Race, Nation, and Religion in the Americas, Edited by Henry Goldschmidt and Elizabeth McAlister

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Reviews


This work was left unfinished when Bishop Coleman was killed in a tragic car accident in 2001. It has been edited with skill and care by Coleman’s friend and colleague, Michael Langford. The final chapter, on attitudes to marriage ‘From Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II’, has been compiled from a series of notes left by Coleman, and sections have been written by Langford based on the views expressed by Coleman in previous publications.

The book traces the development of attitudes towards marriage from pre-Old Testament times until the present day. Coleman was keen to portray the lengthy inheritance of ideas that informed Christian attitudes about marriage, and he demonstrates convincingly that over history each faith, nation or community has tended to adapt or modify the ideas of its predecessors. Thus the origins of Christian attitudes can be traced back through the Jewish, classical and Near Eastern traditions. The result is that Coleman is able to highlight the long-term continuities of ideas over time. For example, the Ten Commandments are shown to be very similar to the legal codes of the Near Eastern states, and ‘divorce by consent is now as standard as it was in Mesopotamia four millennia ago’ (p. 23). Throughout the book, Coleman is interested in how the views of key thinkers were influenced by their own experiences of marriage and family life. We learn about the family backgrounds of Erasmus, Luther and Calvin, for example. Departures from previous practice are also explained by looking at the social and political context in which Christians lived. Thus the preference of second- and third-century Christians for celibacy over marriage is understood as a consequence of their persecution: when in the face of death it seemed better to focus on spiritual concerns without the distraction of relationships and family life.

It is obviously difficult to review this book, when we do not know what changes Coleman had in mind before publication. As it stands, however, this is probably a book that will be of greater interest to practising theologians than to historians. Indeed, as Langford explains, ‘the principal purpose of this book is to provide resource material for contemporary debates’ (p. 198). The ambitious chronological scope of this book (the chapter on ‘Marriage in Christendom’ covers one thousand years of history), prevents detailed consideration of the points that are raised, and there is a tendency to let the lengthy quotations speak for themselves. The chapters are arranged chronologically, although it might have been more effective if they had
been organised around the book’s key themes, such as the making of marriage, sex in marriage and divorce. While there is no doubt that Coleman was aware that both the ideas and behaviour of ordinary Christians could differ from that of their spiritual leaders, this is a book that focuses on the views of the latter rather than the former. The selection of quotations from these key thinkers is thoughtful, and thanks to the indices compiled by Langford, it will be possible for this book to be of use in a wide range of future projects.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Elizabeth Foyster


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‘Doctrine’ would not have been my choice of designation. ‘Deification’ is not a doctrine of the Church in the sense that the incarnation or transubstantiation are doctrines of the Church even where it functions importantly in presentations of the status of Christians and the goal of religious endeavour. Styling the (ideal) Christian ‘god’ or ‘deified’ by relationship to the Heavenly Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit is more a trope, or indeed, when it appears in extended discourse about the life of faith, more of a conceit, than a literal statement of alleged theological fact. What Norman Russell does here is recount its origin and uses in Christian theology from the beginnings until Maximus the Confessor, its apogee exponent. There are chapters on deification in the Graeco-Roman world, on Jewish speculations about Ezekiel’s heavenly chariot and in chapter iv we reach a discussion of the notion of participatory union with Christ as it appears in St Paul and the theologians of the second and early third centuries. Clement, the first to use the precise language of ‘deification’ and Origen for whom the deified is the divine which is not God per se, followed by Didymus, occupy chapter v. Athanasius, who appears as the first to argue from the deification of the Christian to the full Godhead of Christ, and Cyril of Alexandria for whom it is another way of speaking about participation in Christ through the Holy Spirit, are the main subjects in chapter vi. The Cappadocians, amongst whom Gregory Nazianzen, the Theologian, is the most important for this study, figure in chapter vii. Indeed without Gregory’s dramatic and deliberately paradoxical appeal to the notion of deification the idea might well have died, since Norman Russell can write at the beginning of chapter viii: ‘By the early fifth century ecclesiastical writers, with rare exceptions, had ceased to speak of the deification either of the Christian or of the humanity of Christ.’ Denys the Areopagite and Maximus breathed new life into the idea: Denys with his dizzying language which, unwrapped, seems to mean merely that Christians improve with practice, and Maximus with his subtler expositions of the Theologian and the content of the divine economy in Christ. Chapter ix is an epilogue which touches on the latest patristic writers and moves on to brief considerations of Byzantine and more modern Orthodox theologians. A couple of useful appendices discuss the Syriac and Latin traditions, where there is more to be said than is generally recognised.
Norman Russell is nothing if not thorough: he has diligently catalogued pretty well every reference to the language of deification and quotes lavishly and effectively from the sources. He says that his aim is not just to list opinions but to place them in context. He has succeeded. His study discloses a number of not obvious facts. First, that ‘deification’ as a theological notion would not have arisen except in a milieu where divine heroes were cherished and divine souls were at home. Nevertheless, apart from Clement and perhaps Origen, ‘deification’ in Christian theology owes little to popular religion, Platonic spirituality or the metaphysics of cosmology. What underlies ‘deification’ is the Pauline notion of interchange (Christ became poor that we might become rich: 2 Corinthians viii.9) interpreted as meaning God became man that Man might become divine. This is combined with the notion that the Christian is an adopted son of God (there is a good deal to be said in this connexion about Genesis vi.2 and the sons of God that Norman Russell has no space for here), with Psalm lxxxi.6 and its apparent reference to human beings as gods (not to mention Psalm xl, where Christ, addressed as God in verse 6, is anointed above his fellows in verse 7) and the notion of partaking in the divine nature found in 2 Peter i.4 (though this seems to have been rather less influential than one might have thought). Secondly, according to this presentation the references to the precise vocabulary of deification are sparser than one might expect from the prominence given it in some modern accounts. Athanasius deduces Christ’s deity from his deifying power in De synodis 51, but this is not a typical patristic move, if I may dare to speak of such a thing. Rather, so it seems, ‘deification’ belongs in the vocabulary descriptive of the (alleged) rapport between God and the created person (‘created person’, because it might be applicable to an angel). The most obvious thing to record in this connexion is that the rapport is held to reside either in the status of the persons involved and/or the direct influence of God upon, or confluence with, the created person. In other words, ‘deification’ is imputed and/or imparted. A different context obliges talk of ‘justification’ and ‘sanctification’ rather than ‘deification’; still other contexts will speak of grace created and uncreated or of divine transcendence and immanence to point to notions of divine–human rapport and to some degree explain them. It would be generally agreed that this is the most difficult area for theological investigation and analysis, if only because it is barely possible to disentangle divine and human agency: how can my act be distinguished from a divine initiative? How does imparted holiness (deification which involves the reception of the divine) differ from the deification which means that Christians have real and effectual right to the title ‘gods by grace and participation’ by an imputed status? Norman Russell indicates the Greek patristic approaches; it is not to be expected that he should solve the problems they involve. What can be said fairly is that the processes of thought which produce the idea are fully comprehensible and are shown to arise almost spontaneously from the given interpretation of the biblical passages. Norman Russell does not discuss objections to the idea, though in passing he draws attention to the hostility Clement’s interpretation has provoked. The best brief, and at one level conclusive, rebuttal I know of is by Ritschl, Unterricht, 45 n. 1. Athanasius’ idea ‘that the positive result of redemption through Christ is the deification of the human race is untenable’ because it confuses the role and function of Christ as agent from the divine side, in which role he stands in contrast with the Church, with his function as representative of the Church in relation to God and the world whereby its members
receive his benefits, i.e. Christians are adopted as sons precisely as and because they are not ‘gods’.

Skelmanthorpe

LIONEL WICKHAM


‘It is hard to think of a subject that lends itself more naturally than Jesus to presentation in an encyclopedia. There are so many ramifications of his influence, so many aspects of his effect on the world in the past centuries.’ These are the words with which Leslie Houlden opens his introduction to this two-volume encyclopedia, and it is precisely in accord with these sentiments that he goes on to assert that ‘[t]his book sets out to focus on as many aspects as possible of the phenomenon of Jesus in the past two thousand years’. Entries, therefore, range widely. We find ones as particular as ‘Cadbury, H. J.’ and ones as broad as ‘Music’, ‘English literature’, ‘Enlightenment’, ‘Spanish Christianity’, and as unexpected as ‘media’. A fine body of scholars has been assembled to fulfil this multifaceted and demanding task, some of whom are acknowledged experts in the subjects they address (John Webster on Karl Barth, Ben Quash on von Balthazar, A. E. Harvey on the historical Jesus, George J. Brooke on the Dead Sea Scrolls and D. C. Parker on text criticism to mention but a few). Enough space is usually given to each contributor to allow them to say something genuinely informative, and some articles present interesting takes on individual subjects (Parker on text criticism, Hope on German attitudes to Jesus and Avis on Anglicanism). Each entry has a helpful, but not overwhelming, bibliography, and the book comes with a good index and glossary.

One has a few criticisms, inevitable in a work which seeks to range so widely. Some have straightforwardly to do with choice of subject. Why, for instance, should we have entries on Robert Funk or Marcus Borg when they could have been covered quite adequately in the section devoted to the Jesus Seminar (other choices in this regard seem odd – why, for instance, do we need something on N. T. Wright or J. P. Meier)? Although national Christianities are well covered, there is no entry specifically devoted to Asian Christianity, though a section is devoted to Indian Christianity. Why do we have an entry on Auden but not R. S. Thomas, who is quoted by Houlden in his introduction? There is an entry on Homer, positing, unconvincingly in my opinion, parallels between Mark and certain Homeric passages, but nothing on pagan attitudes to Jesus. One could go on. And, some criticisms have to do with proportion. So, for instance, it is odd from an editorial perspective to have devoted almost as much space to Ignatius of Antioch as to Karl Barth (some five pages).

But it would be quite wrong to finish an all-too-brief review of this work on a critical note. Its editor, himself responsible for more than forty entries, has been instrumental in creating a set of volumes which seek to do something hitherto not attempted. For that we should be very grateful.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

James Carleton Paget

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The merits of this magnificent book are so various that the reviewer’s chief imperative must be to urge others to read it. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre lies at the centre of Morris’s enquiry, but in essence this is a history of medieval Christianity presented as an account of Christian engagement with the concepts of both the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. As such it extends far beyond the confines of Morris’s title. The breadth of reference is simply astonishing and what Morris writes seem so self-evidently true that one is tempted to forget that before him no scholar has stated it with such clarity. To cite just one example, Morris writes of the events of the passion: ‘Saint Paul may have proudly claimed that “this thing was not done in a corner” (Acts xxvi.26), but to judge by the way some people have written, one would think that it had happened on the moon’ (p. xix): a statement which, as with so many others formulated here, is brief, witty and profoundly true. So many themes are illuminated that one hesitates to isolate any dominant thesis. None the less, at the core of this vast parade of fact and interpretation lies the argument that it was through a response to the historical Jesus and in particular to the supposed site of Christ’s burial and resurrection that western Christianity not only fashioned an identity for itself but acquired many of its more significant and self-defining features: most notably the cross, pilgrimage, the cult of relics, much of the liturgy and many of the terms, including ‘westerner’, ‘Christian’ and ‘Christendom’ which came to distinguish the religion of medieval Europe from the Mediterranean faith of late antiquity. Morris, whilst cautious as to the identification of the site chosen by Constantine (rather than Helena) with the historical events of Christ’s passion, leaves his readers in no doubt as to the significance of Constantine’s building in the development of medieval Catholicism. The Jerusalem pilgrimage was eventually to contribute to a new, more humane theology in which man himself was seen to be imbued with the indwelling spirit of God. Meanwhile, the process of cross-fertilisation between east and west, mediated through Jerusalem, was a rich and significant one. The ceremony of the Holy Fire, for example, appears to have been introduced to Jerusalem during the period of Frankish contact at the time of Charlemagne, and the development of the tradition of Easter sepulchres is first attested not in the east, but in the English Regularis concordia. The fact that Urban II gathered a council, including Byzantine representatives, at Piacenza – a city with its own monastery of the Holy Sepulchre – before proceeding to Clermont, greatly increases the likelihood that Jerusalem was already at the centre of Urban’s thinking before ever he made his appeal launching the First Crusade. As one would expect, the period after 1095 is masterfully surveyed by Morris, who scorns any notion that the crusades left no lasting impact in the west. On the contrary, the emergence of civic identity in cities such as Paris or Florence focused upon relics and festivals acquired from the east, the movement for apostolic poverty deliberately encouraged by the popes in atonement for the loss of Jerusalem after 1187, not to mention such phenomena as early modern colonialism, or, to pass from the sublime to the highly particular, Charles de Gaulle’s adoption of the Cross of Lorraine after 1940, all derived in part or whole from the crusading movement and hence from the crusaders’ identification with the physical site of Christ’s passion. Even after the 1290s,
although Jerusalem pilgrimage declined into an expensive and hurried package tour organised from Venice, and although reformers such as Luther might deride the buildings of the Holy Sepulchre as worth no more to God ‘than all the cows in Switzerland’ (a somewhat ambiguous slur this), as late as the 1620s the Medici were planning to transport the Sepulchre and its church to Italy as a means of fostering both Florentine civic pride and western Christianity in general. By this time, the building had already been put to any number of symbolic purposes in the west. Its shape, and its association with the idea of rebirth and regeneration, may have influenced the development of baptisteries, most notably at Pisa (pp. 230–5). When Conrad of Montferrat sought to recruit crusaders in the west he presented them with an image of the Sepulchre with a horse ridden by a Moslem urinating on it from above (p. 237), just as the Moslems themselves were to claim that the Templars had transformed the mihrab of the al-Aqsa mosque into a highly sacrilegious lavatory (p. 256). Amidst it many splendours, Morris’s book invites only two criticisms, directed more against its publisher than its author. It has not been particularly well edited (for example, at p. 108 where ‘some of it’ in the top line entirely distorts the meaning, the mislocation of Aubeterre in the map at p. xxiv, or the misidentification of a later photograph as an eighteen-century lithograph [sic] at p. 290). More problematically, the author’s decision to reserve particular stories and disquisitions to highlighted captions, although a common practice in journalism, in a book tends merely to interrupt the reader’s concentration, all the more so since these captions are too often poorly located by the typesetter, set far apart from the passage of text to which they serve as gloss.

University of East Anglia

Nicholas Vincent


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Early Christianity’s interest in the lives and, particularly, the deaths of the Apostles resulted in the composition of various books of Acts. Modern collections of non-canonical writings, known generally as New Testament apocrypha, usually include several examples of the genre going back to second-century compositions. Most of these early Acts are incomplete, not surprising perhaps in view of the disapprobation of them by church authorities, with only the concluding accounts of the eponymous hero’s martyrdom surviving relatively intact. For most of these apocryphal Acts modern scholars have had to reconstruct the chapters preceding the death from a variety of sources. Several stories about Peter were concocted, and early Christian writings witness to the existence of a work (or works) dealing with St Peter’s deeds and teachings. Some texts also survive that contain early materials on this theme. But as far as the original Acts of Peter itself is concerned little seems to have survived. What most editions of the Apocryphal Acts have done since 1897 is to give the text of the Actus Vercellenses (found within Codex Vercellenses 158) as if it were the main witness to the second-century Acts of Peter. This unique Latin manuscript from Vercelli from the seventh century seems to contain a text originally composed in the fourth century. That then is generally published as the primary witness to the
Acts of Peter on the assumption that this Latin is a relatively faithful reproduction of a second-century Greek original. Matthew C. Baldwin’s monograph on the Acts of Peter disputes that assumption. This carefully researched and well-marshalled thesis (from the University of Chicago) examines the Vercelli manuscript, and especially its Latinity and concludes that, far from being a translation of a Greek original from two centuries earlier, the manuscript contains a text that originated in a fourth-century western context, probably Spanish. It is thus an authority in its own right. Baldwin examines the Latin text and its likely Greek antecedent(s) and early parallels in other extant literature in Greek concerning Peter, such as the Vita Abercii, the Martyrium Petri and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 849; he shows convincingly that the parallels are not very close. He argues that references prior to the fifth century to the existence of an early Acts of Peter are very vague. If Baldwin is right we shall have to admit that the contents or even the existence of a second-century Acts of Peter need to be sought in the writings about Peter attributed to Linus, Abdias, Marcellus or Clement, and that the Actus Vercellenses merits study as a manuscript containing a Latin composition from the fourth century with but localised and limited appeal betraying tenuous links with earlier legends about Peter. Any future work on the various apocryphal Acts of Peter will need to take Baldwin’s erudite thesis into account.

J. K. ELLIOTT
UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS


‘Millennium’ is a new venture in the world of historical scholarship, a yearbook devoted to the culture and history of the first millennium. The editors are a group of young German historians (with Alexander Demandt as ‘augustus’). They are supported by an impressive editorial board with members hailing from a variety of disciplines. The editorial proudly sets out the ambitious agenda (p. xii–xiv): ‘Millennium’ wishes to transcend the boundaries of several academic disciplines (for example literary studies, history of art, theology, philosophy, ancient history) dealing with ancient and medieval history; moreover, by abolishing the academically ingrained distinction between ancient and medieval history it advocates a holistic approach to the first millennium. As has become customary, particularly in Germany, the yearbook will be supplemented by a second series, Millennium Studies, where ‘both congress proceedings and thematically relevant monographs’ (p. xiii) will be published. The good wishes of this reviewer accompany this project.

The present volume, with its bounty of thirteen articles (in German, English and Italian), certainly fits the multidisciplinary agenda; here I can mention only four contributions that may be of particular interest to the readership of this JOURNAL. First, Hartmut Leppin (‘Vom Wandel des spästantiken Heidentums’, 59–81) explores the transformation of late antique paganism, particularly the process by which paganism came to resemble more and more the imaginary paganism that was constructed by a
relentless Christian polemic: Christian writers tended to associate paganism with magic and pagan holy men and philosophers (like Iamblichus or Proclus) became more and more interested in magic and theurgy. Here it should be noted that a similar process has already been analysed in some detail by D. Frankfurter with regard to the transformation of the Egyptian priesthood (‘The consequences of hellenism in late antique Egypt’, *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* ii [2000], 162–94; cf. also the comments of R. Gordon, ‘Innovation and authority in Graeco-Egyptian magic’, in H. F. J. Horstmannhoff and others [eds], *Kykeon: studies in honour of H. S. Versnel*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, 69–111 at pp. 71–6; I owe these references to the learning of Jacco Dieleman). Whereas Egyptian priests used to function in the context of a particular local temple or shrine, in late antiquity they became purveyors of magic spells and amulets who were no longer tied to a particular place and were able to practise their variation of Egyptian religion throughout the Roman empire. In this way they came to resemble more and more the negative, orientalising stereotype produced by the dominant culture in order to define the alien ‘other’ – a phenomenon for which Frankfurter has coined the felicitous phrase ‘stereotype appropriation’.

Second, Mischa Meier, building on arguments of Averil Cameron and on his own work, analyses the sacralisation of public life in the age of Justinian (‘Sind wir nicht alle heilig? Zum Konzept des ‘Heiligen’ (sacrum) in spätjustinianischer Zeit’, 133–64). He argues that such phenomena as the ‘liturgisation’ of public life, the desecularisation of historiography and jurisprudence, and the democratisation of sainthood should be understood as collective reactions of a late antique society in crisis. Meier endorses, and indeed refines, Peter Brown’s diagnosis of a decline in the power and authority of ‘holy men’ in the sixth century. Although he disagrees with Brown on several points his narrative remains predicated on the assumption that ‘holy men’ played a central role in the religious landscape of late antiquity. More contributions to this topic, particularly by theologians, are announced (p. xv). Third, Bruno Bleckmann offers a sophisticated exercise in classical ‘Tendenzkritik’ by demonstrating that in the first two books of his ecclesiastical history the fifth-century historian Philostorgius did not propagate a negative image of Constantine (as J. Bidez had surmised in the original introduction [1913] to his magisterial edition of that text), but rather presented a subtle defence of the emperor against pagan critics (‘Konstantin in der Kirchengeschichte Philostorgs’, 185–231). Finally, Karla Pollmann (together with David Lambert) describes her ambitious interdisciplinary research project on the reception of Augustine from 430 to 2000 (‘After Augustine: a survey of his reception from 430 to 2000’, 165–83). This five-year-project is based at the Classics Faculty of the University of St Andrews and is financed by a generous grant from the Leverhulme Trust.

Hamburg

Winrich Löhr

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This useful book, the first in a series entitled *Evangelical Ressourcement*, is also a manifesto. Its remedy for the ‘theological ignorance’ of the modern evangelical is
a return to the traditions of the ancient Church, which are represented not as a petrified ‘set of propositions’, but as a ‘network of enduring practices’. The promulgation of certain truths as catholic and binding, Williams tells us, is a testimony to God’s incorporation of the faithful into a single brotherhood through his unsparing love. The canon of the New Testament was restricted not by magisterial censorship, but by the failure of other texts to gain the ear of the Christian world through liturgy and public reading. While he declines to offer an ‘apology for allegory’, Williams finds that the practice rests on a sound belief that the word of God becomes perspicuous only to those who mature in fellowship with him through obedience and love. Does such a claim make too much of the reader and too little of the Spirit? The Fathers never denied that justification comes through faith, but they perceived that a strict dichotomy between faith and works belies the fullness of scriptural revelation. The final chapter celebrates the hymnody of the Fathers – another sign that for them humility, inward growth and corporate worship were inseparable from the formulation of dogma. If he ignores the captious logic and Sadducean intrigue that contributed to the triumph of orthodoxy, Williams explains – what is more important – how the creeds survived the bishops.

MARK EDWARDS

CHRIST CHURCH,

OXFORD


As the product of a religious studies programme rather than a history department, this volume very properly concerns itself more directly with the issues raised in its subtitle than with any doomed attempt to take us through the story of the role of religion in history as such. That does not mean that it does not deserve the attention of historians of the Church; quite the contrary, the predominantly modern case studies will encourage us to look afresh at the past and to ask pertinent questions of it. It is even refreshing not to be pressed to seek the explanation of contemporary sorrows in past sins.

As one would expect from its credentials the volume is carefully designed to be usable and to offer up-to-date guidance for those who want to develop their interests further. The Open University has the knack of being helpful without being condescending and the Manchester University Press has built up a reputation for unfusssy presentation and sensible layout. The initial survey chapters on the early Church and its context, on the crusades and on the Reformation and its aftermath in the British Isles do not pretend to set out the history of the Church but to illustrate the tensions beneath modern religious experience and its interaction with a secular society. They are followed by three more specialised case studies and by three examples of modern tensions. The editor has chosen shrewdly and one can easily see how the combination could be a most effective and stimulating basis for teaching. As a book to read it leaves us to supply the continuity but the relationship is not difficult to reconstruct.

John Wolffe’s own essay on Protestant–Catholic conflict and Gwylym Beckenlegge on the Hindu Renaissance match more effectively than their titles
might suggest. Both tell stories which are, or ought to be, familiar to British observers and embarrassing to British Christians, but raise questions more sharply than in earlier treatments and questions which need to be addressed as we move on to consider the present and recent state of the Churches. We are spared any implication of bland and undiscriminating tolerance but the consequences of its reverse and the explanations for it are not hard to detect; handled in this way the students for whom the book is designed and the more general reader who is likely to eavesdrop will be well-prepared to consider constructively the debates on the ordination of women, the Churches and the holocaust and the situation in Palestine which complete the collection. Naturally enough a complete answer is not presented nor should it be in what is not designed as a tract. Those who read the book carefully, including especially those who are expert and committed to a segment of the subject, will emerge asking questions of themselves and their neighbours and equipped to ask them more expertly. Inevitably some corners are cut and we will all regret the exclusion of favourite topics which invite such discussion. The writers have played to their strengths and done so discreetly; their readers can build on the strength implicit in a text which is well presented, well thought out and admirably adapted to its purpose and will be encouraged to take matters further.

University of York

Peter Rycraft


This wise and elegant little survey of western Christian culture began life as the first Blessed Pope John XXIII lecture series at the University of Notre Dame, and it is a fine example of rhetoric in the best sense: an explicit exercise in epideictic, sorting out praise and blame. Although O’Malley is a master of tact, one feels that in the spirit of the dedicatee of the lectures, praise is firmly fixed on the second Vatican Council’s attempted reshaping of Catholicism, and that the era of Catholic history which has followed the accession of the late Pope John Paul II is not similarly celebrated. Various tropes combine to illuminate the exposition: crucial is the tangled relationship between Athens and Jerusalem which has created the tense (if not brittle) structure of the Christian understanding of divinity. The analysis of four cultures is further ingeniously related to the four transcendentals of scholastic philosophy: unity, truth, goodness and beauty. O’Malley’s ‘Culture one’ is the culture of the prophets – Tertullian, Gregory VII, Luther, William Lloyd Garrison – reformers who look for oneness in a simplicity which might be seen as reflecting the utter transcendence of God, and in their search for simplicity generally trample over the world as they find it, for good or ill. ‘Culture two’ is the world of the Academy, the questioning, sceptical culture which in its search for truth takes Socrates as its patron saint, and which bred medieval scholasticism as well as the post-Humboldt university system of the west. One might observe that this produces an interesting cultural civil war for modern Roman Catholicism, as the official Thomism springing from scholasticism battles with the bundle of attitudes which the popes of the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries labelled ‘modernism’. ‘Culture three’ is the culture of the poet and rhetorician, which, O’Malley points
out, very early won the battle for the education of the young (in ‘goodness’) in classical Greece, and which thereafter shaped the school systems first of the Roman world and then (thanks to the fifteenth-century humanist movement) of western Europe down to very recent times. This emphasis is not surprising from the doyen of Jesuit historians, given the Society’s role in bringing this educational style to a pitch of excellence, and the reader is quietly reminded of the alternative to Thomism within the Catholic tradition. O’Malley indeed points up the contrast between the dominant scholasticism of the Council of Trent and the extraordinary emergence of a ‘Culture three’ style of pronouncement at Vatican II, the council which actually ‘defined nothing’ (p. 175). Finally, ‘Culture four’ is the culture of beauty: the activities of art and performance, which have produced the liturgy and architecture of the western Latin tradition, not to mention the aesthetic rebellions and second thoughts of its various Protestant children. To catalogue these four cultures is to explain much about the nature of the Christian tradition, although O’Malley is careful to emphasise that rarely does one find pure versions of any of them. This reviewer shares his view that this is a Good Thing.

ST CROSS COLLEGE, OXFORD


This is a fascinating and creative approach to the study of early medieval Neoplatonism, part of Palgrave Macmillan’s New Middle Ages series, dedicated to ‘transdisciplinary studies of medieval culture’. The author maintains that ‘the Neoplatonic concept of sacred place has not been explicated or set in its proper historical context’ (p. 8). This book is designed to rectify that omission. Harrington focuses not on the observed practices within sacred spaces but on reflections about place within Neoplatonic texts. Thus his study is devoted to textual and philosophical analysis rather than cultural or theoretical anthropology. The principal authors under review include Plotinus, Iamblichus, Maximus, Eriugena, Cusa and, especially, Dionysius the Areopagite, who is in many ways the central figure. The first and last chapters are devoted to contemporary theory. Here the main players are Heidegger and Eliade, as well as Lefebvre and Gadamer. Harrington writes in the wake of Edward Casey’s 1997 study, The fate of place, a wide-ranging philosophical history that is the evident starting place for his own research. The middle three chapters are historical in character and concentrate on Hellenic and Christian Neoplatonism. To some extent they stand on their own and are thus accessible to historians who wish to remain innocent of phenomenological theory. But it should be said that the conjunction of theoretical and historical material works well throughout the book, since Harrington thinks and writes clearly, resisting the temptation to excessive jargon. The historical material on Neoplatonism itself is particularly strong, grounded in recent scholarship and in a familiarity with the texts. Chapter ii covers the Hellenic Neoplatonists, in particular Plotinus and his critics in the Iamblichean school. Chapter iii treats Dionysius the Areopagite; chapter iv
tracks ideas of sacred place in the Dionysian tradition through Maximus and Suger. It is inevitable that one might wish to dissent here and there from the author’s judgements – for example Harrington’s rather abrupt rejection of B. McGinn’s quite plausible reading of Suger as being primarily an Augustinian (pp. 161–2). But overall the book is judicious and careful in its scholarly conclusions. It has the potential to open up new modes of research in Neoplatonic studies and warrants careful attention from historians of ideas.

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SAIN'T MICHAEL’S COLLEGE,
VERMONT


In Ruling the later Roman empire Christopher Kelly focuses on late Roman bureaucracy and its influence on the functioning of the empire’s government. The book is divided into two parts. In the first, Kelly concentrates on the life and work of John Lydus, a high-ranking official on the staff of the Praetorian Prefect of the East in the first half of the sixth century. After retiring from forty years of service John wrote a history of the empire’s administration, ‘On the magistracies of the Roman state’. His view from the ‘inside’ gives a unique insight into the world of late Roman bureaucrats, a world characterised by increasing complexities of the bureaucratic apparatus and an inaccessibility for those from the outside. In the second part of the book Kelly develops several features of late Roman administration that have emerged from Lydus’ work: the importance of fee-paying for offices and services, access to government officials and the tension between emperor and bureaucrats. Whereas ‘clout and connections’ in the earlier empire were the main mechanisms for obtaining offices and influence, in the later empire payment for administrative services and offices had become another accepted way of gaining power, thereby changing the traditional operations of government. Obviously, paying for access to government officials immediately excluded a large group of the population, though Kelly rightly argues that the overwhelming majority of the ordinary inhabitants of the empire would not have been too concerned with trying to gain access to government officials, but would generally have sought other ways of assistance in dealing with their disagreements and other problems (p. 123). Access to imperial officials and the emperor was most important for members of the upper classes who had most to gain from being near the centre of power. An extensive and complicated bureaucratic apparatus with influential officials at the head of the various departments unavoidably created tension with the emperor, who needed his bureaucracy to control the operations of his empire, but delegation of too many responsibilities to officials would inevitably lead to a diminution of his own power. Vaguely demarcated areas of competences and overlap of responsibilities might be a solution to this potential problem of too powerful officials (p. 209). In his epilogue Kelly briefly presents a powerful case in sharp contrast to the world of late Roman bureaucrats: Christ’s court on the day of Last Judgment, where neither clout nor connections nor money will be of any help (p. 244). Kelly is quite successful in his attempt to ‘capture something of what it was like to rule and to be ruled’ (p. 1) in the...
later Roman Empire. He has skilfully managed to show the human side of late Roman bureaucracy which often seemed so impenetrable. The book will clearly be indispensable for the study of late Roman administration: it has opened up avenues that had not previously been explored.

DANIELLE SLOOTJES
NIJMEGEN


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Scholars of late antiquity have long considered that the monastic community provided a ‘surrogate family’ for ascetics who had discarded the ties of kinship and secular society. In this book Crislip examines the way in which monasteries came to fill the particular ‘social gap’ of health care, usually provided within the family. He explicitly focuses on Egyptian communities in the fourth and fifth centuries AD, as they both dominate the data for early monasticism and exercised great influence on communities elsewhere, and only occasionally makes wider comparisons with ‘western’ practice. In chapters i–iii Crislip examines the emergence of monastic health care, looking at the sick, the people who cared for them and their array of diagnostic and treatment methods. This part of the book is generally descriptive but covers useful ground, including the division between ‘natural’ and ‘unnatural’ illness (the latter induced by demons), and the emergence of a ‘sick role’ in late antique monasticism, which gave the sick the right to abstain from unpleasant chores and prayer, and to enjoy rest, luxury food and even medical treatment. In chapter iv Crislip pinpoints what he sees as the key contribution of late antique monasticism to wider society: the provision of organised, free, health care, institutionalised in various forms of ‘hospital’, although he rightly points out that the term signifies something different from what we understand by it. He proposes that the antecedents of the Christian hospital are to be found in monastic, and particularly coenobitic, health care, not in pagan or heretical practice. This book provides a useful, exhaustively referenced survey of late antique monastic health care.

PETERHOUSE,
CAMBRIDGE


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These two books together provide a comprehensive view of academic approaches to Evagrios of Pontos. Antoine Guillaumont was, until his death in 2000, the
acknowledged *doyen* of Evagrian studies, and the book under review constitutes a summation of a life of scholarship. It is a marvellous survey of Evagrios’s life, works and teaching, thoroughly documented and presented with the wisdom of a master. Guillaumont begins with the scattered evidence of his life, tracing his relations with Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen, his departure from Constantinople for the Holy Land and eventually for the Egyptian desert, where he spent the last fifteen years of this life, a disciple of the two Makarioi. The second part surveys his works, which survive in a complicated state. Because of his condemnation for heretical views, especially at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553, many of his works no longer exist in Greek, but in translations into other languages, especially Syriac and Armenian, representing traditions independent of the imperial councils of Chalcedon and later (in Armenia Evagrios is venerated as a saint). Questions of authenticity and date are clarified admirably by Guillaumont. The final, and longest, section provides an introduction to Evagrios’s doctrine: his teaching on the spiritual life, with its progress through the stage of ascetic struggle (*praktike*) to a state of serenity (*apatheia*) which ushers in the state attained by the spiritual master (the *gnostic*); then follows an account of Evagrios’s metaphysics, presented as of Origenist inspiration. The title of the book makes clear the nature of Guillaumont’s approach: Evagrios the ‘philosopher of the desert’, the intellectual with daring metaphysical ideas that brushed with heresy.

Without fundamentally disagreeing with Guillaumont (though critical of his arguments for a developed *nous*-Christology in Evagrios), Luke Dysinger presents a very different picture of Evagrios. In this quite brilliant doctoral dissertation, Dysinger takes Evagrios seriously as a monk, explores the structure of his daily life, with its pattern of reading or chanting the Psalms and biblical meditation, interspersed with short periods of prayer. Dysinger makes clear the distinction between psalmody and prayer, common to Evagrios and the monastic tradition, and the importance of psalmody in the monastic life. After establishing this, and elucidating how Evagrios approached the task of exegesis, he then turns to what is in fact the longest of Evagrios’s works, his *Scholia on the Psalms*, still not published, but available to anyone with enough persistence in electronic form with the text established by Marie-Josèphe Rondeau on the basis of a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vaticanus Graecus 754). First, he discusses psalmody as spiritual remedy, making clear how deeply informed Evagrios was by current medical wisdom. Principally, psalmody calms the *thumos*, the ‘spirited’ or ‘incensive’ part of the soul. Secondly, drawing particularly on the often neglected *Antirrhetikos*, he shows how the verses of the Psalms can be used as spiritual weapons, to combat the *logismoi*, tempting strategies of thought, that prevent the *nous* realising its true state of ‘pure prayer’. Finally, Dysinger looks at the contemplative vision provided by the Psalms, showing something of the variety of ways in which Christ is perceived in the psalter, and giving one of the clearest accounts I have ever read of the meaning of contemplating the ‘logoi of judgment and providence’. Dysinger’s book develops a fresh approach to Evagrios, one already adumbrated by the scholar-hermit, Gabriel Bunge, of whom Dysinger is warmly appreciative, in contrast to the rather dismissive remarks of Guillaumont. This is where the future of Evagrian studies lie.
How did early Christian authors view their act of literary composition (or, in Krueger’s preferred term, ‘authorial performance’)? In this exploration in search of conceptions of Christian authorship Krueger examines, by means of a series of soundings, indications of authorial self identity in a range of different works (‘early’ in the title means pre-Islamic). After an initial chapter, setting out his interests and entitled ‘Literary composition as a religious activity’, he looks at each of his selected documents in turn: Theodoret’s Historia religiosa is seen as taking the Bible itself as a model; the Evangelists serve as models for inspired authorship; the miracle collections of Artemios and Thekla are examples of the author writing as devotee, while authors of monastic hagiography, such as Palladius, see their work as an act of asceticism on their own part; as well as a description of the asceticism of others. Gregory of Nyssa, in his Life of Macrina, is presented as acting as a priest performing a liturgical rite. A chapter comparing and contrasting the Life of Syncletica and Porphyry’s Life of Plotinus brings out the differences that had grown up between pagan and Christian authorial attitudes (with an excursus on the description in the Teaching of Addai of Judgement as a time when everyone has to read the book of their deeds which they themselves have written on their bodies). Finally, Romanos provides an example of someone who merges his identity (through an acrostic) into the text itself. In the course of the book the reader is introduced to a rich panorama of different Greek texts from late antiquity, and there are numerous perceptive comments. At the same time Krueger sometimes seems to be carried away by his enthusiasm for his thesis, as, for example, when he claims (p. 10) that Theodoret ‘understands his product as a biblical text’. To use the biblical text as a model is hardly the same as considering one’s work a biblical text. Nevertheless he has amply shown how a variety of different specifically Christian authorial identities emerged in the course of the fourth to seventh centuries.

SEBASTIAN BROCKWOLFSON COLLEGE, OXFORD

The publication of this translation of Gregory the Great’s letters is an event of major significance. Gregory’s voluminous correspondence is perhaps the most important quarry of source-material for a great deal of the history of the Mediterranean world, as well as of the Church, in the later sixth century. There has been no English translation since the collection published in the series of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers in 1895. This, however, was only a selection and is obsolete, predating the reconstruction of the Registrum and the publication of the critical edition by Ewald
and Hartmann. The only other complete translation is the Italian version by Vincenzo Recchia. A new complete English translation fills a huge gap.

The strengths and the shortcomings of this work are both clearly linked with the proficiencies and the prejudices, respectively, of an accomplished classical Latinist. Martyn is, indeed, inclined to attribute more of his own expertise in classical rhetoric and knowledge of the Latin classics to Gregory himself, to an extent far greater than is customary, or indeed, likely; and he tends to emend readings accordingly. Predilection for absolute word-for-word fidelity is not conducive to the production of easily flowing English prose, and often causes awkward and even misleading versions. Idiosyncratic renderings of personal names, unfortunate solutions to the many problems with official titulature and modes of address mar the translation. (One example: ‘your Beloved’, adopted for *dilectio vestra*, is apt to give an unhappy impression: a *vir religiosus*, for instance, is told that ‘his most charming Beloved’ [=he] has written to Gregory (p. 482). Far more regrettable are the many minor and not infrequently substantial errors in the translation which, regrettably, severely limit its usefulness. Space permits only a few examples:

*Ep.* 1.19: *Gesta quae nobis in concilii uestri confecta secretario direxistis …* ‘The acta [records] put together in the secretariat of your council which you have sent to us …’; not: ‘the acts which you have directed for us, carried out in the conclave of your council’ (Martyn, p. 133).

*Ep.* 1.51: *duos parrochiales presbyteros debeas ordinare, quos tamen dignos ad tale officium ueneratione uitae et morum grauitate peruideris, et quibus in nullo obuient constituta canonicae disciplinae* ‘You should ordain two parish priests, but only if you know them to be worthy of such office by the holiness of their life and gravity of their morals, and who are in no way debarred by the rules of canonical discipline’; not: ‘men subject in no way to the rules of canon law’ (Martyn, p. 175).

*Ep.* *v.* 34: *agite ut excellentissimus exarchus ad hoc sine mora debeat consentire, ne per eum pax rennuit, quod non expedit, uideatur* ‘try to get the most excellent exarch to consent to this so that the peace-[treaty] should not appear to be repudiated by him, which would not be expedient’; not: ‘in case the peace appears to be rejected through him, as he is not accelerating it’ (Martyn, p. 346).

*Ep.* IX.68: *hortamur ut apud excellentissimum coniugem uestrum illa agatis, quatenus chistianae reipublicae societatem non rennuat* ‘we exhort [you, queen Thedelinda] to get your most excellent husband not to renounce the treaty with the Christian [Roman] Empire’; not ‘to prevent him from rejecting the delightful state’ (Martyn, p. 585).

*Ep.* XI.37: *subditorum mores in magna uitae munditia exhortando, terrendo, blandiendo, et boni operis exempla monstrando aedifica* ‘strengthen the morals of your subjects in great purity of life, by exhorting, terrifying, enticing them and showing them examples of good works’; not: ‘by showing them buildings that are examples of good deeds’ (Martyn, p. 783).
Ep. XI.46: multorum igitur ad nos relatione peruenit ... ita quosdam sacerdotes in illis partibus impudice ac nequiter convensari, ut et audire nobis opprobrium et lamentabile sit referre
‘It has come to our attention through the reports of many people that some priests in those parts [Gaul] are behaving so shamefully and wickedly that it is scandalous for us to hear and lamentable to relate’; not: ‘that some priests in those districts are being converted so shamelessly and wickedly’ (Martyn, p. 791).

For the greater part, these, and the numerous mistakes in the annotations and the introduction, are the obverse of the translator’s familiarity with the classical world: the result of unfamiliarity with both the language and the realities of the late sixth century, and of only slight acquaintance with patristic literature. (Some haphazardly chosen examples: sacrum, consistently rendered as ‘holy’, makes Gregory speak (as he is most unlikely to have wanted to) of the emperor’s ‘holy’ edicts; indictio, translated as ‘fifteen year cycle’, interprets him as speaking of the ‘last fifteen years’ when he clearly means (as is his consistent usage) ‘last year’; consistently used, the translation would often result in nonsense. Res publica is not ‘emotive’—except perhaps to a classicist—b ut standard usage for ‘the empire’.) Examples of misunderstanding, self-contradiction and confusion could, alas, be multiplied. For all its faults, however, the translation (and only the translation) deserves a qualified welcome as a major addition to the sources available to the Latin-less student of late antiquity, albeit one to be used with caution.

BEESTON


Cooper’s study of the body in the thought of St Maximus the Confessor (590–662) stands out as a fresh approach to the allegation of ‘spiritualising’ that is commonly brought against those Greek patristic writers most influenced by Neoplatonism. Cooper seeks to retrieve a positive understanding of corporeality from Maximus’ writings, and to demonstrate that Maximus avoids the ‘over-rigorous intellectualism’ of Origenism (p. 66). He defines his own fundamental question as follows: ‘What happens to the body when it is deified?’ (p. 1). This is not, as will be immediately apparent, an easy question to address, and Maximus’ ratiocinations on the subject, spread as they are throughout a number of dogmatic and ascetic treatises, letters, series of ‘chapters’ and explications of difficult passages in Scripture and in other Greek patristic texts, are not easy to distil into one coherent system. Nevertheless the author has managed to find five fruitful avenues of approach to corporeality, under the rubrics Concealment (ch. i), the cosmos (ch. ii), Christ (ch. iii), the Church (ch. iv) and the Christian (ch. v). This schema gives some idea of the author’s approach: it is methodical without being prosaic; it draws heavily upon Scripture, especially the Pauline books, as well as patristic writings; and it seeks to make a contribution to the life of the Church and of the individual Christian. The book tackles a conundrum: how could Maximus defend the positive contribution of the flesh to the spiritual life when Platonism taught that our soul’s spark of divine fire is trapped in the mire of
the flesh which weighs it down and seeks to prevent it from reaching its goal, that is, union with God? Cooper concludes that Maximus’ emphasis on deification is what saves him from the unremitting pessimism of slavery to the body. This is some consolation but possibly not enough to make Maximus the one-man standard of Byzantine ‘optimism’ on this subject. Maximus’ approach to the independence of the human will – uncorrupted in its nature but defective in its operation – is a good illustration of his ambivalence towards the human capacity for deification. What then is the proper Christian attitude towards the sensible world, in which and to which Christ was revealed in human flesh? On the one hand, Maximus argues ‘with relentless resolve’ that the sensible realm must be transcended (p. 19). ‘To stop short with it is idolatry’, though it is not in itself evil. On the other hand, the transfiguration ‘in which material realities disclose their created fullness in Christ’ (in the words of Paul Blowers, cited at p. 64), is not something that the Christian should expect to achieve in this lifetime. The tightrope walk of the spiritual life is not just a monastic vocation but one to which all are called, according to Maximus’ vision for humanity. Thus there is a strong emphasis on the sacramentality of ascetic self-giving (p. 223). The volume concludes with an excellent bibliography covering all the current major sources and recent studies. It is essential reading for anyone interested in Byzantine theological anthropology, the vexed issue of corporeality, the implications of a Platonic approach to body and soul for Byzantine (and modern) theologians and Maximian studies in general. Cooper has produced an extremely well-documented and rich insight into a complex thinker whose legacy is still to be fully explored and appreciated.

BRONWEN NEIL

Australian Catholic University


This is the latest of the valuable and ongoing contributions by Allen and Neil to Maximian studies. Having previously edited and translated documents relating to Maximus’ trial and exile, they have now given us a useful edition and translation of the longest of the Greek Lives of Maximus. Although an eleventh-century compilation with some chronological confusion evident, this Life is taken by the editors to be a broadly reliable account, subject to the usual conventions of hagiography (they call it a ‘factitious encomiastic’). The Life would certainly seem, for all its obvious devotion to Maximus, to be more trustworthy than the quite fascinating and more ancient Syriac Life with its passionate bile and vicious defamation. It is, to illustrate the point briefly, unlikely that someone of Maximus’ vast erudition and splendid connections would have been the son of a Persian slave woman and a Samaritan merchant, as the Syriac version would have us believe. As we have come to expect from these two scholars, the Life is accompanied by a lucid introduction and supported by an ample critical apparatus, crisp notes and well-conceived indices. The translation appears careful and accurate, if not exactly elegant, and subject to the occasional jarring note of modernity – witness the ‘easy-going’ Emperor Heraclius.
on p. 59 or the exclamation ‘Do me a favour!’ on p. 121 (the latter more reminiscent of London’s East End than the eastern Empire). I have noted very few typographical errors, for instance the amusing substitution of ‘recessions’ for the intended ‘recensions’ of p. 6, possibly the work of an over-enthusiastic spell-checking facility. But these are mere quibbles. This is a very fine piece of work that not only opens up an important historical and theological source to a wider public but also contributes to our understanding of the real and ongoing significance of the issues at stake in the Monothelite controversy.

Faculty of Divinity, Cambridge

Marcus Pusted


This book pursues a methodological approach to medieval hagiography, rooted in literary criticism but of immediate interest to historians, which starts from the hypothesis that ‘the genre’s conservative and repetitive nature preserves a record of slow ideological or conceptual shift’ (p. 247). Damon begins from Sulpicius Severus’ Vita Sancti Martini, in which he identifies four ‘anti-war topoi’, namely the ‘unwilling warrior’, the ‘soldier in name only’, the ‘bloodless victory’ and the ‘repudiation of military life’ (p. 10). He then examines how these were treated in hagiography concerning warriors or ex-warriors. The investigation starts with the early treatment of saint-kings Edwin and Oswald, in which Damon discerns the emergence of a more martial approach to sanctity, which he terms the ‘Oswaldian’ as opposed to the ‘Martinian’ (anti-war) approach. He argues for a more ‘Martinian’ approach in Felix’s Vita Sancti Guthlac, but more prominence given to the ‘Oswaldian’ in Cynewulf’s writing, especially his ‘Elene’. The investigation is pursued through ‘Guthlac A’ and ‘Guthlac B’, which show in Damon’s judgement an intersection of the two approaches, and very interestingly through Alcuin, whose hagiography seems notably Oswaldian and in line (Damon argues) with the ethos of Charlemagne’s court and conquests, to a more subtle blending of ideas on warfare in Abbo of Fleury’s Passio Sancti Edmundi. The most striking chapter is that on Ælfric, whose Lives of the saints Damon analyses in relation to the idea of the ‘three orders’ discussed by Georges Duby, and to ideas of ‘just war’. All this is rounded off with a consideration of recensions of the Life of Martin from Aldhelm to the South English legendary. The book’s importance for the development of ideas about warfare leading up to the crusades is considerable, and Damon underlines the fact that it does not conform to Carl Erdmann’s classic thesis about the rise of ideas of holy warfare. Both Damon’s conclusions and his methodological approach deserve the closest attention. As his lines of thought are pursued further, however, he and others might consider whether more could be done by a dialogue between literary and historical specialists in contextualising the ideological developments he identifies, with reference to records of church councils, especially ‘peace’ councils, and narrative histories; and whether the ideological divide which he seems so clearly to perceive between England and the continent is really as important as he sometimes represents it. Was Alcuin’s York
so different from Aachen? Were the ideas circulating in Abbo of Fleury’s Gaul so
different from those he received from Archbishop Dunstan? And can we really view
the Norman Conquest as an ‘inundating tidal wave’ (p. 246) which brought an end
to the ‘five centuries’ of the ‘existence’ of ‘Anglo-Saxon society’ (p. 252). Much of
Damon’s discussion, notably on the ‘three orders’, actually erodes the distinction
between England and the continent. Future research should pursue this.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

DAVID ROLLASON

2 87723 723 0; 0070 0444

REVIEW 327

This is a dense and somewhat disparate book, and is offered as the first part of a
planned trilogy on historical writing in medieval Georgia. It is an extraordinarily
rich mine of information and commentary on the earliest texts of Georgian history,
and while I suspect that most scholars will find more value in the parts than in the
whole, its importance lies ultimately in the overall argument. The extensive
bibliography at the front of this book – taking up fifty pages – is as comprehensive an
account of published sources on the Caucasus as will appear for some time, and is
worth consulting for that alone. The bulk of the book, part I, is a discussion of the
earliest texts in Kartlis cxovreba (the Annals of Georgia), the collective name for the
modern compilation of Georgian historical texts. Through detailed analysis of the
texts Rapp argues that each of these chronicles, which cover the legendary creation
of Georgia down to the conversion of Kartli to Christianity by St Nino and the reign
of Vaxtang Gorgasali in the fifth century, is itself made up of other texts, and dates
their compilation to c. 800, rather than the traditional date in the eleventh century
under Archbishop Leonti Mroveli. This will prove controversial in Georgia, but
Rapp presents his arguments well. Part II provides a commentary on Mok’ec’eway
kartlisay (the conversion of Georgia), the main historical corpus not included in
Kartlis cxovreba, and provides translations of four of its six components, the historical
royal lists (written at different times, and collected together in the tenth century). Part
III moves on to the Bagratid period (post 800), and this perhaps fits less well with the
previous sections as it really begins to address a new series of problems in Georgian
historiography. However, it includes the first translation into English of the chronicle
of Sumbat Davit’isdzze (covering roughly the years 800–c. 1030), after a brief
summary of earlier Georgian history. The translation fills the lacuna in Robert
Thomson’s recent translation of the other texts in Kartlis cxovreba (Rewriting Caucasian
history: the medieval Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles: the original Georgian texts
and the Armenian adaptation, Oxford 1996). Eight excursae and three appendices allow
Rapp to delve into a series of other questions loosely related to his overall theme,
including the origins of the use of the word Sak’art’velo to mean all Georgia; the
date and authorship of the text of the martyrdom of Arch’il; the first English
translation of the Divan of the Ap’xa’zian kings (another royal list); and the use of
Georgian materials in the writings of the fourteenth-century Armenian author,
Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i. A bald list of the contents of this book emphasises the
eclecticism of its contents. There is, however, an underlying argument about the
development of self-identity in Georgia. Although this can be hard to trace through
the many rich by-ways in this book, it is this overall argument that is most important,
and most controversial. It seeks to place Georgia more firmly in the Eurasian world
than many authors looking at Georgia from the west (or looking longingly at the west
from within Georgia) have been inclined to do. Whilst it was necessary for this book
to present in such detail the primary evidence for the redating and authorship of the
texts from which Georgian history emerges, we must hope that the later volumes of
the trilogy will focus more closely on the argument about Georgian identity itself and
its repercussions for our understanding of Georgia in the Middle Ages.

COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

ANTONY EASTMOND

The invention of saintliness. Edited by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker. (Routledge Studies in
Medieval Religion and Culture.) Pp. x + 222. London–New York: Routledge,
2002. £65. 0 415 26759 5

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The invention of saintliness comprises ten essays by Flemish and German scholars that
aim to investigate the processes by which the qualities of sainthood were defined in
the pre-modern world. Inevitably the essays diverge in their approaches, but they
share some striking emphases that give this collection of articles more coherence
than most: that is, they tend to diminish the control of the higher or learned clergy
and to stress the ability of other groups – ordinary believers, gilds, groups interested
in mysticism and so on – to win acceptance for notions of ‘sainthood’ that reflected
their own Sitz-im-Leben, their own self-understanding and world view. In keeping with
this approach, the tendency of the collection is to play down the influence of hagio-
graphy, stressing ‘social agencies’ and ‘contexts’ as opposed to ‘textual structures’.

These emphases are strongest in the two contributions made by the editor. In her
introduction she begins, for example, by contending that it was only at a very late
point in the development of the Latin Church (in the eighteenth century) that the
ideas of the papacy about what constituted a saint (the heroic display of Christian
virtue rather than the performance of miracles) prevailed over local and popular
notions of what sanctity comprised. In her essay, she examines the processes by
which sacred landmarks associated with saints were created in the Low Countries,
arguing that they were products of a compromise between local interests and the
religious elites. In the thirteenth century, the rural laity had increasingly to negotiate
with the clergy to prevent the suppression of their sacred sites and to elicit their
cooperation in the production of vitae that would legitimise their existence, and in
this period cults of this kind came to be defined in ways which were more, but still
not wholly, in line with ‘ecclesiastical tradition’.

The other contributions reinforce this approach to differing degrees. Examining the
relationship between the lives of saints and godelieve of Gistel and the historical
evolution of their cults, Renee Nip argues, for example, that the decisive element in
their sanctification was not belief in their virtue in life but in their ability to deliver
posthumous miracles. Once this had taken hold, diverse social groups were able to take
up these cults and adapt them for their own purposes, sometimes with the help of
hagiographical texts but sometimes, as in the case of the brewers who made Arnulf their patron, in ways which had no foundation in the official vitae. Examining the one non-Christian saint discussed in the volume, Maaike Zimmerman argues in a similar fashion that Philostratus’ Life of Apollonius was an attempt to harness the pagan holy man’s fame and to re-fashion it to serve the interests of Hellenism and the Second Sophistic movement. It altered scholars’ perception of Apollonius, but it did little to modify his reputation with ordinary citizens who continued to treasure his talismans for their wonder-working power. Ineke van ‘T Spijker examines the ways in which monastic hagiographers attempted to take account of a new kind of spiritual behaviour – the radical introspection practiced by Hugh of Grenoble (d. 1132) and Hugh of Marchiennes (d. 1158) – even though their actions were at odds with older generic models which required that saints be all-conquering heroes full of divine grace.

The volume comprises, in short, a series of carefully nuanced investigations as to the roles that texts, individuals, social groups and institutions played in developing the conceptual framework of the cult of saints before the process of saint-making was subjected to effective control from above. Its great virtue is the succinct way in which it defines issues central to the field. Some scholars will question whether such crucial developments as the assertion of episcopal and papal control over saint-making and the intrusion of saints’ cults into the inner lives of the rural population only began to bite as late in the day as Mulder-Bakker suggests, especially since she appears to be generalising from the evidence of the Low Countries alone. But newcomers to the subject and students embarking on dissertations will find the book eminently useful for the purpose of defining their own research questions.

University of Lancaster

Paul Hayward


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This is a most impressive study of the literacy, in the widest possible sense, of nuns in three Ottonian monasteries, Gandersheim, Essen and Quedlinburg, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. The author, an experienced palaeographer and medievalist, presents us with as comprehensive a study as one can imagine for the ways in which the skills of reading and writing of medieval nuns can be assessed. The introductory chapter sets out the history of the monasteries all three of which were founded in one way or another by members of the Saxon Liudolfing family from who descended the Ottonian kings. All three were headed by royal princesses whose power and authority as abbesses rivalled that of the territorial princes in Germany. The monastic institutions acted as schools for inmates and outsiders, as political propaganda centres for Ottonian policies, and crucially as centres for royal and dynastic memorial traditions. The central argument running through the seven chapters is that the nuns did indeed cultivate their own literate skills: they could copy Latin, they could read Latin and they could compose in Latin; in short they were as educated as any of their male contemporaries in monasteries. Due
to the exceptional survival of Essen manuscripts and the smaller collections from Gandersheim and Quedlinburg, Bodarvé was able to expand on the findings of Bisschoff and Hoffmann with regard to the scope of female literacy. Thus in chapters on education, writing and copying, everyday literacy, libraries and reading, and nuns as authors (Hrotsvitha, author of the Annales quedlinburgenses), she persuasively and convincingly refutes once and for all the notion that women were less skilled than men. It is the comprehensiveness of her approach, the quite outstanding subtlety of her discussion and the sensitivity of her handling of the material culture, which raises this book considerably above anything else written on literacy in the Ottonian period. Moreover, the meticulous attention to detail at every level of the discussion — especially in the exemplary catalogue of manuscripts on pp. 361–480 — turns this study into a must for anyone interested in women’s education and learning in the Middle Ages.

ELISABETH VAN HOUTS
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The Durham Liber vitae and its context. Edited by David Rollason, A. J. Piper, Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason. (Regions and Regionalism in History, 1.) Pp. xvi + 260 incl. 12 plates, 10 figs and 1 table. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004. £55. 1 84383 060 4; p 1742 8254

This is the first book dedicated to the Durham Liber vitae, and a very good book it is. The collection is divided into three parts. Two essays examine the manuscript of the Durham Liber vitae, a mid ninth-century list of more than 3,000 names of persons associated with a church in Northumbria, perhaps Lindisfarne or Wearmouth and Jarrow. To this core various kinds of material were added over several centuries, creating puzzles that many disciplines must address. Seven essays explore the manuscript’s history and content; another seven essays are devoted to various contexts for the work. These contexts include other texts (including the Liber vitae of the New Minster, Winchester), geographical centres (Yorkshire, Bohemia) and genre (martyrologies, necrologies and confraternity books). The many plates and figures incorporated into Michael Gullick’s important contribution on the codicology of the manuscript are especially useful. The essays move out from the core of the manuscript, Elizabeth Briggs’s ‘mere lists of names’ (p. 63), to investigate specific comparisons between insular and continental memorial practices from the early Middle Ages to the sixteenth century. If few of the questions long associated with the Durham Liber vitae receive definitive answers here, it can be said that never before have they been explored with such coherence; a thorough index is designed to help readers connect and compare arguments. Preparatory to a much-needed digital edition and facsimile of the manuscript, these studies appear in series dedicated to regions and regionalism in history. The collection succeeds brilliantly in showing how massed studies of regional particularities can be made to contribute to general understandings of important historical and social questions. It would have been useful, even at this stage of the discussion, to have a synthesis beyond that offered in the preface to assist scholars unfamiliar with some of these genres and practices in pulling the results of these essays together. Such synthesis will, of course, come
K. S. B. Keats-Rohan begins her contribution by observing that ‘Dead men – and women – have plenty to say, although they need special help to say it’ (p. 165). The dead named in the Durham Liber vitae have, with this splendid collection, at last begun to tell their tales. The academic centres and libraries that have supported this research should, along with the authors and editors, be congratulated.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, 
ALLEN J. FRANTZEN
CHICAGO


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This book has grown out of the commemoration of the novocentenary of Wulfstan’s death in 1095, bringing together a series of eleven papers by prominent specialists in different fields. As the only Anglo-Saxon bishop to retain his see for an appreciable length of time following the Norman Conquest, Wulfstan is a key figure for understanding the development of English history and culture in the last third of the eleventh century, and here the authors provide important new insights into his role. An introduction by Nicholas Brooks sets the scene and defines the four categories of evidence that are pursued in the subsequent chapters: narratives, documents, books and buildings. Andy Orchard examines in detail the Lives of Wulfstan by Coleman and William of Malmesbury. Ann Williams shows how Wulfstan proved an adept defender of the property of his see; a form of defence that may have included the commissioning of Hemming’s chartulary with its numerous forgeries, as analysed by Julia Barrow. In the management of the landed estates of the see, the picture shown by Christopher Dyer is one of conservatism and stability. However, as Richard Holt indicates, Wulfstan was less successful in defending the position of the cathedral in the burgeoning town of Worcester itself. Michael Hare studies the church estate where Wulfstan first served as a priest. An important analysis by Richard Gameson of the books associated with Worcester from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth centuries (completing a previous paper elsewhere on Worcester books in the immediately preceding period) demonstrates a different pattern from other monastic houses, which had passed under Norman rule: under the book-loving Wulfstan manuscript production continued steadily and Romanesque ornament was introduced at a date earlier than elsewhere, although the introduction of new types of text was deferred. On the other hand, Wulfstan’s new Romanesque cathedral, the evidence for which is reviewed by the late Philip Barker, was undertaken only in the 1080s and marked a new departure. The final papers examine two aspects of the functioning cathedral: John Crook on the cult of St Wulfstan following his death; and Susan Rankin on the cathedral music during Wulfstan’s life and in the subsequent office for him as a saint. Each of the papers makes a significant contribution to its own scholarly field, and together they amount to a major study of the period – and a worthy contribution to this valuable series.

COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART,
RICHARD GEM
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
This volume contains the proceedings of a conference held at Cerisy-la-Salle and Bayeux in 1999 and is of outstanding importance for the study of the Bayeux Tapestry. It includes the publication for the first time of investigations carried out in 1982–3 when the tapestry was in transit to its present home in the Centre Guillaume le Conquérant. Several important conclusions emerged from this examination, of which the most striking are that there are nine panels of cloth, not eight, that the original colours have faded very little, and that various features, such as the diminishing size of the panels and variable quality of workmanship, indicate work executed at some speed. On traditional topics, several essays demonstrate painfully how little rigour has in the past been brought to basic problems such as dating and content. On the former the contributors offer different suggestions, but there is a powerful trend, most systematically argued in Pierre Bouet’s essay, to date the tapestry very early; perhaps to 1067. This is a trend of which I would approve. On content, a very important essay by David Hill provides observations on the differences between the various reproductions from the seventeenth century onwards in order to try to establish precisely the contribution of the restorers and a ‘text’ of the tapestry. Other major themes are the tapestry’s accuracy in detail, demonstrated in essays on costume, archaeology and military equipment and logistics by Olivier Renaudeau, Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher and John France, and on how a work can be exploited as a historical source. Odo of Bayeux, accepted by all as the tapestry’s patron, figures large, with the most interesting treatment being by Valerie Flint who locates his portrayal as that of a bishop working with the laity in a righteous and just cause: the link to the Penitential Ordinance is exciting and persuasive. Harold is also very prominent, with Pierre Bouet in particular showing just how honourably he is portrayed, and Barbara English in an outstanding essay discussing the representation of the enthroned King Harold and concluding that nothing in the tapestry ‘casts any doubt on the reality of his kingship’ and suggesting that the coronation took place at Easter. In a remarkable tour d’horizon, Maylis Baylé locates the tapestry in the art of the period, tracing both its antecedents and its potential influence; for her, its Canterbury origins are beyond doubt. Also of great originality is Elisabeth van Houts’s study of the child figurehead on William’s ship. Shirley Ann Brown contributes an invaluable up-date to 1999 of her bibliography. Also included is an extremely interesting essay by Sylvette Lemagnen on the history of the tapestry during World War II and in particular on the remarkable scholarship of the archaeologist Hubert Jankuhn. This volume is an indispensable contribution to the study of the tapestry, and indeed to much else besides. It must be doubted, however, whether it will immediately persuade the world to adopt the new name ‘Bayeux Embroidery’.

Institute of Historical Research, London

David Bates
London
Given the great interest that it has attracted since the Latin original was first edited by C. H. Talbot in 1955, there is much to be said for making Goscelin’s *Liber confortatorius* more widely accessible through translation. It is all to the good, therefore, that the last year has seen the publication of not one but two translations. One forms part of Stephanie Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton women* (Turnhout 2004), a study of the author’s association with Wilton Abbey undertaken by five scholars based at the University of Auckland, and the other is the main component of the volume presently under review. Their contrasting approaches to the text are briefly illustrated by the way in which they render the sentence ‘Qui desinit uideri, desinit amari, dum presentior incipit preferri.’ Monika Otter turns this into ‘Out of sight, out of mind – and the nearer the dearer’ (p. 40), whereas the Auckland team offer ‘Whoever ceases to be seen, ceases to be loved, while the one who is present more often starts to be preferred’ (p. 116). Translating sense for sense more often than word for word, Otter’s translation is the more agile and immediate of the two. It certainly captures the passion of the text somewhat better than its rival, but in the passages that this reviewer has examined closely the latter was for the most part the more accurate. It manages to avoid the errors in Talbot’s edition and it retains more nuances of meaning. Of course, neither translation preserves the tremendous rhythmic punch of Goscelin’s prose, evident in carefully measured phrases such as ‘non lingue enarrabile, non oculis exhaustibile’.

Teachers attempting to introduce the text to undergraduates will find Otter’s volume useful, not least because of its economical presentation and the notes which offer more in the way of background information; but students looking for a serious guide to the Latin would be better advised to turn to the Auckland text.

The two books also differ in their interpretation of *Liber confortatorius*. Both position it in the context of cultural trends that are now often seen as marking out the long twelfth century as a pivotal moment in the history of western civilisation. That is, they both see Goscelin as helping to pioneer the emergence of a new conception of the spiritual life which saw it as a dynamic quest for the inner transformation of the individual rather than as a collective, defensive, battle against external, demonic, forces; both see it as exemplifying a new openness to the active pursuit of this quest by religious women and a new interest in higher forms of intimacy between men and women. To explain, the work is set up, on one level, as a letter addressed to a recluse called Eva and in this sense it emulates the genre of letters of spiritual guidance for ascetic women associated with Jerome. In as much, however, as it also offers an intimate portrait of its author’s own feelings for this recluse and in as much as it engages with the fraught story of their relationship, it is also a work of self-exploration in the mode of Augustine’s *Confessiones*, to which it is much indebted. Probably written in or close to the 1080s, it can indeed be seen as one of the earliest examples of high medieval autobiography, the best known being Guibert of Nogent’s *De vita sua* and Abelard’s *Historia calamitatum*.

On this much there is agreement, but in the interpretative essay that concludes her volume, Otter has much that is new and different to say about how the *Liber confortatorius* fits into these trends. Perhaps her most challenging suggestion is that Goscelin was indebted to Ovid for his construction of himself as a lover who is
denied access to his beloved because, on the one hand, she has resolutely isolated herself from him and because, on the other, political circumstances and exile prevent them being together (pp. 157–61). This suggestion has the great attraction of allowing us to see Goscelin as a contributor to the Ovidian revival which, as Gerald Bond has recently shown, helped to inspire the twelfth century’s interest in subjectivity and introspection. But the Auckland team, analysing the verbal echoes which they have detected in the text, find no traces of Ovid and argue that Goscelin was genuinely acquainted with Virgil alone among classical poets (p. 415); they maintain that ‘Goscelin is innocent of the knowledge of Ovidian amor’ (p. 4; cf. pp. 352–3). For his part, this reviewer simply notes that there is at least one clear echo of Ars amatoria elsewhere in his corpus – in the Historia maior de adventu Sancti Augustini (BHL 777, p. 375). By arguing for Goscelin’s use of Ovidian models, Otter has flagged an important issue that clearly demands further investigation.


This survey of Templar history is one of the better ones to have been published recently. After an introductory section on the crusading background, Barbara Frale considers the ideals of the brothers, their organisation and way of life, their role in the Near East, the background to the arrests of so many of them in 1307, the charges levelled against them and their dissolution. The latter part of the book is based on her own researches. There is a welcome stress on the ideals that motivated the order, although I would have liked to have seen some treatment of its estates and provincial organisation in Europe, where, after all, its wealth lay and most of its manpower resided. Frale believes that there was some truth in the charges that finished the order off. She is among those, including myself, who are convinced that in some commanderies a rite of passage involving a denial of Christ’s divinity had become customary, although her belief that this had evolved as a test to discover whether brothers had the strength to resist pressure to apostasise if they fell into the hands of the Moslems rests on evidence provided in only four testimonies, in which reference was made not to the Templars themselves but to the views of their confessors. But, on the whole, Frale resists any temptation to elaborate further than the source material allows. This is a good, up-to-date and sensible introduction and Italian students are lucky to have it.


Charles J. Reid, Jr, builds upon Brian Tierney’s work, showing how the word ius could also be understood as an individual’s right in the context of family law. He
shows that the language and ideas of natural rights had an important place in medieval canonical understandings of the family. He explains four main areas in which medieval canonists sought to balance competing rights against each other and occasionally against society’s norms and expectations of family behaviour. The first chapter shows how canon lawyers balanced an individual’s right to contract a marriage against their parent’s expectations of control over the offspring’s marriage. The second analyses how the canonists restrained the right of paternal power – a right built upon civilian foundations which could imply a father’s complete power over his family, even to the extent of a power over their life and death, or an ability to sell his offspring into slavery – for example in condemnation of the exposure of children. The third explains how the canonists articulated and developed the rights of married women, for example both parties in a marriage could initiate a ‘divorce’, demand the conjugal debt or choose a place of burial. Reid also shows how the canonists compromised the strong thread of Christian and legal thinking which made the husband the head of the wife with a sense of women as, in some manner, equals and companions in Christianity. Finally, the fourth chapter explores how the canonists balanced the parent’s right of testamentary freedom against the right of children to some share in the inheritance, and how these canonical rules coexisted and influenced lay laws and expectations. Reid is particularly strong on these tensions and the compromises medieval canonists made between these competing rights and norms (and how these compromises were often dictated by their understanding of the natural origin of these various rights, and their sense of reasonable behaviour). His survey of rights and domestic relations reaches from classical Rome to the modern day, though his main focus is on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly on Gratian and the decretists, and on the ideas of Bernard of Parma, Innocent IV and Hostiensis. A particular strength of this book is the way Reid gives context and a contrasting framework to these medieval ideas by comparing and introducing them through brief discussions of modern American legal thinking about rights and the family; this work is clearly positioned within a jurisprudential framework. The book leaves the reader with a better understanding of rights and the family and with a sense of how medieval canon lawyers pictured an ideal Christian family in which mutual love and affection (and sometimes even heroic duty) coexisted with these rights.

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Samantha Worby


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This attractively produced and well-illustrated collection of fourteen essays (three of which, those by Thomas Head, C. Stephen Jaeger and R. I. Moore, have been previously published) offers a comprehensive interdisciplinary contextualisation of Christina of Markyate. Douglas Gray, Neil Cartlidge and Samuel Fanous examine the literary and hagiographical conventions influencing her Latin vita; C. Stephen Jaeger, Thomas Head, Dyan Elliott, and Kathryn Kelsey Staples and Ruth Mazo
Karras explore the relevance to her relationships of contemporary concepts of love, marriage and friendship (both earthly and spiritual); R. I. Moore (on Ranulf Flambard) and Rachel Koopmans (on Christina’s links with St Albans) investigate the relationship of the *vita* to its historical background; Stephanie Hollis and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne offer a wide-ranging study of ‘St Albans and women’s monasticism’; and E. A. Jones interestingly discusses Christina’s place in the eremitic and anchoritic tradition described by Rotha Mary Clay, noting that Clay’s taxonomy of solitaries by habitat (like flower fairies) makes insufficient allowance for the kind of mobility shown by Christina, arguing that she should be classified as a hermit rather than an anchorite, and appending an updated list of medieval solitaries in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire. Two essays focus on the content of the St Albans psalter associated with Christina, Tony Hunt’s study of the *Life of St Alexis* and Jane Geddes’s discussion of the illustrations of the psalter. Henrietta Leyser provides an introductory chapter, and the editors supply a select book list and an index. A number of errors have survived the editing process. It is not the case that ‘the lives of Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana are included in *Ancrene Wisse*’ (p. 78); and the identification on p. 120 of a ‘magnificent example of chiasis’ (= chiasmus?) in the *vita* is based on a mistranslation of the Latin. Minor errors include p. 4 ‘venial’ (for ‘venal’); p. 15 ‘companiable’; p. 57 (and elsewhere) renunitio (for renunciatio); p. 59 sterotnaket (for steortnaket); p. 63 dupliciter; p. 64 (antepenultimate sentence) ‘are’ (false concord); p. 65 ‘hoards’ (for ‘hordes’); p. 67 (sentence beginning ‘The spiritual amicitia’ has two incompatible predicates); p. 70 (and elsewhere) Meóhead (for Meóhad); p. 72 Lífade (for Lífade); p. 73 (i erroneously capitalised); p. 75 *pet* [o + e] (for *bet* [a + e]) and wear (for weard *Pe*); p. 78 ‘Clomoes’ (for ‘Clemoes’); p. 121 ‘affiancéed’; p. 139 Ælfigfu (for Ælfgifu); p. 174 ‘forego’ (for ‘fogro’) and ‘intonated’ (for ‘intimated’?); and p. 176 ‘breeched’ (for ‘breached’). The overall scholarly quality of the anthology, however, is high, and its combination of breadth and depth will make it an indispensable resource for scholars and students interested in Christina.

BELLA MILLETT


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Augustine Thompson’s *Cities of God* provides a valuable overview of the religious lives of ordinary lay people in the towns of northern Italy during the central Middle Ages. Through a rich description of sacred places and normative practice, the author successfully counters two distortions in Italian historiography: the tendency of communal historians to portray civic culture as wholly secular and of ecclesiastical historians to emphasise heterodoxy. The first half of the book surveys ecclesiastical institutions and observances, underscoring the interpenetration of civic and religious life in the Italian communes. The author makes excellent use here of communal statutes and ably summarises the best research available on topics such as urban parishes and rural *pievi*, lay penitence and both lay and clerical confraternities. The second, and more original, part of the book describes liturgical customs. Using several northern Italian *ordines*, synodal legislation and Sicardo of Cremona’s *Mitrale,*
Thompson provides a detailed overview of the administration of the sacraments, and the celebration of the mass, the liturgy of the hours and major feasts. A chapter on lay prayer and prayer books is particularly informative and stimulating. The study would have profited from a more sustained inquiry into how medieval Italians defined ‘normal’ or ‘average’ lay religious observance, and Thompson’s assessment of norms may strike many readers as overly pious. After assuring us in the introduction, for example, that ‘saints are not a stand-in for lay piety’ (p. 7), he uses hagiographical sources to suggest ordinary devotion (for example pp. 244, 282). The directives of clerics and religious are also sometimes presented as representing common practice (for example pp. 241–2, 255–6). This perspective does, however, offer a stimulating challenge to the reigning scholarly pessimism about the religiosity of the masses, and one can only hope that it provokes wider debate and further research.

University of California, Berkeley

Maureen C. Miller


This book is the outcome of an academic career devoted largely to the study of the Becket controversy, and reflects the vast learning exhibited in the author’s edition of the correspondence of the archbishop. Anne Duggan’s mature reflections are here presented to a wider audience in lively style and accessible format, but there is certainly no sacrifice of scholarly rigour. It is an amazing achievement to be able to inject into such a well-known story a considerable element of anticipation and excitement. Not the least of this book’s virtues is that it incorporates substantial extracts from the lives and letters, admirably translated into the vibrant prose which characterises the author’s own text. This is the work of an expert documentary historian who sets the analysis of texts in the widest historical context.

For those who are familiar with Anne Duggan’s earlier interpretative studies, it will come as no surprise that she presents a triumphant vindication of the martyred archbishop, far less ambiguous than the treatment in 1970 by Dom David Knowles and in stark contrast to the hostile interpretations of Warren and Barlow. There are many new insights. Disposing skilfully of the view, first advanced by John Foxe in the sixteenth century, that Becket was an actor living out the roles assigned to him, she firmly believes in a moment of dramatic conversion, but locates this not at his ‘election’ or consecration, but at his receipt from Alexander III of the pallium, which symbolised his union with the legitimate papacy, currently engaged in conflict with another powerful ruler, Frederick Barbarossa, who had ambitions to reduce the apostolic see and the Church in his dominions to servitude. Becket’s early confrontations with the royal administration over judicial and tenurial matters, seen then by Gilbert Foliot and subsequently by many scholars as warning signs of the archbishop’s intransigence and desire for conflict, are here interpreted as reasonable resistance to the machinations of the traditional enemies of the church of Canterbury and of recalcitrant tenants of the see, designed to exploit the king’s exasperation with his former chancellor after his unilateral resignation. On the key issues contained
within the Constitutions of Clarendon, Duggan convincingly argues that the alleged customs, particularly clauses 3 and 8, represented a far greater measure of royal control than that exercised by Henry I, whose practices were his grandson’s yardstick for normality, and that they posed a very real threat to the independent existence of the ecclesia anglicana as a constituent part of the universal Church. The implications were made plain in the royal constitutions of 1169, which foreshadowed Henry VIII’s use of the statute of Praemunire in the 1530s to eliminate entirely papal jurisdiction in England. On the crucial issue of the double punishment of criminous clerks, she successfully defends the view of her late husband, Charles Duggan (whose canonical learning is reflected throughout the book), that Becket’s rejection was in conformity with the best current canonical interpretations, and argues that the Constitutions sought to transform a draconian penalty which might be invoked by a bishop against particularly heinous offenders into standard procedure to be applied as a matter of normality by the secular power. Her detailed account of Becket’s arraignment before the Council of Northampton reveals quite clearly the lengths to which Henry would go to cajole and intimidate the accused, his fellow bishops and the judges in order to achieve the verdict he desired.

The very real threat of the king’s anger and ill-will is a constant theme of this study. Becket, his circle and family had every reason to fear not only the confiscation of their assets, being left only with the clothes they wore, but also violent physical assault and even death; and this explains the archbishop’s reluctance, after his flight, to accept any of Henry’s half-hearted and evasive offers of reconciliation and restoration. In her account of the negotiations conducted by successive papal missions between 1167 and 1169, Duggan perceptively analyses the shifts in the papal position occasioned by the fluctuating fortunes of Barbarossa’s Italian adventure and by the balance of power within the curia, where the cardinals had divergent views. Above all, however, she constantly emphasises, and documents, the king’s duplicity and the archbishop’s reasoned, and reasonable, response. The road from the trial at Northampton to the murder in the cathedral seems almost preordained. The agreement at Fréteval was meaningless, as both before and after his return to England Becket and his familia continued to be harassed. Becket at no time sought martyrdom, but in the end accepted it as the only solution if God’s honour, and that of the Church, were to be maintained against Henry’s arrogant assertion of his royal dignity and the imagined customs of the realm. She disposes of the charge that Thomas was a dinosaur, embracing an outmoded aggressive Gregorianism in the face of a modernising state, by tracing the foundations of his position far beyond Hildebrand to the passive resistance to persecuting emperors advocated in the third century by Cyprian. The significance of Becket’s stand in the longer term is clearly revealed by the virulent hostility to his cult displayed by Henry VIII as he sought to impose his untrammelled will on the English Church.

This is a very fine study, which will be essential reading for undergraduates approaching the topic for the first time, while having much of interest for the most seasoned student of the twelfth-century Church. The scholarship is impeccable and its presentation extremely lively. It is hailed in an endorsement on the cover as a biography which reveals the greatest grasp of the material and more sympathy and understanding of the subject than any since the life composed by Herbert of Bosham, Becket’s secretary. This, of course, is the problem. Those with an innate sympathy for Becket’s stance will view this book as the most articulate modern statement of
their views. Those who are more sympathetic to the king’s viewpoint will argue that at no point is Henry given the slightest credit, and that at times he is reduced almost to the status of a pantomime villain. This is an outstanding contribution to a debate which is still very much alive, but, despite its excellence, advocates of a more secular approach to twelfth-century history will too readily be able to dismiss it as hagiography, albeit of the most nuanced and sophisticated kind.

University of East Anglia

Christopher Harper-Bill


The monasteries of post-Conquest England were heavily involved in local justice on several levels. A small number enjoyed general jurisdiction within large franchises, and all houses holding in chief from the crown possessed honour courts. In addition, monasteries presided over manorial courts, borough courts and courts merchant. There is a great deal of information in Anglo-Norman and Angevin monastic chronicles and cartularies relating to these courts, and it is this material that Kevin L. Shirley sets out to exploit. Despite the title of the book, however, this is not a study of how monasteries exercised their varied rights of secular jurisdiction. Shirley’s agenda is instead to use monastic and royal records to shed light on the changing fortunes of the honorial courts of Anglo-Norman and Angevin England, with a view to assessing the impact of Henry II’s reforms of feudal justice. The book begins with a discussion of the workings of the monastic honour court. Shirley then explores monastic involvement in the royal courts, beginning with the shire courts and then – in a series of chronologically arranged chapters – in the curia regis. His thesis is lucidly argued throughout. In particular, Shirley seeks to challenge the picture advanced by Milsom and others of an autonomous honorial court damaged by the onslaught of royal justice from the 1160s. He argues that monastic courts were never autonomous and that Anglo-Norman monasteries frequently turned to the king for enforcement of their judgements. Not only did this serve to bolster the royal courts in Anglo-Norman England, but it also makes the reforms of the 1160s less dramatic: the powers of monastic honorial courts were reduced by the advance of royal justice, but they had never been particularly strong in the first place. Shirley implies that these conclusions can be applied to baronial courts more generally, but does not address closely the important question of whether or not monastic courts were representative of the whole. Monasteries may well have been more dependent on royal support to enforce justice over their tenants than were powerful lay barons, whereas the king’s obligation to protect the Church encouraged closer involvement in monastic affairs. It is clear that certain early twelfth-century abbots, such as Faricius of Abingdon, received frequent royal support against recalcitrant vassals; but Shirley’s own range of examples suggests that this level of assistance was the preserve of a minority of heads with close personal connections to the king. In this respect, royal involvement in monastic honorial courts looks more like a favour than an encroachment of baronial rights. Although this book’s main contribution is to the legal history of eleventh- and twelfth-century England, there is also material of interest to the
monastic historian, including details of numerous disputes involving religious houses. The principles governing the selection of the houses discussed, however, are far from clear. The first part of the book focuses exclusively on the great Benedictine abbeys, whereas the section on the curia regis includes a much wider range of monasteries. By moving the goalposts there is a risk that the book’s conclusions may be distorted. Nevertheless, this is a succinct and clearly-argued book, which will provoke debate. It is to be hoped that further studies of monastic jurisdiction will follow.

University of Liverpool

Martin Heale


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The Four Books of Sentences (c. 1155/57), on which a staggering number of commentaries were to be written from the early thirteenth century until well past the Reformation, are an uneasy combination of thin methodology and detailed exposition of theological positions that had been taken up by other writers, with many loose ends and some notable inconsistencies, especially on grace. Rosemann takes the view that the Lombard’s aversion to the use of more sophisticated tools, combined with his positive stance on particular issues and his hesitation over others, goes far to explain the acceptance of his work as a textbook: ‘the coherence of the Book [sic] of Sentences is real, but not rigid’ and this ‘afforded it the malleability necessary to make it a classic’. He draws attention too to the value, in what was a competitive scene, of a detailed table of contents, detailed rubrics which correspond to this table and the clear signposts (added later, not by Peter but by others including Alexander of Hales) which indicate transitions (distinctions) within sections. These made the work suitable as a textbook. The earlier and, indeed, later efforts at systematisation made by countless masters at Laon, Paris and elsewhere were seen to be redundant, but not immediately; competition gave way to monopoly. Rosemann’s book is not primarily written to explain this outcome but in the Great Medieval Thinkers series he also has to wrestle with the (somewhat difficult) challenge of presenting Peter as a great thinker. The success of Peter’s work is only a part of the answer given, and it is well supported by a short sketch of the later tradition of commentary on the Sentences. But for the most part Rosemann examines with patience and care Peter’s presentation of the main contents of Christian faith: the Trinity, creation, redemption and sacraments. References to the late Cardinal de Lubac’s difficulties following the papal encyclical Mystici corporis and to the Dutch catechism show that Rosemann writes for an audience, one to whom he provides a useful, concise and fair digest of the Sentences, supported by translations of brief excerpts. He holds his own in comparison with the more detailed investigation of Peter’s theology recently presented by Marcia Colish (Peter Lombard, Leiden 1994), and takes issue with some of her findings. These two books by Rosemann and Colish find a useful companion in the volume edited by G. R. Evans on Medieval commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: current research, i (Leiden 2002).

University of Sheffield

David Luscombe
This volume is the definitive ‘life and works’ of Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet (1189–1212), the illegitimate son of Henry II. Geoffrey was clearly as intelligent and complex a character as any of his Plantagenet kin. The quality for which he is best known is his filial loyalty to Henry II (in marked contrast with his legitimate half-brothers), which extended to care for others of Henry II’s illegitimate issue. Both a scholar and a capable military commander, of apparently unblemished morals, Geoffrey found friends and supporters among leading churchmen, including St Hugh of Lincoln and Peter of Blois. But Geoffrey could be hot-headed and obstinate, and displayed at times a disregard for correct canonical procedure. Little of this can be deduced from the corpus of Geoffrey’s letters and charters. This is no reflection on the edition, which demonstrates the impressive scholarship and polish of the English Episcopal Acta series in general, and the work of Marie Lovatt in particular. It is just that the circumstances of Geoffrey’s episcopate meant that for years on end he was unable to exercise his authority unchallenged, or even to enter York. The total of ninety-nine letters and charters of Archbishop Geoffrey does not compare well with the known output of 145 of his predecessor, Roger of Pont L’Evêque (1154–81) (five of which are published as an appendix to the present volume). This is more significant in view of Marie Lovatt’s conclusion that the diplomatic of Geoffrey’s acta reflects the increasing authority of the written word in this period. Nevertheless, one of the conclusions drawn from this material, not evident from other sources, is that Geoffrey made a determined effort to minister to his diocese, issuing acta from Southwell or Ripon when necessary. That so much can be said about Geoffrey’s personality and his career is due not to the diplomatic evidence but to literary sources, including the rarity of a contemporary biography, the ‘De vita Galfridi archiepiscopi eboracensis’ of Gerald of Wales. Geoffrey’s close relationships with the reigning monarchs also ensured that he was noted by the royal chroniclers, the Yorkshire writers Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh having a particular interest. It is quite fitting then that Marie Lovatt’s introduction somewhat exceeds in length the edition itself. This thorough and enlightening examination of Geoffrey’s career, with a study of the diplomatic of the acta, is the essential background to understanding his episcopal acta.

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JUDITH EVERARD

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Like medieval stained glass, the statuary of gothic cathedrals is often said to be a storybook, a sort of poor man’s Bible for the illiterate. While not rejecting that idea outright, Stephen Murray both enlarges and challenges our understanding of it by advocating an ‘intertextual’ approach (p. 35) which compares an iconographic
series with a written text presumably meant for oral delivery. In this volume he examines details from the portals of the cathedral in Amiens side-by-side with a contemporary Old French sermon. Begun in 1220, the cathedral was partially in use by 1264, though the nave was not roofed until the end of the century (p. 11). Murray, an authority on French cathedrals, provides fifteen black-and-white plates, some taken by himself, all showing the portals of Amiens or statues from them. As for the anonymous sermon, it may date from 1269 and appears to have been part of a quest to raise funds for the cathedral by offering indulgences (p. 23). It might have been preached inside the building itself or in a nearby parish, even a rural one; this would not be surprising since the implied audience includes a wide range of social types (ch. 1 and p. 148), and everyone in Picardy would have been involved in the completion of the huge diocesan church. Taken from a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Grenier Collection, Ms. 158), the text is here accompanied by a translation, introduction and notes. The sermon is transcribed but not edited, though dissatisfaction is expressed with Crampon’s edition of 1876 (p. 151); in contrast with the other major commentators on this sermon, the French scholars Lecoy de la Marche and Michel Zink, Murray makes no claim to be a literary specialist. But he does allow himself to break up the text sentence by sentence for ease of reference, each mini-paragraph then being numbered and placed opposite its facing-page English translation; the sermon, which would take nearly an hour to deliver orally (p. 7), thus occupies forty-one pages here. There is also an appendix listing the biblical, patristic and liturgical sources quoted by the writer, and fifteen pages of notes to the introduction. There are occasional gaps in Murray’s knowledge of sermon form: the concluding anecdote is not ‘a sermon within a sermon’ (p. 24) but a perfect exemplum, typical of the genre; the language is not ‘macaronic’ (p. 27), a word implying confused linguistic mixing, since the use of Latin to quote the Bible was both standard and deliberate; and ‘May God help me’ is a prayer of invocation, not an ‘expletive’ (p. 28). Where the author (an art historian) excels is in highlighting the similarity of theme represented in parallel fashion in both the stone portals and the sermon’s rhetoric – for example, how the sculptor and the preacher each exhort the sinner to repent and turn for help to the Virgin Mary, who is variously depicted as the Mother of God, the sacramental Church and even as the cathedral itself, which was dedicated to her (p. 46). This thought-provoking book shows, in fact, that anyone who had followed the sermon would have gained a much better understanding of the building’s artwork, the meaning and symbolism of which were not necessarily accessible without verbal commentary.

LEO CARRUTHERS

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Bert Roest’s book provides an overview of the large and varied body of religious instructional literature produced by Franciscan authors in the late Middle Ages. The scope of the book is much broader than that of earlier surveys which have focused on
the earliest Franciscan texts, or concentrated only on a small proportion of the surviving material. Roest thus fills a gap in the current historiography, and also brings together much of the work done on sermons, confession manuals and other forms of pastoral literature in recent decades. After surveying previous historiographical approaches to the subject, Roest defines the literature of religious instruction very broadly as ‘all those texts that originated in the context of the Friars Minor’s activities as religious teachers …, preachers, confessors, and as moral counsellors to the community at large (p. xviii)’. In the main body of the book, he breaks this definition down into eight different kinds of text: preaching aids (sermons and homilies); rules, rule commentaries and statutes for the order; texts for instructing novices; catechetical literature; confession handbooks; works on the mass; works of religious edification (such as letters, passion devotion treatises and even mirrors for princes); and prayer guides. For each kind of text Roest outlines how and why the genre developed, from the writings of Francis himself up to the mid-sixteenth century, and then describes a number of important works in more detail. Most of the texts described were written for other Franciscans, but Roest also considers many works written by or for Franciscan nuns, and a number of works written for tertiaries or laypeople. For each text, Roest cites an impressive range of secondary literature and, for texts which have been little studied by modern historians, he also includes lists of manuscripts. Roest’s book thus provides a very useful starting point for historians working on late medieval pastoral literature and religious instruction, although its focus is very firmly Franciscan, and it says little about how the Franciscan material relates to works by authors outside the order, or to wider developments in late medieval religion. Clearly written and easy to use, it provides a comprehensive, one-volume guide to a wide range of material. Moreover, by listing manuscripts and drawing attention to periods and texts that have not been well studied, Roest also suggests many directions for future research.

Catherine Rider


This magnificent survey, fifty years in the making, supplies a model of how the conciliar decrees of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be used to transform our understanding both of ecclesiastical and of wider political history. The Council of Bourges, as Richard Kay admits, has never before been treated by historians as a particularly significant meeting. Even its decrees are known to us not from an official summary but from an unofficial "relatio", sent to England, almost certainly, as Kay very cleverly suggests, from the archdiocese of Tours, intended not so much to support the council’s decisions as to enable the English more easily to resist them. In Kay’s hands this "relatio", together with associated letters and chronicle accounts, is used to demonstrate the council’s true significance in reopening the Albigensian Crusade and in brokering a deal that enabled the French king, Louis VIII, to extract massive sums in clerical taxation. The subsequent resistance to this tax from the churches...
of northern France was to prove crucial in establishing precedents for communal resistance to the papacy’s financial demands and was accompanied by the comprehensive rejection, both in England and in France, of Honorius III’s proposals to refinance the papal bureaucracy. Bourges, as Kay reveals, was perhaps the largest gathering of the French clergy ever yet held. Its chief author, the papal legate Romanus, was the first convener of a council to issue summonses that employ the terminology of the Roman law of representation, and was subsequently to prove a key figure in the establishment of the inquisitorial model for the prosecution of heresy. There is barely a page of Kay’s massive enterprise that does not shed new light, on canon law, on conciliar procedure, on Anglo-French politics, or on such tangential though none the less fascinating themes as the efficiency of the Plantagenet spy network, the ways in which Aumary de Montfort manipulated an appeal to the jurisdiction of the peers of France (an event which is of considerable significance to those interested in Aumary’s brother Simon and his career as constitutional reformer), or, to pass from the sublime to the ridiculous, the sins of the provost of Reims, accused of dancing with an abbess and of presenting her with a statue of a ram with gilded horns and genitals (p. 59). Here, however, a number of caveats must be admitted. Kay writes as an enthusiast and, as a result, almost invariably as a defender of the procedures that the legate Romanus adopted. In the process, he is inclined to rather too much special pleading. Perhaps, as Kay suggests, the revival of the Albigensian Crusade became inevitable as soon as Louis VIII realised the crusade’s potential both for the advancement of French power in Occitania and as a means of frustrating Plantagenet attempts to reconquer Poitou. None the less, those contemporary critics who accused Romanus of excessive bias towards the Capetians surely had a point, whilst the methods he adopted, far from resulting in success, merely stirred up controversy both with respect to the crusade and to the entire issue of papal taxation being diverted to the pockets of secular rulers. Moreover, in straining after the occasional gnat, Kay allows at least two very substantial elephants to rampage unremarked. Thus he fails to take account of a crucial aspect of the canon law governing legations when he suggests that Romanus’ journey to Rome in September 1227 was provoked by ongoing disputes over taxation. In reality, as Christopher Cheney has explored in definitive detail, and as Kay surely knows, all legations were deemed to lapse on the death of the pope who had appointed them. In these circumstances, Romanus’ actions and his continued use of his legatine commission and title after the death of Pope Honorius in March 1227 were all of them highly irregular, and it was surely to obtain a new legatine commission, not merely to discuss ongoing disputes, that Romanus returned to Rome. Papal letters of November 1227 can hardly have been issued, as Kay seems to suppose, in the name of the late Pope Honorius (pp. 452–5 no. 39). Secondly, and potentially just as grave, Kay assumes that a legation to the kingdom of France necessarily included the provinces of Bordeaux and Auch. The matter is of more than passing significance, and has profound implications for the entire history of Romanus’ legation and indeed for the size and significance of the council held at Bourges. The inclusion of Aquitaine within a French legation might well have been challenged by the Plantagenet kings who seem only rarely to have allowed legates appointed to France to exercise their functions in Aquitaine or Gascony. The sole evidence that Bordeaux and Auch were included in Romanus’ legation comes in the relatio, which states that the archbishop of Auch (Axitanus/Auxianensis) was in attendance at
Bourges but that the archbishop of Bordeaux was absent in Rome. This absence may well have had been in protest not just, as Kay supposes, against Capetian aggression, but against the inclusion of his province in Romanus’ legation, whilst Kay himself admits (pp. 89–90) that there is no evidence that the archbishopric of Auch was even filled in 1225, in which case the relatio’s reference might not be to Auch at all, but to the archbishop of Aix (Aquensis). To assume, as Kay appears to assume, that Auch and Tarbes both lay in the legate’s jurisdiction of Provence (p. 170) is merely to compound the misunderstanding. Certainly it is difficult to imagine that either Auch or Bordeaux was permitted to pay large clerical subsidies to the king of France, a supposition supported by the fact that protest against the tax seems to have been restricted to those provinces – Reims, Sens, Tours and Rouen – under direct Capetian rule. Our understanding both of the theoretical and of the practical extent of Romanus’ legation could only be settled by a proper search for all Romanus’ legatine decrees: a task already undertaken for the contemporary legations of Conrad von Urach and Guala Bicchieri, and which in this instance, given the fifty years of gestation, both could and should have been attempted. As it is, Kay’s meticulous and extremely useful edition of primary sources (pp. 270–565) contains only a handful of Romanus’ legatine letters and charters, and with the exception of a small cache of papal bulls from the Bibliothèque Nationale and various memoranda from a manuscript at Avranches, at least one of which (pp. 560–5 no. 53) does not necessarily refer to Romanus, includes nothing that has not already been published, albeit inadequately, in earlier editions. A very crude survey of manuscript sources (not least the relevant, chronologically ordered volumes of the BN collection Moreau, mss 135–9) suggests that whilst on occasion Romanus involved himself in litigation that touched upon the religious of Aquitaine (as for example in letters relating to Grandmont, Archives Départementales Haute-Vienne 5HH26), such summonses were invariably by virtue of disputes which lay principally in northern France. Certainly, this is an issue that Kay might care to pursue. Meanwhile, no one working on canon law, on papal or Anglo-French politics, or on the history of the Albigensian Crusade, can afford to ignore this most important and most brilliantly accomplished of monographs.

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NICHOLAS VINCENT


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This slender book is puzzling in several ways. The cover tells us that it is a translation from the French, while the cataloguing-in-publication-data tell us that it is a translation from the Italian. Certainly the text reads like translator’s English, but no translator’s name is given. More important, it is difficult to tell what audience the book is designed for. It consists of two principal chapters, followed by a sketchy treatment of neo-scholasticism. The first gives a brief life of St Thomas Aquinas, and discusses, in the light of a number of encyclopaedia articles, what are the principal doctrines characteristic of Thomism. The second runs through a series of Thomists from the fifteenth century to the French Revolution, giving a page or two to each, the most notable being Capreolus, Cajetan, Ferrariensis, Banez and John of
It is hard to see how anyone interested in the authors listed in the second chapter would need elementary instruction in the life and thought of Aquinas; and on the other hand someone who needed to be given an ABC of Thomism would be unlikely to be interested in such questions as whether Dietrich of Freiburg was or was not an orthodox Thomist. The book shows little interest in the influence of Aquinas on thinkers other than Roman Catholics, and is heavily biased towards Dominican authors. The ‘transcendental Thomism’ of Jesuits such as Marechal, Lonergan and Rahner is given short shrift as ‘an unfortunate hybrid’.

Anthony Kenny

Most of Ludwig Schmugge’s long list of publications (which can be found at his website www.hist.unizh.ch/schmugge/public.html) could be distributed under the three headings in the title of this birthday volume, topics capacious and flexible enough to cover almost all these offerings without strain. Eighteen of the twenty-five contributions are in German; nine (one in Spanish) come under the heading popes and six under pilgrims; the five in English and one in Italian are concerned with the papal penitentiary. The full table of contents can be found at pp. 35–6 of the publisher’s site www.niemeyer.de/infos/nun_2004_ii.pdf. With this collection of tributes Schmugge has truly been honoured, not just celebrated. Jürgen Miethke follows the scandalous Margaret, countess of Tirol, and her divorce from the late emperor’s brother to marry the reigning one’s son (1341), and demonstrates how complex and interrelated systems (in this case the succession politics of the empire, the papacy at its high tide at Avignon and the canon law of marriage) can be revealed by flashes of catastrophe. Both Patrick Zutshi and Peter Clarke pursue long-term interests into Schmugge’s intellectual territory, treating respectively the petitions for papal graces which went to the penitentiary rather than to the chancery, and the many cases in the Repertorium poenitentiariae germanicum (of which Schmugge has been the leading compiler) related to the ecclesiastical interdict. Rainer Schwingle picks out evidence of conflict among the national cultures in the kingdom of Jerusalem, while Knut Schulz studies deeply and diachronically a report on the Roman confraternity of German shoemakers, SS Crispin and Crispinian, to determine ‘what is German’. Schulz is one of the eight authors here who ensure a permanent value to their contributions by editing fundamental texts. Michele Ferrari gives the report of a monk of Clairvaux on the restoration of a martyr’s relics to Rome. Michael Haren edits a sermon (1352) of Richard Fitzralph of Armagh to cap his learned and florid scherzo ‘Montaillou and Drogheda: a medieval twinning’. Andreas Meyer has thirteen precious letters (1236–71) from papal penitentiaries registered in the chapter library of Lucca. Wolfgang Müller offers a tariff of penitentiary fees (1431) from a Munich manuscript. Paolo Ostinelli gives eight marital dispensation letters (1478) from a judge delegate of Como. Daniel Rutz edits the formulary used by the penitentiaries of the Council of Basle. Substantive
canon law is the particular focus of Peter Landau’s meticulous parsing of Gratian on
the crucial concepts ‘benefice’ and ‘simony’. Patrick Hersperger and Antonio
García y García both deal with the dissemination of canonical works. Bernhard
Schimmelpfennig outlines a tract written by the Genoese physician Galvanus de
Levanto (surprisingly) on the Jubilee indulgence of Boniface VIII. Arnold Esch gives a
running explanation, even better than a transcript, of the travelling journal of an
indulgence commissioner, Angelus de Cialfis, in Germany (1470–2). Brigitte Schwarz
accounts for the work of couriers in the popes’ service from the thirteenth to the
fifteenth century.

Binghamton University

Les Maîtres d’œuvre au service de la papauté dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle. By Pierre-
Rome: École française de Rome, 2004. 2 7283 0707 5; 0223 5099
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Although its title may suggest a major survey, this modest publication has as its main
aim the presentation of a small but significant new body of evidence on the
negotiations undertaken between representatives of the pope and of the commune of
Perugia prior to the papal entourage taking up residence there in 1284. It will be of
the greatest use to historians of art and architecture, as well as those of the papacy
and the Italian communes, that these documents are transcribed in Le Pogam’s
appendices. In his text Le Pogam approaches the material from three angles: his first
section examines the negotiation process between the Perugian commune and the
papal entourage, comparing the accord signed by both parties with those reached
between the papal household and Viterbo (1266 and 1278); the second investigates
the extent to which architectural works for the popes in the thirteenth century were
in the hands of clerics who were also architects; the final section unveils the new
character to emerge from the sources – Giovanni di Pace, a layman described
unequivocally as ‘master of works’. Of these, the first section is probably the
strongest, where Le Pogam’s excellent analysis emphasises the extent to which the
structure of the documents followed a pre-existing formula, suggesting that such
negotiations had already achieved a customary character. The second section
reviews well-rehearsed disputes. Le Pogam suggests that mendicants were tempting
figures to fill the role of papal architects, especially as they did not require salaries.
A potential weakness here is that the best examples occur precisely during the reigns
of the thirteenth-century popes with the closest links to the mendicants – the
Dominican architects of Nicholas III and the activities of Jacopo Torriti (presented
here as probably a Franciscan tertiary) under Nicholas IV. This reviewer would have
liked further discussion of the role played by conversi and tertiaries in the
phenomenon of the mendicant architect. In his third section Le Pogam speculates
as to the parentage of Giovanni di Pace, suggesting that he was the son of the papal
goldsmith Magister Pax, who was probably the Sienese goldsmith Pace di Valentino.
He further suggests that the architect Agostino di Giovanni, best known for his
work on the Sienese Duomo, may have been Giovanni’s son. Ultimately, these
speculations are based on the coincidence of patronymics, and Le Pogam
acknowledges this. Le Pogam carries on his story under Boniface VIII, where he
identifies a Master Cassetta as papal master of works. He draws attention to the relatively low status of the master of works compared to those of other trusted members of the papal familia – as he does not appear in lists of the familia until the reign of Clement VI (1342–52). Le Pogam’s reconsideration of longstanding questions, as well as his new evidence, make this a highly entertaining and thought-provoking book. It will also form an excellent companion to his doctoral dissertation, which is forthcoming, also from the presses of the École française de Rome.

Victoria and Albert Museum

Glyn Davies


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Of all the many Jewries of the Middle Ages, none has enjoyed fuller scholarly attention that those of the Iberian peninsula. The Jewish communities of Christian Spain have been the focus of scholarly interest all through the twentieth century and on into the twenty-first, with many excellent volumes devoted to the various Spanish Jewries and to alternative aspects of their historical experience. This high level of attention derives in part from the availability of rich deposits of source materials, both non-Jewish and Jewish. The Jews of Spain lasted longer in medieval western Christendom than did their confi`ères in the other more advanced westerly areas of Europe – southern France, northern France and England. Thus, researchers have non-Jewish documentation that stretches out over many centuries, along with multifaceted Jewish creativity in a variety of cultural spheres. Beyond the availability of rich source materials, the Jews of medieval Spain have been intrinsically fascinating to both Spanish and Jewish historians. Already settled on the peninsula in Roman times, the Jews of medieval Spain benefitted from the many centuries of Moslem rule and brought into the Christian sphere important legacies of their experience under Islamic domination. Even under Christian rule, many of the features of Jewish life in Moslem Spain were maintained – multi-dimensional economic activity, close relations with the ruling class, internal heterogeneity with its attendant tensions and rich cultural achievement. For historians of medieval Spain, the Jews represent a revealing test case of the failed medieval Spanish experiment with diversity. For historians of the Jews, the special qualities of medieval Spanish Jewish life made these Jews (the Sephardic) an interesting foil to the more limited experiences of their northern European brethren (the Ashkenazic) and thus of great interest to modern Jews seeking to extricate themselves from what they perceived to be the constricting legacy of medieval Ashkenazic Jewish life.

The history of the Jews in medieval Spain has been written by a complementary combination of Spanish and Jewish historians. The most impressive historical synthesis available for any medieval Jewish community remains that of Yitzhak Baer
for the Jews of medieval Christian Spain, despite all the advances in our knowledge of medieval Spanish Jewry over the past fifty years. In addition, the volumes edited by Baer’s students and the students of his students under the title *Hispania Judaica* have further deepened our knowledge of the medieval Sephardic experience. Thus, it is far from easy to make a notable contribution to the history of the Jews in medieval Spain, yet this is precisely what Mark D. Meyerson has done in the two volumes under review. To this reviewer, these two volumes constitute one of the most exciting additions of the past half century to the library of medieval Jewish histories.

The importance of the Meyerson volumes is rooted in three factors: first, the decision to limit the study to one Jewish community, thereby creating the possibility of a deeper analysis of key aspects of Jewish life than is normally possible; secondly, the richness of the archival materials that lie at the core of the Meyerson studies; and thirdly, Meyerson’s full awareness of the key issues on the agenda of medieval Spanish Jewish history. The result of this combination of factors is two volumes that offer a highly nuanced portrait of Jewish life in at least one sector of medieval Spain. Meyerson warns us regularly that the circumstances and activities of the Jews of Morvedre – the community upon which he focuses – cannot be generalised to all of the Iberian peninsula, in fact not even to all of Aragon. He is insistent upon the localisation of Jewish circumstances and activities. Yet his studies are satisfying and stimulating precisely because of their localisation.

The first of the two Meyerson volumes – *Jews in an Iberian frontier kingdom* – focuses on the Jews of Morvedre during the 150 years from the middle of the thirteenth down through the end of the fourteenth century. This study begins in the midst of what is often depicted as a second Golden Age for the Jews of Spain. Meyerson advances considerable evidence to support such a designation, while at the same time presenting other data suggesting that all was far from golden, even in a setting that offered the advantages of the frontier. This first volume ends with what is widely acknowledged as a major catastrophe for Spanish Jewry, indeed a major catastrophe from the overarching perspective of European Jewry in its entirety. The violence of 1391 began in the southern areas of Castile, but quickly engulfed the peninsula in its entirety, including the Jews of all of Aragon, the region of Morvedre included. Among the central aspects of Jewish experience illuminated in this volume are the special circumstances for Spanish society in general and for the Jews in particular of a recently conquered area; the economic pursuits of the Jews of Morvedre; and their place in the complex and evolving political structure of Aragon. Especially valuable is Meyerson’s detailed portrait of the deteriorating circumstances of Jewish life during the second half of the fourteenth century, the period that began with the calamity of the Black Death and ended with the catastrophe of 1391.

While this first volume alters in significant ways the generally accepted portrait of Jewish life in Spain during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Meyerson’s second volume – *A Jewish renaissance in fifteenth century Spain* – is yet more provocative. Here, Meyerson challenges an established historiographic consensus – the widely assumed conclusion that the assaults of 1391 spelled the doom of medieval Spanish Jewry and that the fifteenth century was a sad period of spiralling decline for Jewish communities whose backbone has been broken in 1391 and who could only struggle gamely but inconsequentially to maintain themselves. Fully aware of this prior consensus, Meyerson uses the rich archival data at his disposal to create an
alternative picture, a picture of non-Jews and Jews working assiduously to rebuild in the wake of disaster and achieving considerable success. For Meyerson, the expulsion of 1492 was by no means the ineluctable consequence of the violence of 1391; the expulsion of 1492 must rather be seen on the one hand against the backdrop of the century of post-1391 activities and achievements, and on the other against late fifteenth-century Iberian developments. Among the major topics addressed by Meyerson in this second volume are the aftermath of 1391; Jewish economic activities, with a special focus on the reconstitution of the Jewish economy in the wake of 1391; and the complex relations of Jews and New Christians. On this last issue, Meyerson sheds much-needed light on the web of fascinating relationships that linked the Jews and former Jews of Morvedre. Finally, Meyerson takes us through the expulsion of 1492, which is projected—as already noted—as by no means the inevitable result of a century of decline and deterioration.

Making a signal contribution to our knowledge of the Jews of medieval Spain is surely no easy matter. Mark D. Meyerson has performed precisely such a service in these two valuable volumes. All those concerned with the history of the medieval Iberian peninsula and/or its Jews are deeply indebted to him.

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Philip the Fair’s arrest, trial and imprisonment of Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, in the summer and autumn of 1301, enraged a Boniface VIII still smarting from having been bested by the Capetian over the issue of clerical taxation in 1296–7. In the ensuing contest, both king and pope not only took practical steps toward asserting their power over one another, they also enlisted the aid of university scholars, whose mission was to batter and overcome the opposition on the battlefield of theory and textual authority. Boniface’s heavy artillery here was the Augustinian friar and former Paris theology professor, Giles of Rome, who in 1302 composed what is widely regarded as the Middle Ages’ most thorough-going and extreme treatise on papal supremacy, the *De ecclesiastica potestate*. Dyson, who is no stranger to this text, having published a translation of it in 1986, now makes available an affordable critical Latin edition and facing-page English translation, preceded by a superbly crafted introduction. The edition, which is a real improvement on R. Scholz’s 1929 edition, will be welcome to scholars, while the translation makes an excellent teaching text. Indeed, this translation, used in conjunction with J. A. Watt’s translation of John of Paris’s pro-royal opposition piece, *De potestate regia et papali*, will surely make for stimulating classroom discussion of what amounted to a clash of ideologies which was, at the theoretical level, insoluble. Where it was resolved was on the plain of pure power politics. One could say the reality of the French seizure of Boniface at Anagni triumphed over the ideas expressed in Giles’s treatise and the papal bull inspired by it, *Unam sanctam*. So Boniface’s ideal of papal universal sovereignty toppled once and for all in the face of the reality of state power.
But it had also been beset during the late thirteenth century by a threat from within the Church itself, the poverty movement of the Spiritual Franciscans. Thus it is interesting to see how Giles took great care in De ecclesiastica potestate to base his claims for papal supremacy in large part on the idea of dominium (that is, the ecclesiastical sphere’s de iure ownership of all temporal as well as spiritual property). Surely this was the Augustinian’s riposte to his rival mendicants’ radical anti-materialism. Dyson is to be commended for this excellent volume, which expertly navigates Giles’s verbose, recondite and frequently obscure Latin. He is also to be thanked for summing up in his introduction the treatise’s complicated and often rambling arguments, since many readers will surely not follow his advice to ‘read and re-read it several times, longueurs and all, and allow an increasingly complete impression to form in their minds’.

GEORGIA SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

CHARLES F. BRIGGS
by the key issue of whether baptising figurines or images for use in malefice made one ipso facto a heretic. John probably ordered the consultation after seeing the cold reception of a letter sent in his name by William, cardinal of Santa Sabina, to the inquisitors at Toulouse and Carcassonne, encouraging them to proceed against similar cases of talismanic sorcery. The fact that none of the theologians fully endorsed the theological and legal presumptions of William’s letter, and doubtless John’s questions, may explain why the pope took no further action. The firm link between sorcery and heresy had to wait, as seen with Eymerich, another fifty years. But, as Boureau maintains, the opinions recorded in the consultation, if not unambiguously supportive of John, took great strides towards the ideological position eventually attained by the end of the century. Even if, as this reviewer believes, Boureau exaggerates the degree to which the most zealous of the ten theological respondents embraced a new idea of heresy, one attached more to deeds than to intentions, the text (of 138 printed pages) deserves a close reading by anyone interested in the historical process Boureau has in his sights. This is an elegant piece of scholarship and a most welcome new source.

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Steven Marrone


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This book forms an interesting addition to the papers about Mary presented at the Ecclesiastical History Society Conference in 2002; instead of basing the work on a biblical and historical figure, as those papers do, this book is based on the outbursts of late medieval art surrounding the apocryphal figure of the mother of Mary, known and revered in the Middle Ages under the name of St Anne. Virginia Nixon’s work begins with the origins of devotion to the saint from the first reference to her in the Protevangelium of James, a second-century apocryphal infancy story, where her name was given as ‘anna’, deriving from Hannah, the mother of Samuel. As someone who conceived and bore a child, and was in the end the grandmother of Jesus, the image of Anne may have had an appeal to married women that her virginal daughter may have been thought to lack. Moreover, theologically, the idea of Jesus taking flesh from Mary, in the traditional doctrine of the Virgin birth of Jesus, led to a new concept of Mary having been conceived in the womb of Anne not by the direct work of the Holy Spirit but by human intercourse, though without the stain of original sin – the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, a doctrine which was as controversial in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as it is today. It did, however, enhance interest in the person of St Anne and gave her a special dignity among the saints. This is a beautifully produced book; there are thirty-six black-and-white illustrations taken from the wealth of paintings of St Anne executed in northern Europe between 1400 and 1500, of great interest in themselves though it is to be regretted that no colour plates could be included. There is a tentative but intriguing section on the difficult theme of the perception of images and the


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connection between literature and art. The pictures are set in the context of literature contemporary with them, of a theological as well as a devotional nature. It is here, in attempting a theological perspective, that the work is weakest, for instance with a misreading of Anselm’s position on the subject of the Immaculate Conception. This study was predictably triggered by a modern interest in gender studies, but this is not the distorting mirror it might have been. The cult is shown as arising not out of unlettered emotion but from a sophisticated and aristocratic world. Both the bibliography and the thirty-one pages of notes provide a useful source for modern discussions of the cult of St Anne.

Oxford

Benedicta Ward


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Commissioned by members of the senior clergy, large, costly, choir tapestries were generous public expressions of patronage. A useful, selective survey of extant choir tapestries is included, but this compelling study really focuses upon three particular cycles: the Lives of Piat and Eleutherius, given to Tournai Cathedral by Canon Toussaint Prier; the Lives of Gervasius and Proteus given by Canon Martin Guerande to Le Mans Cathedral; and the Life of St Stephen, given to Auxerre Cathedral by Jean Baillot, bishop of Auxerre. Weigert first establishes the tapestries as part of the sumptuous trappings that attended worship on feast days, then skilfully explores the way in which both local concerns and the patron’s interests shaped the iconography of each cycle. In placing the tapestries in context, the discussion is sometimes too narrow in its focus. Regarding the early fifteenth-century tapestries for Tournai Cathedral, a fuller consideration of the strategic importance of the French bishopric of Tournai, a diocese that encroached into the Burgundian territory of Flanders, together with a more incisive discussion of the overlapping spheres of interest of France and the duchy of Burgundy would have been desirable. With the exception of opus anglicanum embroidery and narrow wares, and a brief experiment by Richard II (who employed a Lucchese weaver to produce cloth of gold for his personal consumption) England did not, as is claimed (p. 4), ‘produce silk’ in the fourteenth century. These considerations aside, this is a fascinating book that provides fresh insights into our reading of these magnificent tapestries.

London

Lisa Monnas


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Since no two Benedictine houses were exactly alike, it is necessary for each to be studied individually in order to get a general picture of the Benedictine order in a
particular period. St Albans was one of the wealthiest and most highly privileged monasteries in England, one of the five enjoying exemption from metropolitan and episcopal authority. Therefore, the publication already this century of two important books on its history in the late Middle Ages is a bonus for scholars of monastic history and related studies, that is, Michelle Still’s *The abbot and his rule: religious life at St Albans, 1290–1349* (Aldershot 2002), and John North’s *God’s clockmaker: Richard of Wallingford (abbot of St Albans, 1327–36)* and the invention of time (London 2005). There is besides the magisterial edition by John Taylor, Wendy Childs and Leslie Watkiss of *The St Albans Chronicle: The ‘Chronica majora’ of Thomas Walsingham, I: 1376–1394* (Oxford 2003). John North’s book and the edition of the chronicle were published too late to be used by James Clark for the book here under review, though most of their conclusions had appeared in their previous publications. Although Clark gives a brief survey of St Albans’ history in the late Middle Ages, the strength of his book lies in the account of the monks’ intellectual life, their education in the abbey and at Gloucester College in Oxford, and their contribution to the education of the laity. Clark also discusses what books they read and their work as scribes. Especially valuable is the new light he throws on classical studies by monks in the abbey and at Oxford. He demonstrates convincingly that there was a renaissance in the late fourteenth century, pioneered by a few St Albans’ scholars, which predated by a generation the arrival of the humanist renaissance from the continent in the time of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, and that this early manifestation had a distinctive monastic, Christian slant unlike that of its continental counterpart. Nevertheless, this book has shortcomings which need to be mentioned. Clark writes fluently with enthusiasm, but tends to be dogmatic and didactic, and makes sweeping statements which he does not substantiate with adequate or any evidence, and he is strongly biased in favour of St Albans and the late Middle Ages, sometimes at the expense of the achievements of other monasteries and of the traditional elements in late medieval monasticism. For example, he states that St Albans’ reputation was ‘unrivalled’ as a place of learning and that in the mid-fifteenth century Gloucester College in Oxford was ‘in physical terms at the very least, the St Albans Abbey studium’ (p. 70). However, V. H. Galbraith, who had studied both St Albans and Bury St Edmunds, claimed that the latter was ‘the wealthiest of the Benedictine abbeys in the fifteenth century’ and that ‘during the abbacy of William Curteys (1429–46) it was the house that built most extensively in Oxford, and yielded to none, not even to St Albans itself, in its zeal for learning’: *Snappe’s Formulary and other records*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford Historical Society lxxx, 1924), 352. The reader might be misled by Clark’s statement that St Albans’ monks ‘serve regularly’ as prior studentium at Gloucester College. In fact, they took turns with monks from the other great Benedictine houses of the southern province. Again, Clark states that Richard of Wallingford (the future abbot) was attracted to enter the novitiate at St Albans by its prestige as a centre of learning. That is as maybe, but Clark does not mention that when Richard, the son of a smith of Wallingford, was orphaned at the age of about twelve, he was virtually adopted by the prior of Wallingford, William of Kirkeby, and educated in the priory which was a cell of St Albans: therefore, after he had studied at Oxford, it was not surprising that he should choose to take the habit at St Albans. While extolling the undoubted scholarly achievements of St Albans’ monks, Clark makes only passing references to the genius of Richard of Wallingford as a mathematician, astronomer and horologist – even referring dismissively to
Richard’s amazing clock as ‘that troublesome timepiece’ (p. 86). He makes no reference to John North’s edition of Richard’s tracts (three volumes, Oxford 1976) and includes neither that nor any of North’s other publications in the bibliography. Clark could confuse readers in a number of respects. For example, he implies (p. 46) that the general and provincial chapters of the English Benedictines began legislating in the late thirteenth century – but the chapter of the Southern Province first met and legislated in 1219 and was part of a vigorous reform movement early in the century. Similarly, writing of the reforming activities of visitors in his period, he includes episcopal visitors among them (pp. 42, 43), to whom, of course, St Albans as an exempt house was not subject. Again, sometimes Clark is inconsistent. Thus, he states (p. 168) that the almoner, William Wintershill, was the author of the *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti* (i.e. *Trokelowe*, ed. H. T. Riley [RS, 1866]), but elsewhere he states or assumes that it was by Thomas Walsingham (pp. 258, 260, 263–4). Clark also fails to give details about, or references for, some tantalising statements, for example, that a mechanical statue of St Albans stood next to the saint’s shrine (pp. 19, 39), or that Walsingham used the rolls of parliament in his account of the Good Parliament (p. 258). He needs to explain why he believes that the *Annales* was written as a separate work. Here he seems to follow Riley’s view (in his introduction to *Trokelowe*), which was based on incomplete knowledge of the manuscripts, rather than the now accepted opinion of V. H. Galbraith and John Taylor who concluded that Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 7, in which the *Annales* (so named by Riley) is found, simply contains two sections of Walsingham’s Short Chronicle, and a section of the *Chronica majora* from 1392 to 1406, thus comprises drafts for Walsingham’s two contemporary histories and was not composed as a self-contained work (Galbraith edn, p. xii, and see Taylor, Childs and Watkiss edn, pp. xxvii–xxxiii). Clark’s statement (p. 168) that the ‘unique’ text of the *Annales* is in Corpus MS 7, is misleading; the best and only complete text from 1394 to 1420 is in Bodley MS 462, from which Galbraith printed. Another good copy of the *Annales* from 1392 to 1399 is in BL, MS Cotton Faustina B IX which, judging from the bibliography, Clark overlooked. Nor does the bibliography include BL, MS Cotton Otho C II, which contains the earliest and unrevised account of the beginning of Walsingham’s contemporary history (see Taylor, Childs and Watkiss edn, pp. xxxi–xxxii). Clark mentions (p. 115) that the name ‘Master Henry’ is written in the margin of Corpus MS 7 but gives no folio reference. The name is, however, in the margin of Bodley MS 462 on fo. 279 (Galbraith edn, pp. lviii–lxxi, lxxv). With regard to presentation Clark’s book is an attractive volume, but from the point of view of the reader, it has limitations which could easily have been avoided. Apart from the lack of references to some relevant printed sources in the footnotes and bibliography (which is ‘selective’ though this is not stated in the heading), the captions to the otherwise excellent plates should have included manuscript and folio references. The index is too brief and omits the dates of kings and of lay and ecclesiastical magnates – even of the abbots of St Albans (nor does Clark provide a list of St Albans’ late medieval abbots elsewhere in the volume). Nevertheless, despite shortcomings such as these, this is a very interesting book which should stimulate research on monastic culture in the late Middle Ages and especially in the revival of classical studies.

Oxford

ANTONIA GRANSDEN
These two volumes adopt complementary approaches to the study of the lives and legends of the medieval saints. Alison Knowles Frazier’s *Possible lives* takes as its focus the reading and adaptation of the *Lives* of the saints by Italian Renaissance humanists, set against the backdrop of her detailed exploration of the links between classical and religious culture in later medieval Europe. A series of interwoven thematic case studies shed light upon the manipulation of images of sanctity in the face of new challenges, including the Christian and humanist experience of Islam in the Mediterranean, changing perceptions of female piety and sanctity and a growing interest in martyrdom. The humanist representation of sanctity, she suggests, was both necessary and problematic; these writers had inherited a series of problems from their medieval predecessors, but the attempt to reconcile traditional hagiography with the new learning also brought its own challenges. Her handlist of Latin prose *Vitae* of the period 1420–1520 should be a useful reference tool for specialists, but Frazier also draws some persuasive general conclusions from her detailed study of this under-used set of manuscript materials.

Michael Goodich’s *Lives and miracles of the saints* is a more disparate collection of articles and essays, covering a broader geographical and chronological area. As those familiar with his work will expect, the focus is primarily in the ‘high’ Middle Ages, and particularly the thirteenth century. While all the essays are reprinted from earlier publications, the volume will certainly be of use to students of sainthood and hagiography, not least because it brings together a substantial quantity of Goodich’s work in one place. Case studies of individual saints are balanced by more thematic overviews of thirteenth-century sainthood, female sanctity and medieval perceptions of the miraculous.

Both Frazier and Goodich make a strong case for the relevance and importance of medieval saints’ *Lives* to our understanding of the society that produced and read them. Goodich has explored the interaction between saint and society, and the representation of social and political interests in medieval writing on the saints, while Frazier concludes that the *Lives* of the saints could be both stylistically beautiful and historically true, and profoundly transformative. In their informed and informative studies, both authors have done much to place the saints and their biographers at the centre of debates over religious, cultural and political interaction in the later Middle Ages.

University of Reading

Helen Parish
In recent years Norman Housley has established himself as the leading British authority on what are often referred to as the ‘later crusades’ – a term that historians generally use to denote crusading activity in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In *Crusading in the fifteenth century*, Housley and nine other contributors have combined to produce a splendid collection of essays which reveal both the abiding strengths of crusading ideas and their practical limitations. The fifteenth century saw the Ottoman capture of Constantinople and the consolidation of Ottoman control in the Balkans, and necessarily most of the essays concentrate on the threat thus posed to Catholic Europe. Even John Edwards’s essay on ‘Reconquista and crusade in fifteenth-century Spain’ highlights the struggle successive kings had to keep the proceeds of papal crusade taxation for their wars on their Moslem neighbours and not let them be siphoned off for the popes’ anti-Ottoman war chest. The editor’s introduction and the next three essays (by Margaret Meserve, Nancy Bisaha and Johannes Helmrath) investigate the relationship between traditional crusading ideas and renaissance humanism, with the activities of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) providing a connecting thread. Other writers examine the approach to crusading and war on the ‘infidel’ adopted by particular rulers: Jacques Paviot on Burgundy, Claudius Sieber-Lehmann on the Swiss Confederation, János Bak on Hungary, Natalia Nowakowska on Poland in the reign of King Jan Olbracht, Nicolas Vatin on the Hospitallers at Rhodes 1480–1522 and John Edwards on the Spanish peninsula. The editor considers one of the few major crusading successes of the century: Giovanni da Capistrano’s defence of Belgrade in 1456. In their different ways all the essays reflect the enormous amount of thought, diplomacy and preaching that was expended on crusading in the fifteenth century, while emphasising that, despite the considerable threat posed by the Ottomans, crusade appeals evoked limited response and there was little traditional crusading warfare. That is not to say that crusading had had its day: rather that by the fifteenth century the financial and military requirements had changed, as had the significance of crusading in the intellectual life of the period and in popular perceptions of the needs for defence against the non-Christian enemy. The crusades remained a major preoccupation for many rulers, churchmen and military commanders; lack of military action did not necessarily betoken apathy or self-interest, although it most certainly did on occasion. What is impressive about this collection is the consistently high standard of scholarly endeavour and originality which should do much to revive interest in this otherwise neglected area of crusade studies. My one criticism is the absence of any discussion of the Hussite crusades.

Ashgate’s *Variorum Collected Studies* series allows historians to assemble a sort of retrospective exhibition of their contributions to their chosen fields of research. Housley’s collection of eighteen of his own papers spans the period 1980–99. Several are linked to his earlier monographs on the papacy and crusading in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but some of the more recent relate to themes touched on in the collection of essays discussed above. Of particular interest in this connection
are the papers on ‘Messianism and holy war in Europe, 1260–1556’, ‘Insurrection as religious war, 1400–1536’ and ‘Crusading as social revolt: the Hungarian peasant uprising of 1514’. Several of the papers reissued here originally appeared in collections that are not widely available. All-in-all this volume stands as a fitting tribute to Housley’s scholarship and is a welcome addition to the series.

Peter W. Edbury

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Festschriften are a notoriously difficult art form. Driven by the affection of pupils and friends, at best they reveal the intellectual influence of a mentor within a well defined academic territory. At worst they become a heterogeneous bunch of essays, wheeled out as a gesture of piety, and held together with little more than the determination of the editor/s. This volume stands between the two poles. It is illuminated by the deep affection that the writers clearly share for Harry Leonard, and for the scholarly values that he represents. It offers, particularly in a number of the essays on religious themes, some stimulating thoughts on the ‘long’ Reformation, on biblical scholarship and on the non-conforming tradition. Particular praise is due to Richard Emmerson’s elegant analysis of the apocalyptic meanings of York Minster’s great east window, to Ralph Houlbrooke’s exploration of witchcraft accusations in the diocese of Winchester and to William Lamont’s fascinating textual pursuit of the prejudices of Richard Baxter’s twentieth-century editor. But there is little unity of approach in these essays, which cover a period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries and the disciplines of art history, literature and history. In these circumstances the editors might have been wise to embrace pluralism, while focusing upon Leonard’s obvious religious interests. Instead they have laboured to link together Church, State, society and culture over this long period, worrying away at periodisation, intersections, the nature of culture and other grandiose themes. Their objective, when narrowed somewhat, is stated to be the examination of texts or practices ‘against the background of the prevailing biblical mindset’. This seems promising, but the introduction then spins away again into a lengthy analysis of Church–State relations from Wycliffe to the late eighteenth century. This is an over-inflated attempt to accommodate some very specific case studies into a broad analysis. The reader is recommended to focus on the substance of those case studies instead.

Felicity Heal

Jesus College, Oxford

Historians of the Reformation era sometimes write as if confessional traditions became fixed long before this was the case. Many assume that the shattering of the institutional unity of the western Church was inevitable. The essays in this collection provide a wealth of evidence to show that princes, statesmen, bishops, theologians and intellectuals tried at many stages to preserve or restore the unity of the Church by peaceful means. The authors of these scholarly essays analyse ideas and events in countries from France and Italy to Hungary and Poland, introducing readers to a variety of now little-known figures and to scholarship in a wide variety of European languages. One thing the authors rightly insist upon is that the irenic efforts analysed were aimed not at religious toleration but at unity, that is at a reconciliation of differences on the basis of a common faith. Such a coming together would allow for a reasonable degree of diversity on matters of doctrinal interpretation and religious practice.

Two essays on the fifteenth century show that general councils, gatherings of prelates and theologians who represented the wider Church, could advance but also impede the process of reconciliation. Karlfried Froelich shows that the conciliarists who worked successfully to bring to an end the western Church’s Great Schism, involving rival popes and their supporters across Europe, were deeply influenced by biblical teachings. He argues that key passages in the Old and New Testaments were as important to them as contemporary conciliar theories and the canonical tradition that saw councils as a way to resolve seemingly intractable problems. But while the Council of Constance was successful in resolving the Great Schism, the Council of Ferrara–Florence did not succeed in reuniting the eastern and western Churches, which had separated several centuries earlier. Nicholas Constan points out that the eastern Church went all-out to resolve the schism by sending a delegation of 700 people to Italy, including the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople. But the range of theological discussions at the council was very limited. Furthermore, the linguistic differences between east and west were difficult to overcome, the westerners were sceptical about the legitimacy of the Greek liturgy and the easterners declined to bring the insights of recent Byzantine theology to bear on key issues because of the emperor’s fear that this might cause dissension. The results were painful: although a union was proclaimed, it was subsequently repudiated in the east. The last stronghold of the eastern Empire, the city of Constantinople, fell to the Ottoman Turks, who proceeded to restrict the Greek Orthodox Church severely for centuries to come.

Three years after the Lutheran movement began to take institutional form, with the adoption of the Confession of Augsburg, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the foremost Christian humanist of the period, set forth a plan for restoring the unity of the Church. Erika Rummel shows that the plan, contained in Erasmus’s commentary on Psalm lxiii (lxiv), published as De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia (1533), dealt with approaches to unity rather than the issues in dispute between Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Erasmus argued that formulations of doctrine should be treated as tentative until a general council could be convened. Some issues could be left to the
individual’s discretion, and innovations should be limited in the case of long-standing ‘usage and consensus’ (p. 65). Erasmus urged the spokesmen for different parties to be willing to accommodate their views to those of others or to make concessions, otherwise there could be no resolution of questions in dispute. The book was widely disseminated: there were ten editions and four translations by 1535. But few Catholics or Protestants were willing to agree to make concessions on what they regarded as key issues. Philip Melanchthon, conspicuously more conciliatory than his master Martin Luther, did make public efforts to find a common understanding on issues in dispute. Euan Cameron analyses Melanchthon’s irenic efforts at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, at the conferences between Catholics and Protestants in the early 1540s and during the negotiations over the Emperor Charles v’s Interim of 1548. Cameron argues persuasively that Melanchthon was a realistic and shrewd leader, who sought to win a secure place for the Lutheran Church. But he shows that Melanchthon was nevertheless determined not to yield on the doctrine of justification by faith, which he regarded as essential, scriptural and dominical, that is, an expression of Jesus’ own teaching. John Calvin, often regarded as just as unyielding as Luther, is shown by Randall Zachman to have been conciliatory when dealing with those he saw as teachers of the biblical faith who were willing to enter into theological dialogue with him. Zachman points out that Calvin saw the Zurich Consensus, an agreement between the Swiss Reformed Churches on the eucharist, as a model of how differences could be resolved. Calvin never lost hope of reaching agreement with Melanchthon on issues separating the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformed Churches. The Catholic theologians Georg Cassander and Georg Witzel worked assiduously for the cause of reunion between Catholics and Protestants, while recognising that there was a need for substantial reform. Cassander and Witzel urged that the faith and practices of the ancient Church, extending across the first six centuries, be accepted as the basis on which agreement might be reached. Irena Backus points out that the two theologians actually had radically different approaches to reconciliation. Cassander saw the doctrinal discussions of the ancient period as applicable to resolving disputes in his own day, while Witzel saw the liturgical forms of antiquity as the basis for reforming abuses in the life of the Churches in the sixteenth century. Backus argues that neither theologian fully understood the depth of doctrinal differences in the Reformation period or appreciated that the Churches of the Reformation period were quite unlike the ‘one holy Catholic Church’ of the early Christian centuries.

Efforts were made with constructive results to accommodate religious differences in France, Hungary and Bohemia, though the arrangements did not prove to be permanent or wholly satisfactory. Karin Maag show that writers on both the Catholic and Protestant sides urged the warring parties in the long religious and civil wars in France to find a way to remain in one Church. Key political leaders, including the chancellor Michel de l’Hôpital, worked towards the same goal. But, by and large, the adherents of the two faiths distrusted such efforts. The Edict of Nantes, promulgated by King Henry iv, who had abjured his former Protestantism, ‘finally recognized that the Huguenots in France had certain rights (albeit limited ones)’, but the edict ‘ended up reinforcing confessional boundaries rather than knocking them down’ (p. 146). Graeme Murdock points to the remarkable growth of Protestantism in Hungary in the sixteenth century, which resulted in three-quarters of the population becoming adherents of Lutheranism, Calvinism or anti-Trinitarianism.
When the Austrian Habsburg rulers of the western part of Hungary sought to revive the Roman Catholic Church there, the Calvinists invited the Lutherans to join them in an effort to minimise their differences and to defend the Protestant cause. These efforts bore fruit in the early seventeenth century, when Hungarian Reformed clergy, trained in Heidelberg, urged the adoption of measures of cooperation between Calvinists and Lutherans advocated by the Palatine theologian David Pareus. These efforts had the support of Gábor Bethlen prince of Transylvania. But as the Thirty Years’ War got under way, interest on the part of Hungarian Lutherans in cooperation with the Reformed definitely waned, bringing a promising era to an end. The most extraordinary case of all is what Zdeněk V. David calls ‘confessional accommodation in early modern Bohemia’. As historians of the period know, the followers of Jan Hus, put to death as a heretic at the Council of Constance in 1415, became members of a continuing Church. It was called ‘Utraquist’ because its clergy administered the eucharist to the laity ‘in both kinds’. David shows that the Utraquist Church reached an accommodation with the Roman Catholic Church in 1485 that lasted for about a century. Thus the Utraquist Church preserved the sacramental character and the historic episcopate of the medieval Church, even while administering the eucharist in a way that Rome found unacceptable. The Utraquists were also a party to the Bohemian Confession, which embraced some tenets of both Lutheranism and Calvinism. Thus, they occupied the position of a via media, with links to both Rome and the Reformation. They also constituted a national Church whose membership included a large proportion of the Bohemian people. Nevertheless, the Utraquist Church fell victim to the Habsburg repression that followed the defeat of Frederick, the ‘winter king’ of Bohemia, soon after the onset of the Thirty Years’ War. David argues persuasively that the Utraquists were ‘advocates of dialogue and liberal moderation as a path to renewal’ and that their viewpoint strikingly paralleled that of the irenic Catholic Georg Witzel.

Howard P. Louthan observes that most studies of irenicism in the age of reform have been carried out by Protestants and are focused on the work of Protestants. There has been correspondingly little effort to uncover figures in the Catholic community who favoured compromise. His own chapter on the many-sided Valerian Magni, a Capuchin friar, shows that some Catholics were energetic negotiators across confessional lines. As adviser to the archbishop of Prague after the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War, Magni favoured a programme of ‘education, preaching, and open debate’ in relations with the Protestants (p. 203). Later, in Poland, with considerable support from the Catholic authorities there as well as the king, he was able to get Pope Innocent x to agree that a religious disputation involving Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics could be held in the royal Prussian city of Thorn. It was the last great interconfessional conference of the Reformation era (p. 210). Lutheran hard-liners, however, pushed aside the moderate Georg Calixt, and railed against the dangers of syncretism, with the result that little meaningful dialogue took place. Meanwhile, Magni worked to improve relations between the Catholics and the Orthodox of Ukraine in cooperation with the metropolitan of Kiev. Unfortunately for Magni, the forces of reaction prevailed after 1648, forcing him out of Poland and Bohemia and, eventually, into prison in Vienna, as a suspected heretic.

Howard Hotson, in a detailed account and analysis of irenicism in the Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648, demonstrates that most of the proposals for religious reconciliation in the period came from clergymen and statesmen in Calvinist states.
They directed their overtures chiefly to Lutherans, hoping thereby to gain allies against the Catholics. Political issues were as important as theological issues, since Calvinism, a product of a ‘second Reformation’ in Germany, was not recognised under the religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555. Calvinism grew at an exponential pace in Germany in the late sixteenth century, when Lutherans saw state after state fall away from Lutheranism to the more radical Protestant faith. This growth was a major reason for Lutheran hostility to proposals for closer relations with Calvinists and helps to explain why some key Lutheran leaders disliked and feared Calvinists even more than Catholics at the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War. One of the conclusions to be drawn is that the picture of Calvinism in the empire as aggressive in religious and political terms needs to be modified. Irenicism was a living tradition, ‘the subject of great debates, enormous efforts, and a substantial body of literature’ (p. 231).

This volume constitutes an invaluable collection of essays on a subject about which too little is known, especially in Anglo-American circles. It is authoritative on irenicism in central Europe, especially when supplemented by Howard Louthan’s The quest for compromise: peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna (Cambridge 1997). The book does not claim to be complete: the editors acknowledge that England and the Netherlands are neglected. France is dealt with informatively, though King Henry IV himself receives scant attention. Interested readers will want to consult N. M. Sutherland’s Henry IV of France and the politics of religion, 1572–1596 (Bristol 2002) for Henry’s proposals for a religious reconciliation between Catholics and Huguenots, to be achieved by a council, general or national. Louthan and Zachman intend this volume to be ‘a type of blueprint or roadmap for future scholarship’ (p. 10). Students of early modern Europe will benefit enormously if it is used in this way.

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Church, religion and society in early modern Italy. By Christopher F. Black. (European Studies.) Pp. xxiii+315 incl. 2 tables and 5 maps. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. £57.50 (cloth), £21.99 (paper). o 333 61844 0; 0 333 61845 9

This book is a further addition to the excellent European Studies Series and will be a useful general introduction for all students of post-Tridentine Italy. Readers will find that Black offers a highly competent survey of the vast historiography of this topic, and makes a particular effort to offer a thorough appraisal of recent works. As the author himself sets out, his focus is on the interaction of the Catholic institutions and the wider public, both positive and negative. The book retreads the ground of the Council of Trent, but does so in the form of an approachable introduction to the principal issues, focusing on their implementation. Traditional topics such as the roles of bishops, parish priests and confraternities are examined in considerable depth, drawing on a confident array of local examples. Examination of the more negative aspects of Church reform in this period is left until the end; when it does come, the analysis carefully advertises how the inquisition has been misunderstood, emphasising the context in which it worked and distinguishing between the various inquisitions which existed. Newer topics are also explored, and Black is particularly to be commended for his extensive embrace of the growing research into the varied
experiences of religious women. Overall, Black offers a thoughtful summary of the principal issues facing the post-Tridentine Italian Church; the fact that this is done without compromising on the inclusion of a large selection of sources and data makes this book a helpful resource for student and teacher alike.

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Oxford


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These essays aim to revise the frequently advanced view that the pre-Reformation papacy was hostile to reform. They document the ways in which the popes – notably Martin V and Nicholas V – sought to reassert their authority after the era of the schism and the challenge of the Council of Basle. The papal monarchy was re-established and Rome once more became the focal point of Christianity, the magnet for the laity’s hopes of salvation and for the career ambitions of the higher clergy. The success of these endeavours generated much of the resentment and criticism of the papacy, which fuelled the anti-Roman polemics that preceded and accompanied the early stages of the Reformation. Unfortunately the title of the volume promises a more systematic and focused collection than it delivers. Several essays deal with aspects of the renewal of the papal monarchy: the pontificates of Martin V and Nicholas V; the conflicts between pope, emperor and the Council of Basle; the elaboration of ceremonial and orders of precedence and the treatment of envoys at the papal court. Others focus on the response of the laity, largely in Germany: the positive response to the Holy Year 1500; Ulrich von Hutten’s savage criticism of the papacy; the portrayal of papal government as the tyranny of the devil in drama of the Reformation period. The best essay falls into neither category. Achim Thomas Hack’s analysis of Frederick III’s mass investiture of knights on the Tiber bridge on 19 March 1452 following his coronation sheds light on both the medieval and early modern structure of the Reich. On the one hand it continued older traditions. On the other hand the use of a sword that had allegedly belonged to Charlemagne is testimony to a new cult of origins in the fifteenth century. At the same time, the compilation, apparently for the first time, of a list of the knights dubbed on this occasion represents an intriguing innovation that perhaps reflects a new approach on the part of the Habsburgs to the problems of building a clientele in the empire. Furthermore, the fact that the list was published six times between 1503 and 1892 indicates that the clients themselves, and their descendants, attached enduring significance to the event. The lack of an introduction diminishes the usefulness of this volume. Most of the contributions are the texts of papers given in the context of a graduate colloquium in 1999 and they bear the hallmarks of work in progress that might have been progressed a little further before publication.

Gonville and Caius College, 

Joachim Whaley

Cambridge

This volume arose out of Hamm’s longstanding work on Spengler’s writings, which he has edited in two volumes so far; the final volume is announced for this year. Lazarus Spengler is a particularly interesting figure for those studying the German Reformation, because he was a lay theologian who became one of the earliest supporters of the Lutheran Reformation and a politician of its cause. Spengler took over the influential position of Nuremberg city-scribe from his father in 1507, and was a mature professional in his late thirties by the time the causa Lutheri came to the fore of German politics and belief. Hamm outlines how medieval and humanist ideas influencing Nuremberg elites were shaken up by Staupitz's preaching and the Lutheran thought that followed. For Spengler, belief and reason went together in a search for clear principles which would unite a Christian community based on God’s word. Everything was to be ordered by the spirit of belief and love, and the authorities were not to act against the Bible. Nor was unity to be endangered. Spengler thus defended Lutheranism against other types of Protestantism, but he also warned against what he regarded as unnecessary division among Protestants. He was looking for a civic religion, turning, despite all political difficulties, into an ‘Eiferer’, an eager Lutheran, rather than a tactician. Hamm’s book is divided into ten chapters which are intended as a ‘Zwischenbilanz’ of his work on the Spengler edition up to 1529. Only one of the chapters – an interesting exploration of the relationship between Spengler and Albrecht Dürer, who lived 60 metres apart from each other, shared many views and had both been co-opted into the large council of Nuremberg, even though they were not patricians – has been newly written for the volume. All the other chapters have been written for different audiences and at different occasions, so that we find a considerable amount of overlap. Even so, Hamm provides a broader sense of the social background of the Reformation in a city firmly dominated by a patrician elite, and a highly perceptive and balanced account of how theological ideas meshed with social and political life in the earlier period of the Reformation. The volume also reproduces his widely received essay on ‘Religion als normative Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft’, in which Hamm argues that the sixteenth century needs to be understood as a culmination of voices from the fifteenth century onwards, which worked towards a tight interdependence of life, confession and politics, literally a ‘normative centering’ of a strongly hierarchical society on Christian beliefs which had become divisive. The vision of the early Reformation, which envisaged a communalisation of the Church and greater social equality, faded away in this process. Spengler’s ‘family book’ ends the volume, but is not of particular interest – it consists of short entries recording the births and deaths of family members, without much further comment. It is going to be fascinating to see how research on Spengler develops as it takes into account his later writings, and the course of the Nuremberg Reformation.

St John’s College, Cambridge

Ulinka Rublack
This volume represents a first attempt to draw together most of the known cases of secret conversions to Judaism from Christianity from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, to examine a history of motives and to place them in their historical contexts. To many this may be a little known subject when compared to Jewish conversions to Christianity, or to crypto-Jews reverting to Judaism. The authors of the six papers, some including previously unpublished documents, discuss the powerful religious convictions which compelled such individuals to abandon the security of Christian society for the insecurity of the often persecuted Jewish minority, risking arrest, punishment and, in some places, death. Arthur Williamson’s paper on the Scottish anticlerical humanist George Buchanan centres on Buchanan’s association with Portuguese conversos at the Collège de Guyenne and at the University of Coimbra, for which he was arrested and imprisoned by the Portuguese inquisition on charges of Judaising. Richard Popkin discusses philosemitic Hebraists in the seventeenth century in the light of John Dury, who reflected on whether Christian converts from Judaism could maintain Jewish practices. The case of Samuel Fisher, the early Quaker who may have converted to Judaism, is also examined in this context. The role of the Jewish community in Amsterdam in integrating Iberian marranos back to Judaism is well-known. Elisheva Carlebach discusses the lesser-known story of German-Jewish converts to Christianity reverting back to Judaism in the tolerant milieu of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Amsterdam. The city was a refuge for reverting Jews: the Church regarded attempts to reverse baptism as blasphemous transgressions for which punishment could still be death. Amsterdam was also a refuge for Christians wishing to convert to Judaism. It was the setting for the eventual conversion to Judaism of Johann Peter Späth, discussed in Allison Coudert’s paper. Späth was initially inspired by the revival of Lurianic kabbalah at Sulzbach, eventually rejecting not only this kabbalistic millenarianism, but also both the doctrine and practice of Christianity, particularly Christian intolerance towards Jews. Martin Mulsow examines the case of Aaron d’Antan, who, writing in the early eighteenth century, overcame Skepticism and Cartesianism, finding fulfilment in the study of Hebrew literature and kabbalistic philosophy, converting to Judaism in Amsterdam. Marsha Keith Schuchard’s paper on the conversion of Lord George Gordon, the eighteenth-century radical Scottish politician, demonstrates the influence of Kabbalistic Judaism, and possibly of the Sabbatian kabbalist and freemason Samuel Jacob Falk, in Gordon’s conversion. Gordon represented a tradition of Scottish philo-Semitism and British millenarianism. These cases of conversions and reversions of both Christians and Jews are examined in the light of religious schism, the numerous Christian sects of the post-Reformation period and intellectual currents. It is to be hoped that future research will reveal more cases: this important book will be an essential basis for any further work.

British Museum

Beverley Nenk
With one exception, the essays in this collection concentrate on the motivations, intentions and behaviour of those stirred to fear and even paranoia by perceived threats of murder, sedition or anarchy. Munro Price’s concluding contribution provides the sole attempt to examine the reality of an apparent conspiracy; it unravels the counter-revolutionary associations of the Baron de Batz, the alleged architect of the notorious ‘foreign plot’ conspiracy during the French Revolution, illustrating that the baron’s associations with the revolutionary government’s international enemies and his royalist sympathies suggest that it is probable that he did seek to discredit the Revolution even if he did not mastermind a vast conspiracy that shook the government. While Price’s contribution points to the potential in approaching a conspiracy primarily through the words and actions of the accused rather than the accuser (a point also made by Peter Lake in his essay on Catholic views of the Elizabethan “monarchical republic”), other essays concentrate on the motives, intentions and actions of those who dreaded, sought or defeated conspiracies. The volume opens with Wolfgang Behringer’s study of the accusations of witchcraft made against the Waldensians, and convincingly concludes that they were understandable in the light of the Waldensians’ testimonies to having visited the afterlife, spoken with the dead, anticipated future events and functioned as healers in their communities. Yet Behringer simultaneously situates this synthesis within the political rivalry between the House of Savoy and the papacy, to show the political gains that the papacy made in tarnishing Savoy with allegations of witchcraft and heresy. The political potential of crying conspiracy is well detailed in Penny Roberts’s consideration of the fears of conspiracy provoked in French frontier towns during the Wars of Religion; she details the menace to regional identity, community, secure relations with the monarchy and trade that these vulnerable regions claimed were posed by possible invasion and Huguenot disloyalty. Stuart Carroll then offers a fascinating perspective on the reasoned and controlled passion of vengeance in noble feuds and conspiracies during this period. In contrast, Kate Lowe highlights the ways in which unrestrained violence permeated what are often just deemed plots of politics or justified revenge in the Italian peninsula from their instigation and investigation to their punishment. French conspiracy is well represented in the collection; beyond the contributions described above, Malina Stefanovska illustrates how the French playwrights Corneille, L’Hermite and Bergerac adopted the motif of conspiracy to comment on political legitimacy, divine right monarchy and individual autonomy, while Peter Campbell and Marisa Linton examine the contribution of conspiracy theory to the onset and implosion of the French Revolution to 1794. Nigel Aston’s essay on Edmund Burke’s conviction that the Revolution was the work of an ambitious, atheistic and alienated cabal determined to overthrow the Church perfectly makes the point that religious typology transferred across conspiracies, and that the cultural and linguistic treasury of conspiracy worked just as well in relation to perceived popish, Puritan and dissenter plots as it did in relation to philosophe plots. In illustrating this, other essays examine the contribution of the conspiracy discourse to religious fears in England (Jason Peacey), the formation of political and religious identities in England (Peter Lake and Mark Haydon) and to the emergence of party
politics in the post-Restoration (Mark Knights). Geographically, the collection’s scope is limited principally to France and England, but the depth of the individual analyses and the editors’ judicious choice of complementary topics compensate for this.

**UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM**

**ALISON FORRESTAL**


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Bassingbourn’s already well known accounts and inventory have finally made it into print, and scholars will be grateful to David Dymond for producing such an impressive volume. It is perhaps less clear what use we can make of these accounts, except as an additional case study to add to the pile. Dymond refers to the debate on the use of churchwardens’ accounts between Clive Burgess, who has argued for the importance of a contextualised, multi-source approach, and Beat Kümin, who has promoted the use of quantitative techniques on the accounts more or less in isolation. Whilst employing a contextualised and quantitative approach in tandem would seem most helpful, neither approach seems possible here, unfortunately. The diminishing level of detail in the accounts would seem to preclude any quantitative analysis: a financial crisis in the 1490s which encouraged record keeping – hence the inventory – giving way to one, the Reformation, which seems to have discouraged it. Overlapping sources – will, tax lists and the like – are included in this publication, but rarely illuminate the accounts to the extent one would like. The sources are well transcribed and helpfully annotated, and the introduction is detailed and informative. Perhaps the least successful aspect is the inventory, which is hard to understand as a transcript, but much easier to grasp through photographic plates of the pages themselves, some of which are included in this useful volume.

**CAMBRIDGE**

**KEN FARNHILL**


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The emergence of early modern English urban history as a subdiscipline was part of the broader development of social and economic history during the 1970s. Much work in this area still springs from these historiographical roots. One consequence of this is that most historians of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English towns have until recently paid comparatively little attention to either ‘high’ political or religious history. Julia Merritt’s carefully and extensively researched study of Westminster is one of a number of monographs published in the last five years which profitably bring together these previously parallel bodies of scholarship. Hers is an urban
history of the heart of the political nation. It is as concerned with courtly patronage and predestination as it is with the emergence of oligarchy and the social consequences of population growth. Central to Merritt’s arguments is that to study the vill of Westminster during this period is not simply to study the growth of the West End. Throughout this period, she stresses, Westminster had its own political culture which should not be submerged into an undifferentiated narrative of London history. From early in the seventeenth century its population would have made it the second largest city in England and there were repeated attempts to win it full corporate status. (The possible consequences of such a grant are, unfortunately, not explored at any length.)

The book begins in a chronological fashion, outlining the impact of the Reformation on the two parishes that made up Westminster (St Margaret’s Westminster and St Martin’s in the Fields) until the Elizabethan settlement. The quality and quantity of the sources increases thereafter, and the remaining seven chapters analyse various aspects of Westminster’s history from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Topics covered include the response to poverty and the plague, the degree to which Westminster became an aristocratic quarter, the nature of parochial office, the role of the Court of Burgesses established in 1585, the politics of space and the politics of religion. Although this thematic approach means that there are occasional references to developments which are not described until several chapters later, it does make The social world an easy book to use. Many scholars will find much of interest and profit within it. However, I suspect that this is a book which will be consulted far more than it is read from cover to cover, for while Merritt’s analysis is always scholarly and judicious, it rarely seeks to set an agenda or to advance a distinctive critique of existing broader historiographies.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

MARK JENNER
The most important section of Kenneth Farrow’s study lies in the detailed analysis of *The historie* in chapters v and vi. It ends with the ringing assertion that ‘not only is John Knox’s *The Historie of the Reformatioun* the finest literary prose work of the times to which it belongs so inseparably, it is one of the very greatest works of prose in the whole of Scottish literature – *quod est demonstrandum!*’ [pp. 319–20, author’s italics]. The second part of this claim is probably a step too far, but the author has made an excellent case for the high level of rhetorical craft and the literary merits displayed in *The historie*. His careful dissection, for example, of Knox’s use of narration and humour to reinforce his polemical points has revealed a previously-hidden aspect of the Reformer. Unfortunately, there is a slightly dated feel to the bibliography where, for example, neither Professor Burns’s magisterial discussion of Knox in *The true law of kingship* (1996) nor Mason’s important studies and edition are present.

Although there is appended a helpful glossary of the Latin rhetorical terms, this book is not for the faint-hearted. Considerable familiarity with Knox’s writings and with their historical context is expected because they are analysed in thematic categories. Since the appendix giving the major events of Knox’s life does not include the dates of his writings, it is possible to miss the historical context of particular tracts.

A little effort is well repaid, however: this is an impressive piece of scholarship which has carefully unpicked and laid bare Knox’s rhetorical skills. In so doing Farrow has added much to our appreciation of Knox as a writer and has placed *The historie* in the centre of sixteenth-century Scots prose.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

JANE E. A. DAWSON

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*Stephen Buckwalter’s thorough edition of ten lesser-known writings on the eucharist is a fine scholarly contribution to Bucer research. Covering a key phase in the reformer’s theological development (1528–41), the work begins with a manuscript draft of a Strassburg rejection of the mass (‘Fragment eines Abendmahlgutachten für den Strassburger Rat’, c. 1529) and culminates, appropriately, with Bucer’s contribution to the Augsburg eucharistic controversy (‘Gutachten zum Augsburger Abendmahlsstreit’, 1538). Two further eirenic contributions, addressed in turn to the Chur reformer Johannes Comander (1539) and the Chur town council (c. 1539–41), conclude the work. Editorial constraints made it impossible to document a strictly chronological development of Bucer’s eucharistic doctrine: *Bucers Deutsche Schriften* (*BDS*) only considers German works, of which the more familiar had already been published (primarily in *BDS* ii). Despite these constraints, the present volume manages to fill crucial gaps and makes previously unpublished archive material available to a wider readership. It also manages to slip in two Latin works pertaining to the Reformation in Chur, together with corresponding German counterparts. Buckwalter’s work is comprehensively cross-referenced, and furnished with an extensive critical apparatus and numerous indices. Frequently edited from multiple sources, the works under consideration are introduced with considerable erudition*
and carefully placed within their wider theological and historical contexts. This work will provide a valuable tool for any serious Bucer scholar seeking to explore in greater detail the reformer’s contributions to the eucharistic debates of the 1530s.

Great St Mary’s, Cambridge


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Until recently Heinrich Bullinger was a little-known figure outside his native Switzerland. Despite occasional attempts to rekindle interest in this ‘forgotten reformer’, who presided over the Zurich church from 1531 until his death in 1575, the general tendency was to dismiss Bullinger as representative of so-called ‘late Zwingianism’, soon to be eclipsed by the more dynamic theology of John Calvin. However, the ongoing publication of Bullinger’s correspondence (which comprises around 12,000 letters) and increasing familiarity with his writings have prompted a reassessment of the reformer’s achievements. Studies by Hans Ulrich Bächtold, Bruce Gordon and Pamela Biel have highlighted Bullinger’s importance as a church administrator, educator and pastor, while Andreas Mühling has explored his extensive network of overseas connections. It is now clear that Bullinger played a pivotal role in shaping what was to become the Reformed Christian tradition.

In this revised version of his Habilitationsschrift, the Zurich-based church historian Peter Opitz offers a detailed and sophisticated analysis of Bullinger’s most important theological work. The Decades, published in four folio volumes between 1549 and 1551, is a collection of fifty thematic sermons covering the whole range of Christian teaching. The dedication of the first part of the work (to the deans of the Zurich church) places it in the context of Bullinger’s lifelong efforts to raise the moral and educational standards of Zurich’s clergy; formally, the homilies in the Decades are a development on the late medieval genre of the ‘sermo ad clerum’, which aimed to provide preachers with the resources to instruct their listeners in correct doctrine. This catechetical emphasis is reflected in the structure of the work, which deals in turn with the Apostles’ Creed, the Decalogue, the Lord’s Prayer and the sacraments. In his introductory chapter Opitz suggests that the Decades also have a strong ‘kerygmatic’ dimension, because for Bullinger catechesis is inseparable from the main task of the preacher: to proclaim Christ as the source of life and salvation. This central truth is summed up for him by Matthew xvii.5 (‘Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo placata est anima mea. Ipsum audite’), the text that appears on the title page of this and almost all of his other published works.

The first decade of sermons, containing Bullinger’s doctrine of Scripture and exposition of the Apostles’ Creed, is examined in chapter ii. It was the Scripture principle that first attracted Bullinger to the Reformation in the early 1520s, and in the Decades he insists repeatedly on the sole authority of the Bible. However, as Opitz makes clear, Bullinger’s biblicism is offset by a concern to prove the ‘apostolicity’ and ‘catholicity’ of the Reformed faith. A series of ancient creeds and doctrinal statements are prefaced to the Decades, and Bullinger identifies the regula fidei as one of four key exegetical principles. The work itself is replete with patristic
citations, especially from the Latin Fathers Tertullian, Lactantius and Augustine. At the same time Bullinger is keen to distance himself from the Tridentine view of tradition as an authority on a par with Scripture. For example, he does not hesitate to point out errors in the writings of the Fathers, whom he describes as ‘condiscipuli’ of God’s word rather than teachers in their own right. Even the Apostles’ Creed is deemed normative only because of its dependence on Scripture.

In chapter iii Opitz addresses Bullinger’s doctrines of God and Christ, which are the subject of six sermons in the fourth decade. Here Bullinger again seeks to demonstrate the compatibility of the Scripture principle with ‘orthodoxy’, affirming the creedal formulations of Nicæa and Chalcedon on the basis that they merely sum up the facts of God’s self-revelation in the Bible. Bullinger’s doctrine of God is closely linked to his soteriology; for Bullinger, knowledge of God’s nature and attributes comes not from metaphysical speculation but from his works ‘ad extra’, in creation, redemption and sanctification. The aim of this activity is the restoration of communion between God and humanity, in Christ and through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Bullinger argues that human beings have an active, if secondary, role to play in their salvation; indeed, he struggles to reconcile the doctrine of double predestination with his belief in ultimate human responsibility for sin. Opitz notes a similar tension in Bullinger’s treatment of justification (chapter iv), where the forensic, ‘juridical’ approach of Luther and Melanchthon sits rather uneasily alongside the more ‘pneumatological’ understanding of the Swiss reformers. In the Decades, justification tends to be subsumed into a wider process of ‘beatificatio’ and ‘vivificatio’, again centred on the theme of communion with Christ. Opitz argues convincingly that this, rather than the covenant, is the unifying strand in Bullinger’s theology (chapter v).

The last two chapters of the book deal with Bullinger’s exposition of the Mosaic Law and his ecclesiology. Like Melanchthon, Bullinger accepts the traditional division of the Law into the lex moralis, lex caeremonialis and lex iudicialis, only the first of which is binding on Christians. However, consistent with his emphasis on the continuity of revelation between the Old and New Testaments, he takes a rather more positive view of the Law than the Lutherans. For Bullinger, the Law is more than an accuser: it also shows sinners the way to salvation, by inducing them to turn to Christ, the ‘perfectio et finis legis’. The same Christocentric approach informs his sermons on the Church, which he defines primarily as the invisible community of saints. Although Bullinger has plenty to say about the visible Church too, his experience of Anabaptism had left him suspicious of rigorist and prescriptive models of Christian community. In the Decades he attempts to draw the boundaries of the Church as widely as possible, as one might expect from a theologian committed to the restoration of Protestant unity; he even acknowledges much of value in the Church of Rome. The supreme example of Bullinger’s irenicism was, of course, his dialogue with Calvin on the eucharist, which eventually produced the Consensus Tigurinus. As Opitz shows, the results of this interchange were fed into the Decades, where Bullinger reworked his earlier treatise De sacramentis to take account of the newly achieved doctrinal agreement with Geneva.

On the debit side, Opitz’s study lacks both a conclusion summarising his findings and an index. Some points would have benefited from more extended treatment. In chapter ii, for example, he identifies the Zurich Hebraists Konrad Pellikan and Theodor Bibliander as key influences on Bullinger’s Old Testament exegesis, but the
relationship is not explored in any detail. However, Opitz’s achievement is to present Bullinger as a substantial theologian in his own right, rather than just as an epigone of Zwingli or forerunner of Calvin. Although his primary focus is the *Decades*, he makes every effort to track the development of Bullinger’s thought through earlier works, revealing some important connections in the process (notably the fact that Bullinger seems to have derived some of his main theological concepts from Oecolampadius, rather than Zwingli). Although many questions remain, Opitz is to be commended for identifying a central organising principle in Bullinger’s theology to which the disparate themes that he treats both in the *Decades* and elsewhere can plausibly be related. His book will become a standard point of reference for all those with an interest in the sixteenth-century Zurich Church and in the Swiss Reformation more generally.

Mark Taplin


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Although this is not indicated in the title, the author is concerned very largely, albeit not exclusively, with the English Reformation. Although she makes several allusions to writers such as Flacius Illyricus, Rudolf Gwalther or Heinrich Bullinger, there is no concerted attempt to point up the specificity of English attitudes to the medieval past in relation to the Reformation movement as a whole. Furthermore, she does not clearly distinguish between Lutheran and Calvinist views of the medieval past or for that matter between the early and late sixteenth century. The book argues that the ‘Reformation’ did not obliterate the memory of the legends, miracles etc. of the medieval Church but, rather, rewrote them in a new, mainly negative, way in order to discredit the Roman Catholic tradition and to give itself a past based on its own teaching. The author divides the work into five chapters not including the introduction. Chapter i deals with the use of medieval chronicles, histories etc. by authors such as John Bale or William Tyndale whose aim was to demonstrate that the medieval Church had abandoned its apostolic heritage and had fallen into error. Chapter ii discusses the Reformation’s conception of the medieval Catholic Church as purveyor of false miracles. The author insists here and elsewhere that the Reformation did not abandon ‘the language of miracle and marvel’ (for example at p. 70) but that it manipulated that language for its own uses. Chapter iii deals with saints, images and hagiography and chapter iv with the Reformation *Lives* of St Thomas Becket and St Dunstan and the way that the two saints were used at various stages to create a new religious and political identity. Finally, chapter v concerns itself with the Reformation portrayal of the papacy as the AntiChrist and its depiction of individual popes as necromancers. The author concludes that in the Reformation ‘a new narrative of the sacred past was constructed, a narrative in which shrines, images and feigned miracles played a prominent part’ (p. 161). The book seems to rest on the assumption that there are still historians who think, in the wake of writers such as Bernard Vogler (1972), that the Reformation was a rational movement attempting to create a rational language. Secondly, the author adopts
the by now outdated view of Pontien Polman that the prime use of history in the Reformation era was for polemical ends. This means that she ignores all attempts to rewrite the Middle Ages in a favourable light, as witnessed, for example, by Georg Major’s expurgated editions of the *Legenda aurea* and the *Vitaspatrum*. Thirdly, she seems to underestimate the need felt by Reformation authors to disprove the charges of charlatanry and innovation that were repeatedly brought against them by the Roman Catholic Church. In this situation, attack was the best form of defence. Finally, addressing itself to populations that lived very close to the supernatural, the Reformation would have stood no chance had it adopted a new, rational language (even had it been capable of doing so) in order to convert them. That being said, the book raises the interesting question of the use of traditional language in confessional polemics and should be commended for this.

University of Geneva

Irena Backus


The title of this work is thoroughly misleading. There is nothing particularly unusual about this in these days, when academic publishers try to appeal to as broad a readership as possible. Nevertheless it is worth dwelling on the difference between what this book covers, and what its title promises, because the comparison provides a ready insight into the strengths and weaknesses of Shrank’s monograph. As Shrank readily acknowledges, her book ‘is not a comprehensive survey of English writers between 1530 and 1580, it merely offers a series of snapshots of various authors working within those dates’ (p. 22). The strength of this method is that it allows Shrank to devote a good deal of attention to writers and works, such as Andrew Borde and Thomas Smith’s *De scriptione*, which while both significant and interesting, have not hitherto received the critical attention which they deserve. But there are a number of potential weaknesses in this method. One is the element of selectivity and Shrank increases this weakness by providing no clear criteria as to why certain writers were included or excluded from consideration. A number of Tudor writers, who dealt at length with the topics examined in this book, such as William Tyndale, John Bale, Robert Crowley, William Turner and John Foxe, are barely mentioned. (Shrank does provide an inadequate rationale for her failure to discuss Tyndale: as a translator of the Bible, Tyndale was, according to Shrank, not concerned with constructing an authorial identity and England itself is not directly treated within Scripture. Even accepting these arguments, and the first seems irrelevant, they do not apply to the works on English church history that Tyndale wrote or edited.) The focus on certain individual authors also risks the loss of the context in which they wrote and Shrank exacerbates this weakness by largely ignoring writers whose work is crucially linked with those upon whom she does focus; Leland is discussed with little reference to Bale and none to Foxe, and Smith is discussed without reference to Laurence Humphrey. (Shrank’s one mention of Humphrey, facilely characterising him as ‘reactionary’ because he urged that the nobility educate their children so as not to lose their place in government [p. 171], overlooks the crucial point that Humphrey defined lawyers and professionals as part of the nobility.) Nor does
Shrank do much to connect the writers she discusses – apart from Edmund Spenser and Sir Phillip Sidney – with each other. Moreover, she does very little to connect Spenser and Sidney with the other authors she analyses; in fact, her treatment of these two is a little perfunctory and gives the impression of being added on to the book in order to extend the range of what is essentially a study of pre-Elizabethan writers (see Shrank’s revealing comments on pp. 11–13, 256–7). Shrank’s treatment of nationhood is also problematic. She posits a growth of ‘national sentiment’, yet the works she examines only treat themes of nationhood peripherally. What Shrank does demonstrate – and this is itself of considerable significance – is a growing sense of English cultural identity, centred on a scholarly fascination with the history and development of the vernacular tongue. Shrank does an able job of teasing out the manifold political and religious implications of this new sense of identity, but she is still describing only a rudimentary sense of national identity which falls short of a real sense of nationhood. In sum, this book provides excellent studies of significant works, and their authors, from a still obscure period of English literary history. It also sheds valuable light on early English humanism and the development of an English cultural identity. But the light it sheds is that of a searchlight; powerful but only within a narrow beam. Shrank has illuminated isolated sections of what C. S. Lewis, referred to as ‘the Drab Age’ of English literature, but major sections of it still lie unexplored, at least in her book. And the development of humanism, and its relationship to a sense of English national identity, as well as the relationship of both to the English Reformation, still awaits systematic and thorough analysis.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

THOMAS S. FREEMAN

El arzobispo Carranza Tiempos recios, II: Galería de personajes. By José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras. Pp. 590. Salamanca: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia/Fundación Universitaria Española, 2004. €43.27. 84 7299 611 5; 84 7299 610 7


José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras of the Pontifical University of Salamanca has been studying the controversial case of the archbishop of Toledo, Friar Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda – arrested by the Spanish inquisition on a charge of heresy shortly after taking up his office in 1559 and subjected to a trial lasting more than seventeen years – for over half a century. Tellechea’s publications on the subject are extensive and he has established an international reputation for being one of the most highly regarded ecclesiastical historians of early modern Spain. This volume (the second in a series) brings together original evidence presented at Carranza’s trial by a selection of witnesses – defenders and detractors – who had brushed with him in courtly, religious and academic circles. While his supporters boldly upheld his reputation, acknowledging him as a great preacher and scholar, a leading Catholic reformer and an implacable enemy of heresy, his enemies regarded his theology as alarmingly inconsistent, combining strict orthodoxy with overt hints of Lutheran and Illuminist doctrine. Of this they found ample evidence in his Commentaries on the Christian catechism (1558), which formed the fundamental substance
of the charge against him. Throughout this study, Tellechea maintains his conviction that Carranza was not only wrongly accused in his own lifetime but has been unfairly treated by history. The truth of the matter is probably more finely balanced: Carranza may well have been wrongly accused of heresy and was certainly the victim of an internal hate campaign within ecclesiastical circles, but it is arguably the case that he contributed to his downfall. While investigating heretical literature in Flanders in 1558 at close quarters, he had naturally absorbed the language of reformers. In attacking their views, and using what the modern reader might judge to be a loose prose style, he exposed himself to the charge of sympathising with them. So heightened were religious tensions in Spain in mid-century that even the archbishop of Toledo was not immune from suspicion.

Tellechea identifies Carranza’s number one enemy as the Franciscan friar and rival royal confidant Bernardo de Fresneda, who denounced Carranza to the inquisition more than a year before his arrest on account of his association with Cardinal Pole, the papal legate at the court of Mary Tudor, and without whose intervention the case against the archbishop may never have been pursued. Within this same category Tellechea reconsiders the role and motivation of Melchor Cano – a fellow Dominican friar and inquisitorial censor – in Carranza’s downfall. He suggests that Cano’s inability to sanction anything other than the purest definition of Catholic orthodoxy, an approach which perfectly served the interests of Inquisitor-General Valdés, is sufficient to explain his actions in qualifying the archbishop’s writing as heretical. This view contrasts with that of other historians (and corroborated by the testimony of witnesses cited in the text), who point to the personal and professional enmity between the two Dominicans as being a major contributory factor. What is certain is that Cano provided Valdés with the theological ammunition he sought to instigate his personal vendetta against Carranza and in return sheltered under the inquisition’s authority. Another leading Dominican, Domingo de Soto, was also drawn into the censorship circle and was placed under pressure by Valdés to give an early judgement of Carranza’s Catechism. Although his assessment was essentially favourable, his reference to the need for minor revision was interpreted as being condemnatory. Soto’s attempt at giving a balanced verdict failed and, much to his own regret, he became embroiled in the collection of evidence against the archbishop. By way of contrast, Bartolomé de Las Casas, also of the Dominican order, is revealed via his testimony as being arguably the most outspoken defender of Carranza’s cause, just as he was of Indian rights in the New World. In his statement he accused the inquisitor-general of exceeding his powers in bringing the archbishop to trial and for immersing the whole Spanish Church in scandal and infamy. Andrés Cuesta, bishop of León (1557–64) and Francisco Blanco de Salcedo, bishop of Orense (1556–65), although accused by Valdés of being favourably disposed towards Carranza’s Catechism, and thus of ‘harbouring heresy themselves’, remained rooted to their convictions. The fact that such a variety of views was expressed (under the auspices of the Holy Office) suggests that the sixteenth-century Spanish Church was a much freer and more diverse institution than scholars have perhaps hitherto acknowledged, accommodating a number of definitions of Catholic orthodoxy, including that of moderates such as Las Casas, traditionalists like Cano, as well as a middle ground, occupied in this instance by de Soto. Via this collection of material, Tellechea succeeds in allowing some of the key personalities involved in the case of Archbishop Carranza to present their
views, not just on the vital issue of heresy that was at stake, but also on the inquisition itself and the politics that underpinned its activities.

The collection of papers edited by John Edwards and Ronald Truman, and delivered at an international symposium held at Christ Church, Oxford, in 2001, at which Tellechea figured as the keynote speaker, draws important links between religious developments in England and Spain in the mid-sixteenth century through the figure of Archbishop Carranza, who spent a brief period (1554–7) as theological advisor to the then Prince Philip at the court of Mary Tudor, his second wife. What emerges from the contributions to this volume is an appreciation of the considerable degree of common accord that existed between Catholic reformers in Marian England and Habsburg Spain at the time, despite the different evangelical evolution of the two countries and the imminent division of their Churches. In broad terms, both were concerned that their clergy should be appropriately trained, and should fulfil their preaching and residence obligations and conduct pastoral visitations – issues expounded in the English national synod of 1555–6 and subsequently at the third and final session of the Council of Trent of 1562–3. Of equal importance to reformers was devotion to the Church’s traditions and its sacraments, especially the eucharist. The scholarly research collected here serves to broaden our understanding of the close collaboration that shaped the development of the sixteenth-century Christian Church in its English and Spanish contexts, breaking down the traditional barriers between ‘Protestant’ and ‘Catholic’ readings of religious history – a subject ripe for further study.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

Helen Rawlings


This is a high class study of two formative theologians in the Reformed tradition, John Calvin and Karl Barth, covering a central theological area, the knowledge of God. The treatments of the two theologians form two panels, the hinge being provided by the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. The result is an intellectual diptych. So this is not another run-of-the-mill ahistorical treatment of the two theologians, but one that is sensitive to the distinctive intellectual circumstances of each. The approach may be said to be thoroughly Obermanesque. In providing an admirably reliable account of the main motifs of Calvin’s religious epistemology Cornelis van der Kooi (who teaches theology at the Free University of Amsterdam) does not let his readers forget for a moment the intellectual milieu in which it is set, a milieu remarkably different from that of our post-Enlightenment world. This allows him to be fair to Calvin. He has no axe to grind. For the most part his exposition of the main loci of Calvin’s thought is clear and sympathetic, time and again showing good judgement as to what is central, what peripheral as well as an excellent grasp of the strengths and weakness of secondary sources. The (rather slender) hinge of the diptych is provided by a resumé of Kant’s epistemology and metaphysics; the anthropocentric turn, theological agnosticism, the instrumentalist and constructivist temper of his thought. Then, turning to the second panel, the author sees Barth’s
theology as falling within the neo-Kantian tributary of Protestant theology, and notes in particular the influence of the neo-Kantian philosophers of science H. Cohen and P. Natorp on Barth. The knowledge of God is not drawn in any way from the world, not even from the data of Scripture or the sacramental life of the Church, but is a given. God is someone known and experienced only in the life of the Christian Church, and the Scriptures and dogmas of the Church are successive, fallible and faltering attempts to provide a grammar for engaging with this God as he freely comes to humankind in Jesus Christ. An essentially modernist theology, then. All this is impressively done. In the final chapter, however, the author steps back from the diptych to present (rather incongruously) a profit and loss account of the panels, the bottom line being what insights from the two thinkers can presently be appropriated by the theologian for the Church. The eclectic way in which he treats the ideas depicted in the panels in order to provide data for yet another theological endeavour surely confirms the modern secularist view that any theology in the line of Kant cannot be taken as a serious contribution to human knowledge. This very expensive book, translated from the Dutch, is beautifully produced but marred by numerous typographical errors and a sloppy bibliography.

FIFIELD

PAUL HELM


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As Graeme Murdock explains in his acknowledgements, this slender volume does not offer ‘comprehensive coverage of all aspects of Reformed religious life’, but rather investigates ‘some of the ways in which Calvinism operated as an international form of religion, and the successes and failures of international Reformed co-operation’. Each of the five chapters covers a particular theme: reformed ideas, international connections, politics and rebellion, moral discipline and religious life and culture. The writing is crisp and concise but rich in fact and anecdotal detail. The geographical scope of the book is also impressive: Murdock draws from the experiences of Reformed Churches across Europe, from Ireland to Hungary. Flaws are few in number and outweighed by the book’s merits. For example, this reader would have liked to have seen more in the introduction on the origins of the Reformed tradition and its relationship to Lutheranism. Particularly commendable, however, is the author’s preference for the term ‘Reformed,’ rather than ‘Calvinist’ to describe ‘[an] emerging religious tradition which, despite its debt to John Calvin, was always very much more than a product of his life and work in Geneva’. This approach is similar to that taken by Philip Benedict in his award-winning Christ’s Churches purely reformed (2002). For those interested in the topic but deterred by the size of Benedict’s opus, Beyond Calvin provides a succinct alternative and will make a good teaching text for upper-level undergraduates or master’s students.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, CARRIE EULER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
This book consists of a collection of papers delivered by friends, students and colleagues of Aidan Clarke at a conference held in his honour at Trinity College, Dublin, in 2000. It opens with a warm appreciation of Professor Clarke whose teaching at Trinity, his groundbreaking monographs and influential articles made him a towering figure in the study of Stuart Ireland. The essays themselves form an eclectic array, the editors having decided to eschew any attempt to influence the choice of topics, methodology or interpretations of the various contributors. However, the pieces do, by and large, reflect the interests of Aidan Clarke, with most of the chapters focused on developments in Ireland during the reigns of the first British monarchs, and the general crisis. The result is a volume which contributes a great deal of interest, not just for Irish specialists, but for anyone with an interest in the history of the Atlantic archipelago at a particularly momentous time.

In the first chapter the editors offer a useful overview of recent work which has added greater complexity and sophistication to our understanding of the ways in which the ‘New English’, Protestants who settled in Ireland from the 1580s and their descendants, came to dominate the country territorially, economically and politically, together with a cursory survey of Catholic ‘survivalism’ and Protestant dissent. The editors endeavour to indicate how the chapters in their book reflect some of the new perspectives highlighted in their survey.

Harold O’Sullivan’s chapter on the dynamics of assimilation and division in south-east Ulster sets the scene in a more direct manner with a regional study over the longue durée. He shows how Irish landowners in one part of Ulster repeatedly sought an accommodation with the English/British crown, but they and their descendants were overwhelmed by political and economic pressures, and by the attentions of a ‘multifarious horde of English adventurers’ in the train of the Tudor conquest. By the mid-seventeenth century the native Catholic landowners had been displaced by New English Protestants, and much of the native tenantry was displaced from the better farmland by British immigrants.

British interventions in early modern Ireland were justified by selective interpretations of Irish history and pseudo-history, as shown by Ciaran Brady’s chapter on the act of attainder against Shane O’Neill (1569) and Patrick Kelly’s consideration of the role of ‘conquest versus consent’ as the basis of the English title to Ireland in William Molyneux’s Case of Ireland … stated (1698). The 1641 rebellion was seen by many Protestants as further, compelling justification for the hostile treatment of the Irish Catholics under British governance. Richard Lawrence, a Cromwellian soldier who settled in Ireland, was a prominent proponent of the thesis that the rebellion, and the massacres which accompanied it, amply justified the transplantation of Irish Catholics to Connacht. His career is the subject of a chapter by Toby Barnard, while Sarah Barber compares his advocacy of the transplantation of the Irish to
a Spanish inquisitor’s justification of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609–14. Raymond Gillespie’s chapter on John Temple’s *The Irish rebellion* shows how that book provided the raw material out of which Protestant memories of 1641 were shaped and reshaped for generations, as circumstances within Ireland changed.

For readers with a particular interest in the general crisis this volume has an important chapter by Geoffrey Parker on ‘The crisis of the Spanish and the Stuart monarchies in the mid-seventeenth century: local problems or global problems?’ Parker identifies seventeen common denominators between the major rebellions against Philip IV and Charles I that serve to warn against excessive insularity in the study of the history of the Atlantic archipelago. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein’s chapter points to some parallels between the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin and universities elsewhere in Europe.

Alan Ford, in an interesting chapter on ‘that bugbear Arminianism’, presents Archbishop Laud’s reforms at Trinity College, Dublin, and his sponsorship of the Arminian William Chappell as provost as much more than an attempt to impose order on a fractious university college. He sees them as reflections of a Laudian programme which challenged the Calvinist consensus, and sought to enforce conformity to his own religious vision throughout the Stuart dominions. Ford reckons that conditions in Ireland, especially the strong support he enjoyed from Wentworth, allowed Laud to use it as a ‘testing ground’. However, the over-riding of local Protestant interests and concerns led to vociferous criticisms of Laud’s reforms in the Irish parliament in 1641.

The Irish parliament of 1640–1 is the subject of important chapters by Bríd McGrath and Jane Ohlmeyer. McGrath analyses Wentworth’s electoral strategy in the parliament, his management of the parliamentarians and his subsequent loss of control. Ohlmeyer evaluates the role of the peers in the Irish House of Lords in working with their counterparts in Westminster and Whitehall to secure Wentworth’s downfall. The most exciting work published in recent years on the general crisis in Ireland is that of Micheál Ó Siochru, one of Aidan Clarke’s students. In this volume he shows the Irish Confederates desperately trying to negotiate with the royalists for recognition of the independence of the Irish parliament from the predatory and imperialist pretensions of that at Westminster. The Confederates were as much ‘constitutional nationalists’ as were the Covenanting Scots or the insurgents in Catalonia and Italy who rebelled against the Spanish monarchy, and the issues they grappled with continued to be relevant in Anglo-Irish relations for generations afterwards. Ó Siochru’s chapter stands alone, however, in a volume which is otherwise focused primarily on the New English in Ireland. Robert Armstrong’s chapter on Anglican churchmen in Ireland during the confederate wars throws new light on the position of the clergy of the established Church at a time of overwhelming pressure from Irish Catholics, Scottish Presbyterians and English parliamentarians. He concludes that though the Anglican clergy in Ireland were outmatched in their political influence by their clerical competitors ‘they had at least demonstrated their resilience and durability’ which facilitated the revival of the Church of Ireland at the Restoration.

Overall, these very different essays testify to the vitality and sophistication of Irish historical studies of the seventeenth century.

CULMORE

HENRY JEFFERIES
On the whole, standard textbooks give a picture of the Swedish Reformation as a clean break with the past; an event rather than a process. While it is well known that King John III (1568–92) flirted with Catholicism and had his son Sigismund (1592–9) brought up as a Catholic, this is usually dismissed as foolish politics which led directly to Sigismund’s deposition. Yet such a view cuts across recent work on the Reformation, and fails to do justice to the complexity of the Swedish situation. There is sufficient material emerging to suggest that the Swedish Reformation needs revisiting, with particular emphasis given to those who supported John III in his religious aims. One such was Henrik Matsson, a Finnish Catholic convert raised to the nobility in 1583, who served as John’s royal secretary and trustee. The work under review is an edition and commentary on Matsson’s library, confiscated in 1601 on the orders of the strongly Protestant Charles IX. The manuscript was discovered in Tallinn, whence many supporters of Sigismund had fled, and has been meticulously edited by Terhi Kiiskinen, who publishes the complete inventory and provides detailed commentaries on all the works mentioned. The inventory contains more than 250 titles and gives a good idea of Matsson’s wide interests, in particular in science and religion. Given the relative lack of similar documents for the history of Swedish and Finnish book-collecting, this publication is an important source for those interested in bibliography as well as in the complexities of the Swedish Reformation.

Univsity of Aberdeen

Robert Frost


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There seems to be a rich tradition, in American literary circles, of interest in post-Reformation English Catholicism. This volume takes work which the author has published previously in essay form and expands upon it in order to reflect upon the nature of Catholic culture and its opposites in England in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Marotti’s principal concern is ‘religious and political language and myth-making’ (p. 1) and he focuses on some of the most appropriate topics (martyrdom, relics, miracles, conversion, conspiracy and so on) in order to draw a picture of one of the master-divisions in contemporary politics, between Catholics and Protestants. However, he is concerned not merely with the deconstruction of myths (indeed, there has always been a danger of the contemporary language of religious division being hi-jacked by present-centred accounts of the period) but with unlocking some of the central historical truths behind the series of encounters which
generated such stories—stories which often seem both weird and repulsive to the modern mind. Marotti takes these topics seriously and is at his best when challenging some of the assumptions which have previously governed historical approaches to them. He also avoids a canonical approach to the Catholic literature of the period, and deliberately goes for what he calls ‘the broader field of language’ (p. 7). In some ways, this is a Catholic mirror-image of the culture of anti-popery, a culture which is also well represented here. Perhaps it would have been possible to bring out even more how far anti-popery relied on the factional divisions within the English Catholic community and how the anti-Jesuit tradition grew out of Catholic discourses about the damage done by unregulated evangelical excess, which some Catholics associated primarily with (some of) the religious orders at work in England? The chapter on martyrdom serves to remind one how little work has been done on the construction of the Catholic martyr tradition, particularly when compared with the national obsession with the Foxeian cult of the martyrs of the mid-sixteenth century. Among many interesting historiographical observations, the assertion of a fundamental uniformity of substance and expression of anti-Catholicism in the early and later seventeenth centuries suggests evidence for reading (rather against the grain of some accounts of the period) the Restoration as a repeat of, rather than merely a sequel to, the popish plot manias of the civil war and before. In fact, it suggests that, far more than in most renderings of religious politics under the Stuarts, Catholicism, both as a contribution to cultural history and as an essential component of a straight political narrative of the period, is absolutely essential for understanding contemporaries’ attitudes and ideas about the period after the Reformation, and the way in which the Reformation had structured their world.

MICHAEL QUESTIER
QUEEN MARY COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON


Lyndal Roper’s thought-provoking and often disturbing book is a compelling exploration of the psychodynamics of the German witch trials of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Based on searching and sensitive research in the archives, it integrates close study of particular cases from the cities of Augsburg and Nördlingen and the territories of Würzburg and Marchtal into an ambitious framework of interpretation linking initiatives for religious and moral reform with the demographic pressures and cultural preoccupations of this era. Above all, it seeks to probe the power of fantasy, envy and terror to shape events in the past and to drive and reflect processes of historical change. Deeply influenced by psychoanalytical theory, it is an attempt to write a history of a society at large which is also an investigation of the emotions and subjectivity of the individuals that comprised it. The central thesis of the book is that witch-hunting in the age of the baroque was in essence a function of unconscious fears about fertility. At its heart lay profound concerns about fecundity and procreation in both the human and natural worlds which settled with ‘appalling ferocity’ on the figures of apparently harmless old
women. The witch-craze was not a gender war rooted in antagonism between the sexes; nor was it a response to the stresses and strains associated with the transition from an ethic of indiscriminate charity to a new model of compulsory, but selective, poor relief. It was rather a complex psychological consequence of the anxieties that swirled around the primary bond between mother and child at a time when marriage was strictly controlled and pregnancy outside it condemned by Church and State alike as a moral and social evil. The shrivelling body of the menopausal female, Roper insists, became the focus for deep-seated worries about the capacity of the population to reproduce itself. The ‘crone’ was the most common target of accusations of diabolical witchcraft because she was still sexually active but unable to conceive and bear offspring of her own. Roper is too sophisticated and subtle a historian to ignore the fact that ‘the figure of the witch was never just a predictable stereotype’. However, the overall tenor of her argument here is not invulnerable to criticism. It cannot pass unnoticed that she pays surprisingly little attention to the relatively high percentage of men convicted of the crime within the Holy Roman Empire (around a quarter of the victims), whose trials seem (on the face of it) much harder to relate to the core concerns about fertility she highlights. The difficulty she herself acknowledges of identifying the age of so many of her female victims may also raise questions about the validity of her central claim that elderly women were the chief casualties of the epidemic of persecution that swept Germany in the early modern period, while similar gaps in evidence make it hard to accept her inference that most of these had once been mothers themselves. Setting these reservations to one side, one cannot but admire Roper’s skilful interweaving of careful readings of contemporary visual images with nuanced discussion of prevailing religious, medical, cultural and intellectual assumptions. This is especially evident in the three chapters on the fantasies that are embedded in the records she has investigated: cannibalism, sex with the devil and flight to the great anti-Christian ritual and feast of the sabbat. No one has evoked the chilling plight of the women caught up in the crusade to crush the enemies of God more acutely or unravelled the terrible dynamic of interrogation and confession with more conviction and insight. Roper’s analysis of the dialogue between officials who saw torture as a mechanism for extracting the truth and the individuals whose souls they sought to save by releasing them from bondage to Satan significantly advances our understanding not merely of the dialectical interaction between demonology and folklore that lies at the heart of these trials, but also of the emotional interchange that generated the extraordinary stories that have come down to us. Both reflecting and fuelling the ‘addictive fascination’ of the interrogators who listened to them, these lurid tales bear witness to the creativity of women even as they engaged in acts of self-incrimination and to the sadistic impulses that informed conversations in which pain was used as a tool to provoke imaginative revelations about sensual pleasure. One of the more unnerving aspects of this monograph is the manner in which it places its readers in the same compromising position of voyeur: we are no less drawn to the stories these early modern women tell than their inquisitors. The arguments presented in Roper’s later chapters, in which she traces a shift in sensibility which temporarily transformed children from innocent victims of the crime of witchcraft into witting complicity with it, are equally provocative. The new preoccupations with childhood, masturbation and individual motivation that marked the onset of the Enlightenment, she argues, fostered an ambivalent curiosity with the fantasies and games of the young which
prompted some German parents to turn over their godless sons and daughters to the authorities for punishment. While not all readers will be persuaded by the intricate psychological explanation Roper offers for these horrific episodes, it cannot be denied that it is highly suggestive and penetrating. So too are her reflections on the process by which conflicts that had once been interpreted in cosmic terms as a battle between good and evil forces in the world were gradually reclothed in the language of emotional conflict and interior struggle, in a manner which pointed forward to the beginnings of the science of psychology as it emerged in the nineteenth century, the distant ancestor of which was demonology itself. In a sense, she implies, the ‘talking cure’ developed by Freud had its roots in the interrogations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Roper’s thesis about the process by which witchcraft was consigned to the nursery and old women became no more than a bogey for frightening children may demand further investigation and substantiation, but it too remains very intriguing. Not all the claims made in this book are wholly convincing. However, there can be no doubt that it sits alongside other key studies of the early modern witch-craze as a major contribution to the study of this still mysterious phenomenon. It is not merely an important addition to the literature in this field but a challenging and pioneering experiment in the methodology of writing history itself.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM


Carolyn Brewer’s idiosyncratic study focuses on the long-lasting effects of the introduction of Catholicism for the native women of the Philippines, particularly for those commonly known as baylan or catalonan on whom communities had traditionally bestowed religious authority. As the author herself is well aware, the history of the evangelisation of the Philippines offers an extraordinarily fertile area for studying the impact of colonialism on gender relations and sexuality; unfortunately her unbridled enthusiasm for a dogmatic version of feminist theology ends up precluding rather than fostering much-needed historical reflection on such an important aspect of European expansion. What we are offered instead is less an account of how native women became increasingly marginalised from the spiritual affairs of their communities than a didactic tale where this process of subordination is seen as the inevitable consequence of crossing paths with Christianity and its representatives. In the very last chapter, which draws on information elicited from women as part of a campaign against idolatry between the years 1679 and 1685, the author comes closer to articulating convincingly the themes promised in the title. As for the rest of the book, it is a frustrating affair where both colonised and colonisers are treated equally superficially. The author’s comments on doctrinal texts show little or no familiarity with the intellectual traditions that helped shape the early evangelisation of the Spanish colonies and the religious literary production that accompanied it. The uncritical use of second-hand information is to blame for inaccuracies (the Second Council of Lima convened in 1567 and not in 1591; what should have been understood as ‘excrementos’ is once again rendered as ‘excrements’) and seriously
questionable generalisations (for example, on the alleged intellectual stagnation of Spanish universities). A strong editorial hand would have improved the final product, which, as it stands, is marred with repetitions, misspellings of Spanish and Latin words, and transcriptions that follow no discernible criteria. If we take one of the author’s critical comments at face value, historical studies may be of the theorised or undertheorised varieties; her preferences lying clearly with the former. It is a pity that Brewer has little to say about the rationale for such a distinction and what it may mean for the writing of colonial history, preferring instead to repeat as unquestionable truths a wide array of statements from an eclectic list of theorists.

University of Connecticut

OSVALDO PARD


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Jaime Lara provides an immensely rich visual confirmation of much recent research on the Christianisation of Spanish America. Old models that suggested a clash leading to resistance and even rejection of Christianity have been replaced by interpretations that point to a high degree of interaction at a variety of levels leading to the emergence of cultures that were both genuinely Christian and recognisably autochthonous. Lara makes a further, highly original contribution by giving due attention to what he calls ‘the liturgical imagination’ of the mendicant friars, which he reconstructs with meticulous care not just from their daily reading, psalm-singing and meditation on the Scriptures, but from their intimate knowledge of St Augustine – particularly, but not exclusively, Franciscan art and architecture. To give but a handful of examples, the puzzling grid pattern of Spanish American cities, which finds no discernible pre-Hispanic precedent, is, according to Lara, quite likely to be related to the medieval tradition of surrogate Jerusalems – ‘part of a sacred landscape with topographical references to the real and ideal Jerusalem, confirmed by mimetic liturgical processions and conflated with pre-Hispanic sacral spaces’ (p. 109). Similarly, the author reminds us that Nicholas of Lyra’s Postillae super totam bibliaim was required for every conventual library in New Spain, and that his influential plans of the Temple of Jerusalem manifested themselves in various evangelisation centres enriched by an overtly eschatological iconography. After this, it comes as no surprise that the puzzling similarities that some mendicant churches have with mosques should be readily explicable as attempts to replicate the Temple of Jerusalem with the knowledge that the mendicants had of buildings associated with it – particularly the Al-Aska mosque in Jerusalem.
given insightful coherence by Lara’s insistence on ‘two unspoken principles’ that made a success story of mendicant evangelisation: ‘dynamic equivalence’ and ‘ritual substitution’. It was these principles, he concludes, that made possible that ‘resacralisation of Mesoamerican space and time’ which ‘changed the root metaphor of a civilisation from one of sacrificial human blood that kept the sun spinning … to that of a … Sun of Justice whose blood was willingly poured out …’ (p. 204). A splendid book.

University of Bristol

FERNANDO CERVANTES


Henry Goldschmidt and Elizabeth McAlister have assembled an impressive collection of essays on their stated theme. The central claim that unifies these essays, unpacked in an important opening essay by Goldschmidt, is that religion, race and nation are ‘co-constitutive’ in their relations. In other words, one simply cannot isolate one or another of these factors for independent analysis. Race, nation and religion are not ‘clearly bounded categories’ with so-called ‘intersections’; rather they always depend on each other for their articulation. In making the case for co-constitution (or ‘coarticulation’) the essays advance the argument that ‘religious discourse and practice’ should not be isolated from other more commonly studied identities based on race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality and nation (p. 6). The inclusion of religion in this matrix is what makes these essays so provocative, timely and novel. The volume builds on a few other recent projects like Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehman’s edited collection Religion and nation: perspectives on Europe and Asia (Princeton, NJ 1999) and Craig Prentiss’s edited collection Religion and the creation of race and ethnicity (New York 2003).

All the essays complicate a well-worn framework for thinking about race, religion and nation that rests heavily on the assumptions of secularisation theory. Since secularisation assumes that a society’s modernisation will result in the gradual shedding of religious identities and an embrace of new identities associated with the nation state, much scholarship following in this tradition has assumed that religion essentially masks more fundamental interests based in racial, gendered and national characteristics. Attending to recent work in history, religious studies and nationalism studies, these essays explore the continuing importance of religion in the making of modern identity in the Americas.

The volume ambitiously takes ‘the Americas’ for its subject. With such a vast terrain serving as a geographical ‘focus,’ the essays necessarily engage a variety of discrete historiographical traditions. Still, two-thirds of the essays deal with territory that now constitutes the United States (though some of these treat ‘borderlands’ regions). But the editors have done their job well, highlighting common themes and contexts. For one, concentration on the Americas unites the authors in the project of working out their reflections in the contexts of competing empires and colonised spaces and peoples. Given this history of colonialism, it is not surprising that Christianity – both in terms of its complex engagements with other faiths and in its
bewildering internal complexity – typically takes centre- or backstage in the essays. In fact, the continuing role and influence of Christianity in the Americas might stand as one of the most significant overarching but perhaps unintended themes of the book. Race, nation and religion in the Americas, then, might be profitably read as a series of case studies challenging, clarifying and otherwise accompanying the recent wave of books on global Christianity by scholars like Lamin Sanneh, Philip Jenkins and David Martin.

Most of the authors writing for this truly interdisciplinary book (five are religion scholars; three anthropologists; three historians; one sociologist; and one from American Studies) are interested in discourses and power structures. But their findings as often as not take unexpected turns. For example, Julia Cummings O’Hara’s essay shows that Jesuit intentions of converting the Tarahumara Indians of Chihuahua, Mexico, were ironically in tension with their twin goal of civilising them. While the Jesuits originally expected their mission work to bring the Tarahumaras ‘closer to whiteness’ and thus to modern Mexican culture, their efforts backfired in the racial matrix of northern Mexico as the missionaries struggled with local ‘whites’ who acted with less civility than the Indians (p. 159). O’Hara demonstrates that the Jesuits began to question their own evangelising roles and the seemingly well-entrenched racial hierarchies of the region.

Jennifer Snow’s equally impressive contribution deals with the complex relationship between citizenship and civilisation in the US West. Snow shows how late nineteenth-century ethnology left loopholes for immigrants of certain non-Christian religions legally to qualify as ‘white’ and therefore as eligible for US citizenship. The lawyers of Bhagat Singh Thind, an Indian living in Portland, Oregon, in the 1920s, argued that his alleged ‘Hindooism’ aligned him with the Aryan race of northern India (ethnologically part of the Caucasian races) and thus with racial whiteness. Such arguments, she notes, were commonplace and effective in Indian court cases. But an alternative conception of race employed by Thind’s opponents, one that depended on an alleged assimilability into American ‘white’ civilisation, ultimately carried the day in 1923. In this construction, adopted by the federal Supreme Court of the Ninth Circuit, being ‘Hindoo’ disqualified one from racial whiteness on grounds of its unassimilability. Snow’s riveting account of the shifting categories of race in citizenship debates highlights the important role played by religion, both Thind’s ‘Hindooism’ as well as America’s Christianity.

Other essays, such as Elizabeth McAlister’s on depictions of Jews in the Haitian Rara, Derek Chang’s on American home missionary discourse and James B. Bennett’s on Catholics and Creoles in New Orleans, likewise complicate a historiography that too often approaches such topics in racial and religious binaries (black/white, Christian/non-Christian, civilised/uncivilised and so forth). By focusing on the margins of nation and on regions characterised by religious, political and racial contestation and flux, the essays in Race, nation, and religion in the Americas have provided a welcome and challenging contribution to an ongoing and increasingly lively discussion of religion in the modern world.
Between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 102 men and women were denounced to the Mexican inquisition as ‘false mystics’. Through examining the records of these cases, Nora E. Jaffary constructs a complex history of gender, race and class which addresses the unique religious and cultural situation which prevailed in Mexico during the oft-neglected later colonial period. In the sixteenth century traditional Catholic Reformation tendencies were visible in official attitudes to orthodoxy in New Spain, but the Mexican authorities progressively drew inspiration and impetus from distinctively colonial concerns. Thus, the development of elite anxieties over the transgression of class and racial boundaries and the tainting influence of indigenous paganism increasingly affected the perception of ilusos (ones deluded by the devil) and alumbrados (false visionaries who feigned experiencing the divine spirit). Challenging official expectations and adapting doctrine to their own experiences and understanding, such mystics posed a significant threat to the authority and stability of the Catholic Church. Jaffary rejects the notion that unorthodox religious practices should be viewed solely as part of a narrative of resistance, however, and makes a serious attempt to understand ‘deviant’ mystics on their own terms, as well as through the eyes of their inquisitors. In recognising that many of these ‘false’ mystics regarded their experiences as valid and authentic expressions of spirituality, Jaffary argues that, far from being an explicit manifestation of resistance, such unorthodox spirituality was an expression of the very real diversity of popular religious belief. Mystics who were ‘within’ religious institutions, or who professed penitence and submission to approved religion, were far less likely to be convicted of false mysticism than those who failed or refused to fit within traditional boundaries. The inquisition’s prosecution of ‘false’ mystics was therefore an expression of their fear of the pervasive and powerful potential of popular belief. This is a discourse of power, but a model of simple reception and resistance provides inadequate explanation; instead of opposition to a dominant standard, both sides continuously labour to assert their own legitimacy. This is a struggle in which the Catholic Church will always be cast in the dominant role, but to perceive opposition to orthodoxy solely in terms of challenge and resistance is to misunderstand the genuine and complex nature of popular mystical belief. This is a clearly written and densely researched book which offers much to both the specialist and the general reader. Unfortunately for the latter, Jaffary has a slightly frustrating tendency to offer a fascinating snapshot and then leave the story without revealing the eventual fate of the protagonist. The only way to discover the fate of the accused is often to refer to the data tables, which offer a wonderful resource to the researcher, but are irritatingly sparse of detail for the interested reader. None the less, False mystics is a valuable and enjoyable addition to our knowledge of colonial Mexico, as well as offering an intriguing contribution to recent debates in the fields of gender, race and religion.

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Caroline Dodds

Cambridge
Revisionism is a perennial feature of historical study: just as we have recently encountered characterisations of the Vandals as a tender-hearted, cultured people, and the Roman inquisitors as an enlightened, fair-minded and merciful body of men, it will come as no surprise to read Marcus Hellyer’s lucid, learned, judicious account of Jesuit universities and colleges in the German Assistancy, in which their teachers figure not as backward or duplicitous (in feigning not to accept Copernicanism, for instance), but as ‘educators who were phenomenally successful at dominating the universities and colleges of Catholic Germany for two centuries, who taught what they saw fit to teach, and who generally reconciled to their own satisfaction the demands of their theology, their natural philosophy, and their identities as Jesuits’. Hellyer rejects the view that links scientific progress to Protestantism and sees Catholicism and science as incompatible, and denies that ‘backward Jesuit science […] somehow stunted the intellectual, cultural, or even moral development of Catholic Germany’. This repudiation is done through a thorough study of the institutions of Jesuit pedagogy, its theory and practice of censorship and its very gradual assimilation of the new science of the seventeenth century, with its various experimental and observational practices. He argues that ‘reports of the demise of Jesuit physics after 1633 (the condemnation of Galileo) or 1651 (the publication of the 1651 Ordinatio pro studiis superioribus which succeeded the Ratio studiorum of 1599) are greatly exaggerated. The documents governing censorship should not be taken at face value’. He shows how Jesuit professors adopted a nuanced use of the epithets ‘true’, ‘probable’ and ‘false’, and gave full accounts of the theories (such as Copernicanism or Cartesianism) which were being refuted in the name of a conception of natural philosophy as a speculative science of causes. The enshrinement of the authority of Aquinas and Aristotle early in the history of the Society’s teaching is acknowledged, and the chapter which deals with the physics of the eucharist shows what limitations were placed on Jesuits grappling with this issue by their own Society and by their acquiescence in the slogan ‘freedom through obedience’. If Hellyer’s special pleading for the Jesuits can be said to go too far, it is in the account he gives of this issue. He acknowledges himself that ‘for the Jesuits, real presence, transubstantiation, species and absolute accidents had become indissolubly linked’; this committed the Jesuit professors of natural philosophy, who were required to be trained in theology before being allowed to teach, to a very conservative scholastic conception of matter, which was reinforced by the equally conservative use of disputation (at a time when their Protestant neighbours were changing to the practices of historia literaria and classical philology). Among the desiderata for future research identified by Hellyer in his helpful conclusion is the investigation of the economics of Jesuit pedagogical establishments, and their pursuit of patronage: important work has in fact appeared since 2000 on this topic from the pens of Olwen Hufton and others.

All Souls,  
Oxford  

Ian Maclean
This is a very courageous book. A direct comparison between China, Russia and western Europe in the early modern period is rare indeed. It is combined, moreover, with comparison of the two schools of English Reformation studies, the one that sees it as imposed largely by the state on a semi-unwilling population, and the one that sees it, largely through local studies, as both motivated and opposed by the local populations. As Stanford E. Lehmberg and James D. Tracy point out in their introduction to this book, ‘one cannot imagine the religious life of the people as simply decided for them by their rulers’. In fact, certain similarities stand out. In Asia, as in Europe, religion was regarded by the state as very much its own province. Peoples’ beliefs were simply too important to be left to themselves without official guidance. Where Ming China differed from Europe was in the official acceptance of four religions: Confucianism, Buddhism and an officially accepted form of popular beliefs. All four had their pantheons of a multiplicity of divinities which, because of their flexibility, could coexist peacefully. But in this period another popular religious belief arose: that of the origin of the universe and all life in true emptiness in the Divine Mother who tearfully awaits the return of her estranged and suffering children. This belief was as attractive as the worship of the Virgin Mary, the ‘mother of God’, in Catholic Europe, although the idea of a creative emptiness was quite alien to all forms of Christianity. At the same time, unlike Mariology and like the Reformation, it was the popular answer to the perceived inadequacies of the official religion. As in European Protestantism, there was much diversity in the doctrine and style of the Eternal Mother. One particular aspect of this doctrine was the belief that the youngest son of the Eternal Mother had been sent into the world for the salvation of believers before the world was to be devastated by kalpas, disasters. This sounds familiar to Christians, although the author of this section does not specifically point it out.

In Russia, as in China, the early modern period was one of Reformation or, at least, reform. But here it came from above, like one aspect of the Reformation in central and western Europe. The reforms were directed against the Union of Brest, the merging of Catholic beliefs, especially in the primacy of the pope, with Greek Orthodox beliefs. In Russia, where ‘Christianity was a religion of the sign’, not of the word, the emphasis was, in the seventeenth century, on gestures. Thus the ecclesiastical council of 1667 ruled against the traditional Russian practice of making the sign of the cross with two, in place of three, fingers. Government and the church hierarchy collaborated and their reform became entangled with a fight against corporate rights and local autonomy.


The third section, ‘The social articulation of belief’, is again of four chapters: ‘False miracles and unattested dead bodies: investigations into popular cults in early modern Russia’, by Eve Levin; ‘Liturgical rites: the medium, the message, the messenger and the misunderstanding’, by Susan C. Karant-Nunn; ‘Self-correction and social change in the Spanish Counter-Reformation’, by Sara T. Nalle; and ‘The disenchantment of space: Salle church and the Reformation by Eamon Duffy. There is an ‘Epilogue at the parish level’: ‘Popular religion and the Reformation in England: a view from Cornwall’, by Nicholas Orme.

This is not an easy book to read. An actual comparison of the religious experience of China, Russia and western Europe in the early modern period is attempted only in the introduction, and there it does not go very far. The rest of the chapters keep strictly to their own countries. To the newcomer to China it seems that there was no direct connection with the European experience (apart from that of the European missionaries which is not treated here). Everywhere, in Asia as in Europe, religion was regarded as too important to be left outside the control of the relevant governments. Beyond that, there was little that the religious movements in China and in Europe had in common. But this, if correct, is in itself an important conclusion, and early modernists should welcome a book which makes this clear.

H. G. Koenigsberger


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Giovanna Maria Della Croce, ‘la serva di Dio’ (1603–73), was born at Rovereto, educated in a girls’ public school, became a Franciscan nun and in 1650 founded the nunnery of the Clarisse di San Carlo. Book xi is the last of her *Rivelazioni* or ‘manifestations of God’, a mixture of autobiographical memories and a spiritual daily diary. Although withdrawn from the world, deep in visionary ferment and bearing discreetly hidden stigmata, Giovanna’s advice was frequently sought by political figures. The main themes of book xi are the incarnation, the Trinity and the sufferings of Christ. She called the incarnation the ‘great work of Creation’, blending human flesh and God: her penitential revelations of the infant Jesus employed rich visual, star- and flower-sprinkled, even erotic, visions of Jesus in the womb (c. 163) and at the breast, including the vision of Mary’s milk being sprayed into Giovanna’s mouth. Her love of Jesus is individualistic, inward, chaste and passionate ‘amore liquefativo’ (c. 141), and constant ‘chiamo sovente/l’amato mio Giesu’, dolce e divino’ (c. 107). She weeps for having caused such suffering to he who is her God,
her father and her husband. During Candlemas 1669 candlelight filled her with the light of the Trinity, each person of whom blessed her, carrying her into the bosom or womb or heart (seno) of the Trinity (c. 83). Entwining Giovanna’s three main themes is also a doctrine of sanctification, the soul being constantly ‘adorned with new grace illuminated with new wisdom and afire with perfect love and enriched with new force … transformed in God’ (c. 240).

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Barry Collett


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This scathing treatise by a seventeenth-century Venetian nun (published in the excellent series The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe) should make uneasy reading for historians, theologians, Catholics, fathers, mothers and brothers alike, as it exposes the system whereby daughters in Counter-Reformation Venice were ‘imprisoned’ in convents as nuns, often against their will, for economic reasons. Forced monacation is still contested in some quarters, so an English translation of Tarabotti’s seminal work is very welcome. It is unusual to hear quite so loudly and clearly what a woman (let alone a nun) thought of her fate in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe, which would be reason enough to recommend this book, but its value lies not only in its rarity but also in its methodology. Tarabotti at the same time rails passionately against patriarchy and rebuffs in academic fashion the false logic of the ecclesiastical establishment and various other misogynist writers who defended the status quo. Her arguments come from the Bible, the church Fathers, classical literature and Dante, amongst others. And her conclusions – that women are the equal of, if not superior to, men and that men are responsible for nearly all of women’s ‘faults’ and misfortunes – have important resonances in the early twenty-first century. Letizia Panizza is much to be congratulated both upon her translation and upon the insertion of headings within the text; the former transforms Tarabotti’s prose into smooth, clear and polished English, while the latter allows this at times unwieldy composition to cry out against injustice in every paragraph.

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Kate Lowe


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Wallmann’s majestic edition of the Spener correspondence continues with a fourth volume for the Frankfurt period, Spener himself apologising to a number of his colleagues that ill-health is cutting down his rate of letter-writing! The editor, however, makes amends by including a substantial appendix of letters, not all to
Spener, about Frankfurt Pietism. In one sense the mixture is as before. Spener is continually planting out reliable ministers around Germany. He is perpetually talking about giving up his massive studies in genealogy and heraldry, but perpetually collecting more information for them. Like other Pietists (a term of abuse appearing here for the first time) his orthodoxy is under constant suspicion, but he will have nothing to do with Quakers, with Labadie or Bourignon, and is always issuing cautions against Jakob Böhme. He believes that the policies described in his *Pia desideria* are as applicable in the countryside as in the towns. For a man renowned for putting off the Last Things, he is surprisingly inclined to suppose that the onset of plague is a sign of the end. He makes his bow to the wider setting in the field of knowledge which Pietism still had by offering the opinion that alchemy was not useless but should not be mixed with theology, and by setting out the conditions under which pastors may properly practise medicine. He is prepared to recommend English Puritan tracts, but not many of them. And he defines the faith required in justification as a faith active in love, a definition which would have delighted later evangelicals had they known of it.

Petersfield

W. R. Ward


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The volume gathers together twelve papers delivered at an international symposium at the Max-Planck-Institut, Heidelberg, on 27–29 November 2003 on a matter of considerable relevance to contemporary European politics, that is, the breakdown of the traditional Catholic–Protestant Establishment caused by a growing lack of loyalty to the traditional Church, the proliferation of sects often of American origin and sometimes only nominally Christian and the increased immigration of non-Christians, especially Asians and adherents of Islam. I list the papers, all but the last two of which are in German: Hartmut Lehmann, ‘Independent churches and sects in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century: introductory remarks’; Barbara Dölemeyer, ‘The reaction of German landowners and churches to the emergence of sects in the 17th and 18th centuries’; Christoph Ribbat, ‘Whole days and half nights’: the “Kassel speaking in tongues” of 1907 and the discourse on religious innovation’; Jochen-Christoph Kaiser, ‘German Christians in the tense area of ecclesiastical claims to hegemony and popular neo-paganism on the way toward sects’; Thilo Marauhn, ‘Political concern with the phenomena of sects in Switzerland and Germany’; Altana Filos, ‘The legal situation of independent churches and sects in Greece’; Volkhard Krech, ‘Small religious associations in Germany – a religious-sociological situation’; William R. Hutchison, ‘Religious pluralism in the United States’; and Eileen Barker, ‘Yet more varieties of religious experiences: diversity and pluralism in contemporary Europe’. The papers are commendably argued *sine ira et studio* and responsibly annotated, occasionally with graphs to illuminate the distribution of sects. I regret that discussions were not included. The selective index, although welcome, would better have been
expanded. I have learned much from the volume and urge an English translation. I regret that the collection lacks papers on the tolerance of Greco-Roman polytheism – the more gods the better – versus the ‘None other Gods but Me’ intolerance of Judaism; for that anticipates remarkably the conflicts of today in Europe and America. In some unexpected ways we appear to be returning to polytheism.

WILLIAM M. CALDER III
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This challenging academic survey of John Wesley’s moral theology is a welcome addition to the growing library of Wesleyan and Methodist scholarship. Long’s stated purpose in this book is to ‘revive interest in John Wesley as a “moral theologian” now that we are at the “end of ethics”’. This phrase both locates Long’s project in American post-modernist thought and requires him to begin by justifying his choice of Wesley’s eighteenth-century moral theology to fill the vacuum left by the ‘end of ethics’. This he does admirably, but it is assumed that the reader is already familiar with the ongoing debate on the place of ethics in a post-modern world. Long positions Wesley as a moral theologian within the orthodox Anglican tradition: thus with a great respect for tradition and a strong emphasis on Scripture. It is from this standpoint that Long compares and contrasts Wesley’s thinking with that of Enlightenment thinkers from Kant to Cudworth. This is a highly informative and well structured chapter in which Long is not afraid to engage with and even challenge existing Wesleyan scholarship to further the aims of his project. Long’s purpose is to highlight a transition from moral theology to ethics which he is convinced began in Wesley’s era, and to demonstrate how contrary such a transition was to Wesley’s thinking. The real heart of the book is therefore Long’s exposition of Wesley’s moral theology, drawn primarily from Wesley’s writings on the Sermon on the Mount. It is here that Long aims to show why and how Wesley not only refused to consider ‘ethics’, but why he believed that ‘ethics’ would be the downfall of Christianity. The real question behind Long’s careful exposition is whether it is thorough enough to be able to carry the burden of proof placed upon it. A wider reading of Wesley’s theology might well present a different outcome. The parallels that Long draws between the moral theologies of Wesley and Aquinas are helpful in relocating the overall project in its proper time and in its proper place. Conversations from other eras concerning God and goodness, doctrine and ethics, theology and politics do indeed continue to ‘ripple into our own times’ and Long is undoubtedly correct: ongoing conversations benefit from knowing what has been said before. This is a thought-provoking study. It is not for the faint-hearted but it is well worth the effort. Long is to be congratulated on his contribution to debate in this field.

BECKENHAM

ANGELA SHIER-JONES
In recent years, myriad scholarly works have examined and re-examined the question of the place of religion in American society and politics, confronting in one way or another the controversial issue of the separation of Church and State. Arguing from a ‘separationist’ perspective, some have focused on the United States constitution’s proscription of any federal religious establishment and its guarantee of religious freedom. On the other hand, ‘accommodationists’ have emphasised the importance of Christianity in the early republic, claiming that the founders assumed that religion in general and Protestantism in particular would be at the centre of the nation’s culture. In this useful contribution to the debate, Mark Douglas McGarvie makes a separationist argument, but contends that, more that the constitution or culture, the law fixed the place of religion in America.

McGarvie, a professor of history and law at the University of Richmond, begins his analysis by exploring the ideological context within which men and women attempted to define the new republic’s moral centre. He identifies two world views that Americans contended for in the struggle: Protestant Christianity and liberal humanism. Advocates of the former envisaged a nation where the immutable laws of God would serve to restrain the sinful tendencies of human beings and thereby produce a virtuous citizenry. The latter embraced the Enlightenment emphasis on the free play of human reason as the best engine for ordering society, a view that seemed to fit the needs of self-interested Americans who viewed the revolution as making possible unfettered economic freedom. In the end, McGarvie claims, liberal humanism won out, and the law, particularly contractual law, guaranteed its triumph. In the process, the law did what the constitution had only begun: separated Church and State.

While the section on historical context offers little new to the student of early America, the section on law affords a fresh look at how legal interpretations completed the process of separation. To substantiate his thesis, McGarvie offers three case studies of how the law of contracts recognised Churches as private institutions. To show how the legal process of privatising religion evolved, he selected cases from the revolutionary era, the age of the constitution and the early republican period. From first to last, the cases span the period roughly from the 1750s to the 1830s. And, to provide regional nuance, he includes cases from each of the major regions: north, mid-Atlantic and south.

New York is the site of the first case, which dealt with public funding of King’s College, an Anglican institution that opened in the early 1750s. Dissenters opposed the use of tax revenues for the support of a college that they regarded as an extension of the Church of England and in violation of freedom of conscience, and they pressed their opposition until the American War of Independence. McGarvie argues that neither New York’s constitution of 1776, nor acts of legislation succeeded in removing civil authority in religious affairs. Indeed, even as New Yorkers fought for independence, the legislature continued to enact laws threatening ministers and seizing church property. It was New York’s judiciary that ended establishment by applying contract law principles to churches and church property. Churches were thenceforth considered to be private entities with contractual rights, not public institutions or extensions of the state.
In South Carolina during the constitutional era, slavery provided the context for the debate over issues of Church and State. Two major factions struggled over the place of religion in the state. One side advocated reason, liberty and the legal equality of all persons; the other prized revelation, piety and legal privilege for Christians. Alarmed that the liberals’ notion of religious liberty would turn into licentiousness, concerned Christian ministers called for some sort of establishment, one that would ‘preserve the influence of Christian teaching upon society’ (p. 147). The problem came when some prominent ministers, including the Revd Francis Asbury, denounced slavery in the name of Christian doctrine. With that disturbing initiative, powerful slaveholders pushed religion into the private sphere, separating it from any role in public governance.

McGarvie’s last example, the Dartmouth College case of 1819, is somewhat anticlimactic because its central argument largely repeats that of the previous two cases. The Supreme Court, like the New York and South Carolina legislatures, considered church institutions to be private entities with contractual rights the same as those of individuals. McGarvie further claims that the case ‘secularized and expanded the public realm’, a finding that many scholars will find too stark. McGarvie does qualify his interpretation by pointing out that, while the case privatized religion, it gave Churches legal protection to advance their interests in the political process, thus challenging secularism.

Like a good lawyer arguing before a jury, McGarvie offers a convincing brief for the separation of Church and State. He summons evidence from constitutional debates, legal theory and court cases and presents them within historical context. Historians will quarrel with his selection of evidence, particularly his over-reliance on older secondary works while ignoring some of the best relevant studies published in the past twenty years. Two rather glaring omissions are Mark Noll (ed.), One nation under God: Christian faith and political action in America (New York 1988) and Thomas Curry, The first freedoms: Church and State in America to the passage of the First Amendment (New York 1987). He is, however, judicious in the use of his evidence. Though arguing for separation, he acknowledges the importance and extent of religion in the early republic and the refusal of some sects to acquiesce in the principle of separation.

Overall, this well-written book makes an important statement in the ongoing debate over the question of the separation of Church and State and should appeal in particular to the general reader. Given the controversial nature of the subject and the cultural divide it reflects, however, One nation under law will not be the last word.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

FRANK LAMBERT


Following a series of studies on Hegel, Schelling, Schleiermacher and Heidegger, Emilio Brito now seeks in Fichte a historical contribution to Christian apologetics.
Where Heidegger was used to show the necessity of religion (\textit{demonstratio religiosa}) Fichte will help to show the specific necessity of Christianity from within a philosophical perspective (\textit{demonstratio Christiana}). To this end, the first four parts of Brito’s study (pp. 1–403) give a thorough exposition of those parts of Fichte’s work where issues of religion are in play (including a fascinating glimpse of the philosopher’s early sermons), whilst the last part (pp. 407–755) evaluates Fichte’s positions from the point of view of Christian dogmatics. Fichte has in recent years been much less discussed by theologians than the other great German idealists, yet Brito shows that at many points he is nearer to Christianity than, say, Hegel. He is especially significant for the role he gives to the historical (albeit the Johannine) Jesus. As in Hegel, one is ultimately dealing with a philosophical translation of Christianity that, on all the key dogmatic questions, falls short of what Christian doctrine itself has wanted to say (thus the ‘transformation’ of the title). Yet the standard image of Fichte as simply an atheist or pantheist will not do. Often portrayed as the philosopher of an absolute egoism, according to which the human I or Ego is capable of absolute self-transparency in the act of self-positing, Brito shows that – again, contra Hegel – Fichte comes to see the I as rooted in or as giving expression to a Being, Light or Life that ultimately remains mysterious to it. In his way, Fichte recognised the majesty of God. Probably to be described theologically as Sabellian and maybe Joachimite, Fichte can also be seen to have affinities with a number of theologians, including Schleiermacher and, interestingly, Rahner – at least (as far as the latter is concerned) regarding the need to give appropriate expression to the economic Trinity (although Fichte, unlike Rahner, effectively fails to offer anything more than an economic Trinity: intra-divine relations would, on his view, be necessarily unknowable). Brito doesn’t say so, but Fichte’s argument that the root of the doctrine of the Trinity is in the unity of Revealer, Revelation and Revealed also bears comparison with Barth. This is obviously a massive work, resting on massive scholarship, and, as such, deserves more extended comment than is possible here. It does a great service in directing our attention to its subject and in its patient exposition and commentary. A theological approach that was less determinedly orthodox might be still more positive, as, for example, regards Fichte’s view of Jesus’ knowledge of God. From the point of view of the English-speaking world, moreover, a translation that condensed Brito’s argument into 250 pages would do much to alert theologians to the value of re-engaging with this extraordinarily energetic and penetrating thinker.

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The \textit{abbé} Grégoire has scarcely been a neglected figure in recent times. Installed in the Pantheon in 1989, as only the second (not the first, as this book claims) Catholic priest to be buried in the former church secularised into a republican mausoleum, aspects of his career have since been the subject of a swelling volume of distinguished
scholarship. No single person embodies the glory and the tragedy of the French Revolution as fully as Grégoire. As a priest, he helped to bring about the union of orders in 1789, enthusiastically accepted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, was elected a bishop under it, and refused to renounce either his orders or his celibacy during the very depths of deChristianisation. Faithful until death to the traditions of Port Royal, he was spurned by the restored Roman hierarchy, and only narrowly avoided the classic Jansenist martyrdom of dying deprived of the last sacrament. He never accepted that the Revolution and the Catholic Church were doomed to be enemies, but his optimism was cynically duped by Napoleon in an episode upon which this book scarcely touches. But then, although it covers the whole of his life, this is not a conventional biography. It is an analysis of the successive phases of Grégoire’s thought, with universalism and the difficulties it provoked as the linking theme. The most famous of his views, favouring Jewish and slave emancipation, are carefully reassessed, and their hidden ambiguities clearly brought out. We are also reminded of his now-notorious linguistic totalitarianism. Less familiar, in a priest who lived a chastely uxorious life with his housekeeper, was an enduring misogyny going back to what he saw as the ignorance of the women who kept the refractory Church alive as the main force imperilling the republic. Sepinwall claims a number of documentary discoveries which turn out, on examination of her very full footnotes, to be rediscoveries of items which seemed less important in times ideologically different from our own. But her valuable epilogue, tracing the vicissitudes of Grégoire’s historical reputation, makes clear why, so far from helping to reconcile France with its past as the pantheonisation of 1989 intended, Grégoire continues to divide his compatriots as he did throughout his own life.

University of Bristol

WILLIAM DOYLE


Alexander Schmemann is generally regarded as one of the founding fathers of what has become known as ‘liturgical theology’. In his book, Introduction to liturgical theology, Schmemann, working from an Eastern Orthodox perspective, spoke of the ‘ordo’, which meant the general rules, rites and setting of Orthodox worship. This term ‘ordo’ is one which has been developed in the recent writings of the Lutheran liturgical scholar, Gordon Lathrop, and applied in an ecumenical context. But Schmemann and Lathrop both presuppose a eucharistic setting with a fairly fixed liturgical text. In this study, Christopher Ellis skilfully investigates the ‘ordo’ of traditions where the worship is not so fixed, and where the eucharist is not the norm. Although the title refers to the Free Church tradition, and much of his methods and what he says is applicable to all Churches within that tradition, it is mainly on the worship of his own Baptist denomination that he draws. Under the title ‘The story of Baptist worship’, Ellis outlines a brief history showing how the forms have developed, and in recent years have been influenced by the ecumenical movement. But important as the forms are, more important is what he terms the ‘soul’ of Baptist worship, stressing patterns, themes and values. In this tradition worship is not so
much about performance as an activity in which people try to ‘be real’, and sincere. In a section called ‘Embodied theology’, Ellis gets to the heart and soul of this tradition. Public prayer is sincere, and from the heart, and reflects care for the community as well as providing a communal spirituality. Central is the Living Word, and the preaching of the Scriptures. Congregational song is an integral part – indeed, it was the Baptists who led the way in the composition and singing of hymns in the English-speaking world at the end of the seventeenth century. But the eucharist and baptism have also been important, even if not always reflected on with great theological articulation. In a final section Ellis presents what he regards as the core of Free Church liturgical theology. The ‘ordo’ in this tradition is a cluster of values rather than a structure for worship, and alongside James Empereur’s models of liturgical theology such as institutional, sacramental and proclamation, Ellis presents this tradition as a discipleship model. He concludes that only by exploring the riches of each tradition do we get a larger vision of the worship of all God’s people. This is an excellent study, combining historical detail with current theological reflection.

Institute of Sacred Music,

Bryan Spinks

New Haven

Political economy and Christian theology since the Enlightenment. Essays in intellectual history.


This is a collection of fourteen previously published articles on the history of theology and economics chiefly during the nineteenth century. Several general themes run through the book, most importantly the gradual displacement of theology from economics as it became an independent discipline able to go about its business relatively undisturbed by theology and ethics. Modestly claiming his discipline not to be ‘real history’, the author suggests that he is producing a topographical diagram like the London Underground map which should be a useful cartographic tool for the history of the relationships between theology and economics (p. 10).

The chapters that follow are arranged roughly chronologically. In a manner often provocative and frequently expressed with a dry wit, the author discusses the particularities of the English Enlightenment, most crucially its compatibility with orthodoxy which gave it a very different shape to the hostile anticlericalism of the continent. After a couple of essays charting the hierarchical theology of the Prayer Book in contrast to rational dissent, Waterman moves on to discuss the changing theology of the late eighteenth century in Cambridge, emphasising the role of William Paley, whose influence spread quickly to Oxford. It lived on in Richard Whately, the ‘greatest of the pre-Tractarian Noetics’ (p. 87) and the only economist to move straight to an archbishopric. Here the author is on home territory and is able to read Adam Smith’s Wealth of nations as a remedium peccatorum, understanding it first and foremost as a work of Newtonian natural theology. Chapter vii is the clearest statement of the thesis that political economy emerged suddenly in 1798 with the publication of Malthus’ first Essay on population. Here ethics and theology
began to be separated from a scientific economics, which led to the crisis that emerged in Oxford in the 1820s. This led Whately in his lectures of 1831 to construct the boundaries between political economy and theology. This crisis is explored at greater length and in greater detail in the next chapter. In chapter ix, using a rather more technical economic analysis somewhat baffling to the layman, Waterman explores the implications of Malthus and Thomas Chalmers for the understanding of the peasantry and the alleviation of their condition. Christianity retained a vital importance for the motivation of all economic agents, but it needed to be separated from economic analysis which was methodologically divorced from theology.

In chapters x and xi the author begins his exploration of Roman Catholic economic and political thought, particularly in *Rerum Novarum* and its understanding of the right to private property. In a careful comparison between Locke and the scholastic tradition, Waterman shows the inherent ambiguity of Catholic social teaching. Chapter xii pursues the theme further in relation to the Christian organicism of the Common Good and *Centesimus Annus*. Waterman it seems favours this catholic ecclesiology of such organicism with its hostility to the over-individualist doctrine of the English Christian political economists. The final two chapters bring the story up to date with some reflection on the relationship of the contemporary Churches to economics. Again there is much to provoke and to get the reader thinking about economics and theology and the right of the one to interfere with the other. The author concludes with a brief attack on neo-conservatism which he sees as every bit as superstitious as the earlier blind faith in economic control, but he also places the burden of proof on those who would seek to defend the rights of the state in the economic life of the nation.

Overall this is a fascinating and unique survey of a complex set of relationships which plausibly defends a strong thesis about the development of political economy in the context of English theology. It is marred by a great deal of sometimes verbatim repetition. A shorter, edited, book would have been more readable and might have been much better. However, much more annoying are the many failures in proof-reading. It would seem that old articles were simply scanned into a computer. While the results can be amusing (as when ‘modern’ becomes ‘modem’), this is not something one would expect in a book from a reputable publisher at such an excessive price.

**Ripon College, Cuddesdon**

Mark D. Chapman

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*JEH* (57) 2006; doi:10.1017/S0022046906267319

This is in effect a collection of essays with the common subject of Roman Catholic religious orders and communities. Born out of a German group researching all things Roman Catholic, it brings together the work of scholars from six continental jurisdictions, supplemented by a survey of the historiography of women’s communities in Great Britain and Ireland. Five of the sixteen contributions are in French,
the remainder in English. Historiography is the first topic, and the work’s usefulness as background for any student of the history of particular communities is at once apparent. It may not be immediately obvious why this should be combined with the second topic, their legal position; and indeed, away from the continent it is not: the collection suffers a slight imbalance due to the lack of a chapter on the position in English, Irish and Scots law. (Admittedly the legal systems covered mainly offered some sort of recognition, denied on this side of the Channel, to Rome-derived ecclesiastical authority, and it might be felt that the British Isles would have distorted the pattern described – but even so the clearest and fullest of the legal contributions is that on another traditionally Protestant territory, the Netherlands.) Where double coverage is given, the link to historiography soon becomes clear: the changing legal status of these communities had such a decisive effect upon their character that it has often led historians to divide the study of them into periods or phases, thus influencing the scope of historical writing. A lucid introduction by the editors describes the three phases of writing about nineteenth- and twentieth-century communities: internal histories before 1950, academic studies thereafter and a more reflective retrospect on communities’ foundational objects from around 1970. Gaps are identified and exhortation given to further research in eight defined fields. The introduction goes on to summarise the main legal developments common to the countries under review: first the secularisation of monastic property, then the part played by religious communities and their government in the Vatican’s programme of centralisation at the expense of both national episcopates and national governments. As national legislation specifically affecting religious communities was rolled back in the later part of the period, its place was taken by an increasing volume of church-internal provision emanating from Rome: the restoration policy of Pius vii, the creation of a new curial Congregation in 1846, the nineteenth-century concordats and the integration of newer communities into the canonical framework both paving the way for the systematic treatment of both old and new communities in the 1917 Codex. The individual chapters upon which these generalisations are based contain a wealth of detail, and are supported by helpful closing analyses: the thirty-eight-page bibliography is as full as one would expect from a partly historiographical work, and names and communities are listed in separate indices at the end.

UNIVERSITY OF CARDIFF


This is a valuable addition to the growing body of scholarship on nineteenth-century British philosophical idealism, its historical setting and its influence. Supplementing A. P. F. Sell’s Philosophical idealism and religious belief, which focused mainly on philosophers, Gouldstone traces the influence of idealism on Anglican theology in the last decades of the nineteenth century. While the central philosopher among the early idealists, T. H. Green, requires a separate chapter here too, Gouldstone proceeds to follow Anglican idealism through its manifestations in individual writers
and theologians: its ‘popularisation’ through Mrs Humphry Ward’s novel Robert Elsmere, its ‘assimilation’ by Frederick Temple, its ‘transcendence’ in the work of the neglected contributor to Lux Mundi, Aubrey Moore, and its ‘marginalisation’ as exemplified by Charles d’Arcy. Gouldstone seeks to elucidate the meaning of idealism’s Anglican appropriation not only through the historical contexts in each of these chapters, but also through the background, provided in the first three chapters of the book, of some of idealism’s philosophical sources, the legacies of Tractarianism, Thomas Arnold and the Broad Church, and the influence of Essays and Reviews; and, in the last two chapters, through the description of the social, cultural and intellectual changes, not least the attacks of antagonistic currents summed up as realism and aestheticism, that account for the decline of the Anglican idealist synthesis. Relating a wealth of new fact and detail from the works and careers of some neglected figures to this broader view of Victorian culture, the book fills in some spaces in our understanding of the phenomenon of Anglican idealism and of its period, and points to some hitherto overlooked aspects. There is a problem, however, with Gouldstone’s method and not least his critical evaluation, which latter is so prominent as to make the book almost as much an exhortatory address to the Church of England today as a piece of historical scholarship. Gouldstone is aware of the early idealist influence as signifying a radical, distinctly modernising revision, as well as of its contrast with Tractarianism and the preoccupation with ‘ritualism’ and liturgy to which, in his view, the Church again ‘withdrew’ in the 1870s and 1880s, and which, typifying for him the Church’s increasing introversion and irrelevance, he thinks represents an attitude that is still a threat today in the form of ‘heritage Christianity’. Gouldstone’s main point, however, is that idealism was similarly inadequate as a response to the social and cultural development of the nineteenth century. While rightly highlighting the partial convergence of second-generation Tractarianism and post-Tractarian Anglo-Catholicism with idealism, Gouldstone’s adaptationist impatience sometimes leads him to blur unduly the differences and distinctions among original Tractarianism, the Broad Church and idealism: for him, they all became equally lost, in historical escapism, in petty partisan controversy or in privileged Oxonian isolation. Newman and Arnold represented ‘different idealistic visions’ of the Church, which both encountered ‘a friendly philosophical framework’ in Green’s idealism (p. 8); ‘The colours of liturgical antiquity decorated the revived idealism’ of Victorian Christian apologetics (p. 191). The weaknesses of the idealists, not least their view of historical and moral progress, have of course long been obvious. But Gouldstone’s view of history is hardly more tenable than theirs, and the problems of idealism and its historical influence are partly other than the ones he discusses. His complaints about the failure of the Church to make its message relevant to the changing circumstances and mentality of an increasingly secular, professionalised, fragmented, bureaucratic, technological and democratic world are unoriginal, and also somewhat facile inasmuch as he does not show any theoretical awareness of the nature of the more general problem of aggiornamento, such as could alone help indicate more precisely which adaptations would avoid making, mutatis mutandis, mistakes similar to those he thinks vitiated idealism’s earlier attempt at meeting new challenges. The world will surely keep moving, and, without due discernment at least, those who marry the Zeitgeist will soon be widowed. In a historical work which claims so explicitly to be able to teach decisive ecclesiological lessons for the present, this whole problematic requires a more adequate theoretical
treatment. Gouldstone’s too unqualified embrace of the analysis of intellectual discourse in terms of institutional and other power relations, and thus of excessive contextual reductionism, does not contribute to clarifying, let alone strengthening, his position in this regard. Gouldstone is to some extent aware of the renewed interest in idealism amongst scholars who have come to question the misunderstandings and polemics of early analytic philosophy, Freudianism, Marxism, Bloomsbury and other currents of radical and high modernism. But what Gouldstone has to say about Anglican idealism is not very different from the biased historiography inspired by these currents, i.e. from what has been repeated again and again throughout the twentieth century. He deserves credit for having presented more of the neglected historical material. But the twentieth century is over, and some argue that new and fresh light now needs to be thrown on this material from a different and more nuanced perspective.

Lund University

JAN OLOF BENGTSSON


This study focuses on F. D. Maurice’s theology of the Church, setting it against both its historical context and the circumstances of Maurice’s own life. The study rests primarily on Maurice’s published works and his son’s Life and letters, with some use of the few, small and dispersed collections of Maurice’s papers. Jeremy Morris breaks new ground with respect to sources in his use of Maurice’s early (1825–8) literary journalism in the Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine, the Westminster Review and the Athenæum and, creatively, Maurice’s only novel, the conversion story Eustace Conway (1834). He has read widely in both Victorian writings and relevant twentieth-century secondary works. The book is organised into an introduction, six chronological chapters and a conclusion. The introduction and first chapter set the stage by describing the profound challenges to the authority of the institutional Churches (and indeed to that of revealed religion itself) posed by the French Revolution, the liberal struggle against Restoration reactionaryism, constitutional reform in Britain and the rise of industrialism and urbanisation. In short, Maurice and his contemporaries were born and matured at a time when ‘Christian civilization teetered on the brink of collapse’ (p. 18). The second chapter further sets the stage by investigating the complex influence of Maurice’s Unitarian family background, the gradual process of his conversion to Anglicanism, his appropriation and reshaping of Coleridge and the nature of his Anglican orthodoxy. Chapter iii examines The kingdom of Christ (1838, substantially revised in 1842), Maurice’s first substantial theological work, which sought to reconcile Evangelical individual salvation with High Church ecclesiology in order to defend the Church of England’s national character. Family, nation and Church were ‘the three forms of social life providentially ordained as part of the spiritual constitution’ (p. 98) to foster mutual interdependence and transmit the spiritual to humans. Chapter iv contextualises Maurice’s ideas about the relationship between Church and Nation. Maurice sought to demonstrate the Church of England’s function as the anchor of social cohesion and to justify its legal position as
the established Church of the nation. Chapter v examines Maurice’s arguments about the Church’s role in society, with special reference to Christian Socialism. Morris stresses the importance of his conception of the Church as a social community. Chapter vi addresses Maurice’s writings from the 1850s onwards. These had to do chiefly with the doctrine of the Trinitarian god, the theological and historical significance of Jesus and revelation in history. The conclusion traces the gradual growth of Maurice’s twentieth-century reputation as the quintessential Anglican theologian of comprehensiveness and ecumenism. Morris’s thoroughly researched and clearly written book is especially distinguished by its effective contextualising of Maurice’s theology. Historians as well as theologians will profit from reading it.

University of North Texas

DENIS PAZ


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Fanny Crosby wrote even more hymns than Charles Wesley – hundreds more to make her, according to the 1977 Guinness book of world records, ‘History’s most prolific hymnist.’ Her blindness sets a difficult task for any biographer, but Edith Blumhofer rides the course well and largely avoids those ‘spotty episodic reminiscences Crosby herself published in later life’. And what a life span, Fanny’s ninety-four years overlapping every US president from John Adams to Dwight D. Eisenhower. 1858 was a watershed: before a most curious marriage, Fanny worked at the Institution for the Blind, but from 1864 focused her mission on the wider world of Evangelical Protestantism. Years before ‘Blessed Assurance’ was written, Crosby underwent an experience of her own, and when attending revival meetings at New York’s 30th Street, 9th Avenue Methodist Church, felt her ‘very soul flooded with celestial light’. Recognised by G. F. Root as one with a ‘great gift for rhyming’, and fully committed to William Bradbury’s ‘musical mission’, Fanny realised a new potential. Sunday-school work led her into the revival campaigning of D. L. Moody, and she was soon penning the gospel songs Ira D. Sankey used to sway evangelistic rallies. Themes such as salvation, consecration, service and indeed heaven itself, spawned ‘Rescue the perishing’, ‘Jesus keep me near the cross’, and ‘Yes, there is pardon for you’ – stanzas writ large in the 1875 classic Gospel hymns and sacred solos. Brimful of emotion and sentiment, her catchy lyrics captured many a treasured religious experience for the Protestant Evangelical cause, and thousands rejoiced to drink liquid honey that, acceptable enough in Crosby’s day, many would now find emetic.

Cambridge

PETER NEWMAN BROOKS


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Orestes Brownson was the quintessential American religious searcher in the early national era when the type was raised to an art form. He differed from most of
that company only by ending his quest, in 1844, in the arms of Rome. One virtue of Patrick Carey’s new biography is to show that this was no end at all – just a fixed site where Brownson’s dialectical habit continued unabated. Carey’s thorough command of his subject will make this the authoritative study for decades to come. The first third of the book recounts the self-taught theologian’s legendary peregrinations across the Protestant spectrum. The next hundred pages explore his conversion to Catholicism and the subsequent decade (1845–55) of zealous polemics against his erstwhile fellow travellers. There follow three very long chapters which treat Brownson’s oscillation between more sanguine (1855–65) and fearful (1865–76) readings of the liberal-Catholic and American scenes. Throughout, the author excels more at detail than at explanation, providing such thorough summaries of Brownson’s voluminous writings that all but the most specialised scholars will be safely spared revisiting the originals so as to proceed instead to the more comparative and contextual work that, with the exception of Brownson’s Catholic and continental interlocutors, Carey usually passes by. The Brownson grove is here definitively etched; its part of the American landscape needs closer mapping. The irony of Brownson’s life none the less emerges plain to see. Hungry for certainty and closure, he alternately absolutised one theme or another of a tensely balanced whole in response to the newest threat he saw on the scene. If his dogmatic-polemical style alienated friends and coreligionists as much as outright opponents, the trail of philosophical theology he left forms a reliable counterpoint to the main currents of American intellect in his time, and of our own. Patrick Carey is to be commended for rendering the whole with such accuracy and patience.

JAMES D. BRATT

GRAND RAPIDS

0 567 08433 7; 0 567 08197 4

The 1840s were characterised by a succession of highly contentious religious issues, including the furore produced by Tract 90, the secessions of John Henry Newman (to Rome) and Baptist Noel (to Protestant Dissent), the crisis over the Maynooth grant, the drawn-out Gorham affair and the explosive Scottish Disruption. The Church of England, moreover, faced a serious logistical and pastoral crisis as a result of rapid population growth and massive urbanisation. Another contentious cause célèbre centred on the 1844 secession and prosecution of an Evangelical clergyman by the name of James Shore, and the subsequent establishment in Devon of the Free Church of England (FCE). Since then the FCE has not fared well: its history has been characterised by countless squabbles and missed opportunities, it has produced no theologians or leaders of national distinction and it has attracted only small numbers of new converts. Nevertheless, its founding and development remain important, in part due to the extraordinary events surrounding its establishment, but also because it represents the most serious attempt since the nonjurors to set in motion (in England and elsewhere) a ‘continuing’ Anglican rival to the Church of England and its various colonial offspring. Fenwick’s denominational study traces,
often in painstaking detail, the historical events that led to the creation of the FCE, to the formulation of its liturgical and theological formularies and to the establishment of its various dioceses and parishes. Further, it chronicles the numerous divisions and schisms that have characterised much of the FCE’s troubled history, and it describes the complex ties between this and other Christian bodies, especially the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion. Though much of this material is both engaging and colourful, its value is diminished by Fenwick’s attempt to establish an implausible pedigree for the FCE. His argument runs like this: because of the close association between the FCE and the Connexion following Shore’s secession (which led, between 1863 and c. 1876, to a merger between the former and some members of the latter), the origins of the FCE lie not in the 1840s but in the eighteenth century, when the Connexion itself was first established. A little later on, much is made of the FCE’s acquisition of the historical episcopate (in 1876) from the Reformed Episcopal Church in America, which (it is claimed) provided the FCE with an apostolic foundation. For a number of complex reasons, all this is highly misleading. (Just to cite one point of interest, in 1994 the FCE officially celebrated its 150th anniversary.) Equally unconvincing is the attempt to deny the importance of anti-Tractarian sentiment as an important factor behind the establishment of the FCE. A final quibble concerns the illustration on the book’s dust jacket: the selection of an Orthodox icon of St Augustine of Canterbury says more about the author’s ecumenical interests than about the FCE’s historical origins, or about its distinct Protestant character. Though Fenwick is to be commended for producing a most detailed account of the history of the FCE, had his research been more comprehensive (including material published in this JOURNAL), much of the unfortunate confusion contained in his narrative could have been avoided.

FULLER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GRAYSON CARTER
PHOENIX, ARIZONA


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Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) was the leading theologian of the social gospel movement in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. Christopher H. Evans, associate professor of church history at Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School, has written a truly outstanding biography of this important figure in American church history. A brief review can hardly do justice to the richness of this carefully written and engaging study. He explores Rauschenbusch’s theological writings, work as a pastor, church historian and professor of Rochester Theological Seminary, and personal and family life. Evans offers a very careful reading of Rauschenbusch’s preaching and writings – most importantly, Christianity and the social crisis (1907), Christianizing the social order (1912) and Theology of the social gospel (1917) – and situates them within their larger theological context. Evans does an excellent job of tracing the background and the development of Rauschenbusch’s theology of
the social gospel. He reviews the life and work of Rauschenbusch’s father, August, who was himself an important German American Baptist pastor and theologian. He uncovers the development of his son’s beliefs in continuity and contrast with those of his father. He recovers how the theologian’s eleven-year pastorate at a Baptist church in the ‘Hell’s Kitchen’ section of New York City shaped his thinking about economic and political matters. Throughout the study, the author also situates Rauschenbusch within his larger historical context. The biography compares Rauschenbusch’s thinking with that of other advocates of the emergent social gospel movement, such as Washington Gladden, as well as his relationship to both Protestant modernists, such as Shailer Mathews, and Protestant conservatives, such as D. L. Moody and the growing premillenialist movement.

Yet the work is more than just an intellectual biography. Evans reviews Rauschenbusch’s work as a professor at Rochester Seminary and participation in the life of the northern Baptist Church. He also analyses the fomenting tension between the theologian and conservatives on the faculty, most notably Augustus Strong, and within the northern Baptist Church. Nor does Evans neglect Rauschenbusch’s personal life but explores the theologian’s battle with deafness, which struck him at the age of thirty, and his family life, including his struggle with personal finances and also distinctly middle-class aspirations for his children. In other words, Evans provides the reader with a real sense of not only Rauschenbusch the theologian and church leader but also the human being. As such, the work provides a fascinating window into both the life of the leading theologian of social gospel and of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American Church. Throughout this work, Evans constructively engages with other Rauschenbusch biographers and historians of this period. The book concludes with an excellent bibliographic essay on Rauschenbusch, the social gospel, Progressive era Protestantism and Rochester Theological Seminary. Evans has produced a model biography and offered a superb contribution to American church history.

GROVE CITY COLLEGE

P. C. KEMENY
that of Bismarck personally, with a barge-pole. But with extraordinary speed the
identification of German and Protestant destiny was brought about so completely
that even in 1949 Niemöller could denounce the West German state as conceived in
the Vatican and born in Washington, and that his frame of mind had also deeply
infected the Catholic friends of the Vatican and Washington. The question whether
this mentality has actually gone right through two world wars and the apparently
traumatic aftermath of the second gives occasion to a sprightly bout of fisticuffs at
the end of the volume between Clemens Vollenhals and Detlef Pollack. Vollenhals, in
a characteristically vinegary contribution, maintains that post-1945 nothing changed,
that the Churches were as loathe to confess any war-guilt and as antisemitic as ever,
Pollack insisting that a reasonable amount of honest breast-beating did take place
and on the curious evidence of opinion polls taken by the American occupying
authorities shows that what the Churches were doing was to voice protests against
the hamfistedness of the Americans themselves. One has the feeling that this bout
got to Vollenhals on points especially as Detlef’s own statistics show a remarkable
recovery of sympathy in principle for the Nazi system in the years after the war; but
again the feeling of discomfort which the book creates throughout is renewed by an
English reader’s perception of the resemblance between American de-Nazification
and (more recently) American de-Baathification. Much of the narrative of German
war-theology from 1870 onwards has a familiar ring, but there is a fascinating
comparison of the Harnacks, father and son, with the Seebergs, father and son by
Thomas Kaufmann. Both sprang from the privileged Baltic Germans, and the two
sons were the last of the great German Protestant mandarins; but while Harnack’s
nationalism was of a reasonable cast, Reinhold Seeberg converted Baltic privilege
into racism, fought to destabilise the Weimar system and to the delight of his son
Erich (a fine scholar in his own right) evoked a letter of appreciation from Hitler on
his death. Elsewhere John Conway defends Pius XII against the more incautious of his
detractors and perhaps overestimates the importance of the eleven volumes of docu-
ments in the defence edited by Jesuits; Bob Ericksen tries to clear waters muddied by
the historiography of Wilhelm Niemöller; and Dagmar Herbrecht relates horrendous
stories of the sufferings of bold women who opposed the Aryan Paragraph in the
Church, and the limited sympathy they obtained from a male-dominated Bekennende
Kirche. All required reading, but naught for our comfort.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARDPETERSFIELD

Frederick William Dwelly, first dean of Liverpool, 1881–1957. By Peter Kennerley. (Foreword
Donald Gray.) Pp. xii + 292 incl. 2 frontispieces and 103 plates. Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2004. £20. 1 85936 133 1

Frederick Dwelly is a good subject for a biography. A flamboyant figure, for over thirty years he was at the centre of the development of Liverpool Cathedral and its
worship, and his work became a laboratory for creative liturgical engagement with
the needs of the modern world, widely imitated elsewhere in the Church of England.
His speciality was public liturgy and ceremonial. Kennerly’s biography draws fully on
the surviving Dwelly archive, with long extracts from sermons, addresses and con-
temporary articles pasted into the text. There is much material here for historians to
ponder on the public role of cathedrals today, as well as perceptive observations on
the troubled relationship (hardly in itself uncommon) between Dwelly and his
bishop. What church historians will miss, however, is wider context. Kennerley is not
an uncritical admirer, but he is much more of a chronicler than a critical historian.
One misses the situating of Dwelly’s story in the history of the Church of England in
the mid-twentieth century, especially the changes in the role and status of cathedrals
more generally, and in the history of Liverpool. The loser, here, is Dwelly himself,
since the effect is to treat him much as an isolated and rather exotic exception, rather
than in many ways a characteristic figure. There is a brief bibliography.

TRINITY HALL,
CAMBRIDGE

Jeremy N. Morris

Adolf von Harnack und die deutsche Politik, 1890–1930. Eine biographische Studie zum Verhältnis
von Protestantismus, Wissenschaft und Politik. By Christian Nottmeier. (Beiträge
€89. 3 16 148154 2; 0340 6741
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Adolf von Harnack’s reputation has suffered at the hands of theologians inspired by
Barth. Culture Protestantism has not had a good press, and Harnack, undoubtedly
its most famous and influential representative, has suffered at the hands of lesser
mortals. To redress the balance Nottmeier has produced a comprehensive account
of Harnack’s relationship to German politics. His Berlin dissertation is a work of
extraordinary scholarship that rivals Wolfgang Mommsen’s discussion of Max
Weber. He manages to relate Harnack’s political activity to his religious motives
throughout a long and distinguished career. The breadth of reading and command
of primary sources are unparalleled. Nottmeier begins by tracing the story of
Harnack’s transition from conservative Lutheranism in provincial Dorpat to an
undogmatic form of liberal Protestantism which developed from his work as a
historian of dogma. Harnack emerged as one of the leading public intellectuals of
his time and a close confidant of Kaiser Wilhelm II, possessing the gift of allowing
the Kaiser to think that he had dreamed up ideas himself (p. 261). A great believer
in equality, he was no simple apologist for Wilhelmine culture but had the courage
to confront his paymasters. It remains an open question how much Harnack knew
about German foreign policy. Harnack remained aloof from party politics and
displayed little of the chauvinism or antisemitism of many of his contemporaries
as is shown in his work for the Evangelical Social Congress. As Rector of Berlin
University, general-director of the Prussian Library, and founding director of
the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft, the forerunner of the Max Planck Institute, he
symbolised the ideal of the unity of the sciences in a world of increasing special-
isation. Politically, he always remained a pragmatist, willing to compromise in
order to make progress: ‘My interest is simply in the next step, which is precisely
why I have no opinion about or interest in the “separation of church and state”,
“the re-ordering of sexual life”, “the reconstruction of theological study” etc.’
(p. 355). Harnack’s most questionable political activity was during the First World
War, but even though he was a strong supporter of Germany’s war aims in the early
years of the war he gradually came to see the need for greater democracy at home
and a negotiated peace. In hindsight it was the divisions between academics that marked the major crisis on his world-view. This led him in later years to become an enthusiastic supporter of the Weimar Republic. Overall, it is hard to imagine that this book could be bettered: it reveals a complex personality who sought to make religion relevant in a period of unprecedented change. Such an attitude was shared by few of his opponents – indeed, had more theologians been prepared to stand by Weimar, despite the compromises involved, there might have been no need for a Confessing Church.

RIPON COLLEGE, CUDDESDON

MARK D. CHAPMAN


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The contemporary recovery of interest in Karl Barth, more evident perhaps in the UK and North America than in German-speaking lands, has recently spawned a number of excellent introductions to his theology, of which this book is among the best and most readable. After an engaging first chapter on Barth’s life and early theological development, the remainder of the book takes us through Barth’s *chef d’oeuvre*, his *Church dogmatics*, with a chapter devoted to each of its four massive volumes, on revelation, the doctrine of God, creation and reconciliation. A further chapter discusses Barth’s ethics and ecclesiology. Mangina then concludes by reflecting upon Barth’s ecumenical significance and by briefly speculating on what he might have to say to the Churches today. While the book makes frequent and very helpful reference to the historical context of Barth’s work and the controversies out of which it emerged, the dominant concern here is clearly theological rather than historical, for Mangina’s express intent is to prepare the student of theology to engage with Barth’s text her- or himself. Rather than attempting to paraphrase (which would be virtually impossible to do well within his allotted space), Mangina steps back from the intricacies of Barth’s arguments, noting instead his broad theological moves and decisions, and the ideas or positions he was rejecting or (rather more rarely) adopting. Mangina’s mastery of the secondary literature on Barth enables him to forestall uninformed misunderstandings and discuss some of the more substantive criticisms. The most distinctive aspect of the book is found at the end of each chapter, where Mangina sets up a dialogue between Barth and another theologian: George Lindbeck, Michael Wyschogrod, Stanley Hauerwas, Robert Jenson and Henri de Lubac in turn. The obvious drawback of this strategy (besides laying him open to complaints about his selection) is that Mangina must take up space summarising the interlocutor’s position in sufficient detail that it can be understood by a reader coming to him for the first time. But the great benefit of examining different treatments of the topics under discussion, even if briefly, is that in Mangina’s skilful hands it enables the reader to acquire in a relatively short time a good understanding of the distinctiveness of Barth’s conception of Christianity.

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Studies of Catholicism in the Third Reich have tended to divide all too starkly into works of accusation and of apologia. These two valuable and scholarly monographs are expressive, however, of a contemporary American Catholic approach which, though undisguised in its sympathy for Catholic values, sees the Third Reich as a period of trial when German Catholics and their Church were confronted by the ultimate manifestation of modern barbarism. Whatever its shortcomings as a perception of Nazism, this approach enables the authors to explore fruitfully the complexity of the individual, collective and institutional actions of Catholics between 1933 and 1945. Thus, though Krieg and Spicer resort occasionally to a moral critique of ‘the Catholic church’s inadequate response’ (Krieg, p. 174) to ‘the lethal world of Nazism’ (Spicer, p. 12), they are on the whole less concerned with judging German Catholics than with exploring the web of past experiences, theological and ecclesiological teachings and political calculations which determined their behaviour.

Krieg, already well known for his essays on German Catholic intellectuals of the era, has had the good idea of exploring the collective intellectual culture of the roughly 200 professors and 4,000 students in the nineteen faculties and departments of Catholic theology (seven in universities and twelve in Hochschulen) in 1933. In the strongly argued opening chapter, he well conveys the dominant atmosphere of neo-Thomist scholasticism which had prevailed in German Catholicism since the opening years of the century, and which led the Church to perceive itself as a hierarchical society possessed of a monopoly of truth and moral values. Confronted by the Third Reich, most theologians therefore felt no need to take a stance. The failures of the Nazi rulers, like those of those who had preceded them, were no more than the expressions of an alien modern civilisation which had turned its back on the teachings of the Catholic faith. Only among a minority current of theologians more inclined to engage with contemporary issues did more active positions for and against the regime emerge. Thus, in his subsequent chapters, Krieg provides a series of essays on three theologians who to differing degrees supported the regime and two who opposed it. Karl Eschweiler in Braunsberg (present-day Braniewo) and Joseph Lortz, a well-established church historian originally from Luxembourg, hailed Nazism as the solution to the crisis of modernity. The Tübingen theologian Karl Adam, the author of the influential Spirit of Catholicism (1924), was more critical of the Nazis but in an article published in 1933 and a lecture in December 1939 he called for a reconciliation of Church and Nation: ‘We must be Catholic to the last fibre of our hearts, however, we must also be German to our very marrow’ (p. 102). In contrast, the Freiburg theologian Engelbert Krebs fell foul of the authorities when he made some unguarded private comments about the Nazi rulers; while Romano Guardini developed in Berlin a more thorough-going critique of the pseudo-religious character of Nazism and emerged subsequently as one of the most influential voices of post-Nazi German Catholicism. Interesting though these portraits are, not least for the light they shed on worldly rivalries for academic preferment among the
theologians, they rather deflect attention from the larger immobility of Catholic intellectual culture of the era. As Krieg rightly emphasises in his concluding chapter, perfect-society ecclesiology remained the dominant current within German Catholicism before and during the Third Reich, largely eclipsing more radical notions of the Church as a universal moral advocate or the rather fuzzy ‘body-of-Christ’ ecclesiology of the 1920s which encouraged Adam to seek a fusion of Church and Volk but which led Guardini to see the Church as the expression of a universal human community.

Spicer, in contrast, provides a well-researched study of the diocese of Berlin during the Third Reich. A predominantly diaspora diocese, established only in 1930, Catholics constituted 10 per cent of the population of the Reich capital. Levels of religious practice were low in this hybrid urban environment: only roughly one-third of the Catholics regularly practised their faith, and the Catholic community was divided between those of Polish origin and others drawn to Berlin from southern and western Germany. At the moment of Hitler’s accession to power, the affairs of the diocese were in the hands of Schreiber, a conciliatory figure preoccupied more than most of his episcopal colleagues by a wish to avoid conflict with the new regime. Schreiber died in September 1933 and, after the death of his short-lived successor Bares in 1935, a Bavarian nobleman, Preysing, was appointed bishop. From the publication of Pius XI’s *Mit brennender Sorge* in 1937 onwards, Preysing emerged as one of the foremost Catholic critics of assaults on Church independence and of Nazi policies, notably euthanasia, which offended against Catholic doctrine. Though he never challenged the fundamental legitimacy of the regime, Preysing saw his role as providing clear leadership for his clergy and faithful in a time of oppression. During the war, he emphasised that God’s eternal law stood above any human laws and engaged tenaciously in defence of those, such as outspoken (or slightly foolish) priests and Catholics of Jewish origin, who became the targets of the crude but also somewhat intermittent efforts by the Nazi police to bully a troublesome Church into silence.

Over and above their individual contributions, these two books are, however, noteworthy for the way in which they confirm two dominant themes of much recent work on Catholicism in the Third Reich. Firstly, for all the nuances in individual actions within the Third Reich detailed by Krieg and Spicer, the Catholic response to the Third Reich was more unitary than diverse. German Catholics, as Spicer rather too regularly reminds us, had a distinct Weltanschauung, which from the outset placed them at odds with the racial ideology of extreme (and rather unrepresentative) Nazi secularists such as Rosenberg. Ideological difference, however, went hand-in-hand with a caution inherent in a minority population that retained a vivid sense of the discrimination they had experienced during the Bismarckian Reich. The assertion of Catholic rights, as rather tentatively guaranteed by the Concordat of 1933, was therefore accompanied by a nervous insistence on the part of the clergy and faithful that they too were good German nationalists who had fought patriotically in the First World War. *Resistenz* to Nazi ideas (in Martin Broszat’s influential use of the term) was thus, as Spicer argues in his introduction, widely disseminated in Catholic ranks, and the few outspoken ‘brown priests’ in the Berlin diocese were marginal and slightly ludicrous figures motivated more by ambition and uniforms than by Catholic values. But the sense of Catholic autonomy that enabled Preysing and the Berlin priest Bernhard Lichtenberg to challenge the
regime led others, such as Karl Adam, to explore how Church and Nation could be reconciled. To divide German Catholics into resisters and collaborators, or more crudely into good and bad Catholics (as Spicer is wont to do), thus risks privileging differences of temperament or of circumstance over the shared mentality of solidarity and political caution which united German Catholics.

Secondly, institutional considerations were on the whole more important than ideological and theological beliefs in determining Catholic responses to the Third Reich. Especially when reading Spicer’s accounts of the many issues which brought Church and regime into conflict, one gains a strong sense of two institutions bumping into each other in a mutual struggle for freedom of action. Lichtenberg’s prayers for the Jews in Berlin’s Catholic cathedral, overheard by two female Protestant students on an August evening in 1941, might have led to his arrest and eventual death in detention. But what in retrospect appears to be an accident charged with a high moral significance was untypical of the more daily diet of disputes between the Berlin diocese and different elements of the Third Reich bureaucracy over Catholic participation in youth camps, religious services for conscripted Polish workers and state nominations to Church positions. There were, on both sides, some figures who sought and exacerbated these territorial conflicts, but they were exceptions. Much more typical in Catholic ranks were those such as Preysing who knew how to combine expressions of rhetorical outrage with timely compromises that would enable the Church to continue to operate. Much the same, one suspects, was true of the Nazis. One of the understandable weaknesses of Spicer’s researches in the diocesan archives is that we see only the Catholic side of the story. Consequently, the lurches in state policies from violent oppression (such as the premeditated murder in July 1934 of the head of Catholic Action in Berlin) to gestures of conciliation appear as the mysterious actions of a totalitarian monolith. Yet, in reality, they surely reflected the tensions within Nazi ranks between an instinctive anticlericalism and a more sophisticated but crudely implemented wish to draw the Church into a subordinate relationship with the new political order. Whether this could ever have given rise to some form of modus vivendi between Nazism and its minority Church is impossible to know. But behind the horrific radicalisation of the Nazi regime in its final war years and the parallel crescendo in Catholic–Nazi tensions lies an awkward and slightly more prosaic reality that cannot be plundered for easy moral messages.

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the development of ecumenical activity across the twentieth century and proposes that this immense gathering was a powerful contribution not only to the Churches’ understanding of politics and society, an understanding forged in the context of modernity, totalitarianism and economic disorder, but an affirmation of a bold missionary identity in the world. The book rests firmly on the published materials of the conference and riches from the archives of the World Council of Churches. There are significant glimpses of the great and the good who haunted the event, particularly of J. H. Oldham, George Bell and Nils Ehrenström. The essential reference points for Smith’s own arguments are later commentators like David Bosch and Konrad Raiser. Ronald Preston bridges both these worlds. Given the paucity of historical research which we find around us, it is all the more of a pity that Smith and Keith Clements, the historical biographer of J. H. Oldham, somehow fail to connect with each other (p. 16n.). In short, this is a brisk and thoughtful evocation of a lost civilisation of thought, enquiry and endeavour. It continues to demand something more than the interest of ecumenical politicians: here is something rich and immense for a new generation of international historians to navigate.

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This illuminating book studies the interaction between Catholic Spiritan missionaries and Maasai people living in northern Tanzania. Using survey data, hundreds of oral interviews and lessons derived from her own participation in Christian and ‘traditional’ religious rituals, Hodgson seeks to unravel a paradox: why, when missionaries have for fifty years sought to interest men in the faith, do women so dominate contemporary Maasai Catholicism? Maasai men and women were by no means unequal in the precolonial nineteenth century, argues Hodgson: economic and social roles were complementary, with husbands and wives sharing rights over livestock and other resources. Under German and British rule, Masai men used their status as legal owners of livestock to disenfranchise women. Hodgson argues that women responded by allying themselves with Spiritan missionaries, who began working in Tanganyika’s Maasai reserves in the mid-1950s. Their interest deeply shaped missionaries’ evangelistic strategy: where in the 1950s the Spiritans filled church-run schools with Maasai boys, by the 1970s missionaries were ministering to crowds of women gathered in government-built villages. Hodgson’s account of the post-Vatican II theology of ‘inculturation’ similarly illuminates how the competing agenda of Maasai men and women shaped the missionaries’ project. In the 1970s the Spiritans adopted Maasai symbols and ideas into Catholic practice, naming the Good Samaritan, for example, the ‘Good Ormeek’. Ormeek was the mocking name which Maasai men used for male converts: it meant a ‘stranger’, of doubtful virility and character. Men scorned converts as traitors to a culture which, as Hodgson shows, was itself being defined in patriarchal terms during the twentieth century. Confronted with their husbands’ obduracy, Maasai women could contract orpeko,
a spiritual sickness caused by an evil spirit. Only Christian baptism was thought to cure sufferers of their malady. By their illness, Hodgson shows, women trumped men’s scorn for Catholicism, and furthered a more flexible analysis of the relationship between ethnicity, culture and religion. The great strength of this book is its attention to the humanity of missionaries and Maasai. Where historians with limited sources must lump their protagonists into collective wholes, the anthropologist Hodgson can spend chapters unpacking the quirky personalities and private hopes of catechists, missionaries and female church leaders. Historians, though, will be uncomfortable with the absence of political economy in the latter chapters of this book. We learn, for example, that missionaries were by the 1970s pursuing an ‘individual approach’ to evangelism, ministering to female audiences in Maasai communities made sedentary by government policy. But Hodgson has little to say about the larger context in which Tanzania’s rural population was being reorganised. We learn little, for example, about Tanzanian socialism, about the changing structure of political opportunity for rural people in the 1970s. We learn little, moreover, about the larger intellectual history of these times. In law, in economics and in the built environment, what made an ‘individual approach’ to evangelism thinkable? What modes of subjectivity did judges, government planners, Catholic missionaries and Maasai converts cultivate in the twentieth century? (C.f. Peter Pels, A politics of presence: contacts between missionaries and Waluguru in late colonial Tanganyika, Amsterdam 1999.) Hodgson’s rich account of contemporary Maasai Catholicism will interest church historians and scholars of women’s history. But a wider analysis of Maasai political and social life would have made this book more appealing still.

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This is a collection of nine contributions on ‘the responsibility and liability of the diocesan bishop’ discussed during a conference organised by the ‘Workshop of Dutch-speaking canonists’ in 2000. At stake is the issue to what extent a bishop can be held responsible and liable for the actions of the priests working in his diocese, with particular reference to priests’ criminal behaviour. All over the world the Roman Catholic Church has been rocked by court cases against priests accused of sexual misconduct. It is clear that in those (civil) cases the issue of the contractual relationship between the priest as employee versus the bishop as employer has come to the fore. Whereas in civil and secular law such a relationship is undeniable, in canon law there is very little in the way of explicit and unambiguous legislation that stipulates the precise degree of responsibility and, indeed, liability of the bishop. This collection of conference papers aims to explore both canon law and civil/ secular law in order to clarify episcopal rights and duties with respect to those who could be said to be dependent on him. One of the problems highlighted, by R. G. W. Huysmans, J. Hendriks and R. Gouw, is the canonical legislation emating from Vatican II in the


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1960s and 1970s. In it, the description of episcopal duties of care, advice and support for diocesan priests was broadened out and extended in order to bring canon law more in line with secular law. However, even this legislation remains vague and imprecise when cases of sexual misdemeanors are at issue. Consequently, there have been (civil) court cases where priests were acquitted on the grounds that their bishops should have spotted their criminal behaviour and therefore that the bishop could be said to have been negligent in the exercise of his duty of care. Even though academics cannot resolve the complex relationship that exists between the civil and ecclesiastical juridical systems, this collection of recent Roman Catholic thinking with regard to contemporary episcopal responsibility and liability for their priests is a significant contribution to a debate that throws up many issues familiar to historians of periods as far back as the twelfth century.

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