riggs criticises something

similar in the present American Presbyterian rite), leaving the rest of Farel's bleak material almost intact. (See my article in the *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 1995). Next, because Calvin uses Luther's promise concept, Riggs seems to make Luther an honorary Reformed theologian. Here he misses entirely Luther's concern with sin, expressed in exorcisms, which became a point of contention between Reformed and Lutheran. The Luther of Riggs is rather different from the Luther of David Scaer's recent study (*Confessional Lutheran dogmatics: baptism*, 1999). Riggs seems to have been oblivious to my own work on Calvin, Luther and Barth on baptism, and also to the whole recent debate about covenant, as well as the collection of essays on the new rites of the PCUSA and the Church of Scotland, *To glorify God*. It is perhaps significant that Riggs does not discuss the work of T. F. Torrance, who combines the Christological interest of Barth with that of the Cappadocians, to argue that baptism is into the one vicarious baptism of Jesus Christ. It was not because of the Liturgical Movement and patristic liturgy, but for theological reasons – Trinitarian, Christological and understandings of the atonement and grace – that the Church of Scotland did a deliberate retreat from Federal and Covenant theology in its 1994 *Common order*, because it rightly discerned that the concept of covenant had usurped the place of Christ in the rite. Riggs ignores this significant re-think from a Reformed Church. Riggs's presupposition that because Bullinger and Calvin appealed to Genesis xvii for their covenant theology, so should the Reformed Church today, is not substantiated in the study but is simply assumed. In retrospect, this is an excellent discussion of the theology of some of the sixteenth century Reformers, but Riggs's suggested leaps to current liturgical implications do not hold water.

INSTITUTE OF SACRED MUSIC,  
YALE UNIVERSITY

BRYAN D. SPINKS

*Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Carlos Gilly and Friedrich Niewöhner. (Pimander, Texts and Studies, 7.) Pp. 404. Amsterdam: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 2002. €31. 3 7728 2206 1  
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Since 1990, the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica in Amsterdam has been active in sponsoring exhibitions and publications relating to Rosicrucianism and wider aspects of hermeticism. The present volume is characteristic of the high quality of presentation of their publications. It adds yet another concentrated effort on a topic that has attracted a conspicuous, almost disproportionate, amount of scholarly attention, which has in turn stimulated a tidal wave of popularisations.

Rosicrucianism has a habit of generating bibliographical puzzles. This book is itself a strange compilation. Some of the problems arise from its origin in a symposium held in 1994. Inevitably, in the course of time, some half-dozen of the participants have withheld their contributions and published them elsewhere. About another half-dozen of the seventeen chapters in this book have also been published elsewhere, sometimes in an expanded form. The editorial team gives no precise information about these alternative sources, although some of them are well-known. Another oddity, the book is addressed to the seventeenth century, yet the two final essays relate to the twentieth. The essays vary greatly in length and character. Many understandably belong to the academic fringe. The dominant author is Carlos Gilly, who

contributes four chapters, not entirely new, but richly informative. A further contribution worth mentioning is Adam Maclean's short study of the history of the British manuscript versions of the Rosicrucian manifestoes. This supplements the work of Ron Heisler, and further adds to the evidence concerning the interest in Rosicrucianism and hermeticism among the Scottish nobility. The main value of this collection is the light shed on some fascinating figures, not only the better-known Johann Valentin Andreae, but also minor figures such as Johannes Bureus, Abraham von Franckenberg, Johann Permeier and Helisaeus Roeslin, who are deserving of greater attention. Such figures illustrate the zest for establishing 'Christian Societies' of one kind or another as a vehicle for pursuing the objectives of idealists operating on the fringes of confessional groupings. The Rosicrucians were just one in a whole sequence of such bodies. Our understanding of the interrelationships between these shadowy brotherhoods is still far from clear. This volume adds to our knowledge, but sometimes it serves to obscure, as for instance by its assertion that the 'Invisible College' of the 1640s was the creation of Samuel Hartlib and that this brotherhood was the source of the famous Royal Society (p. 221).

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

CHARLES WEBSTER

*Les Bourgeois protestants de Montauban au XVIIe siècle. Une élite urbaine face à une monarchie autoritaire.* By Catherine Rome. (Vie des Huguenots, 25.) Pp. 589 incl. 1 graph and 75 tables. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002. €90. 2 7453 0595 6; 1286 9538 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903927199

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, Montauban was an almost exclusively Protestant bastion of roughly 17,000 people (not the 12–15,000 as asserted here). Though the size and strength of the local Reformed community was subsequently weakened by a harsh siege in 1621, plague epidemics in 1629 and 1653–4, and an unusually forceful royal campaign to evict the Huguenots from positions of municipal authority and drive important Protestant institutions from the town, the bulk of the city's population was still Protestant on the eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This *thèse de troisième cycle* explores aspects of the lives of those families of the Protestant bourgeoisie (defined here as merchants, professionals, royal officers and *rentiers*) that remained in the city from 1600 to 1685 – a core group of 104 families, from within which the author selects four particularly prominent and sizeable clans for a full genealogical reconstruction of marriage patterns and family strategies. Rome's chief sources include such time-tested staples of French social history as tax rolls and inventories after death. Some rare family correspondence from the period after 1685 also enables her to illuminate the continuing contacts between those who fled the country to remain true to their faith and those of their relatives who remained behind and accepted Catholicism. In addition to the fascinating light that the book sheds on this topic, it informs us about the occupational composition, demographic patterns, material culture, education and reading preferences of the members of the group in question. Unfortunately, the sample sizes of the data sets are often too small to ensure the statistical significance of the most important and interesting findings, such as that the domestic interiors and wardrobes of Montauban's Protestant bourgeoisie were notably more austere than those of their Catholic

counterparts in Toulouse. And too often the author merely concludes that her evidence confirms the generalisations of Janine Garrisson's *L'Homme protestant*, where a more widely read researcher might have framed more imaginative questions and pushed deeper into the topic. None the less, specialists in Huguenot history will find useful nuggets to mine from this volume.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

PHILIP BENEDICT

*Politics, religion and popularity in early Stuart Britain. Essays in honour of Conrad Russell.*

Edited by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake. Pp. x + 304 incl. frontispiece and 1 ill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45. 0 521 80700 X

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903937195

This *Festschrift* benefits from a remarkable absence of lickspittles and a genuine coherence of subject matter (neither of these being guaranteed characteristics of this historiographical genre). These are not just occasional pieces but reflections, within the authors' own spheres of research, on the considerable impact which Conrad Russell's own work has made on the field of early modern and, particularly, civil war historiography.

It is generally agreed that it is difficult in a short review to do justice to all the authors in such a volume. But it is unfair to comment as if only a few of them existed. (Also, there is nothing so irritating as a review which does not tell one what is in the book.) So, for the record, Nicholas Tyacke reviews Puritan attitudes to the accession of James VI, reminding us how fraught an event that was, and how long the process of lobbying both for and in James's favour went on in Puritan circles before the Scottish king's accession in England. Lori Ann Ferrell takes us through the court wedding of Lord and Lady Hay in the wider context of Anglo-Scottish relations (in particular the failed Union project). Pauline Croft reflects on the cultural lives of MPs in London when they were not in parliament, and draws lessons out of her material (two very significant diaries) about London as a point of contact for reasons other than just parliamentary politics. Andrew Thrush produces a magisterial *resumé* of James's difficulties with parliament, and compares his record with that of Charles. Thrush shows how, during a long period of crisis management after 1610, the option of calling parliament was never long off the agenda, even after the failed session of 1614. David Hebb addresses one of the perennial topics of early Stuart government – corruption, one on which Conrad Russell himself had some remarkably revisionist things to say, such as that in the quarrels over alleged financial malfeasance, right was never all on one side. Hebb tends back, however, towards the 'corruption' line in his coverage of the exploitation of the sea for profit by the crown. Cynthia Herrup then looks at parliamentary pardons to shed light on differences in governmental style between the Jacobean and Caroline regimes.

The second section of the work deals with 'religion', although this is the 'politics' of 'religion', and so follows on nicely from the first section which deals simply with 'politics'. Julia Merritt tackles the Puritan pedagogue Robert Hill, the translator of William Perkins's *Golden chaine*, in the context of the more general issue of the 'godly and the multitude'. From Anthony Milton we get a typically nuanced approach to the 'creation' of Laudianism, one of revisionism's most historiographically inflammable topics. He uses Peter Heylyn's career as a way into the problem, though there



cannot be many treatments of early Stuart religion which employ National Socialism as a source for interpretational models. Jacqueline Eales probes provincial preaching to throw light on questions of civil war allegiance.

In the third and last section, the three editors address the political question of 'popularity'. Thomas Cogswell and Richard Cust deal with Buckingham and Charles respectively. And Peter Lake attacks the petitions presented to the Long Parliament from Cheshire.

What is it, then, which ties all these together, and to the work of the recipient? In the case of essays such as that by Cust, one can put them together with certain specific passages and chapters of Russell's own work and perceive a conversation going on over significant themes in Civil War historiography – in this case the political motivation and style of Charles I. But there is a wider significance to all of this, which is flagged by the masterly introduction. There has been a tendency in recent years to write off aspects of the original Whig-busting revisionist project (as 'narrow', even antiquarian, obsessed with manuscript source material, as myopic on the 'big' questions, and so on). 'Post-revisionism' is now the fashionable thing. And revisionism has certainly had its critics, though Russell has always been able to argue that he does not say quite the things which his critics claim that he has said. However, the introduction, written by three scholars who might well be numbered among those critics, but in fact are three of Russell's best long term hopes for constituting the stuff of future memory, does not set out either to defend or attack Russell's work but rather to show how it has made an impact on the field and why that still matters, in fact why the revisionist project was so useful in the first place.

Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated for its publication of this volume. One can only wonder why, considering the Earl Russell's long publishing history and, one assumes, substantial commercial success with OUP, they did not offer it to the 'other' press instead.

HORLEY

MICHAEL QUESTIER

*Richard Baxter's understanding of infant baptism.* By Hans Boersma. (Studies in Reformed Theology and History. New Ser., 7.) Pp. xvi + 108. Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 2002. \$2 (paper). 1 889980 09 9

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903947191

Richard Baxter regarded himself as a mediating voice in a time of political and ecclesiastical turmoil. His contemporaries, however, viewed him as a contentious divine who could not resist controversy and dispute. In this short study Boersma gives a detailed treatment of Baxter's contribution to the mid seventeenth-century debate on infant baptism. This dispute was sparked off by John Tombes who launched an attack on the sermon defending infant baptism given at Westminster by Stephen Marshall. Baxter was reluctant at first to be drawn into the debate. He was a friend of Tombes, and had himself at one stage questioned the propriety of infant baptism. He eventually met Tombes face to face for a public debate, but Tombes later replied in print, and Baxter felt unable not to write rejoinders. Baxter then found himself at odds with Thomas Blake over the precise meaning of justifying faith and covenant, and at the same time took issue with the Calvinist sacramentalists such as Samuel Ward, Cornelius Burges and Thomas Bedford, being unable to accept their particular interpretation of sacraments as instruments of grace. This

study is flawed by the omission of any discussion of Baxter's baptismal rite set forth in the proposed Savoy Liturgy of 1661. There Baxter had to be more circumspect as well as pastoral and practical, and it is there that we find his positive views set forth in a more irenic manner. Neglect of this liturgical evidence is hard to understand, and leaves us with only part of the picture.

YALE UNIVERSITY DIVINITY SCHOOL

BRYAN D. SPINKS

*God's order and natural law. The works of the Laudian divines.* By Iain M. MacKenzie. Pp. x + 197. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £45 (cloth), £15.99 (paper). 0 7546 0841 7; 0 7546 0843 3

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903957198

Iain MacKenzie offers an appreciative reading of the theology of William Laud and his allies. He argues that Laudianism is best defined in terms of an 'insistence on "order" which finds its climax in Laud and his contemporaries', but which was none the less 'an ongoing trend' in the Church of England (p. 3). Using that expansive definition, MacKenzie examines the works of a number of theologians, arguing that their obsession with order was founded on the belief that the entire creation must be brought into conformity with the order expressed by the Creator. The ordering, in all aspects, of society, was meant to reflect God's own order. MacKenzie situates his theologians in their intellectual contexts and addresses the implications of their ideas, from church structures and liturgy to political theory. Yet historians will find this book disappointing in some respects. MacKenzie does not engage with more recent historiography on the period, and he does not try to relate intellectual developments in Laudian theology to historical events. This leads to an overly charitable interpretation of the Laudians' ecclesiastical policies and, in one instance, to the curious assertion that it was the Puritans, and by implication not the Laudians, that reduced 'order' to the observance of a set of rules (p. 174). A churchwarden who had to complete Matthew Wren's exhaustive visitation questionnaire for the diocese of Norwich in 1636 might disagree. But MacKenzie has offered a sensitive, if at points too generous, interpretation of Laudian theology that specialists may find useful.

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH,  
SEWANEE

JIM TURRELL

*Le Gallicanisme de Sorbonne. Chroniques de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris (1657–1688).* By Jacques M. Gres-Gayer. (Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, 11.) Pp. 590. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002. €90. 2 7453 0717 7; 1290 3787

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903967194

In *Le Jansénisme en Sorbonne, 1643–1656* (Paris 1996), Gres-Gayer portrayed a faculty in crisis over the anti-Jansenist Formulary. The legacy of this bitter drama is one of the principal themes now explored in the densely written but rewarding *Le Gallicanisme de Sorbonne*. The author deserves credit for retrieving the votes cast by more than 300 doctors actively involved in the faculty's deliberations from 1657 to the aftermath of the Gallican Articles, and especially for his analysis of the chamber sessions and votes: taking the reader through the debates surrounding the Jesuits' moral teaching, the theses defending papal infallibility and jurisdictional supremacy, as well as the 1663 and 1682 Articles, Gres-Gayer demonstrates the faculty's steady accumulation

of a series of Gallican principles that served as its doctrinal norms. Yet while these rejected papal infallibility and endorsed conciliarism, the divisions in the faculty were not as straightforward as customarily assumed: Gres-Gayer argues convincingly that, in addition to rigidly ultramontane and Gallican factions, there existed several subgroups that were susceptible to pressure from Rome and the French crown, and realised the dangers of adopting uncompromising ultramontane or Gallican attitudes. Indeed, he demonstrates that their gravest concern was often to protect the faculty's tradition of doctrinal authority from the attempts by the papacy, the *parlement* and the monarch to control it. As the final chapters demonstrate, the crown forced a reluctant faculty to endorse the authoritarian Gallicanism of the Gallican Articles in 1683. In doing so, however, the faculty abandoned any realistic claim to impartial magisterial judgement and proved that its privileged status as a 'discerner' of truth was a double-edged sword.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

ALISON FORRESTAL

*La Contre-Réforme et les Constitutions de Port-Royal.* By F. Ellen Weaver. Pp. 247+6 plates. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 2002. €29. 2 204 06879 9; 0769 2633

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The publication in 1665 of the so-called Mons edition of the *Constitutions de Port-Royal* has long been recognised as a landmark in the history of Jansenism. Here the sisters of Port-Royal, at the height of their epic resistance to signing the famous formulary, set out what they stood for as a religious community. It read like a manifesto of simple and sober spirituality, and was reprinted as such in 1674 and 1721. Sober it may have been, but, in setting out to trace its origins and chronicle its process of composition, F. Ellen Weaver shows that its history was anything but simple. Like so much of what Jansenism came to stand for, it can be traced back to the ambiguities bequeathed to the Catholic Church by the Council of Trent – ambiguities deepened by Gallican refusal to admit the validity of the Tridentine canons and decrees in French law. Weaver shows that the early work of Mère Angélique towards the purification of her community, unlike the theological standpoints with which Port-Royal came to be associated, were deeply in accord with the spirit of Trent. The aim was a return to the original Cistercian ideal, itself little more than an attempt to revitalise the Rule of St Benedict. It was the steady realisation that this could not be done in isolation that eventually brought Port-Royal into Saint-Cyran's orbit, with all that followed from that. Only when the community became thus embattled was the need felt to elaborate extensive *Constitutions*; and by careful and exemplary literary archaeology Weaver shows who had what part in drafting them. Surprisingly, no direct input from Saint-Cyran can be demonstrated, while Mère Agnès emerges as more influential (and strong-willed) than normally perceived. The *Constitutions* took from the mid-1630s until 1648 to draft; and much refinement and modification intervened over the seventeen further years before a printed version appeared. Many of these changes reflected the vicissitudes of those years, and the appearance of new figures of influence such as the great Arnauld. Nor, it is emphasised, was the first printed version any sort of triumph. Produced in secret in the Dutch Republic and distributed first outside France, it was above all a cry for help, a protestation of wronged innocence in the face of the king's inexorable hostility. The second edition, though appearing after the Peace of the Church, was no triumph either. It still had to be

published outside the kingdom, and is seen by Weaver as a pre-emptive foil to the threat of further persecutions. Only the edition of 1721 came out within the kingdom with the full apparatus of royal permission. By then, Louis XIV was dead and the regent sympathetic to Jansenism. But by then, too, Port-Royal was merely a memory – although one forcefully buttressed by this new edition of its celebrated *Constitutions*.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

WILLIAM DOYLE

*Reformierte Morallehren und deutsche Literatur von Jean Barbeyrac bis Christoph Martin Wieland.*

By Sandra Pott. (Frühe Neuzeit, 75.) Pp. vii + 308. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2002. €74. 3 484 36575; 0934 5531

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It is not often that, in the modern period, literary scholars produce something that is of real use to historians, but Sandra Pott does it here and does it in some style. That the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and everything that went with it, led to the creation of a sort of Huguenot International, always in the background of the Grand Alliance, but of uncertain political effect, has been a text-book common-place for half a century or more. What Pott does is to analyse in detail the moral doctrines of a number of prominent Huguenot refugees who fetched up in Germany, men like Barbeyrac, Burlamaqui and Formey, together with some Swiss Reformed who reinforced them, men like Crousaz and Albrecht von Haller, with a view to examining their impact on the rebirth of German literature. What she shows is that they behaved much like their more political brethren, forming literary alliances across Germany, and especially with the Berlin academy, reinforcing tendencies which they found there already, translating Pufendorf and making him more palatable, and adding to the debates about the moral end of man which went on internationally, taking account not least of English and Scottish literature. One of the things which is most germane to British scholars is simply introductory to Pott, and that is the light she casts on one of the transformations of the Reformed tradition in the later seventeenth century. There was a good deal of the Bayle about Pott's group. They had all had quite enough of the one true Church, and had no intention of inventing another. Their themes were the commonweal, freedom of conscience and toleration. Hierarchy and ecclesiastical crusade were out, simple and undogmatic Christianity were in. This could be represented as resting on *sola scriptura*, and indeed on *sola fide* in the sense of the interior worship of the faithful. This was of course an enormous departure from the ideals of Calvin, and it is not difficult to see how it could end up as Unitarianism. But the striking thing about Pott's story is the way these Huguenots, as they mixed with their Pufendorfs, Wolffs and Gottscheds, reinforced the conservative character of the German Enlightenment. They regarded themselves as advocating a 'middle way' as much as Baxter in England and would give no more ground to scepticism than they would to orthodoxy. They were as much a pain to Swiss high orthodoxy as to popery, but those who went beyond the pale, like Rousseau, would get no quarter. To those who may have no professional interests in German literature or the truth about Wieland this is an important story in itself.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*Jansenismus, Quietismus, Pietismus. Im Auftrag der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus.* Edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hans-Jürgen Schrader and Heinz Schilling. (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus, 42.) Pp. 299. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002. €49. 3 525 55826 0

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903997193

This volume was prepared from conference papers and it aimed as much to widen the scope of the important series of *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Protestantismus* as to further any core Franco-German co-operation in the EU at an academic level. This was just as well, for the French contributions here are very limited by the national perspective – even Jansenism appears as a French phenomenon. The other challenge which is evaded in this volume is that of the title; contrary to the assumptions of a good deal of recent (especially American) writing, Pietism is here included with opposition religious movements. Gottfried Arnold and Johann Samuel Carl find their place, but there is no general study of the tussle, so prominent in Wesley, between the desire to renew the local establishments, and the liberty, admittedly much more restricted in Germany, to be found outside them. These criticisms notwithstanding, the volume is one not to be missed by scholars working in the English language, as many of the contributions achieve excellently the objects they set themselves, and are of very high interest.

Martin Brecht takes further the recent German emphasis on the unconfessional character of seventeenth-century piety by exploring the ways in which both Catholic and Protestant turned back to the literature of medieval pseudo-Augustinians, disregarding the questions raised by Erasmus and others about its authenticity. From this fashion the Pietists seem to have been free. Françoise Hildesheimer offers an ‘ideal-type’ of the early seventeenth-century *dévo*t, and argues that Richelieu did not fit it; she claims that Richelieu and Saint-Cyran were united in their desire for church reform, but irreconcilably separated on the level of spirituality. The voluntarism of the one saw possibilities in the ordinary mechanisms of state management, which the other shunned as proceeding from corrupt reason. François Laplanche, in a genuinely international and interdisciplinary contribution, shows how the exegesis of Étienne Gaussen of Saumur was warmly welcomed at Halle, and encouraged the Pietists to find room, hedged with however many precautions, for the mystical interpretation of Scripture. Having drunk deeply of this source, Johann Jacob Rambach adopted further hermeneutical principles from two Jansenists, Duguet and Asfeld. In one of the outstanding contributions Jacques Le Brun shows that long before the celebrated clash between Bossuet and Fénelon the argument about pure, i.e. disinterested, love had been actively canvassed among German Protestants, sometimes in the belief that this piece of enthusiasm was characteristic of Quakers before it was powerfully represented by Antoinette Bourignon. The whole debate was extensively reported in the *Acta Eruditorum*, and aroused a good deal of bafflement in Germany as to why the French bishops and the Sorbonne, who had asserted their independence of Rome for so long, now appeared so anxious that the pope should settle their disagreements for them. Lichtscheid attempted to move the debate out of theology and into ethics, a process completed, paradoxically, a century later by the sceptical Kant. Klaus vom Orde shows that on the subject of the Quietism of Miguel de Molinos Spener havered as he did on so many topics; but like so many Germans he did not hesitate to condemn the proceedings against Molinos; and it was the Pietist J. G. Pritius who put into German Bishop Burnet’s caustic reports about them.

Hans-Jürgen Schrader, in a characteristically meticulous bibliographical exploration, shows that the influence of Mme Guyon in Germany, though late, was much more extensive than in France, and contributed greatly to the somewhat misty stereotype of German intellect there. Hanspeter Marti shows how much Gottfried Arnold did to put Molinos in the German market, but argues that it was one stage in his development from a theoretical mysticism to the teaching of a practical piety. A comparative approach is taken by Hellmut Thomke to explain why Pietism, Jansenism and Quietism were all very hostile to the theatre. This is less of a puzzle in the case of the Pietists than the others, because theatre was part of the court culture which they detested wholesale; but the French Jansenists and Quietists had to find good reasons for rejecting the classical age of French drama. The other main contribution outside the broad religious and theological field is a piece by Christa Habrich on Johann Samuel Carl, one of the doctors and press spokesmen for the remarkably creative Berleburg separatists. The peak of Carl's career came in 1736 with his appointment as physician to Christian VI of Denmark. Carl performed a notable work of medical reorganisation, but his anamnesis of the health of the royal family was not optimistic; like Zinzendorf before him he fell out with the Pietist party dominant in the state Church which liked neither his religion nor his cures; and in 1742 the king pensioned off and expelled him.

Thus a volume which does not greatly advance the comparative study of the three movements of its title or knowledge of their interrelations, is full of excellent material, and constitutes a standing challenge to some bold single mind to build systematically on what is here offered.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*The 'Centuries' of Julia Palmer.* Edited by Victoria Burke and Elizabeth Clarke.

Pp. xxv + 362. Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2001. £9.99 (paper). 1 84233 061 6

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Palmer's 'Centuries' illustrate two difficulties the modern literary reader has with early modern devotional manuscripts. It is a collection of 200 poems written between 1671 and 1673, which chart the spiritual vicissitudes of its Presbyterian writer, Julia Palmer. These 'private' poems, tracing the circuitous route of one soul, seem to have had some prominence within her devotional circle as meditative aids, even perhaps as proto-hymns, and were thus preserved with care: are they, then, public utterances and of what sort? That is one difficulty, which forms part of modern attempts to reassess the relationship of manuscript to audience for the early modern writer, especially the woman writer; this one will run and run. In this case it is further sharpened by the nature of the poetry itself. Palmer writes in simple metres, fiercely restricting her range of device, as Isaac Watts was to do after her. Palmer's sex makes simplicity more urgent, but the conviction is theological: dependence on grace forbids the idolatrous pleasures of paronomasia; influenced by Herbert, still she eschews (or cannot manage) his defter avoidances. Palmer's literary flatness makes it hard to decide how far our interest belongs outside pure historical inquiry; and this is its second difficulty. The editors of this meticulously produced and lucid volume are well aware of it, but have no solution to offer, beyond the gnomic (and frustrating) remark that clear assignation of the poetry's importance 'will require

the deployment of rather different literary critical paradigms than are usually in use in seventeenth century research’.

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JESSICA MARTIN

*A social history of the cloister. Daily life in the teaching monasteries of the old regime.* By Elizabeth Rapley. Pp. xiv + 379 incl. 4 ills. Montreal & Kingston–London–Ithaca: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001. £37.95. 0 7735 2222 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903228293

This excellent study examines the lives of women in teaching convents across France during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the period known as the Old Regime. In her emphasis on communities, rather than the exceptional individuals who have been the focus of so much of recent scholarship, Rapley provides an engaging, comprehensive analysis of the relationship between life within a cloistered community and the exterior world. In particular, the author is concerned with the shared experiences which mark convent life across time and space, and how socio-economic change in the culture at large affected those experiences. The goal is admittedly ambitious, considering the diversity of geographical distribution and the idiosyncracies of the individual cloisters and the orders to which they belonged (Compagnie de Sainte-Ursule, Compagnie de Marie Notre-Dame and Congregation de Notre Dame). In order to arrive at her conclusions Rapley examines the archives of several convent communities, using death notices and other monastic records as the basis of her research. Her findings reveal a striking and inevitable nexus between social and political events and the lives of women in these largely urban religious houses, although this relationship may vary significantly from one time period to another. The first section of the book documents the changing fortunes of female monasticism from the ‘conventual invasion’ of the early seventeenth century to its relative demise with the French Revolution. Despite their seeming isolation, convents were, indeed, subject to economic policy such as the amortissement, which weakened their financial status. Similarly, diverging religious ideologies such as Jansenism caused rifts between and even within convents. In the second part of the book the author documents the activities and events which lent stability and order to these communities from their founding to their disbanding. By describing in detail the novitiate, the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and the activities surrounding sickness and death, Rapley provides invaluable insights into the workings of a female cloister. Throughout her analysis she never loses sight of the fact that all communities must necessarily depend upon the individuals who reside in them for their existence. This study is full of the voices and experiences of individual nuns. Many of these individual cases support the idea of reciprocity and conformism often associated with the monastic lifestyle, but the author is also careful to include the experiences of the less collegial or conformist members of these communities as documented in the records she explores. Although most of her analysis is based on solid archival evidence which she provides with statistics in an appendix, the chapter on teaching is by her own admission largely conjectural. Since the monastic records scarcely mention the day schools administered by the convents, Rapley fills in the gap by creating a ‘word picture’ based on the available information and her own extensive knowledge. The result is as detailed an account of the daily routine,



curriculum and administration of these schools as we are likely to find, given the limited data. In effect, this work in its entirety provides an excellent synthetic vision of the teaching convent both as a community unto itself, and within the larger social system of early modern France. It is a valuable addition to existing scholarship on female monasticism.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

DARCY DONAHUE

*Gnadegegenwart. Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit.* By Renate Steiger. (Doctrina et Pietas. Zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung. Texte und Untersuchungen, II. Varia, 2.) Pp. xxiii + 400 incl. 27 ills and 64 musical examples. Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002. €111. 3 7728 1821 8; 3 7728 1871 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690323829X

The seven sections of this volume by the Heidelberg scholar Renate Steiger are introduced by means of a foreword which invites an involvement in Bach's sacred vocal music commensurate with Luther's own understanding of music's place alongside the means of grace: that music provides an aesthetic amplification alongside word and sacrament so that God's gracious presence (his *Gnadengegenwart*) may be known. In truth such an involvement requires an architectural setting hardly to be encountered in Britain (the restored Chandos chapel virtually alone sustains an adequate baroque imagery); but the volume's provision of two carefully prepared CDs at least ensures that in the absence of what might uplift the eye what is heard is heard nevertheless as performative address. The contents of the volume are encyclopaedic. The interplay of intricate commentary on text, music and (in particular) the preaching of Müller and Moller available in published, illustrated form, establishes the relationship of the cantatas to aspects of Lutheran exegesis with an exactness rarely to be found elsewhere. The applied emblematic study of 'Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen' (which this year in Heidelberg replaces the customary Good Friday Bach Passion) brilliantly reconstructs the original, sequential character of the solo cantata's imagery. The section on 'bribe' mysticism finds a powerful match with Luther's own interpretation of Matthew xxii.2. Bach's idiomatic exposition of atonement through the blood of Jesus Christ illustrates the musical plus which identifies in the prayer for grace the presence of that grace itself, and Bach's music unearths forgotten aspects of the *ars moriendi*. Renate Steiger's work on Bach's library adds also now an identification of the source of the theme of God's gracious presence. It is found in Gerhard's Schola Pietatis, where praise of God carries with it divine indwelling. Technical parodies such as the musical echo are illustrated from Bach's secular and religious music and their use is shown to have rich associations with Lutheran piety. Finally there is an examination of Bach's musical building blocks and composition, so that their aesthetic place in the conveying of theological content can be understood, and a stimulating response to Ulrich Konrad's critique of the cantata 'Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen'. Renate Steiger would no doubt be the first to recognise that there are still other aspects of Bach's symbolism which need examination, the numerical factor amongst them. But this volume must stand as an outstanding achievement in the academic study of Bach's religious music from which generations of scholars and pastors will profit.

LINCOLN

IVOR H. JONES

*The supreme harmony of all. The Trinitarian theology of Jonathan Edwards.* By Amy Plantinga Pauw. Pp. x + 196. Grand Rapids, MI-Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002. £15.99 (\$22) (paper). 0 8028 4984 9  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903248296

At long last we have a comprehensive treatment of Edwards's doctrine of the Trinity. Written by Amy Plantinga Pauw, the Henry P. Mobley Jr Professor of Doctrinal Theology at Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary (and member of the editorial committee of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*), this book offers a fine summary and analysis of Edwards's Trinitarian thought, demonstrating its vast significance for the rest of his theology. Pauw makes it clear that Edwards was not a systematic theologian. His doctrine emerged from pastoral ministry and his study of the Bible. None the less, she uses Edwards to mediate the debate among contemporary theologians over the merits of the 'social' and 'psychological' views of the Trinity. According to Pauw, Edwards employed the language of both Trinitarian models. He 'alternated or modulated between them depending on the immediate theological and cultural context of his writing, but never repudiated either one' (p. 11). Consequently, his writings are rife with raw materials useful to those who wish to bridge the gap between these models today. Pauw's theological interest in Edwards may prove frustrating to historians. She tends to project an ideal harmony on Edwards's Trinitarian writings and then blame him whenever his statements do not match up to her ideal. She tends to depict his views in terms that Edwards himself did not employ, terms used widely by theologians only after Edwards's death. And her analysis is suffused with doctrinal criticisms of Edwards, complaints that have little to do with Edwards's own historical significance. Pauw disapproves of Edwards's use of the Puritans' 'covenant of redemption' (for its anthropomorphic subordinationism and implicit support of patriarchy); of his (alleged) supralapsarianism (and its denigration of the creation); of his epistemological idealism (for its negative affect on his presentation of the integrity and value of the material world); of his (allegedly) crabbed exclusivism in the realms of soteriology and eucharistic doctrine; and of the severity of his notion of eternal divine punishment. Pauw presents a theologian's view of Edwards, to be sure. But her work is a treasure trove. My quibbles are those of an historian, and should not detract from her achievement. Pauw's book will remain the definitive work on this topic for years.

TRINITY EVANGELICAL DIVINITY SCHOOL,  
 DEERFIELD,  
 ILLINOIS

DOUGLAS SWEENEY

*History, religion, and culture. British intellectual history, 1750–1950.* Edited by Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young. Pp. viii + 289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £40 (cloth), £14.95 (paper). 0 521 62638 2;  
 0 521 62639 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903258292

Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young have gathered together an all-star cast, and it does not disappoint. The essays collected here cover a remarkably diverse range of topics in the intellectual history of modern Britain. While this diversity reflects the astonishing breadth of the scholarship of John Burrow and Donald

Winch, in whose honour this volume, and a companion one on *Economy, polity, and society*, have been put together, it does not make the task of the reviewer an easy one.

The first cluster of essays *History, religion, and culture* concerns eighteenth-century historiography: Mark Phillips looks at the nature of historical distance, and J. G. A. Pocock and David Womersley explore aspects of Gibbon's work. There follows a group of essays concerned with aspects of religious and political ideas in the nineteenth century: Brian Young on attitudes to Indian religions, Blair Worden on Victorian uses of Cromwell, William Thomas on the *Quarterly Review* and John Drury on the religious sensibility of Ruskin. The final set of essays explores issues of nature, change and growth across the sciences, humanities and national culture: Boyd Hilton on anatomy, Burrow on images of time, Peter Mandler on concepts of race and nation and Julia Stapleton on national identity.

The individual essays are of a uniformly high standard. Despite their diversity, moreover, they suggest some common themes upon which we might reflect. To begin, as the volume does, with the Enlightenment and Gibbon, the essays reflect a recent trend to explore the plurality of enlightenment in diverse national contexts. The exploration of diverse enlightenments prompts a reconsideration of the relationship of Enlightenment to religious faith. Although Gibbon quickly acquired the reputation of being the English Voltaire, Pocock and Womersley suggest here that he had a more nuanced relationship to faith. Pocock does so by examining the difficulties Gibbon faced in treating the sacred within a secular history, especially in the notorious chapters xv and xvi of *The decline and fall*. Womersley does so through an examination of the contents of Gibbon's library. Together these two essays do not overturn the image of Gibbon's deism so much as complicate it. As such, they clearly complement Pocock's attempt, in *Barbarism and religion*, to locate Gibbon in a variety of contexts, including distinctive Protestant enlightenments, especially that in England. While the French Enlightenment, and to some degree other European enlightenments, sought to replace Christianity with a civil religion, the English one, as represented by Gibbon, tolerated a wider spectrum of religious convictions.

So, one strand of Victorian religious culture – perhaps most apparent among deists and Broad Churchmen – reflects the latitude given to belief within the English Enlightenment. A different strand of Victorian religious culture has been magnificently brought to life recently by Hilton's *Age of atonement*; it is an evangelicalism tied to the political economy that emerged out of the Scottish Enlightenment. In his essay, Young explores the way this evangelicalism, and also utilitarianism, promoted an almost rabid hostility to Hindu superstitions, especially phallic cults, in notable contrast to the broad sympathy shown to eastern religions by many deists and Enlightenment historians. Worden likewise suggests evangelicalism, and its moral tone, constituted one factor in the positive transformation of the image of Cromwell during Victorian times.

Ruskin, as Drury reminds us, had little time for an atonement theology in which religion constituted a system of salvation. For him, religious faith rested rather on the recognition of the beauty of creation. Yet the creation, as he saw it, was not conceived on the image of planetary motion, as it had been for many Enlightenment thinkers, but as an organic world wherein the details are infused with the meaning and significance of the whole of which they are an integral part. He thus represents yet another strand within Victorian religious culture – an immanentist one that overlaps at times with deism but also includes things such as the incarnational

theology that became increasingly common around the 1880s. To some extent, we might explore this immanentism in relation to the more diverse and subtle readings that have recently appeared of the Victorian crisis of faith. In addition, however, we might locate it in the context of a broad organicism that arose as early as the late eighteenth century. Indeed, we might even begin to think of the crisis of faith as in many respects attempts to bring religious faith in line with organicism. In this view, then, changes in religious culture are intimately connected to the changes in scientific culture that Hilton and Burrow explore here in their essays. Hilton contrasts the diverse and complex political positions inspired by the debate between functional biology and a transmutationist or evolutionary one, between those who saw all matter except mind as inert and those who believed that nature possessed active, vital powers. Burrow shows how analyses of time and change shifted from stressing events and catastrophes to concepts and metaphors of gradual, sedimentary processes within the constitution of the world.

While we should be wary of imposing a false unity on what remains a diverse collection of essays, they certainly help to provide a richer intellectual history of modern Britain. Instead of a crude orthodoxy or a dramatic revisionism, they constitute a series of careful, nuanced studies that trace subtle continuities and discontinuities within a rich and complex national and religious culture. While they do engage in polemic, it remains that of the beguiling voice of polite reason supported by thorough historical research and references to like-minded scholars, as in Pocock and Womersley's challenge to the received view of Gibbon, or Mandler's dismantling of postcolonial assumptions. In this tone as well as in the quality of the essays, the volume pays suitable homage to the work of Burrow and Winch.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
BERKELEY

MARK BEVIR

*William Stukeley. Science, religion and archaeology in eighteenth-century England.* By David Boyd Haycock. Pp. xiii + 290 incl. frontispiece and 9 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002. £40. 0 85115 864 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903268299

In 1950 the distinguished archaeologist Stuart Piggott published a study of the eighteenth-century antiquary and polymath, William Stukeley, which he later revised and updated (1985). Piggott was drawn to Stukeley as one of the early practitioners of the science, but he was disappointed in the end by what he found. According to Piggott, Stukeley had begun well, carrying on the practical fieldwork of his predecessors, and extending it to the prehistoric sites at Stonehenge and Avebury, but he then got carried away by his fanciful theories about the Druids, and grew more eccentric and undisciplined with age. His decline paralleled and contributed to the decline of antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century, and it was a long while till they resumed their onward march.

Now a young scholar has set out to rescue Stukeley's reputation and put him more firmly into his own contemporary context. David Haycock Boyd is a student of Michael Hunter who once essayed something of the same task in rescuing John Aubrey from derision and turning him into a respectable antiquary. In neither case was it an easy task. Both subjects scattered their interests far and wide over a broad intellectual territory, content for the most part to dabble lightly where others were

making extraordinary discoveries. Except for their archaeology they made no original contributions, though they each took a sustained and serious interest in the whole range of natural and human history. To some extent their chief interest lies in their association with the scientists and scholars who were contributing to the work of the Royal Society and in Stukeley's case to the revived Society of Antiquaries which he helped to found.

Not long after Stukeley died in 1765, his old friend William Warburton drew his portrait. 'There was in him', he wrote to Hurd, 'such a mixture of simplicity, drollery, absurdity, ingenuity, superstition and antiquarianism ... I suppose a compound of things that were never meant to meet together. I have often heard him laughed at by fools, who had neither his sense, his knowledge, or his honesty; though it must be confessed that in him they were all strangely travestied.' It must be a peculiarly gifted biographer who must undertake so complex and eccentric a character, and it would not hurt to have a sense of humour. Neither Piggott nor Haycock, it seems to me, is quite up to the task, Piggott too unsympathetic, Haycock too serious and partisan. Haycock has certainly done a service in extending the boundaries of Piggott's work to take in more of Stukeley's career, and he has used the manuscript evidence to good advantage. He has rightly corrected Piggott's view that Stukeley turned away from his early promise and has shown how he was pretty consistent throughout his life in holding to the religious and speculative theories of his youth. Unfortunately the world was changing, and Stukeley made no effort to adapt to it. In science and in history, critical methods were improving and one by one the speculative theories of the seventeenth century were giving way to scepticism, especially as the new empirical methods of each were developing. Haycock is right and useful in pointing out that the old conviction in an ancient wisdom survived much longer than is usually recognised and that Stukeley's belief in it was not so strange as might first appear. But it was getting harder to defend with every passing generation. It is not enough to detect forerunners and followers in order to furnish a context for Stukeley (though this is certainly helpful), but it is important to notice and assess the other side of the many arguments that engaged Stukeley, the arguments of the critics and sceptics and 'moderns' who populated the Enlightenment and provided the foil for his views.

Only then can a balanced judgement be achieved. Haycock is right to point out the anachronistic vantage-point of Piggott, but he tends to err on the other side, by giving too much credit to Stukeley for defending the increasingly difficult traditional cause. It is not surprising that Stukeley cordially welcomed the impostors: the spurious Ossianic poems and the invention of a fake medieval chronicle by his great friend, Charles Bartram. He had almost no critical sense at a time when criticism of all kinds was coming into its own. And it is right and useful to be reminded of Stukeley's association and admiration for Isaac Newton, though he himself had little mathematics and no interest in the experimental method. Stukeley seems to have preferred Newton's eccentric religion and such strange Newtonians as Whiston and the Hutchinsonians whom it is likely Newton would himself have disowned.

To be fair Haycock supplies us with much new information about Stukeley's life and activities, even if he is never quite able to add them all up. And his bibliography will certainly be of use to students in the field.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

JOSEPH M. LEVINE

*Anglicanism in Australia. A history.* Edited by Bruce Kaye, Tom Frame, Colin Holden and Geoff Treloar. Pp. xxiii + 432 incl. 62 ills. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002. A\$69.95. o 522 85003 o  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903278295

In 2001 authors of a review of Australian religious history referred to Anglicanism as a 'sleeping giant' in which 'large tracts lay unexplored'. This was somewhat mysterious since it flew in the face of the indisputable significance of Anglicanism as a numerical force in Australian history. Until recent census returns, adherents of the Church of England constituted not only the largest Christian denomination in Australia, but also the largest Australian institution of any kind. As Brian Fletcher illustrates, Anglican traditions and assumptions have dominated Australian civic religion, such as it was, and asserted themselves in the interpretation of Australia's colonial and post-colonial relationships with England. For these reasons, the need for a book such as this excellent collection, edited with care to the thematic and chronological coherence of the Anglican story, has long been felt. In answer to the call, Bruce Kaye and fellow associate editors have provided a fat (408pp.) and comprehensive account of Australian Anglicanism, elegantly produced by Melbourne University Press, with good pictures, full bibliography and the promise of a collection of images and sources available at a dedicated web site ([www.archive.anglican.org.au](http://www.archive.anglican.org.au)). There are two parts, a set of six narrative chapters dealing with successive periods from 1788 to the present, partnered to seven thematic chapters dealing with identity, theology, gender and other broad issues. The collection has many pleasures, including Ruth Frappell's witty and occasionally acidulous account of Anglican imperial fervour, Colin Holden's reflection on Anglican visual arts and architecture, the latter supported by a rich online archive of images, and Brian Fletcher and David Hilliard's contributions to the narrative overview. Bruce Kaye's presiding genius is felt throughout the volume in the disciplined adherence to the organising themes and chronology, the careful framing of the general introduction, the generous notes and images, and the conscious engagement with contemporary academic scholarship which defies the venial limitations of less ambitious denominational histories. On the critical side, John Harris's account of Anglicanism and indigenous peoples would have benefited from engagement with recent writing on Anglican missions by Noel Loos, and other missionary encounters by Henry Reynolds, Bain Attwood and Aboriginal writers. The issue of anti-Catholic sectarianism is barely touched upon, though it provides an important theme in Australian religious history. Frappell's reference to the 'anti-British sentiments of Roman Catholic prelates, especially Archbishop Daniel Mannix' (p. 78) is not tenable in the light of Mannix's published statements to the contrary. When asked in an interview late in life, whether he was 'anti-British', Mannix replied: 'My feelings then and now were always favourable to the British. I opposed their policy in Ireland, and I think for a good reason ... but otherwise I've no hatred or hostility towards the British people, or the British Empire, or the British Crown' (cited by Santamaria in *Daniel Mannix*, p. 244). While it might not reasonably have been explained in less detail, the great struggle to achieve a constitution for Australian Anglicans and formal separation of the Australian dioceses from Canterbury was covered with some repetition by a number of contributors. And though it does not seem reasonable to ask for more when so much is already crammed in, it might have been interesting to have pursued the impact of Anglicanism on Australian literature. I am recalling here Patrick White's account of the Anglican

communion service in his novel, *The tree of man*, in which a ritual act is sublimated into Stan's experience as the archetypal Australian man. Overall, *Anglicanism in Australia* represents a major contribution to Australian religious and social history and a model for collaborative historical enterprises which might seek to follow in its wake.

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE,  
NEW SOUTH WALES

HILARY CAREY

*Säkularisation der Reichskirche 1803. Aspekte kirchlichen Umbruchs.* Edited by Rolf Decot. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, 55.) Pp. ix + 173. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002. €28.75. 3 8053 2940 7  
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In early 2002 the Institute for European History in Mainz held a conference in anticipation of the bicentennial of the event mentioned in the title: the abolition on 25 February 1803 of territorial rule by prince-bishops throughout the German-speaking lands. Overnight twenty-three prince-bishops or archbishops, and forty-four princely abbots, ruling (on the whole benevolently and efficiently) over some three million subjects were stripped of all civil authority. Suppressed also were most of the religious houses in their domains, and the Catholic schools and universities which they maintained. Without anyone having changed confessional allegiance, more than half the Catholics in German lands became subjects of Protestant princes. Karl Otmar von Aretin calls this secularisation 'The greatest catastrophe ever to befall German Catholicism. ... Never before had a land experienced such fundamental spiritual change. It was a total victory for the modern secular state spawned by the Enlightenment.' Von Aretin's description of the pre-1803 *Reichskirche* is full of interesting details. From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) until 1803 the bishops of Osnabrück were alternately Catholic and Protestant. The cathedral chapters, which elected the bishops in their respective dioceses, were firmly in aristocratic hands. Membership was restricted to those able to demonstrate at least sixteen noble ancestors, in some places thirty-two. Pluralism (the holding of more than one church office by a single person) was common. The dispensations needed for this practice (forbidden by the Council of Trent) were a welcome source of income for the Roman Curia. Many prince-bishops were unsuited for their spiritual office: some never advanced beyond minor orders. Pastoral work was carried out by auxiliary bishops. To this bleak picture there were exceptions, however. 'At the end of the eighteenth century there were a number of outstanding pastors among the noble bishops and archbishops. ... Most of the religious houses of this period were flourishing institutions.' Other contributors to this volume examine the history of the term 'secularization'; earlier attempts at secularisation, starting with the demand of the sixteenth-century Reformers for suppression of religious houses; regulation and suppression of religious houses in the lower Rhineland in the eighteenth century; financial and administrative aspects of the secularisation; the only prince-bishop to escape the debacle (Karl Theodor von Dalberg of Mainz, 1744–1817); and the attempts of German bishops after 1803 to adapt to their new role. An example of



German scholarship at its most dense and difficult, this volume is for specialists only – but for them it is indispensable.

ST LOUIS,  
MISSOURI

JOHN JAY HUGHES

*Catholic intellectuals and the challenge of democracy.* By Jay P. Corrin. Pp. x + 571. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002. \$55. 0 268 02271 2  
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The author of the book under review, who teaches at Boston University, has published a good deal on related topics, including *G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc: the battle against modernity* (1981). Challenging what he takes to be the common perception, namely that the Roman Catholic Church has invariably opposed all social and political reform, he traces the histories of the many significant figures, primarily in Britain and the United States, who, on the contrary, sought rather to develop ‘progressive’ positions and policies in tune with modern times. The Church has not always sided with right-wing reactionaries and authoritarian governments, he contends; in the English-speaking world, at any rate, progressive ideas have often been welcomed and many educated Catholics have made serious attempts to engage with the issues of modern industrial societies in the light of liberal-democratic experience.

The book opens with chapters on some famous precursors: Frédéric Ozanam (1813–53), a remarkable scholar as well as founder of the St Vincent de Paul Society for helping the poor; Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811–77), bishop of Mainz, keenly interested in social questions if better remembered as an ‘inopportunist’ at the First Vatican Council; and less well remembered figures such as Karl Freiherr von Vogelsang (1818–90), René de la Tour du Pin Chambly de la Charce (1834–1924), and other aristocrats much exercised about improving the condition of the workers, tending on the whole to promote corporative institutions as the solution most in accord with Catholicism.

Chapter ii deals with Henry Edward Manning (1808–92), cardinal archbishop of Westminster, staunch supporter of papal infallibility, determined to prevent young Catholics from studying at Oxford, but certainly a defender of the poor in his last decade; and with his American counterpart, James Gibbons (1834–1921), cardinal archbishop of Baltimore, concerned (among much else) with the ‘rights of labor’.

Chapter iii rehearses the story of the pontificate of Pope Leo xiii (1878–1903), ‘a watershed in Catholic history, for it redefined the Church’s relationship to the modern world’. This it did through ‘establishing intellectual, socioeconomic and political principles that Catholics could use as guides for meeting the challenges of an ever-changing industrial society’ (p. 59).

We then jump to the heart of the book (chapters iv–viii): the social and political theories of G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936) and Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953). Here we have (surely?) a fairly familiar tale – Distributism, *The servile state* (1912) and so on. Their ferocious rejection of liberal-capitalism and (in Belloc’s case particularly) parliamentary government, as well as of socialism and communism, left some of their sympathisers ‘favorably disposed to the exploits of Mussolini’ (p. 188). Belloc’s attitude to fascism was ‘more complicated and sympathetic’ (p. 195) than that of

Chesterton. Neither of them, however, Corrin holds, was ever among 'the more blatant anti-Semites and fascists in the 1930s who warned of an international Jewish-communist-Freemason plot to take over the world' (p. 196).

No doubt. Yet Belloc was a frequent and valued contributor to *Social Justice Review*, the widely circulated organ of Fr Charles E. Coughlin, the radio priest of Royal Oak, Michigan, whose rantings against the New Deal as well as against Jews, communists and Freemasons, were defended for years by his ecclesiastical superior, Michael J. Gallagher, bishop of Detroit. Interestingly, as Corrin notes, Gallagher studied in Austria as a seminarian, where he was impressed by Karl von Vogelsang's version of social Catholicism, 'with its authoritarian, corporatist, and ideological anti-Semitic underpinnings' (p. 196).

Father Coughlin had admirers among the clergy, some of whom banded together under the name of 'Clerical reservists of Christ the King'.

One turns with relief to Corrin's account of anti-fascist Catholics. He highlights two: Virgil Michel (1890–1938), the Benedictine monk who did much to establish St John's, Collegeville, Minnesota, as a centre of well-performed liturgy; and H. A. Reinhold (1897–1968), one of the first priests in his native Germany to introduce such liturgical practices as 'dialogue Mass', 'Mass facing the people', and so on – practices which, when he emigrated to the United States early in the Nazi time, brought him under much distressing ecclesiastical suspicion. Indeed, Reinhold was suspected of sympathy with communism as well as with liturgical reform. The two 'errors' seemed to go together. In the Depression years Michel was a leader of the Catholic social movement. For both of these men, liturgy and life were complementary: community worship and social justice reflected one another.

The Spanish Civil War broke out in July 1936. While keenly aware of the Church's failure for over a century to prevent the alienation of most of the people, Belloc and most of his sympathisers preferred to support the military insurrection led by General Francisco Franco. At the news of the massacres of priests and religious spread, Catholics in Britain and the United States soon came to regard Franco's army as engaged in a battle against atheistic communism. Doubts were muted. In France such figures as Jacques Maritain and Georges Bernanos were outspoken in their criticism of Franco. As the British newspapers and journals which Corrin has explored disclose, however, most were unreservedly on the Francoist side, and by 1938 many of those he calls 'Catholic intellectuals' were beginning to admire Hitler just as much as Mussolini.

In Britain and the United States, as Corrin tells us in his penultimate chapter, the Catholic admirers of the dictators did not have it all their own way. They were challenged by 'a small but intellectually significant minority of Catholic journals and newspapers' (p. 355). In fact there were three: *Commonweal* in the United States, *The Dublin Review* and *Blackfriars* in Britain.

As editor of its successor, I am of course pleased to see *Blackfriars* mentioned, let alone discussed for as much as three pages. According to the editors, by 1938, the problems in Spain were too complex to be blamed only on communism and if the Church had paid heed to papal social teachings there might well have been no civil war. This measure of anti-fascism roused much indignation in Catholic journals such as *The Tablet* and *Colosseum*, so Corrin reminds us.

This is a fascinating book, impressively documented, with 124 pages of endnotes and a further twenty-four of bibliography. The author wants to 'give voice' to those

Catholics whose ‘liberal and progressive approach’ has, as he says, ‘too often been unheard and therefore unappreciated and undervalued because of the more strident claims of Catholics on the political right’. For all one’s admiration for his stalwart retrieval of so many interesting people, it has to be said that they are just not significant enough to undermine the standard story very much. Figures such as Chesterton and Belloc, if not depressingly ambiguous are at least so polymorphic, and journals like *Blackfriars* and *Colosseum* altogether so puny, that, at any rate so far as the British end is concerned, the evidence presented here is unlikely to persuade many readers that they must abandon the perception of the Catholic Church throughout the decades under examination as overwhelmingly reactionary and even sympathetic to the dictators.

BLACKFRIARS,  
OXFORD

FERGUS KERR

*The Puritan as Yankee. A life of Horace Bushnell.* By Robert Bruce Mullin. (Library of Religious Biography.) Pp. xv + 296. Grand Rapids, Mich.–Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002. £14.99 (\$21) (paper). 0 8028 4252 6

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Congregational preacher and theologian, Horace Bushnell, has long been seen as the father of liberal Protestantism in America. Mullin, in this welcome, sensitive biography of the mid nineteenth-century New England pastor, highlights instead Bushnell’s philosophical and social conservatism. Bushnell was both ‘Yankee tinkerer’ and a subtle defender of some aspects of the original Puritan vision. Born in 1802, Bushnell graduated from Yale College in 1827. After considering both teaching and the law, he entered the ordained ministry. As a young cleric, he soon distinguished himself as an innovative thinker on theological and social topics. In works such as *Discourses on Christian nurture* (1847) and *God in Christ* (1849) he attempted to recast traditional New England theology into fresh terms applying insights from Coleridge and from Romantic thought. Bushnell stressed the limitations of religious language and, in particular, the dangers of a blinkered dogmatic terminology. Accordingly, Bushnell broke not only with seventeenth-century Reformed orthodoxy but also went beyond the moderate revisions of Nathaniel Taylor and other antebellum theologians. His perhaps naïve outspokenness on such complex subjects got Bushnell into trouble with his fellow Congregationalists. Although its pastor was exonerated of official charges, Bushnell’s North Church in Hartford eventually separated from its parent denomination in 1852. Bushnell’s later works addressed the larger significance of the American Civil War and the meaning of Christ’s atoning death (*The vicarious sacrifice*, 1866). In the latter work, Bushnell sought to pursue a moderate course between those who wanted to hold onto a Reformational understanding of the cross and those who sought to jettison the idea of sacrifice altogether. Mullin concludes that

on the level of doctrine, and particularly in his view of creeds, Bushnell contributed to the breaking up of the old theological order of New England. Yet in other ways he was the final flowering of a remarkably inclusive Christian imagination before theological divisions splintered the religious community at the end of the century (p. 206).

While some may not be as sympathetic to this 'inclusive Christian imagination' as is Mullin, his well-researched and insightful study of Bushnell has placed all students of nineteenth-century American religion in his debt.

GROVE CITY COLLEGE

GILLIS HARP

*All Saints Sisters of the Poor. An Anglican sisterhood in the 19th century.* Edited by Susan Mumm. (Church of England Record Society, 9.) Pp. xxviii + 282. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Church of England Record Society), 2001. £40. 0 85115 728 9; 1351 3087  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903318299

This is a valuable addition to the volumes of the Church of England Record Society. It is a selection of texts from the sisterhood's archive, a diary and the memories of two of the sisters as well as various official documents, the rules and statutes and some of the chapter minutes. It aims to give 'a snapshot of one of the earliest and most important Anglican communities' in its formative years, and does it very well. It illustrates some of the sisters' difficulties, such as their relationships with their parents, before and after their admission, the status of vows, and the finding of churches where they could make their confessions, or even receive communion on a weekday, when they were away from their house in London. It describes, too, their heroic work, their nursing of cholera victims in London and of typhoid victims in Manchester in 1866 and of the wounded during the Franco-Prussian war. There is also a striking vignette of the piety of Tractarian family life. The editing is exemplary; almost every person named has been identified and precise information given to clarify allusions.

BRISTOL

PETER G. COBB

*Imperial fault lines. Christianity and colonial power in India, 1818–1940.* By Jeffrey Cox. Pp. xiii + 357 incl. 13 tables. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002. £42.95. 0 8047 4318 5  
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Over the past decade, Jeffrey Cox has staked out 'work in progress' in some half dozen articles and chapters, which anticipate the rich deployment of argument and evidence in this necessary and altogether admirable study of the Punjab. British imperial and mission historians have neglected the American presence in India. With family roots in Texas, writing from the University of Iowa, Cox clarifies distinctive assumptions about ecclesiastical hierarchy and indigenous religion within American missions, notably Presbyterian and United Presbyterian. Both joined an 'ecclesiastical invasion' (p. 25) of north India by thirty-four home and foreign societies, an invasion dominated by the imperial and institutional commitments of the British CMS and SPG. This entire spectrum of theological energies is pulled into comparative focus. Rigorously, always in engrossing detail, he unpacks the categories of conversion, and of a 'native church' constituted to outlast empire. He assesses disparate objectives, strategies and unintended consequences, in relation, on the one hand, to competitive caste and communal hierarchies and, on the other, to British imperialist convictions, and the intermittently evangelical social hierarchies

and more contingent preoccupations of Punjab's colonial government. He sustains a critical engagement with three powerful historiographical perspectives: imperial and clerical providentialism; the irreversible secularisation thesis; and the compelling but still arguable illuminations of Edward Said's deconstruction of imperialism. Cox's strategy is to expose rhetorically constructed myopias associated with these 'master narratives', some insufficiently examined commonplaces and, above all, some massive and systematic sexist and racist exclusions. Thus, he reconsiders the incremental statistical consolidation of the presence of women in British missions. Initially 'mere' missionary spouses, women materialised in increasing numbers as individuals with professional aspirations and career expectations, in nursing, medicine and education. Inevitably they became subordinate agents of a pervasive strategy, with self-evident appeal to Victorian clerical professionalism, that sought to establish 'Christian influence' indirectly, by founding hospitals, schools and colleges such as the elitist St Stephen's College of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. But such structures of authority compromised evangelical penetration. They created attractive, though uneven, opportunities for communities understandably concerned to consolidate or renegotiate positions of esteem (and communal self-esteem) which the 'caste' categories of censuses in British India as resolutely attempted to freeze. Cox shows, to illustrate briefly, how Bishop Westcott of Durham's 'liberal' social Christianity could take on 'a more malignant character in an imperial setting' (p. 137). Westcott's CMD disciple G. A. Lefroy found himself committed to a substantial community of 'untouchable' Chamar 'Christian' leather-workers in Daryaganj, which had developed a 'pattern of religious piety' (p. 152) distinctly independent of CMD pastoral direction, involving Scripture recitations, festival and life-cycle celebrations, and Psalm and hymn singing which incorporated *ghazals* and *bhajans*, for female Chamar Christians were 'closely associated with song' (p. 139). Lefroy responded with an authoritarian, exclusionary rigour, which no incumbent in England could have contemplated imposing on the certainly substantial quota of doctrinal illiterates in his congregations. Himself initially, and unwittingly, incorporated into Chamar social hierarchies as their patron, Lefroy ultimately defended this imperial 'fault line' with a tiny group of depressed and dependent mission tenants. Denied any sympathetically imaginative recognition, the larger community turned elsewhere, to the American Methodist Episcopalians, English Salvation Army or non-Christian Kabir Panth.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

GERALD STUDDERT-KENNEDY

*La Place du catholicisme dans les relations entre la France et le Viêt-Nam de 1887 à 1903.* 3 vols.

By Étienne Võ Đứ'c Hanh. (Publications Universitaires Européennes, Ser. 31, Science politiques. Political science, 408.) Pp. 508; 509–1094; 468 incl. 2 ills.

Bern: Peter Lang, 2001. £81 (paper). 3 906765 21 0; 0721 3654

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After two centuries of missionary proselytism Vietnam's Roman Catholics numbered, at the start of French conquest in 1858, approximately 350,000. By the late 1990s they exceeded seven million, and are now one of the largest Catholic populations in any Asian state. From the early seventeenth century, missionising orders of regular clergy – principally Spanish Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits – had competed to establish this community. In 1664 they were joined by a French society of secular

priests, the Missions Etrangères de Paris (MEP), formed with the aim of establishing autochthonous churches in Asia. By the mid-nineteenth century the MEP had become exclusively responsible for all Vietnamese apostolic vicariates, except those of central and East Tonkin, which remained in Spanish Dominican hands. As a French missionary society, the MEP might be expected to have found comfort in the establishment of French colonial rule. But the relationship between the French mission and French colonial officialdom, initially cordial, became mistrustful and occasionally abrasive for the rest of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Since 1961 Étienne Võ Đứ'c Hanh has devoted his life to the study of the development of Catholicism in what became colonial French Indochina. It is a formidable undertaking. So far his project has run to ten volumes of commentaries and documents in 4,013 pages, and he has taken the history only down to 1903. A further two sets of volumes is shortly to appear, one covering the period from 1904 to 1913, the other from 1914 to 1920. Ultimately it is Hanh's intention to cover the entire period of French rule to 1954. The rather general title of the project may be thought to imply coverage of a wide range of dealings between France and Vietnam, but this is essentially a study of the ways in which the MEP itself evolved locally as it assisted the processes of French expansion and colonisation. Vietnamese and French political and cultural perspectives are not explained in any depth, and Hanh adopts the mission's viewpoint throughout.

Each set of volumes has been organised to embody a thesis, and the most recently published set, covering the period from 1887 to 1903, needs to be seen in the context of the rest of the work. Each set illustrates a phase of the mission's development as French power expanded. The first, 'Inspirations and Action' covers French intervention in Cochinchina from 1851 to 1871. The second, 'Breach, Pressure and Conquest' deals with the acquisition of Tonkin from 1872 to 1887. The set under review, 'Dynamic Partisanship and Collaboration' examines the process of pacification and dealings with officialdom from 1887 to 1903. In the first set the mission was broadly exonerated from inspiring, though not from facilitating, French conquest. Vietnamese Christians suffered grievously from popular reprisals at every stage of French expansion, so the mission had little to lose from lending consistent support to French annexation in the south. In the second set covering the period from 1872 to 1887, and dealing with the French conquest of Tonkin in the North, Hanh again argued that the mission did not inspire French intervention but merely facilitated conquest. He defended that formidably aggressive prelate Bishop Puginier, vicar apostolic of west Tonkin, from the accusation that he appealed for the French navy to seize Hanoi in 1872–3. But he illustrated the many ways in which missionaries co-operated with the ensuing Garnier expedition that ended in a fiasco in 1874, and then assisted the expeditionary forces that conquered and began pacifying Tonkin in the 1880s. In the three volumes reviewed here, covering the period of colonial consolidation from 1887 to 1903, the thesis is that the mission was the active and dynamic partisan of the French cause in the latter stages of pacification, receiving in return only grudging official assistance in developing the mission's proselytising role.

While the pacification process is covered in about 150 pages, the rest of this set is devoted to analysing the development of collaborative dealings with French administration, and the routinisation of mission organisation in each of the vicariates of Indochina. A large part of the set is so mechanistically organised that it reads like a handbook on vicariate administration, but herein lies its value. It is useful as a work

of reference on the traditions and practices of each vicariate, and on their widely differing social, cultural and political conditions. There were five, later seven, Vietnamese vicariates in MEP hands during this period, and we receive a clear impression of the differences in their modes of operation.

But the period 1887–1903 was also one of substantial change in French Republican attitudes to the French Church and to its missions, and it is one of the weaknesses of this work that we get little significant information on the impact upon the mission of changes in the domestic and colonial political context. Local missionary views and prejudices are usefully and fully treated, but the policies and behaviour of French officials are loosely, often dismissively, alluded to rather than explained. The book has organisational weaknesses too. The documents do not always match the structure and layout of the commentary. Groups of documents from 1910 to 1920 on the mission among the Montagnards, and a correspondence between Governor-General Klobukowski and Père Artif in 1907 fall, for no obvious reason, altogether outside the chronological parameters of the set. And while it incorporates useful collections such as the (rather guarded) Governor Lanessan–Bishop Puginier correspondence, Hanh's commentary castigates Lanessan's anticlerical prejudices without explaining the *rationale* of his political strategy, which was to proclaim the colony's confessional neutrality as one strategy among many of reconciling non-Christian Vietnamese elites to French rule. Moreover, Hanh's commentary offers excessive descriptive detail on some very minor missionary preoccupations, but omits explanation of some central issues of relevance to the mission's relationship with the colony, for instance the role of colonial press polemics against the mission, or of local masonic anticlericalism. Fleeting references (i. 470–7) to these issues are confined to illustrating missionary irritation at both. Hanh is not wholly uncritical of particular missionaries, but overall his treatment is plainly partisan. He is preoccupied with defending the MEP against contentions that inspired debate decades ago, but arouse little interest now. Sadly, despite his undoubted mastery of the mission's records, and his special expertise as a French-educated Catholic Vietnamese, he has little to say on the cross-cultural issues that excite historians of mission today. All the same this set is a richly documented explanation of the ways in which the MEP's complicated and varied Indochina vicariates functioned, and of the irritations they experienced in dealing with local French officialdom in the later nineteenth century. As such, it has considerable value as a work of reference.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

PATRICK TUCK

Alexander, *Father Arseny, 1893–1973. Priest, prisoner, spiritual father. Being the narratives compiled by the servant of God Alexander concerning his spiritual father.* Translated by Vera Bouteneff. (Trans. of *Otets Arsenii*, Moscow: St Tikhon's Orthodox Theological Institute Press, Brotherhood of the All-Merciful Saviour, 1993, 1994.) Pp. viii + 279. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001 (first publ. 1998, 1999, 2000). £11.95 (paper). 0 88141 180 9  
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This account of Fr Arseny (before ordination known as Pyotr Andreevich Streltsov), compiled by an anonymous spiritual follower from many different sources, and translated, not always felicitously, by Vera Bouteneff, reveals to the western reader one of Russia's twentieth-century saints, as yet uncanonised by the Russian



Orthodox Church. The reader is given few dates but those that are recorded help to place his life in an historical context. He was first arrested in 1933 and again in 1939 during the Great Terror when he was imprisoned in a strict regime labour camp. He was only released after an amnesty in 1958 whereupon he expanded his ministry of spiritual direction, begun before his imprisonment and continued even in the horrific labour camp conditions, to all areas of the Soviet Union from his small room in a provincial town until his death in 1973. Three people a day would come to see him, ten at the weekend, and, despite the danger, he wrote regularly to his spiritual children with guidance and help: 'In his answers Fr Arseny would pour out his soul, he would tear out a piece of his soul and give it to the other' (p. 121). He was highly educated, an art historian, who believed that as a priest in the twentieth century he had to be well-informed on every subject if he was to be able to communicate with people living in contemporary society. He exuded warmth, was a man of profound prayer with the gift of discernment. The stories of those whose lives he touched are remarkable. A young man, Alexei, was imprisoned with him in the camp's punishment cell where the temperature was  $-22^{\circ}$  and both were expected to freeze to death; instead, thanks to Fr Arseny's prayers, they emerged after two days, to the surprise of the prison guards, alive and warm: a doctor on examining them exclaimed 'Amazing! How could they have survived? It's true, though, they're warm' (p. 37). A man returning to the camp barracks after a day of hard labour with frost-bitten feet collapsed on his bunk, ready to die, unable to remove his boots; Fr Arseny, aware of his condition, gently removed them, massaged his feet and for five days sat up all night guarding his boots – otherwise they would have been stolen – as they dried on the barrack's stove. The man survived. In the case of a camp inmate ready to commit suicide Fr Arseny with his gift of discernment knew how the man felt, began talking to him and transformed his state of mind: 'He recreated my inner self' wrote this potential suicide. That this book circulated in *samizdat* during the Communist period before *perestroika* when such a powerful witness to the Christian faith could at last be published (first Russian edition 1993) explains in part how such a faith survived the onslaught of Soviet anti-religious propaganda. 'The stories of Fr Arseny ... are life itself; they are the living source that gives you the strength to believe' (p. 205): this is the effect of Fr Arseny in this book as in life.

LONDON

XENIA DENNEN

*William Temple. A calling to prophecy.* By Stephen Spencer. Pp. xii + 132. London: SPCK, 2001. £7.99 (paper). 0 281 05437 1  
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Although he was seventy-eight when he retired – a retirement hardly 'early', or even on time, by any scales of reference – Archbishop Lang slipped out of the chair of Augustine when he did in order to make way for his brother archbishop at York, William Temple. And the Church would have no other. The impact of Temple's death only two years later, in October 1944, is still keenly felt in the Church of England. This book, in itself, offers some proof of that, and also evidence that Temple's thought still enjoys a constituency there. It enjoys a foreword by Frank Field and also a preface by the bishop of Blackburn.

The fundamental purpose of Stephen Spencer's book, an accessible paperback with a rather natty cover design, is largely to measure Temple's claims to enjoy a

'prophetic' stature in the Church. It seeks to examine his thought within the context of his unfolding life and to unite Temple the church figure with Temple the philosopher and theologian. Prophecy is a difficult term and it may be that Spencer's concern to explore it sets his enterprise on an essentially polemical foundation. At all events, the work is thoughtfully done. It is something of a call to attention, a *resumé* and a personal, critical response to a public life of particular vitality. The book is brief and sharply drawn, and it announces more than it quite develops. At large it rests upon Temple's own published primary material and refers fully to the studies of Temple, biographical and academic, which have followed over the last half-century. In his sympathies Spencer leans particularly towards Adrian Hastings but rather away from John Kent, whose acute 1992 study is genuinely important, but whose virtues seem rather lost on him. In sum, there is much in this worthwhile book to recommend it to the general reader and students of history will benefit from its sharp delineation of many strands and themes in Temple's striking career.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE,  
BIRMINGHAM

ANDREW CHANDLER

*Martin Luther, German saviour. German evangelical theological factions and the interpretation of Luther, 1917–1933.* By James M. Stayer. (Studies in the History of Religion, Ser. 2.) Pp. xv + 177. Montreal–London–Ithaca: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2000. £37 (\$60). 0 7735 2044 9

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Robert P. Ericksen, Kurt Nowak and Klaus Scholder have written much on theology and the Third Reich. In this brief but concise study James Stayer outlines the responses of seven Protestant theologians – Barth, Holl, Elert, Gogarten, Althaus, Hirsch and Vogelsang – to the demise of cultural Protestantism in the lead-up to the new *Reich*. The book thoroughly discusses the theological debate about Martin Luther's Christology and the doctrine of justification by faith which the author feels had wider significance for the twentieth century. The political ramifications of the Luther Renaissance (described as 'grave' by Ernst Wolf in a 1958 study) are, however, only hinted at by Stayer. The eleven-page epilogue highlights the positions taken by these men in the Church Struggle of the 1930s. It was no surprise to discover that all the theologians under review – with the sole exception of the Reformed Barth – welcomed, to varying degrees, the coming of Hitler to power. Stayer does not discuss theological responses to the *Luthertag* in 1933. He stays clear of studies such as Hans Preuss's comparison of the two German heroes Luther and Hitler (1933). One question left unanswered is how variants of Lutheran self-understanding helped to shape political responses and interpretations of, say, the 'national revolution'. The theory brought adherents into the Nazi camp. Presumably, moreover, there was debate in the 1920s on Luther's views on government and Lutheran political resistance theory. Was the Altona Confession of 11 January 1933, in which the limits of civil obedience are surprisingly spelled out, related somehow to Luther studies in the foregoing decade? No theologian seems to have actually perceived Luther as a 'saviour' in either a religious or political sense, but he was put to good use on the theological battlefield. German academic theologians were concerned, in the 1920s, with making Protestantism 'relevant' in the modern world. Luther's

legacy – the study makes that at least abundantly clear – was adapted, re-invented, crafted, transformed, re-worked and, of course, distorted by theologians in their own personal search for relevance. Each man remade Luther in his own image. Each drew upon philosophical ideas (Spengler, Kant, German Idealism, Bergson, Nietzsche) for their exegesis. When one considers the endproducts of these wars of words, one feels inclined to ask whether the historical Luther was actually as irrelevant to German theologians as the historical Jesus apparently was.

Here we have the sad tale of theologians leaving the straight and narrow biblical path. What use were their ‘sound scholarly and religious insights’ if they were powerless to hold intelligent people back from supporting an organisation like the Nazi party? One wonders whether the six German theologians understood the Reformer at all. Luther might have been, if not a saviour, then at least a helper in time of need; this opportunity went begging in spite of all the research that had been done.

UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

NICHOLAS RAILTON

*The cross-cultural process in Christian history. Studies in the transmission and appropriation of faith.* By Andrew F. Walls. Pp. x + 284. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books/Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2002. £16.99 (paper). 1 57075 373 3; 0 567 08869 3  
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This collection of essays by Andrew Walls, the doyen of British mission historians, is a follow-up to the award-winning earlier selection of his writings entitled *The missionary movement in modern history* (1996). Together these works capture a lifetime’s teaching, and demonstrate conclusively why Walls has had so profound an influence both in Britain and throughout the world. From his days in theological education in Sierra Leone nearly fifty years ago, and then in Nigeria, through to the period of his seminal teaching in Aberdeen and more recently in Edinburgh, Walls has insisted that church historians have now the opportunity to experience life in the first, second and third centuries of the Church, because those are the literal time-frames of most of the Churches of Africa, Asia and Oceania. Earlier themes of Christian history and Christian historiography recur before our eyes as the Christian message is appropriated in ever new and different contexts. Walls has also insisted that church historians take seriously the ‘shift from Christendom to World Christianity’, and the further shift to a Christianity more and more shaped and determined by the southern continents. ‘The majority of Christians now belong to Africa, Asia and Latin America. These regions will increasingly be the places where Christian decisions and Christian choices will have to be made, where creative theology will become a necessity, and where the materials for constructing that theology will be such as have not been used for that purpose before’ (pp. 81–2). In a series of brilliant papers Walls shows us how this process has already begun, how new questions are being asked about Christ and how new theologies are being born using the venerable traditions of Africa and Asia, as ‘surely as earlier generations used the materials of Platonism and Roman and customary law’ (p. 82). Particularly forceful are two central essays on ‘Africa in Christian history’ and ‘African Christianity in the history of religions’, and these are complimented by ‘vignettes’ (Walls’s own term) of African theologians like Samuel Ajayi Crowther and Harry Sawyerr. But there are many other delights in this

cornucopia as Walls ranges over the course of the missionary movement. *Inter alia* he takes a quizzical look at Latourette's *History of the expansion of Christianity*; examines the theology of Rudyard Kipling; illumines the European context of the Protestant missionary awakening; throws a flood of light on the non-clerical aspects of the missionary movement; offers expert opinion about the Scottish missionary *diaspora* and writes charmingly of two great figures in the cross cultural process: the Welsh Baptist Timothy Richard and the Afrikaans theologian David Bosch. One can only recommend this acute, insightful and frequently witty volume to all historians, both 'ecclesiastical' and secular.

BRITE DIVINITY SCHOOL,  
FORT WORTH,  
TEXAS

KENNETH CRACKNELL