

Reviews

Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 41 – 1998. Edited by Ernst Dassmann and others. Pp. 279 incl. 9 ills + 11 plates. Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1998. DM 124. 3 402 08132 6; 0075 2541

The yearly issues of the *Jahrbuch* continue to provide rich scope for studies in the life and thought of the early Church, and the discussion of new archaeological material relating to early Christianity. This number is no exception. After a discussion by Marco Frenschowski on probable Zoroastrian and Hellenistic affinities to the dreams described in the first two and the twenty-seventh chapter of Matthew's Gospel, two non-orthodox leaders take the centre stage. 'Who was Cerinthus?', 'What did Bishop Auxentius of Milan (355–73/4) believe?' Christoph Marksches ably describes all the available evidence concerning Cerinthus. He concludes that the mixture of Chiliasm, Judaism and Christianity attributed to the heretic reveals something of the melting-pot of beliefs that was Christianity in western Asia Minor and Syria at the turn of the second century. Cerinthus' separation of Jesus born of woman from the divine Christ may have been the object of attacks by the writer of 1 John. Similar mingling of Judaism and Christianity was condemned in the same period by Ignatius of Antioch referring to those 'who talk of Jesus Christ and practice Judaism' (*Magnesian* 10). While not all problems relating to Cerinthus may have been solved, the writer is able to place him firmly in his context on the borders of the New Testament and sub-apostolic age.

Compared with Cerinthus, the faith of Auxentius seems comparatively straightforward. It is preserved in one document included in Hilary of Poitiers (d. c. 367), *Contra Auxentium* (PL x. 617B–681C). Michael Durst demonstrates that, with some modification, Auxentius was a Homoean, an adherent of the Creed of the Council of Ariminum (359) who accepted that Christ was 'like God' with no reference to his essential nature. When in 364 he was confronted by a council of Italian bishops he was able to satisfy the majority of the orthodoxy of his belief that there was 'one true God' and that Christ was 'the Son of God', that is, God, but different from God the Father. In addition, this belief was founded on Scripture. The Emperor Valentinian 1 (364–75), though Nicene-oriented, agreed, and Auxentius survived all attempts by Hilary and others to remove him from his influential status at the emperor's headquarters in Milan. Elsewhere, Alfons Durst concludes that the celebrated 'correspondence' between Paul and Seneca circulating in the late fourth century had more to do with the reputation of Seneca at this time, than any similarity of their views.

Archaeology is less well represented, but Klaudia Flick has some interesting views about the fourth-century origins of the cathedral of San Sabino at Puglia, while Rostraut Wisshirchen discusses an alleged Judgement scene on the mosaic

of the San Pudenzianna church in Rome. A new departure in this issue is the large increase in the number of learned reviews, no fewer than twenty-nine being printed. This is a welcome development, introducing, particularly to research students, a wide variety of new work on early Christian history by scholars of international standing. As usual, the production of this well-illustrated issue is faultless.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

Roman law in European history. By Peter Stein. Pp. x + 137 incl. 1 map. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 (first publ. in German as *Römisches Recht und Europa*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1996). £35 (cloth), £11.95 (paper). 0 521 64372 4; 0 521 64379 1

This is a learned and lively synthesis of the history of the *ius commune*. Beginning with an outline of the law of the Roman Republic and the formation of the Justinianic compilations, the author moves ahead to describe the rebirth of legal science in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the emergence of the classical canon law, the growth of juristic literature during the later Middle Ages, the impact of humanism on the law, the reception of Roman law in France and Germany, the growth of the natural law school, the rise of Codification, and the place of Roman law in nineteenth-century legal science. He even takes the reader into recent attempts to revive the *ius commune* within the European Community. Despite its extensive coverage and compact presentation, the book includes many gems. Its specific examples are telling, its description of (and appreciation for) commentators like Bartolus and Hugo Donellus seems particularly good and, as one might expect, the author's discussion of juristic maxims is consistently illuminating. Every scholar will learn from this account, and students coming fresh to the subject will find it an excellent place to start. Because the *ius commune* has played a vital role in the history of the Church, many readers of this JOURNAL will read it with profit.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

R. H. HELMHOLZ

Scrivere di santi. Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Napoli, 22-25 ottobre 1997. By Gennaro Luongo. Pp. 535 + 6 colour plates. Rome: Viella, 1998. L.75,000. 88 85669 81 6

To 'write about saints' was essentially a propagandistic exercise, a way of making the saint in question more visible, and hagiography soon moved from the early Christian celebration of a saint's martyrdom to a genre of biography, describing the saint's entire life and *post mortem* thaumaturgic activity. The study of hagiography has come a long way from its initial use in ascertaining the 'truth' about particular saints, as Gennaro Luongo observes in his introduction to this collection. It is now just as important in the study of the role of holiness and

sanctity in Christianity and Christian theology as it is in understanding collective religious experience and the organisation of social and political life in very different times and places. In fact, the particular strength of this volume lies in its highlighting the variety of ways in which hagiography is being approached by scholars from different disciplines. And while there are papers on the Middle Ages, traditionally the preferred period for those interested in the genre, this collection gives ample space to earlier and later periods as well. A first section explores the birth and evolution of this new form of writing in response to the needs of early Christian communities, followed by a section devoted to the writing and indeed re-writing of hagiography. The focus here is on the uses to which hagiography has been put, for example, by Dante and Boccaccio (L. Battagli Ricci), in Latin and vernacular Italian *poemetti* (M. Chiesa), in women's writing within enclosed convents (C. Santoro). A third section moves away from hagiography to look at the related issues of saints' images and cults, including two papers on the Neapolitan shrine of the Madonna dell'Arco (M. Miele and L. Mazzacane), fitting given the location of the conference. The fourth and final section looks at the writings of three as yet uncanonised figures to explore their understanding of sanctity: Thérèse de Lisieux, and two popes, John XXIII and Paul VI (papers by G. Martina, A. Melloni and G. M. Vian respectively). The volume is a welcome contribution, reminding us of the legitimacy of hagiographical sources in a wide range of historical research.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

DAVID GENTILCORE

Roms christliche Katakomben. Geschichte – Bilderwelt – Inschriften. By Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti and Danilo Mazzoleni (trans. Franziska Dörr). Pp. 208 incl. 178 colour and black-and-white plates + loose-leaf colour map. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998. DM 58. 3 7954 1191 2

This splendidly illustrated and up-to-date study of the Roman catacombs by three distinguished Italian scholars represents a contribution by the Papal Commission for Christian Archaeology to mark the Jubilee Year of AD 2000. In the first part Vincenzo Nicolai traces the history of the catacombs from the first acquisition by the Christians of their own cemetery areas towards the end of the second century to their final disuse sometime in the sixth century. The earliest catacombs were laid out on a system of single or parallel corridors from which led a series of passages at right angles containing the serried rows of simple, anonymous graves cut into the tufa. Even those of the popes, though marked by marble plaques, were of the same design, reflecting, the writer suggests, the sense of brotherhood and uniformity among the Christian community. The great extension of the catacombs took place between 260 and 350 when the progress of Christianity among the upper classes was marked by the creation of elaborate family tombs decorated with biblical episodes, or often scenes derived from the eucharistic liturgy related to the Christian hope of the afterlife. In the latter half of the fourth century increasing devotion to the cult of martyrs led to the building of churches and the creation of adjacent cemeteries above ground, with a consequent decline in the use of catacombs for burial, a process that resulted in their ultimate abandonment.

The many-sided development of catacomb art is discussed by Fabrizio Bisconti. It seems clear, however, that once the simple linear red and green border surrounding a central figure, such as the Good Shepherd, had given way to elaborate biblical and liturgical scenes, it became practically impossible to date these accurately on stylistic grounds. It could have been mentioned that this problem has been made more difficult by the brilliant figurative representations of the Creation, the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Christianised interpretation of the Return of Ulysses on the walls of the early third-century Gnostic hypogeum of the Aurelii on the Viale Manzoni, which in a different setting would be placed a century later. A greater attention to small finds and coins inevitable on any Roman-period site, might have eased the task of the art historian.

Danilo Mazzoleni's study of the catacomb inscriptions goes far to confirm Nicolai's conclusions regarding the social composition of the early Church in Rome. Very many of the Christians even in the Constantinian period were artisans either content with anonymous *loculi* or proud of their trade of baker, butcher, vegetable- or fish-seller, milkman or nail-maker, as asserted by picture or inscription on their tombs. There were also actors, charioteers, dancers and gymnasts despite the denunciation of these callings by the early Fathers. The diggers (*fossores*) themselves were often businessmen who sold spaces to individuals or families. With the paintings, the inscriptions throw a vivid light on Christian beliefs and ultimate hopes at this time.

The book, accurately translated from the Italian by Franziska Dörr, should have a wide appeal. It is both popular and scholarly, well-documented as well as profusely illustrated. Though the plans of some of the principal catacombs fail to define adequately their different stages of development, the writers' descriptions of the various sites are clear. Particularly interesting are their views concerning the continuing pagan influence on Christians throughout the fourth century. An English translation would be welcome to supplement James Stevenson's excellent *The catacombs: rediscovered moments of early Christianity*, published in 1978.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

Jews and Christians in contact and controversy. By William Horbury. Pp. viii + 342.

Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998. £27.95. o 567 08590 2

Jewish messianism and the cult of Christ. By William Horbury. Pp. vi + 234. London:

SCM Press, 1998. £17.95 (paper). o 334 02713 6

In the last fifty years or so study of Second Temple Judaism has developed in sophistication and quantity both as a complement to the understanding of Christian origins and to the (long overdue) consideration of the Jewish sources as a witness to the diversity of Jewish life and thought as of value in their own right. Broadly speaking, studies of this material have tended to stress the diversity of Judaism, with little possibility of any coherence, notwithstanding attempts made by religious authorities and significant commentators like Josephus either to stamp their authority or give a picture of harmony for apologetic purposes.

William Horbury's is a distinctive and authoritative voice in these discussions.

Reviewed here is a collection of his published essays and an important new study of Jewish messianism and its contribution to the emergence of Christian doctrine. Horbury asserts the plausibility of the view that significant Jewish doctrines were not the inchoate ideas which the early Christians laboriously shaped into a coherent whole. In contrast to some recent studies he stresses that Jews and Christians continued to have contact with one another, as is suggested by the ancient sources, and that these testimonies are not to be written off as being historically worthless, the apologetic attempts to mould Christian identity. Central to this discussion is the question of the separation of the Church and Synagogue. Discussion of this has focused on a version of a Jewish prayer which contains a curse of the Nazoreans (= Christians). References to something similar is found in the writings of a mid second-century Christian writer, Justin Martyr. In a classic study of this subject Horbury mounts a careful defence of the credibility of this as having a decisive part in the separation of the two communities.

Both books represent a challenge to the thesis of diversity and an early separation in which the two religions went their own way in forming their distinctive identities. In a helpful essay Horbury shows how the various components of his work over the last twenty years cohere to offer an effective challenge to the prevailing wisdom. What always characterises Horbury's work is attention to detail, well exemplified by his illuminating treatment of the possibility of charges against the Apostle Paul being linked with charges of false prophecy. What emerges in the pages of the book on Jews and Christians is a master at work amassing fragmentary evidence to put together a picture of Jewish and Christian relationships.

There is much to admire in both books, but it is the book on messianism which particularly attracts attention. Not only does this complement Horbury's attempt to argue for the existence of a mainstream Jewish messianic doctrine but it also demonstrates the possibility of the inter-relatedness of ideas, often left disparate in treatments of Jewish messianism. His encyclopaedic knowledge is evident on every page and the creative use of Septuagintal material adds weight to the thesis.

Horbury's approach to the ancient sources is methodologically less sophisticated than is found in many contemporary studies. Sources from a wide range of backgrounds and dates are accumulated in the exposition of the various themes of the study. In some respects this synthetic approach harks back to an earlier scholarly age. Nevertheless what is not in doubt is that the encyclopaedic knowledge yields an empathy with the ancient writings. So, on page after page, readers have opened to them a definitive account of theological approaches of ancient Jewish writers which is the product of decades soaked in this material.

Horbury's study of messianism shows the multifarious links which exist between seemingly disparate texts suggesting a sub-text of messianic belief in some of the key texts of Second Temple Judaism. Horbury also wishes to challenge the view that a high Christology is indebted to pagan rather than Jewish elements. He does not deny the significant parallels between Christian cultic ideas and pagan ruler cults but argues that such notions had already infiltrated Jewish doctrines and were thus available as components of the messianism inherited by the first Christians. Among the wealth of material assembled here I would single out the emphasis on the importance of what

Horbury terms 'spiritual' messianism (the angelic character of the messiah) and the contribution of this element to earliest Christology. If Horbury is right on this (and I think he is), many accounts of the emergence of Christian doctrine require significant revision. From the very earliest days of the Christian Church a sophisticated Christology, akin to the two natures doctrine of later orthodoxy, permeated early Christian belief. The likelihood is that the problem for the very first Christians was not so much the divinity of Christ but his humanity. This should be compulsory reading for anyone interested in the emergence of Christian Trinitarian theology.

Inevitably one will want to raise questions about matters of detail. What Horbury sets out to achieve is an essay in the history of ideas. There is little, therefore, of the enormously fruitful application of social theory which has been such an asset to the understanding of the development of doctrine in recent years. A judicious use of this would surely have assisted Horbury's discussion of the separation of Church and Synagogue. Likewise his fascinating account of messianic ideas fails to communicate the subversive and unpredictable quality which is characteristic of many such movements. William Horbury knows better than I do about the disruptive effects of messianism in later Judaism. As the great student of Jewish messianism and mysticism realised, there are deep affinities between Christianity and these later manifestations which it would be entirely appropriate to consider. Doubtless some of the Jewish writers Horbury studies meditated upon messianism in a rather detached way. The same cannot be said of the first Christians, whose doctrine was linked to particular, sometimes radically different, practices. The divergence of these from what most other Jews were doing led to the subsequent break. Understanding of the suspicion of the messianic, the apocalyptic and the eschatological helps to illuminate what distinguished the early Christian appropriation of these elements. Horbury's concern in this study could have been complemented by an attempt to comprehend how messianic ideas could leave behind the speculative and spawn radically different social and cultural groups. Nevertheless his rich treatment of the subject is an important foundation for further discussion, and we are all in his debt.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE,
OXFORD

CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND

Studien zur Entfaltung der altkirchlichen Theologie der Auferstehung. By Katharina Schneider. (Hereditas. Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte, 14). Pp. xlvii + 298. Bonn: Borrengässer 1999. DM 65. 3 923946 41 4

At the 1999 Oxford Patristics Conference Wolfram Kinzig called for early church historians to attend to the resurrection, and not leave it to biblical exegetes and dogmatians. Schneider's book has already laid a good foundation for that development. She divides her study between the inner-church writings of the earliest period (Didache, Barnabas, 1 and 2 Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp), and the Greek apologetic writings (Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus and the resurrection-monographs of Ps-Justin and Ps-Athenagoras).

Both the resurrection of Christ and whatever may constitute the general resurrection are considered with originality and with scrupulous attention to detail. The author's fire comes out towards the end, where Theophilus and Ps-Athenagoras are enthusiastically presented. It is clear that the early Christian writers have no coherent position. Traditional, biblical and philosophical material is all used to deal with whatever moral or theological matter is in hand. The inner-church writers all mention or imply the resurrection of Jesus, if only in creed-like formulae, and argue from New Testament texts to the future resurrection. Four of the apologists never refer to Jesus and his resurrection at all, which Schneider attributes to its potential for misunderstanding, and the offence it might cause to the intended audience. The writers differ between themselves, as to whether all or only the righteous rise again, and how this event relates to the Last Judgment. The main line of the book relates to the development of the doctrine of creation. Justin and Athenagoras have a clear doctrine of pre-existent matter on which God imposes form in creation; Tatian has the material substrate itself produced by God; Theophilus and Ps-Athenagoras show the effects of repelling the Platonic model in favour of a biblically-based doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. In this, the will and power of God combine to generate Man as embodied spirit, and God will not see his work fail through sin and mortality. There is much good exegesis here, which students of the writers concerned (especially the apologists) must take notice of, whether or not they are directly concerned with the resurrection. Schneider's book is difficult to fault. There are very few typographical errors. Good editions of texts are used, relevant studies assembled, conclusions judiciously drawn. Pouderon is rightly preferred to Marcovich for Athenagoras; but Marcovich is a mine of information, and should be in the bibliography. Less central to the plot, Origen's *Contra Celsum* needs Marcel Borret (*Sources chrétiennes*) as well as Koetschau. Too often the terms Gnostic, Gnosticism, are used to represent a particular complex of beliefs, for example about a purely spiritual resurrection. Schneider derives this use from excellent authorities, but it is now questionable. One must be more specific if a serious parallel is to be drawn. But this does not damage the argument, and if she is wrong, she is in good company. Scholarship apart, this study exposes the ineptitude with which every Easter the popular press and many clergy trivialise the debate about Christ's resurrection, not having first considered what resurrection might mean then or now.

ST ANDREWS

STUART G. HALL

The Antenicene pascha. A rhetorical history. By Karl Gerlach. (Liturgia Condenda, 7.)

Pp. xix + 434. Louvain: Peeters, 1998. B.Fr. 1,570 (paper). 90 429 0570 0
 This is a learned and provocative book, clever and sprightly in style. The first part deals with the melding of Exodus xii with the narrative of the Last Supper in early Christian liturgy and comment. The second part is headed 'The rhetoric of dispute', and looks in close detail first at the paschal controversy of 325 and the attempted resolution of the conflicting dates of celebration at the Council of Nicaea; and, secondly, taking a backward step in time, at the Quartadeciman

question *c.* 195. The book is a 'rhetorical history', because, as the author delights to reiterate, the literature generated by discussion of the liturgy of the pasch and its appropriate celebration stems largely from polemic and irrational considerations. Simply propaganda, the ancient literature of comment moves at the intellectual level of a modern washing-powder advertisement, albeit one decked out with convoluted calculations. Much modern secondary literature besides stands convicted of ludicrous credulity and tendentiousness. Some good scholars, far better than Gerlach, rightly get it in the neck. The book is a salutary corrective to facile notions of impartiality in historical writing as it is also a dissuasive from the study of liturgy in general, prompting the question what unconfessed agenda this sharp critic of others has. It offers, besides, much information not easily available elsewhere. Comforting is the affirmation that Eusebius did not simply make up what he wrote about the second-century controversy; sensible the observation that we simply do not know whether the Corinthian Church kept the pasch in St Paul's time. Gerlach has a little, but not much, to say about the observance of Lent and Pentecost. The book points to a curiosity I had never noticed: that so much weight is attached to Exodus xii, though the covenant was instituted in Exodus xxiv.

FACULTY OF DIVINITY,
CAMBRIDGE

L. R. WICKHAM

Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah. Christian exegesis in the age of Constantine. By M. J. Hollerich. (Oxford Early Christian Studies.) Pp. ix + 230. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £40. 0 19 826368 6

The virtually complete text of Eusebius' *Commentary on Isaiah*, previously known only from excerpts in catenae, was discovered in 1930 by A. Möhle, who reported his discovery in *ZNW* xxxiii (1934), 86–90. The first, and so far only, critical edition of this important text was eventually produced by J. Ziegler in 1975. Since then the most systematic study of the *Commentary* to be published has been Manlio Simonetti's long article 'Esegesi e ideologia nel *Commento a Isaia* di Eusebio', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* xix (1983), 3–44. Michael Hollerich's monograph is a revised version of his Chicago dissertation, which appears to have received only superficial revision since its original composition in the 1980s. (For example, although the volume edited by Harold Attridge and Gohei Hata, *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, Detroit 1992, is both cited [pp. 3/4 n. 4] and listed in the bibliography, Hollerich makes no reference to several relevant essays contained in it, including his own and one by this reviewer, which uses Eusebius' commentary as evidence for 'The Constantinian settlement'.) Hollerich provides a perceptive and reliable guide to a text which is at present totally inaccessible to those who cannot read Greek fluently and extremely difficult to digest even for most who can. Although too much space is perhaps spent on introductory matters, a full and accurate account is given of Eusebius' exegetical methods and of the main theme of his *Commentary*, which is to illustrate how the pre-exilic prophet Isaiah, whom Eusebius naturally took to be the author of the whole of the book that bears his name, foretold in detail the life, death and resurrection

of Christ, the replacement of Judaism by Christianity as the true religion protected by God, and the history of the Christian Church down to its triumph and prosperity under the Constantinian empire. I am not sure, however, that Hollerich has chosen the best available English translation for Eusebius' central idea. To me at least, the translation 'godly polity' for *to theosebes politeuma*, which recurs constantly throughout the book, sounds intolerably archaic: whether or not Hollerich intended the allusion, the phrase inevitably evokes Richard Hooker's 'ecclesiastical polity' and hence smacks of the Elizabethan period. Since in Eusebius the adjective *theosebes* always implies active piety, and the phrase *to theosebes politeuma* means for him, as Hollerich correctly states, 'a concrete human association based on devotion to God' (p. 126), I think that some translation such as 'community of true believers', despite all the implicit allusions of its own which it carries, would come closer to conveying Eusebius' intended meaning to modern readers.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

T. D. BARNES

Die Anfänge der Professionalisierung des Klerus und das kirchliche Amt in der Syrischen Didaskalie. By Georg Schöllgen. (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 26.) Pp. viii + 227. Münster: Aschendorff, 1998. 3 402 08110 5

Studies of the *Didascalia* in the twentieth century have focused primarily upon philological and textual concerns, apart from the narrower issue of canon law and ecclesiastical absolution. In view of the general shift of methodological perspective that now seeks to measure the extent to which such documents create a new social reality whilst purporting to describe and reflect an unchanging present one, it is timely that Schöllgen, one of our most perceptive contemporary commentators on the literature of early Church order, should have produced an analysis of the highest significance.

By the time of writing *Ep. i*, Cyprian makes it clear that the holding of clerical office had become professionalised in the sense that office was not only for life, but fully supported to the extent that a cleric could be expected to free himself from all other financial interests and obligations, such as those involved in acting with power of attorney as a testamentary tutor or curator for a minor. The ideological grounds upon which such expectations are based is that the Levites of the Old Testament received a tenth part of the offerings. But that professionalisation marked a decisive development from what had existed before.

Schöllgen analyses putative previous examples and finds them lacking in the full-blown criterion of lifelong ordination which is salaried and excludes other occupations. Priesthoods in pagan cults were of restricted duration, and involved simply the right and obligation to preside at the sacrifices at certain festivals. Such priests were not engaged full-time in teaching, in caring for the souls or administering poor relief. Sometimes pagan priesthoods were for life, with an annual annuity paid, or a payment on entry into office. But such positions were nevertheless in reality honorary since holders of such priesthoods were expected to make large contributions from their own wealth. Such honorary functions

went together with other civic magistracies, and did not involve exclusion from secular affairs. Furthermore, young children often held such priesthoods.

If we turn to wandering priests, Cynic philosophers, or indeed the wandering charismatic prophet or apostle of the *Didache*, clearly we find examples more akin to poor relief as opposed to payment for designated services, or perhaps with the honorary payments for presidency at the sacrifices of certain festivals. Irenaeus mentions the offering of the first fruits in the eucharist but connects this with neither a specifically clerical act nor with clerical payment. The cases of Callistus and Natalius gives us examples of salaried payment to a bishop and a deacon, but the *Traditio apostolica* appears not to include the presbyterate as yet in receipt of such benefits. It is only thus with Cyprian in the west and the contemporary and corresponding eastern *Didascalia*, that a truly professionalised clergy arose. Schöllgen now tries to explain why this is so.

One reason was that both Carthage and Rome witnessed the growth of a large community, with a corresponding need for a full-time bishop with diaconal staff to administer poor relief and the cemeteries, as well as organise the catechesis for the newly converted. Schöllgen seeks a model of ministry which will inform and shape such a dynamic development.

The *Didascalia* itself presents different images of episcopal government, such as that of a king, a priest, a shepherd or the head or steward of a household. Schöllgen seeks a predominant model, that of the οἰκονόμος of an οἶκος, that serves as the critical determinant of the development of the ministerial order of the *Didascalia*, enabling a continuity to be established with both the house-codes of the pastoral epistles, and the household imagery of the *Traditio apostolica*. The bishop represents God in the way in which the steward of the household represents his master and administers his affairs. He bears the τύπος or image of the Father because he represents the care and munificence of the *paterfamilias* with his extended family, who must govern his family and extended family with justice and love, without avaricious embezzlement.

Schöllgen thus rules out any central claim of a sacerdotal model to control the development of the theology of order presupposed in the *Didascalia*. One objection is the use of the Tabernacle of the Congregation in Num. xviii. 21–7 as a model with high priests, priests and Levites constituting τύποι of bishops, priest and deacons (*Didascalia* (Syriac) viii cf. pp. 88–100, 117–26). Schöllgen must insist that the only point of the comparison is to show that the Church has an οἰκονομία that is foreshadowed in the Old Testament, and which makes provision for the *Unterhaltungsrecht* of bishops, priests, deacons, deaconesses, widows etc. But it would seem to me that the tradition of the exegesis of the ministry of the Tabernacle Temple as correlated with the Christian ministry needs far closer analysis and consideration in this particular context.

Cyprian may be contemporary in the west with the Didascalist in the east, and neither writer may have had any direct influence upon the other. But Cyprian's Old Testament typology clearly includes not simply the priest as owed a tenth of all offerings in a church order marked by good housekeeping, but indeed one who offers the eucharistic sacrifice, who is responsible for the ritual cleanness of the community, and by right of which he absolves. I find particular difficulty with Schöllgen's explanation of the penitential discipline in terms of his model in which the bishop is primarily οἰκονόμος and not sacrificing priest (pp.

130–2, 165–9). It might be argued that Cyprian is innovating, and that the Didascaliast's Ignatian precedent will support the household model cleansed of any taint of sacerdotalism. But I have argued that the Constitutionalist fundamentally misunderstands the Ignatian typology. Indeed it is not clear whether Ignatius (or later Polycarp) is τύπος πατρός because he is bishop or because he is a martyr, but what is clear is that he is τύπος not as οἰκονόμος but because he bears the image of the suffering God, like a pagan priest in an imperial procession. Cyprian may appropriate the theology of the martyr to that of the priest, but then so does the Didascaliast. In Didascalia xix Christ is to be seen in the martyr, and in viii the bishop is an imitator of Christ in taking sin away.

Models are not simply metaphors but systematically worked out metaphors. In consequence, their metaphorical character makes it notoriously difficult to exclude other metaphorical applications, and to maintain them in singular purity.

Nevertheless Schöllgen has produced a very significant and stimulating contribution to our understanding of the evolution of church order, which will repay reading and further discussion.

ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

ALLEN BRENT

Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages. Continuity and change. By Debra J. Birch. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 13.) Pp. x + 239 incl. 3 maps.

Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998. £35. 0 85115 636 3; 0955 2480

This monograph examines the evidence for pilgrimage to Rome from its beginnings until the end of the thirteenth century through the study of those pilgrims who went there from all over Europe during this period. After discussing the journeys to Rome, the status of the pilgrims, the overall picture of the city and its welfare provisions for visitors, the author analyses the relative decline of the pilgrimage in the twelfth century, then its renewed success during the thirteenth century.

The book has the great merit of drawing together numerous studies previously devoted to the subject on a much smaller scale, giving an accessible and readable synthesis of them. It also presents some interesting conclusions in its two chapters devoted to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While the chapters on the pilgrimage until the eleventh century are largely derivative, the author comes very much into her own when dealing with the last two centuries. Her evidence is both interesting and sometimes most unusual, as in her use of a large representative sample of French monastic cartularies mentioning pilgrims. She argues that, increasingly after the tenth century, pilgrims to Rome wanted to see actual relics of the saints rather than just their tombs, and that rivalry with the Holy Land, notably after the success of the First Crusade opened the way to westerners, went against Rome and created a period of decline for the pilgrimage there: why trouble to visit the tombs of Peter and Paul when one can visit Christ's homeland? The negative perception of the Roman Curia as corrupt and greedy also kept pilgrims away, except those from the newly converted kingdoms in

Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, as did the political turmoil in Italy and the successful marketing of Compostela in Spain. Thirteenth-century popes put great efforts into making the journey to Rome more secure and developing resources for the pilgrims' welfare (the chapter on that subject is one of the most rounded and convincing in the book), highlighted the association with Christ of some Roman relics like the *Veronica*, and successfully promoted the policy of indulgences for the remission of sins, eventually drawing pilgrims back to Rome in great numbers during the 1300 Jubilee. One could regret some absent issues, such as the revival taking place in Rome itself in the twelfth century and observed notably through the refurbishment of churches like Sta Maria in Trastevere and San Clemente and the Cosmatis' work, which might have moderated the view of the city as essentially one of 'sound and fury', a view not entirely shared by R. Krautheimer, for example. One may challenge some arguments, such as the post tenth-century dating of the pilgrims' devouring interest in bodily relics: the stories related by Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great in the late sixth century show only too clearly how much earlier this became the norm. Nevertheless, we have here, with a useful bibliography, notably of primary sources, a clear, comprehensive and much needed work on a major aspect of medieval European life.

OXFORD

VERONICA ORTENBERG

Pilgrims and pilgrimage in the medieval west. By Diana Webb. (The International Library of Historical Studies, 12.) Pp. viii + 290. London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999. £39.50. 1 86064 191 1

Following a popular recent format, that of books which offer original sources in translation for student use, with contextualising introductions, Diana Webb's book is a collection of texts organised both chronologically and thematically with a concise preface. Part I surveys 'Pilgrimage down to the twelfth century'. Part II, 'European pilgrimage c. 1100–c. 1500', is divided into six sections: on penances, indulgences, hazards *en route*, souvenirs, pilgrims' wills and a case study of Pistoian pilgrims. Part III examines 'Pilgrimage in one country: England', with useful sections on 'Englishmen abroad' (surely this is a section which begs the use of inclusive language; the most famous medieval English pilgrim was, after all, Margery Kempe), pilgrimage within England, Scottish pilgrims and pilgrim sites, and European tastes in English pilgrimage sites. Part IV ends with a discussion of criticism of pilgrimage up to and into the Reformation. Some of the sources offer little scope for interpretation, such as the several entries from the *Inquisitiones post mortem*, since they are in no way exhaustive enough to offer quantifiable data on age distribution, but others are enticing. For example, the classificatory listing offered by that arch-inquisitor Bernard Gui of major and minor sites c. 1320 (p. 59), or the list of tariffs from Oudenarde of 1338, which quoted a price for the commutation of a pilgrimage vow for forty-six pilgrimage sites. The English material demonstrates from a variety of angles the political resonance of pilgrimage: not only that to 'political saints' but the effect of war on the movement of pilgrims (p. 189). Although neither exhaustive nor highly

analytical this volume will offer materials for courses on crusades, medieval lay spirituality and European travel.

QUEEN MARY AND WESTFIELD COLLEGE,
LONDON

MIRI RUBIN

Prefaces to canon law books in Latin Christianity. Selected translations, 500–1245.
Commentary and translation by Robert Somerville and Bruce
C. Brasington. Pp. viii + 247. New Haven–London: Yale University Press,
1998. £20. 0 300 07146 9

The prefaces to collections and commentaries on canonical texts are important and revealing documents. Somerville and Brasington have performed a singular service for students and the profession by translating and commenting on thirty-six of them. Their earliest text dates to 19 February 385, a letter of Pope Siricius to Bishop Himerius of Tarragona. This document is not a preface, but since this letter is the first that we can without any doubt label a ‘decretal’, that is a ‘papal ruling... <or> rescript in response to an appeal’ (Charles Duggan), its inclusion in this collection of documents is appropriate. The letter marks an important stage in the evolution of papal power.

Siricius answered almost twenty questions put to his recently deceased predecessor, Pope Damasus, on various topics ranging from heresy to married priests. Two points are important for the future: Himerius’ letter was read at the papal Curia in the midst of an ‘assembly of brethren’. Siricius’ implication is that he consulted the Roman clergy before responding. Secondly, he asked Himerius to send his response to the Carthaginians and to all the clergy in Spain. Over the next 800 years papal decretals would evolve as legal texts written with the counsel of the cardinals and endowed with legal force equal to the canons of councils and synods.

The prefaces reveal that the establishment of papal primacy came slowly. Although the compiler of the *Hispana* (The Spanish collection, c. 633) included papal decretals in the second half of the collection, his preface gives clear pride of place to conciliar canons in the hierarchy of ecclesiastical law. By the time of Somerville and Brasington’s last texts in this collection, dating to the early thirteenth century, the situation had changed dramatically. When Pope Gregory IX promulgated his new code of law, he did not mention conciliar canons. The focus of law and of his letter was on papal decretals. Since decretals were scattered in many volumes and were plagued with contradictions and repetitions, Gregory wished to gather those of his predecessors and his own decretals into one harmonious volume. His primary concern was to bring concord to papal decretal law since ‘dubious texts render uncertain testimony in court cases’ and to make papal case law the common law of Christendom. Although his compilation also contained conciliar law, it was no longer given pride of place – or even mentioned. Ultimately Gregory’s letter reflects a changing view of law even more than a changing ecclesiology. By 1234 law was no longer seen as resting on the decrees of the antique councils and long standing custom. Law was constantly evolving: ‘New questions... need to be resolved by new decisions’

in the words of Pope Honorius III's preface (1226) to his collection. Those decisions were not conciliar or local but papal and central.

However the pope did not make law by himself. After 800 years Siricius' amorphous 'assembly of brethren' evolved into a papal court in which the pope, the cardinals and 'others' bore the responsibility of deciding cases and creating law. Honorius ordered Tancred of Bologna to compile his 'decretal letters... in which we and (*vel*) our brothers the cardinals rendered judgements, and (*vel*), also, others to whom, with the counsel (*consilio*) of the cardinals, we delegated the authority to hear and decide cases'.

Somerville and Brasington have presented these texts with great care and accuracy. Their translations are fluent, clear and stripped, as far as possible, of the stilted prose that the Latin of these texts seems to impose on less talented translators. Yale University Press has done a service to the authors by producing a handsome volume; the Press could do a service to all of us by issuing a paperback that could be used in the classroom.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

KENNETH PENNINGTON

Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae. Edited by Pierre Cazier. (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 111.) Pp. xcvi + 361. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998. B.Fr. 7,782. 2 503 01111; 2 503 01112 8; 2 503 03000 9

The *Sententiae* of Isidore might have been thought to have sunk without trace. The book was last edited in 1797, by Arévalo (reprint in PL lxxxiii), and is not mentioned, so far as I can see, in Manitius. But it had a long medieval fortune, and Pierre Cazier, who has now given us a fine new text, knows of 520 manuscripts, some prodigiously early. One can see its attractions for the medieval reader. It constitutes 'la première *Somme théologique*': a series of chapters grouping together a number of separate views on topics all the way from 'Quod Deus summus et incommutabilis sit' (with the engaging variant 'intolerabilis') to 'De exitu', taking in fornication and wicked judges on the way. Augustine and Gregory the Great often lie behind the 'sentences', but there is much that will be Isidore's own, including two passages where he asks for God's mercy on himself by name. Cazier has been meticulous in tracking down the sources, though he might have done more to alert us to parallels with the *Etymologiae* (thus iii. 60. 5 = *Etym.* x. 164); and it is not mentioned that Isidore draws on two adjacent passages (14, 16) of Jerome's Letter 125 for different phrases in ii. 39. 23 and iii. 56. 2. As to the text, Cazier has done a distinct (and brave) service by choosing to 'proposer à la réflexion du lecteur un texte râpeux et difficile' (p. XC); this is the result of his surely correct judgement that the three manuscripts on which he founds his edition represent the faulty Latin that came from the pen of the author; in the apparatus we can see the partial attempt made in less sincere (though often equally early) manuscripts to right the faults. The *Etymologiae* benefited from the attentions of Isidore's friend Braulio; the *Sententiae*, fortunately, did not. The result is that we can see Spanish Latin of the sixth century in some of its transitional glory. Alongside, for example, the respectable iii. 43. 2 (from some untraced source? or something Braulio did get his hands on?) we find 'Quantum ergo bonum est qui pro Deo fratrem diligit, tanto

perniciosum qui eum pro seipso amplectit' (iii. 28. 5b). Cazier complements J. Fontaine's work on Isidore's *De natura rerum* with a discussion (pp. XXXIII–LIII) of some further features of Isidore's language on display here. It cannot be pretended that such eccentric (and uneven) diction makes it easy to edit the text. Cazier has chosen to use, besides his favoured trio, MDB, three other groups of manuscripts that represent various stages of correction, and also supplementation, of the original. This procedure does give a picture of an evolving tradition, though Cazier might have asked himself more pointedly what the relationship of MDB and the others really is. Wherever he can, he prints what this group gives him (pp. XC). But the three do not always agree; it may well be that B is at times subject to correction, and that as a result MD represent the original text. It could be that the Latin of Isidore is even worse than it sometimes looks in this intriguing and finely produced volume.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,
OXFORD

MICHAEL WINTERBOTTOM

Celtic Christianity. Making myths and chasing dreams. By Ian Bradley. Pp. x + 246 incl. 12 figs. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. £40 (cloth), £12.95 (paper). 0 7486 1048 0; 0 7486 1047 2

This is a very attractive book, extremely readable and well-written, a romp through the history of revivals of 'Celtic Christianity'. Its thesis is that there have been six such revivals since the 'Age of Saints', c. 500–c. 650.

The point is made in the introduction (p. 3) that it is usually outsiders of various kinds who do the 'reviving'. In later chapters we find that the revivers are usually monoglot English-speakers and English-writers. One result of this is that in most books on Celtic Christianity the original sources, in the Celtic languages or in Latin, are usually ignored, and when Gaelic has to be used (as in names) it is often spelt execrably. In this way Dr Bradley is a fairly exceptional historian: he generally checks his Gaelic and Welsh spellings and gets them right – though there is strangely consistent misspelling of the name of King *Laegaire*, who is supposed to have resisted St Patrick's attempts to convert him.

The first revival is dated c. 664–800, from the Synod of Whitby until the Viking invasions, and involves the composition of the early lives of Colum Cille and Patrick, and the writings of Bede. The author makes a good and interesting case for seeing these early hagiographers as the first to look back to a golden age we might now see as 'Celtic Christianity'. In relation to such an early period, however, it is far too early to use the word 'Celtic' which only comes into use (in its modern sense) in the sixteenth century. Two small points may be worth making here: first, Colum Cille was born in what is now Co. Donegal, which was in Ulster, not outside it (p. 215); and second, Richard Sharpe's important 1995 Penguin translation of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* is an English translation, not an edition (p. 37 n. 34, and p. 222 of that work).

The second revival covers the expansion of the Normans 1070–1220, and their need to relate themselves to the natives they conquered. The Romantic tradition they brought was adapted to incorporate such native things as Arthur and the dedication of Norman churches to Celtic saints. Discussion here of the *Céli Dé*, the

ascetic reform movement which came into being in late eighth-century Gaeldom, might benefit from additional reading of work which does not appear in the bibliography, including Peter O'Dwyer's *Céli Dé: spiritual reform in Ireland 750–900* (Dublin 1981), and Thomas O. Clancy's article 'Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in dark age Britain* (St Andrews 1996).

The period covered by the third chapter, 1250–1850, seems a bit overlong for a revival, but it is much concerned with the Reformation and its political implications, all of which caused some people to look back to a golden age when the early 'Celtic' Church was said to be in direct conflict with the continental or 'Roman' Church. This unsubstantiated view has persisted in some of the more recent revivals.

The beginnings of serious academic study of things Celtic, by means partly of philology and archaeology, bring us to chapter iv and the 'Celtic Christian revival in the later nineteenth century'. Here the literary and racial theories of Ernest Rénan and Matthew Arnold are important to the new revival, coupled with strongly expressed claims by each of the major Christian denominations to be the true descendant of the 'Celtic Church'.

The publication in 1900 of the first two volumes of Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* marks the start of new revival, 1900–70. With this collection and the scholarly work then under way on early Gaelic and Welsh verse, the revivers were presented with authentic literary texts which might have told them something useful about the history of Christian ideas in these islands, but they rigidly insisted on using them only in translation. This is especially clear in the final chapter, on 'The current revival', where none of the 'reviving' writers discussed are shown as having the slightest knowledge of any Celtic language.

Bradley is refreshingly critical of some of the less than saintly motives of the early revivals and some of the more fanciful ideas appearing in the later ones. But I think he misses one central point when he tells us (p. 200) that the 1980s saw a heightened general interest in Celtic spirituality 'as part of a wider fascination with all things Celtic'. Whatever 'fascination' may mean, not all things Celtic are of interest to revivers: in all the statements and books drawn on here the Celtic languages receive minimal attention. It is indeed as if the writers were talking of dead languages (one 1990 publisher's blurb, p. 212, calls the Celtic languages 'long extinct'). A clear distinction is noted in the last chapter between the academic and the popular treatments of Celtic Christianity, but the book does not always keep the two apart. The academic study of early Celtic Christianity, with the aim of establishing the historical facts, is an on-going and faltering one, but its failings are surely of an order quite different from the assorted simplicities propounded by enthusiastic and romantic writers, however well-intentioned, who feel free to base their statements on very little.

Some evidence for the importance of continued scholarship dealing with the 'real' Celtic Christianity can be seen on p. 228, where the author admits to having been himself something of a 'romantic' with regard to the 'Celtic' attitude to nature: he has now been 'forced' to revise these views by the appearance of several 'recently translated and published sources' and critical works by serious scholars. It is to be hoped that others who have accepted uncritically some of the romantic simplicities will now follow suit and join the scholars' quest for truth.

The 'popular' interest in 'Celtic Christianity' is, in Bradley's words (p. 189), driven by 'romantic nostalgia and wishful thinking' and, more prominently in earlier revivals, by 'denominational point-scoring'. But if Christianity is concerned with truth, then surely Christians ought to be casting very cold eyes on any 'Celtic Christianity' which we learn about in such suspect ways.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

COLM Ó BAOILL

Gallia pontificia. Répertoire des documents concernant les relations entre la papauté et les églises et monastères en France avant 1198, I: Diocèse de Besançon. By Bernard de Vregille, René Locatelli and Gérard Moyse. (Regesta Pontificum Romanorum.) Pp. 372 incl. 7 maps. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998. DM 178. 3 525 36034 7

This is the first volume in what will be a major series. Exploiting a very large number of archives and collections, de Vregille, Locatelli and Moyse have tracked down all extant papal letters and charters sent to the diocese of Besançon before 1198, along with letters from members of the Curia, conciliar decisions relating to Besançon, reports from papal judges delegate, and the rare letters that survive from the inhabitants of the diocese to the Curia. Following in the main the format worked out by Paul Kehr for *Italia pontificia*, the editors have divided their material into sections concerned with the archbishopric, the cathedral chapters, the various abbeys and colleges of seculars, the monastic orders, both male and female, the military orders, and finally individuals who attracted papal attention. Each section is preceded by a brief but lucid historical introduction in French, well-illustrated by maps showing the distribution of possessions or houses across the diocese. The editors have then printed a summary in Latin of each document under the name of the abbey or monastery to which it refers; this necessitates some repetition, since many charters or judgements affected more than one house. The source for each document and its date are given in French, with references to recent historiography and additional editorial comment where necessary; known forgeries are clearly marked. In sum, the volume is well organised and clearly set out. It sheds intriguing if flickering light on about 800 years of Christian history in an area through which popes and pilgrims regularly journeyed on their way to or from the Great St Bernard Pass, where Columbanian, Cluniac and Cistercian monasteries flourished in turn, along with many other lesser orders, where the relative weakness of imperial control may explain to some extent the frequency of papal legations. The attacks on Besançon by a noble of Charles the Fat, the lengthy quarrel between the canons of St John and those of St Stephen over which was the original cathedral chapter, the disputes over possession of salt works, the confusion caused in the diocese by the actions of Frederick Barbarossa's antipopes, are among other incidents that should attract more attention from historians now that they can draw on this useful volume. It augurs well for the standing of the series as a whole.

ST ANNE'S COLLEGE,
OXFORD

JEAN DUNBABIN

Theodoros Studites (759–826). Zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Studioklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch. By Thomas Pratsch. (Berliner byzantinistische Studien, 4.) Pp. xxxiii + 353. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998. DM 98 (£36) (paper). 3 631 33877 5; 0945 3598

The publication of the long-awaited critical edition of the letters of Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) by George Fatouros in 1992 was a landmark in scholarship on this complex and somewhat controversial ninth-century Byzantine churchman. The present study by Thomas Pratsch, which originated as a doctoral dissertation directed by Paul Speck (who himself did pioneering work on Theodore's iambic poems) at the Byzantine faculty of the Free University of Berlin, is a direct fruit of Fatouros's labours and provides the reader with an updated monograph on Theodore's life and work. It presents a meticulously documented chronology and discussion of the main events in Theodore's life, during the course of which, as the author indicates in the introduction (p. 4), an attempt is made to redefine the personality and characteristics of Theodore in a way that takes full account of weaknesses as well as strengths, failures as well as successes, and his activities in the light of beliefs (hence *Zwischen Dogma und Pragma*). There is an evident need for a new look at Theodore given the conflicting portrayals found in past biographical sketches that present him either as a great saint, a papist and defender of dogma, truth and the independence of the Church, or, on the contrary, as a fanatical political activist with a personal agenda. In achieving his objective Pratsch brings together all the most recent, especially German, historical scholarship on the period, whilst revisiting the primary sources (especially prominent for the period under Leo V), and also looks at Theodore's political activities in the light of his family relationships and connections. A prosopographical analysis of Theodore's family is given in chapter i. Pratsch concludes among other things that, unlike what is stated in much of the hagiography and early Catholic scholarship, Theodore's acclaimed 'achievements' need to be contextualised by his personal shortcomings (among which Pratsch notes the uncompromising streak in his character) and other realities, such as the fact of being overshadowed in important ways by Patriarch Nikephoros. Yet at the same time Theodore is made out to be more than a political activist. What the author does not provide, however, and what he purposely excludes as being outside the scope of his work (p. 305), is an analysis of Theodore's thought in the light of his monastic principles or an examination of the disputes from the point of view of Theodore's professed theology. This is rather surprising given the title of the book. The Catecheses and the letters with theological content, accordingly, are underused as a source to investigate Theodore's personality and outlook. Despite this criticism Pratsch's work has outstanding merits and achieves its aim of making a notable contribution towards a full new biography of Theodore of Stoudios. It has an introduction, which gives a useful if brief analysis of the sources, nine chapters covering the different stages of Theodore's life, a summary and an appendix with further historical data. An ample bibliography and index complete the work.

LONDON

ROMAN CHOLIJ

Before the closet. Same-sex love from Beowulf to Angels in America. By Allen J. Frantzen. Pp. x+369 incl. 12 ills. Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998. £27.50. o 226 26091 7

One overriding objective guides Allen Frantzen's fine account of same-sex love in early English culture, 'approximately AD 600 to 1200' (p. 1). This objective is to get things right in three areas – methodology, textual interpretation and our own understanding of the contemporary scene. Historical studies today of same-sex relations must face the challenge posed by queer theory, which would dictate the correct methodology. Although distancing himself from what he calls 'liberationist' queer theory, he redirects it to what he terms its 'legitimist' form, which acknowledges the presence of same-sex relations as a pervasive shadow in predominantly heteronormative cultures (pp. 15, 68–9). Getting the texts right involves getting them and interpreting them. The central chapters (chs ii–v) provide a wide variety of texts ranging from Anglo-Saxon epic, prose and poetry, through Anglo-Saxon translations of Latin works, to Latin works by such English authors as Boniface, Bede and Alcuin. Of particular significance is Frantzen's treatment of Anglo-Saxon vernacular penitentials, which have been neglected by writers on the penitentials, a treatment enhanced by Frantzen's current editorial work on these texts. The author's reading is guided by a sensitivity to the possible range of same-sex relations, for example, lord–retainer, friendship, love, erotic, sexual. To adapt his praise for another book Frantzen 'works within the language and the cultural contexts of a wide array of [Anglo-Saxon] texts' (p. 112). But he notes that when same-sex relations are explicitly sexual they are invariably condemned (p. 69). The core textual study is complemented by an insightful examination of the historiography of the Anglo-Saxons from three periods, Anglo-Norman England, the fourteenth century and the English Reformation (ch. vi). This chapter concludes with an analysis of Tony Kushner's *Angels in America*. Without impugning the drama as art Frantzen is disappointed that it does not get right the message for today. The book concludes with an afterword recording the author's personal reflections which reinforce one of his objectives: 'to show that by unfolding the subtleties of the early medieval evidence we gain perspective on the discourse surrounding same-sex relations today' (p. 3). The author gets the methodology right, deals with the texts in a masterful way, and, I believe, advances the reader's understanding of same-sex relations in today's world. The publishers are to be thanked for allowing a generous use of Anglo-Saxon citations followed immediately by their translations.

MOUNT SAINT VINCENT UNIVERSITY,
NOVA SCOTIA

PIERRE J. PAYER,

Vision and meaning in ninth-century Byzantium. Image as exegesis in the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. By Leslie Brubaker. (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 6.) Pp. xxiv+489 incl. 122 ills+55 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £60. o 521 62153 4

Produced in Constantinople between AD 879 and 882 for the Emperor Basil I and his queen, Eudocia, the spectacular manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus now in the Bibliothèque nationale and known as Paris gr. 510, is

one of the most lavish and certainly the most discussed illuminated books in Byzantine art. It is one of the major monuments of the period immediately following the end of the Iconoclast Controversy in 843, but is of unique historical significance in being the only securely dated Byzantine manuscript from the second half of the ninth century and the earliest surviving illustrated book made for a Byzantine emperor. Leslie Brubaker's lavish and comprehensive study (one can only lament its lack of colour reproductions) is a model art-historical discussion. Brubaker sites the miniatures in their ninth-century Iconophile cultural context, exploring the relatively narrow issues of how the images relate to the texts they illuminate and their iconography as well as the larger cultural themes of art as sacred exegesis and as vision of divinity. She also examines the role of the miniatures in visual panegyric of the emperor and in visual polemic against heretics, a feature which the book shares with other ninth-century manuscripts such as the Khludov Psalter. With its wide *comparanda* of contemporary imagery and themes, Brubaker's book is more than just the discussion of single manuscript; rather, it uses the 'Paris Gregory' as an emblem to explicate the much broader context of the response to iconoclasm and the development of a mature Middle Byzantine theological imagery. If there is one oddity about the book, it lies in the admission with which the author closes her preface (p. xix): neither she nor any other scholar (except one) since the Second World War has actually opened the book. Apparently the paint is flaking so badly from the miniatures that even the current Conservateur has not dared to do so. Given the traditional strength of art history as a discipline in which the scholar can claim a special relationship with and knowledge of his or her chosen objects, one wonders how different Brubaker's book would have been had she had the chance actually to handle the 'Paris Gregory'. Can the actual object, known at first hand, make no difference at all to the final scholarly study?

COURTAULD INSTITUTE,
LONDON

JAS' ELSNER

Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge. Genèse du livre de l'évêque. By Niels Krogh Rasmussen OP and Marcel Haverals AA (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et Documents, Fasc. 49.) Pp. 580 incl. 16 black-and-white plates. Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998. B.Fr. 4,900 (paper).

This volume, long awaited, represents part of the work for his Paris doctorate, and beyond, completed by Neils Rasmussen before his untimely and much regretted death in 1987. The title is, as his introduction acknowledges, more sweeping than is quite justified by the book itself, hefty though it is: but the model (or spectre) of the overwhelming five-volume *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (1931–61) of Rasmussen's ultimate master, Michel Andrieu, looms large; and if the present work is far from definitive in the way that Andrieu's has remained, it is none the less highly useful. The great bulk of the work (pp. 33–428), as prepared for publication by Marcel Haverals, consists of extremely detailed catalogues of the contents of eight as yet unedited pontificals of the ninth through eleventh century: one each in Albi, St Petersburg, Leyden, London, Reims and the Vatican, and two in Paris. (There follow, in only a few pages, summary notes

on a number of other manuscripts and fragments and on modern printed editions.) The longest of these is the description of the Anderson pontifical, (British Library, ms Add. 57333) which runs to more than ninety pages: having just been through that manuscript with the aid of Rasmussen's description, I can testify that there is virtually no detail of importance that he has not provided. The plates, though few in number, are beautifully clear. (No one should be confused by the caption for the pair showing the Dunstan pontifical (Paris, BN lat. 943) which instead reads 843; Rasmussen argues, not quite convincingly, for the alternative ascription to Sherborne.) The catalogue material is extremely helpful, but it seems likely that the meat of the work was meant to be what follows the catalogue, the 'Essai de typologie'. This aims to establish a typology for these episcopal documents and attempts to apply it, but in no more than seventy pages – somewhat less than the scale of a fascicle in the Brepols series, 'Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental', specifically alluded to here. Anything like a comprehensive working out of the extraordinarily complex and (as Rasmussen recognised clearly) important problems posed by the surviving high medieval pontificals remains to be accomplished. It is saddening to note that Rasmussen himself could have done this better than anyone else since Andrieu.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL

RICHARD W. PFAFF

Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum. The acts of William I (1066–1087). Edited by David Bates. Pp. xxxviii + 1153. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. £95. 0 19 820674 7

At last, an edition of William the Conqueror's charters that would have rejoiced the hearts of Léopold Delisle and F. W. Maitland, who called for such a publication over a hundred years ago. David Bates's magnificent work supplies full texts with critical apparatus and historical notes of 355 acts issued by the king and by his two vice-regents, Queen Mathilda and Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Seventy-four of the documents, chiefly of Norman and French origin, were unknown to H. W. C. Davis, whose calendar of William's charters, published in 1913 as the first section of the first volume of *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, is now entirely superseded. Bates has also weeded out from Davis's list thirty-seven texts, mostly totally spurious (i.e. not remotely connected with any authentic charter of the Conqueror) or wrongly attributed.

There are 144 acts for Norman and continental beneficiaries: 107 Norman, nine Manceau and twenty-eight for outside William's territories. Thus a substantial body of non-English material is now available for study. In fact, in terms of numbers of beneficiaries, the 211 English acts form a slightly smaller sample, representing forty institutions and four individuals, against forty-nine non-English religious houses. As the evidence indicates that production was mainly by beneficiaries, the publication of this collection allows a better understanding of the continental dimension in the Conqueror's documentary output. Bates's new itinerary of the king, by removing some of the English visits entered by Davis on the basis of forged charters, demonstrates that he spent more time in Normandy and France than in England: he was in Normandy for at least a few months in every year of his reign and spent almost the whole of 1067 and

1087 and the entire years 1077, 1078 and 1079 in Normandy or on campaigns around its borders.

The introduction, which occupies a mere 109 pages, provides a masterly survey of the diplomatic, in which Bates classifies and discusses the main features of the diplomas, *pancartes* and reports of pleas and *conventiones* from Normandy; the continental acts; and the vernacular, bilingual and Latin writs, the diplomas and the reports of pleas from England. These complexities are explained with admirable lucidity. There is also an important section on the royal and ducal style, documenting William's personal transformation into a king.

In his study of William I's chancery Bates has been unable to find any other chancery scribe to add to the single one who wrote diplomas for Cluny and Fécamp and a writ for Westminster and was identified by Bishop and Chaplais over forty years ago. It is not simply that few originals survive; a high proportion of those that do can be shown to have been written by the beneficiaries (for example, twenty-three out of forty-three original diplomas). Yet the term *cancellarius* (though not *cancellaria*) was familiar in the Conqueror's reign. Taking Simon Keynes's arguments a stage further, Bates also sees a fundamental continuity, and suggests that for eleventh-century England and Normandy, both before and after the Conquest, a chancery should be defined as an organisation responsible not for production but for the validation of acts, and a chancellor not as an officer in charge of a writing-office but as an inspector overseeing the activity of writing. The high importance of the chancellor's role, as Bates points out, is attested by the facts that there was a continuous series of chancellors throughout William's reign and that all these chancellors were promoted to bishoprics.

Bates discerns signs of growing central control and intervention, particularly in England and in writs, pointing to the continuation of pre-1066 formulae in Old English writs produced in the first years of the reign, the abrupt change from the vernacular to Latin in *c.* 1070, and the considerable changes in the diplomatic form of writs after that date. In Norman diplomas, too, Bates sees evidence of a stronger central direction with the reduction of preambles and corroborations and the increased use of the seal. The mechanisms by which this control was exercised are unknown, and Bates does not speculate, though one would imagine that a written formulary of some sort was in existence, as well as a recognised process of submission to the chancellor's scrutiny of drafts made by beneficiaries.

The long list of manuscripts from which the texts are drawn gives only a limited view of the amount of research that has gone into the collection of texts, for Bates does not print the even longer list of manuscripts he must have consulted that did not yield acts of the Conqueror. The texts are arranged by beneficiary and are given full English summaries. The historical notes are particularly valuable, not only giving dating criteria, but placing each act in its historical context, sometimes showing how its text accumulated through a period of time, first through the drafting process and later through modification and interpolation of copies. The Latin and Old English are edited impeccably, the critical apparatus is scrupulous, and it is possible at a glance to survey the entire textual tradition in manuscript and print.

The book is well produced and attractive in appearance. There are good indices to the Latin forms – an Index verborum and an Index personarum et

locorum. A minor blemish may be mentioned: although the arrangement is by beneficiary and the internal references are to the numbers of the acts, neither of these factors is indicated in the running headings, so that particular charters are sometimes difficult to find.

The publication of *The acta of William I* is a milestone in Anglo-Norman studies, both measuring the distance already travelled and pointing the way forward. It is an example of the kind of major book that can be achieved only through the tireless effort and commitment of an individual researcher, drawing from time to time on the help of others, but essentially in command of every detail of the enterprise. The result is a harmonious whole, in which the quality of David Bates's scholarship shines out from every page.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

DIANA GREENWAY

The Jews in medieval Normandy. A social and intellectual history. By Norman Golb. Pp. xxxii + 621 incl. 19 maps and 69 figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £55. 0 521 58032 3

Among historians Norman Golb is well-known for his controversial views on the building excavated in the courtyard of the Palais de Justice in Rouen in 1976. Although many French scholars are convinced to this day that the uncovered building is a synagogue, Golb has claimed the structure as the medieval rabbinical academy of Rouen. Since that time Golb has conducted an enormous amount of research to convince scholars of the importance of Jewish life in medieval Normandy and the impact of a thriving Jewish intellectual and cultural centre on the history of Normandy. Central to his argument is his interpretation of a number of medieval sources containing the toponym Rodom. It is Golb's contention that these sources refer to Rouen. If they do, a considerable amount of hitherto unknown evidence has been uncovered concerning the history of the Jews of medieval Rouen. The purpose of publishing his findings in a full-length volume in English is to stimulate medieval historians to draw on Hebrew as well as Latin sources for their research. Ignoring the history of the Jews is done at the cost of writing good history. Golb, for one, writes with much conviction and he is very good at making his Hebrew material both accessible and interesting to a non Hebrew-reading audience. It will be for experts in medieval Hebrew orthography, palaeography and codicology to assess his findings. Golb's assertion that the history of the Jews is essential for a true understanding of European history is an important point which is steadily gaining the wider acceptance it deserves. Unfortunately his own treatment of the wider history of Normandy, France and the Crusades will do little to convert to his cause those who still doubt the necessity of integrating general and Jewish history. For Golb himself relies on very dated material. To give only a few examples which concentrate on intellectual aspects, it is strange to still find Haskins cited as the expert on the transmission of Arabic material to the scholars of the twelfth-century renaissance. Not to mention the work of Richard Southern when one is arguing for the importance of Jewish thought on the development of Christian thinking is odd when Southern has argued so strongly that Jewish objections to the Incarnation had a traceable impact on Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur deus homo*. Nor does one

find a reference to W. C. Jordan's excellent analysis of the accretion of Capetian power firmly within the context of their dealings with the Jews under their authority. Gilbert Dahan, too, who has recently published an enormous book on Christian–Jewish intellectual interaction is also left unmentioned, as is Aryeh Grabois's work and that of Ivan Marcus. Integration of Hebrew and Latin scholarship is vital, but the integration must be encouraged from both directions.

LUCY CAVENDISH COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA

The pagan Middle Ages. Edited by Ludo J. R. Milis. (Trans. by Tanis Guest of *De Heidense Middeleeuwen*. Brussels–Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1991.) Pp. vii + 160 incl. 8 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998. £30. 0 85115 638 X

This collection attempts to show that pagan belief and practice resisted the spread of Christianity and remained a vital force in medieval religious life. The editor opens with observations on recent historiography which tend towards caricature: 'it seems to us quite wrong to present matters as though one religion, embodied in one Church with one truth, had simply swept over and crushed paganism and superstition, liberating humanity from polytheistic darkness'. Few historians would now take such a view, certainly not Valerie Flint, Patrick Geary, Henry Mayr-Harting or Miri Rubin, none of whom is mentioned in the notes or bibliography. Yet some of the essays are not ineffective: Martine De Reu surveys contacts between Christian missionaries and pagans. He argues for mutual adaptation of paganism and Christianity but concludes that we end up with 'modified Christianity' in the wake of the conversions: not quite the pagan Middle Ages we were promised. Alain Dierkens follows with an intelligent, sceptical discussion of what archaeology cannot tell us about religious belief, putting a plausible case for more subtle accommodations of paganism and Christianity than written sources suggest. Christophe Lebbe's discussion of death fails to grapple with the problem of heavy borrowing in penitentials and descries unrealistically sharp distinctions between elite and 'popular' belief. Adnick Waegeman's 'The medieval sibyl' offers some interesting ideas, but comparing classical and medieval 'sibyls' tells us little that is new about medieval visionaries. Véronique Charon's essay on herb-lore is more effective, skilfully teasing out 'popular' medical ideas from Hildegard of Bingen's *Physica*. In sum, the collection seems misconceived; the best essays eschew laboured attempts to seek out paganism and find more fruitful lines of enquiry.

MAGDALENE COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

C. S. WATKINS

English canon law. Essays in honour of Bishop Eric Kemp. Edited by Norman Doe, Mark Hill and Robert Ombres. Pp. xvii + 153 incl. frontispiece. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998. £30. 0 7083 1478 3

Canon law is often seen as a rather arcane business, but the contributors to this readable and beautifully-produced collection treat it as an aspect of the Church

living in the real world. Subjects range from the Middle Ages to the present, and 'canon law' is taken in a broad sense and related to ecclesiology. Gillian Evans and Brian Ferme consider Lanfranc, Anselm and Lyndwood; Richard Helmholz argues that the modern legal view that canons do not bind the laity was not held in 1603; and Gerald Bray shows how inflated views of the importance of the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* influenced the 1857 divorce act.

Among the more contemporary issues, ecumenism and Britain's 'entry into Europe' stand out. Robert Ombres and Christopher Hill gauge the degree of ecumenism in recent Roman Catholic law and the possibility of convergence in the Anglican and Roman understandings of episcopacy. Thomas Glyn Watkin suggests that national Churches must adapt to the new supra-national Europe, while David McClean shows that, contrary to the common anglophone impression that Establishment is an oddity, Church-State links are as much the norm as the exception in Europe. David Harte finds in the law relating to religious education the philosophy of a society neither secular nor sectarian but 'genuinely pluralist'.

Rupert Bursell, Norman Doe and Mark Hill deal with more strictly legal questions with clarity and erudition. This fine tribute to Bishop Kemp would be of interest to a wider readership than that of canon-law specialists.

UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA

BRUCE S. BENNETT

The scriptorium and library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105. By Frances Newton. (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 7.) Pp. xxvi + 422 incl. 82 figs + 4 colour and 212 black-and-white plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £110. 0 521 58395 0

This is a rare bird, a lavishly illustrated palaeographical work published in England by an English publisher and it is a substantial (and heavy) book. The distinctive script written at Monte Cassino dubbed 'Beneventan' has long been known but mostly from reproductions of grand liturgical manuscripts. This book is concerned with all the manuscripts produced during the greatest period of the life of the abbey scriptorium. There is an introductory chapter followed by chapters on the manuscripts produced under abbots Theobald (1022–35/37), Desiderius (1058–87) and Oderisius (1087–1105). There follows a long chapter (some 110 pages) on palaeographical matters, including script, scribes (not all local scribes wrote Beneventan script), ligatures, abbreviations, punctuation, rubrication and initials. The last two chapters are concerned with manuscripts imported to the abbey, written evidence, including catalogues and booklists, and some concluding observations concerning the place of Monte Cassino (authors and manuscripts) in a European setting. Some sixty-five pages are taken up with detailed commentaries on the plates, nearly all showing their subjects at same size. This is more than a purely palaeographical work, for Newton is acutely aware that script was used to write texts and his book discusses the content of the manuscripts as well as their production. There is a substantial literature on Monte Cassino and Newton has made extensive use of it to support his enquiries as well as using and referring to relevant literature on a wide range of subjects. Newton also provides English translations for the many quotations from Latin

sources. The single most important finding of this book is the redating of many manuscripts (a few by fifty years or more) and the single most important feature is the reproduction of the more modest products of the scriptorium, many well known for the importance of their texts. I find Newton's account of the chronological development of the script and his redating of manuscripts very persuasive. Therefore this is an important work for all students of script and scriptoria and for cultural historians and one which no scholar using the evidence of Monte Cassino manuscripts should ignore. There is a substantial bibliography, subject index and a very thorough index of manuscripts.

Carefully copy-edited, the text of this book, although perfectly intelligible, could have been improved in the clarity of its presentation by informed and sensitive editorial intervention. As in the earlier books of this important series that I have seen, the typeface is unsuitable for the paper on which the book is printed (the printing itself is excellent), and some of the details of the design of the book are not entirely suitable for this particular text. (The secret of good design, like good palaeographical work, lies in the success of the treatment of detail.) Notwithstanding this, Newton's rich study is a monument to a lifetime well spent in observation and thoughtful consideration of a very important group of texts and manuscripts.

THE RED GULL PRESS

MICHAEL GULLICK

The chronicle of John of Worcester, III: The annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester interpolations and continuation to 1141. Edited and translated by Patrick McGurk. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Pp. liv+351 incl. 4 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. £55. 0 19 820702 6

John of Worcester deserves a foremost place among the chroniclers of medieval England. His *Chronica ex chronicis*, covering the period from the Creation of the World until 1140, ensured that the Anglo-Saxon tradition of chronicle writing survived the Norman Conquest. Inevitably, as Latin replaced Old English as the language of the learned under the new regime, the Anglo-Saxon chronicle itself petered out. However, it was one of John's principal sources to 1131 and, by translating the annals into Latin, he transmitted not only their content, but also the practice in monasteries of writing annals. But he interpolated his borrowings from the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, which concentrated on English affairs, to suit his chronicle to the more European outlook of his times. For this purpose his main source to 1076 was the universal chronicle of Marianus Scotus, monk of Fulda. John of Worcester, indeed, can claim to be the founder of the monastic chronicle in medieval England. Copies of the *Chronica ex chronicis* up to 1130 reached other monasteries where it was adapted to reflect the interests of its new homes, and continued. Copies were at Abingdon, Bury St Edmunds and Peterborough. Moreover, John himself wrote an abbreviated version, his self-styled *Chronicula*, to 1123: this went to Gloucester, where it was interpolated and continued to 1141, but it still included material from Worcester. Apart from their historiographical importance, the *Chronica ex chronicis* and *Chronicula* are valuable primary sources for political and ecclesiastical affairs from 1128 to 1140 and 1141 respectively, especially for events in Worcester and Gloucester and their neighbourhoods. Despite the importance of these texts, medievalists have had to wait a long time

for a scholarly edition. They have had to rely on the very unsatisfactory edition by Benjamin Thorpe (English Historical Society, 1848, 1849). The section of the *Chronica ex chronicis* to 1118 was previously attributed to Florence of Worcester, and a useful edition of the annals from 1118 to 1140 was printed, as a continuation of Florence by John of Worcester, by J. R. H. Weaver (*Anecdota Oxoniensis*, 1908). Then R. R. Darlington undertook an edition of the complete text (excluding the section before 450), attributing the whole to John. When he died in 1977 he had completed a draft text of the annals from 450 to 1066. His task was taken over by Patrick McGurk, for an edition, with English translation, in three volumes for Oxford Medieval Texts. Volume ii appeared in 1995, containing the annals from 450 to 1067 and appendices with the interpolated and marginal additions in the Abingdon and Bury versions. And now volume iii has appeared with the annals from 1067 to 1140, besides the Gloucester interpolations and the continuation to 1141. As before, the additions in the Abingdon and Bury versions are printed in appendices. Volume i is still awaited. It will comprise an introduction, with discussion of the textual tradition, John's sources and method of working, and an indication of the contents of the (unprinted) section before 450: it will also print some related texts. However, McGurk has provided enough explanation in the introductions to the present volumes to make the texts perfectly comprehensible. He acknowledges his debts in elucidating the textual tradition to Darlington and Weaver, but most especially to Martin Brett for his seminal article in R. H. C. Davis and J. W. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The writing of history in the Middle Ages: essays presented to R. W. Southern* (1981). The textual tradition is of exceptional interest. The annals from 1138 to 1140 in the key manuscript, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 157, are in John's own hand (and so is the *Chronacula*, Trinity College, Dublin, MS 503, to 1123). This text is a draft, subject to constant alteration by erasure, re-writing, interlineation and by the addition of material in the margins. Study of the manuscript and its collation with the Abingdon, Bury and Gloucester versions, reveal the evolution of the chronicle. No other chronicler in John's time has left such a clear picture of his working method. It is good to have at last an edition which does full justice to the value and interest of John's chronicle. McGurk provides an excellent account of John's sources and of the chronicle's importance as a record of historical facts. In his footnotes to the text he supplies textual details, collation with related texts and a detailed commentary on the subject matter. It is unavoidable that an edition, however excellent, of so complex and wide-ranging a work should have a few minor slips and shortcomings. In the translation 'usque ad' is twice translated as 'up to' where the sense demands 'down to': the cask of wine which miraculously partly emptied at Prum would have done so *down to* (not *up to*) the bung-hole (or tap) (pp. 238/9); and 'comes Mellentinus' should be 'count of Meulan', not 'earl of Meulan' (pp. 258/8). A puzzle arises over the translation of the passage referring to the veneration by Benedict, abbot of Tewkesbury, of the Virgin Mary. John writes: 'Diatim nanque horis decantatis aut missam ipse festive celebrare aut audire solebat in illius honore.' This is translated: 'Chanting the hours every day, he would either celebrate on a festival or hear a mass in her honour'. The meaning would seem to be that Benedict '... would either celebrate a mass festively' (or perhaps 'joyously'?) 'himself, or hear [a mass] in her honour' (pp. 222/3). The volume has a good index but more exact identification

of secular magnates, with the usual cross-references, would have been helpful. For example, Waleran, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester, appears in the translation variously as 'earl (*sic*) of Meulan' (pp. 256/7) and 'earl of the city of Worcester' (p. 274/5), but is indexed simply as 'Waleran, count of Meulan', with no cross-reference from 'Meulan' or 'Worcester'. (Bishops, abbots and the like are properly indexed in the normal way.) There are useful subject headings, but regrettably none for 'miracles', 'visions', or for the cult of the Virgin Mary. Scholars using chronicles as quarries for information concerning their specialisms badly need such aids. But, overall, this edition is a most impressive achievement and of the highest scholarly standard.

CLARE HALL,
CAMBRIDGE

ANTONIA GRANDEN

The monastic order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215. By Janet Burton. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th Ser. 40.) Pp. xxii + 354 incl. 3 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £40. 0 521 55229 X

This is a judicious book on a region and a period which has received much attention in recent years, that is, Anglo-Norman Yorkshire, a place on which four monographs have been published in the past five years. The historiography of monastic Yorkshire in that period is by no means slim, having received consistent academic attention since A. Hamilton Thompson presided at Leeds between the wars. The fact that three of the greatest early English Cistercian houses were in York diocese further enlarges the large bibliography at the back of Dr Burton's book. To that extent, this could not have been an easy book to write. But Burton manages to pull together her diverse sources and the chattering of many commentators into a sensible and coherent study, which does its level best to include every possible aspect that such a study might broach, including areas which have not had a great amount of attention from previous historians; notably monastic advocacy, nunneries (integrating Burton's own earlier studies), political motives for foundations and putative 'northernness' in the cloister. Only liturgy escapes the net. Although welcome, these themes are not always successful, due to the thinness of the evidence. Not much can be said on aspects of secular advocacy in Yorkshire, because the sources have little to say. Much of the material on nunneries is delicate work on uncertain and poorly-documented foundations. But in her strong suits – monastic foundation and administration – Burton is formidable, particularly on St German's, Selby and St Mary's, York. She has some firm revisions to make of the recent work of Paul Dalton on the way monastic orders became involved with lay ambitions in Stephen's reign in Yorkshire. By her redating of key events, it seems that the monks were not after all routinely deployed as auxiliaries to lay regional ambition. At the same time, she does have something to add to Dalton's suggestions that monastic foundations were designed to assist peacemaking in the region. There is therefore much to recommend this book as a fine study of a diocese's monasticism in a time of expansion.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
SCARBOROUGH

DAVID CROUCH

Le carte capitolo della cattedrale di Verona, I: (1101–1151). Edited by Emanuela Lanza. (Fonti per la Storia della Terraferma Veneta, 13.) Pp. lxxxvi + 340 + 4 plates. Rome: Viella, 1998. L. 90,000. 88 85669 72 7

This handsomely-presented first volume of charters from the cathedral chapter of Verona is one of the latest in Viella's series on the Veneto region. The charters themselves have of course recently been exploited by studies of the city's ecclesiastical history, most notably in Maureen Miller's *Formation of a medieval church* (Ithaca–London 1993) and Cristina La Rocca's *Pacifico di Verona* (Rome 1995). Nevertheless, the present edition includes a stimulating discussion (pp. v–lix) of the chapter's social and political history by Andrea Castagnetti, himself the author of many notable studies on the region, as well as a briefer discussion by Ezio Barbieri (pp. lxi–lxx) of the Veronese notariate in the twelfth century. Castagnetti, in particular, is at pains to clarify and explain the contents of the early twelfth-century documents in relation to the cathedral chapter's earlier history, and this provides a rich source of information for the non-specialist. Verona's geographical and political position, for example, leads to the inclusion of a multiplicity of legal traditions in the charters. The precision with which document authors state which type of law they are following is also testimony to the legal sophistication of the notaries, and Barbieri (p. lxvi) suggests that references to Roman law are often to be attributed to an actual survival of rudimentary knowledge rather than the influence of Bologna and its burgeoning law schools. This does not appear to prevent the phenomenon, visible elsewhere in Italy, of a clash in terminologies between the law professed and the legal customs followed in the documents themselves (for example, in the first document, Boniface the deacon, professing to live by Roman law, none the less receives the wholly Germanic *launechilt* in an exchange). The charters, 137 in all (only nineteen of which have found previous editors from Ughelli onwards, including Castagnetti), are of immense interest in illuminating the chapter's relationship with a major Veronese dynasty, the Turrisenzi; with the bishops of Verona including the predatory Tebaldu; and with the early commune, whose first period of control overlaps the latter fifteen years covered by the collection. With comprehensive indices and a substantial bibliography, the collection forms a valuable resource for an integrated history of the cathedral chapter, the city and the political and social patterns visible in the Veneto region in this time of upheaval.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

PATRICIA SKINNER

English medieval books. The Reading Abbey collections from foundation to dispersal. By Alan Coates. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xxii + 212 + 9 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £40. 0 19 820756 5

Reading was a royal foundation of 1121 settled with monks from Cluny and this book is based upon the 128 manuscripts of known Reading or Leominster (Reading's important daughter house) provenance plus three printed books. Coates notes that 'This study is neither a textual analysis of particular works to be found in the Reading book collections nor an in-depth palaeographical examination of every Reading manuscript. It is intended to be a historical

overview of the book collections as a whole.' The first chapter outlines the history of the abbey and another (a weak chapter) the basic palaeographical and codicological features of the fifty-seven twelfth-century manuscripts, many probably locally made; these are divided into two main chronological groups. Other chapters deal with the monks and books at Oxford University, the growth and management of the collection (surviving inscriptions, such as those of donation, are printed and discussed), and the post-Dissolution dispersal of the library, initially mostly into Catholic hands (a good chapter). There is one chapter in which the library as represented by the late twelfth-century catalogue (dated here *c.* 1180 × 1191) is compared to the holdings described in catalogues from Durham (s.xii med.) and Rochester (1202) and another in which the content of the later manuscripts (mostly s.xiii) is examined. (The nature of medieval catalogues is not explored and no reason is given for the use of the Durham or Rochester documents.) This work is based almost entirely on wide reading in the secondary literature and weaves together a wide range of evidence with illustrations and observations drawn from the Reading books. This emphasis explains the main title (*English medieval books*) and the study deals perfectly adequately with those matters it chose to address, although it is not certain to whom it is addressed. The book is hardly suitable for popular reading but its declared purpose limits its ability to answer most questions that might be asked of the books and Reading's place in cultural history. It concludes with a handlist of the manuscripts and printed books arranged by century (only the contents and evidence of provenance and ownership are itemised), a bibliography and two indices, one of manuscripts and one general. The nine plates (all but one same size) have informative captions.

Throughout the text and footnotes Coates refers to items in medieval catalogues, including the Reading lists, by the *sigla* and numbering system employed in the *Corpus of British medieval library catalogues*. A curious editorial decision was not to number the individual entries in five Reading booklists re-edited here (they are in vol. iv of the *Corpus*) and this makes it tiresome either to check or refer to items in the editions or to cite them.

I can add here a hitherto unknown Reading manuscript, containing the unique copy of a work on monasticism (edited by J. Leclercq in *Revue Bénédictine* lxxvii. 77–93), Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 232 (s.xii med.), identifiable in the twelfth-century Reading catalogue (B71.171). Finally, my suggestion made to the author (which he kindly acknowledges) that a manuscript now at Glasgow might be a Reading book (p. 170) I would now withdraw.

THE RED GULL PRESS

MICHAEL GULLICK

The military orders, II: Welfare and warfare. Edited by Helen Nicholson. Pp. xxviii + 412 incl. 40 ills and 4 tables. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. £59.50. 0 86078 679 X

In a short but thought-provoking introduction to this book, Jonathan Riley-Smith ponders the recent revival of interest in the military orders which has given rise to this collection of papers and its predecessor. He links the revival to developments in crusading studies. These have had the two-fold effect of making

historians aware of the sheer wealth of archival material bequeathed by the orders, and of impressing on researchers the significance of the orders' multifarious activities as warriors, landowners, priests, administrators, carers for the sick and much else besides. Riley-Smith's concluding sentence, 'The history of the military orders has something in it for everyone', is irresistibly quotable and no less than the truth. One result is that any attempt in a short notice to sum up the findings of these thirty-three papers, read at the second conference on the military orders in 1996, would be foolish. For the most part, it will suffice to signal the importance of this series as an ongoing epitome of scholarly research into the history of the orders. Some observations must however be made, albeit briefly. In the first place, it is pleasing that the insistence on highlighting the medical operations of some of the orders, which was a strong feature of the first volume, is continued here. Indeed, the star turn in this collection has to be Benjamin Kedar's provisional edition of a treatise which describes the hospital run by the Knights of St John in Jerusalem. This fascinating document probably dates from the 1180s and has only recently been brought to light: it is extraordinary to reflect that it was examined but then effectively ignored by the doyen of Hospitaller studies in the late nineteenth century, Joseph Delaville Le Roulx. Quite properly Kedar's edition of the text holds pride of place as the first paper in the volume. Secondly, mention should be made of the important research into the military orders currently being pursued by Spanish and Portuguese historians. This ought not to be surprising given the significance of the orders, not just the Iberian ones but their 'international' counterparts too, in shaping the peninsula's history. Yet it would have taken a remarkable degree of foresight to predict it just a few years ago. Thirdly, this collection makes it abundantly clear that the history of the military orders defies periodisation, for they exerted a major impact on events long after 1500. This series seems set to rescue the later history of the orders from the clutches of the antiquarians, and to elucidate the true nature of their corporate life and activities in the early modern period and beyond. For these and other reasons the series is making a strong impression. It is all the more pleasing therefore that the high standards of editing and production set by the first volume have been matched in this one. And it is a signal achievement on the part of editor and editorial committee to get a volume as substantial as this one into print in the space of just two years.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

NORMAN HOUSLEY

Sulle tracce degli Umiliati. Edited by Maria Pia Alberzoni, Annamaria Ambrosioni and Alfredo Lucioni. (Bibliotheca Erudita. Studi e Documenti di Storia e Filologia, 13.) Pp. xix + 647 incl. 6 figs. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1997. L. 90,000. 88 343 0495 0

This long-awaited collection of eleven essays is the first major volume from a team of scholars working on the jigsaw puzzle of Humiliati history based at the Catholic University of Milan. Over the past decade senior scholars and young *tesisti* alike have been meticulously scrutinising archives dispersed across the Lombard region, tracing the life and practices of this quintessentially Italian movement from the first records of the 1170s through condemnation (1184) and

papal reconciliation (1201) to disastrous dissolution 400 years later. A steady stream of articles and case histories has already emerged, but this very substantial and heavily footnoted volume is none the less a marker in Humiliati studies, a preliminary to a much needed new synthesis of the history of this religious order across the whole of northern Italy. Part 1, on sources and historiography, contains four articles. Broggi's study of the medieval catalogues of Humiliati houses will become an essential reference point in the tortuous business of identifying communities affiliated to the order. Lunari provides a useful critique of the influential work of Luigi Zanoni, the early twentieth-century historian of the Humiliati, in the preface to a discussion of the development of historical self-consciousness among the Humiliati themselves between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is neatly illustrated by Schenone on the works of Fra Mario Pizzi (d. 1564) who, amongst other writings, chronicled events in the mid sixteenth century and wrote a long poem lamenting past glories and present spiritual decline. Finally, Graffigna resolves the mystery of Cremonese charters now in Palermo, once thought to have been taken there in the wake of medieval Humiliati expansion but here shown to have travelled as a result of eighteenth-century antiquarian sales. In section two ('Problemi di fondo'), Alberzoni begins a prosopographical study of the early leaders of the movement with James of Rondineto (near Como) one of those to approach the pope for approval of the new order. She demonstrates that after papal recognition at least one of the early Humiliati enjoyed a career of regional importance in the Church. However he later abandoned Rondineto for a house of unknown affiliation and faded into the obscurity for which all the early leaders of the movement were destined, a fate which may perhaps explain the lack of high level promotion of the order. Castagnetti then makes a first serious attempt to understand the evolution and textual history of the rules observed by the regular Humiliati, traced from first approval of a mixed rule (issued, she argues, only twenty-six years after the order was established), to adoption of a modified form of the Benedictine rule in the late Middle Ages (itself a reflection of the continuing hegemony of traditional monasticism). Broliis follows this with a brief account of oath-rejection by the Humiliati in both norm and practice contextualised through the experience of both penitential groups and heretical suspects, whilst Archetti closes the section with a discussion of relations with the bishops in the late thirteenth century, concentrating on the troubled situation in Brescia. This local focus paves the way for the final section of the volume, three case studies. Other important novelties appear here: Crotti Pasi establishes the identity of one of the four main communities of the order in 1201, long known only as *Vigalono*, as Vialone between Pavia and Lodi. Mercatili Indelicato details the history of two Lodi houses, Ognissanti and San Cristoforo, and in the process provides further information on another early leader, Lanfranc, who travelled to the Curia with James of Rondineto. Finally, Lucioni provides a detailed discussion of the personal contacts and relations with friars, penitents and citizens of the Humiliati in the Varesotto which thoroughly contextualises their experience and to which he appends a summary of references to the Humiliati in the area. This volume will certainly be of great use to scholars in the field, and not simply because of the numerous newly edited sources appended by most of the contributors. The long delay in its publication does however mean that at least

one of the articles has been published elsewhere in the interim. It is also a pity that the editors were unable to ensure that contributors either concurred or clarified their differences on points such as the timing of approaches to the pope (see pp. 132, 174, 251). Yet the disagreements also reflect the fluid state of studies on the subject and are never so substantial as to detract from the utility of the volume. It is a mine of information; although a more broadly conceived introduction might have served to guide the reader, the articles indicate the direction a new survey may take. The Humiliati emerge as a more regular and regulated order than posited by earlier twentieth-century writers, seen most clearly in local colours and involved in property acquisition (but perhaps not thereby defiled) and in civic duties (even, in one case, following the army). Perhaps one of the present editors may soon feel ready to tackle the task of turning this sketch into a new general history of the Humiliati.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

FRANCES ANDREWS

The vocation of service to God and neighbour. Essays on the interests, involvements and problems of religious communities and their members in medieval society. Selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 14–17 July 1997. Edited by Joan Greatrex. (International Medieval Research, 5.) Pp. xiv + 144. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998. B.Fr. 1,169.86 (paper).
2 503 50741 7

Seven of the nine essays in this useful collection dealing with aspects of monastic life between 1200 and the Reformation derive from the Leeds International Medieval Congress of 1997. Six deal with England, mainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: James Clark on learning at St Albans; Nicholas Heale on John Lydgate; Anthony Maret-Crosby on Robert Joseph's 'humanism'; Margaret Goodrich on Westwood nunnery (an extremely useful addition to the analyses of small nunneries, based on a hitherto unquarried tranche of material); Peter Cunich on the psychological impact of dissolution, mainly as it affected monks (a process he labels 'de-conversion'); and Marilyn Oliva on the problems faced by nuns at that upheaval, particularly those of Norwich diocese. Three articles have a continental perspective: Michael Robson examines relations between Benedictines and Franciscans in the thirteenth century; Walter Senner looks at the Rhineland Dominicans, Eckhart, and the Free Spirit heresy; and Thomas Sullivan provides a statistical treatment of the ranking of theology graduates at the University of Paris from 1379 to 1500, especially comparing the regulars with secular clergy. In many instances the discussion is introductory, or a stage in work in progress, to provide a taste of future promise. Several of the articles make valuable contributions to broader debates.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

R. N. SWANSON

Art and crusade in the age of Saint Louis. By Daniel H. Weiss. Pp. xiv + 279 incl. 96
ills + 8 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £55. 0 521
62130 5

Daniel Weiss's text relies greatly on analysis of two celebrated monuments, the

Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, erected for Louis IX and dedicated in 1248, and the Arsenal Bible, illuminated at Acre on the basis of Parisian models. How and on what basis these two undoubtedly important works, the latter not even provably associated with Louis IX, could of themselves shed light on, or offer a complete model of, Louis's kingship is unclear. This is an unsatisfactory book, in part because it offers a substantial account neither of Louis's patronage nor of the crusade, and in part because it offers an incomplete view of the two monuments in question. The arguments are inaugurated with portentous-sounding titles like 'The revelation of a Capetian cosmology' – a section which, not untypically, contains no serious view of what a Capetian cosmology might be, or why such an idea might have existed or have been necessary. Elsewhere ideas explored earlier in article form are enlarged and needlessly over-extended, as in the discussion of the relic platform of the Sainte-Chapelle as a 'Throne of Solomon'. The fact that this platform was not a throne and bears none of the usual iconographic signs of Solomon's Throne fails to detain the author in his headlong dash to produce a kind of smooth but, to this reviewer, completely unconvincing synthesis. The text is in general too reliant on secondary sources and too prone to digression. A disappointing and not terribly imaginative book, though nicely illustrated.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

PAUL BINSKI

Giles of Rome's De regimine principum. Reading and writing politics at court and university, c. 1275 – c. 1525. By Charles F. Briggs. (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 5.) Pp. xiv + 207 incl. 17 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £45. 0 521 57053 0

This brief but fascinating book, elegantly produced and admirably illustrated, tries to answer questions of a kind too easily overlooked in the history of ideas. Taking what was certainly a widely distributed text during what he calls 'the "autumn" of the Middle Ages' and concentrating his attention primarily on its circulation in England, Charles Briggs gives us a case history of how and by whom such a text was actually used. Writing avowedly as a historian, he dons (in his own phrase) 'many methodological hats', which he wears (his readers will find) with admirable style. The result is a book that deserves the attention of scholars to whom (as to the present reviewer) the skills of codicology, art history and literary history are likely to remain objects of envy rather than attainment. From the intricacies of the investigation Giles's book emerges clearly as a text in which author and readers alike saw politics as 'the most "perfect"' of the sciences of human activity, since it encompassed everything to do with 'living ... *communicative et socialiter*, and in accordance with virtue'. It is regrettable, of course, that, as Briggs points out, 'a first critical edition' of *De regimine principum* is 'still perhaps decades from completion'. We have the more reason to be grateful for what we are given here.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
LONDON

J. H. BURNS

Schools of asceticism. Ideology and organization in medieval religious communities. By Lutz Kaelber. Pp. viii + 278. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998. \$55 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper). 0 271 01754 6; 0 271 01755 4

Kaelber's study begins with a question that has been addressed many times before: why did many Waldensians and Cathars of the late twelfth and thirteenth century, defined as heretics by the orthodox Church, prefer to die rather than recant? For him, the answer is to be sought in the ascetic behaviour of these religious groups, and in their social and religious organisation. His discussion of the asceticism and ethics of heterodox religious groups, and their relationship to orthodox asceticism takes as its starting point Max Weber's writings, and his belief that the interaction of religious ethics and beliefs both influenced the ascetic practices of the individual, and enabled individuals and groups to shape their social and cultural environment. This theme is developed first through a discussion of asceticism in western orthodox contexts, both monastic and lay, and then through focusing on asceticism in lay religious movements which came to be regarded as heretical, especially the Waldensians and the Cathars. Both these groups were characterised by asceticism (or, in the case of the Cathars, perhaps more by encraticism), and that asceticism was linked to rational thought and to work. The success of the early Waldensians in part lay in the existence of their textual communities and the interplay of religion and its cultural and socio-economic background. Cathar asceticism was more radical than that of the Waldensians and the mendicant orders (which shared with the Waldensians ideas about preaching, austerity and voluntary poverty). For Kaelber the success of the Cathars is to be explained not in religious terms (the appeal of the *vita apostolica* in a worldly world) nor Marxist (the link with the social grievances of an underclass) but in terms of their organisation, and the link between the religious and craft training of Cathar recruits. These training houses were built into the very fabric of society in areas such as the Languedoc. Thus, practical rationalism – labour, duty and reward – were linked to the rational strands in Cathar belief. This is a careful study based on detailed study of primary source material.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES,
LAMPETER

JANET BURTON

Necrologien, Anniversarien- und Obödienzenverzeichnisse des Mindener Domkapitels aus dem 13. Jahrhundert. Edited by Ulrich Rasche. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libri memoriales et Necrologia. Nova series, 5.) Pp. xxiv + 408 incl. 11 maps + 24 plates. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998. DM 160. 3 7742 5505 2

This impressive volume began as a 1997 Göttingen University thesis supervised by H. Hoffmann. It is published as the fifth of the new *Libri memoriales et Necrologia* series in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the first late medieval commemorative documents to be included in this series. Whereas early medieval documents of this type have been exploited over the past thirty years or so for the social and religious history of their period, their later successors have hardly been studied by historians except in local contexts. Rasche claims them as important source

material for the economic history of cathedral churches. In the Frankish kingdoms, and in particular in the succeeding Ottonian realm, cathedral lands and revenue were split between the bishop (*mensa episcopalis*) and the chapter of canons, a division which was repeated from the early eleventh century, when the canons' portion was again divided between the provost as head of the chapter (*prebenda*) and the chapter clergy themselves (*obedientiae*). The cathedral of Minden is a typical example of this development. Here from the early eleventh century until *c.* 1230 all new donations and endowments went to the *obedientiae* (*Stiftungsgut*). This development is part of a process of emancipation, by which the chapter clergy not only achieved independence from bishop and provost as well as the virtual control of episcopal elections, but also an individual income and hence a semi-independence even of their chapter and dean. As Rasche rightly states, this *Stiftungsgut* of cathedral chapters as against the constitutional and social history of the chapters has hardly been worked upon so far. The only case study comparable to that of Rasche was von Guttenberg's work of 1969 on the economy of the cathedral chapter of Bamberg. Apart from Bamberg, Minden has the only full set of documents for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The previous editor of the Minden material, Wilfried Dammeyer (1957, also a Göttingen thesis), had not taken account of the wide range of Minden's sources for this period. Rasche's necrological material offers an almost complete account of how the *Stiftungsgut* developed, even though the relevant charters are mostly missing for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Rasche edits with full critical apparatus five manuscripts, today kept in the Staatsarchive of Münster and Hanover. They are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the one fourteenth-century Hanover manuscript was destroyed in 1945. They contain five obituaries, i.e. lists of anniversary foundations in calendar order; three of them are compilations from earlier anniversary calendars. In addition nine so-called *Obödientienverzeichnisse*, registers of donations to the *obedientiae*, plus two *Konsolationsgüterverzeichnisse*, registers of later donations to the *consolationes*, are edited, all written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The edition of the obituaries is not complete: entries from the fourteenth century onwards are omitted, and only the 152 entries up to the late thirteenth century are included. This is explained by the incompleteness of the later material and the lack of editions of comparative material such as charters. The obituaries of Minden are, as Rasche shows, not a complete list in calendar order of all donors to the cathedral clergy, as their early medieval antecedents tended to be; they cover instead only those donations with specific conditions as to the commemoration of the founders. They are called *Jahrtags-/Anniversarbücher* in German terminology. It is not the commemorative, i.e. liturgical, aspect of the foundations which motivated their compilation, but the donations and their economic management (including the liturgical benefits) themselves. Thus these documents cover mainly donations from the eleventh century onwards, when the donors became significantly more interested in the individually specified liturgical performance of the cathedral chapter in return for the goods transferred. The *obedientiae* were grouped in ten funds from 1230, of which one was reserved for the provost and the remaining nine for the nine oldest canons. The rest of the twenty-four canons and seven vicars received the eight 'tenths' and the so-called *consolationes/bona communia*. Rasche analyses the social background of the founders: up to 1150 it

is mainly the bishops who figure in the sources; between 1150 and 1200 it is mainly the laity, whose gifts represented only a small proportion of the total value; in the thirteenth century the chapter clergy themselves form the leading group. So on the whole the cathedral clergy and its noble families were responsible for the economic support of the chapter. Yet Rasche also makes it clear that the majority (250) of the *mansi* described in the lists cannot be traced to individual donations, because no specific obligations were attached to them other than a general commemoration in the prayers of the clergy. These must have been given to the cathedral during the eleventh and early twelfth century, mainly by laymen as the size and location of the possessions donated indicate: the untraceable *mansi, domus, decimae* etc. in the *obedientiae* fundus are small entities independent from each other in an area of roughly ten miles around Minden, typical for the small regional 'nobility' of that period.

RUHRLANDMUSEUM,
ESSEN

JAN GERCHOW

The common good in late medieval political thought. Moral goodness and material benefit. By M. S. Kempshall. Pp. x + 401. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £55. 0 19 820716 6

Already before its publication, this book (we learn from the preface) had proved 'too historical for some theologians, too theological for some philosophers, and too theological and philosophical for some historians'. One historian, unsurprisingly, remarked that the book 'will not be to everyone's taste'. To respond, as Dr Kempshall does, with the tag 'De gustibus non disputandum' is perhaps more apt than adequate. He claims to 'have simply tried to contextualise the language of a particular debate in the history of political thought'. In fact he has done both less and more than that. Less, because 'political thought' subsists in a diversity of contexts, the full range of which neither is nor could be analysed in a book already somewhat affected by the contemporary fear of the succinct. More, because the book goes beyond 'context' to provide an elaborate, difficult, but rewarding analysis of texts. All these, it must be emphasised, were written between the middle of the thirteenth century and the very early years of the fourteenth. This calls in question the appropriateness of the words 'late medieval' in the title. There can, of course, be no doubt that the generations between Albert the Great and Remigio dei Girolami were seminal for medieval analysis of 'the common good'; but a seedtime of little more than half a century cannot properly be identified with the whole 'late medieval' harvest. Eight witnesses are subjected to close examination. A particularly interesting subpoena is served on Henry of Ghent, whom the author persuasively rescues from almost total neglect hitherto by historians of political ideas. On the other hand, there is one notable 'missing person', whose absence at least surely called for explanation. Moral and political theology may indeed be somewhat marginal in the work of Duns Scotus. Yet it is still somewhat surprising to find no mention whatever, in a book where the concepts of will and of love are of recurrent concern, of a thinker for whom these were crucial and whose work falls wholly within the author's chosen period. And a more inclusive view of 'late medieval' political thought could hardly ignore

those for whom Scotus was a magisterial figure. Yet such reservations leave essentially intact this book's claim to scholarly attention. No historian of medieval political ideas can ignore so thorough and well-documented a case for the verdict that, in the author's closing words, 'the truly radical texts in scholastic political thought were provided, not by Aristotle, but by Augustine and the Bible'.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
LONDON

J. H. BURNS

Parisian scholars in the early fourteenth century. A social portrait. By William J. Courtenay. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th Ser., 41.) Pp. xix + 287 incl. 8 maps and figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £40. 0 521 64212 4

By rearranging the folios of a quire attached to the register of the English–Picard nation, which had been long known and available, William Courtenay has made a fascinating rediscovery of a *computus* that provides the first hard data on the demography of the University of Paris. He dates the document to between December 1329 and March 1330 at a transitional period before the Hundred Years' War, the Black Death and the papal Schism. The *computus* was compiled to assess and collect money from the university community to defend its privileges in legal proceedings that involved the rape of a jongleuse by a student. Courtenay has re-edited the document in its correct sequence and has attached a prosopographical register of the 2,000 names found. This is a prodigious and exacting achievement comparable to the series of registers that have been compiled for the universities of Britain. Estimating that this figure constitutes two-thirds of the academic population, he has, in fact, created the first statistical benchmark for studying the demography of the University of Paris.

The itinerary of the assessors can be followed street by street as they recorded the names and contributions of masters and students. This information sheds light on three major facets of the university community. In the first place it delineates where the scholars lived on the Left Bank. Although there were tendencies to concentrate by faculty, no clear pattern predominates, with the possible exception that the wealthiest members preferred the heights of Mont-Sainte-Geneviève inside the walls. Although the poorer strata of scholars were doubtlessly under-reported, the *computus*, in the second place, none the less establishes a high level of wealth in the academic community, due largely to members of aristocratic families and beneficed clerics. Finally, geographic origins can be extracted from personal names. Although Paris clearly remained a university that drew an international clientele, the statistics, as often is the case, tend to flatten out previous contrasts based on impressions. The largest concentrations of students, not surprisingly, came from the Ile-de-France and Picardy, but important contingents originated from Italy and Scotland as well. This momentary glimpse of the Parisian academic population in 1329–30 unfortunately fails to reveal scholastics of subsequent renown (the exceptions are Jean Buridan and Richard Fitzralph), but it paints a reliable social portrait on a firm canvas.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

JOHN W. BALDWIN

Bernardi Guidonis scripta de Sancto Dominico. Edited by Simon Tugwell OP. (Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, 27. Corpus Hagiographicum Sancti Dominici.) Pp. 311. Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1998. L. 60,000

Bernard Gui OP (d. 1331) is probably more widely known today as an inquisitor than as a historian, and his manual for inquisitors more studied than his historical works. Yet it is the lesser known side of this French Dominican's life and work that has been quarried by Fr Simon Tugwell for material concerning St Dominic, the founder of Gui's religious order, as part of a larger project on the hagiography of the saint. As we have come to expect from the distinguished editor, the result is a reliable Latin text and introductory material that brims with erudition. As for the texts, first there is the relevant part of Gui's *Catalogus magistrorum*, completed in 1304 and revised more than once. It elicits from Tugwell a discussion of the vexed question of the interaction of Dominic, Pope Innocent III and others in the establishment of the order. It seems fair to say that the exploration of the 'pre-history' of the Dominicans is still unfinished. There follows an appendix containing the few relevant pages from two of Gui's works dating from c. 1315, the Flores chronicorum and the *De tempore conciliorum*. Thirdly there is an edition, with lengthy introduction, of part of Gui's *Speculum sanctorale*, completed by 1329. Given Gui's own long career as an inquisitor, his emphatic detestation of doctrinal unorthodoxy and his use of the records of the inquisition in writing on Dominic, Tugwell has to face yet another vexed question; the exact nature of the saint's activities against heresy. Indeed, Dominic was said by Gui to be at one point 'gerente inquisitionis officium' (p. 272). The assimilation of Dominic to his inquisitor descendants, including Gui, raises historical questions both about him and about them. In a balanced way, Tugwell is categorical that although Dominic himself was not an inquisitor he would not have seen any radical antagonism between his peaceful methods and the coercive measures being taken by others. Quite properly, however, Tugwell's chief preoccupation is not with the inquisition but with a painstaking assessment of Gui's indefatigable historical curiosity as applied in different ways over the years to the life of a revered saint. A sustained comparison with how Gui treated the life of Thomas Aquinas, another Dominican saint, could well have proved illuminating. One could begin to undertake this comparison by reading Tugwell's exposition of Gui on Dominic and then turning to Kenelm Foster's evaluation of Gui writing on Aquinas in *The Life of Saint Thomas Aquinas: biographical documents* (London 1959).

BLACKFRIARS,
OXFORD

ROBERT OMBRES OP

The preacher's demons. Bernardino of Siena and the social underworld of early Renaissance Italy. By Franco Mormando. Pp. xvi + 364 incl. 4 ills. Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 1999. £23.25. 0 226 53854 0

The three 'demons' of Mormando's title are witches, sodomites and Jews, and he sets out to examine the treatment of them in the sermons of the most charismatic Italian preacher of the early fifteenth century. Mormando says that his chosen

three topics ‘especially claim our attention’; they ‘represented some of the most pressing anxiety-raising, social–moral issues of [Bernardino’s] generation’. They were not, however, necessarily *the* most pressing concerns of the preacher himself. Political factionalism and the oppression of the poor by moneyleaders, for example, absorbed at least as much of his attention. As Mormando remarks, it was against usurers rather than against Jews that he mostly preached; no lover of the Jews, he spent relatively little time on them. Mormando is right to point out that this relative unconcern is striking by contrast with Bernardino’s virulence against sodomites and witches, but it is somewhat frustrating that he fails to explore the connections which may have existed at some level of Bernardino’s mind between these two groups, and which are more than hinted at in many of his own quotations and observations. Witchcraft was, notoriously, a feminine occupation, and Bernardino reinforces that impression; the fear of sodomy was in good part the fear of the feminisation, or effeminisation, of young manhood and Bernardino lays stress on that aspect, and on the responsibility of mothers for ‘emasculating’ their sons. Was he here simply articulating common anxieties (in part he certainly was) or were these strident emphases a response to his own personal ‘demons’? Here one feels the need for a rounded consideration of the preacher’s thinking on women. The coherence of the book largely depends on the coherence of this choice of topics, and it is not entirely convincing. It is good, however, to be reminded that Bernardino was not in the least cuddly. Humour, down to earth language and an understanding of his audience were perfectly compatible with the role of a propagandist for persecution, and like his predecessors and successors in this vein, Bernardino did not have to be consistent. When he proclaimed sodomy ‘the worst of all sins’ he was not only ignoring the judgements of thinkers as considerable as Aquinas, which may not have weighed with him as he prepared to address a popular audience. He was, as it happened, also contradicting what he himself said on other occasions, when, for example, he awarded the palm to blasphemy. This very detail is an important warning to anyone who is tempted to approach the *oeuvre* of a medieval popular preacher as a whole which can be indexed and cross-referenced. If Bernardino contradicted himself, few noticed and fewer still had the means to produce chapter and verse. He said what he deemed necessary to create the desired effect, as when he made free with accusations of heresy. Mormando has some good things to say about this quintessentially oral mode of communication.

KING’S COLLEGE,
LONDON

DIANA WEBB

Richard II. The art of kingship. Edited by Anthony Goodman and James L. Gillespie. Pp. xii + 299 incl. 11 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £40.
0 19 820189 3

This book has been a long time in the making, as Professor Goodman elegantly hints in his acknowledgements and as the footnotes betray. Henry Knighton and Adam of Usk are cited in their turn-of-the-century editions, not in the recent editions in the Oxford Medieval Texts. Discussions of the Wilton Diptych cite *Making and meaning* (1993) rather than its monumental successor *The regal image*

of *Richard II* (1997). Most importantly, Nigel Saul's major biography of the king appeared between the writing and publication of these articles and draws on several of them. The result is at times a distinct sense of *déjà vu*, most marked in Saul's own chapter on Richard's kingship and Eleanor Scheifele's survey of the king's patronage of the visual arts. But this remains a worthwhile collection – with a more secure focus (on the king and his government) than the rather patchy collection of essays edited by James Gillespie in 1997. It engages with several of the issues which have stood at the centre of recent debate about the reign, such as the king's own self-image and his relations with his nobility and with London and the wider realm. Less predictable, but no less crucial, are the discussions of the king's council and royal taxation. Inevitably there are gaps. Parliament and the royal household are two obvious ones, and foreign policy is explicitly discussed only from the oblique (but rewarding) perspective of Richard's relations with the House of Luxemburg. Inevitably, too, the book remains a collection of interpretations rather than an overview: a kaleidoscope, to borrow Gillespie's image from his 1997 volume, and Goodman's introduction eschews any attempt to impose a uniform reading. It is left to the reader to identify the resonances and contradictions between chapters. Richard II comes across as simultaneously stodgily conventional and excitingly innovative. A king who apparently did rather better than one might have expected in his handling of the Church (Richard Davies's trenchant treatment of Richard's piety is one of the highlights of the volume) and finance and yet failed to win the good will of enough of his leading subjects to retain his throne. Perhaps, as well as an introduction, the book needed an epilogue, to address that ultimate failure head on. As it is, the deposition remains tantalisingly on the edge of the reader's sight, casting shadows across the discussion of Richard's kingship but never quite coming into focus itself.

FITZWILLIAM COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

ROSEMARY HORROX

The chronicles of Rome. An edition of the Middle English Chronicle of popes and emperors and the Lollard chronicle. Edited by Dan Embree. (Medieval Chronicles.) Pp. x + 310 incl. 3 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999. £45. 0 85115 597 9; 1462 8724

The two chronicles contained in this volume are a Middle English version of Martinus Polonus' *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* and the work, deriving in part from this, which has been called the *Lollard chronicle*. Although in terms of the factual information which they provide they are of no value, their very existence is an historical fact of interest which has eminently justified this edition. The Latin text of the earlier work circulated widely – more than 425 manuscripts survive, more than eighty of them in Britain – and was used by various later chroniclers, and its translation into English in the fourteenth century reflects the increasing development of a vernacular culture at that time. Significantly, the four manuscripts containing the translation, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, all contain other historical works in English. The *Lollard chronicle*, of which two fragmentary manuscripts survive, is the more interesting text, in that

it illustrates how historical material might be used with polemical intent. The writer based his narrative primarily on two main sources, the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* and Higden's *Polychronicon*, but in places he incorporates ideas from Wyclif's *De civili dominio* and other Lollard writings, as where the English theologian stresses the responsibility of the lay power to discipline offending clerks, or when the chronicler condemns the consequences of the Donation of Constantine. As well as such critical comments, with a Wycliffite slant, the favourable description of Bishop Grosseteste reflects Lollard admiration for him. The material derived from Higden gives a more English slant to the work than the vernacular version of Polonus – it omits some accounts of popes and emperors, and tells instead stories of English kings (including the attribution of the foundation of Oxford University to Alfred). The writer was not, however, an out-and-out polemicist, because he wrote favourably of Pope Gregory the Great, and, more surprisingly in the light of most Lollard views on the religious orders, commended the prophetic spirit of St Benedict and the austerity of the early Cistercians, and made no comment, good or bad, on the character of the Carthusian and Premonstratensian orders at the time of their foundation. This contrasts with his comment on the eventual fate of the Templars. This serves as a salutary reminder that there was no uniformity of opinion among the early Lollards, and that each writer held his own individual opinions, which might differ in detail from those of his contemporaries. The edition has been produced with care, and contains critical notes on the text (although these might have been more conveniently placed at the foot of the page than at the end), and an explanatory commentary showing the origins of many of the stories contained in the chronicles. This is full and generally helpful, and is occasionally adorned by attractively acerbic comments, such as that on the Emperor Titus (p. 147). One may feel, however, that the editor's gloss on the bull *Clericis laicos* (p. 243) should have set it in a wider context than that of anglo-papal relations.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

J. A. F. THOMSON

The AntiChrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in late medieval and Reformation England.

By Curtis V. Bostick. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 70.)

Pp. xii + 233. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 1998. Nlg 138. 90 04 11088 7;
0585 6914

Heresy and apocalypticism have traditionally been thought to be close bedfellows and to share a common nursemaid in poverty. Recent studies have cast much doubt on elements of this picture. In particular, medieval orthodoxy has been shown to have been permeated at all levels by apocalyptic ideas. Where does this leave heresy? Dr Bostick's is therefore a very timely study. Its opening chapter provides an analysis of the historiography of the subject and of the potentially confusing plethora of terms liable to be encountered: apocalyptic, millennial, chiliastic, eschatological and so forth. The book then proceeds through an historical account of late medieval notions of the AntiChrist and of the apocalypse, and how they were transmuted by John Wyclif and the author of the *Opus arduum*. Bostick takes a contrary view to Anne Hudson's belief that the *Opus arduum* 'tells us nothing about Wycliffite audiences'. Bostick then traces the

influence and place of these apocalyptic ideas through the succeeding generations of Lollards and their survival to be inherited by English reformers in the sixteenth century. The study is invaluable in showing how medieval apocalyptic mythology was reconstituted by Wyclif and the Lollards to provide a coherent intellectual framework for their rejection and denigration of the papacy and of the sacerdotal and legal systems which flowed from it. However it is possible to remain unconvinced that apocalypticism was a central defining feature of Lollardy in quite the way proposed here. It is not clear that sermons which dwelt on the evils associated with the end times necessarily had an eschatological focus: it may equally have been a preacherly way of underscoring the perceived ills of Church and Society. Similarly it is not clear that any mere mention of AntiChrist, or even an implied mention of AntiChrist, necessarily carried with it all the apocalyptic baggage which it is assumed here that it did. Bostick also overestimates the trial evidence for the circulation of apocalyptic texts. He concludes that 'the Apocalypse was clearly an essential text in the Lollard curricula' (p. 172), yet of the three Lollards named in the paragraph – Robert Best of Colchester, Elizabeth Blake of London, and Nicholas Durdant of Staines – none can be shown to have had specific contact with it. Nevertheless Bostick may be correct in arguing that apocalyptic views were more widely subscribed to among Lollards than emerges in trial evidence because it was not a very promising area of enquiry for prosecutors. The study is vague in its understanding of English geography. Thus John Hacker's audience in the upper Thames valley is described as 'Lollards in Lincoln' (p. 168). One consequence of this is that there is no appreciation of regional variations in later Lollardy, where it would be possible to show much interest in the apocalypse in the Newbury area but very little around Amersham. However, with these reservations, this is an important study which attempts to combine a commendably wide range of sources to throw light on a relatively neglected area of Wycliffite studies.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

ANDREW HOPE

Monumental brasses. A sixteenth-century workshop. By John Page-Phillips. (Monumental Brass Society. Occasional Publication, 1.) Pp. xi + 69 incl. numerous ills. London: Monumental Brass Society, 1999. £24 (paper) + £1.50 post and packing from H. M. Stuchfield, Lowe Hill House, Stratford St Mary, Suffolk CO7 6JX. 0 95233 15 1

This posthumous publication of an austere essay written in the late 1950s is justified by the importance of the detailed work which it represents: an essential part of a jigsaw which reveals the dynamics of the funerary industry during the English Reformation. It discusses the distribution of London monumental brasses throughout the century. Page-Phillips was alerted to the pattern by one phase of production of these brasses between 1548 and 1554: he characterised that phase as the 'Fermour' style, in reference to two monuments of 1552 to brothers of the Fermour family at Easton Neston (Northants.) and Somerton (Oxfs.). 'Fermour' brasses are recognisable by their style of figure depiction, their style of script in inscriptions and (of particular interest in a Reformation context) their ruthless recycling both of earlier brasses and the stones in which previous brasses were set.

The 'Fermour' craftsmen were making the most of Henrician and Edwardian destruction of tombs in order to supply the current generation of the deceased. Page-Phillips does not deal in detail here with the nature of those palimpsest reuses, since elsewhere he catalogued palimpsests at length in Monumental Brass Society publications: his aim is to give detailed and systematic analyses of developing lettering styles, not only of the 'Fermour' workshop, but of its predecessors and successors in the London funerary monument trade. The useful foreword by Jon Bayliss makes a plausible identification of one marbler active in the 'Fermour' phase of this workshop as Alen Gamen or Gaulyn, of the parish of St Dunstan in the West, London. Page-Phillips incidentally notes (p. 32) that the stock of palimpsest brass material seems to have dried up around 1586, a matter of significance to those who study iconoclasm in the English Reformation; thereafter, marblers were forced to use new metal sheets, and adapted to the situation by adding more zinc to allow them to work securely on thinner metal. Reformation historians should not neglect this essay, whose admittedly rather intractable text is enhanced by the lavish illustrations and handsome presentation.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,
OXFORD

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

Martin Luther. The Christian between God and death. By Richard Marius. Pp. xv + 542 + 16 plates. Cambridge, Mass.–London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999. £19.95. 0 674 55090 0

Perhaps the greatest compliment to be paid to Richard Marius's biography of Luther's career up until 1525 is that it is as passionate, readable and confident as the great man himself. Never afraid to venture unusual and intriguing opinions, it presents a vivid critique of Luther, depicting with ruthless accuracy his many flaws, including his vituperative style, the yawning gap between the initial reforming agenda and what he was prepared to countenance in practice and his steadily narrowing horizons after 1521. The book is a 'reading' of Luther's works, rather than a thorough engagement with scholarly debate. For example, Marius's almost off-hand declaration that the Reformation breakthrough took place during a comment on Psalm v. 8 in the *Operationes* of 1519–20 is impressive in its boldness, yet it is hard to see that this text says much that had not been there in Luther's writing since around 1515–16. More recent scholarship has been much more wary of assigning a precise time to the event from any particular writing, if it was an 'event' at all. The main theme is that Luther was dominated by the fear of death and the possibility that God might not exist. Marius cites Luther's frequent references to death, alongside his comparative silence on the terrors of hell, to argue the point. It is an intriguing suggestion, but ultimately fails to convince. Luther declined to speculate on the contours of hell not because he did not believe in them, but because it was precisely that – speculation. Despite the insistence (without much firm evidence) that such unbelief must have been widespread in the sixteenth century, there are few unambiguous indications that Luther struggled with atheism. For Luther, 'unbelief' meant not atheism but a lack of faith in the word of God. Perhaps

Luther's fear was not so much annihilation, as God himself. What if the God who condemns through the law, who assaults believers with *Anfechtungen*, the inscrutable hidden God who seems to damn sinners to hell is the only God there is? It is against this background that Luther's discovery of the gracious God who justifies the ungodly strikes him with so much relief and joy. It is also why Oberman's biography, with its emphasis on Luther's preoccupation with Satan, is ultimately more satisfying as a reading of the Reformer. The medieval background is confused at times, for example Staupitz is wrongly described as a 'typical adherent to the *via moderna*' (p. 76), and the sceptical character of humanism is overplayed. The tendency to psychologise Luther, the impulse to impose twentieth-century problems onto this emphatically sixteenth-century man detracts from the excellence of what is a compelling and provocative book whose rhetoric and assurance is perhaps more similar to Luther than its author might care to think.

WYCLIFFE HALL,
OXFORD

GRAHAM TOMLIN

Christus – König und Priester. Das Amt Christi bei Luther im Verhältnis zur Vor- und Nachgeschichte. By Karin Bornkamm. (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 106.) Pp. xx + 415. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998. DM 198.
3 16 146970 4; 0340 6741

This study examines the office of Christ as king and priest in Luther's theology and compares it with theological tradition before and after the Reformation. A thorough textual analysis traces elements of the two-fold office of Christ through Luther's writings. At its peak in *De libertate christiana* (1520), this two-fold office becomes a *kommunikatives Amt*, transmitting its benefits to baptised Christians through their union with Christ in faith. This communication is facilitated by the priesthood of believers, a concept formulated by Luther in 1519 and 1520; it broke down the barrier between priesthood and laity and enabled Luther to say that through faith all Christians were not only kings but also priests before God. Although Luther speaks of Christ as prophet, he subsumes the prophetic function under the kingly-priestly office, which is an office of the Word of God and through which authority to speak the prophetic Word is given to all Christians.

In contrast to Luther, John Calvin develops a three-fold office of Christ as king, priest and prophet (*munus triplex*), and it becomes dominant after the locus *De officio Christi* is embedded in the orthodox system. Bornkamm surmises that Calvin added the prophetic office because his concept of the priestly and kingly offices did not bind Christ and the Word as tightly as did Luther's two-fold office. The prophetic office was regarded by Calvin as the proper locus of Christ's teaching ministry which was not communicated to all Christians but only to teachers of the Church. Bornkamm regrets the eclipse of Luther's two-fold office in Protestant theology because she believes its communicative element has been lost, that is, the immediate participation of believers in the work of Christ through their union with Christ. She does find remnants of it, however, in the Christological reinterpretations of Karl Barth and Gerhard Ebeling.

Bornkamm's book remains primarily a study of Martin Luther and it raises the issue of the importance of Christology for the reformer's thought. Most studies of

Luther's theology have focused on the person of Christ and its traditionally orthodox features. In his comprehensive book on the subject (*Luther: témoin de Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1973), Marc Lienhard mentions the offices of Christ only incidentally. Bornkamm, however, implies that the office of Christ lies at the heart of Luther's theology and that it both grounds and illuminates the reformer's intention of redefining what was Christian about the Christian life: 'Die Rede vom königlich-priesterlichen Doppelamt dient ihm zur Wahrnehmung dessen, was am Christen und seinem Leben christlich ist' (p. 261). Her impressive argument should be carefully considered by all students of Luther's theology.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
PRINCETON

SCOTT H. HENDRIX

Faith in the revolution. The political theologies of Müntzer and Winstanley. By Andrew Bradstock. Pp. xiii + 210. London: SPCK, 1997. £17.50 (paper). 0 281 05067 8

This work represents an earnest and thoughtful attempt, in a post-Communist climate, to reappropriate for an ideology of Christian revolution two key figures in the early modern radical millenarian lineage. Thomas Müntzer and Gerrard Winstanley shared many intellectual features, above all a pervasive and apocalyptic sense of great expectation, alongside vitriolic anticlericalism and contempt for a self-interested professional academic caste. They were also different in key respects – Winstanley a product of the English Reformation in its maturity, Müntzer a founder of a variant of militant radical Protestantism but also an heir of major themes of late medieval German piety, especially its Christology focused on the Suffering Servant. Whereas Müntzer hated social inequality because it hid spiritual vision from the poor, Winstanley often seems a very English kind of applied social engineer, getting down to the practical business of digging for victory but also fired by the sort of perception that had inspired the English peasant rebels of 1381, that social inequality was unacceptable because it was not incorporated in the original Architect's Edenic blueprint. As a theologian himself, Bradstock keeps in his sights these God-centred issues. He writes with learning and passion and has profound things to say about options for the poor at the turn of our own millennium. Next time, though, he should recruit a more grammatically-minded colleague to do his editing for him.

UNIVERSITY OF LANCASTER

MICHAEL MULLETT

A guide to English illustrated books, 1536–1603. 2 vols. By Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram. (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 166.) Pp. 792; 376 incl. 217 ills. Tempe, Az: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998. 0 86698 207 8

It is not often that a reviewer has the chance to salute a publishing milestone, but this is surely one such occasion. For with this work the authors have concluded the first full survey of woodcuts in English published books between 1536 and 1603. The authors, both established and respected authorities in this field, set

themselves the task of surveying the whole inventory of the sixteenth-century Short Title Catalogue (STC) for the use of woodcuts; where discovered, they have been examined and described. Given that many of these works are extremely rare, the ambition and technical difficulty of this task can easily be imagined. The project has stretched over fourteen years of concentrated research (the only wonder being that it did not take longer) and perhaps would not even then have been feasible without the existence of an almost complete inventory of these texts on UMI microfilms. The results are here presented in a compendious work of reference, arranged sensibly in STC order, with a number of cross-referencing tables and indices: by subject, printer and publisher, and Bible subject. A separate appendix provides a guide to re-uses of woodcuts featured in Edward Hodnett's *English woodcuts 1480–1535*, the starting point for the present survey.

As with most works of reference, the real value will only reveal itself over a period of prolonged use. Sampling for the purposes of the review, it is easy to discern the depth of learning that underpins the individual descriptions. In each case a woodcut is first described, and then analysed with reference to its first and further uses in other English books (a common enough phenomenon with such a precious asset). In many cases the authors have also succeeded in identifying the original, often continental, design on which a particular cut was based.

The casual reader eager to gain an overall impression of English woodcut art could do well to start with the illustrations, which offer, in 217 thematically arranged examples, an admirable history of the development of the woodcut in the English book world. One is struck immediately by the comparatively undeveloped state of English cuts. Many, particularly in the first half of the period studied here, are crude and poorly drawn; in this as in so much of the visual arts in the sixteenth century England lagged far behind the continent. There is no doubt also that the publication of the vernacular Bible provided vital impetus to the development of a native woodcut culture. Bibles probably furnish well over half of the examples listed here for the first half of the period surveyed, before they spread into other areas of secular and technical literature. In this field particularly the influence of continental traditions was particularly strong. Thus the cuts in STC 2836, the most fully illustrated of all English New Testaments (1538), employed 200 cuts designed by the Ghent artist Lieven de Witte for a Gospel Harmony published the previous year. This edition was published in Antwerp, but continental prints, or copies of them, soon crossed the channel, and flowed from Bibles into other shorter associated religious works. Thus Walter Lynne's *Beginning and end of all popery* (1548) used copies of German woodcuts, and Cranmer's catechism (STC 5992.5) small illustrations by Hans Holbein. The illustrations in a Bible of 1552 were the first narrative cuts made specifically for the text of an English Bible, but many were copied from a French model. And so it goes on: the Geneva Bible of 1560 copied cuts from the Huguenot Bible; the Bishops' Bible of 1568 copied the Germany illustrator Virgil Solis. At least English artisans were eclectic in their borrowings. Sometimes the continental models required adaptation, as when a print from a Catholic Bible of God creating Eve is copied but God replaced by the Tetragrammaton (ill. 44–5).

The authors' assiduous researches have turned up some marvellously unfamiliar images. I was charmed by a vision of Theodore Beza's wife dancing,

under the eyes of the appalled reformer – an image (and story) unknown to me, taken from a Catholic satirical sequence which served as a pictorial index to Petus Franinus, *An oration against the unlawful insurrection of the Protestants* (1566). On the other side of the confessional divide there is a fine representation of salvation, symbolised by grafting and pruning a tree (ill. 54) and an evocative picture of Catherine Parr at the Last Judgement (ill. 61). Turning to secular subjects, most eye-catching is a whole page narrative design illustrating the negative balance of payments between France and England (ill. 163). Published in 1580 with Robert Hitchcock's *A political platt for the honour of the prince* (1580) it might lay reasonable claim to be the first English political cartoon.

In Europe advances in woodcut technique owed a great deal to their use in technical and scientific or medical works. Something of the same may have occurred in England: the cuts in Digges's *Geometrical practice* (1571) are notably more sophisticated in design than much contemporary material. But even here, as with an English edition of Conrad Gesner's *New jewel of health*, an influential and copiously illustrated work on distillation, the indebtedness to continental models is clear. In the case of those of native origin, such as the *De arte natandi*, the first comprehensive manual on swimming printed in England, the illustrations are remarkably crude even at the end of the century. On the evidence presented here, this is an industry that lagged far behind the major centres of continental publishing.

Given how much can be gleaned just by studying the illustrations, one's only regret must be how comparatively few have been included – just 217 out of a total repertoire that must run to several thousand. Yet given the practical difficulties that stand in the way of such research, particularly the reluctance of many libraries to allow any form of reproduction from their early printed books, the publication of even this pictorial archive is doubtless something of an achievement. The scholarly community must be grateful to the authors for persevering with a task that must at times have seemed dauntingly endless, and to those institutions which provided the necessary financial support. The result will be to raise knowledge of English illustrative art of the sixteenth century to an entirely new level.

ST ANDREWS REFORMATION STUDIES INSTITUTE

ANDREW PETTEGREE

The defeat of the pilgrimage of grace. A study of the postpardon revolts of December 1536 to March 1537 and their effect. By Michael Bush and David Bownes. Pp. xv + 476. Hull: University of Hull Press, 1999. £14 (paper). 0 85958 679 0. This exhaustive survey of the deliberately lower-case pilgrimage of grace takes as its thesis the failure of the postpardon revolts to secure the pilgrims' aims, turning victory into defeat. Founded on an intensive trawl of the state papers, it forms a coda to Bush's *The pilgrimage of grace: a study of the rebel armies of 1536* (Manchester 1996; rev. this JOURNAL xlviii [1997], 571). Of the text 70 per cent is a county-by-county narrative of events in the north in the first six weeks of 1537; in the clear argument of chapter vii the book really gets under way. Indeed, chapters vii–ix might have stood alone as an adequate rehearsal and analysis of the aftershocks of revolt. Some of the authors' conclusions are

surprising; though few would query the contention that the commons in 1537 were acting alone for want of gentle support, some might wonder at the assertions that all postpardon rebels were dedicated pilgrims (p. 289), or that the gentlemen, wholehearted in support in October, were by no means changing sides in January: a maxim which appears at times to be upheld in the teeth of the evidence. The analysis of who the 'commons' actually were might be useful, especially if placed earlier in the text. Its assumption that all countrymen were 'peasants' shows a surprising insensitivity to the social structure of the upland north. Likewise, ignoring the structure of at least one social nexus of gentry misses the implications of their actions. 'Loyalist' is perhaps a strong word to apply to northern individualists; its application to Dacre and the men of Eskdale is akin to thus describing Gerry Adams. There are other errors of fact, at least in dealing with the West March, some odd slips, like October for January (p. 52), and an irritating number of typographical errors. Such flaws tend to obscure the argument. So too does the regional approach. Given the overlap between events in different areas, a chronological rather than a thematic approach might have provided a clearer view of the narrative. This attempt to modify the Dodds thesis may be commendable, but I am not convinced that it is looking in the right direction.

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL LANCASHIRE

MARGARET CLARK

Typographia Batava 1541–1600. In ordinem digessit A. C. Schuytlot. Repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600. (A repertorium of books printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600), I: A–Z; II: Overheidspublicaties/Official publications/Indices. By Paul Valkema Blouw (with A. C. Schuytlot). Pp. xxxii + 661, 635. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998. Nlg 950. 90 6004 437 1; 90 6004 438 X

The appearance of *Typographia Batava* is a publishing event of some importance for scholars of the Netherlands. When in 1923 Nijhoff and Kronenberg began their monumental study of Netherlandish printing of the post-incunabula period (1500–40), no provision was then envisaged for continuing the survey through the rest of the century; a lacuna which has appeared all the more glaring with the initiation of other national short title catalogues. In 1961 the Frederik Muller Foundation set in train the work which would repair this omission; it has taken until now, twenty-five years after the originally envisaged terminal date, for this project to reach its completion. Undoubtedly progress on this survey list was inhibited by an initial intention to proceed by a series of local monographs; the more logical solution of a survey list was adopted only after the Belgian government had initiated a parallel project to survey works published in the southern Netherlands over the same period (*Belgica Typographica, 1541–1600*, 4 vols, 1968–94). The management of the Dutch project passed in due course to Paul Valkema Blouw, a bibliographer and book historian of exceptional talent, whose thirty years of research have essentially shaped this volume. In a period when an unusually high proportion of these Dutch imprints were published either anonymously or heavily disguised (over one-third of the editions listed here), Valkema Blouw's painstaking reconstruction of the output of previously unknown

presses has been a remarkable achievement of technical bibliography. It is not an exaggeration to say that his discoveries have completely re-ordered our understanding of how the publishing industry functioned in the northern Netherlands, particularly in the age of largely clandestine printing. Valkema Blouw's unique knowledge of these presses has been shared with the scholarly world in an extended series of published articles, which have proceeded in parallel with this work (thirty-two are listed in the bibliography); their republication in one volume would make a highly appropriate companion volume for this project.

Valkema Blouw's absorption with this painstaking and minute work, however, certainly diminished his interest in seeing the larger project through to completion, and in 1991 this responsibility passed to A. C. Schuytvlot. This long and somewhat painful gestation explains both the depth of research which underpins these volumes and, more regrettably, some of their less satisfactory features. In the first case it must be a source of regret that we have now two separate projects, covering Belgium and the Netherlands, reflecting modern political divisions rather than the contemporary circumstances of the period under study. For most of the sixteenth century the Netherlands was one political entity; even when separated by the Dutch Revolt boundaries were hardly fixed before the last decade of the century. The printing history of the northern provinces bears the imprint of these turbulent events at every turn: first in the circumstances that encouraged printers of forbidden Protestant works to seek secluded, remote places for the publication of books, later in the wholesale emigration of expertise from Antwerp to Amsterdam and Leiden. Separation into two separate projects makes this process much more difficult to follow, particularly since the *Belgica Typographica* and the *Typographia Batava* have adopted different and in some cases wilfully idiosyncratic organising principles.

A second consequence of the project's long gestation is that the technology available for bibliographical analysis has changed radically since the first computer-generated version of this list was compiled. A great deal of the sort of analysis that would be relatively routine for a modern database thus lies outside the scope of the project. It will now have to be left to others working with the data presented here to identify, for instance, the proportion of Latin to vernacular works (unusually low, on the basis of my inspection of the volume to date), and the significance of vernaculars other than Dutch (I counted 200 works in French, a not insignificant number). The strongest feature of the project is its confident analysis of the work of different printers, the subject of two separate indices in the second volume (by name and by location). Underpinned by a huge amount of original research, this now places on a firm statistical basis the emergence of the new publishing powerhouses of Amsterdam and Leiden, as well as rescuing from the shadows of deliberate anonymity the concealed presses of Kampen, Steenwijk, Deventer and Franeker.

The catalogue is much less easy to use if one is interested in the works of a particular author. The editors have for some reason determined that works published anonymously should be listed by title, even when the author is clearly known. Thus instead of a convenient list of contemporary Dutch editions of the works of Sebastian Franck, David Joris or Philip Marnix, one is forced to pursue them through the volume in up to twenty different locations. This leads to many

incongruities. The fifteen editions of Haemstede's Martyrology are divided between three locations: two editions under his name, and two groups under different titles. The two editions of Bernhardus Buwo's *Vriendelicke tsamensprekinghe* are separated by almost the entire extent of the book (nos 913 and 5394) because one mentions his name on the title-page and the other does not. Similarly provoking is the decision to omit any mention of format in the book descriptions. This is apparently at the express wish of Valkema Blouw, on the grounds that library catalogues used to assemble the basis data for this work contain many inaccuracies. This is undoubtedly true, but such austerity can be self-defeating. Quite apart from the fact that the published format is interesting in itself – the balance of folios, quartos and octavos tells us a great deal about a publishing industry or the production of individual printing houses – this is one of the key pieces of information for librarians and scholars examining additional unlisted copies, to determine whether they are identical, or separate, variant editions. For this purpose too an abbreviated collation would have been extremely helpful.

I myself tend to the view that all short title projects usually require two recensions; one to put an initial listing into the public domain, the second to incorporate the bibliographical scholarship generated by the first. To some extent the Dutch project has attempted to move to the second, without the first version, I would suggest with mixed results. Nevertheless, this is a formidable work, and certainly with its publication the pieces are in place for a full analysis of sixteenth-century Dutch printing. It should now be possible using modern computer techniques to incorporate the data from the three constituent projects – *Typographia Batava*, *Belgica Typographica* and Nijhoff-Kronenberg to produce a complete STC for the Netherlands. That indeed would be an exceptional bibliographical tool, and one which would do true justice to a culture which in the sixteenth century made an outstanding contribution to the development of the typographical art.

ST ANDREWS REFORMATION STUDIES INSTITUTE

ANDREW PETTEGREE

Acts of the dean and chapter of Westminster, 1543–1609, I: The first collegiate church, 1543–1556. Edited by C. S. Knighton. (Westminster Abbey Record Series, 1.) Pp. lvi+111 incl. 2 maps. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997. £35.00 85115 688 6; 1365 4306

Acts of the dean and chapter of Westminster, 1543–1609, II: 1560–1609. Edited by C. S. Knighton. (Westminster Abbey Record Series, 2.) Pp. xvi+328. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999. £40.00 85115 651 7; 1365 4306

While Westminster Abbey has received important attention from medieval historians in recent years (most notably in the work of Barbara Harvey and Gervase Rosser), the post-Reformation history of the abbey, under a newly constituted dean and chapter, has been seriously neglected. Despite its continuing importance, it remains surprisingly absent from histories of the period, barely rating a mention in Stanford Lehmberg's volumes on the post-Reformation cathedrals, presumably on the grounds that it was merely a collegiate church. Yet the abbey (as contemporaries generally continued to call it) still played an important role in the ceremonial life of the nation. In addition, some of the most

influential clerics of the age, from Whitgift and Bancroft through to Neile and Laud, served as deans and chapter members. The elaborate furnishings and services of the abbey also provide a tantalising glimpse of what may be a source of continuity between the conservative Protestantism of its Elizabethan dean, Gabriel Goodman, and later Laudian innovations.

Charles Knighton's two-volume edition of the acts of the dean and chapter 1543–1609, is therefore to be greatly welcomed, especially as access to the original act books has sometimes been difficult to secure. The edition is rendered all the more valuable to historians by the enormous amount of editorial work undertaken by Dr Knighton. He has been particularly assiduous in cross-referencing information about property-holding with material in the Abbey lease-books, and in solving complex problems of dating and in identifying minor officials from abbey records. Knighton's scalpel exposes very effectively the intricacies of how the chapter functioned as an institution and in this the edition partly serves to make more publicly available the research conducted by the author in his 1975 PhD dissertation, which focused on the collegiate church during the period 1540–70. The volume contains a prodigious index, which may daunt some, but its complexities are worth mastering, as it permits readers to conduct their own searches into matters such as leases and the patterns of attendance of individual prebendaries. Maps of the sixteenth-century abbey and its surroundings, and of the liberty of St Martin-le-Grand, are especially welcome, and the introduction chronicles the changing membership of the chapter over the entire period, as well as providing an overview of early entry fines and some brief comments on the working of the abbey in this period as revealed by the acts.

The edition will probably be of most value to historians of the urban development of Westminster, where the abbey continued to control an impressive number of rents. Religious historians may have to search more intensively for answers to their questions. Inevitably, the volumes tend to be constrained by the limitations and laconic style of the act books themselves: despite the presence of so many famous ecclesiastical names in the chapter, the acts are less illuminating and evocative than one might hope. There are sudden splashes of colour amid day-to-day business, but references to music or liturgy are frustratingly few and far between. The acts are inevitably records of agreement; the business of getting in fines and rentals needed documentation and acted as a common interest to chapter members. What is partly missing from a substantial introduction is the broader context. This is very much the view from the cloister. The abbey's interaction with the local parishes, the important local role of the Cecils, the doings of prebendaries outside the doors of the abbey (several of them, indeed, were vicars of Westminster parishes), receive little attention, despite the fact that they can at times explain and shed important light upon events and appointments within the abbey for which the acts provide only the barest details. Here was no college hermetically sealed from the life of the metropolis, but rather an institution that was constantly (and sometimes acrimoniously) involved in the politics of one of the most important areas of the country. The neglect of these angles partly reflects the editor's rather narrow attention to the text of the chapter acts, but this may reflect editorial policy and in fairness it must be stressed that it also demonstrates the weakness of current historiography on the area.

Nevertheless, Knighton's painstaking work on the act books has provided the firm and indispensable foundation upon which further and more wide-ranging research on the abbey can build, and in this he has admirably served the purposes of the new Westminster Record Society series, of which these constitute the first two volumes. The series, under the general editorship of Richard Mortimer, archivist of the abbey, has made a splendid beginning, and Dr Mortimer is to be congratulated on his initiative in beginning to make available the wealth of archival riches housed in the abbey.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

J. F. MERRITT

The English Reformation and the laity. Gloucestershire, 1540–1580. By Caroline Litzenberger. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Pp. xvii + 222 incl. 21 figs and 14 tables. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. £35. 0 521 47545 7

Caroline Litzenberger effectively challenges the traditional view that Gloucestershire rapidly embraced the Reformation in the 1530s under the influence of Hugh Latimer, William Tracy and William Tyndale; she argues less persuasively that Protestantism was only beginning to take hold in 1580. She focuses on the laity, using an impressive array of sources, particularly emphasising wills. While discussing the entire country and accounting for geographic diversity (Forest of Dean in the west, Cotswolds in the east, Severn vale between), she offers case studies of two urban parishes, St Mary's, Tewkesbury, and St Michael's, Gloucester. She carefully sets her discussion against pronounced changes in ecclesiastical policy and personnel: the county is almost identical in area to the diocese of Gloucester created in 1541 and ruled successively by four very different bishops – conforming John Wakeman (1541–9), radical Protestant and Marian martyr John Hooper (1551–4), Catholic James Brookes (1554–8), and enigmatic conservative Richard Cheyney (1562–79). Litzenberger proposes moving beyond A. G. Dickens and Christopher Haigh's debate over their respective 'fast' and 'slow' Reformations. She argues that Gloucestershire's residents cannot be classified into two distinct groups of Catholics and Protestants but that lay belief and practice covered a broad spectrum. Her evidence shows exactly that. However, she ultimately falls back on bi-polar analysis, often speaks of laymen in monolithic terms, and essentially lines up with Haigh in favour of persistent Catholicism that yielded slowly to officially imposed change. Typical is her use of will preambles, which she divides into seventeen categories and then assigns to three groups: traditional, ambiguous and Protestant. Some are questionable, for example she considers references to the 'elect' ambiguous. She attributes an increase in ambiguous preambles under Edward VI to Catholics cloaking their beliefs in vague language; however, for Mary's reign, despite an increase in clearly Catholic preambles, she interprets the numerous ambiguous wills not as evidence of dissatisfaction with restored Catholicism but as further proof of support. It seems more likely that ambiguous preambles signify ambiguity of belief. Litzenberger cites pre-Reformation building projects as evidence of Catholic vitality but notes widespread decay of buildings in the early 1540s, too soon for the break with Rome to be at fault. Arguing for continued

Catholicism under Edward, she emphasises parishes that preserved Catholic paraphernalia, but she then explains the slow restoration of Catholic liturgy under Mary as due partly to the expense of replacing such items that had been discarded. She views Edwardian and Elizabethan whitewashing of stained glass images as arising from a desire to preserve the hidden icons, though it is equally possible that Protestants disliked the images but could not afford to replace expensive windows if they were destroyed. Such criticisms notwithstanding, this book contains much of value. Just two of many possible examples are Litzenberger's discussion of the interplay between political factionalism and religion and her account of the confusion engendered by conflicting Elizabethan policies in the 1560s. Her work deserves to be read by students of both local history and the English Reformation in general.

SOUTHEASTERN LOUISIANA UNIVERSITY (HAMMOND)

WILLIAM B. ROBISON

The quiet Reformation. Magistrates and the emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich.

By Muriel C. McClendon. Pp. xv + 340 incl. 2 maps. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999. £32.50. 0 8047 3513 1

According to Muriel McClendon, the course of the Reformation in Norwich was remarkably smooth. The city underwent a 'quiet Reformation', largely free of persecution and religious strife, because its mayor and aldermen consistently followed a policy of *de facto* religious toleration. This policy of toleration did not spring, McClendon is quick to assert, from any intellectual or ideological valorisation of religious freedom and diversity, but rather as part of a strategy by Norwich's magistrates to prevent any outside intervention in civic affairs.

This is an intriguing thesis but the quality of the research on which it is based is disappointing. A close look at one crucial section of the book, the account of the Marian persecution in Norwich, alone reveals numerous errors, omissions and distortions. According to McClendon, the Norwich civic authorities 'abstained from participation in the Marian persecution of Protestant heretics' (p. 179). McClendon also maintains that the diocesan authorities left the city residents largely unmolested with the result that, by McClendon's calculations, only two Norwich residents were executed for heresy in Mary's reign and only 'one is known for certain to have gone into exile' (p. 184). The operative word here is 'resident'. Simon Miller was arrested in Norwich by the city authorities, after having been denounced by a Norwich resident and he was tried and executed for heresy in Norwich. Yet McClendon does not include him among the victims of the Marian persecution in Norwich on the grounds that he was not a resident of the city.

In the autumn of 1553 the mayor's court sent a prebendary of Norwich Cathedral to the Privy Council for his 'lewd talk' in violation of a recent royal statute. In February 1554 Robert Watson was arrested by the mayor for refusing to attend mass and once again the Privy Council was informed. Watson was turned over to Miles Spenser, the diocesan chancellor; after an imprisonment of sixteen months he only secured his release (McClendon does not mention this) by signing a statement of his belief in the Real Presence. After the dean of Norwich tried to rearrest him (another detail not mentioned by McClendon), Watson fled

overseas. William Hamman, a shoemaker, was driven from Norwich by Miles Spenser and two aldermen, John Atkins and William Mingey, after speaking out against the mass and Catholic ceremonies. Henry Bird, later a prominent Puritan minister, was also forced to flee Norwich because of his religious convictions, as was an unnamed schoolteacher. (The cases of Hamman, Bird and the schoolteacher are not mentioned by McClendon. They only appear in the first edition of John Foxe's *Acts and monuments* and were never reprinted by the martyrologist; a serious flaw in McClendon's research is her failure to consult the original editions of Foxe's work.) Two other people were pilloried by the Norwich magistrates for composing ballads against the mass.

McClendon concedes the executions of Elizabeth Cooper and Cicely Ormes but regards them as aberrations. She points out that Cooper interrupted a service in her parish church and publicly renounced a recantation she had previously been compelled to make in that very church. She was then, in McClendon's account, arrested at the insistence of a man named Bacon. McClendon emphasises that Cooper brought the attention of the authorities upon herself (although this ignores the fact that she had already been forced to recant) and that only one obscure individual demanded her arrest. However, in his first edition, Foxe stated that 'master Marsham and one Bacon' had demanded Cooper's arrest; this is almost certainly a reference to Thomas Marsham, a Norwich alderman. Marsham's name was deleted from all future editions, undoubtedly a tribute to his influence (or the influence of his family and friends) rather than his innocence. (For another example of Foxe excising the name of a prominent persecutor from his book see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors* [Oxford 1986], 191.)

Cicely Ormes, like Cooper, had been forced to recant. A year later she effectively withdrew her recantation by pledging her support for Cooper at the latter's execution. Ormes was arrested at the behest of John Corbet, a former MP and the recorder for Norwich; she was executed on 23 September 1557. McClendon also conflates two heretics burned in Norwich, William Carman and Richard Carman, into a single non-existent martyr named Thomas Carman. (McClendon is repeating Foxe who did not mention William and mistakenly gave Richard's name as Thomas, but if she had consulted the *significavit* of excommunication in the PRO she would have avoided this mistake.) According to Francis Blomefield, the eighteenth-century historian of Norfolk, who drew on municipal records now lost, the sheriff of Norwich searched William Carman's house and confiscated heretical books, while at least part of the judicial process against Carman was conducted in municipal courts.

Thus the Norwich civic authorities were instrumental in the arrests of four people executed for heresy in Norwich during Mary's reign; they also harassed, imprisoned and pilloried a number of other Protestants in the city. McClendon is correct in maintaining that this is exceptional; in no other city or major town in England, during Mary's reign, did the civic authorities display such zeal in persecuting heresy, unless (as was not the case in Norwich) they were acting under the direction of outside authorities, such as royal commissioners.

The mixture of sophistry and sloppy research just described pervades the entire book. There is no space here to catalogue additional examples but some general methodological flaws may be noted. McClendon mistakenly assumes that cases

of heresy were routinely recorded in civic records and episcopal registers; she also makes no allowance for haphazard record-keeping or the loss of documents. As a result she assumes that if something cannot be found in surviving municipal or episcopal records, it did not happen. (For example, because there are no surviving records of certain punishments ordered by the Privy Council actually being administered McClendon seriously suggests that the Norwich magistrates disobeyed the Council and even lied to it [pp. 157–8, 242].) Above all, McClendon constantly shoehorns the evidence into her interpretations of events. For instance, while she joins Patrick Collinson in describing the Elizabethan Norwich magistrates' zealous prosecution of moral offenders and vagrants, she perversely insists that this is evidence of the 'religious forbearance' of the magistrates and criticises Collinson for failing to perceive this. Regrettably this book obscures, rather than illuminates, crucial aspects of the English Reformation.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

THOMAS S. FREEMAN

John Foxe. An historical perspective. Edited by David Loades. Pp. xii + 256 incl. 13 figs and 3 tables. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. £52.50. 1 84014 678 8

This volume, a collection of papers of wildly uneven quality delivered at the second of what has become a series of conferences devoted to John Foxe, gets off to an auspicious start with David Daniell's analysis of Foxe's account of William Tyndale. Daniell argues persuasively that Foxe increasingly shaped his narrative of Tyndale's life in succeeding editions of the *Acts and monuments* to make it conform to the paradigm provided by the Book of Acts; Daniell even suggests that Foxe followed this model so closely that he described Tyndale's ordeal in a fictitious shipwreck to increase the parallel between Tyndale and St Paul. I do wish that Daniell had discussed the emendations in the 1570 and 1576 editions of the *A&M* separately; by conflating them he has obscured the fact that virtually all the changes he has described were first made to the 1570 text, a point of some importance in the overall context of Foxe's work. And, a minor *caveat*, Daniell's suggestion that Humphrey Monmouth was a source for Foxe's account of Tyndale can be safely dismissed; Monmouth died in 1537. None of this, however, obscures Daniell's achievement in demonstrating the immense influence of biblical (and, it might be added, hagiographical) typology on Foxe's narrative.

Since the word 'prosopography' was coined by Foxe's friend and fellow martyrologist, Heinrich Pantaleon, it is particularly appropriate that the London merchants and clergy in Foxe's circle should be the subject of Brett Usher's essay, an outstanding specimen of the genre. Scholars writing about Foxe will be quarrying the rich veins of data in Usher's essay for a long time to come. But, apart from the invaluable detail it contains on the circumstances in which the martyrs were burned under Mary and commemorated under Elizabeth, Usher's article also demonstrates two important general truths about the English Reformation. One is that zealous Protestants were, by the beginning of Mary's reign, to be found in the upper ranks of London's mercantile elite and that their wealth played an important role in propagating the Reformed gospel. Usher also confirms Andrew Pettegree's recent work emphasising the numbers and

importance of the Protestants who were neither exiles nor martyrs in Mary's reign. Protestants were unquestionably in the minority at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign but it was a larger and more influential minority than has sometimes been acknowledged.

If Brett Usher's essay is built on the rock of impeccable research, then Janice Devereux's effort to establish that the Protestant propagandist Luke Shepherd was a source for Foxe is built on the sands of ill-informed speculation. Devereux's argument is particularly compromised by her failure to mention, let alone examine, the sources Foxe listed for passages which she claims that the martyrologist derived from Shepherd; sources which include books that Foxe is known to have read and which also include the surviving family and friends of Protestant martyrs. David Keep shares Devereux's single-mindedness; where she ignores inconvenient facts, he, in an essay on Foxe's commentary on Revelation, completely ignores the small army of scholars, both early modern and contemporary, who have studied this influential work.

Two essays in the volume cast new light on William Haller's controversial thesis that Foxe played a crucial role in the development of English nationalism. Damian Nussbaum, in a superb study of the appropriation of Foxe's work by both conformists and nonconformists, demolishes one of the central pillars of Haller's thesis by demonstrating that the oft-cited praise of England's unique role in propagating the gospel, which was made by Timothy Bright, the editor of the first abridged edition of the *Acts and monuments*, was inspired by a desire to extol the institutions and hierarchy of the Church of England in the face of Puritan criticism and not by incipient nationalism.

What Nussbaum destroys, Glyn Parry partially restores. Parry argues that Sir Francis Drake and other influential proponents of a 'hot war' with Spain drew both inspiration and justification from the *Acts and monuments*; he also argues that Foxe, in the turbulent 1570s, came to see England as the divinely chosen leader of a crusade against Spain. I am convinced on the first point but I have reservations about the second. I do not have the space here to deal with the issues that Parry's important article raises but I would caution that there are sections of the *Acts and monuments* that do not easily accommodate Parry's argument. For example, why did Foxe go out of his way to praise the 'good clemency and nature' of Philip II? (*A & M* [1570], 2294).

Andrew Penny's prolix essay on the debates over the *Acts and monuments* in the nineteenth century, is, in its denigration and dismissal of S. R. Maitland's substantive and quite often accurate criticisms of the Victorian editions of Foxe's work, misleading and counter-productive. In contrast, Alec Ryrie contributes a thoughtful and useful essay on the slow development of martyrological writing in Henrician England.

Michael Pucci winnows a number of interesting observations from his comparison of Foxe's narrative of the life of Constantine with Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret which supplied the basic data for Foxe's account of the first Christian emperor; particularly striking is Pucci's discussion of how the material in the *Acts and monuments* was shaped to make Constantine a suitably Protestant monarch. A good essay, however, could have been made better if Pucci had checked to see if there were any variations in the narratives of Constantine in the different editions

of the *Acts and monuments*. And, above all, Pucci should have ascertained whether Foxe's account was directly based on the works of the Greek historians or whether he drew his account from an intermediate source such as the *Magdeburg Centuries*; without this information, we cannot know who was responsible for the changes in the account of Constantine which Pucci has observed.

The limitations in Pucci's essay highlight the greatest flaw of the entire collection: too many of the contributors based their work on the fundamentally inaccurate Victorian editions of the *Acts and monuments*. Let us hope that the contributors to any future conference volumes on Foxe analyse and quote the actual editions of his work and not the nineteenth-century mongrelisations of it.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

THOMAS S. FREEMAN

The quest for compromise. Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna. By Howard Louthan. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) Pp. xvi + 188 incl. 14 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. £35. 0 521 58082 X This small volume examines 'signs of religious accommodation' (p. 1) in later sixteenth-century Vienna, where it seeks to document 'an Erasmian dynamic' of irenicism in the Habsburg emperors' policies toward their Lutheran subjects. Dr Louthan owes a good deal to Friedrich Heer's concept of a 'third force' between the religious fronts and to R. J. W. Evans on the 'vitality of irenicism' in RudolFINE Prague (p. 3). He focuses not on Emperor Maximilian II's disputed religious views but on the cultural mood of his court and 'the Habsburg via media' (p. 5). Four figures – the Mantuan antiquarian Jacopo Strada, the Swabian general Lazarus von Schwendi, the Silesian Protestant physician Johannes Crato, and the Calvinist librarian Hugo Blotius of Leiden – offer 'a microcosmic view of cultural and intellectual developments' and a guide to 'the contours of Viennese irenicism' (p. 7). The book moves from the later years of Charles V to the death of Maximilian II – Louthan wishes to move this well-worn subject from religious to cultural history. Although he is perhaps too inclined to accept 'Erasmianism' as a pervasive ideology and insufficiently attentive to the political logic of the Habsburgs' soft policy toward the Lutherans, the book is interesting, well-written and provocative. Andreas Edel's *Der Kaiser und Kurpfalz* (Göttingen 1997), the definitive study of this emperor's religious policy, appeared too late for Louthan's book, but the same is not true of Thomas Niklas's *Um Macht und Einheit des Reiches* (Husum 1995), a major new study of Schwendi.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY

THOMAS A. BRADY, JR.

Government by polemic. James I, the king's preachers, and the rhetorics of conformity, 1603–1625. By Lori Anne Ferrell. Pp. xv + 232. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998. £30 (\$49.50). 0 8047 3221 3

Lori Anne Ferrell has produced an engaging, indeed sometimes witty, study of the neglected body of sermon literature written for, or sponsored by, James VI and I, divided here into four periods loosely defined by the temporal themes that dominated the king's pulpits during his English reign – accession

and union (1603–5), Gunpowder and Gowry Plots (1605–9), Jacobean Constantinianism (1604–16) and Jacobean ceremonialism (1616–25). Ferrell argues that the extent to which James attempted, often quite successfully, to govern his English and (from a distance) Scottish Churches through his preachers – and stigmatised godly Calvinism as ‘puritanism’ in the process – has been underestimated in the extremely influential work of Patrick Collinson, Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake. But her revisions of post-revisionist revisionism, in particular the attempt to see in Bancroftian apologists for Prayer Book rubrics Laudian sacramentalists *avant la lettre*, are unnecessarily strained, though fortunately not pressed to the detriment of the whole. Readers of this JOURNAL may also feel that some methodological points could have been more fully considered. The ‘king’s preachers’ of the subtitle are here a loose gathering of those who preached at court and Paul’s Cross, rather too uncritically assumed to be a coherent group of participants in a ‘central government’ where ‘the king set the agenda’. Others will be disappointed to find that only texts printed during the reign are studied, thus eliding both the influence of manuscript culture and, perhaps even more important in this context, the fact that any sermon preached in such prominent pulpits, even if not printed, was most certainly ‘published’. But Ferrell’s contributions to the field are exciting. Not least she has taken a step farther Peter Lake’s and others’ extremely productive willingness to read sermon texts with a lively contextual imagination as historical evidence. Ferrell is at her best in this book when she offers compelling and often entertaining readings of particular sermons, such as Gunpowder Plot sermons by William Barlow and John King, that respond not only to political but to verbal detail, showing how skilfully Jacobean preachers had learned the humanist lesson of deploying verbal craft in statecraft. The author also uncovers a lost dialogue between conformist apologists and James himself, showing how they appropriated and imitated (in the humanist sense) each others’ writing throughout the reign, beginning with James’s self-consciously sermonic opening speech to his first parliament. Ferrell’s treatment of court pulpit anti-Puritanism is pertinent to the new literary interest in anti-Puritan satire in the early modern public theatres. Specialists will also find in this study yet more convincing evidence of how important the Scottish Kirk was in the minds of those competing to fashion the English Church. Ferrell’s is an important contribution to the modern attempt to understand both.

LINCOLN COLLEGE,
OXFORD

PETER McCULLOUGH

Noble power during the French wars of religion. The Guise affinity and the Catholic cause in Normandy. By Stuart Carroll. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) Pp. xv + 298 incl. 6 plates and 5 figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £35. 0 521 62404 5

Peace in the post-Reformation. The Birkbeck Lectures 1995. By John Bossy. Pp. ix + 105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £30 (cloth), £9.95 (paper). 0 521 64061 x; 0 521 64605 7

Stuart Carroll’s *Noble power during the French wars of religion* is a revised PhD thesis by a younger scholar, whose book demonstrates some of the new directions and

questions currently being explored by historians of the French religious wars of the sixteenth century. The task that Carroll has set himself is to analyse the entire range of communication and social networks surrounding the Guise family – what he calls the Guise affinity – in their holdings in Normandy during the wars of religion. Ranging much more widely than a simple investigation of patronage networks, Carroll has sought to explore the various ways in which the Guise managed to influence this region. Normandy was strongly infiltrated by Protestantism in the 1560s; yet by the 1590s it had become a bastion of the Catholic League, in no small measure, argues the author, because of the influence of the Guise affinity and presence in the region.

While there is much to admire in this book, in such a short review I can only focus on two issues that deserve much wider attention. One is Carroll's explicit attempt to perceive the entire subject of religion and politics in a different way. He notes in the introduction that the boundaries between elite and popular culture no longer seem nearly so distinct and rigid as they once did, and he makes an effort to combine elite politics and popular religion in the course of this study. While one might argue that the results produced might not be as definitive as originally hoped, there is no question that Carroll is moving in the right direction. His findings and conclusions fit into the growing body of work that now is called 'political culture' by some and 'popular politics' by others. And what he shows *inter alia* are the benefits of his method. The book demonstrates very convincingly how political elites, even from such stalwart and wealthy military-noble families as the Guise, depended on the wide affinity of their supporters for their political influence as much as they relied on wealth or royal largesse.

A second strength of the book I would like to underscore is an excellent example of this: the Catholic League in Normandy. Carroll goes a long way toward undermining the meta-narrative of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries so familiar to specialists of the wars of religion. Dominated by the Guise, the Spanish or the Sixteen in Paris (depending on which version is being espoused), and always strictly an urban movement of local elites, the League has traditionally been seen as a social movement thrust into political action as a result of the inadequacies of Henry III, with its internal contradictions, inherent fragility and the inevitability of its downfall as hallmarks of this narrative. Carroll's analysis builds on the earlier work of others in suggesting that religion was an important factor in League solidarity, but he also shows that Guise domination of the League in Normandy depended on the support of individual Leaguers from all social classes. Again, the accent is on the affinity as much as on the Guises, and Carroll even extends his purview into the rural villages, areas not normally associated with League support. Thus, while the book occasionally gets too bogged down in detail in places, this is a fine study with much to offer and it deserves a wide readership.

John Bossy, Carroll's colleague in the History Department at the University of York, is a more experienced scholar whose writings have already had a profound influence on historians of the sixteenth-century. *Peace in the post-Reformation* had its origins as a series of lectures delivered in Cambridge in the autumn of 1995. And while Bossy has added some notes and references, the text still reads remarkably like the orally-delivered lectures they were intended to be. And on the whole, this

is a good thing, making for enjoyable reading and easy elucidation of his main themes. These themes will not be a surprise to most readers, as they build logically on his earlier work, particularly the ideas synthesised in *Christianity in the west, 1400–1700* (Oxford 1985). By peace, Bossy intends us to understand ‘moral tradition’, at least as understood by contemporaries: loving one’s neighbours and enemies, understanding that enmity between neighbours in this period was a common occurrence, and knowing what roles the Church played in making ‘peace in the feud’. When this moral tradition came to be shaken up by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, what emerged after the shaking was not so much the disappearance of this moral tradition, but its re-emergence in a new guise. Bossy tells this story in four different ways in separate chapters on Italy, France, Germany and England, providing a wide variety of confessional contexts to consider his themes. Like all Bossy’s writings, there are many things to think about here, and it is always refreshing when a scholar as knowledgeable and creative as Bossy makes an attempt to illuminate the big picture. In the end, his stress on the transition from a ‘Christian society’ before the Reformation to a ‘civil society’ afterwards sheds as much light on the modern world as on the sixteenth century. Moreover, it forces us to re-examine some of our more enduring caricatures about the Reformation era (the Jesuits and Puritans are just two examples about which Bossy has much to say). Ultimately, both ‘Christian society’ and ‘civil society’ are about peace-making, but they are two different forms of peace. *Pax* and *tranquillitas* are not the same thing at all, as Bossy is at pains to make clear. *Et in terra tranquillitas?* As in all of Bossy’s writings, there is much to chew on and much to learn in this very short text; and like *Christianity in the west*, it will take several readings to absorb it all. But it is well worth the effort.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

MACK P. HOLT

The polarisation of Elizabethan politics. The political career of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, 1585–1597. By Paul E. J. Hammer. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Pp. xviii + 449 incl. 8 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £45. 0 521 43485 8

Historians’ assessments of the meteoric career of the second earl of Essex, influenced unconsciously by foreknowledge of his fate, have been dismissive. He has been seen as a spoiled child of the court, ruthlessly ambitious, but the victim of his own personal failures of character. Paul Hammer has set out to redraw the picture by re-examining in depth the character and career of the earl. The portrait he paints is of an ambitious man, but one whose personal and public ambitions were shaped by selfless goals. Holding Philip Sidney as a model, Essex self-consciously fashioned his own career as one which would embody the qualities of the Protestant knight, devoting life and energy to the service of queen and faith. He had also a conception of the ways in which these causes should be advanced in the war which had been waged since 1585. Over against the cautiously defensive stance of the queen and Burghley, which kept English commitments at the lowest possible level, Essex fought in council for an offensive

strategy against the Spanish foe. In 1595 and 1597 he succeeded. Hammer bases his argument on an impressive array of both manuscript and printed sources, many unused by previous historians. He gives a detailed and authoritative account of the muted but deep-rooted contest between the earl and the Cecils. He emphasises the political skills which Essex brought to his task, including the organisation of a formidable and effective intelligence service (with the help of the Bacon brothers). He also acknowledges the appearance of personal flaws, above all Essex's over-riding sense of his own dignity and the honour due to him. This gives a clue to the part of Essex's history Hammer leaves tantalisingly unwritten – the tragic finale of the earl's career. He has in this work accomplished a major re-evaluation of the decade of the 1590s.

CAMBRIDGE

WALLACE MACCAFFREY

Parish communities and religious conflict in the vale of Gloucester, 1590–1690. By Daniel C. Beaver. (Harvard Historical Studies, 129.) Pp. xiii + 462 incl. map. Cambridge, Mass.–London: Harvard University Press, 1998. £30.95. 0 674 75845 5

Daniel Beaver has written a volume grounded in extensive manuscript sources and combining the methodologies of social and cultural history with the theories of cultural anthropology. His geographical focus is the single-parish town of Tewkesbury and its environs (an area of approximately twelve square miles) in the county of Gloucester. Chronologically and thematically, however, his range is much broader, encompassing a wide range of topics relating to parish communities and religious conflict in the tumultuous seventeenth century. The book is divided into two parts. The first attempts 'to demonstrate the interrelationship of the sacred and everyday life'. The second 'focuses on the implications of religious diversity' (p. 21). His goal is to help illuminate 'the interrelationship of the crises in the Stuart regime and the uses of sacred power in the fellowship of the parish and in the intimate contexts of everyday life' (p. 22). This is an ambitious goal and one that some portions of the book achieve more fully than others. The strongest sections of the book are those in the second portion that address the period from the 1640s through the early 1660s. Here he contextualises rich local material within the dramatic conflicts and changes of the nation state from the beginning of civil war and the 'unchurching the church' through the restoration of both the monarchy and the national Church. His anthropological approach with its emphasis on symbols, rituals and community is particularly helpful in framing his analysis of the impact of those developments. This leads perhaps to his most important point: that by drastically altering traditional religious symbols and attendant rituals, the basis for defining religious affiliations and identities was radically changed, ultimately leading to a need to redefine both civic and religious communities. Despite its contribution to our understanding of the local impact of religious and political change in mid-seventeenth-century England, however, this book still has some shortcomings. In part 1 Beaver's discussion of social forms would be stronger if it were given a clearer chronological context. Additionally, in his discussion of the period before the outbreak of civil war, his methodological and theoretical framework

sometimes gets in the way of the narrative. He has also failed to consider some significant recent scholarship in his examination of that period. For instance, in his introductory discussion of the historiography of the English Reformation, while he does mention Patrick Collinson and A. G. Dickens, he does not include either Eamon Duffy or Christopher Haigh. Shortcomings aside, however, this is a welcome contribution to our understanding of the seventeenth century. Beaver's reliance on rich local manuscript sources, complemented by his anthropological approach, provides useful insights into the particular local manifestations of dramatic shifts in the policies of the nation state during that time of unprecedented religious and political change.

PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY

CAROLINE LITZENBERGER

Crisis and reform. The Kyivan metropolitanate, the patriarchate of Constantinople, and the genesis of the Union of Brest. By Boris A. Gudziak. (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies.) Pp. xviii + 491 incl. 2 maps and 17 ills + 4 colour plates. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press (for the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University), 1998. £23.50. 0 916458 74 1

This book relates the background to the 1596 Union of Brest between the Orthodox bishops of the Kyivan metropolitanate and the Roman Catholic Church. Borys Gudziak examines the context of this Greco-Catholic union by discussing the place of the Ruthenian Church within the Orthodox world, and especially its relationship with the Constantinople patriarchate. Gudziak sets out the development of Orthodox religion in the eastern Slavic lands from the failure of the 1439 Florentine accords between the Roman and Orthodox Churches to the fall of Constantinople to Ottoman control. He argues that the subsequent weakness of the Constantinople patriarchate contributed to an institutional crisis for the Orthodox Church in the eastern Slavic lands during the sixteenth century. The jurisdiction of the patriarchate in Constantinople over the affairs of the Kyivan Church lapsed, and contact with the Greek Church was very limited, only sustained by occasional emissaries from Mount Athos or Constantinople travelling north to Moscow to petition for financial assistance. From the second half of the fifteenth century the Kyivan metropolitan only held dioceses in Ukrainian and Belarusian lands within the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The practice of Orthodox religion was protected in the Commonwealth under the 1573 confederation of Warsaw, which also offered rights to Protestant Churches. However, as Gudziak points out the Warsaw confederation did not prevent confessional disputes altogether, for example over the forced introduction of the Gregorian calendar in Orthodox areas.

During the latter decades of the sixteenth century the Kyivan metropolitanate was therefore situated at an intersection of all the major religious traditions, in contact with Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and anti-Trinitarians in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, bordering territory ruled by the only independent Orthodox ruler in Muscovy, and loyal to a Byzantine Church whose institutions had been badly disrupted by the Ottoman authorities. Gudziak describes the situation of the Kyivan metropolitanate in this arena of confessional competition as ‘on the verge of institutional, moral, and cultural collapse’. The

growing power of the Catholic Church in particular led to the conversion of many Orthodox nobles, including the children of the Kyivan palatine Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi. Orthodox responses to this crisis of confessional competition included the foundation of a lay confraternity at L'viv in the 1580s, and the development of some printing and educational centres. Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi was prominent in these developments, sponsoring a school at Ostrih and supporting the first complete Bible translation in Church Slavonic. Although the impact of these developments seems limited, they all marked attempts to combat confessional rivals and strengthen Orthodoxy in the region.

Efforts at internal reform also received some encouragement from travelling Greek patriarchs, firstly from Joachim of Antioch and then from Jeremiah of Constantinople. Jeremiah travelled to Muscovy in 1588 to seek financial aid for his patriarchate, and on his return south stayed long enough in the Ruthenian lands to defrock all twice-married clergy, including the metropolitan Onysyfor. Jeremiah also appointed an exarch to promote good order in the Church and to monitor the performance of the clergy. Within seven years of the patriarch's visit, many within the Kyivan church hierarchy had opted to switch their allegiance from Constantinople to Rome. Gudziak argues that Jeremiah's intervention unsettled the Ruthenian Church, since local clergy had become accustomed to thinking of Constantinople as 'not an important ecclesiastical, cultural, or ideological point of reference'. From 1590 the Ruthenian bishops moved towards union with Rome, partly aiming to defend the role of the clergy hierarchy within the Church against interference from either Greek patriarchs or local laity. The bishop of Brest (a Calvinist in his youth) led the impetus for union, and conditions were set out in 'Articles pertaining to Union with the Roman church' in 1595. The Ruthenian clergy's vision of ecclesiastical union was not shared in Rome, where the Catholic authorities spoke of the 'reduction' of the Kyivan Church to union. The agreement made with the papacy by the Orthodox bishops conceded several points of doctrinal difference, but the Kyivan Church was permitted to retain its traditional liturgy and local episcopal power was also maintained. However, unity among local bishops on the road to union broke down in 1595, and thus whilst one group of clergy met at Brest in October 1596 to ratify the articles of union, a rival group of clergy denounced union as betrayal.

Gudziak concludes that many leading Ruthenian clergy decided to embrace union with Rome in the 1590s as a response to the crisis within their Church, under severe challenge from competitors to the west and lacking any consistent institutional support from Constantinople. Gudziak also briefly considers the cultural impact of this Greco-Catholic union, and suggests that by opting for union with Rome the Ruthenian bishops were consolidating and defending Ruthenian religious and national identity. Such arguments which connect the motivation for sixteenth-century religious reform with the construction of Ruthenian national identity between Orthodox Muscovy and Catholic Poland are highly problematic. Gudziak is justifiably cautious in most of his comments about the long-term impact of the Greco-Catholic Union on Ukrainian identity, and the value of this book lies rather in his analysis of the genesis of reform within the Orthodox Church. This book marks a significant advance in our understanding of how societies in east-central Europe, in the zone 'between' west and east, responded to the collapse of the Byzantine world and the reformation

of Latin Christianity, and will be of great interest to historians of both the region and of the Reformation.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

GRAEME MURDOCK

Four hundred years Union of Brest (1596–1996). A critical re-evaluation. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in March 1996. Edited by Bert Groen and Wil van den Bercken. (Eastern Christian Studies, 1.) Pp. ix + 269. Louvain: Peeters, 1998. B.Fr. 1,850 (paper). 90 429 0670 7

This admirable volume illustrates the growing contribution being made by Dutch theologians to the study of Eastern Christianity. It contains the papers from a symposium on the Greek-Catholic Church (the term now most commonly used for what at one time was called the 'Uniate Church') organised by the University of Nijmegen in 1996. This marked the four-hundredth anniversary of the Union of Brest, the humble beginning of what has become a major strand – and cause of offence – in East–West church relations today. Six of the twelve contributions are by Dutch scholars and a further one comes from the University of Antwerp. This ensures an irenic and objective approach to a controversial subject which has almost always been bedevilled by lack of charity and by high emotion. It is an arena where secular politics have interfered in church life to a shocking extent. Soviet communism, by taking up the cudgels (or worse) against the Greek (i.e. Ukrainian) Catholics, had achieved, by the end of empire in 1991, precisely the opposite of what it had intended: a martyr church emerging from the catacombs stronger than could possibly have been predicted, or than would have been likely if left to its own devices. What both Rome and Moscow now have to realise is that the Union of Brest has left a progeny which is indestructible and a permanent presence in Catholic-Orthodox relations. Serious study of the Greek-Catholic Church – and indeed, the establishment of ecumenical relations with it – has therefore become a crucial new factor on the international church scene during the last decade of this century. This has in fact not yet happened, so something more positive must urgently be done and this book makes a major contribution. It is admirably edited and presented, despite the slightly quirky title.

KESTON INSTITUTE

MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

Healers and healing in early modern Italy. By David Gentilcore. (Social and Cultural Values in Early Modern Europe.) Pp. x + 240 incl. 2 maps and 8 figs. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 1998. £45. 0 7190 4199 6

This is an innovative and well-researched study, marred only by its somewhat misleading title ('Italy' is a misnomer since most of the discussion and practically all the research concerns the Kingdom of Naples). It complements other fine monographs lately appearing in English on the social history of health and healing in Italy, notably John Henderson's *Piety and charity in late medieval Florence* (Oxford 1994) and Sandra Cavallo's *Charity and power in early modern Italy*:

benefactors and their motives in Turin, 1541–1789 (Cambridge 1995), but unlike those studies of particular institutions takes a comprehensive and inclusive view, comparable to two other outstanding works on Germany and France respectively, Mary Lindemann's *Health and healing in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany* (Baltimore 1996) and Lawrence Brockliss and Colin Jones's *The medical world of early modern France* (Oxford 1997).

Like the above-mentioned analyses, Gentilcore's book further undermines certain hoary old myths about early modern medicine and other misconceptions fostered by more recent positions (for example, the sociology of the professions). The practice of medicine was not uncommon in the Kingdom of Naples – the South may have been short of effective medicine but it was no backwater in those days and it was absolutely awash with therapies and remedies. And its healers were far from being restricted to the familiar pyramid of physicians, barber-surgeons and apothecaries pictured in traditional medical-history textbooks. For one thing, in Italy the clear-cut division between physic and surgery, customary in England, did not apply; for another, physicians themselves, far from being a tiny elite at the top of the tree, were actually in rather liberal supply, even in relatively small towns, to which they would be lured by contracts from the town council. In general, Gentilcore warns us against too literal a reading of the formal structures and titles everywhere in place. It was commonly the case that the professors of medicine in the kingdom's universities were precisely those who weren't actually doing the lecturing, just as it cannot be taken for granted that the fellows of the various medical colleges were indeed the most skilful practising doctors – admission to the colleges would be sought in large measure for social reasons.

Probing beneath the myths and the bureaucratic forms, Gentilcore lays bare the enormous diversity of kinds of healing on offer. The kingdom – and especially Naples itself – was well endowed with 'hospitals' of all sorts, many of them being expressions of post-Tridentine piety. The *Incurabili* specialised in venereal disease, and the *Annunziato*, which handled foundlings, was at one time Europe's biggest hospital. As elsewhere throughout Europe, such 'hospitals' were primarily sites of pious care, and can hardly be said to have been medicalised before the eighteenth century. There were, moreover, large numbers of apothecaries, many of whom were illegally practising medicine (about these much can be known since they were inspected by the office of the Royal *Protomedico*, the official court head physician). Everywhere there were farriers and innkeepers with a knack for healing, wise women who knew about herbs (who might or might not have a reputation as witches). Itinerant quacks or charlatans abounded – and these were far from being automatically mere ignorant hucksters or snake-charming tricksters. Indeed, as Gentilcore shows in a fascinating discussion of 'Orvietan', the notorious herbal snake-bite antidote and panacea, charlatans often produced rather erudite writings and succeeded in obtaining 'permissions' and 'privileges' from medical colleges and ducal courts – and in their turn, even celebrated scholars might be called 'charlatan' by their enemies. The royal bureaucracy tried hard to keep tabs on all such practitioners amidst the proliferating medical pluralism, but that was a thankless and hopeless task, not least because the population at large automatically shopped around and adopted a 'try anything' approach.

What distinguishes the situation in the Kingdom of Naples from that obtaining in Protestant Europe is the sheer extent and intensity of religious healing, carried out partly by and through the Church itself, partly by somewhat renegade or unruly priests (who were a real thorn in the side of the ecclesiastical authorities), and partly by the laity. Gentilcore offers particularly fascinating accounts of the healing practices of two 'living saints', one favoured by the Church, the other beloved of the people but difficult to govern. Popular beliefs on the one hand – above all belief in saints, shrines and relics, to say nothing of witches and the devil – and the very high numbers of clergy on the other made it practically inevitable that healing should automatically be seen as a spiritual no less than a physical business.

Gentilcore discusses matters medical and ecclesiastical with equal assurance. He draws for comparison upon what was happening elsewhere in Europe. Not least, he writes with great fluency. *Healers and healing in early modern Italy* marks a notable addition to our knowledge of the interface between healing and holiness.

WELLCOME INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE,
LONDON

ROY PORTER

Kurie und Politik. Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturrechtsforschung. Edited by Alexander Koller. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 87.) Pp. xii + 532. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998. DM 152. 3 484 82087 X; 0070 4156

For some time now there has been a mild sense of crisis over the publication of editions of the official correspondence of papal nuncios in *ancien régime* Europe. This has particularly affected German historical scholarship, for the entirely honourable reason that German scholars and institutes have long led the field in such editing. But progress in the full editing of such correspondence is inevitably slow and above all costly, and to participate in such a programme is, for a young historian, no longer an obvious path to academic employment. Moreover, despite progress made by French, Belgian and Italian, as well as now Polish scholars, alongside the German teams, in such an enterprise, there are other obvious difficulties. Not all states or language-areas of twentieth-century Europe have official academies in Rome to support such work: essays in the present volume reflect the position in which Swiss or Czech scholars find themselves in this regard, for example. Larger questions of historiographic priorities also arise, in the age of the computer, which make full editions of purely official correspondence seem a less certain imperative, and these too are addressed in this volume, in essays published in German, Italian and French, but provided with résumés in Italian or German. Such issues are not however new, as was already clear from three innovative and exemplary publications of earlier years, which represented a great advance to comparative historical study of papal diplomacy, conducted on international not national lines. These were the editions of Klaus Jaitner of the General Instructions to the Nunciatures issued from the start of their pontificates by Clement VIII and Gregory XV (published in 1984 and 1997), and, in between, the collection of essays devoted to Clement's Instructions, edited by Georg Lutz (1994). One of the most valuable contributions to the present volume, indeed, is

that of Silvano Giordano, providing a synopsis of a similar edition of the General Instructions of Paul v, whose pontificate came between those of Clement and Gregory. What is well established here is the continuity, right into the early stages of the Thirty Years' War, of a papal policy which stressed the promotion of Tridentine reform, before necessary political initiatives, as the prime duty of all nuncios. Since the edition of Gregory's Instructions nevertheless revealed the pope's sense that Clementine priorities needed to be revived, after the seeming interruption of the Borghese pontificate, this underlines the importance of personalities and personal groupings at the Roman Court, as opposed to official lines of policy, something which other scholars, working outside the tradition of the Nunciature editions, have increasingly been stressing, and which is duly noted in essays here by Wolfgang Reinhard, Volker Reinhardt and others. Many of the contributions to this volume concern nuncios active in the same period, from the later sixteenth century, following the Council of Trent, until the early 1620s. All seem agreed on the nuncios' commitment, in that phase of papal representation, to encouraging internal Catholic reform on Conciliar lines, irrespective of other political involvements. This emerges not only for a first-rank nunciature, that of Madrid, studied here by Agostino Borromeo, but also for one of second rank, such as Luzern, treated by Roger Ligginstorfer and Urban Fink. Of course every nunciature faced its own special tasks, not only within that period. Several essays consider the question of Poland, from the later sixteenth-century royal elections onwards, either on its own or via the activity of nuncios at the imperial court or at Graz. In one such essay Daniela Neri summarises the findings of her recent edition (1997) showing the work during 1575–6 of Giovanni Dolfin at the imperial court. In a related instance, though removed in time, a major contribution to this volume is the consideration given by Umberto dell'Orto to the difficulties faced by the famous Garampi, nuncio in the last years of Maria Theresa and the first half of the sole reign of Joseph II. For not the least value of the essay is a judicious review of the debated context, seen as either aggressive Josephinism or as Catholic Enlightenment in the past, but now studied with keener perception of chronological changes and of differences between one type of Jansenism and another, for instance. Some of the most recent contributions by Austrian historians to such debate are usefully noted here, especially those contained in an Italian publication of recent date (1997) on the religious history of Austria. A similar comparison, over time, emerges in two of three pieces concerning the Cologne nunciature, both in 1606–10 and in the closing moments of the *ancien régime*, 1785–94. For France Bernard Barbiche attaches to his consideration of the distinctive position of the nunciature there a helpful biographical table of the nuncios from the pontificate of Leo X to the end of that of Innocent XII (1700). Following this Pierre Blet offers a classic and magisterial account of the nunciature's position during the often misinterpreted clerical assembly which produced the Gallican Articles of 1682. The volume concludes with an analysis of published research on papal diplomacy, 1500–1800, over the past century, and, with reference to the same phase of pontifical representation, an extensive bibliography, both of editions and of secondary studies, divided by place and also by genre. A three-fold index allows such a wide-ranging volume to be a most profitable addition to resources for early modern papal history. The German Historical Institute in Rome is thus to be thanked and congratulated on

producing from a conference stimulated by a certain sense of crisis in German scholarship an outstanding contribution to international study.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

A. D. WRIGHT

Catholicism in the English Protestant imagination. Nationalism, religion, and literature, 1600–1745. By Raymond D. Tumbleson. Pp. ix + 254 incl. frontispiece.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £35. 0 521 62265 4

This is an ambitious, at times intelligent, but frequently problematic study of the role of ‘anti-Catholicism’ in cultural discourse after the Restoration of Church and State in 1660. The thrust of the argument suggests that the purpose of anti-Catholic discourses was intimately bound up with the construction of the modern state and the meaning of national identity. Asserting the connection with changes in the power relations of an expanding mercantile economy, Tumbleson argues that nationalism ‘evolves as a communion of the decommunalized’. In exploring a wide range of cultural forms including the Lord Mayor’s pageants in London, canonical works like those of Milton and Marvell, as well as religious writings and stage plays the work attempts to describe a transition from confessional culture to a nationalism that was inherently premised upon the suppression of the Catholic ‘other’. As an essay exploring the limits of Protestant rhetorics about toleration and religious liberty, this is a commendable corrective to much of the current historiography. Indeed one of the themes of the book is to underscore the relationship between religion and politics in the period: religion was the ‘master-code’ for political dispute; so, for example, Marvell’s religious language was ‘a code for political concerns’. The emphasis upon the inter-dependence of political and religious discourses is sensible, although the implications of some of the arguments here imply that religious language was essentially epiphenomenal to the more fundamental concerns of political power. Protestantism then, Tumbleson concludes after a discussion of attitudes towards the popish apostasy of James II, fulfilled ‘the proto-nationalistic function of supplying a mystification underwriting the inauguration of modernity and imperialism’. One of the consequences of this reading of religion is a strange subtlety in the treatment of theological difference within Protestant discourses. A ‘Church of England’ that included figures like the republican cleric Samuel Johnson, the deist Matthew Tindal, the Quaker William Penn as well as nonjurors like Jeremy Collier alongside establishment figures such as William Wake and ‘dissenters’ like Baxter, was a deeply contested one, not simply united against the threat of the popish ‘other’. Indeed many of the authors that Tumbleson exploits to describe the contours of anti-Catholicism turned their pens not simply against a papal AntiChrist, but more pointedly against a domestic churchmanship that displayed the rags of popery in doctrine or discipline. The consequence of Tumbleson’s argument is to see a continuity between all varieties of Protestant critique: Hobbes’s assault upon the ‘Kingdome of fairies’ in the 1650s and Trenchard’s and Gordon’s indictment of ‘priestcraft’ in *Cato’s letters* in the 1720s and then indistinct from the mainstream of Protestant anti-popery. Anti-Catholic prejudice was, as the author notes, both an instrument of domination and a dangerously unstable discourse. As other historians have argued, it was the fact

that many controversialists were able to turn the sword of anti-popery against the Established Church, that prompted many of the political disputes between 1660 and the 1720s. If Tumbleton's objectives were to explain how 'anti-Catholicism' was a powerful and constructed discourse, one of the consequences of how he has made his arguments raises a question about a similar process in the definition and construction of 'Protestantism'.

ROYAL HOLLOWAY COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

J. A. I. CHAMPION

English Puritanism, 1603–1689. By John Spurr. (Social History in Perspective.)

Pp. x+245. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998. £45 (cloth), £14.99 (paper).

0 333 60188 2; 0 333 60189 0

The Reformation in English towns, 1500–1640. By John Craig and Patrick Collinson.

(Themes in Focus.) Pp. ix+335 incl. 1 table and 1 fig. Basingstoke:

Macmillan, 1998. £47.50 (cloth), £16.99 (paper). 0 333 63430 6;

0 333 63431 4

These two volumes speak to the continuing vitality of the study of religion in early modern England. John Spurr has provided a survey of Puritanism in the seventeenth century, while the contributors to the volume edited by Patrick Collinson and John Craig explore previously neglected aspects of the urban reformation. Both will be of interest to all students of the period.

John Spurr's volume is a creative synthesis, integrating much of the recent work on the Puritans with earlier scholarship and then presenting it with a healthy dose of the author's own insight. The result is to provide both a useful introduction to novices and a thought-provoking analysis for those already familiar with much of the literature. He opens with an introduction that provides a good discussion of the historical debate over the meaning of Puritanism. Part I furthers the analysis of 'Puritans and Puritanism' with a discussion of the nature of the movement. Throughout the volume Spurr displays an awareness of the theological concerns of the Puritans but he insists that 'Theology is not simply an intellectual exercise, it expresses and resolves spiritual experiences' (p. 6), and he focuses primarily on those experiences. Here he draws heavily on the work of Patrick Collinson and Peter Lake in arguing that the 'puritan was no card-carrying member of something called puritanism, but rather an individual who stood out as different from his or her neighbours, as more religious, and who was mocked for it' (p. 16). Special attention is paid throughout the book to the Puritan's experience of faith; to enthusiasm for sermon-going, Scripture study and prayer, and how such activities drew Puritans into godly communion.

Part II focuses on 'The rise and fall of the Puritans'. It is unfortunate that the design of the book emphasises the seventeenth century, because the brief chapter that deals with the origins of the movement from 1558 to 1603 does not allow the author to do justice to the rich roots of reform in the Elizabethan Church. But, in contrast to studies that end with the Civil Wars or the Restoration, what *English Puritanism* does offer is a narrative sweep of the entire period from the accession of James I to the overthrow of James II. Spurr is an excellent guide to the nuances of the movement as it evolved in the seventeenth century. He shows

how the distinction made by James I between subscription and subsequent conformity allowed the Puritans a foothold within the national Church. He is influenced by Tom Webster in pointing out how certain reform efforts in the 1620s could appear 'unexceptionally orthodox to their supporters and verging on the subversive to their opponents' (p. 84). In explaining support for the parliamentary cause Spurr argues that while Puritans were 'not rebels by nature, ... they could be driven to rebellion' (p. 100). The final chapter in this part, dealing with the period from the Restoration to the Glorious Revolution focuses on the private and communal reformations of Puritan faith and practice. A final part consists of three excellent chapters that seek to analyse the Puritan experience of the seventeenth century by focusing on the individual experience of salvation, the importance of the Word, and the nature of Puritan life at the family and community levels. A glossary will help those who are less familiar with the religious terminology of the period, while the notes and bibliography will provide a useful guide for any who wish to pursue the subject further.

Not all will agree with all aspects of Spurr's argument. I found myself questioning the emphasis he places on the political character of Elizabethan Puritanism and disagreeing with his readiness to characterise some Puritan groups, including the settlers of New England, as separatists. But no synthesis will please everyone, and the author is to be commended for his success in bringing together and reflecting on a vast literature and, in particular, for directing our attention to the long sweep of Puritan history.

It is impossible to do justice to any collection of essays in a brief review, and that is particularly true of a volume with as many essays of great value as *The Reformation in English towns, 1500–1640*. The introduction, co-authored by editors Patrick Collinson and John Craig, provides an excellent historiographical discussion of English and continental scholarship on urban reformation that develops the context for understanding not only the essays in this collection but also other newly published studies such as Robert Tittler's *Reformation and the towns in England* (Oxford 1998) and Laquita Higgs's *Godliness and governance in Tudor Colchester* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1998).

The major portion of the collection is taken up by what are, in effect case studies: Mark Byford on Colchester, Claire Cross on Doncaster, David Lamburn on Beverley, Caroline Litzenberger on Tewkesbury, Diarmaid MacCulloch on Worcester, Jeanette Martin on Reading, William Shields and Sarah Shields on Halifax. Part II consists of essays by Patrick Carter, Peter Cunich, Beat Kumin and Robert Tittler on the economic and human 'Resources of urban reformation' and part III offers contributions by Patrick Collinson and Adam Fox on the cultural implications of the reforms. Each author contributes a bibliography suggesting further readings for their subject.

Having deliberately chosen to avoid dealing with London, the editors have gathered a group of scholars who address a range of other communities of diverse size and ecclesiastical status. Their findings suggest 'not so much a number of regional regularities as the almost infinite variety of experiences which the Reformation in hundreds of English towns entailed' (p. 15). Some reformations were largely driven from above, while others seemed fostered by zealous layfolk. Together the authors stretch the normal dimensions of the Reformation, tracing the controversies beyond the settlement of Elizabeth I into the early seventeenth

century. In virtually all the communities studied the politics of the Reformation were divisive and intense, but each of the communities struggled in its own way and with different consequences. Certainly these essays do not purport to represent the last word on the subject. Rather they will inspire further research and new discussions of how England was reformed and what that Reformation meant for the people of England.

MILLERSVILLE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

FRANCIS J. BREMER

Dreissigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede. Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur. By Thomas Kaufmann. (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 104.) Pp. xii + 196. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.

DM 68 (paper). 3 16 146860 0; 3 16 146933 X

While there is no lack of studies on the Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, the present work deserves the attention of all scholars of seventeenth-century German and Protestant history. Kaufmann's use of 'confessional culture' as an integrating principle for exploring the nature and impact of the Thirty Years' War and its peace treaty, and his impressive interaction with primary sources and scholarly literature, make this a more significant book than its length might suggest. Appearing in the 350th anniversary year of the 'famous, inviolable and holy Peace' of Münster and Osnabruck, the book found its beginnings in the author's inaugural lecture on 6 February 1997 as Professor of Church History in Munich, and in a paper he delivered on 22 March of the same year in Berlin. The book's introduction provides an overview of current Protestant scholarship on the Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, noting the broad conviction that a new era dawned with the Peace of Westphalia as politics, law and reason became independent of confessional constraints. These insights reflect the interpretations of political, legal, military and diplomatic historians as well as historians of international law – leading Kaufmann to lament that till now these seventeenth-century events have never really been the focus of research among church historians.

Kaufmann's work addresses four key questions. First, what exactly was the confessional situation, theologically and psychologically, in Protestant and Lutheran Germany immediately before the outbreak of the war? Secondly, was the Thirty Years' War a war of religion? Did Lutheran contemporaries themselves see it as such? Thirdly, what repercussions did the war have on the theological and religious culture of Lutheranism? Finally, how did Lutherans interpret the Peace of Westphalia? Kaufmann investigates these issues from the perspective of Lutheran 'confessional culture', seeking to determine the self-understanding of confessional Lutheranism and the impact the confessions had upon the social world of Lutheran Protestants. Kaufmann observes that Lutheran confessional culture in the mid seventeenth century 'stands in the chronological centre of the early modern period of church history' (pp. 150f.).

To determine the confessional situation in Germany prior to the war, Kaufmann examines the circumstances surrounding the Luther Jubilee of 1617. He concludes that Lutheranism's confessional identity at this time was essentially shaped by its anti-papalism and the consciousness of standing 'in a situation of

eschatological decision before the imminent return of Christ' (p. 23). Regarding the repercussions of the war on the theological and religious culture of Lutheranism, Kaufmann points to 'the inner pluralizing' of theological and religious meaning in Lutheranism under the indirect influences of the great war, and a corresponding thrust towards individualisation. Such a *Mentalitätswandel* can be documented through study of funeral sermons from before and during the war. Kaufmann follows older scholars in pointing to a change in the relationship of the evangelical clergy to their congregations, as pastors learned under the duress of the war to become helpers, counsellors, encouragers and friends, not just disciplinarians. He notes the central integrating role of the clergy in the formation and stability of Lutheran confessional culture: 'The Lutheran church is a pastors' church, and the Lutheran pastor the backbone of the whole of Lutheran culture' (p. 112).

This book can only be described as a great achievement. Readers might wish for a more direct writing style and less extensive discussions in the notes; many pages are dominated by the footnotes. One is surprised at the author's suggestion that funeral sermons are a neglected source in view of recent work in this field. In the end, however, Kaufman's rich and suggestive interpretations should go a long way toward his goal of encouraging church historians to pursue further work on this important seventeenth-century topic.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

DOUGLAS H. SHANTZ

Descartes and Augustine. By Stephen Menn. Pp. xvi + 415. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £40. 0 521 41702 3

When readers of the *Discourse on method* pointed out to Descartes that his 'Cogito ergo sum' had been used first by Augustine, Descartes was inclined to be less than forthcoming in acknowledging a debt. In a letter to Colvius, dated 14 November 1640, he says:

I am obliged to you for drawing my attention to the passage of St. Augustine...I went today to the library of this town to read it, and I do indeed find that he does use it to prove the certainty of our existence. [Descartes then makes the point that, however, Augustine's purpose was very different from his own and anyway]...in itself it is such a simple and natural thing to infer that one exists from the fact that one is doubting that it could have occurred to any writer...¹

Stephen Menn's impressively scholarly, well-written and interesting book acquits Descartes of the worst sort of scholarly ego and ingratitude by explaining that

It is important for Descartes' presentation of his project that he should discover the truths of philosophy, and lead his readers to discover them also, *as if for the first time, with no appeal to authority*; indeed, as we shall see, this is a distinctively Augustinian aspect of Descartes' project [my emphasis] (p. 67).

Menn sets out to dispute the view which has reigned for half a century (since it was espoused by Gilson and Gouhier) that 'there is a fundamental break between Descartes and the earlier Augustinian tradition' (p. 6). He presents an absorbing

¹ *The philosophical writings of Descartes*, ed. and trans. J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff, D. Murdoch and A. Kenny, Cambridge 1985-91, iii. 159.

reading of the *Meditations* as heavily influenced in all sorts of ways by Augustine. This reading is preceded and supported by an excellent monograph on Plotinus and Augustine (pp. 73–194). There is space here to record only two of the myriad suggestions for which Menn argues. First, he maintains that Descartes used Augustine's anti-Aristotelian metaphysics to ground his view that knowledge of God and the soul are the foundation of science. Second, Menn argues that Descartes, in casting his central work as a set of meditations, was also indebted to a key principle of Augustine's methodology – that contemplation, assisting separation from the senses, is the only discipline which will lead to truth. Ironically, any work which sets out to detail the influence of one great thinker on another of its very nature cannot avoid the risk of distortion and misinterpretation. It is the business of the author – expert and immersed in the writings of both thinkers – to find similarities and common themes. How easy it must be to interpret these as borrowings and influences even though, for all anyone knows, they are in fact innocent and independent parallel inventions of the kind Descartes hints at above. Menn is careful and circumspect, attempting to avoid such distortions: to me he seems successful but, ultimately, readers must make their own judgement. *Descartes and Augustine* rewards reading whatever the verdict.

HEYTHROP COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JANICE THOMAS

Prelude to restoration in Ireland. The end of the Commonwealth, 1659–1660. By Aidan Clark. Pp. xii + 376. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £37.50.
0 521 65061 5

The period between 1650 and 1688 remains a relatively neglected one in Irish historiography, despite its obvious importance to the fraught and controversial story of the land. For the past half a century it has been served principally by sober and well-researched monographs, and Aidan Clarke has produced another of these, to cover the months between April 1659 and June 1660 during which the united republic of the British Isles disintegrated and the triple monarchy was restored. His method is one of slow and patient narrative, distinguishing rumour from apparent fact, reliable from spurious documents, and demonstrable assertions from historiographical supposition and actual gaps in the record. The result is an Irish equivalent to Godfrey Davies's old history of the end of the Commonwealth in England.

This is, indeed, narrative history at its most straightforward, with the minimum of authorial comment or interpretation, and the minimum of debate. The work effectively dispenses with a conclusion or chapter of evaluation; it is enough that the monarchy is restored and the tale therefore closed. On the whole it confirms in unprecedented detail what we had generally supposed was correct; that Irish history during these months was essentially reactive, responding to events in England or waiting upon them. The rapid changes of English regime meant that new sets of governors would be repeatedly recognised in Ireland or sent over to it. They would then expend their limited time upon

establishing their authority and drawing up blueprints for the better administration of the island, only to find that the government in England upon which they depended had been overthrown. This was the natural consequence of the union of Ireland with an unstable British republic run from Westminster, but also of a land settlement which had handed over most property to an English settler elite dependent on the homeland for security of title. One effect of the Restoration was to force this elite into a quest to confirm their position through traditional Irish institutions and metropolitan court politics in a reversion to the status of a semi-independent kingdom.

Professor Clarke makes two principal contributions to this story. One is to emphasise that there was one point at which the Irish tail came close to wagging the English dog; in February 1660 when the council of army officers in Dublin formally repudiated the authority of the Commonwealth and called a national convention. A constitutional crisis was, however, immediately averted by events in England, the readmission of the MPs purged in 1648 which transformed the Westminster parliament into one which the officers could once more obey. Yet again, the bonds between England and the Protestant Ascendancy were so close that the same developments occurred in each. The second major novelty of the book is to prove that the Irish Convention which did meet in March 1660 was dominated by Protestant families which had already come to Ireland before the 1640s; the settlers of the 1650s had already been gently edged from power.

Quiet, unpretentious, heavily factual work like this remains characteristic of Irish historiography in the period. It serves to keep the latter lacking in the passion, division – and excitement – which characterises almost every other part of Ireland's story.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

RONALD HUTTON

Idol temples and crafty priests. The origins of Enlightenment anticlericalism. By S. J. Barnett. Pp. xii + 197. Basingstoke: Macmillan/New York: St Martin's Press, 1999. £40. 0 333 72543 3; 0 312 21590 8

'This book investigates how Christian polemic and historical thought contributed to the formation of [the Enlightenment's virulent] anticlericalism' (p. vii). 'The first manifestations of the Enlightenment critique of Church history appeared predominantly in the writings of the so-called English deists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and this period and its writers forms the inner core of the present investigation' (p. viii). But, Barnett argues, this critique was essentially derived from Luther's assault on the *bona fides* of the medieval Church, and its best tool, 'comparative historical enquiry', 'comparing the history of all religions – a sociology of religion', had been developed by 'beleaguered Protestant and Catholic propagandists... in the late sixteenth century (pp. ix–x). When the author is using 'anticlericalism' in what he regards as its strict sense, he is talking of the view that the clergy of the Middle Ages – and, by extension, the Catholic, Anglican and even Dissenting clergy of the early modern period – were responsible for distorting and corrupting Christianity by fraud and deceit in order to secure power and wealth for themselves, 'the Priestcraft Theory'. 'In order to demonstrate the continuity of the Christian

priestcraft polemic and, most importantly, its independence from Enlightenment thought, British and Italian Christian historical writing from the mid sixteenth century until 1800 will be examined' (p. 20). This is a most interesting prospectus which has fashioned a lively book that draws on, and draws attention to, many virtually unknown writings in English and Italian, giving the author the opportunity to throw off numerous provocative assertions and comparisons. He fires off a scattergun at 'some historians', among whom Peter Gay is almost the only culprit named: they have used the term 'deists' loosely or incorrectly; they have accorded too much importance to the great *philosophes*: they have underestimated the extent to which Enlightenment polemic arose within discussions among the devout, in particular neglecting the work of the ecclesiastical historians of the early modern period; and they have proposed an 'idealistic view of historical causality' (p. 153) – that is, a view which emphasises the role of ideas and ignores 'politics, social class and the distribution of wealth and power' (p. 160). To make good this battery of charges, however plausible they seem, and to give an adequate account of anticlericalism as defined, would require a much longer book underpinned by much more research. Though by using works in Italian Barnett is deploying one more language than some students of these matters can boast, it is impossible to be satisfied with an account which cites nothing in French or German and virtually ignores the historical writing and experience of France and Germany – there is no reference whatever to the Maurists or to Thomasius, Pufendorf, Leibniz or Wolff. On French absolutism Henshall seems to be his authority, and he does not know W. R. Ward's *The Protestant evangelical awakening*. On the other hand, most historians working in the very broad area of his book would learn something from it and be stimulated by it. It is to be hoped that the author will one day be able to provide a fuller and more measured treatment of his important themes.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

DEREK BEALES

Philipp Jacob Spener. Briefe aus der Frankfurter Zeit, 1666–1686, II: 1675–1676. Edited by Johannes Wallmann (with Markus Mathias and Martin Friedrich). Pp. xxvii + 728 + 2 plates. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996. DM 358. 3 16 146594 6

The nature and the superb editing of this series has already been noted (this JOURNAL xlviii [1997], 584–6). It is not clear why this volume has taken so long to arrive for review, nor why the next volume, said to be ready in typescript in 1996, has not yet followed it. But the level of activity is clearly very high. The Bochum factory claims to have the letters for Spener's Dresden period (1686–91) in an advanced state of preparation, and is already looking to the preparation of the letters for the Berlin period (1691–1705), while their colleagues at Halle (who now include Markus Mathias) are hard at work on a two-volume edition of the correspondence of Spener and Francke. If the sheer fascination of this material, now so much more usable than the muddled editions in which much of it was printed in the eighteenth century, is bound to make one impatient for more, Anglo-Saxon scholars who have perceived no progress on the correspondence of

John Wesley since 1982, are ill-placed to call for greater speed. The present offering contains 132 letters by Spener, twenty-nine to him and three reports on the *collegia pietatis*. The increased density of material is due to the fact that Spener was sending out copies of his edition of Arndt's lectionary sermons, and later of his separate edition of the preface, the *Pia desideria*, to theologians around the country, in the hope of beating up support for his campaign for church renewal without waiting for the co-operation of public authorities in either Church or State. The in-letters are a selection of the (on the whole less interesting) replies. Spener's letters are an extraordinary testimony to the preoccupation of seventeenth-century Lutherans with Rabbinic studies and with the conversion of the Jews, apparently promised in Romans xi. Spener also expected the fall of the papacy before too long. These expectations were in curious contrast to his empirical suggestions for raising the spiritual tone, but they anticipated those of the evangelical world as a whole. So also did his ambivalent attitude to 'the mystical theology'; to Spener it had a place – to the formidable orthodox polemicist S. B. Carpzov both the scholastic and the mystical theology were utterly corrupt. In the background are the French Wars, turning scholars into refugees, impeding the circulation of books, and putting up the cost of the *Pia desideria* by disrupting the Rhine traffic in paper from Basel. But England is not out of sight; Spener presents a copy of Mede to Petersen, is familiar with Baxter, and persuades himself that in getting the faithful to keep their Bible open during the sermon he is following an English example.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

Pietismus und Aufklärung. Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts. By Martin Gierl. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 129.) Pp. 644 incl. 19 ills+loose-leaf chart. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997. DM 132. 3 525 35438 X

Martin Gierl completed this study in the winter of 1994–5 as a doctoral dissertation for the department of historical philology at the Georg-August-University in Göttingen under Professor Rudolf Vierhaus, and in association with the Max Planck Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen. Calling his work 'a contribution to the history of communication', Gierl attempts to describe how and why the structures of scholarly communication changed in Germany between 1670 and 1730, showing how the practice of 'Elenchus' or traditional theological defence of truth gave way to new, more tolerant ways of communicating truth, represented by Christian Thomasius. He thus focuses not so much on ideas as on the forms of communication used to advance the ideas. Gierl's study is noteworthy for its ambitious scope, clear and engaging writing style, and inter-disciplinary method of investigation as he seeks to bridge the concerns and disciplines of both social and intellectual history and to fill the gaps left behind by traditional economic, political and cultural history.

There are several main theses that Gierl unfolds in the course of the book. First, Lutheran churchly Pietism was the theological construct that stood at the end point of the argument between Orthodox and Pietist-minded theologians:

From the perspective of communication history, Pietism is... essentially an object and designation for a controversy that began in Leipzig in 1689 and took place in public according to historically defined rules, which [controversy] was itself an essential element of the historical phenomenon.

Secondly, theological controversy embraced a religious literary public, and change in this public occurred not least on the basis of the controversy. Thirdly, not all the combatants for truth were theologians, with Christian Thomasius, father of the German Enlightenment, taking part as a learned controversialist. Finally, central to the early Enlightenment concern for truth was a new way of learned behaviour and a new way of communicating, the basis for the modern way of doing scholarly research.

The work is organised into three sections. The first section deciphers the structure of communication involved in seventeenth-century theological controversy through an examination of selected Pietist controversies in the period of the 1690s, ending with the definition of Pietism. In the second section the focus is on change in theological controversy, considered first from within, from the perspective of the disputes, and secondly from without, considering the literary public's influence on the course of controversy and on new forms of learned communication. The third section considers the beginning of the early Enlightenment approach to truth and new structures of learned communication, represented in Christian Thomasius.

In sections I and II the focus is on centres of controversy in middle and northern Germany, mainly in the university and publishing cities of Hamburg, Wittenberg, Jena, Halle and Leipzig. Estimating the available sources at about 2,000 titles, Gierl chose to rely on the twelve-volume source collection known as the *Acta Pietistica*, in the university library in Göttingen, comprising some 560 texts dating from 1690 to 1699.

Gierl argues that if one wishes to understand religious controversy in Germany in the 1690s, one must first understand the concept and practice of 'Elenchus'. The Latin meaning came to be that of proof, testing, investigating, so that by the seventeenth century Elenchus was 'the academic, professional, institutionalized and formalized defence of one's confession of faith' (p. 76). Elenchus sought to 'stop the mouth' of those in error, in aggressive but regulated fashion. It could be either 'Elenchus moralis' in addressing the moral failings of church members, or 'Elenchus doctrinalis' in opposing doctrinal error. For the Orthodox opponents of Pietism, Elenchus was 'an official public proceeding, legitimated by the Bible, following the procedure outlined by Matthew 18, practised according to the measures of juristic practice and academic logic, and managed and instructed by university and churchly authorities' (p. 168).

In sections II and III Gierl discusses the changes that came about in this element of Elenchus and the growing, symbiotic relation between theological controversy and literary markets. From Gierl's perspective, Spener's Pietism can be seen as a programme 'to reform theological controversy'. One sees in Spener a place for Elenchus in both preaching and theology. Spener did not reject religious controversy in general, but rather controversy in its 'dysfunctional form'. Spener sought to pursue religious controversy 'by other means'. 'With him a concern for the brother in the faith remains central, so that one must ever be mindful of one's obligation toward the erring brother' (p. 280).

The third section examines the transition from theological Elenchus to scholarly ways of criticism, epitomised by Christian Thomasius (1655–1728). Thomasius sought to destroy the foundations of Elenchus in every way: to allow the individual believer to decide religious controversies according to his own conscience; to reject the very concept of ‘Ketzer’ or fanatic; and finally, in the practice of communication, to depersonalise controversy, substituting periodical journals for polemics. Thomasius’ ‘Monatsgespräche’ represented a new way of pursuing controversy, making him the great ‘media reformer’ of the early Enlightenment. This new process of communication lay at the very foundation of the German Enlightenment. Furthermore, Thomasius believed that in an age of religious controversies, tolerance was the best means for attaining social and religious peace, and an eclectic scholarly method and philosophy the best way to manage the search for truth.

Gierl’s decision to ‘go his own way’ in allowing the sources to set the terms of study, rather than forcing preconceived assumptions and theories upon the material, may attract some criticism. Gierl rejects and disdains ‘the inflationary use’ of terms and concepts in recent communication theory, such as ‘deconstruction’, ‘linguistic turn’ and ‘discourse’. At times his work lacks the well-prescribed thematic and methodological focus that a traditional disciplinary approach would bring. Another feature of Gierl’s method may raise questions. He typically focuses on a particular historical example and then uses it as a case study from which to extrapolate and draw general conclusions. Gierl uses Christian Thomasius as a witness to media reform, the rise of periodical publications, and the importance of ‘eclecticism’ and ‘courtesy’ in pursuit of truth. Social historians may ask whether such examples can, in every case, bear the weight that Gierl gives them. Finally, this reviewer was surprised that, as an Enlightenment alternative to Elenchus, Gierl did not pick up on the whole notion of ‘Gespräch’ or conversation alongside concepts such as ‘Eklektic’, ‘Historia literaria’ and ‘Höflichkeit’.

Gierl’s work, however, deserves strong commendation on many grounds. The ambitious scope and interdisciplinary methodology of his work mean that he is able to see mutual connections and implications among subjects and fields not often related to each other. His panorama includes a broad span of modern German cultural, political, social, intellectual and communications history. He is able to shed new and valuable light on the changing notions of ‘fanatic’ and toleration in the context of the early German Enlightenment, and on the way market conditions impacted on theological controversy and the rise of periodicals. Gierl rightly notes that in the rich field of early Protestant polemic there is a serious lack of systematic bibliographies and research guides for the study of the various controversies. He deserves recognition for embarking on a field of study with such a proliferation of unsystematised primary sources. He would doubtless welcome this reviewer’s recently published bibliographic introduction and guide to the ‘chiliastic controversies’ surrounding the radical Pietists in the 1690s.¹

Gierl’s fine work is completed by indices for people, subjects and controversies,

¹ Douglas H. Shantz, ‘Chiliastic conflicts in Germany in the 1690s: an introduction’, Wolfenbüttel 1999.

an extensive bibliography, and a convenient removable chart portraying the crystallisation of the Pietist controversies between 1689 and 1697.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

DOUGLAS H. SHANTZ

Church and theology in enlightenment Scotland. The Popular party, 1740–1800. By John R. McIntosh. (Scottish Historical Review. Monograph Series, 5.) Pp. xi + 260. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998. £20. 1 86232 098 5

This valuable study casts further doubt on the standard assumption that Scottish church history in the second half of the eighteenth century can usefully be characterised as a struggle between two parties: the Moderates and the Popular party, otherwise known as Evangelicals. Such classification assumes that the validity of the patronage system was the central issue of the time and that responses to it can be readily divided into two categories. McIntosh challenges this in showing that for much of the period under scrutiny patronage was not a widely contested phenomenon, and that critics of patronage adopted a variety of positions, many of them latterly borrowing from secular defences of civil liberty. An examination of the theology of the so-called Popular party reveals a spectrum of views ranging from a simple repetition of Reformed orthodoxy, through a willingness to adopt Enlightenment learning in the articulation of evangelical views, to theologies more or less indistinguishable from Moderate positions. If there ever was a 'Popular party', it was far from monolithic. Through studying an impressive range of writings, McIntosh exposes recurrent themes handled in different ways in one of the most under-researched periods of Scottish theology. These include the nature of faith, the work of Christ and the Christian life. While much of the discussion seems to assume that terms like Moderate and moderate theology continue to make sense, this is belatedly questioned in the conclusion. In this respect, a sequel is required. This would show the ways in which those who supported patronage – for example, Professor George Hill of St Andrews – also displayed much greater theological diversity than is suggested by references to a moderate theology (or moderate literati) generally viewed in Socinian terms. None the less, McIntosh has produced a theological analysis which contributes significantly to a richer and more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of the Kirk during the period of the Scottish Enlightenment.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

DAVID FERGUSSON

Nonkonformist am Pranger. Die Entwicklung von Johannes Frey vom Pietisten zum Anhänger der Revolution, 1743–1800. By Sandra Kobelt. Pp. 269 incl. frontispiece and 9 ills. Bern: Peter Lang, 1998. DM 86. 3 906762 06 8

This pleasantly written monograph concerns a man who was not so much a nonconformist in the British sense as a member of the awkward squad in whatever company he chose at the moment. Bred up in a pious family which accepted the orthodox traditions of a Basel which had not been greatly changed by the rational orthodoxy of Samuel Werenfels, he envisaged himself at various times as an Enlightenment scholar in the footsteps of Isaak Iselin, as a professor

in the University of Basel, as a pastor at Muttenz in succession to the celebrated Pietist Hieronymus Annoni, and as a teacher at the Remonstrants' seminary in Amsterdam. None of these ambitions was he to realise, partly because of the stubborn opposition of the orthodox party entrenched in the government of the Basel Church and municipality, partly because he always made more enemies than he absolutely needed. The final establishment of the Helvetic Republic and the practical separation of Church and State gave him much of what he finally wanted; but he did not want a church funeral or a funeral address, and the curious ceremony which accompanied his interment was carried out by a group of sympathisers interpreted by Dr Kobelt as an otherwise unknown group standing radically to the left of the Patriotic party, and including no clergy at all. In between-times he had undergone a Pietist conversion and joined a conventicle; developed educational ideas which landed him in constant trouble as a teacher at the Basel gymnasium, and moved on from Enlightened to revolutionary ideas. It is clear that Frey's evolution did not carry much public support; its historical interest lies in whether his later views developed from his Pietism or involved a breach with it comparable with the conversion experience which took him from orthodoxy into Pietism. Dr Kobelt does not much illuminate this conundrum; it is clear that Frey took no little of the Pietist manner into Enlightenment, but his inability to keep friends in spite of a good deal of genuine public service suggest that breaches were part of the atmosphere he breathed. Part of Dr Kobelt's difficulty is that the material is very thin until the pamphleteering and court proceedings of Frey's later years. She makes up for this by a series of studies of the background against which he reacted – Basel political, theological, ecclesiastical. These studies though based on well-known secondary sources, are very well done; university teachers hard-pressed for time to get up their Basel would do well to turn to them. And at a more exalted level they show how much there was to react against in the rational orthodoxy of Werenfels.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

Lissabon's Fall: Europas Schrecken. Die Deutung des Erdbebens von Lissabon im deutschsprachigen Protestantismus des 18. Jahrhunderts. By Ulrich Löffler. (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 70.) Pp. xiii + 721. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999. DM 238. 3 11 015816 7

Students whose interest is in what happened in the famous Lisbon earthquake of 1755 can skip Dr Löffler's blockbuster; those whose interest is in European thought or piety cannot, and must brace themselves for the hard labour to which the author has already subjected himself. For what he shows is that the fate of that great town evoked mountains of literary rubble equal to the ruins of Lisbon itself, and on these he has made a single-handed assault, rescuing many dead and a few still living, and taking his readers relentlessly through the whole operation. Though he promises to assess the impact of the earthquake only upon German Protestantism, he casts his net very wide, and includes a good deal of literature, including English, which appeared in German translation. His first task is to get rid of the rhetorical abuse of the earthquake both at the time and since. It was predictable that Jesuits would ascribe the disaster to the excess of luxury in

Lisbon (and be subsequently made to pay for their diagnosis by Pombal), and that Jansenists would ascribe it to an excess of Jesuits; predictable too that later moralists, like Karl Barth, looking for a short cut would hold that it gave the death-blow to eighteenth-century optimism, and that a novelist like Thomas Mann would hang a vast novel upon it. For Goethe, Kant and Voltaire were already in the literary tradition as having uttered upon it, Kant, indeed, writing seriously upon earthquakes before the Lisbon event. But on inspection simple judgements cannot possibly do. For there were various spooky aspects to the earthquake even to those who did not suffer from it. The Lisbon disaster had been preceded by tremors in many parts of Europe, and no-one could know when the present round of troubles was over, their fears inflamed by the extraordinary fertility of commentators in hopeless theories of earthquake-causation. And was it not the case that the earthquake happened on the precise anniversary of Luther's nailing up his theses against indulgences? What fresh shatterings had God in store? But then was not 'Lissabon' an anagram for 'Sal nobis'? At any rate Protestant as well as Catholic states went in for public displays of penitence. But Löffler's main theme is the insight into the European mind provided by the need of commentators to balance divine with natural causation in the interpretation of an event in which both were obscure. And on the way he shows that the physico-theology was more adaptable in coping with a disaster than is commonly thought. There is one point that he makes less of than he might. One sceptic is reported as arguing that Lisbon was no great deal since the casualties were less than those of the first two Silesian campaigns (i.e. those before the earthquake); and indeed in one aspect the Lisbon earthquake turned out to be a media-event. Within a few days the preliminaries to the Seven Years War were filling the press, and the actual outbreak swept the preachers and literary hacks away from Lisbon to horrors of a more obviously man-made kind. But Dr Löffler's toil is not in vain; nor will be that of his readers.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

Culture and the Nonconformist tradition. Edited by Jane Shaw and Alan Kreider. (Religion, Culture and Society.) Pp. xi + 187. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999. £25 (cloth), £14.99 (paper). 0 7083 1532 1

Doctor of souls. A biography of Dr Leslie Dixon Weatherhead. By John Travell. Pp. 327 incl. 22 ills. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1999. £19.50. 0 7188 2991 3

'Culture' and 'tradition', Clyde Binfield rightly remarks in his essay, are not words which, in any list of associated words, would normally be thought to follow hot on the heels of Nonconformity. In fact, however, as he and other contributors are at pains to point out, Nonconformists inescapably had a tradition, or traditions, and only the most philistine would deny that, in the broadest sense of the term at least, they had a culture, even if one everywhere spoken against. Discrimination and a degree of social exclusion reinforced the sense that they stood outside the 'established' cultural norms. Yet, insofar as they clamoured for the removal of disabilities and sought 'mainstreaming' they have jeopardised distinctiveness and perhaps accommodated themselves to cultures hitherto thought alien or destructive of their own values. It is this tension which Jane

Shaw considers in her introduction (though recognising that it is one shared by all Christians) and which gives this volume its justification. In fact, almost all the papers it contains were first presented as public lectures at Regent's Park College, Oxford, an institution whose history, one might say, is itself illustrative of the theme. Incidentally, although Jane Shaw refers to 'the Nonconformist tradition in Britain', in fact all the papers deal with England.

The contributors are all well-known and their papers justify the editorial claim that ecclesiastical and denominational history is today in conversation with cultural, social, political and gender history. That said, they do vary considerably in character and content so that only in a loose sense can the contributors be said to be in dialogue with each other. They are all indeed relevant to the general theme but so diverse are their individual concerns that it is difficult to try to extract any general conclusions. Readers are left to draw out the implications for themselves. Marjorie Reeves lets us consider the culture of a small group of eighteenth-century provincial Nonconformist literary women. Phyllis Mack meditates on Methodism and motherhood, through the correspondence of one remarkable woman. Motherhood, she concludes, is more important than sexuality or status anxiety in understanding women's religious behaviour. John Briggs examines Robert Hall's discerning of *The signs of the times*. In contrast to these very specific foci, David Bebbington contributes a general paper on 'Gospel and culture' and Hugh McLeod builds up a broad analysis of Dissent and the peculiarities of the English (viewed in a European perspective) on the basis of a number of fascinating case studies of religious identity. Jane Garnett looks at Nonconformist businessmen as they asked themselves about the social and cultural consequences of their success. What did it mean to be Nonconformist? How did a chapel community support a member in business difficulties? What kind of conduct merited reprimand? Clyde Binfield concludes the volume, writing with characteristic insight on twentieth-century Free Church architecture. His particular focus is on the rebuilding of the City Temple, London (now United Reformed) and on the Punshon Memorial Church, Bournemouth (Methodist). Taken together, these papers do indeed usefully explore an important theme, but they are far from exhausting it. No doubt the Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture at Regent's Park College will ensure that there is more good work to come.

Leslie Weatherhead occupied a major place in English Nonconformity and formed one of its main links with the wider culture roughly from the time when he became minister of the City Temple in 1936 until his retirement in 1960. His biographer, who knew him personally, has drawn on his own knowledge, private papers and a reading of Weatherhead's publications, to produce a workmanlike study. It is a pity that the author has been reluctant to express his own judgements on some important matters and filled the book with the observations and opinions of others. At times, therefore, the book reads like a compilation on Weatherhead rather than a biography of him. Even so, it gives useful insight into an era which has now passed away. As Colin Morris notes in his introduction, Weatherhead was one of the last of the preachers who may be accounted 'star performers', capable of drawing crowds and enjoying the fame now accorded to television or sporting personalities. Moreover, his books, among them *The transforming friendship*, *The mastery of sex...* and *The Christian agnostic*, written at

different stages in his life, had very wide circulation. In all, he had some seventy publications to his name. It would be easy, therefore, to dismiss Weatherhead as a lightweight middleman who merely had a gift for popular exposition. He too, however, merits attention, in the context of 'Culture and Nonconformist tradition'. Child of pious Wesleyan parents, his life began to be transformed when he became minister of the oldest Wesleyan Church in Madras in 1917 and, a year later, an army chaplain in Mesopotamia. He did not return to England until 1922. Tamils, soldiers and war had decisively reshaped his outlook. He never quite 'settled' thereafter. He was quite content, as a Methodist, to become minister of the Congregational City Temple – in the post-war rebuilding of which Weatherhead took a notable part, as Binfield also discusses from a rather different perspective. Yet, as Travell brings out, the 'doctor of souls' was himself, in later years especially, a troubled spirit. The conflict between what he pretended to be, or was thought to be, in the pulpit and what he really was became, in his own words, too much and broke him in two. He had been terrified by his dominating mother – or so he thought. He had written books and collected university degrees in order to compensate for being a frightened, much caned duffer at school. Had his whole life been in pursuit of applause? Had he capitulated to the culture of success? At the end, he was not sure. We are left to wonder.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES,
LAMPETER

KEITH ROBBINS

Bless the Lord, O my soul. *The New-York liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church, 1767*. By Daniel James Meeter. (Drew University Studies in Liturgy, 6.) Pp. xxiii + 339. Lanham, MD–London: Scarecrow Press, 1998. \$65. 0 8108 3518 5

The eucharistic service of the Catholic Apostolic Church and its influence on reformed liturgical renewals of the nineteenth century. By Gregg Alan Mast. (Drew Studies in Liturgy, 7.) Pp. ix + 183. Lanham, MD–London: Scarecrow Press, 1999. £49.40 (\$52). 0 8108 3553 3

This series, edited by Professor Robin Leaver of the Westminster Choir College of Rider University and Drew University, seeks to provide substantial studies in liturgy and closely related topics which centre on the Reformed and Protestant traditions. These particular two are revised versions of doctoral work completed at Drew University. Daniel Meeter is concerned to provide the background history to the English-language version of the Dutch Reformed liturgy which was made for the New York congregation in 1767. Meeter discusses how the Dutch congregation, even prior to the War of Independence, was mainly English-speaking and, unlike the German-speaking Reformed Church, the Dutch in New York made the decision relatively early on to adopt English as their language of worship. That was a precarious decision, since after the English had acquired New York (New Amsterdam), the Dutch Church was allowed considerable freedom because it was a State Church with a foreign language. Presbyterians, on the other hand, were not allowed such freedom. Some wondered whether the move to English would be the end of ecclesiastical independence. Meeter first

poses the question of which version of the Dutch liturgy was to be used? Marten Micron's version of à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio* of 1555 had been superseded by Petrus Datheen's adaptation of the 1563 Palatinate Liturgy, but although the Dutch Synods adopted the liturgy, modifications were made by some synods, but not universally adopted, resulting in various recensions or uses of the Dutch liturgy. Nevertheless, the liturgy with psalms and Heidelberg catechism were collected in one book, and were in the hands of the laity; and ministers were required to use the set prayers, and not extemporise. Meeter traces the work of the committee members and provides the text of 1767, with a commentary. The liturgy was to be influential on other English-speaking Dutch congregations, such as in South Africa.

Gregg Mast concentrates on the nineteenth century, with England, America and Scotland forming a chain of borrowing and influence. The remarkable Catholic Apostolic Church began life with a link with Scottish Presbyterianism. The Church grew out of the expelled members of Edward Irving's Scottish congregation in London, and within a few years had adopted a Catholic style of worship with a sophisticated liturgy drawn up by John Bate Cardale. This liturgy, which drew on sources eastern and western, was used by the Mercersburg theologians of the German Reformed Church in America, and this, in turn, was used by the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland in its *Euchologion*, first published in 1867. It was also to have an influence, even if slight, on the nineteenth-century Dutch Reformed liturgy in America. Mast also notes the wider theological movements which were taking place, and suggests that within these relationships of dependency, one can perceive the roots of the modern ecumenical movement. Both books are timely reminders that the Reformed Churches do have a liturgical history, and were at times more theologically creative than the contemporary Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches.

YALE UNIVERSITY

BRYAN D. SPINKS

Varieties of Ultramontanism. Edited by Jeffrey von Arx sj. Pp. viii + 152. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1998. £27.95 (cloth), £15.95 (paper). 0 8132 0871 8; 0 8132 0872 6

La Validité des ordinations Anglicanes. Les documents de la Commission Préparatoire à la lettre 'Apostolicae Curae', I: Les Dossiers précédents. Introduction, translation and notes by André F. von Gunten OP (with Mgr Alejandro Cifres). (Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani, 1.) Pp. xxv + 263. Florence: Olschki, 1997. L. 58,000. 88 222 4550

The term 'ultramontane' reflects a French angle on church life. In contrast with the Gallicans, who claimed the maximum independence of the local church from central control, the Ultramontanes sought stability in doctrine and church government on the other side of the Alps in the papacy. In this sense the term seems to have entered the English language in the 1820s.

The first of the two works under review, which consists of three papers read at a meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association together with three further contributions, provides six case studies of Ultramontanism as exemplified by six cardinals from different parts of the world. Eric Yonke writes on Johannes

von Geissel of Cologne, who, appointed to govern the 'most faithful daughter of the Roman church' after his predecessor had clashed with the Prussian government, extended the Church's influence on society by means of a network of *Vereins* or voluntary organisations centred on the diocesan chancery. John Padberg discusses Louis Pie, who succeeded to the see of Poitiers in 1849 in a France in which such figures as de Maistre and de Lammenais had already contributed to a reaction against Gallicanism. Emmet Larkin takes as his subject Paul Cullen, who between 1750 and 1870 held successively the sees of Armagh and Dublin, fought the British government for control over education, and turned Ireland into a nation of devout and practising Catholics. Jeffrey von Arx contributes a study of Henry Edward Manning, the Anglican convert who between 1865 and 1892 was the second occupant of the see of Westminster, and combined passionate advocacy of papal infallibility with promotion of lay activism in favour of a more Christian society. The late John Ciani traces the career of Camillo Mazzella who, as an exile from the Neapolitan province of the Jesuits, taught for nine years at his order's theologate at Woodstock, Maryland, before returning to Rome to serve first at the Gregorian University and later as a curial cardinal until his death in 1900; he was influential in shaping the Roman response to the nationalist movement that was given the name of 'Americanism'. Finally Gerald Fogarty recounts with gusto the extraordinary career of William Henry O'Connell, who held the see of Boston between 1907 and 1944.

Although it is the thesis of von Arx's comprehensive introduction that Ultramontanism took different forms in different places, and that 'each of these figures used ultramontanism for purposes that depended very much upon the circumstances in which he found himself', certain features regularly recur. Ultramontanes always oppose movements to develop the independence of national and regional Churches in such forms as Gallicanism, Josephinism, *Deutschkatholizismus* and Americanism. Ultramontanism is seen as the only authentic form of Catholicism. Its supporters are committed to defending the pope's temporal power over the papal states. They fight to bring education under the control of the Church. Thomism is promoted as a bastion against the Enlightenment. Several of the cardinals practise great political skill, not to say intrigue, some like Manning highmindedly, at least one, O'Connell, for manifestly self-seeking ends. Involvement of the Church, and in Germany even of priests, in politics is thought appropriate.

Mazzella constitutes a link between the two books under review, for in 1896 Leo XIII appointed him president of the commission charged with the investigation of the validity of Anglican ordinations which led to the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* pronouncing them 'absolutely null and utterly void'. To mark the centenary of the event the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (the new, less threatening title of the Holy Office of the Inquisition) is now publishing the first of two or three volumes containing the documents in the case. This enterprise forms the beginning of a promised series of Holy Office documents; up till recently the sensitive nature of the Congregation's archives has led to their exemption from the openness of access now accorded to other Vatican records.

This first volume contains the archival material which was collected for the guidance of the commission in 1896; much of it has already been published, but has not been easily accessible. The documents are grouped in three sections: the

first is a dossier connected with Cardinal Pole's mission to England as papal legate from 1553 to 1557, and the decisions of Julius III and Paul IV to reordain clergy who had not been ordained *rite et recte* according to the 'accustomed form of the Church'; the second dossier pertains to the papal decision of 1704 requiring the reordination of the former Scottish Anglican bishop John Gordon when he became a Roman Catholic, and includes papers connected with the earlier case of an anonymous 'young Calvinist' turned Anglican, who on becoming a Catholic sought to have his orders declared null so as to be free to marry; the third part consists of the lengthy *votum* drawn up by Cardinal J.-B. Franzelin in 1874 in response to Cardinal Manning's inquiry concerning a decision alleged (inaccurately, as it transpired) to have been taken by the Holy Office in 1704 to treat Coptic ordinations as valid, even though the accompanying words 'Receive the Holy Spirit' were no more explicit than the condemned Anglican formula.

The projected second volume will contain many key unpublished documents, including the minutes of the commission's discussions and those of the committee of cardinals of the Holy Office who made the final recommendation to the pope. These minutes may enable readers to assess the impartiality of the process, for it needs to be explained why the cardinals' vote for invalidity was unanimous, whereas the commission had been evenly divided between certain invalidity and possible or certain validity. A third volume is under consideration, to consist of material already published, such as the *vota* commissioned by Leo before the commission was formed, most of which have been made available in English translation under the title *Anglican orders: the documents in the debate* (ed. C. Hill and E. J. Yarnold, Norwich 1997).

The editor's introduction and notes provide a lucid explanation of the events and the documents, and are particularly valuable for the prosopographical and bibliographical information which they provide. It is to be hoped that his lamented death did not occur too soon for him to leave his mark on the second volume.

CAMPION HALL,
OXFORD

E. J. YARNOLD SJ

Hugh Price Hughes. Founder of a new Methodism, conscience of a new nonconformity. By Christopher Oldstone-Moore. Pp. x + 393 incl. 11 ills. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999. £25. 0 7083 1468 6

Hugh Price Hughes (1847–1902) was a leading Wesleyan minister and a highly influential figure in the busy and contentious religious scene of later nineteenth-century Britain. The man and his activities are well displayed in this full and lively volume – his striking physical appearance, his enthusiasm and 'Christian audacity', his change from Conservatism to radicalism, his progress from indifference towards temperance to teetotalism and then to advocacy of moderation on the subject; his role, moreover, as powerful revivalist preacher and platform speaker, influential journalist, upholder of sexual purity and school-board education, champion of Free Church co-operation and Methodist reunion, and supporter of both Christian socialism and imperialism. It is debatable whether, as Dr Oldstone-Moore argues, Hughes 'founded a new Methodism and

a new nonconformity', but he greatly helped to encourage and modify both. After personal conversion at thirteen and subsequent experience as a lay preacher in his native Wales, he trained for the ministry in London and was stationed successively in circuits at Dover (where he first attracted national attention by vindicating, against ultra-Puritan opinion, subscription to *Punch* by the local YMCA reading room), Brighton, Dulwich, Oxford and Brixton Hill in south London. His notably active and successful tenure of these posts brought him an expanding reputation in Wesleyanism and further afield. In 1885, when he had become a leading figure in his denomination, he was appointed editor of the new *Methodist Times*, which he had helped to found, and superintendent of a new West London Mission, situated at the heart of the British empire and reaching out to the abundant rich and the abundant poor in its immediate vicinity. Hughes reached a pinnacle of national fame in 1890 when, though himself an ardent supporter of Irish Home Rule, he led the Nonconformist demand (paralleling the Catholic one) that Parnell should not continue as Home Rule leader after his adultery had been proved: 'the sacred cause of Social Purity would never be secured until all notoriously immoral men were expelled from the House of Commons'. Thereafter he maintained a prominent role in Wesleyanism and the Free Church Council. From 1895 to 1899 he was successively president of the Free Church Congress, the National Free Church Council and the Wesleyan Conference. But his support for Rosebery and the Liberal imperialists in the Boer War divided him from W. T. Stead, Lloyd George and other leading Nonconformists who were 'pro-Boer'. Based on correspondence, newspapers and Hughes's own publications, this book is generally admirable in its extensive coverage of all these activities and causes, and indeed more. It has the occasional questionable passage, but its fluent prose and plentiful detail and quotation make it an indispensable contribution to the study of British religion and society in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

UNIVERSITY OF DUNDEE

IAN MACHIN

From without the Flaminian gate. 150 years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales, 1850–2000. Edited by V. Alan McClelland and Michael Hodgetts. Pp. xvii + 406 + 11 plates. London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1999. £24.95. 0 232 52177 8

This seems, initially, rather a pedestrian volume; an attempt to take stock of Catholic developments in England since the restoration of the hierarchy – of regular episcopal government – in 1850. To mark that event, in 1950, a comparable compendium of essays had been edited by George Beck, coadjutor bishop of Brentwood, and this new venture seeks to revise its assessments in the light of subsequent scholarship and events, and to suggest ways in which the Catholic contribution to modern English culture may be evaluated. The authors have each plainly been asked to convey information in a manner accessible to a wide range of readers, and to incorporate basic knowledge alongside novel interpretations. But as the essays unfold, however, the initial impression is proved to be quite false. For there is here a collection of quite extraordinarily perceptive insights – and not only into Catholic developments: these essays raise large issues about the nature of religious understanding in modern England. From

McClelland's opening summary of the later nineteenth century to Hulmes's closing assessment of existing difficulties and the prospects for future progress, there is a consistent exploration of major themes in modern religious history as reflected in the particular circumstances of English Catholicism. Some of the chapters, like Hodgett's on Catholics and philosophy, make sparkling reading, and inspire the unwelcome realisation that no account of Anglican developments in the past century-and-a-half could elicit such rich and suggestive data. But then accounts of Catholicism are always more productive in that sense, for the perspective is a universal one. It is also advantageous, for the Catholics, that the most important English religious thinker of the last two centuries, Newman, had abandoned Anglicanism and adhered to their Church precisely because he recognised the essential universal dimension in the determination of religious truth. In this collection of essays the reader can profit from a local understanding of world-wide and eternal perspectives represented in the cultural modes of a single country, yet with that wider context never far from view.

Although the book transcends mere stock-taking, it is also, as collections like this inevitably are, a bit uneven. There is one theme, however, to which most of the contributors are invariably drawn: the existence of the universal Church in the modern circumstances of a plural society. The extent to which England really has become a plural society, or a society of plural values, both here and in the wider general debate, remains unclear. We are really faced with a political and cultural dogma about the desirability of pluralism rather than a social reality, in fact, but the Catholic Church, like the other religious bodies, is confronted with a formidable and fundamental issue at the heart of its prospects for evangelism. How does it conduct its mission to the world when the world (or, at least, the western world) will not allow the virtue of religious exclusivity? It has become a modern dogma that all religions are as good as one another, and that religious affiliation is a matter of private inclination. How does the Church address society with its universal truths and fixed disciplines when society will not regard them as necessary to the creation of righteous political association? The issues involve the probable outcomes of the secularisation of the culture. They are raised, in some form or other, in most of these essays, and particularly – and with great illumination – by von Arx in his splendid analysis of Manning in 'Catholics and politics', and by Hulmes in 'Faith in crisis: from Holocaust to hope'. Here, then, are immensely important issues of human society raised in the context of particular and local circumstance: how Newman would have approved. Anyone seeking a sure and intellectually stimulating set of insights into the modern Catholic mind in England, combined with updated historical narratives, will be rewarded by reading these essays.

YORK MINISTER

EDWARD NORMAN

Charlotte von Kirschbaum and Karl Barth. A study in biography and the history of theology.

By Suzanne Selinger. (The Penn State Series in Lived Religious Experience.)

Pp. xix + 206 incl. 13 figs. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998. \$45 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper). 0 271 01824 0; 0 271 01864 X

This book claims to be a study in contextual theology, and in the extent to which

it locates the theological dialogue of Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Charlotte von Kirschbaum, his partner from 1929 and a theologian in her own right, in their contemporary thought world, traces the development of their ideas and analyses their significance, the author is successful. She has made a most thorough study of the available records and has performed a great service for anyone who has struggled with *The church dogmatics*. She has undoubtedly advanced historical research, but her work is flawed by her uncritical acceptance of recent testimony from Eberhard Busch (1993), von Kirschbaum's successor, and by her susceptibility to American undergraduate lecture room rhetoric. Like her predecessors, she seems unable to do justice to both von Kirschbaum and the long-suffering wife, Nelly Barth, who is hardly recognisable as the person examined in my own research and in that of Marlies Flesch-Thebesius ('Sie hatte keine Träume: Nelly Barth', in Esther Röhr (ed.), *Ich bin was ich bin: Frauen neben grossen Theologen und Religionsphilosophen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Gütersloh 1997.). She also understates or omits the ecumenical dimension to von Kirschbaum's work as foremother of modern feminist theology. Nevertheless, this is a most valuable book.

UNIVERSITY OF DERBY

E. M. JACKSON

Die Christlich-deutsche Bewegung. Eine Studie zum konservativen Protestantismus in der Weimarer Republik. By Christoph Weiling. (Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B. Darstellungen, 28.) Pp. 388. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998. DM 88. 3 525 55728 0

It may appear paradoxical that devout Christians contributed to the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the triumph of the Nazis. The Junkers and aristocrats saw themselves as the losers after the collapse of the monarchy in 1918 and the establishment of Weimar. So too was the Lutheran Church which had lost its link with the rulers of the state whether princes or, in the case of the republics like Hamburg, senators. They were, so to speak, cast adrift. Worse still, the rising tide of socialism and Marxism alienated from the Church its largest constituency, the working class. Church leaders and the Right found common cause in trying to recover their positions in a 'renewed Germany' whilst in reality they were looking to the past. The years from 1930 to 1931 witnessed the high point in such collaboration with the foundation of the 'Christian German Movement'.

In this excellent monograph Christoph Weiling has thoroughly researched the Christian German movement during the short period of its influence from its foundation in 1930, that same year in which the national socialist movement achieved its breakthrough, a mass party that also hated Weimar and democracy. For the Christian Germans this appeared to present an opportunity for the Right and the Church to win back working-class allegiance using national socialist mass appeal. That was not all. The Christian German movement shared a belief in a mystical *Volk*, antipathy to the Jews and chauvinist nationalism. Extremist racism was a problem for some like its early leader, Ewald von Kleist. For others, the incompatibility of national socialism with Christianity could be opportunistically set aside. It did not help them. It was not the Christian German

movement but the Gauleiter of Berlin, Joseph Goebbels, who abandoned collaboration with these social elites who could not enthuse the masses. The Nazis would build up their own subservient Christian movement. The whole confusion and moral decline of the Lutheran German Church is well exemplified in this study.

INSTITUTE FOR GERMAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

J. A. S. GRENVILLE

Die verlassenen Kinder der Kirche. Der Umgang mit Christen jüdischer Herkunft im Dritten Reich. By Ursula Büttner and Martin Greschat. (Sammlung Vandenhoeck.) Pp. 152. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998. DM 28 (paper). 3 525 01620 4

Children deserted by the Church is the title of this uncompromising slim volume. The failures of the German Lutheran Church to protect their fellow Christians of Jewish ancestry is told here in spare and clear language, revealing the Church's ideological confusion, national hysteria, compromise and cowardice. Against the numbing tragedy of the murder of six million Jews, the impact of Nazi racial persecution of Christians deemed to be Jewish by 'race' had until some ten years ago received little attention in general, and the role of the Churches even less. Professor Ursula Büttner has been in the forefront of a growing number of German scholars examining national socialist persecution of the so called *Judenchristen*, *Mischlinge* and *Jüdischversippten*, those married to Jews or to *Mischlinge*. None of these men, women or children were Jews, all suffered from discrimination ranging from the exclusion from a profession to death in the extermination camp depending on the precise artificial categorisations of the Nürnberg Laws. The population in Germany thereby affected, it may come as a surprise to learn, was comparable to the number of Jews in Germany, at least 400,000 as against 500,000 Jews. Their number would have been even larger had Hitler not drawn the line at grandparents.

The question Büttner poses is why the Lutheran Churches not only did so little to protest at the persecution of the Jews, but so readily accepted the state racial legislation when it blighted the lives of their fellow Christians of Jewish descent. The myth that the majority of the Confessing Church opposed Hitler on this issue has now for some years been laid to rest. They rejected the introduction of the 'Aryan' paragraph as defining who was a Christian, but accepted that Christians of Jewish descent were *racially* different and that the German state could rightfully legislate their exclusion from spheres within the control of the state. Karl Barth and a small radical wing of the Confessing Church could make no progress in trying to secure a condemnation of this pernicious belief.

In finding answers to the question of the Church's failures Büttner builds on the pioneering studies of the late Professor Werner Jochmann who demonstrated the depth and growth of antisemitism in German society since the foundation of the German empire. Where Büttner has enriched and significantly added to our understanding is in rejecting the accepted explanations such as the doctrine of the 'New Covenant' replacing the 'Old Covenant' with the Jews, and the Lutheran

acceptance of obedience to the state as part of the divine order, as sufficient, powerful influences though they were. She shows with telling examples the widespread acceptance by the Church's leaders of anti-Jewish attitudes coupled with an espousal of the divinely ordained concept of *Volk*, and in particular the German *Volk* to which the Jew, a different *Volk*, dispersed in the world as a punishment for the killing of Christ, could never belong, however outwardly assimilated. This poisonous prejudice was so strong that it did not even halt before Christians of Jewish descent, including some 117 pastors. Büttner quotes from the writings of Reinhold Seeberg, professor at the University of Berlin in 1923, who polemicised against the destructive spirit of the power of international Jewry against whom, so he claimed, it was everyone's duty to fight to preserve German culture and the Christian religion. Hans Meiser, the highly respected bishop of the Bavarian Church from 1933 to 1955, warned his *Volk* of the moral threat posed by Jewry. Typical is the following passage: 'we cannot fight energetically enough against the judaization of our *Volk*... God gave every *Volk* its identity and racial characteristics'. Against this prevailing tide of prejudice the few, brave and enlightened Christians could do little.

The particular distinction of this highly readable study is that the general discussion of the attitudes of the Lutheran Churches – to which this summary does not do full justice – is followed by three biographical treatments which graphically describe the lives of their subjects and the effects of the attitude of the Churches.

Professor Martin Greschat draws on family papers to recount the tragic history of a German Jewish assimilated family. To smooth the future path of his son and free him from discrimination, Friedrich Weiszler was baptised in 1886, a secret his father kept from his family and even his wife. Appointed a judge during the Weimar years, married to the daughter of a pastor, Weiszler's future appeared assured until Hitler came to power. As a *Frontkämpfer*, he was spared immediate dismissal in 1933, but was discharged a year later under another paragraph of the law even though it did not apply to him. He was then employed in an honorary capacity in the church administration of the Confessing Church. Greschat here brilliantly analyses the struggles within that Church and with the Nazi state. Weiszler participated in the drawing up of a memorandum by the more radical wing of the split Confessing Church which it was intended should be passed to Hitler; the memorandum appealed against policies adopted by the Nazis on the church question and condemned racial doctrines and the arousal of hatred against the Jews. Greschat has called it one of the clearest and bravest protests made by any organised group in Nazi Germany. The memorandum was published abroad. Weiszler was arrested by the Gestapo; he was sent, after lengthy interrogations, to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and was brutally murdered there six days later in February 1937. It was not Weiszler, however, who had been responsible for the publication of the memorandum abroad. But the Confessing Church deserted him after his arrest, happy thereby to distance itself from this 'state crime'. Among those most condemnatory of Weiszler was Martin Niemöller.

This mixture of courage and caution, boldness and cowardice was typical of the behaviour of the organised Churches. That courage stopped at words is illustrated by Greschat's short but quite remarkable account of a single social

worker, Margaret Meusel. She began in the early period of the Nazi regime to organise help for the 'non-Aryan' Christians. She had no success in securing the sponsorship either of the Inner Mission or of the Confessing Church. Her judgement was clear. Neither a Christian nor the Church could compromise with Nazi racial legislation. Unlike professors of theology, as a social worker she experienced the misery caused by the discriminatory laws at first hand. In a small way and practically on her own, assisted by one unpaid helper, she offered advice. She could only help a few. The Confessing Church rejected her appeals to confront the implications for Christians of the persecution by the state of their fellow 'non-Aryan' Christians. Unlike others who later gingerly tried to plead with Hitler only for this group, in 1935 Margaret Meusel widened her engagement. Now her concern was for Jews and non-Aryan Christians alike. In a powerful memorandum addressed to the Confessing Church Synod of the Prussian Church, she demanded that obedience to state laws cannot override the laws of God and specifically mentioned the various Aryan laws. She graphically described the helpless condition of the persecuted and rejected the excuse that the Church need not concern itself with the fate of the Jews. It was no exaggeration, she wrote in a remarkable passage, when people speak 'of the attempt to exterminate the Jews'. And where did the Church stand in all this? Margaret Meusel survived the war embittered and exhausted. There is much more to be researched and discovered about her and the attitude of the Church, especially after the onset of the deportations into the ghettos and extermination camps of the east.

Büttner's and Greschat's studies raise an important question. Margaret Meusel and a few others may early on have seen clearly where the 'final solution' would lead. But what of those Germans and Christians who in 1934 or 1935 or even 1940, with antisemitic prejudices ranging from dislike to hatred of the Jews, supported their removal from 'German life'? Did they expect 'removal' to be equated with 'mass murder'? And among those who knew, including pastors and bishops, how many regarded the destruction of the Jews not as an unparalleled crime but as the judgement of God? These important studies show how the process began and proceeded in stages. We now need a follow-up study to illuminate the Church during the final genocidal phase.

The book closes with Büttner's portrayal of the Christian German writer and poet Jochem Klepper. Married to his 'racially' Jewish wife and with 'racially' Jewish step-daughters and a *Mischling* daughter of their own, this account reveals the trials and persecution of a family in a so-called 'mixed' marriage. Using the life of the Klepper family, largely based on his journals, Büttner explains the complicated Nazi laws without losing the attention of the reader. Klepper's 'Jewish' wife enjoyed protection from deportation and death through marriage with an Aryan German: she was categorised as living in a 'privileged mixed marriage'. This protection did not extend to the 'full Jewish' daughters of the first marriage. When the deportation of the younger daughter was demanded (the older step-daughter had managed to emigrate) and all Klepper's efforts and connections could not avert her fate, the whole family committed suicide.

These masterful studies should be widely read and it is to be hoped that they will be translated and so made available to a much wider public. They tell us a great deal about the highs and lows of human nature and provide unusually

sharp insights of German society after 1918 as well as illuminating the attitudes of the Lutheran Churches.

INSTITUTE OF GERMAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

J. A. S. GRENVILLE

War and religion. Catholics in the churches of occupied Paris. By Vesna Drapac. Pp. xv + 302. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1998.

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Entre la Peste et le choléra. Vie et attitudes des catholiques sous l'occupation. Edited by Fabrice Maerten, Frans Selleslagh and Mark Van den Wijngaert. Pp. 288.

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It is not difficult to see why the history of Catholicism during the Second World War in Europe is becoming a focus of attention for historians. Quite apart from the continuing controversy surrounding the ways in which the Church, or more especially certain of its elites, responded to the political and moral challenges of those years, the war also provides an excellent opportunity to study the ways in which religious faith adapted to the exceptional circumstances of foreign occupation, and offers a vantage point from which to survey the legacy of the more militant mood evident in Catholicism during the inter-war years and its consequences for Europe after 1945. These two important volumes address these issues in ways which are novel and enlightening as well as indicating the considerable opportunities which remain for further research. Vesna Drapac's carefully-tilted monograph is motivated above all by an understandable exasperation with those historians, generally uninterested in the history of religion, who have seized on the actions and statements of certain clerics and made them stand as representative of the attitudes of French Catholics as a whole. Her concern is to get away from the resistance–collaboration dichotomy which she believes has prevented historians from studying the 'real' history of the Catholic clergy and faithful in the parishes of Paris before, during and after the German occupation. Denied access by suspicious archivists to the papers of Cardinal Suhard, she has made a considerable virtue out of this obstacle by delving into the wealth of local correspondence, minutes of St Vincent de Paul meetings and parish newsletters preserved in the archives of the archbishopric of Paris. The picture that emerges from her impressionistic but substantial researches is one which may lack the false clarity of anticlerical denunciation and Catholic apologia but which is broadly convincing. Unsurprisingly, most Catholics in Paris during the war appear to have been less concerned with supporting Pétain or opposing the Germans than with heating their churches, organising welfare for the vulnerable within and beyond their ranks, and maintaining their networks of social and spiritual organisations. The war narrowed horizons to pressing matters of local organisation while at the same time stimulating among the nucleus of committed and activist Catholics who dominate Drapac's sources a renewed belief in the need to assert the spiritual values of the Catholic religion, upon which they believed any eventual recovery of France would depend.

Expressed in these terms, there is little in Drapac's argument with which any serious historian of French Catholicism would disagree. More controversial,

however, is her insistence that the myriad facets of local parish life, from the organisation of soup kitchens for the poor to prayer vigils to the Virgin Mary, 'themselves constituted a form of spiritual resistance' (p. 278). There is here a distinct sense of Drapac wanting to have her cake and eat it. Having set out to refute the 'flat image of Catholics' (p. 150) presented by those historians who crudely measure Catholic behaviour in terms of the yardsticks of resistance and collaboration, she becomes increasingly embroiled in her own defence of prudent and unheroic Catholic parish life during the war as 'a legitimate and morally acceptable alternative to active resistance' (p. 236). Simply by maintaining their faith in the face of Nazi barbarism, so she would wish to argue, Parisian Catholics engaged in their own personal and collective resistance. The problem of course with such an argument is not that it is demonstrably wrong but that it rapidly transforms the word 'resistance' into an all-embracing term redolent with good connotations but devoid of any real meaning. What does it really mean, for example, to label the charitable work of the St Vincent de Paul groups as acts of spiritual resistance? At best, it would seem to privilege the intention which is presumed to have motivated the action over the nature of the act itself; while, at worst, it risks bathing all aspects of Catholic life during the war, with its ambivalences and awkward silences, in the warm light of 'spiritual resistance'. In fact, Catholic life in Paris during the war years was not dominated by a central theme of resistance, just as it was not characterised by pro-German collaboration or, after the initial enthusiasm of the summer of 1940, by uncritical support for the Vichy regime. Instead, the roughly 10 per cent of Parisians who were active Catholics formed a self-contained milieu which, though buffeted by external events, maintained, as Drapac's innovative researches emphatically demonstrate, a remarkably autonomous sense of their own identity and purpose.

Many of the same concerns and some of the same tensions are evident in the volume edited by Fabrice Maerten, Frans Selleslagh and Mark van den Wijngaert on Catholicism in wartime Belgium. The product of a conference in 1995, the quality of its thirteen contributions is distinctly variable. Some are little more than research reports and others, such as those on Catholic assistance to the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, prefer merely to celebrate the fact of such assistance without asking more awkward questions about its motivations and limits. A number of the more substantial contributions, notably those by Baeten and Van der Cruyssen on youth movements and the more general essays by Van den Wijngaert and Maerten, are however of much wider interest and illustrate themes common to the history of Catholicism in much of wartime Europe. In Belgium, as in many other places, the war was far from being a deChristianising experience: attendance at services rose and new social and cultural organisations flourished amidst the tedium and constraints of occupation. More subtly, the war also prompted a reclericalisation of Catholic life. The enforced marginalisation of the political and trade-union leaders who had played such a prominent role in Belgian Catholicism before the war provided the opportunity for the archbishop of Malines, Cardinal Van Roey, and his colleagues to impose a more hierarchical and clerical-led definition of the Catholic community. In this way the bonds of solidarity and of orthodoxy were reinforced within Catholic ranks by the experience of foreign occupation. At the same time, however, the disruptions and material sufferings of the war years also eroded some of the barriers between

Catholic and non-Catholic and, especially in the industrial regions of francophone Belgium, prompted a new mood of openness and innovation among certain lay and clerical elites. The consequence, as Maerten's highly stimulating essay on the diocese of Tournai well demonstrates, was to provide the basis for the foundation of new Catholic workers' organisations, notably the *Mouvement Populaire des Familles*, which after the liberation rejected confessional loyalties and clerical leadership in favour of a more radical vision of Catholicism as a liberating political and social force. Thus, just as in France, the legacy of the war for Catholicism in Belgium defies any easy definition. The experience of war simultaneously reinforced conservatism and stimulated new initiatives; above all, perhaps, it simply made the faithful feel more Catholic.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD

MARTIN CONWAY