

## Reviews

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*The making of fornication. Eros, ethics, and political reform in Greek philosophy and early Christianity.* By Kathy L. Gaca. (Hellenistic Culture and Society, 40.) Pp. xvii + 359. Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003. \$60.

0 520 23599 1

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A comprehensive, synthetic study of the Jewish roots of Christian sexual ethics is much needed, and Kathy L. Gaca has written the first major book in that quest. In this rich, dense work, Gaca aims to redress the emphasis scholars have placed on the debt Christian sexual ethics owe Greek philosophy. She explicitly challenges such formidable opponents as Michel Foucault and Pierre Hadot, who have sought to demonstrate continuities between classical and Christian traditions, while ignoring disparities. Instead, Gaca intends to ‘give the Septuagint its due’ (p. 8). She argues that Paul reinterprets the sexual norms of the Pentateuch in the context of the Prophets’ religious didacticism, creating a new ethic that will become the foundation of future tradition; namely, that sexual fornication is fornication against the Lord and that one is best off virgin (or chaste), properly the Bride of Christ. In this new ethic, monogamy walks hand-in-hand with monotheism, and intercourse is sanctioned only for procreation. Platonic and early Stoic teachings on the ‘communal aspect’ of eros are rejected, except for the Gnostic Christian Platonist Epiphanes. The Carpocratian Epiphanes ‘promotes early Stoic eros in a communal Christian form’ (p. 7), as well as teaching Plato faithfully, validating the sexual communalism found especially in *Republic* 5 (pp. 273, 277). The break between Greek philosophy and Christian ethics must be identified, Gaca argues, because ‘Only then may we recognize the strongly religious rationale that separates the sexual reforms of the encratites and church fathers from those of Plato, the Stoics and the Pythagoreans, and from popular Greek morality as well’ (p. 6).

Much can be praised about the book: its vast ambition and scope, Gaca’s thorough discussion of points, her wide range of expertise in classics, Jewish thought and Christian ethics. Certainly, she persuasively argues her key point, that Paul builds upon and reworks ideas from the Septuagint. This, along with many interesting points excavated in her research, will be of great value to others. Yet one needs to be cautious; space limits my examples. In being self-consciously revisionist, Gaca can be imprudent, and at times seems to force her argument. As all writers do, Gaca establishes the terms of argument so she can win. Yet to convince readers, these definitions must be balanced and credible. At critical points her judgements falter. If one argues that the sexual ethics of Plato or the Hellenistic philosophers (particularly the Stoics) provided the ‘prototype’ whence Christian ‘morality

followed rather fluidly', Gaca asserts, 'this would mean that the church fathers launched the philosophers' sexual reforms on a scale that Plato, the Stoics, and the Pythagoreans never imagined ... first the Roman Empire and later the New World' (p. 5). It would mean that the philosophers 'sing the Hymn to Zeus while [Christians] say Lord's prayer, but the philosophers are honorary pre-Christian church fathers in their sexual restrictions and ascetic discipline' (p. 5). Such peculiar constraints (standards of establishing the continuity of intellectual tradition that to my knowledge are unique) by definition strictly limit what can be deemed continuity.

Gaca's purpose is to point out disparities between classical thought and Christian ethics; significantly, her broader 'aim is to establish a clear understanding of the underlying principles that made many early Christian sexual restrictions take the radically ascetic forms they did' (p. 10). To identify disparities accurately is critical; the question is, how? Given that philosophical traditions constantly evolve, what is to be taken as the base of comparison? How does one judge a difference meaningful? Can divergences in doctrines be estimated fairly if convergences are not considered? Gaca's treatment of Plato illustrates these pitfalls. Her Plato is the author of the middle and late Dialogues, the *Republic* and the *Laws*, where she offers this image of 'core appetites' (for food, drink and sex, *Laws* 782d10-832a; *Rep.* 580e2-4, where, in fact, avarice is also mentioned). 'A tree of vices to illustrate this idea would have a three-pronged taproot, with the longest root at the center being uncontrolled sexual desire' (p. 35). According to Gaca, sexual desire had been allowed to run wild and ruin the human condition: 'Human sexual desires are the source of countless woes for people individually and entire cities' (*Laws* 836a8-b2) (p. 41). The cure is the *Republic*, with its sexual engineering: communal families, procreative sex and eugenics – nevertheless, sex was approved in moderation. This interpretation will allow Gaca to link the Gnostic Epiphaneus with Plato, while neglecting or dismissing the Platonism of Clement and Tatian as inauthentic or unimportant. But such a reading of Plato misplaces emphasis. Readers are led to think that the primary legacy of Plato to Christianity was sexual communism, rather than a broader asceticism that focuses on rational control of appetites. And what is to be said about Plato's influence on Christian ideas of the nature of God and the soul?

Similarly, Gaca's treatment of Stoicism can be questioned. She faults scholars for focusing on later Stoics such as Seneca and Musonius Rufus, who were more ascetic and, Gaca admits, more compatible with Christianity. Scholars have failed to appreciate differences between the early and later Stoa and 'erroneously [use] Seneca's and Musonius's antipathy toward eros to make Stoicism as a whole seem like the sexually repressive foundation of the Christian family and state' (p. 7). Remarkably, early Stoics such as Zeno and Chrysippus constructed a 'rehabilitated notion of eros' from their definition of human beings as 'a communal and mutually friendly animal' that affirmed bisexuality as normal, avoided gender bias, stressed the importance of consensual sex and preached the abolition of incest taboos as well as conventional marriage (pp. 75–9). What is relevant to compare with Christianity? Given that early Stoicism changes and that Christians were the contemporaries of later Stoics whose values were of procreative sex, conventional marriage and sexual restraint, one can argue exactly the opposite of Gaca, that comparison is highly relevant precisely because parallels can be demonstrated. Oddly, in her discussion of the early Stoa, Gaca gives cursory treatment to one theme that might be compared fruitfully with Christianity, *oikeiosis*. Stoics see society as a

body bound sympathetically by feeling of natural affections. This corporate unity might be compared and contrasted with Christian notions of the body of Christ. One begins to question the rationale of focusing on discontinuities for their own sake.

At the core of Gaca's thesis is Paul's debt to the Septuagint. In the Septuagint, fornication is rebellion against God, certainly when connected with the rituals of other gods, but also when 'abominations' are committed (such as bestiality, sodomy, adultery etc., pp. 123ff). The body is God's temple and must not be polluted. The covenant is a 'Faustian bargain': God grants prosperity only as long as the Israelites surrender worship of other gods and the sexual practices they used to enjoy. 'A veritable heaven on earth is theirs, but the cost is the very soul of religious and sexual pluralism' (p. 128). The prohibition of fornication is intimately tied to monotheism: 'The people must not continue to devote their sexual and reproductive energy to other gods, as their ancestors used to do, for the biblical God now claims them exclusively as his own' (p. 128). Gaca does recognise that writers speak metaphorically of sin as spiritual fornication against God. Although this fornication may involve no sex at all, it does make sexual fornication 'the sin of sins' (p. 164). Were she to use this insight to frame her entire discussion of fornication in the Septuagint and in Paul, this would only enhance her argument of the continuity of Paul with Jewish thought. Paul makes a metaphoric connection metonymic: now the body belongs so literally to God, sexual sins sever the Christian from the body of Christ (1 Corinthians xvi.18).

All this (and more: Philo, Tatian, Clement) culminates in Chapter x, 'The fornicating justice of Epiphanes' (pp. 273-91). Gaca argues that 'Epiphanes' communally sexual model of society was a pragmatic attempt to impart a more enduring basis to the inchoate communal customs of Jesus' first followers by grounding them in the sexual reforms the Zeno, Chrysippus, and Plato' (p. 275). This seems an unlikely way to 'give the Septuagint its due', but she argues that Epiphanes's vision 'expand[s] the list of social oppositions that the apostle Paul requires Christians to transcend' (p. 283, where she notes that Paul's more obvious social oppositions might not be influenced by Stoicism, but by Epiphanes's assumptions that society splits into corrupt fools versus wise good men indicates training in early Stoicism). The debate between Epiphanes and Clement reveals that Clement had read Plato selectively, though Clement claimed Plato as his own. Being influenced by the Septuagint and Philo, Clement saw sexual appetites as rebellious and demonic, reading Plato's *epithumia* through the lens of Philo and the Septuagint (pp. 288-9). In contrast, Epiphanes represented faithfully not only Plato (reading *epithumia* as innate and beneficial), but also Zeno and Chrysippus in their ideals of the harmonious Stoic city. While Christian writers such as Clement and Tatian pick and choose what they want from Hellenistic philosophers, in accepting the sexual communalism of these philosophers, Epiphanes alone becomes the authentic link with the past (pp. 277-85).

The University of California Press has served the author well, providing footnotes (instead of endnotes), a useful bibliography and an index to her lengthy manuscript, whose very title is sold gold for marketing. This is indeed a book to be noticed. *Caveat emptor*.

*Which Mary? The Marys of early Christian tradition.* Edited by F. Stanley Jones. (Symposium, 19.) Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002. \$29.95 (paper). 1 58983 043 1  
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This collection re-evaluates two Marys, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus, in a number of early Christian texts. In 'A case of mistaken identity?' Stephen Shoemaker proposes that scholarship too quickly identified 'the Gnostic Mary' as Mary Magdalene, arguing from texts on the dormition that the 'Gnostic' Mary should be more closely linked to Mary of Nazareth. Antti Marjanen responds *seriatim* to his arguments, concluding that most references in the texts at issue are indeed to Mary Magdalene. Ann Graham Brock carefully lays out the reasons for identifying references to the Marys in *Pistis Sophia* as either the Magdalene or the mother of Jesus, opting for the primacy of the former in 1–3, and conceding the ambiguity of references in 4. In 'Why all the controversy?', Karen King reviews the *Gospel of Mary*, summarising evidence for that Mary's identification with Mary Magdalene, and observing that, through the conflict between Andrew and Peter, Mary and Levi, the Gospel argues for a 'leadership based on spiritual maturity, not solely on apostolic transmission and never on sex-gender distinctions'. All three authors significantly qualify 'Gnostic'. Francois Bovon mines the version of the Acts of Philip for an apostolic Mary Magdalene. On a second topic, the development of the myth of the virgin birth, Jonathan Knight takes a Christological focus on *Ascension of Isaiah*, while George T. Zervos argues that the *Ascension* and the *Protevangelion of James* together suggest the origins of Marian myth.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

MARY ROSE D'ANGELO

*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 45 – 2002. Edited by Malcolm Choat and others. Pp. 267 incl. 12 ills + 15 black-and-white and one colour plates. Münster: Aschendorff, 2003. €79. 3 402 08136 9; 0075 2541

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The present volume of *Antike und Christentum* includes no less than twenty learned reviews as well as detailed studies of aspects, mainly liturgical, of the life of the early Christian Church. In a long article on the place of the wine press and wine in both pagan and Christian religious symbolism Elisabet Enss and Matthias Perhams point out that while pagan ideas continue to be represented on the sarcophagi of upper-class Christians, patristic texts show only biblical influences. Neither the cult of Dionysos nor Judaism seems to play any part in forming Christian symbolism of wine relating to the Church or the suffering of Christ. In contrast to a discussion by Malcolm Choat of monastic terminology in use in fourth- and fifth-century Egypt, Alfred Breitenbach demonstrates, on the basis of a study of Clement of Alexandria's *Paidagogos*, how the Alexandrians portrayed Christ as the physician leading his followers to a full, healthy and non-ascetic life on earth. Mosaics in northern Syria provide the theme for Gunnar Brands and Rotraut Wisskirchen. Brands argues for a late fifth- rather than a mid sixth-century date for a series of well-known hunting pattern mosaics from Resapha and Sarrin. Wisskirchen looks for a representation of an Adam-Christ motive on a fragmentary mosaic found at Huarte (Hawarte), north of Apamea, illustrating an enthroned Adam governing the birds and beasts of

the natural order, in preference to a continuation of the Orpheus theme, whereby the animals are charmed by the music of Orpheus' lyre.

The reviews are all of high scholarly value, and some, notably Nikolaus Walter's assessment of Bezalel Bar-Kochva's claim that Pseudo-Hecataeus' 'On the Jews' was a Jewish work of apology rather than a Hellenistic descriptive treatise, could with slight modifications, have been included in the text.

Detailed studies (*Detailarbeiten*) are valuable, but in a volume styled *Antike und Christentum* there should also be a place for broader, historical studies dealing with major themes concerning the relations between Christianity and the Greco-Roman world. Meantime however, one can only congratulate the editors on another faultless production in this distinguished series.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*The reception of Luke and Acts in the period before Irenaeus. Looking for Luke in the second century.*

By Andrew Gregory. (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, 169.) Pp. xv + 433. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003. €69 (paper). 3 16 148086 4; 0340 9570

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In this thorough and well-researched monograph, Andrew Gregory seeks to answer two questions: what use was made of Luke–Acts in the second century, and what conclusions, if any, may be drawn from the level and kind of use that is discovered? Inevitably, it is the first question, in relative terms an unploughed furrow in recent research, that will dominate. After justifying his choice of subject and the chronological limits within which he has chosen to work, Gregory moves on to consider some methodological issues. Of principal importance here is the problem of devising criteria by which to discern the use of Luke and Acts in a particular writing where such use is not explicit (in the case of Luke and Acts explicit use is first evidenced in Irenaeus). Gregory discusses some previous research in this area, particularly that of Massaux and Köhler on the early reception of Matthew, and Koester on the synoptic tradition more generally. Gregory is keen to point up the fact that there is good enough evidence to support the view that during the period under discussion there was much material of a broadly synoptic flavour which was transmitted in a form independent of the individual synoptic Gospels. With this in mind, but with some provisos, he endorses Koester's call for the use of a criterion that accepts material as evidence of the use of a named synoptic Gospel if 'it contains material which owes its origin to the redactional activity of the synoptic evangelists' (p. 294). The rest of the monograph divides itself up into two sections, dealing respectively with the reception of Luke (by far the longest section) and Acts. In the first section, and after a brief review of previous research, Gregory looks at the relevance to his subject of early manuscript evidence of the Gospel. In contradistinction to some recent discussions, in particular those of Martin Hengel and Graham Stanton, he argues strongly that the relevant material does not allow us to get behind the period of Irenaeus with any certainty. A consequence of this conclusion is that there is no reliable evidence in favour of the view that the third Gospel was ascribed to Luke before the time of Irenaeus. There then follow four

detailed chapters in which individual sources are examined for evidence of the use of Luke. Gregory's conclusions are sober and careful. Few texts or named authors show clear evidence of knowledge of Luke, although he is willing to accept the broad consensus that both Marcion and Justin do give some evidence of such knowledge (the less significant sources of 2 Clement, Thomas and the Gospel of the Ebionites also fall into this category), although absolute certainty on this point cannot be arrived at, particularly in the case of Justin (Gregory flirts with the idea that Justin's apparent knowledge of Luke may be explained by arguing that he had access to Lukan source material rather than the continuous narrative we call Luke). Gregory also concludes that it is only with Irenaeus that we can clearly state that the third Gospel was ascribed to Luke. The altogether shorter section on the reception of Acts is similarly cautious in its conclusions. More or less assured knowledge of the document seems best attested in the apocryphal acts of the Apostles (Acts of Paul, Peter and John), but their relevance to the discussion is unclear as we cannot be certain whether to date them before the time of Irenaeus. In broad terms, then, Gregory sees no conclusive evidence for the reception of Luke-Acts before the middle of the second century. In his short conclusion to the whole work, he wonders what relevance such an opinion might have for the question of the dating of these works. 'This lack of evidence for the reception of *Luke-Acts* before the middle of the second century does not mean that these texts were not used, let alone not yet written', writes Gregory. After all, there are internal grounds for positing a first-century date. But as a result of his work on the reception of these works, Gregory argues that we should not dismiss an early second-century date out of hand. This is a helpful and solid piece of work which clearly fills a gap in recent scholarly work on Luke-Acts. Its author demonstrates an admirable knowledge of the methodological complexities of the task he has set himself and a good knowledge of relevant second-century sources. Some of his discussions are genuinely innovative (particular note should be taken of his discussion of Marcion's use of Luke with his interesting conclusion that Marcion did not in fact produce a mutilated version of the third Gospel) and he writes clearly. His discussions of individual instances of possible use of Luke-Acts, particularly the Gospel, are hedged around with cautious provisos and a proliferation of sentences in the subjunctive mood. This is understandable given our almost complete ignorance as to what sources about Jesus' life were circulating in the second century and the extent to which these sources looked like or may have been used by the evangelists. Given that Gregory is looking to demonstrate usage inevitably the level of proof of use he requires is high. But, as he notes, demonstrating non-use is very difficult, as is, perhaps more interestingly, demonstrating lack of influence, a point which may be very important for those interested in the reception of Paul in the same century. Some may think his conclusions too cautious and wonder whether the fact of the acceptance of Luke in a more or less developed New Testament canon by the end of the second century should lead us to assume wider circulation at an earlier date (as Stanton has shown, it is difficult to read Irenaeus' important section on the Gospels in *Adversus haereses* without assuming a history of development behind it). We must surely assume this for the even less well-attested Mark whose very existence in the first sixty years of the century might be doubted if we didn't believe in his use by Matthew and Luke and did not have the testimony of Papias as recorded by Eusebius. What much of this serves to demonstrate is how little we

in fact know about Christianity in the second century, a point that Gregory makes when he notes that according to Christoph Marksches, himself dependent on Harnack, we are in fact missing 85 per cent of known sources from the period. Against such a sparse background, extensive use of the subjunctive mood is entirely appropriate.

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CAMBRIDGE

JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*Associations, synagogues, and congregations. Claiming a place in ancient Mediterranean society.* By Philip A. Harland. Pp. xv + 399 incl. 2 maps and 30 ills. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003. \$22 (paper). 0 8006 3589 2  
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This is an excellent study of the sociology of early Christianity, diaspora Judaism and other religious activity during the first two centuries AD. It draws largely, but not exclusively, on evidence from western Asia Minor, which is rightly described as a hub of early Christian social and literary activity. Harland is concerned not with religious beliefs and practices, but with local religious communities and associations in the *poleis* of the eastern provinces. His object is to investigate the ways in which they were integrated into civic structures and into the social fabric of the Roman empire at large. The methodology is exemplary. Rather than starting with the exiguous and often ambiguous evidence for Christian or Jewish institutions, the first section of the book is based on a very well chosen selection of epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Roman Asia concerning associations. Such groups, based on families or households, common ethnic origin, shared neighbourhoods, professions or trades and cultic connections, were very numerous and created vitally important social networks especially in the urban settlements. Chapter ii pays particular attention to cult associations and is a major contribution to the study of pagan religious activity in the Roman east. Chapter iii is an excellent analysis of the ways in which both cultic and other forms of association were embedded within and reinforced the civic structures of the Roman provinces. The second section adopts a more political perspective. Building on Simon Price's analysis of the imperial cult in Roman Asia, Harland argues that emperor worship should be interpreted not as an oppressive imposition but as an organically integrated component of the pagan religious *koine*, and that associations and guilds, which had a heterogeneous membership and were supported and promoted by elite benefactors, played a large part in promoting social harmony through emperor worship and other cultic activities. Chapter vi contrasts the relatively sparse allusions in literary sources to associations as sources of political opposition and social tension to the overwhelming bulk of documentary evidence which demonstrates that in general these bodies were widespread and contributed to social cohesion. After drawing this nuanced and well informed picture of the role of associations in civic society Harland turns, in the final part of the book, to Christian and Jewish groups. Chapter vii contests the views of Wayne Meeks and others that early Christian communities were not generally comparable with other associations. Harland perhaps underestimates the extent to which the radical nature of Christian beliefs may have differentiated their

communities from others, a point which was underlined both by the Christians themselves and by contemporary non-Christian observers. However, he does well to make the point that Christians must have been embedded in other social networks and been members of other associations as well. Chapter viii draws the lessons from much recent work on diaspora Jewish communities; that these were in general well assimilated into wider civic life and rarely in conflict with the Gentiles around them. Chapter ix emphasises the strand in early Christian writing (in particular the Pastoral Epistles and Melito of Sardis) which urged Christians to live within current social and political norms. He argues that the apocalyptic and separatist message of *Revelation*, especially ch. xviii, was directed against Christians who made excessive compromises as a result of their membership of other associations and networks. The scholarship throughout, ranging from sociological theory to studies of early Christian literature and Asia Minor epigraphy and archaeology is impressively up-to-date. The book is lucidly written and well presented. It deserves to be widely read and discussed.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

STEPHEN MITCHELL

*Images de l'Égypte chrétienne. Iconologie copte.* By Mahmoud Zibawi. Pp. 239 incl. 291 colour plates and 1 map. Paris: Picard, 2003. €90. 2 7084 0701 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904261565

The text of this book is a sound and useful survey of the main sites of Coptic art in Egypt from late antiquity to the Middle Ages. It is the pictures – a truly wonderful photographic record of outstanding quality, range and diversity – that make the book special. Indeed, to some extent the content is rather excessively photography-driven: it is mainly about the paintings (frescoes, icons) rather than the wonderful tradition of Coptic sculpture (with a few exceptions) or the spectacular surviving Coptic textiles (which it must be admitted are no less photogenic than the paintings). Oddly, the book's exclusively Christian focus is mistaken (in my view) since it ignores the rich survival of pagan polytheist traditions in the visual arts (till as late as the eighth century AD) which the Egyptian evidence offers. These mythological subjects may have had a religious significance in some kind of late-surviving and resistant pagan localism, but they are as likely to be decorations for the domestic and non-ecclesiastical sphere where they evoke the lingering nostalgia for 'Hellenism'. Ignoring them misrepresents the flavour of late antique culture in the Coptic world, since they too are the images of Christian Egypt. Indeed, conceptually one might say that the problem of the book is its location-specific remit, where Zibawi chooses to present his material site by site (as a kind of superior guide book) rather than thematically or by way of an argument. The sites are themselves arranged as a chronology, though they are effectively also an ecclesiastical map of the great monastic tradition created in Egypt by Anthony and Pachomius which was so fundamentally influential on monasticism elsewhere in Christendom.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,  
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JAS' ELSNER



*The spirit of early Christian thought. Seeking the face of God.* By Robert Louis Wilken. Pp. xxiii + 368 incl. 2 ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2003. £22.50. 0 300 09708 5  
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The University of Virginia's Robert Wilken brings his usual insight and energy to this work covering the major movements of thought within the first seven centuries of Christianity. Each of the twelve chapters takes up a central figure and theme within the Church's early life. The purpose here is to show the reader how the first Christians lived, thought, behaved, politicised and worshipped. Maximus the Confessor's battle with monotheletism, Basil's cosmology and understanding of the human person as an *imago dei*, Augustine's *De civitate dei*, Prudentius' hymnody, Gregory the Wonderworker's reliance upon fellowship and union to explain the moral life and John of Damascus' use of religious art and the veneration of icons are taken up in turn. Included are also shorter sections on *agape* and *eros*, faith as reasonable witness, the role of allegory in early exegesis, as well as the Fathers' understanding of the human body. Especially welcome here is Wilken's appreciation of the Fathers' reliance upon the language and imagery of *theosis*, explaining the Christian life as a growing assimilation with the divine. Although more citation of primary sources would be welcomed throughout, the index and lists of works for further reading prove helpful. Wilken assumes a learned audience but this book none the less stands as a highly recommended work which will prove helpful for anyone interested in the lives of the Church's first friends.

CAMPION HALL,  
 OXFORD

DAVID VINCENT MECONI

*Gnosis. An introduction.* By Christoph Marksches, translated by John Bowden. Pp. xi + 145. London–New York: T & T Clark, 2003. £55 (cloth), £14.99 (paper). 0 5670 8944 4; 0 5670 8945 2  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904281568

Christoph Marksches is one of the world's acknowledged experts on the much-contested subject of Gnosticism. In this short but highly informative book, originally published in German, he seeks to present his reader with a general survey of the field. Such a survey constitutes an epitome, we are informed, before the *magnum opus*. The book divides itself into seven chapters. In a very helpful introductory chapter Marksches examines the term 'gnosis' as it occurs in the ancient Mediterranean world, and looks critically at the scholarly distinction drawn up between 'gnosis' and 'gnosticism', a distinction particularly associated with the Messina conference of 1966. While accepting that the bringing together of specific ancient groups and intellectual currents under the name of 'gnosis' and designating their followers as 'gnostics' is a typological construct of modern scholarship, he argues that such constructs are useful 'if they also help to see phenomena with related content' (p. 15). He then presents his own typological model of gnosis, and proceeds to outline some of the main problems in discussion of the subject in recent debate, including the vexed issue of the relationship of 'gnosis' to Christianity. Chapters follow on the primary material called 'gnostic', on the early forms of 'gnosis' and the later so-called great systems of 'gnosis' (Marcion, Valentinus and the Barbelo-gnostics). There is a

chapter on Manichaenism ('It is not only the conclusion of the development of the great ancient systems of 'gnosis' from a particular interpretation of the Christian tradition to an independent religion, but also an attempt at a deliberate synthesis of previous religion'). A final substantive chapter looks at evidence for the communal life of gnostics. A few concluding thoughts emerge in the short seventh chapter entitled 'Gnosis in antiquity and the present.' While arguing that '(t)he attempt by Christian theologians to explain Christianity to their contemporaries by systems of Gnosis led away from Christianity' (p. 120), Marksches notes the ongoing popularity of significant themes within 'gnosis'. Helpfully Marksches gives a list of the Nag Hammadi codices at the end of the book. This is a judicious and quietly erudite work which performs that most useful of tasks, namely making clear to the reader the complexity of the subject under discussion. As Marksches notes in his prefatory remarks and makes plain throughout the main part of the book, so much of significance in the discussion of this subject remains disputed that 'a serious historian has to describe his account quite explicitly as an attempt and cannot conceal the degree to which such an outline is hypothetical'. We look forward to the detailed embodiment of these conclusions in the promised *magnum opus*.

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JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*The Westminster handbook to Origen*. Edited by John Anthony McGuckin. (The Westminster Handbooks to Christian Theology.) Pp. xix + 228. Louisville–London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004. \$34.95 (paper). o 664 22472 5  
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A collection of miniature essays on the great themes in Origen, prefaced by a minute account of his life and a comprehensive list of editions and translations, cannot fail to be a valuable resource. The information collated and condensed by Stephen Thomas on anthropology, Frederick Norris on *apokatastasis*, Christoph Marksches on the Gnostics, David Runia on Philo and Julia Konstantinovskiy on worship – to name but a few of the gems – would be hard to find elsewhere in such good order. Students outside the Orthodox communion may be surprised that the Anthropomorphic Controversy should be treated under the rubric 'image-making', but scholarship has a duty to be provocative, even in handbooks. Hence there is all the more reason to lament a number of items that do not justify the space given to them because they allow the text to be silenced by the traditions of men. We are told, as though no one doubted it, that Origen was a pupil of Plotinus' tutor Ammonius Saccas (p. 5): countervailing evidence in Eusebius is dashed aside, and no account is taken of the second Ammonius posited by Dörrie, or even of the Peripatetic Ammonius who outshone Ammonius Saccas in his day. The untested premiss yields the hasty inference that Origen is 'technically a Christian Middle Platonist' (n. 32) – 'Middle', it seems, being less a chronological than a qualitative epithet, while 'technically' is a Gorgon's head to intimidate the pedants who would rather confine the term 'Platonist' to those who acknowledged Plato as their master. We may be glad that Plato's name is not hauled into the article on allegory with which the book commences; unfortunately there is equally little of Origen in the first

two columns, encumbered as they are by controversies which arose long after his death. (The article on typology makes amends by a more empirical study of Origen's terminology, while its definition of allegory is traditional and as serviceable as any yet attempted.) The author of the entry on pre-existence thinks the doctrine so ubiquitous in *First principles* that she directs us to books I and II *in toto*, without discriminating between the Latin and Koetschau's Greek: the more precise citations from the *Commentary on John* and *Exhortation to the martyrs* inspire no confidence, as they clearly speak of the soul in its earthly tenement, not in heaven. The article on *Logos* seems to me to divorce the cosmic Word from the human Christ in a manner wholly foreign to Origen's usage, and superimposes Plato's term 'idea' on his vocabulary without noticing that he himself rejects it. A study of Origen's Trinitarianism ought at least to mention Hanson's classic judgement on his use of the *homoousion*; but here, as elsewhere, one is left to suppose that little has been doubted or discovered in recent studies. I am inclined to fear that, so long as editors draw only on the talents of theologians and decline to consult trained classicists or philosophers, nothing will.

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M. J. EDWARDS

*Jesus in the Manichaean writings.* By Majella Franzmann. Pp. xiv + 168. London–New York: T & T Clark, 2003. £60. 0 567 08964 9

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This book is at once a mine of texts relating to Jesus in Manichaean writings and an inventory of scholarly attempts to relieve these texts of their obscurities and apparent contradictions. The introduction justly concludes – against thoroughly stramineous opposition, it must be said – that Jesus must already have occupied a cardinal place in Mani's system, since otherwise the sect would have had no reason to encumber itself with this foreign name when seeking converts in its Persian homeland. Whether the Manichaean portraits represent a variety of figures or one figure in many guises is a question that admits of more debate. Franzmann differentiates three principals: Christ the splendour makes no use of a body in his primordial illumination of Adam, whereas Christ the apostle of light appears to suffer more than a phantom crucifixion, and in contrast to these emissaries of former ages Christ the judge is yet to be revealed. At the same time, no one of the three can be said to be wholly lacking in the properties of the others, and Franzmann thinks it improbable that any clear distinction between the three was envisaged – or indeed between the ideal Jesus and the Jesus in believers. In two other forms – as the sufferer and as the youth – he seems to be chiefly an exemplar of the persecuted soul that awaits redemption, while a sixth type, Jesus the moon, is almost peculiar to central Asia, and perhaps amounts to nothing more than the reification of a metaphor.

The argument throughout is dense and erudite, drawing liberally on sources in Persian, Turkish, Sogdian, Chinese, Greek and Latin, the last two tongues being represented only by ecclesiastical writers, the foremost of whom, Augustine, is rather mischievously suspected of having gleaned enough in his seven years as a 'hearer', to have been capable of profound misunderstanding (pp. 13–14). It seems that the Bible

has not been laid under contribution as frequently as might have been expected in research on the Manichaeans: 'Hanging on a tree' was the punishment visited on heinous offenders at Numbers xxv.4, and since Paul equates this scaffold with the cross at Galatians iii.13, we need not be surprised (as Franzmann is) that the gibbeting of Mani's body after his death in prison should have been styled a crucifixion (p. 24). Nor, when the Spirit is called 'another Paraclete' at John xiv.16, should Mani be considered either confused or innovative when he bestows the title Paraclete both on Christ and on himself (p. 20). In general, however, one cannot praise too highly the skill and learning of an author who has communicated and analysed so much in such brief compass; only the distinguished scholars who pay their homage to Franzmann on the back cover will find nothing in this volume that is new.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

M. J. EDWARDS

*Pilgerstätten in der syrischen Peripherie. Eine ethnologische Studie zur kognitiven Konstruktion sakraler Plätze und deren Praxisrelevanz.* By Gebhard Fartacek. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 700. Veröffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie, 5.) Pp. 223 incl. 65 colour plates. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003. €55 (paper). 3 7001 3133 X  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904311565

The Holy Land and Syria have attracted pilgrims since biblical times. Many of the twenty pilgrimage centres in remote areas of the Druse country and south east of Damascus which the author describes are connected with the lives of Old Testament heroes, as well as Christian and Moslem saints. The author's well-illustrated book is founded largely on his interviews with those connected with the shrines he visited. Though the predominant influence is Sunni Moslem, some important Christian centres remain, such as the supposed burial place of St George revered in the Greek Orthodox church at Azra in the Druze country. Legends of Christian martyrs, such as the Seven Dormants, are also commemorated in purely Moslem settings. The pilgrimage centres, often originally Grottoes, form a point of unity between ordinarily rival faiths in Syria. Christians and Moslems visit the shrines for the same purpose, namely to obtain something of the sacred influence (*baraka*) of the saint whose memory is preserved. The increase in the popularity of these shrines, in contrast to what this reviewer has witnessed in Tunisia, is interesting, as is their long continued veneration. The study would have been improved by some comparison with the centres visited by the pilgrim Egeria in the fourth century. Evidence for continuity would have been a valuable contribution to the religious history of Syria and Palestine. As it is, the author has provided a well-researched foundation for the study of an aspect of the relations between Christianity and Islam in Syria.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*Culture and society in later Roman Antioch. Papers from a colloquium London, 15th December 2001.* Edited by Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson. Pp. v + 152 incl. 22 figs. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004. £24 (paper). 1 84217 102 X  
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The eight papers in this collection derive from a one-day conference organised by the Open University and the London Institute of Classical Studies. They are rather uneven in tone and in quality. Some appear to differ little from the original lectures, while others, notably the contributions of Isabella Sandwell on John Chrysostom, of Frank Trombley on the spread of Christianity to the Antiochene *chora* and of Jesse Casana on late Roman settlement patterns in the Amuq plain, are lengthy and elaborate presentations, with extensive documentation. The introduction justifies publication by arguing that Antioch is the least appreciated of the four great cities of the later Roman empire, after Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria, but the collection as a whole does not offer a comprehensive introduction to the city in this period. A paper outlining key aspects of the city's history and social structures between the fourth and sixth centuries would have been helpful. Two papers explore aspects of hellenic *paideia* at Antioch. Sam Lieu sets out the institutional framework for higher education in Antioch, based on extensive quotations from speeches and letters of Libanius, while Johannes Haubold and Richard Miles present an analysis of Libanius' speech *In defence of the pantomimes*. They suggest that this provides evidence for a new, more elastic conception of hellenism in fourth-century Syria, although the argument suffers from being too narrowly based on a single, sometimes highly elusive text. Of the four archaeological papers, the most important is Casana's study of the territorial landscape, concentrating especially on the Amuq plain, based on a recent survey and high resolution satellite imaging. This part of Antioch's territory has been neglected by comparison with the villages of the limestone massif, which have been studied in exemplary fashion by Tchalenko and Tate. Casana effectively uses the preliminary survey findings to illustrate passages of Libanius' speech *In praise of Antioch*, and draws attention to the evidence for canals in the Amuq valley, used both for irrigation and for transportation. Sandwell and Trombley deal with Christianity. Sandwell's study, drawn from a 2002 London PhD thesis, is a sophisticated attempt, influenced by Markus's *The end of ancient Christianity*, to explore the ways in which John Chrysostom conceived the relationship between the secular world of imperial government and civic life and the Christian kingdom of God. Trombley revises and sharpens his own earlier ideas about the relative strength of pagan and Christian cult in the north Syrian countryside, based principally on the epigraphic evidence, which is usefully tabulated. The process of conversion as documented by epigraphy and archaeology stretched from the third to the sixth century, but he identifies a particularly intense episode in the dynamics of religious change between c. 390 and 410.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

STEPHEN MITCHELL

*Families and friends in late Roman Cappadocia.* By Raymond van Dam. Pp. ix + 256. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. £31.50 (\$45). 0 8122 3712 9  
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Two preliminary points need to be made about this book. First, this flawed but stimulating work, together with its companion volumes *Kingdom of snow* and *Becoming*

*Christian*, are going to be, for many years, required reading for anyone interested in the Cappadocian Fathers – not to mention a large number of Cappadocian mothers, sisters, cousins and daughters. Second, to be completely fair, it needs to be read in conjunction with those companion volumes, which, in the short space available here, I have not done. The most attractive characteristic of this book is its attention to intimacy, to the emotional lives of the persons portrayed, to what Van Dam calls ‘an arena of true feelings’ (p. 12). This has the added effect of cutting theology loose, so that stiff formulae and structured analyses are dissolved, revealing the degree to which doctrinal positions were fluid, unpredictable and inevitably coloured by other aspects of a theologian’s life. The title is also instructive – family *and* friends: for the social setting within which Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus developed their careers was remarkably wide. Van Dam makes the additional point that ‘men inherited their families and relatives from birth, but they chose their friends’, which makes their friendships ‘often more revealing’ (p. 129). Another species of fluidity excellently described is the trio’s constant attempt not only to ‘present’ themselves but also to redefine themselves: two distinct enterprises that not only made them bewildering at times to themselves but also makes them bewildering to us, the historical observers. I sense that the role of the texts in that endeavour is not always fully recognised. Van Dam can take a lot at face value, although his section on ‘the emotional life of letters’ is very fine (pp. 131–8). The core of the book consists of a comparison of Basil with Gregory of Nazianzus; and Van Dam finds Gregory better company. His Basil is consumed by a desire to find a substitute father: ‘coming to terms with his feelings about his father was one of the primary motivations in Basil’s life and career’ (p. 36); a simplistic assertion that is never convincingly substantiated. Predictable failure made Basil ‘seemingly so embittered about being abandoned at an early age by his father’s death that he never mentioned him’ (p. 75). Surely, such reticence, if not a cultural conceit, could be explained by something other than bitterness? Van Dam suggests in the same breath that ‘it seems reasonable to wonder’ whether ‘doctrinal formulations’ (about the relation between God the Father and God the Son) were influenced by ‘personal experiences’. I find it entirely unreasonable, if one has already subsumed most of Basil’s experiences under the heading ‘bitterness’: his theological positions were forged under the impact of many more inheritances and expectations than that. Gregory of Nazianzus, by contrast, is characterised as less embarrassed by attachment to the literary and philosophical bequests of the classical past, and to the social roles and forms in which those interests were traditionally presented. The contrast is described in detail, and rings entirely true. But what of the flaws? Van Dam never decides entirely what to deduce from the widespread use of kinship language. He dislikes metaphor. It is true that relations with pupils and clients were expressed in kinship terms; but what of the no less prevalent use of pastoral and medical imagery? Are we to suppose that families were essentially instruments of cohesion or fomenters of enmity? Given the variety of reaction that Van Dam himself is prepared to admit, do we need to be reminded at such length that people have difficulties with their parents and fall out with their friends? It is not the fact that such misfortune befell the Cappadocians so much as the particular way in which they did so that will interest us; and therefore, just how particular were they? The analysis is blunted further by constant speculation: matters move from being ‘possible’ to being ‘probable’; such and such ‘must have’ been the case; one can

move from 'might' to 'was' in a single paragraph. Paradoxically, the more a feature is presented as 'highly likely', the more it ceases to surprise. Here is a book, therefore, about which one is entitled to be cautious and sceptical. None of that detracts, however, from its courage, its clarity of expression, its deep learning and its wide reference. We have here a work at once authoritative and provoking.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

PHILIP ROUSSEAU

*Didymus the blind and his circle in late-antique Alexandria. Virtue and narrative in biblical scholarship.* By Richard A. Layton. Pp. ix + 220. Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004. \$44.95. 0 252 02881 3

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It is generally admitted that we need a book on Didymus in English. His treatise *On the holy spirit* has been a classic ever since Jerome turned it into Latin, while even one who had not been blind from infancy would have found it hard to match the erudition of the Greek commentaries discovered at Tura in 1941. It is these, our principal relics of Alexandrian exegesis in the fourth century, that furnish materials for this excellent study, in which Didymus reaps his due as a pioneer in the application of philosophy to Scripture and of Scripture to common life.

Didymus is often belittled as a reckless allegorist, who exceeded even Origen in his industrious misreading of the Scriptures. As Layton shows in a chapter on Didymus' commentary on Job, his aim is not to pervert the ancient texts but to read them with a purpose, and his method – more anagogic than allegorical – is to draw the reader himself into the story until at last he ascends by sympathy to the wisdom that the patriarch acquired only through affliction. (Here we may pause to note that the modern criticisms of Didymus – that he offers no theodicy and exaggerates the fortitude of Job – lose all their force when we read the work as the author wrote it, as a drama which attains its climax, not in Job's disputes with his accusers, but in chapter xl, where God tests Satan's wager that 'he will curse thee to thy face'). For Layton Didymus' exegesis of Job is an outstanding instance of the 'mimetic' criticism which aims to excite in the reader the same developing sense of God and of his purposes which is attested throughout the confessional literature of the Old Testament. He shows that a similar method is employed in Didymus' reading of the Psalms, and that the aims of the Christian teacher go well beyond those of the rhetoricians, who enjoined their pupils to imitate only the diction, composition and delivery of classic speechifiers (pp. 8–10).

We can only regret that Layton fails to show the same independence when he addresses another charge that is apt to be made with little scrutiny against Origen, and hence against Didymus by association. It was not so in antiquity, as Layton admits, professing surprise that the teacher's strange belief in the pre-existence of the soul escaped the notice of his pupils. We in turn have a right to be surprised that he declines to expose the elusive heresy. Had Didymus ever aired the view that souls were joined to bodies 'to correct prior faults', he would have been a Gnostic in the eyes of his fellow-Christians and an anachronism even among the Platonists. The preceding sentence, however, on which this purports to be a gloss, is a stricter paraphrase of Didymus, and says only that the soul descends either because of 'its inclination and desire for fellowship with other bodies' or 'to benefit other souls'

(p. 72). The first conjecture is favoured by the Platonists Sallustius and Alcinoüs; the second is innocuous, and Origen himself advances nothing more heterodox in *De principiis* 3.4.2, which Layton cites in this connexion. Other imputations against him are delicately silenced in the footnotes: thus Layton rightly points out that, if Origen ever proposed the theory that the 'coats of skins' devised for Adam and Eve at Genesis iii.21 were 'nothing other than bodies', he did not conclude by making it his own (p. 105). What remains, in Origen as in Didymus, is the doctrine that the soul descends to the body from the hand of God, enjoying an instantaneous pre-existence before conjunction with the body for which it is destined; and what is this but a variant of the 'creationism' widely upheld by Christians of antiquity against Tertullian's theory that the soul passes into the body of the mother with the seed?

In his estimate of Origen as philosopher, Layton rightly observes that Alexandria was the home of Aristotelian studies, not of Platonism, as the reach-me-down orthodoxy of scholars tells us in its efforts to dissolve Christianity into the ambient culture. The freshness of Christian thought is also obscured by the common assumption that philosophy in the ancient world was hermetically divided into schools, each having no purpose but to cherish the opinions of its founder. On such a view it would be a simple error to use a philosophical term in any sense but the original one; Layton contends, more charitably and to my mind more persuasively, that when Didymus speaks of Judas's disposition to treachery as a *propatheia*, he is consciously adapting a word that the Stoics had used to signify an extraneous perturbation of the senses. To call him a scholastic – meaning, in Layton's neat summation, that 'reading is a form of hearing and exegesis a form of dialogue' – is not to deny him any power of thinking for himself.

Almost nothing is said here of the tract *On the holy spirit*, or of Didymus' view of Christ, which, being conceived as a retort to Apollinarius, explodes the widespread myth that all Christology outside Antioch forms a seamless 'Alexandrian' tradition. More might also be said on the definition of allegory, on the races and religions of Alexandria and on the likely background of the catechumens who (according to report) were Didymus' students. Although Layton intends to study 'the contribution of religiously-based academies to the processes' described by Frances Young in her *Biblical exegesis and the formation of Christendom* (p. 9), he gives less consideration to the evidence for the history and structure of the 'catechetical school' than to a legendary exchange of words between Didymus and Antony (pp. 19–26). No doubt, then, it is possible to imagine a more tenacious and more comprehensive account of the blind Alexandrian and of his antecedents; at the same time, it would be difficult to handle the materials with more justice, more lucidity and more learning than are exhibited in this book.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

M. J. EDWARDS

*Grace and Christology in the early Church*. By Donald Fairbairn. (Oxford Early Christian Studies.) Pp. xvii + 257 incl. 9 tables. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.  
£45. 0 19 925614 4  
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Just when one felt it was safe to go back in the waters and accept the revisionist *topos* that any connection between Pelagianism in Grace-theology, and Nestorianism in



Christology, was spurious, here comes a study that makes us think again. The work is a careful and detailed survey of how the notion of Christological union was correlated, in early Christian writers, to the notion of graceful salvation. It begins with the classic instance of the war between Cyril and Nestorius, but has the merit of extending its remit to include Theodoret and Cassian (who each took up the Antiochene and Alexandrian systems with slightly different nuances). The work grows out of a Cambridge doctoral thesis under the guidance of Lionel Wickham, whose expertise is felt, not least, in the regular reference to the Syriac behind the Greek which Nestorius uses. At the core is a series of careful word studies (how *eudokia*, *oikeios* and *idios* are applied). The writer has performed a useful task in clarifying two of the centrally important issues in the Christological controversy. He argues first that while Nestorius understood Grace as primarily the cooperative assistance God gave to disciples, Cyril believed that it was a means of expressing how God shared a communion with his own presence. These two things are not necessarily mutually exclusive, of course, and both had found their reconciliation in the greatest patristic exponent of the respective theories – namely Origen of Alexandria. It would have deepened the book's range to have had some section on how both Nestorius and Cyril are, in a sense, reacting to the Alexandrian heritage of this great master. The Cappadocian Fathers serve as an interesting case in Christology, largely because their own Christological statements are more of a balanced synthesis of Origen's doctrine of grace than either Cyril or Nestorius managed. This was undoubtedly because the Christological theory of Origen (the mediating soul Jesus) had been so decisively sidelined by the advent of the fifth century. By the time the various suggested rehabilitations of the Origenian scheme (the mediating Manhood of Jesus, or the unmediated presence of the Divine Logos) were supplied by the Antiochenes and Alexandrians, respectively, the essential communion of Origen's systematic insights had been lost. Fairbairn suggests that the Nestorian view of God's presence in the Christ was a mediated one, whereas Cyril posits it as an unmediated presence of the Logos. This, while fundamentally true, needs to be understood in the context of how the dynamic force of Cyril's soteriology derives from the sense he has that the incarnation was itself the primary 'economy' of mediation to human beings, and 'enfleshment' for Cyril meant far more than mere 'assumption of a body'. The author, most interestingly, takes the discussion through the medium of the writings of Cassian. For a long time the latter has been habitually dismissed as irrelevant to the debate. Here now is a study that makes us reassess that view. Cassian was, after all, the first to draw the connection between Nestorianism and Pelagianism. This too was a moment when an analysis of Origen could have proved beneficial, since it is hard to forget that Cassian was the direct disciple of the greatest Origenian of all – Evagrius of Pontus. All in all, a very commendable work that deserves a place on the reading lists of university Christology courses, ancient or modern.

*Quodvultdeus of Carthage. The apocalyptic theology of a Roman African in exile.* By Daniel van Slyke. (Early Christian Studies, 5.) Pp. xiii + 344. Strathfield, NSW: St Pauls Publications (with the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University), 2003. \$47 (paper). 0 9577483 6 1

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Quodvultdeus was bishop of Carthage from c. 433 or possibly 437 until the fall of Carthage to the Vandals on 19 October 439. He was then exiled to Naples and never returned to his episcopal see. Two works are attributed to him with certainty, the *Liber promissionum et praedictorum dei* and the *Sermo de tempore barbarico*. Ten others, including tracts against Jews and heretics may have also been written by him. The *Liber* is the subject of this study. After summarising earlier views regarding Quodvultdeus and his writings, van Slyke gives a detailed description of its contents. The bishop was influenced by Augustine's *De catechezandis rudibus*, but his audience was composed of baptised Italian Christians, who were inclined to be sceptical about his doom-laden message. Apocalyptic, however, is the theme of the *Liber*. The author divides the history of human salvation into three periods, namely 'before the Law' (the time before the appearance of Moses), 'under the Law' (from Moses to Christ) and Christian times 'under Grace'. To these he adds a short spell, a *dimidium temporis* (half the time) ruled by AntiChrist in advance of the judgement and final purification by fire. He sees Gaiseric and the Arian heretics as precursors of AntiChrist and in contrast to Augustine places the end of time precisely at AD 510. The whole of Scripture relates to Christ and his kingdom. God's promises proclaimed through Old Testament 'oracles' have either been or will shortly be fulfilled.

Quodvultdeus lived in disastrous times, with the empire visibly failing and its place taken by heretical Germanic rulers. Van Slyke has a useful chapter on the intrigue and strife that characterised Roman rule in north Africa in the decade before the arrival of the Vandals, but fails to mention the prime cause of the collapse of Roman Africa and the Catholic Church, the uprising of sections of the native population (see Augustine, *ep.* 220.7; 228) and slave revolts recorded by Quodvultdeus himself in his sermon *De tempore barbarico*. Altogether, however, the author has made a commendable effort to restore Quodvultdeus to his place in the history of the end of the Roman empire in the west. One error: there were no Arab Carthaginians to be exorcised by the bishop, only Carthaginians.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*Proclus of Constantinople and the cult of the Virgin in late antiquity. Homilies 1–5, texts and translations.* By Nicholas Constatas. (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language, 66.) Pp. xiv + 450 incl. 3 ill. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003. €99. 90 04 12612 0; 0920 623X

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Proclus is usually remembered for a trinity of reasons: the ever hopeful candidate, he had tried at least twice for the episcopal chair of Constantinople (which he was to hold for twelve years) before he finally succeeded in 434; he preached the ancient Church's best loved eulogy of the Mother of God in the presence of the most famous disputer of that title, Nestorius, who responded with a statement of his own position;

and he fixed the challenging phrase 'One of the Trinity became incarnate' amongst the subsequent watchwords of debate through his use of it in his 'Tome to the Armenians'. A few other things might be added to the list of *memorabilia*: he was responsible for the translation of John Chrysostom's remains to Constantinople; he played a significant part in the campaign against the memories of Diodore and Theodore which culminated in their damnation under Justinian a century later; and the vital 'in two natures' of the Chacedonian Definition may well go back to him at one remove. Nicholas Constatas sets out these bald facts along with the background of Proclus' career to concentrate on his role in the recognition of the BVM. Five Marian homilies are here edited: with English translations by Mark Santer and Maurice Wiles for the first and most celebrated, the rest by himself. It is good to have these texts now freshly re-edited and translated. Readers who can find fault with the English renderings do not need them in the first place. The notes to the homilies assemble useful parallels and pieces of relevant information. Two chapters, dealing with the notion of the BVM's ear as the organ involved in Christ's conception and with the symbol of weaving in Proclus' sermons, are fine presentations of embarrassingly naïve themes: neither entirely serious nor mocking. But in general it must be allowed that Proclus' combination in these sermons of Marian devotion and Asianist rhetoric is an acquired taste. His account of the person of Christ, on the other hand, is rightly presented here as balanced and unaggressive. Proclus was that unusual thing, a tough moderate. The notion of an 'Antiochene' school of Christology, distinct from an 'Alexandrian', rather as if it were a question of the water supply, is an absurdity, of course. It is true, though, that Theodore, and Nestorius too in his way, had a distinctive agenda and problematic. Proclus took account of them.

There is a problem over the date of the delivery of the famous homily. Schwartz thought it was certainly 25 March, from the reference in its opening lines to ships freely bringing voyagers over calm seas. That suggests between March and October. Marcel Richard pointed to Nestorius' use of the formula 'two hypostases' in his response to Proclus, and deduced that Lady Day 431 was the date in question, since Nestorius would have been called to account for the novelty had there been time to do so before the council at Ephesus in June. Constatas follows the now received opinion that puts the homily in the Christmas season, probably on 26 December on the ground that Constantinople knew no feast of the Annunciation at this period. The date of delivery, though a detail, makes a difference to how the scene is to be understood. I do not know how the problem is to be resolved but the presumed background scarcely fits, I would think, the *mare clausum*. Nestorius' response to Proclus can certainly be read (with Richard) as a final position on the Christological question, as though he was making his final accommodation to what he regards as Cyril's preposterous demands: not two births of the same subject at once priest and victim but two hypostases and the BVM as 'theotocos' provided it is balanced by 'anthropotocos'. But other interpretations are possible and it may well be that the whole scenario of the sermon's delivery and Nestorius' response has been understood too simply. Nobody ought to be dogmatic about it. This is a good book, well researched, plainly and interestingly written.

*Die Macht der Weisheit. Das Bild des Bischofs in der Vita Augustini des Possidius und anderen spataniken und frühmittelalterlichen Bischofsviten.* By Eva Elm. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 109.) Pp. x + 307. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003. €79.90 04 12881 6; 0081 8607

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Late antique and in particular Christian biographical writing has attracted increasing scholarly attention in recent years. To this, Eva Elm adds an analysis of an important, if very much neglected, subgenre, the *Lives* of bishops. Building not least on Walter Berschin's magisterial works on medieval biographies and subsequent studies assessing hagiographic writing in its own right, she sets out to define more clearly the particular challenges faced in writing a bishop's biography. According to her analysis, the intrinsic tensions of episcopal office are mirrored by the limited utility of traditional literary models. The bishop's need to act in the public arena, extols his position, while a common Christian value system, mainly interested in internal virtues, counteracts any claims to pre-eminence and demands humility. Accordingly, traditional *Lives* of eminent public figures provide a model for the praise of public achievement, but build on opposing values. *Lives* of ascetics on the other hand supply exemplary ways of dealing with the inner life, but make some kind of 'otherworldliness' a standard feature. Neither, therefore, is capable of capturing the specifics required of the ideal bishop. Elm suggests the *Lives* of 'wise men' (as described by P. Cox), in particular of 'divine' philosophers, as the closest literary parallel to a bishop's *Life*. Both portray their protagonists as communicating the divine and both share a special interest in their role as authoritative teachers, authenticated by life-style and character. Hence the depiction of the person is static, emphasising constancy of disposition rather than (inner) progress.

In this perspective, the main focus is on Possidius' *Life of Augustine* (pp. 100–59). Comparing the *Vita* with Augustine's *Confessions* older studies had frequently criticised its historical inaccuracy and a lack of engagement with or even distortion of Augustine's thought. Elm explains the differences with reference to Possidius' specific intentions; his main concern is to legitimise his protagonist as a worthy bishop, holding the balance between ascetic sanctity of life and public duties. The necessity to do so is heightened by the difficult situation of the Catholic Church in Africa facing not only the traditional religions but also, in Donatism, a rival claim to authentic Christianity. Consequently, Elm suggests a tripartite structure to the *Vita*: a first section presents an idealised ascetic lifestyle, even in Augustine's early years, and highlights the importance of spiritual teaching and guidance in his intellectual formation. Chapters ix–xviii concentrate on the confrontations with a variety of heretical opponents; chapters xix–xxvii give an account of his everyday life, thus witnessing to his *mores* in a Suetonian fashion; they lead to the narration of his final days. The reconstruction of Possidius' main interests and of their effect on the composition is convincing. One potentially crucial question remains unresolved, though. The *Vita* is marked by the inclusion of Augustine's letter 228; it accounts for more than half of its entire length. How the inclusion of the letter served the author's task or how it may help us to understand his intentions even more precisely remains unanswered.

To sum up, the study not only arrives at a much more balanced view of Possidius' achievement, but also, in its commendable methodological consideration and care, shows how the notoriously underestimated genres of 'popular' ecclesiastical

literature can be fruitfully studied. Two final chapters on later *Lives*, tracing their adaptation in the changing world of the early Middle Ages, allow a first glimpse into this wider task. An impressive bibliography and an index, sadly only of names, complement the volume.

FACULTY OF DIVINITY,  
CAMBRIDGE

THOMAS GRAUMANN

*The Scandinavians from the Vendel period to the tenth century. An ethnographic perspective.* Edited by Judith Jesch. (Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology, 5.) Pp. vi + 374 incl. 2 maps and 10 ills. Woodbridge: Boydell/San Marino: Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 2002. £50. 9 85115 867 6  
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There are many books about the Vikings and the Viking age. Is there a place for another one? Well, some of the merits of this new volume are the introductions to the Scandinavians in their homelands during this spectacular period. Some articles offer new insights and perspectives and present in English material previously published only in the Scandinavian languages. Some of the articles are of a synthesising character, like the substantial outline on settlements and social structure by Bente Magnus. Lise Bender Jørgensen gives an informative and excellent overview of the different forms of rural economy in Viking age Scandinavia. The evidence for trade and urban culture in Scandinavia is well described and discussed by Svend Nielsen. Special attention should be paid to the seminal article by Stefan Brink in which from the scanty and fragmentary evidence he discusses the legal and judicial system of the Scandinavians before the provincial law codes of the Christian and medieval period. Kinship and kinship structures are discussed from two very different points of view and diverse sources by Birgit Arrhenius and Elisabeth Vestergaard. Some articles focus on more particular problems. The structure of Birka, an important urban settlement, is discussed in the light of recent archaeological excavations by Lena Holmquist Olausson. Important mental and cultural aspects are illuminated in Judith Jesch's interesting article about symbols of victory and death in Old Norse and other poetry. There are also exciting papers, dealing mainly with source critical and terminological problems, by David Dumville, Dennis Green and Niels Lund. This volume is the result of a conference organised by the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress in San Marino, and there are extensive reports of its discussions. They indicate the impressive intellectual standard of the conference and provide the reader with thoughtful comments and insights into the pre-medieval period in Scandinavia and the Germanic world. But conference discussions in printed form often turn out to be very unsystematic. The structure is far from ideal for the purpose of providing research information. However, some really new and interesting perspectives are offered in the papers of the volume; some, but far from all, might even be labelled as ethnographic. Although the theme social stress is absent from almost all the papers, the volume offers a good insight into the many, diverse fields of multidisciplinary research on the Vikings and their societies. Unfortunately there is little, if anything, on Christianisation and the early Scandinavian Churches.

UNIVERSITY OF GÖTEBORG

THOMAS LINDKVIST

*Painted labyrinth. The world of the Lindisfarne Gospels.* By Michelle P. Brown. Pp. 48 incl. 79 colour plates. London: The British Library, 2003. £5.95 (paper). 0 7123 4811 5  
*The Lindisfarne Gospels. Society, spirituality and the scribe.* By Michelle P. Brown. (The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture.) Pp. xvi + 479 incl. 2 colour frontispieces and 177 figs + 32 colour plates. London: The British Library, 2003. £45 (cloth), £19.95 (paper). 0 7123 4806 9; 0 7123 4807 7  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904401560

These two volumes were published by the British Library in conjunction with their highly successful exhibition on the Lindisfarne Gospels in 2003. *Painted labyrinth* is the shorter and more introductory of the two. It is generously illustrated with reproductions of many of the objects in the exhibition, including the illuminated pages of the Gospels themselves. The book is arranged according to the sections in the exhibition, and includes a list of exhibits at the end which serves as a basic catalogue. It is written in a very accessible style, perhaps excessively so in the description of Cuthbert as a 'super-hero'. *Society, spirituality and the scribe*, at over 500 pages in length and with a CD-ROM of textual collation tables, is a good deal more detailed. It is none the less intended for a general, as well as an academic, readership. In the main it copes with these two different audiences well. A section of thirty-two colour plates at the beginning provides a broad sample of reproductions from the Lindisfarne Gospels as well as from related books such as the Echternach Gospels and the Book of Durrow, although some of these are so reduced as to become essentially diagrammatic in purpose. Many further plates, black-and-white and colour, are scattered throughout the book. The book covers not only the making of the manuscript but the interesting topic of its later history, including its sumptuously vulgar rebinding in the nineteenth century, although more could have been made of the tenth-century Old English gloss, the earliest surviving text of the Gospels in English. This book serves as an excellent work for an interested general reader, detailed without being dull, and explanatory without being patronising. None the less the book's dual intended readership does cause some problems, and as an academic monograph it has some flaws. Some intriguing suggestions are thrown out with insufficient backing: for example, Dr Brown interprets some *litterae notabiliores* in the manuscript as marking lections which were introduced in Rome no earlier than 715, and argues that this suggests that the manuscript was written in the last five years or so of the life of Bishop Eadfrith (d. 721), rather than around the year 698, the traditional dating. But understandably she has spared the general reader by leaving untackled issues of how significant these minor initials are in the manuscript as a whole, and the context of these liturgical reforms and their dating; this leaves the academic reader unequipped to make up his mind about such an important point. The availability of this book as a reasonably-priced paperback, its lavish illustrations, and its well-written and interesting text will hopefully give it a very broad readership, and it will probably introduce many people to the Lindisfarne Gospels and its place in English history. It is an excellent and useful contribution to the literature on this enduringly fascinating manuscript; unfortunately some of its more interesting and contentious points are unlikely to be accepted by the academic world without further discussion of the evidence.

*Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hieria 754. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar ihres Horos.* By Torsten Krannich, Christoph Schubert and Claudia Sode (with Annette von Stockhausen). (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 15.) Pp. viii + 136. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002. €24 (paper). 3 16 147931 9; 1436 3003

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904411567

The Iconoclast Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries was a critical event for the history of the Byzantine Church and its relations with the west, and probably for the Byzantine state as a whole. During this period, iconoclasm was the official ideology of the Byzantine emperors and dominated the theologians of Constantinople. All the documentation, however, that we have from this period is preserved by the eventually successful iconodules. The only iconoclast document we can construct with any confidence in its completeness is the definition produced by the Synod of Hieria that provided synodical support for the imperial policy, for this, at the sixth session of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, was read out paragraph by paragraph by the unfortunate Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea, one of the survivors from Hieria, so that it could be refuted. It, therefore, provides our best source for iconoclast theology, and this critical edition of the text (essentially the text of Mansi, corrected from the *Editio romana*), with translation, detailed notes and introduction is to be welcomed. The introduction concisely fills in the historical and theological background. Particularly interesting are the various places where the editors explore the relationship between the *Peuseis* that Constantine v circulated to his bishops in preparation for the synod and the definition itself, especially over the differences there seem to be in their understanding of the eucharist as a *typos* or *eikon* of Christ. The editors, however, treat as an accepted conclusion the theory, first advanced by the lamented Paul Speck, that John Damascene's treatises against the iconoclasts are a response to the *Peuseis*, and consequently belong to the period 750–4. This would involve a further argument that the texts of the first and second of these treatises have been interpolated (for which there is no evidence). The argument advanced is based on parallels between the Damascene's *Expositio fidei* and the *Peuseis*, but there is no reason for thinking, as the editors assert, that the *Expositio*, or even the three-fold treatise of which it came to form a part, must be later than 743. It is not clear why it is so unacceptable to suggest that John's remarkable treatises may have anticipated the later concerns of the iconoclasts of Constantine v's time. Also cited at the Synod of Hieria, apparently for the first time, was a letter to Constantine's sister, Constantia, supposedly written by Eusebius of Caesarea. In an appendix, Annette von Stockhausen provides an edition of the surviving fragments, with an introduction, translation and useful notes.

DURHAM

ANDREW LOUTH

*Geschichte der Grossmährenforschung in den tschechischen Ländern und in der Slowakei.* By Stefan Albrecht. (Práce Slovanského ústavu. Nová řada, 14). Pp. 314. Prague: Slovanský ústav AV ČR/Euroslavica, 2003. 80 86420 10 8; 80 85494 65 5

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904421563

The state of affairs in Slavonic-speaking Central and Eastern Europe in the ninth century is almost as impenetrable as it is important. Christianity was of keen interest

to the traders and aspiring lords and potentates of the Middle Danube basin. The faith was propagated by Frankish churchmen in conjunction with Carolingian rulers, but a rather different perspective was to be had from the east and, famously, Prince Rastislav of the Moravians played host to the Byzantine missionaries Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. There has been much controversy over the activities of the eastern churchmen and their pupils, in particular the questions of which texts were translated by them, and of their relations with east Frankish bishops and the papacy and the Byzantine 'establishment'. For the last thirty years, even the location of Rastislav's regime has been in dispute: a case has been made for relocating the Moravian polity far to the south-east of modern Moravia, on the Serbian river Morava or the Hungarian plains. But, as Stefan Albrecht shows, scholarship about the problems of 'Great Moravia' and the Cyrillo-Methodian missions was driven by ulterior motives virtually from the first. Intellectuals, churchmen and scholars in nineteenth-century Moravia, Bohemia and Slovakia saw in the distant past a means of identifying and legitimising their respective communities. Derivation from Great Moravia and association with the celebrated missionaries could provide rallying-points. These tendencies crystallised with the creation of the republic of Czechoslovakia. As Albrecht stresses, leading advocates of the republic such as Beneš invoked Great Moravia as a precedent for reunion of the Czechs and Slovaks. The past could, however, be interpreted in a variety of lights. (For example, the adoption of Christianity by Prince Pribina based at Nitra and his cordial ties with Methodius were taken by the Slovaks to demonstrate their long-standing membership of the Church as a separate entity. This, in turn, justified claims to Slovak autonomy, if not outright independence.) While the work of outstanding scholars transcended the circumstances in which they were researched, the writing of others becomes more comprehensible once their backgrounds and affiliations are made clear. The thumb-nail biographies of numerous scholars offered here are illuminating, especially for the post-war Communist era. So, too, is the treatment of the changing status of ecclesiastical history as Communist rule began to falter. The scientific materialism of the ruling elite was compatible with funding excavations of the fortresses and stone churches of Great Moravia at sites such as Staré Město. The jubilee of the arrival of Constantine and Methodius in 1963 was held under tight state control, the brothers' achievements as 'teachers' being highlighted, rather than their missionary role. When the time came to commemorate the eleven-hundredth anniversary of the death of Methodius, in 1985, the atmosphere had changed and ceremonies were conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. Approximately a quarter of a million pilgrims flocked to Methodius' tomb in Belehrad and the government found itself having to cope with the first unorchestrated mass gathering since the Prague Spring. This well-researched work sheds much light on the political and cultural history of the Czechs and Slovaks in the twentieth century, besides demonstrating its relevance to scholarship dedicated to events of eleven hundred years earlier. No less valuable is the survey of the historiography on Great Moravia and Constantine and Methodius, which is at once abundant and very scattered, even within the confines of Central European publications.



*Ratpert. St Galler Klostergeschichten (Casus sancti Galli)*. Edited by Hannes Steiner. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 75.) Pp. x+283. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002. €28. 3 7752 5475 7; 0343 0820  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690443156X

Kloster St Gallen, situated near Bodensee in today's Switzerland and dissolved in 1805, stands as one of the most significant imperial abbeys of the early and high Middle Ages. For this position it has to thank the fact that amongst its monks were to be found some outstanding personalities, who, as poets, historians and artists created works which made an essential contribution to European culture from the eighth to the twelfth century. To this should be added that in its library and in its archive up until the present day there are to be found codices, that is, documents which, beginning in the Carolingian period, are not to be found in comparable quality and number in other early monasteries. Of most particular value to the historian are the histories of the monastery, entitled 'Casus Sancti Galli', which stretch one after another into the thirteenth century, and which contain important contributions which go beyond the history of the monastery itself and impinge upon the history of Germany and the *Reich* itself. The best known are those 'Casus' which the St Gallen monk, Ekkehart IV (c. 1060) composed. Their relative importance should not least be ascribed to the fact that after a first critical edition which appeared in 1877 (by G. Meyer von Knonau), there has subsequently been a translation by H. Helbling in 1958 and in 1980 a new edition with translation by H. F. Haefele. Ekkehart's 'Casus' begins with Abbot Salomo III (890–920). However, the history of the monastery up until the time of Abbot Salomo was written by the St Gallen monk Ratpert (c. 840–900). His 'Casus' were finally published in a St Gallen series in 1872, again by Meyer von Knonau. With this edition one had, up until now, to be satisfied. It is even more commendable, then, that Hannes Steiner has prepared a new critical edition of the work, in one of the renowned series of MGH, with a translation into German which fulfils all our expectations. In view of this new edition of a monastery chronicle which describes less internal than the external circumstances, that is, the struggle against the demands of the bishops of Konstanz, one can better understand the opinion of the editor that Ratpert composed his work around or soon after 890 as an exhortation to Salomo who at the same time as being appointed abbot had also been made bishop of Konstanz. The present new edition is valuable not only on account of its more accessible use of these the oldest of St Gallen's 'casus'. No less worthwhile are the approximately 120 pages which form the editor's comprehensive introduction. Anyone who is concerned with the history and manuscript transmission of the Gallus monastery in the Carolingian period, will use this commentary with profit.

KONSTANZ

HELMUT MAURER

*Oxford before the university. The late Saxon and Norman archaeology of the Thames crossing, the defences and the town*. Edited by Anne Dodd. (Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph, 17.) Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2003. Pp. xviii + 477 incl. 138 figs, 53 plates and 65 tables. £19.95. 0 947816 78 X  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904441566

This book is an important contribution to our understanding of the early development of the city of Oxford. It contains both synthesis of recent research,

drawing on documentary, archaeological and environmental evidence, and detailed reports on a number of excavations, most carried out in recent decades. There is also a gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon and medieval sites and a comprehensive bibliography, making the book an invaluable tool for future research. Many readers will find the synthesis presented in chapter ii of most interest, but in this volume they also have the opportunity to assess the basic evidence for the conclusions, as set out in the detailed excavation reports. The excavation reports are competent professional pieces of work, supported by relevant specialist reports. Individually they would have been useful but unremarkable. What is important here is that the results of many small pieces of work have been brought together and discussed in the context of the origins and early development of Oxford. They have been grouped under three main headings: the river crossing, the defences and the town within the defences. The history of the river crossing has involved reconstruction of the development of river channels in what became the St Aldate's area. Here six sites excavated in the 1980s and 1990s are published, and the results tied in to earlier work, to show how, from the middle Saxon to later medieval periods, a series of islands in the Thames flood plain were connected by causeways and bridges and expanded by land reclamation. The defences have been traced around the north of the town, while there is still discussion as to whether there was an early eastern extension. The western edge was established more securely through work on the site of the castle, reported as this volume went to press. Within the town the evidence is more difficult to assemble from fragmentary sightings of buildings, but early street surfaces give some framework for reconstruction. For a long time it was believed that King Alfred had founded the University of Oxford. Although no-one would claim that now, this book suggests that a case might be made for his foundation of the city, since no conclusive evidence for its existence before the early tenth century has yet been found. The medieval accounts of the seventh-century St Frideswide may have a basis in fact, but a religious house by a ford is not a town. This volume constitutes a model which could usefully be followed by other historic towns, where there is now a multitude of small to medium scale observations and excavations, which will make sense only when considered together.

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY,  
CAMBRIDGE

CATHERINE HILLS

*Majestas domini. Les Quatre Vivants de l'Apocalypse dans l'art.* By Michel Fromaget.

Pp. iv + 103 incl. 12 black and white + 31 colour plates. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. €35 (paper). 2 503 51328 X

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The image of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the four beasts was one of the two most powerful cult images of the Christian Church in the early and high Middle Ages. Based on the visions of Isaiah (vi.1–4) and, particularly, of Ezekiel (i.4–28) and of John in the Apocalypse (Revelation iv.2–9), the key interpretative text was by Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* iii.11.8) written over two centuries before the appearance of the image. He identified the four beasts with the four Evangelists and connected them with the four regions of the cosmos and the four winds which symbolise the spread of the four Gospels throughout the world. The book under review is

decidedly not an iconographical study of this image. The variety in the detail of its depiction is hardly considered and the brief introduction to the history of its appearance contains the dubious belief that Cluny was the well-spring of its representation in monumental sculpture. Indeed, the book's insularity is striking. All the secondary literature cited is French, and even then there is no reference to F. van den Meer, *Maiestas domini: théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (1938), which remains one of the standard works on the subject. The strength of the book lies in its detailed exposition of the Fathers and later exegetical writings relating to theophanies. The author is an anthropologist and ranges freely over Jewish, Christian and neoPlatonic views of the relationship of body, soul and spirit, and of man's place in the spiritual and material worlds, before going on to deal in detail with the texts on the different meanings of the four symbolic beasts. The wealth of sources discussed and the breadth of subjects treated provides a stimulating discussion of medieval world views, which at times is in danger of losing sight of the actual image which forms the subject of the book.

LONDON

C. M. KAUFFMANN

*Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz, 1054–1100.* Edited by Ian S. Robinson. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Ser., 14.) Pp. x + 645. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2003. €56. 3 7752 0214 5; 0343 088X  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904461569

Scholars have hitherto relied for texts of these two extremely important chronicles upon the editions published as long ago as 1844 by G. H. Pertz in the fifth volume of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores in Folio*; Ian Robinson's excellent edition completely supersedes them. The chronicle of Berthold, who was the favoured pupil of the chronicler Hermann of Reichenau, presents the greater difficulties and problems. Robinson lucidly explains the debates among German historians about matters of authorship and text. Much has turned upon the two versions of the chronicle that survive. The first is to be found only in the printed form of Johannes Sighard (1529): it covers the years 1054 to 1066 and exhibits a loyalty to and concern with the German monarchy such as characterised the Reichenau of the monk Hermann. The second is attested by five manuscripts, none earlier than the later twelfth century though the best text is represented by one of early sixteenth-century date. The second version incorporates much of the first but expands it. As revised it is more aware of and sympathetic to the reform papacy, most signally with regard to the disputed papal election of 1061 when the first version approves King Henry IV's candidate Bishop Cadalus of Parma while the second supports his rival Pope Alexander II. Especially in the long and perfervid annals for 1075 to 1080, when the text breaks off, Berthold was absolutely committed to the cause of Pope Gregory VII. Despite, or rather because of, the change of stance, Robinson elegantly and with a wealth of convincing argument argues for Berthold's authorship of both versions, which reflect his movement over the years to committed Gregorianism. This was not by way of sudden conversion but by gradual response to developing events. Robinson points out the changing fortunes of Reichenau at the hands of Henry IV and Gregory VII, not least as seen in the succession of its abbots and especially the

Gregorian Ekkehard (1071–88). Bernold was successively clerk of Constance and monk of St Blasien and All Saints', Schaffhausen; he was always as ardent a Gregorian as Berthold became, and in his annals for 1054 to 1074 Berthold was a major source. From 1075 to 1100 his chronicle is of outstanding value for its championing of the papal cause against Henry IV. Bernold's autograph manuscript survives, and Robinson describes seven further manuscripts. As Robinson points out, Berthold and Bernold complement each other as evidence for the influence of the papal reforms on the Salian kingdom, with especial respect to the position of the reform monasteries and nobility of south-west Germany; for the last three decades of the eleventh century they deserve study both as narrative sources and as polemical and propagandist writings. Berthold's Latin is notoriously idiosyncratic and often obscure; reference may usefully be made to another edition of the chronicles, also by Robinson, which was published in 2002 with *en face* German translation by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft of Darmstadt.

ST EDMUND HALL,  
OXFORD

H. E. J. COWDREY

*English episcopal acta*, XXIV: *Durham. 1153–1195*. Edited by M. G. Snape. Pp. lxxvi + 185 + 8 plates. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 2002. £45. 0 19 7262341

*English episcopal acta*, XXV: *Durham. 1196–1237*. Edited by M. G. Snape. Pp. xxv + 187–395. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 2002. £40. 0 19 726235 X  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904471565

The editor of these volumes had the undoubted advantage of being assistant keeper in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic at the University of Durham. The dean and chapter of Durham has managed to retain an impressive collection of the medieval muniments of the diocese and the cathedral priory, and the majority of the documents edited in these volumes may be found as original charters, or early cartulary copies, in the archives still held at Durham. Snape acknowledges the work of H. S. Offler, whose edition for the Surtees Society of the *acta* of the bishops of Durham from 1071 to 1153, forms an essential precursor to these editions. Volume xxiv is devoted to *acta* from the long pontificate of Hugh of Le Puiset (1153–96), while volume xxv deals with the pontificates of Philip of Poitou (1197–1208), Richard Marsh (1217–26) and Richard Poore (1228–37). These two volumes must, however, be considered together, not least because the extensive introduction in volume xxiv, and the essential indices in volume xxv, refer to both. The purchaser should be warned, therefore, that the two volumes should be purchased together in order to access the full scholarly apparatus.

The diocese of Durham offered ambitious clerks extensive opportunities to wield power, almost independent of royal control, and the status of the bishop within the county palatine was encapsulated in the claim, 'Quicquid rex habet extra, episcopus habet infra.' The introduction to these volumes deals with the diocese and the bishopric; a brief summary of the careers of each of the bishops; the archdeacons, and the episcopal household. The introduction to the *acta* themselves tells us that 247 documents survive together with references to 119 others. The majority of the

documents are from the long reign of Bishop Hugh (140 *acta*, of which sixty-one are original). Snape's discussion of the diplomatic of the *acta* is especially useful. A series of black-and-white photographs illustrate the seals of the bishops, although those for Hugh of Le Puiset might have been presented in closer detail. The *acta* in both volumes are arranged alphabetically by recipient's name, a felicitous arrangement which allows the reader to follow a series of grants, or track variants of the same text. A useful series of appendices provides additional illuminations of episcopal activity. For those interested in an earlier period, it should be noted that, included in the appendices to volume xxiv, are *addenda* and *corrigena* to Offler's edition of the *acta* for 1071–1152. By comparison with the pontificate of Hugh of Le Puiset, the number of *acta* surviving for his early thirteenth-century successors is less impressive. However, one theme that emerges from these *acta* is the often acrimonious relationship between the bishop and the cathedral priory. Only with the appointment of Richard Poore, translated from the diocese of Salisbury, was a reconciliation effected. The peace treaty, known as 'Le Conventit' (see volume xxv, nos 302–9) governed relations between the bishops and their chapter until the Reformation. These volumes represent, therefore, not only an invaluable addition to the series of English episcopal *acta*, but also an essential source for the history of the Durham diocese in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM M. AIRD

*Narrative and legislative texts from early Cîteaux*. Edited by Chrysogonus Waddell. (Studia et Documenta, 9.) Pp. 524. Pontigny: Cîteaux, 1999. B.Fr 1,775. 90 805439 1 8  
*Cistercian lay brothers. Twelfth-century usages with related texts*. Edited by Chrysogonus Waddell. (Studia et Documenta, 10.) Pp. 232. Pontigny: Cîteaux, 2000. B.Fr 1,385. 90 805439 3 4

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These are disturbing publications in that they appear at first sight to be critical editions of the early Latin texts and a careful study of the manuscript tradition: they are not. Their translations of what might be considered Cistercian meta-texts for use in the setting of a modern-day Trappist or Cistercian monastery are probably the best available. For historians attempting to write the history of religious reform in the twelfth century, however, and who need to have the most reliable dates for the introduction of Cistercian practices (even when not working on the Cistercians) these two volumes are extremely frustrating, mixing as they do good and bad, recent and wholly outdated scholarship. The editor takes a stance of great authority, but has not in fact actually done more than compile the work of earlier scholars, sometimes picking and choosing to fit his own polemic. When looking at Waddell's volumes, we must constantly ask if the manuscript sources he uses for a text are the earliest and why? When were they last examined *in situ* by historians trained in source criticism? How much reliability can we assign to the editor on whose opinion Waddell relies? And how accurately has Waddell cited editor's opinions and arguments? Because Waddell's volumes are *compendia* of earlier work rather than a total revisiting of the earliest evidence, on some issues they may be perfectly reliable, on others they are way off base. Given his attacks on my conclusions about these documents, I will only

suggest caution and a possible approach to such arguments.<sup>1</sup> First it is important constantly to keep in mind the difference between text and manuscript and it is obvious to me that the earliest texts are probably lost. The best way to reconstruct those texts, however, is from the earliest manuscripts, that is, those from the twelfth-century, and particularly those before the last quarter of that century. There is no such thing as a 'best' text, but no authentically early manuscript can be rejected. A first principle of textual edition, often ignored here, is that simpler versions are usually earlier versions – not excerpted ones; longer texts are those expanded with later elaborations. Institutions also get more complicated. A text that lists seven times a year when lay-brothers should communicate is probably earlier than one which lists twelve – and if the title says twelve, but only seven are listed, there has been an attempt to remedy the error of an early text, not an abbreviation. Also ancient and medieval Latin titles often begin 'De'; this does not mean 'selections from'. We can make series of twelfth-century manuscripts from those with marginal notes that are earlier than those which consistently incorporate such marginal notes into the body of the text – obviously the word 'consistently' is important here, for scribal error could result in a marginal note once or twice. We must query assertions about date based only on manuscript hand; few trained historians would feel comfortable assigning the date of a particular anonymously-copied twelfth century codex to a particular decade on assertions about scribal hands. Yet Waddell does so and then rejects as irrelevant a manuscript that contains dated statute material from the 1150s that is from Clairvaux's library. We must ask continually if Waddell has considered the actual dates of sources used to corroborate the date of something else. We cannot use a thirteenth-century *Life* of Gilbert of Sempringham or of Stephen of Obazine to confirm assertions about the 1140s. In fact, we cannot know what was actually happening at Silvanès in the 1130s from what we read in a 1170s tract about its foundation by Pons de Léras. And how well do editions of even a few decades ago stand the test of time? Letters of Peter the Venerable or of Bernard of Clairvaux himself have often been dated by editor's referring to dates in the Cistercian statutes published by Canivez in the 1130s that were once assumed reliable. No one should now cite Canivez's first volume without a careful assessment of his sources for those early years and a careful study of his introduction. It is particularly circular to argue that a letter of Peter the Venerable dated by Giles Constable to a particular date on the basis of a Cistercian document, can then be the only corroboration of that date for the Cistercian document. Finally, with regard to letters, even if we have

<sup>1</sup> The earlier of the two volumes under review, *Narrative and legislative texts*, arrived on my desk on 23 November 1999, several weeks after my own *The Cistercian evolution: the invention of a religious order in twelfth-century Europe* (Philadelphia 2000) had gone to press. I might have otherwise been saved an error on p. 244, where a sentence might better read, 'In comparison to earlier collections, it contains the Rule of Saint Benedict. The contents of its customary section are Exordium Parvum, Carta Caritatis Posterior, the papal, bull of Calixtus II, Instituta, Ecclesiastica Officia and Usus conversorum (in that order).' Waddell commented on my book in a lengthy article, 'The myth of Cistercian origins: C. H. Berman and the manuscript sources', *Cîteaux* li (2000), 299–386, along with a response by Daniel Patrick McGuire. See my own 'A response to McGuire and Waddell', *Cîteaux* liii (2002, appeared fall 2003), 333–7; but see also exchanges such as that in H-France – on-line, 5th week of November 2001. My findings about the manuscripts I had consulted in May 1997 were shared with Waddell before a Kalamazoo session in May 1998 which he chaired.

independent external proof of events providing dating, we will probably never know how much Bernard himself revised his language or his text in the late 1140s – possibly to reflect evolving practices.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

CONSTANCE HOFFMAN BERMAN

*Saracens, demons, and Jews. Making monsters in medieval art.* By Debra Higgs Strickland. Pp. 336 incl. colour frontispiece, 133 figs and 15 colour plates. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003. £40 (\$60). 0 691 05719 2

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This is a beautifully produced book full of well-documented imagery of the competitors of medieval Christians, Jews, Moslems and other non-Christians. The images come predominantly from illuminated manuscripts because it is there that such images have been best preserved in their original colours. But Strickland reminds us not to forget the many images contemporaries would have seen on tapestries, murals, stained glass windows and public sculptures. She assumes that everyone would have known how to ‘read’ the images they were exposed to through their knowledge of current pictorial conventions. The images would then, together with sermons and liturgical plays, be a vital route for the dissemination of ideas about non-Christians. Because most of this imagery was pejorative, the ideas which were circulated in this way, were negative ones. Strickland starts by giving the Greek and Roman background to portraying sin through ugliness. Strangers to the Greeks were depicted as barbarians. These traditions were assimilated by medieval ecclesiastics when they depicted those whom they considered to be evil and threatening to Christendom. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries iconographical types were used consistently to portray Jews, Moslems, Mongols and Tartars and others as enemies of Christendom. Much of this imagery fed into current ideas about AntiChrist and the terrors of the Final Days. Strickland’s book is a very welcome addition to other art-historical books like Ruth Mellinkoff’s *Outcasts* (1993) and Heinz Schreckenberg’s *The Jews in Christian art* (1996). Particularly useful is her comparative treatment of Jews and Moslems and her chapter on classical antecedents for the images that were adopted by medieval artists. What might, perhaps, have been included is more attention to the fact that these negative views were only one expression of a vibrant multi-faceted culture. Crusading goals cannot simply be dismissed as ‘the theoretically un-Christian activity of murder’ (p. 158). There was much more to medieval Christian life and thought than hatred towards those who were considered to be enemies of Christendom. It is important for all of us who study Christian-Jewish/Moslem relations not to see predominantly pejorative attitudes towards non-Christians as the sum total of western culture. We must also remember that Jews were part of western society for much of the medieval period and Moslems too in medieval Spain. Jewish medieval culture, for example, flourished alongside medieval Christian culture. It would, indeed, be very interesting to compare the illustrations in Jewish illuminated manuscripts with the kinds of images collected here.

LUCY CAVENDISH COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA

*Bischofsmord im Mittelalter. Murder of bishops.* Edited by Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 191.) Pp. 392 incl. 10 ills. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003. €56. 3 525 35189 5  
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This volume contains fourteen articles (six in German, five in French, two in English and one in Italian) on the murder of bishops in the Middle Ages ranging from Merovingian Francia to fourteenth-century Germany. The articles dealing with the historical context of murders suggest that the extent to which bishops were killed varied over space and time and greatly depended on the degree of the bishops' political power, the effectiveness of royal protection and the perception of the clergy as a sacred order. While these articles contain much valuable information on their respective areas of study, a future monograph on the murder of bishops will have to tackle the difficult task of explaining the long-term developments and the apparently substantial differences between regions during the same period. The contributions dealing with the writing on the murder of bishops provide an insight into the different approaches taken by authors during the Middle Ages. In the eighth century writers struggled with the task of synchronising the Christian ideal of a saintly bishop with the aristocratic ideal of an heroic bishop; in the twelfth century Gilbert de Nogent chose the literary form of tragedy to educate his readers, while contemporaries at Liège wrote to create saints; finally, political motives led late medieval writers to consider a murdered bishop from Constance either as martyr or as tyrant. Thomas Becket's killing, arguably the most notorious murder of a prelate in the Middle Ages, is dealt with in two articles. Martin Aurell takes the approach of a cultural anthropologist to place the actions at Northampton in 1164, Montmartre and Fréteval in 1169 and 1170 and Becket's murder in 1170 within the value system of twelfth-century society. Nicholas Vincent undertakes a prosopographical study in order to lift the mystery off the background and the fate of Becket's murderers. He shows not only that they were punished by Henry II and that they did penance for their crime, but also that the semi-anonymity of evildoers that they were reduced to by Becket's hagiographers was a long-standing paradigm for murderers in hagiographical writings. In sum, raising a number of important questions this volume serves as a useful starting point on the problem of murder of bishops in the Middle Ages. Perhaps it is therefore only logical that the editors refrained from providing a conclusion.

PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JÖRG PELZER

*The death of kings. Royal deaths in medieval England.* By Michael Evans. Pp. xx + 289 + 8 ills. London–New York: Hambledon and London, 2003. £19.95. 1 85285 268 2  
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Witnesses to the *vita, passio* and *translatio* of St Diana of Knightsbridge will need no reminding that the deaths of princes, and for that matter of princesses, are events rich in both political and anthropological significance. Covering the four centuries from the Norman Conquest to Richard III, Michael Evans supplies many good stories to illustrate the causes, consequences and culture of royal death. Of Evans's kings, only two survived beyond their mid-sixties, the longest lived being Edward I (sixty-eight) and Henry I (sixty-seven). Most died before they were fifty, in nine out of



the twenty cases considered here as a result of violence, be it in war (Harold, Richard I, Richard III), by violent accident (William II, and arguably his father, William I), or as the victims of political murder (Edward II, Richard II, Henry VI, Edward V). Violence was a more frequent cause of the death of England's kings than amongst the ruling dynasties of medieval France, Germany, Sicily or Scotland: an interesting point this, flying in the face of much received wisdom on the supposed peaceability of England before the Wars of the Roses. In the Middle Ages, it was the English, not the French, who were notorious for killing their kings. Accustomed to presenting themselves as embodiments of sacral as well as of temporal authority, few English kings preserved their sacrality beyond the grave. The Church, after 1100 an increasingly reluctant advocate of royal holiness, preferred to represent death as proof of the fleeting nature of worldly power, and hence of the corruptibility even of royal flesh. Evans writes well, for a general audience assumed to possess little or no background knowledge. He is particularly adept at the exploration of *topoi*: the bursting corpse, the royal body robbed and then abandoned by its former servants, the kings reputed to have cheated death and to have lived on, not like Arthur or Barbarossa as sleeping warriors, but in the case of Harold and Edward II, in the more humble disguise of pilgrims or hermits. Set against these merits, Evans's horizons only rarely extend beyond England, so that there is nothing here on the death of popes (so ably explored by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani in his *Il corpo del papa*, Turin 1994, trans. as *The pope's body*, Chicago 2000), and less comparisons than one might wish with the kings of France or other European rulers. Here the work of Alain Boureau, Elizabeth Brown, Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Gábor Klaniczay, to name just a few, goes entirely unnoticed. There are factual errors. Isabella of Angoulême did not die in 1230, and her second husband was not her former *fiancé*, but, even more remarkably, her late *fiancé*'s eldest son. Henry II, not Henry III, is reputed to have touched for scrofula. Adela of Louvain, whatever the peerage may say, was buried at Reading, not at Afflighem, and so one might go on. None the less, within its limitations, this is an interesting and entertaining study. Death, like the body, is a very fashionable subject. Faced with the current onslaught of interdisciplinary ineptitude, Evans is to be praised for upholding death's essential dignity.

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA

NICHOLAS VINCENT

*Die Distinktionstechnik in der Kanonistik des 12. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Hochmittelalters.* By Christoph H. F. Meyer. (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Ser. 1, 29.) Pp. viii + 363. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2000. B.Fr. 1,950. 90 5867 061 9

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From the rise of the scholastic movement in the early twelfth century the study of the liberal arts was regarded as an essential preparation for the higher studies of theology and law. The three arts that comprised the *trivium* (grammar, logic and rhetoric) were of particular importance. Their methods were applied by theologians and jurists to the analysis of texts; and the scholastic study of law, Roman and canon, and theology was essentially the study of authoritative texts. Meyer's monograph concentrates on one of the most important 'arts' techniques adopted by these higher

disciplines. His first two chapters indicate that distinctions had been used since antiquity and were found in the writings of Aristotle, Cicero and Boethius that formed the basis of the arts curriculum by the twelfth century. His third chapter, which forms the bulk of the book, analyses the influence and application of this intellectual tool in the writings of leading twelfth-century theologians, Roman lawyers and canonists. As the title of this book suggests, canonists receive the most extensive treatment, especially Gratian, whose work Meyer perceives as decisive to canonistic reception of the distinction method. Meyer sees the theologian Abelard as the key influence on Gratian in this regard. Both confronted the problem of contradictory authorities, and Gratian notably used distinctions in order to reconcile these in his *concordia discordantium canonum* (Meyer sees *concordantia* as a later appellation) or *Decretum*, a process continued by his canonistic commentators. The successive sections on individual exponents of the distinction method are each in themselves well done with useful biographical summaries, but cumulatively they can feel like a series of static tableaux. Certain contrasts do emerge, however, notably the interdisciplinary interests of the early Bolognese decretists and more narrowly juristic concerns of their successors. In particular Roman law is shown to eclipse theology as the main non-canonistic influence on late twelfth-century canonists Bernard of Pavia and Ricardus Anglicus. Meyer traces such lines of development more explicitly in his conclusions in chapter iv, but he is rightly wary of generalising only on the basis of the edited works of selected, albeit significant, authors. Given his admirably extensive bibliography, it might seem unfair to criticise his relative neglect of manuscripts; and unedited scholastic works of the twelfth century are certainly legion. More discussion might have been devoted, however, to the diffusion and teaching of the arts texts that he identifies as key sources of the distinction method, particularly at Bologna. The influential prologue to Ivo of Chartres's *Panormia* merited fuller attention, and, while Meyer considers that decretal law was less susceptible to the distinction method than the *Decretum*, one might argue that the systematic organisation of decretal collections epitomised in Bernard of Pavia's *Breviarium extravagantium* was partly inspired by it. Nevertheless this is a valuable scholarly treatment of a subject which will engage anyone interested in the twelfth-century renaissance and its canonistic achievements; it usefully complements Anders Winroth's *The making of Gratian's Decretum*, albeit also published in 2000 before either author could benefit much from the other's work.

ROBINSON COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

PETER D. CLARKE

*Death and memory in medieval Exeter.* By David Lepine and Nicholas Orme. (Devon and Cornwall Record Society. New Ser., 46.) Pp. x+375 incl. 3 figs+16 plates. Exeter: Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 2003. £20. 0 901853 46 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904531561

*Death and memory in medieval Exeter* is both a helpful guide to testamentary and commemorative practices, and a source book for anyone wishing to trace Exeter wills or individuals who had a funeral or burial there between 1050 and 1540. Consisting of both lists and documents (all in English translation, drawing on a wide range of sources apart from those in Exeter), the work in is three parts, whose

introductions reflect widely on the topic at large as well as the history of the cathedral on which Nicholas Orme has done so much to enlighten us. Part I on death and burial includes a full annotated list of the 700 or so burials and funerals known to have taken place in Exeter during the half millennium covered by the book. It includes (perhaps oddly) Drew Steyner, burned 'probably as a Lollard', though otherwise unrecorded, at Heavitree on 7 August 1431. Part II on wills and executors, besides listing the Exeter wills from 1244 to 1540 that survive in various locations, includes the texts of twenty from 1244 to 1349, of which several of the thirteenth century are in the form of reported speech, and others of married women testators who, as property-owners in their own right used their own, not their husbands' names. The long inventory and accounts of the fabulously rich Dean Andrew Kilkenny, who died in 1302 leaving an estate worth over £900, the administration of which went on for years, holds much interest, such as the expenses of making his tomb, and the costs of maintaining his kinsman Philip de Kilkenny studying at Oxford and abroad, including the prices received for books sold to pay for his inception in arts. Part III, 'Memory', on those liturgically commemorated at Exeter, starting in the eleventh century with the Leofric Missal and celebrated thereafter in the various obit records translated here, not surprisingly focuses on the cathedral establishment and its leading lights. Exeter was unusual in several respects, including the tight control exercised by the cathedral over burials within the city, and in the arrangements for commemorative masses within the church. There is illuminating discussion of the cathedral cemetery (illustrated in both modern and sixteenth-century plans), and the possible positioning of burials in it. At Exeter the annuellers serving individual chantries became incorporated into the cathedral foundation alongside the vicars choral, who by the fifteenth century had taken over the city-wide commemorative functions of the Guild of Kalendars. Of course the theme of memory in death cuts across the neat divisions of the book. There are, for instance, the chains of memory, seemingly reflecting friendship and respect as well as the desire for honourable place of interment, in the recurring requests of cathedral clergy to be buried beside deceased colleagues. One such memorial line linked two canons and two archdeacons over a period of twenty years. All told the business of pre-Reformation death and commemoration that funded the cathedral cat as well as its masters has happily extended modern memory of medieval Exeter.

CHIPPING ONGAR,  
ESSEX

MARGARET ASTON

*The experience of crusading, I: Western approaches; II: Defining the crusader kingdom.* Edited by Marcus Bull, Norman Housley, Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips. Pp. xvi + 307 incl. frontispiece, 1 table, 2 maps and 3 ills; xv + 311 incl. frontispiece and 7 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £85. 0 521 81168 6; 0 521 78151 5; 0 521 82667 5  
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Jonathan Riley-Smith's contribution to the study of the crusades has been both wide-ranging and profound, and it is therefore fitting that his sixty-fifth birthday should be marked with the appearance of a splendid two-volumed collection of essays. Both volumes begin with laudatory evaluations of Riley-Smith's work and

contain thirty-four essays ('chapters') in total, which reflect Riley-Smith's eclectic research interests. In the first essay Marcus Bull explores the motivations of the first crusaders and views of the Moslems and Jerusalem in under-researched miracle stories (c. 1000–c. 1200). Further insights into crusader motivation, attitudes and piety are given in Giles Constable's examination of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 and the three surviving accounts of the translation of the relics of St Vincent. Norman Housley presents a fascinating study on the process of budgeting the crusades in the fourteenth century, while Christopher Marshall offers further convincing evidence that the involvement of the Italian city republics in the Latin East (1096–1104) was not solely motivated by commercial prospects. In contrast the importance of commerce to the Italians is underlined by Michel Balard, while John H. Pryor offers a detailed and rounded examination of the Venetian fleet employed in the Fourth Crusade. Informative insights into Venetian activity in Acre are given in David Jacoby's study of Venetian notarial charters. Jonathan Phillip's re-evaluation of Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* offers important correctives to historians' understanding of the Second Crusade, and the crusader aspects of Pope Innocent III's letter to the Byzantine emperor, Alexius III, are given due prominence by James M. Powell. The attitude of Joachim of Fiore to the crusades and the Jews is explored in Anna Abulafia's illuminating contribution, which underlines Fiore's tolerance and the complexity of Christian attitudes towards the Jews. The creation of a suitable canonical status for the armed Knights Hospitaller and Templar is examined by James A. Brundage, and the definitions of 'holy war' and 'just war' and its effect on the Christian notion of warfare is analysed with clarity by H. E. J. Cowdrey, who indicates that historians should not make 'too much of the Augustinian concept of just war before or during the first century of crusading' (pp. 190–1). This essay should be borne in mind when reading John France's study on attitudes towards war before 1000, which offers important revisions to C. Erdmann's viewpoint. Penny J. Cole evaluates Humbert of Romans's views on crusading in his *De predicacione crucis*, and crusading themes in art, specifically within the 'bibles moralisées', are examined by Christoph T. Maier. These – as the author himself appears to admit (p. 222) – require more systematic research in order to fully evaluate the linkage. Jaroslav Folda's essay on the exquisite drawings in the so-called 'Freiburg Leaf' indicates that they provide indirect evidence for crusader icon painting and monumental painting at the holy sites. The presence of the Hospitallers in twelfth-century Constantinople is considered by Anthony Luttrell, including their role in imperial diplomacy, and the utilisation of the military orders by the English crown in Ireland (1220–1400) is evaluated by Helen Nicholson. Essays by Susan Edgington and Elizabeth Siberry on the First Crusade and post-war fiction and nineteenth-century perspectives, provide fascinating explorations into modern 'fictional' notions of the crusades, as well as the 'experience of crusading'. Jonathan Shepard seeks to clarify the identity of Odo Arpin, viscount of Bourges, and a more sympathetic appreciation of the role of Alice, wife of Bohemond II and daughter of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, is provided by Thomas Asbridge, who questions William of Tyre's negative view of her. New evidence for the life of Gaufridus, the first abbot of the Templum Domini is offered by Rudolf Hiestand and a judicious analysis of the *Life* of Philip of Nablus is provided by Malcolm Barber. Benjamin Z. Kedar explores the *vita* of St Ranieri, patron of Pisa, which sheds further light on the history of the Frankish kingdom, as well as the saint's spiritual progress as the

'second incarnation', and William of Tyre again features in Bernard Hamilton's examination of the old French continuations of his *Chronicle*, which contain information independent of William. Jean Richard studies John Gale, knight of Tyre, who was said to have repaid Saladin's kindness with ingratitude, and Peter Edbury reflects on a legal treatise by John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa (d. 1266). Denys Pringle makes a useful, tentative survey of the number and distribution of Christian churches in Palestine indicated in archaeological and documented sources, including cathedrals, parish churches and monasteries. Hans Eberhard Mayer's essay concerns a charter issued by King Fulk of Jerusalem to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1138. He argued conclusively that it was a donation and not a confirmation, explicitly rejecting Joshua Prawer's interpretation of the document. However Mayer does not give a complete transcription of the charter, which would have been beneficial to the reader. An interesting and informative study on Mongol relations with Latin and 'non-Latin' Christians is given by Peter Jackson, and Robert Irwin surveys the study of Arabic sources and languages and the development of crusader studies, from the time of the Maurist congregation of the Benedictine Order in the seventeenth century until modern times. His conclusion, that 'we shall not fully understand the successes and failures of the crusaders until they are studied in a much wider Islamic context' (p. 230), will undoubtedly preoccupy crusader historians for many years to come. The role of the military orders in the international carrying trade involving Cyprus, from 1291 to 1312, is examined by Nicholas Coureas, and David Abulafia's essay on the small Italian state of Piombino analyses the problems its trading activities encountered, which reveal aspects of Christian–Moslem contacts. Each volume contains an index and is beautifully produced, with few misprints. The editors and contributors of this collection are to be highly commended for their work and have made tangible expansions to our knowledge of the crusades. It is to be hoped that these volumes will enjoy a wide readership.

CORPUS CHRISTI PRIORY,  
MANCHESTER

JOSEPH A. GRIBBIN

*Jan van Ruusbroec. Mystical theologian of the Trinity.* By Rik Van Nieuwenhove. (Studies in Spirituality and Theology.) Pp. xii + 250. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003. \$45 (cloth), \$22 (paper) 0 268 03261 0; 0 268 03262 9 *JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904551564

This study explores the mystical theology of the Brabant writer Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381). It praises Ruusbroec as one of the finest mystical theologians of the late medieval period and deplores the fact that his works remain relatively unknown outside the Dutch-speaking world and that the study of his theology has been neglected during the last fifty years. After a sketch of Ruusbroec's life and *oeuvre*, the main points of his theology are described: Trinitarian doctrine, anthropology, Christology and the central concept of the 'Common Life'. In his very careful analysis Rik Van Nieuwenhove shows how Ruusbroec combines a gift of accuracy of language with a deep sense of harmony: the four aspects mentioned above are all related. Besides, Van Nieuwenhove highlights two original aspects in the mystic's doctrine: the role of the Spirit in *regitatio*, and the linking of Christ's life and death

to Trinitarian love. In Van Nieuwenhove's view, the current lack of interest in Ruusbroec's theology is partly due to a misinterpretation of his texts as 'a description of a direct, unmediated mystical union between God and the soul', the central theme of the so-called 'phenomenological' reading (p. 2). Throughout the book the author opposes his own theological reading to the phenomenological approach that has long dominated Ruusbroec studies. However, he should not lose sight of the fact that Ruusbroec did not intend to write about theology but about spiritual life: his intention was to give guidance to people who wanted to live an intense personal relationship with God. He did so by describing the way they had to follow, using his theological knowledge as a framework within which the adventure of love could take place. This description necessarily evokes all modes of religious experience, from oral prayer to being lost in God's Trinitarian love. Eliminating this richness and variety of experience as though it were a modern misunderstanding, in order to make the eye see Ruusbroec's real theology, is tantamount to drawing the blood out of a body so that one may observe the organs in their pure form. The objections formulated against a 'phenomenological' reading of Ruusbroec can be refuted by quoting texts by Ruusbroec himself. If, according to Van Nieuwenhove, 'Ruusbroec does not present a description of an immediate, unmediated experience of God' (p. 190), what is the meaning and portent of the following descriptive sentences: 'He who has lived in suffering without resentment ... is capable of feeling (*ghevoelne*) the union with God without intermediary. ... But how the interior man ... will feel (*ghevoelen*) himself one with God without intermediary, I shall now explain. ... all the powers of his soul must give way, and must suffer and endure (*liden ende ghedoghen*) the piercing truth and goodness of God Himself' (*Boecskén der verclaringhe, Opera omnia*, I, lines 225/6, 244/5, 251/3). This excellent study of Ruusbroec's theology is not in any way contradicted by a phenomenological reading of his writings. Instead of considering the two approaches as mutually exclusive it might be more fruitful to value them as complementary.

UNIVERSITY OF ANTWERP

GUIDO DE BAERE

*Rotuli parisienses. Supplications to the pope from the University of Paris, I: 1316–1349.* Edited by William J. Courtenay. (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 14.) Pp. xiii + 551. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2002. €135.

90 04 12563 9; 0926 6070

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The practice of universities submitting petitions for provisions to ecclesiastical benefices to the pope goes back to the beginning of John xxii's pontificate (1316–17). In essence, the universities were no different from other influential patrons, who collected together petitions on behalf of their *protégés* and submitted them in the papal curia. Such groups of petitions were called rolls, or *rotuli*. The universities' practice in this area reflects, on the one hand, the papacy's willingness to favour graduates, especially as far as promotions to benefices were concerned, and, on the other, the importance to university students and masters, who frequently lacked good links with local patrons, of papal provision as a means of obtaining benefices. It was natural that a university as prestigious as that of Paris should take a prominent part in the process. The present volume publishes in abbreviated form the university's *rotuli* and

the papal letters issued in response to them for the time of John xxxii, Benedict xii and Clement vi. In some cases the *rotuli* do not survive, but William J. Courtenay has shown great ingenuity and tenacity in reconstructing them from the resulting letters. The bulk of the volume concerns the pontificate of Clement vi, and this section contains largely new material, for both the registers of petitions and the registers of common letters of this pope in the Vatican archives remain unpublished. Most of the provisions in response to the petitions were expectative graces; in other words, they were not direct appointments to benefices but were to take effect when the first benefice in a particular category fell vacant. Clement vi issued so many expectative graces and there was so much competition among provisors for the vacant benefices that many petitioners obtained no advantage from their provisions. There are frequent allusions to this situation in the sources published here, and the University of Paris resubmitted requests asking for alterations in the terms of the previous concessions in order to increase the chances of success. There are entire *rotuli* devoted to such petitions. The sources published here are of wide interest, all the more so as the *rotuli* provide evidence of the standing of scholars in both the university and the papal court. The editor supplies biographical notes concerning many of the petitioners. Some petitioners are well-known figures in fourteenth-century intellectual life, for instance Conrad of Megenberg, Nicole Oresme and John Buridan. The editor's introduction provides a well-informed and clear account of the sources published, and there are comprehensive indexes of persons and places.

Unfortunately the texts appear to display a surprising number of misreadings. In the following examples, which do not include the most obvious errors ('dicte monast.' for 'dicti monast.', etc.), the emendations suggested are conjectural since I have not checked them against the manuscripts: p. 169 l. 23, 'dum coram vobis et eo in mensa legere' for '... legit'; p. 191 l. 6, 'quadraginta' for 'quadrigena'; p. 205 l. 14, 'exauditiones' for 'exauditionis', l. 29, 'Datam' for 'Datum'; p. 207 l. 22, 'concedentes petitio si quidem tua nobis exhibita continebat' for 'concedentes [the last word of the previous sentence]. Petitio siquidem tua nobis exhibita continebat'; p. 224 n. 234 l. 12, 'a dicte scole mirabiliter deteriorantur' for 'et dicte scole ...', l. 17, 'ac ville a patrie quibus tu es notus a genitus' for 'ac ville et patrie quibus tu es notus et genitus', l. 18 'cum omnibus iuribus a emolumentis' for '... et emolumentis'; p. 230 l. 26, 'inquam quidem ecclesia' for 'in qua quidem ecclesia', l. 28, 'situs habet fidedignorum assertio' for 'sicut ...'; p. 244 n. 259 l. 7, 'fecit' for 'fecerit'; p. 258 l. 26 'etiam si decanatus habemus curam habeat animarum' for 'etiam si decanatus huiusmodi curam habeat animarum'; p. 262 l. 12, 'super hoc dispensatum' for 'et super hoc cum eo dispensare'; p. 264 n. 277 l. 17, 'nec in dicta eccl. alicui doctores, baccalares sive studentes in theologia actualiter sit provisum' for 'nec in dicta eccl. alicui doctorum, baccalariorum sive studentium ...'; p. 265 passim (and cf. pp. 293, 303, 315), 'quod confessor quem duxerit eligendum sibi semel in mortis articulo omnium peccatorum suorum plenam indulgentiam auct. apost. valeat. – Impertiri concessum' for 'quod confessor quem duxerit eligendum sibi semel in mortis articulo omnium peccatorum suorum plenam indulgentiam auct. apost. valeat impertiri. – Concessum [= vicechancellor's response]'; p. 268 l. 29, 'in datum' for 'in data'; p. 269 l. 1, 'expressatis' for 'expressis'; p. 271 l. 9, 'quandocumque eam vacare contigit' for '... contigerit', l. 11, 'aut aliis quoquomodo' for 'aut alias quoquomodo'; l. 14, 'non obstan. quod eam vacare decrementis' for '... decernimus';

p. 273 l. 22, 'ac si esset canon. presentatus', for '... prebendatus'; p. 277 l. 21, 'propter guerras ibidem diutius urgentes', for '... vigentes', l. 24, 'et quo causa vollet' for 'et quo casu vollet'; p. 281 l. 15, 'pie pinguiore preb.' for 'plures pinguiore preb.', l. 28, 'etiam iura canonico etc.' for 'etiam iuramento etc.'; p. 282 l. 27, 'cum mag. Iohanni' for 'cum mag. Iohanne', and 'doctori' and 'rectorem' in the following lines should also be in the ablative; p. 283 l. 2, 'adiunctionem' for 'adinvicem'; p. 289 l. 7, 'etiam si illa cura imminet animarum' for 'etiam si illi ...', l. 34, 'tuis supplicatio' for 'tuis supplicationibus'; p. 290 l. 16 and elsewhere, 'quampriam' for 'quamprimum', l. 22, 'acceptatine' for 'acceptatione'; p. 315, under 'Mag. Odardo Bileti', the vicechancellor's response goes with the second, not the first, petition; p. 316 l. 24, 'veto' for 'vero'; p. 356 l. 26 and elsewhere, 'ullo medio' for 'nullo medio'; p. 365 l. 3, 'auct. litterarum in formis predictis confectarum et processuum in secutorum' for 'auct. litterarum in formis predictis confectarum et processuum inde secutorum'; p. 381 l. 27, 'adquo dicti burgenses personam ecclesiasticam ut debebant presentare, negligenter omiserunt infra tempus a iure statutum, nec episcopus infra tempus iure, nec aliud similiter supplevit negligentiam earum' for 'ad quam dicti burgenses personam ecclesiasticam, ut debebant, presentare negligenter omiserunt infra tempus a iure statutum, ... nec alius similiter supplevit negligentiam eorum'; p. 385 l. 17, 'vacaverint' for 'vacaverunt'; p. 416 l. 19, 'expensis' for 'expensas', l. 22, 'Habeat inquam forma' for 'Habeat in qua forma'; p. 433 l. 18, 'ad sacras ordines' for 'ad sacros ordines', l. 21, 'dictam ecclesiam sit vacare' for 'dictam ecclesiam sic vacantem'; p. 436 l. 22, 'cuiusque' for 'cuiuscumque'; p. 440 l. 29, 'Isti sunt qui modicum habentes' for 'Isti sunt modicum habentes' or 'Isti sunt qui modicum habent'; p. 441 l. 15 and passim, 'ut petit' for 'ut petitur'; p. 450 l. 19, 'lecture' for 'lectione'. While some of the errors are no more than minor annoyances, others are liable to mislead the unwary reader. None the less, this volume represents a highly important addition to the published sources concerning the University of Paris in the fourteenth century.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

P. N. R. ZUTSHI

*Kent. Diocese of Canterbury, I: Introduction. The records. Alkham to Canterbury; II: The records. Chart Sutton to Wormshill; religious houses; households; county of Kent; province of Canterbury; diocese of Canterbury; III: Appendixes; translations; endnotes; patrons and travelling companies; glossaries; index.* Edited by James M. Gibson. (Records of Early English Drama.) Pp. ccxxiv + 301 incl. 3 maps; iii + 302–943; iii + 944–1,663. London: The British Library/Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. £225 (\$500). 0 8020 8726 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904571567

This volume is the latest publication in the distinguished *Records of Early English Drama* series dedicated to publishing the entire corpus of surviving records of dramatic and ceremonial activity in England before 1642 on a county-by-county, city-by-city basis. Like its predecessors, James Gibson's three-volume collection of records from the diocese of Canterbury is a meticulous work of scholarship, attesting to many years of diligent work in the archives, allied to careful thought about the status and implications of the records uncovered. In keeping with the REED house style, the collection begins with an overview of the geographical, administrative and religious



history of the diocese and the county of Kent, its towns and other administrative divisions. Further introductory sections discuss dramatic, musical and ceremonial customs, the activities of amateur and professional musicians and acting troupes, civic ceremonies, sports and games, and the urban and rural spaces in which these things were produced. Then come the records themselves, drawn from an astonishing range of sources, each carefully described in the introduction, and arranged by borough and parish from Alkham to Wormshill, and by religious house from Boxley to Wye. Smaller bodies of records are drawn from aristocratic household accounts and archiepiscopal records, chiefly visitation articles. The third volume consists entirely of appendices, including an excellent section concerning playwrights and producers with Kentish connections (from John Bale to Christopher Marlowe), English translations of the Latin documents and extensive scholarly notes for each record printed in the previous volumes. The collection is rounded off with helpful lists of patrons and companies mentioned in the records, a Latin glossary and an analytical index. Given the centrality of the archdiocese to English ecclesiastical culture, and the position and prosperity of Kent throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, it is somewhat disappointing to find that there is not more extensive evidence of major religious drama productions surviving from the county. Perhaps the most interesting evidence here is for the New Romney passion play, which Gibson persuasively reconstructs on the basis of the available accounts. But even in the absence of a plethora of major cycle plays, these volumes offer copious evidence of a rich and varied ceremonial and ludic culture on a smaller scale throughout the pre-modern period. Gibson, and the team of other REED researchers whose labours he generously acknowledges, has completed a huge undertaking. These three volumes are a magnificent achievement for which future generations of literary and cultural historians will be deeply grateful.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

GREG WALKER

*From the treasure house of Scripture. An analysis of scriptural sources in De imitatione Christi.*

By Kenneth Michael Becker. (*Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*. Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity, 44.) Pp. 767. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. €95. 2 503 51386 7

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904581563

This study of the sources of Thomas a Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* is a much expanded revision of the author's dissertation. It is actually two related studies brought out in one volume. The first 260 pages contain chapters on the background of Thomas's life and methods of study and composition. The last two-thirds of the volume set out Thomas's scriptural sources in a most useful, if page-multiplying, parallel format. In compiling these references, Becker has collated and evaluated references in printed editions of the *Imitatio* and added his original observations. But it is in the analytical chapters, especially iii and iv, that the chief novelty of this study lies. Becker has used recent studies of the practices associated with *lectio divina* – 'prayed reading' in the translation of Jean Leclercq – to analyse not just the variety and distribution of Thomas's sources, but the compositional uses to which he has put them in his text. Becker identifies five chief categories of use, from verbatim quotation to multiple sourcing and 'splicing' of two or more sources, to *catenae* and 'complex mosaics'

wherein a number of sources are alluded to (esp. pp. 118ff). In addition, gathering together a number of influential writers associated with the *devotio moderna*, Becker demonstrates that its approach to devotional reading 'was both highly traditional [within monastic practice] and weakly systematized, and seemed aimed at creating a free and creative meditative process among the New Devout' (p. 71). One such devotional practice was the making of *rapiaria*, or notebooks of especially valuable scriptural texts for ruminating during meditation. Thomas himself copied out the whole Bible, in a manuscript still extant. Yet the nature and variety of Thomas's uses of his scriptural references makes it clear that much of his quotation was from memory, and that he used his memorised texts in a relatively flexible, adaptable manner. Applying studies of medieval reading and memory practices (*memoria*) to how Thomas a Kempis composed his sources, Becker identifies what he terms Thomas's 'working Bible,' the 300 or so passages to which he reverts most frequently, and – in an important qualification – which he adapts most allusively and flexibly. Scholars working with an author's sources have long recognised that they each had their library of favourite passages, but the concept of an authorial 'working library' – a library of the mind retained in memory and recalled readily, securely and flexibly for compositional purposes as occasion warranted, is an important analytical advance over the vaguer practice of identifying an author's 'favourite passages'. It offers scholars a more precise means to analyse both how closely or distantly an author worked with sources, and to recognise the flexibility inherent in compositional methods that made full use of the personal mental 'treasure house' produced by a medieval author's life-long commemorative ruminations upon his sources. The analysis of authorial creativity and originality, long vexed matters for scholars of the many highly imitative medieval literary genres, acquires a useful tool with the method which Becker establishes in this study.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

MARY CARRUTHERS

*The long European Reformation. Religion, political conflict, and the search for conformity, 1350–1750.* By Peter G. Wallace. (European History in Perspective.) Pp. xi + 268. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004(3). £16.50 (paper). 0 333 64450 6; 0 333 64451 4; 0 333 71694 9; 0 333 69336 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690459156X

The title of Peter Wallace's well-structured textbook on the Reformation embodies the now widely-held conviction that it is impossible to understand this European-wide phenomenon without taking a broad perspective on both its origins and long-term development. The first two-thirds of the book, which Wallace has called the 'warp' of his fabric, are a chronological narrative running from the fourteenth century to the end of the Thirty Years' War; the second third is the 'weft', picking up themes such as the creation of church structures, the pros and cons of using a 'confessionalisation' model of Reformation development, and the changing nature of assumptions about sex, gender and the family, with witchcraft discussed under that heading. Generally undergraduates will benefit from an outline story which is plausibly done and introduces many key figures and concepts, but there is a pervasive fuzziness of detail and a peppering of small errors which ought to be sorted out for any revised edition. To take a sample from many more, Erasmus did not

write *Julius Exclusus*, while Richard Pace did (p. 69), Martin Bucer was Regius Professor not at Oxford but at Cambridge (p. 108), an imaginary churchman called Lord Chancellor Mellon appears at p. 110, Emden was not an imperial city (p. 140), Gábor Bethlen appears as Bethlen Gábor at p. 154 and p. 156, and the elector palatine repeatedly figures as the electoral count palatine. With decent editing, this could turn into a good book.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

*The Josquin companion*. Edited by Richard Sherr. Pp. xxix + 691 incl. frontispiece, 12 plates, 1 fig., 11 tables and 173 musical examples + CD. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. £95. 0 19 816335 5  
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Few Renaissance composers have enjoyed more unbounded contemporary and posthumous adoration than Josquin Desprez. Soon after the advent of music printing Josquin was singled out for special treatment, as demonstrated in the prints of Ottaviano de' Petrucci, who devoted three books to Josquin's masses (1502, 1505, 1514); the composer's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena* was also chosen by Petrucci to head his first motet collection, *Motetti A* (1502). Josquin was admired by, and extolled in the writings of, Baldassare Castiglione, Adrian Petit Coclico and even Martin Luther, who in 1538 stated that 'Josquin is the master of the notes, which must do as he wishes, while other composers must follow what the notes dictate.' Such was Josquin's popularity that after the composer's death in 1521, it was his name alone that seemed to quantify 'quality', and a great number of works were wrongly or mistakenly attributed to him in printed and manuscript sources. Indeed, as Rob C. Wegman has noted, of more than 300 compositions attributed to Josquin, 42 per cent survive only in sources published or written after his death; furthermore, of over 150 motets attributed to Josquin in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources, through the painstaking efforts of modern scholars, that number has been whittled down to around forty (Georg Forster, in the preface to his 1540 Nuremberg print *Selectissimarum mutetarum*, recalled that 'a certain famous man [probably Luther] said that Josquin wrote more compositions after his death than during his life'). There have also been problems with the actual identity of Josquin, as at least two musicians of that name flourished in the later fifteenth century. Thus any study of Josquin's life and works is immediately challenged with issues of biography and canon. Josquin scholarship in the twentieth century began to address these issues: following an edition of the composer's works by Albert Smijers and colleagues (1921–69), Helmuth Osthoff produced the two-volume study *Josquin Desprez* (Tutzing 1962–5), which was succeeded by Edward Lowinsky (ed.), *Josquin des Prez* (London 1976), a monumental collection of essays resulting from an international festival conference held over five days in New York in 1971. Since then a great deal of work has been undertaken on Josquin's life and music by a number of musicologists, many of whom have come together, led by Richard Sherr, to offer the latest word on virtually all aspects of Josquin studies in a single volume entitled *The Josquin companion*.

*The Josquin companion* is certainly that: it is, to date, the most comprehensive selection of studies of the life and work of the great composer. The volume is

beautifully produced, and the cleverly designed cover boasts, in crude script, 'Josquinus', which is thought to be Josquin's own graffiti as carved in one of the walls of the Sistine *cantoria* where the composer sang from 1489 to c. 1495. Following an introduction by the book's editor, Richard Sherr, are sixteen essays on various topics, including the 'Chronology of Josquin's life and career' (Sherr) and 'Who was Josquin?' (Rob C. Wegman). Five articles are devoted to Josquin's mass settings (Bonnie J. Blackburn, Alejandro Enrique Planchart, M. Jennifer Bloxam and two by Sherr); three on the motets (Ludwig Fincher, John Milsom and Patrick Macey); two on the *chansons* (Louise Litterick and Lawrence F. Bernstein); Sherr also provides case studies on 'Two hymns and three magnificats' and 'Three settings of Italian texts and two secular motets', while two further articles are devoted to 'Analysing Josquin' (Milsom) and 'Symbolism in sacred music of Josquin' (Willem Elders). An afterword, 'Thoughts for the future', is provided by David Fallows. Appendices include a list of works and a discography prepared by Peter Urquhart, and, apart from an extensive bibliography and a glossary of technical terms, indices are provided of manuscripts and early printed music as well as of compositions by or attributed to Josquin. An added bonus is a CD recording of a selection of Josquin's mass movements, motets and chansons beautifully and expertly sung by the Clerks Group, directed by Edward Wickham.

All the chapters are fascinating reads, and, would space permit, deserve individual comment as there is much new and/or revised information to be gleaned. We are also promised a fair, balanced representation of modern Josquin scholarship. As Sherr states in his preface, 'I chose the contributors to this volume because of their expertise, and because I wanted an examination of Josquin and his music by people who were not afraid to express their own opinions, knowing that they might conflict with the standard view and even the views of the other contributors.' One 'conflict' that arises early on in the book is Wegman's suggestion that Josquin's posthumous reputation is based largely on the study and promotion of a large body of misattributed works and inherited options over the centuries, a view that seems not to be shared by Sherr who himself offers an up-to-date account of Josquin's life and career (drawing on the researches of Paul Merkley and Lora Merkley, who have enlightened our knowledge of the composer's early career and identity). With respect to the music itself, David Fallows expresses some concern for the fact that, with modern scholarship and new editions (the *New Josquin edition* is currently under way), 'the pattern seems to suggest that Josquin is getting smaller and smaller; and it may just be time for a little more generosity'. Some contributors in the book, as it happens, concentrate on those works that are generally considered to be firmly placed in the Josquin canon, while others explore more problematic works. Milsom's article on 'Motets for five or more voices' is centred around fifteen motets that are 'authentic', while he does offer some comment on some 45 doubtful or spurious works arguing that some perhaps close to the composer's style deserve further scrutiny. Bloxam, conversely, deals with a selection of masses, many of which are challenging with respect to their style and authenticity. Sherr also examines problematic works in chapters vii and viii. It is important that such works are here highlighted, as they were certainly considered great enough in earlier times to be attributed to Josquin. Such is the case with the *Missa da pacem* (now thought to be by Noel Bauldeweyn), which, once it was identified nearly thirty years ago not to be by Josquin, was virtually consigned to oblivion. Wegman here warns us that such is

our fixation on Josquin that some truly wonderful masterpieces of the early sixteenth century may well escape the attention they deserve. The most enjoyable aspect of the book as a whole is the opportunity to get to know a great number of Josquin's works (be they really his or not) in such detail, through the analytical minds of the various contributors. With respect to Josquin studies and early sixteenth-century music in general, *The Josquin companion* will be a first port of call for some time to come.

This is a very rewarding book, and those that might be put off by the steep price can be reassured that it is worth every penny and more. Not only is it an invaluable and highly readable collection of the highest quality of scholarship, but also an indispensable tool for teaching and for anyone interested in early Renaissance music. *The Josquin companion* comes highly recommended to all.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

DAVID SKINNER

*Orthodox Russia. Belief and practice under the tsars.* Edited by Valerie A. Kivelson and Robert H. Greene. Pp. xii + 291 incl. 20 ills. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. \$49.95. 0 271 02349 X  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904611560

This book is a collection consisting of an introduction, eleven essays and an epilogue, all by different contributors, going back to the origins of Muscovy in the fifteenth century and dipping its toe (just) into the Soviet period. It celebrates an emerging American scholarly interest in Russian Orthodoxy since the collapse of communism. All fourteen contributors hold teaching appointments at American universities and the genesis of the book was two workshops at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, entitled 'Russian Orthodoxy in lived historical experience'. The first sentence of the introduction, however, presents a problem: 'After seventy years of neglect, the study of Russian religious life has entered an exciting period of growth in the decade since the fall of the Soviet Union.' There is an element of truth in this statement. Certainly such a book could not have been written twenty years ago and the neglect of serious study of the subject in the Soviet Union was not far off total (except in *samizdat*). However, when I was a student in Oxford in the 1950s, Professor Dmitri Obolensky and Professor Nicolas Zernov introduced me to a lively group of experts (for example, Georges Florovsky, Vladimir Lossky, John Fennell and themselves) whose work stands up today. The editors do not seem to be familiar with more recent work done in Europe. There is a section of the bibliography entitled 'Orthodoxy in the Soviet period' which, apart from a single reference to Felix Corley, fails to mention any of the impressive work done in France (Nikita Struve), in Germany (Gerhard Simon), in Italy (*Russia cristiana*), the rich resources of the archives of the Keston Institute in Oxford, or the published volumes by Jane Ellis based on it. It even omits reference to the American pioneers of the 1960s such as John Dunlop, William Fletcher and their associates. The text of *Orthodox Russia* reflects this implied limitation and it is disappointing that it does not include the work of any scholars working in Russia itself (though one or two of the contributors appear to be of Russian origin). However, it is excellent to be introduced to a new generation of American-based scholars who, working in diverse locations, are bound, by their teaching, to activate the promised renaissance among the younger

generation. The standard of scholarship among the contributors is high and the book is full of new material, including, in chapter x by William G. Wagner on a convent in Nizhni Novgorod, much intriguing information from the local state archive. This indicates the wealth of such material still to be discovered scattered around Russia and the former constituent republics of the USSR. The grouping of the contributions seems rather artificial ('Destabilizing dichotomies', 'Imagining the sacred', 'Encountering the sacred' and 'Living Orthodoxy'), which means that the text moves, for example, from 'Constructing sainthood in modern Russia' (chapter v) back to 'The apocalypse in Russian historical experience before 1500' (chapter vi).

OXFORD

MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

*Antichrist-Polemik in der Zeit der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe bis Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts. Argumentation, Form und Funktion.* By Ingvild Richardsen-Friedrich. (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Ser. 1. Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 1855.) Pp. 479 + 21 plates. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2003. £40 (paper). 3 631 39653 8; 0721 3301 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904621567

The figure of the AntiChrist as apocalyptic and anti-Christian personality, who stands for the very opposite of Christ and leads men astray, played a role in the Church from the earliest centuries. In the Middle Ages his significance grew and there appeared numerous publications of very different kinds about him in which was introduced the figure of the mystical AntiChrist who represented a forerunner of the true one. In disputations of the most diverse kinds, even those between Pope and Emperor, one could at that time portray the other party as AntiChrist and could assign him to the devil, whose product this anti-Christian figure was to be. It is, therefore, of no surprise, when in the Reformation period this polemic attained new heights, that one could by use of the term finally disqualify one's confessional rival and that such a form of argument persisted up until the time of the Thirty Years War.

It is to this theme that the work under review, a Munich dissertation from 2000 written in the Department of Modern Languages and Literature, is dedicated. The aim of the work is formulated in the following way:

In my thesis I would like to examine the argumentation and form of Antichrist polemic as it was practised in different confessional camps. My interest therefore lies on the one hand in an analysis of content and in the traditions and norms which are operative here as well as in the question whether the different arguments employed, both in text and in image, go back to basic structures, whether various polemical and evidential procedures are used and whether specific rhetorical strategies are recognisable or whether particular rhetorical figures and stylistic devices emerge again and again.

Against this background the author does not limit herself to the study of a particular confession, but attempts to treat the theme from a many-sided perspective. Polemical texts, theological tracts, exegetical texts, sermons, dramas, pictorial propaganda as well as leaflets and pamphlets all serve as sources. The author proceeds chronologically, and in this context focuses on persons, groups of people and their confessional setting. Next to Martin Luther, the Roman Catholic party, the Baptists

and inter-Protestant polemics are treated: all could similarly deploy the argument that their opponent was the AntiChrist.

After a survey, heavily based upon secondary literature, of the concept of the AntiChrist up until the Reformation, the author examines the use of AntiChrist polemic against the pope by Luther. It began with a letter to Spalatin dated to 1519, and it received a further impulse through the pope's threat to excommunicate, reaching its height in Luther's writings, *Adversus execrabilem Antichrist bulla* and *Wider die Bulle des Endchrists*, and continued from 1521 with the antithetically constructed *Passional Christi*. In this work Luther placed Christ in opposition to the pope and by such means showed that the Roman pontiff represented the opposite of Christ, indeed taught and behaved in an anti-Christian manner, precisely features that were traditionally associated with the signs of the AntiChrist. Further statements of Luther are examined. Even as late as 1545, a year before his death, he wrote his *Abbildung des Papsttums* (*Portrayal of the pope*). There then follows an investigation of the influence of Martin Luther's AntiChrist polemic on confessional writings (*Konkordienbuch*) as well as on popularising uses of the figure in Protestant propaganda. The Catholic reaction to all of this is described as minimal in the first half of the sixteenth century. The question of the AntiChrist played just as much of a role amongst Baptists, even if to a more modest degree than with other Reformers, reaching its height in 1548 in the argument over the Interim and the Adiaphora.

AntiChrist polemic reached its zenith in the second half of the sixteenth century. The individual texts are carefully examined in relation to their proof procedure and language for the question of rhetoric is a matter with which this book is concerned. The Roman Catholic side appears this time to have made greater use of this means. The converts Friedrich Staphylus and the Franciscan Johann Nas are considered, as well as the sermons of Sebastian Haydlauf, the suffragan bishop of Bamberg, Feucht, and the Jesuits who found themselves particularly occupied with this type of writing. Scholarly disputations as well as polemics, against Calvin, who both from the Roman Catholic and from the Lutheran side could be portrayed as the AntiChrist, serve as further material. It is interesting that in the 1601 Regensburg Colloquium which aimed at reaching agreement between the denominations, such polemic does not materialise. A bibliography, which demonstrates the range of sources used, as well as a series of pictures connected with this polemic concludes the work. It is a pity that there is no index which would have been helpful to the reader.

The present work constitutes a helpful addition to publications which have appeared on the subject of apocalyptic in the Reformation period (for instance, Volker Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag*, 1999, and Herbert Smolinsky, *Deutungen der Zeit im Streit der Konfessionen*, 2000). Over against these more theologically orientated studies the literary-critical perspective and the choice of sources presents a helpful addition, even if much, especially the material relating to Luther, was already familiar. Richardsen-Friedrich successfully shows how rhetoric and the deployment of AntiChrist polemic contributed to the creation of the identity of the Protestant Church's, which was enabled by these means to declare itself and prove itself to be the true Church. One is struck, on the other hand, by a certain long-windedness. It would certainly have been better to have had a more succinct presentation. It would also have been desirable to analyse texts in sequence, and to develop more clearly

both in their function as well as their significance the individual conceptual forms of the AntiChrist which received a new perspective from Luther as he understood that figure, no longer as a personality who stands before the end of the world, but one who manifests himself as an anti-Christian power through the whole history of the Church. This would serve to explain why from the Roman Catholic side the theme was treated less frequently, for the real AntiChrist in this view had still to come and one could at the very most speak of forerunners.

FREIBURG

HERIBERT SMOLINSKY

*Martin Bucer und das Recht. Beiträge zum internationalen Symposium vom 1. bis 3. März 2001 in der Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek Emden.* Edited by Christoph Strohm (with Henning P. Jürgens). (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 361.) Pp. xiv + 298 incl. frontispiece. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002. €58.55. 2 600 00640 0; 0082 6081 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904631563

The early leaders of the Protestant Reformation had to cope with a multitude of legal problems posed by the collapse of old ecclesiastical institutions and the creation of new ones. Among these leaders, Martin Bucer was particularly influential, especially in parts of south-western Germany and England. This volume presents fourteen essays on aspects of Bucer's use of law, including biblical precepts, Roman civil law, Catholic canon law and the law of the Holy Roman Empire. It begins with two synthetic chapters, one on general attitudes toward law and jurisprudence among early Reformed Protestants, most prominently Althusius, the other on the interpretive principles used by Bucer in adapting law, with special attention to the editions of the *Corpus juris civilis* he actually used. There follow five chapters on Bucer's use of law in specific writings, ranging from expert memoranda written for specific rulers, to biblical commentaries, to the *De regno Christi* he wrote for the guidance of England. Next come six chapters on how Bucer used law in developing advice on specific problems, including disposal of ecclesiastical property, resolution of marital problems, attention to principles of equity, maintenance of social discipline, justifications for resistance to imperial authority and guidance of education. A final chapter reviews Bucer's career and considers the utility of his insights to modern Christians. Altogether the volume makes an important contribution to our knowledge of early Reformation history.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

ROBERT M. KINGDON

*Richard Smyth and the language of orthodoxy. Re-imagining Tudor Catholic polemicism.* By J. Andreas Löwe. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 96.) Pp. xii + 276 incl. 4 figs. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003. £76. 90 04 12927 8; 0585 6914 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690464156X

In this work J. Andreas Löwe has produced a thorough, nuanced and generally engagingly-written account of a mid sixteenth-century English Catholic theologian. Smyth (1500–63) was Henrician Regius Professor, Marian Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Edwardine and Elizabethan exile, instructor at the universities of St Andrews and Leuven and a founding professor of the University of Douai; but he was chiefly a 'brilliant polemicist' who, while less adaptive to the exigencies of Tudor



religious politics, was nevertheless most capable of writing controversy and catechesis for both academic and lay readers in Latin and English. After producing an insightful and much-needed biography of Smyth, Löwe carefully analyses his often-printed English and Latin works and the points of Catholic doctrine upon which he wrote and which he vigorously defended throughout his sixteen-year literary career: the eucharist, soteriology and the value of supererogatory works within the latter. Throughout the text Smyth is revealed as a controversialist of the humanist mode rather than an original theologian, who was dependent – as were most of his English Catholic colleagues – on the writings of John Fisher, Johannes Eck and other continental theologians. Moreover, he is shown to be largely consistent in the beliefs he propounded, thus serving as an important link between the Marian Roman Catholic Church, the Elizabethan Roman Catholic exiles and the Counter-Reformation then taking shape in Europe; and also between these communities and what Diarmaid MacCulloch has referred to as the ‘severed limb of the Western Latin Church’: the ecclesiastical polity of Henry VIII, and the giants who preceded it: Fisher and More. Throughout *Richard Smyth* Löwe demonstrates the abilities of a gifted scholar: for example, he portrays particular acumen in delineating Smyth’s understanding of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the mass’s sacrificial nature. Löwe’s ‘re-imagining’ of Tudor polemicism also serves as a healthy antidote to the problematic interpretation of the same writings found in Lucy Wooding’s *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*, the subject of a considered review article by C. D. C. Armstrong in this JOURNAL liv (2003), 714–28. Smyth and his English Roman Catholic colleagues do not appear to be a rearguard movement of medieval scholasticism, but rather the possible vanguard of the Counter-Reformation.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM WIZEMAN SJ

*Le Psautier de Calvin. L'histoire d'un livre populaire au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (1551–1598).* By Robert Weeda. Pp. 229 incl. numerous maps and ills. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. €40 (paper). 2 503 51343 3

JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904651566

This is an interdisciplinary study of the impact of what was probably the most popular single publication created by the Reformation in French-speaking areas. Calvin’s psalter included translations into French of the Old Testament Psalms by poets of the eminence of Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, and music by composers of the eminence of Claude Goudimel and Louis Bourgeois. It was printed in tens of thousands of copies, reaching a climax of sorts in a set of editions produced by a syndicate organised by Antoine Vincent of Lyon and Geneva in 1561 and 1562. Weeda’s first chapter analyses the original use of this psalter in the new type of church service devised for Protestants by Calvin and others. His second chapter analyses its use in residences for private devotions, including at one point the royal court of France, during the period of relaxed religious tensions accompanying the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. A third chapter analyses its use in assorted public places, while a fourth considers its use in education. A fifth discusses how it became involved in debates between Protestants and Catholics. Appendices present Calvin’s own foundational writings on the Psalms, and a text-by-text analysis of both words and music of twenty-nine particularly important Psalms. Weeda’s argument is frequently

interrupted by asides on such subjects as Jewish use of music in their services, and views of singing in church services by people like Martin Bucer and John Wesley. Altogether this book is a useful and thought-provoking synthesis of what is known about the impact of Calvin's psalter, based mostly on assorted monographs but adding occasional bits of archival research.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

ROBERT M. KINGDON

*Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676). Pasteur et poète.* By Alain Bideau. (Collection Contacts, Ser. 3. Etudes et documents, 60.) Pp. viii + 396. Bern: Peter Lang, 2003. €37. 3 906768 60 0; 0933 6095

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904661562

This work is the published version of a doctoral thesis approved at Paris IV in 1997 by a Germanist who now divides his teaching time between a *lycée* and the University of Paris X–Nanterre. He was drawn to the field by the fact that in France Gerhardt has been virtually unknown, and is keen to elucidate his *spécificité*. So far as literature is concerned, the English reader is not much better off than the French, but a small group of Gerhardt's hymns have demonstrated remarkable staying-power in English hymn-books. To quote but one example; the four translations which Wesley launched upon the English market have been reduced to three in the current Methodist hymn-book, but have been supplemented by three more in translations by other hands, including those of Catherine Winkworth and Robert Bridges. And staying-power turns out to be one of the marks of Bideau's *spécificité*. On the other hand a view of Gerhardt based on the piety of hymns which commended themselves to Bach, and the fact that he resigned a living at a time of government pressure upon the clergy proves to be not so much inadequate as misleading. Too many of the Lutheran clergy, alarmed at the hazard of a Hohenzollern family which had turned Calvinist, were tempted by the role of proto-Sacheverells to behave badly in the name of Orthodoxy. It seems to me (though not apparently to Bideau) that when the dynasty chose to shut them up they were frequently right to do so. All the Great Elector asked of Gerhardt was that he should not behave badly, and he went to surprising lengths to persuade him back into his living, but to no avail. Gerhardt was popular enough with his flock not to suffer financial shipwreck from his stand on principle, and it was not long before another living was found for him. He then proved to be exactly the sort of candidate which those with responsibility for ministerial appointments must devoutly pray to avoid. He made difficulties over the manse, found endless reasons for delaying his arrival and finally dismayed the consistory by constantly appearing both in the pulpit and at the altar in a peruque. How all this squared with the intense humility of the hymns and his belief that redemption lay in the sufferings rather than the resurrection of Christ is probably past finding out, and certainly Bideau does not find out. His main effort is devoted to a minute line-by-line analysis of the hymns, which after much agony of conscience he is prepared to accept as poetry. The *spécificité* requires a more general knowledge of the literary analysis of this kind of German verse than most English readers will be able to bring to the task; but it is there for them whenever they can screw their courage to the task.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*John Donne's professional lives*. Edited by David Colclough. (Studies in Renaissance Literature, 10.) Pp. xiii + 272 incl. 1 ill. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. £45.00 85991 775 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904671569

Unlike those who concentrate on John Donne as the poet of the *Songs and sonnets* or the *Holy sonnets*, and unlike John Carey who addressed the full gamut of Donne's writings but emphasised his 'imaginative choices', the contributors to this collection regard Donne's writings as 'important interventions into contemporary debates of whose importance Donne was convinced' (p. 3). In contrast to Carey they view favourably Donne's professional commitment: his effective use of knowledge and language as a 'hired polemicist, lawyer, diplomat, churchman, and self-taught medic'. Donne searched not just for a career, but for an 'intellectual community' in which he could 'carry out the work of writing and the pursuit of knowledge' (p. 4).

In attending to Donne's 'professional lives', writers in this collection take seriously his training as a lawyer and his engagement with politics. According to Jeremy Maule, the Inns of Court were for Donne not just places for wit and swagger; he gained there a serious involvement 'with the *idea* of law and with its language' (p. 20). After studying law, he 'practised it as the Lord Keeper's secretary, observed its imperfect execution as a satirist, and suffered it in person as a husband' (p. 21). Later 'he practised law on his own behalf, as late as 1622; he preached law; he ended his life as a judge' (p. 22). Donne's Holy Sonnet 12, Maule maintains, is 'neither Ignatian meditation nor Pauline epistle, but quite simply a legal pleading' (p. 26). After all, 'redemption and testament' are 'legal ideas implicit in Christianity' (p. 28).

Louis Knafla explores what can be learned from the 'rich historical record' of Donne's role as secretary in the household of Sir Thomas Egerton, who was an avid reader, book collector and annotator of Calvin – as well as a ruthless persecutor of recusants. Knafla argues that Donne's work and associations there helped 'shape his political and religious choices' even to his last years as dean of St Paul's (p. 38). In that household Donne associated with Francis Bacon, but also with moderate Puritans like Robert Hill and Thomas Adams, and the future bishop who ordained him, John King.

Johann Sommerville considers Donne's politics, especially in relation to the king and in the light of *Pseudo-Martyr*, which Donne may have considered among his 'most lasting monuments' (p. 73). In that book Donne, while firmly Protestant (a 'volunteer, not a conscript', p. 91), sought not to ridicule or condemn but to persuade English Roman Catholics. For Sommerville, who reminds us (p. 88) that almost everyone then 'held that all forms of government are from God ... (Romans 13: 1)', the evidence supports the old view that Donne 'saw eye to eye with the king on key issues' (p. 74). Responding to recent critics, Sommerville musters good support for his case.

In an essay on Donne's amatory verse letters, David Cunnington investigates the challenge facing the poet: the 'difficulty of conceiving possibilities for an erudite friendship while having only the conceits of erotic lyricism in which to speak that friendship' (p. 99). Cunnington offers subtle readings, convincing in their analysis of the relationship between the writer and his lady patrons.

A number of this volume's essays deal with Donne's sermons. Jeanne Shami studies both the labelling of Donne, and Donne's use of labels in controversy. She decries simplistic identifications and those based on quotations taken out of context. Heeding Peter Lake's warning that the 'rhetoric of moderation' can be tactical

rather than actually moderate, she contends that Donne's moderation is 'strenuously achieved' (p. 156). She argues for the dignity and integrity of his professional and pastoral stance, and carefully dissociates Donne from people like Montagu. Mary Morrissey considers the politics of Donne as a Paul's Cross preacher, including strategies he used to let him 'make public statements on political subjects' without departing from 'his role as a preacher of the Gospel' (p. 159). With skill and subtlety he structured his sermons so as to maintain decorum toward the king while not compromising his own views. James Cannon studies the dedication sermon for Lincoln's Inn chapel, demonstrating Donne's moderate intervention in the growing debate about church dedications.

In a brilliant essay Peter McCullough studies Donne's sermons at court, providing a helpful tabulation in an appendix, and additional information to assist further studies. This essay newly identifies Donne's first court sermon, and offers a fascinating interpretation as to why Donne (and not Bishop Neile) was chosen as the first preacher before Charles I, yet fell from royal favour only two years later. Charles's reformation of the court and Laud's appointment as dean of the Royal Chapel upon the death of Andrewes help account for the change. McCullough's reading of these events, during which Charles became a Laudian, is valuable for what it says about the emergence of Laudianism. Both Shami and McCullough give reason for grouping Donne with the 'conforming Calvinist consensus' (p. 192), while noting that he leaned toward universalism.

Dealing with *Devotions upon emergent occasions*, Stephen Pender asserts that Donne's 'knowledge of medicine was profound' (p. 217), but that he was concerned about 'the problematological nature of human learning' (p. 247). Acknowledging biblical precedents such as Hezekiah and David for seeing illness as divine affliction for sin, with the purpose of testing faith and engaging 'tolerance, patience, and humility' (p. 220), Pender examines how Donne uses 'medical semiotics' to 'explore the relationship between rhetoric and reason, knowledge and inference, reading and rectitude' (p. 219). As Pender sees it, Donne interprets illness by 'diligent searching and judicious reading in the books of the body, scripture, and individual conscience' (p. 243).

Two essays investigate the relationship between Donne and other writers. Alison Shell looks at the intriguing possibility that Donne may have been a ghost writer for Sir Edward Hoby, and Jessica Martin asks how far Donne may have collaborated in Izaak Walton's *Life of Donne* by contributing to its subordination of the 'passionate and secular Donne' to the dean of St Paul's (p. 251).

The editors should have caught a few errors, such as the erratic spellings of Ann(e) Donne (pp. 54, 57, 60) and the omission throughout the Pender essay of the opening parenthesis mark. It was not Laurence but William Chaderton who was a bishop (pp. 45, 49), and Lord Herbert of Cherbury is named instead of his son (p. 70). Essays in this book are generally well documented, but Knafla offers no support for his assertion that Donne 'grasped for a bishopric whenever one came due' (p. 68). I question Cannon's suggestion that Donne 'was obviously stimulated by Laudian thought' (p. 15), because as I have shown in *Conforming to the word*, non-Laudian conformists like the Herbert family had their own interest in decency and order in the Church. All told, this is a fine collection of essays that contributes significantly to the ongoing assessment of Donne and his literary contributions.

*The cult of King Charles the martyr.* By Andrew Lacey. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, 7.) Pp. viii + 310. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003. £50. 0 85115 922 2; 1464 6625  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904681565

The fast day of Charles I, king and martyr, was from the start something of an oddity. The Church of England regularly celebrated royal anniversaries, and provided rituals of thanksgiving or repentance to mark secular triumphs and disasters. 30 January, however, was unique in attaching a recurrent fast to a non-liturgical occasion, and in conferring on a modern monarch the status of martyr and even saint. In Andrew Lacey the subject now finds an indefatigable historian. His exhaustive analysis of the voluminous printed literature traces the cult from its beginnings, through its Restoration heyday, and into the party strife of the early eighteenth century. A shorter final chapter examines the decision in 1858, after several decades of desultory debate, to remove the anniversary from the Book of Common Prayer, as well as the afterlife which 30 January enjoyed in self-consciously traditionalist circles. Lacey demonstrates in detail how key elements of the image of the martyred king were already taking shape in the last two years of his life, so that the cult, within a very short time of the execution, was able to assume something close to its final form. His main conclusion – that the survival of the anniversary demonstrates the continued vitality, even in the supposedly rationalist eighteenth century, of ideas of deference, patriarchy and divine right – is hardly a surprise, given the work of Jonathan Clark and others over the past two decades. A rather more provocative point is the suggestion that the appeal of the cult was from the very beginning restricted by its roots in a highly partisan reading of events; the first public criticism, during the Exclusion Crisis, only brought into the open divisions that had been there from the start. There is also a careful analysis of the theological basis of the cult: the theme of national blood guilt, closely linked to the controversial parallels drawn between the king's sufferings and the passion of Christ, and the status of Charles as a specifically Protestant saint, one whose exemplary life and death were to be recalled and imitated, but who was not in any sense an intermediary between this world and the next. A collect for 30 January, drafted in 1661, did in fact refer to the prayers offered by the saints and martyrs in communion with the 'Church Catholic', but this formula, not surprisingly, was rejected by Convocation. On the other hand an official church report, as late as 1957, reaffirmed the martyred monarch's status as a saint by popular canonisation.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
 BELFAST

S.J. CONNOLLY

*Literature and dissent in Milton's England.* By Sharon Achinstein. Pp. xii + 302 incl. 11 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £45. 0 521 81804 4

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This book is an example of one of the most useful manifestations of historicist scholarship, in which there is a genuine interplay between literary criticism and history: literary analysis is used in constructing historical narratives, at the same time as historical narrative is employed to facilitate literary criticism. In this study of a neglected seventeenth-century phenomenon, the writing of Restoration Dissent, Sharon Achinstein's methodology proves extremely valuable. She tells us about

important seventeenth-century figures such as Theophilus Gale, William Barton and Robert Ferguson. She explores common experiences such as prison, funerals and congregational worship. She covers many kinds of text, from elite poetry to published sermon to popular pamphlet to material culture; significant use is also made of manuscript material. One of the most valuable contributions of this book is to illuminate the coding whereby devotional works could speak in direct political terms to seventeenth-century readers. To this end she shows how the poetry of George Herbert was appropriated by Dissenters to resist the dictates of Restoration Anglicanism, and challenges the view that Herbert's work was on the whole more congenial to Royalists. Other canonical writers such as Marvell and Milton are re-evaluated, showing that the radical context for much of this writing is essential for any adequate interpretation. Her careful exploration of biblical imitation helps to illuminate one of the most contested questions of Dissenting culture, then and now: the extent to which Nonconformists posed any kind of violent threat to the Restoration state. She also offers an informed and thoughtful contribution to such topics as 'Enthusiasm', and the reception of Milton's works in the Restoration. Perhaps the most exciting chapter for literary readers is that entitled 'Poetics', which demonstrates the penetration of political and religious beliefs into the very structures of Nonconformist writing. The democratic, popular nature of the Dissenting aesthetic is explored in detail, which means that this book considers writing that has not usually been thought worth scrutiny as literature. Achinstein is not afraid to confront this problem, asking in the chapter entitled 'Hymn', 'Why are hymns so bad?', but this book overwhelmingly demonstrates the value of the material she has painstakingly researched. As she herself maintains, unless we are to surrender the field of Restoration literary criticism to the study of a Royalist elite, we must know more about the Nonconformist writers whose work was widely known within seventeenth-century England. Achinstein's radical conclusion is that the values of Dissenting writing were vital to the rise of a liberal politics, 'fostering an interest in the experiences of ordinary individuals, and habitually defending freedoms that were defined as personal, religious, and civil'. *Literature and dissent in Milton's England* is one answer to the question of what a literary criticism which takes democratic politics seriously might look like.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

ELIZABETH CLARKE

*The national Church in local perspective. The Church of England and the regions, 1660–1800.*

Edited by Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, 5.) Pp. xiii + 315 incl. map. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003. £50. 0 85115 897 8

JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904701566

Published in 1993, *The Church of England c. 1689–c. 1833: from Toleration to Tractarianism* is commonly regarded as one of the best general books on the Church of England during the long eighteenth-century. Unfortunately, the issue of regional and local diversity was not one of its major themes, and it is ostensibly this gap in the literature that the editors, Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, aim to fill with their extremely valuable collection of essays, *The national Church in local perspective*. The main strength of this new collection is that it convincingly demonstrates how regional and

local diversity affected almost every area of the national Church, from diocesan and parochial administration to how the clergy reacted to Catholic and Protestant Dissent, without actually destroying its homogeneity or status as a symbol of national identity and unity. Furthermore, the majority of the articles in this collection support the fashionable view that the national Church in this period was not only a vigorous and relatively well-run institution, but also enjoyed a central position within the religious life of the country.

By virtue of its examination of a wide range of locality, ranging from the diocese to the parish to the principality, *The national Church in local perspective* provides as much coverage to the different regions of England as is practicable in a single volume. The majority of the articles in the collection, however, concentrate on examining the workings of particular dioceses. Two of the best articles, for example, demonstrate how crucial the influence of individual bishops could be in shaping the 'tone' of a diocese. Gregory takes a fresh approach to the study of the diocese of Canterbury by examining the mechanisms by which successive archbishops could, and did, influence both the national Church and the nature of their clergy. Donald Spaeth, on the other hand, argues that the effectiveness of Gilbert Burnet's reform efforts were hampered by his alienation of his, largely High Church, parish clergy.

In a valuable contribution Chamberlain maintains that eighteenth-century Chichester was, in terms of clerical administration and pastoral provision, a relatively well-run diocese, and furthermore enjoyed, during the years of the political ascendancy of the duke of Newcastle, extremely close ties with the political centre. In his article, William Gibson contends that, between 1689 and 1800, the Church of England in the diocese of Winchester 'thrived and reached its highest point since the Reformation', largely as a result of the reforming spirit of its clergy. Viviane Barry's solid essay offers an investigation of the clerical structure of the diocese of London, whilst W. M. Jacob's article provides an excellent, and much needed, exposition of the status of the Church of England in the diocese of Norwich. One minor complaint, however, is that Jacob restricts his study to those parishes which fell within the county of Norfolk, to the total exclusion of those in Suffolk. This omission is made all the more unfortunate by the fact that Suffolk has yet to receive an in-depth study by a church historian; a fact easily discerned by a quick perusal of the excellent bibliography included at the end of the book.

However, even one of the less dynamic essays in the book (W. M. Marshall's article which analyses the dioceses of Hereford and Oxford between 1660 and 1760) can still be regarded as a valuable addition to the historiography, by virtue of the fact that it brings to light research hitherto hidden from public view in the pages of unpublished PhD theses and obscure journal articles. Finally, Françoise Deconinck-Brossard's contribution explores the extent to which religious conformity and uniformity were enforced in the diocese of Durham between 1660 and 1789. Brossard moots that the unrealistic aspirations of the national Church at the centre were not fulfilled by the Durham parish clergy at grass-roots level because of the practicalities of working in an area containing a disproportionately high number of both Catholic and Protestant dissenters.

M. F. Snape's article, by contrast, explores the smallest administrative unit within the Established Church, the parish. Snape concludes that the weakness of the Church of England in the Lancashire parish of Whalley was largely the result of clerical poverty and ignorance rather than external factors, such as population

growth. Colin Haydon's excellent contribution not only scrutinises the structure of the national Church in the deanery of Kinton in the diocese of Worcester, but also studies the social, economic and political landscape of a region which stretched from Stratford-upon-Avon and Barford in the north, to Long Compton in the south. The final article in this collection, written by Phillip Jenkins, is a study of the principality of Wales and represents a revision of traditional historiography, which painted the Established Church in Wales as a weak institution, run by self-serving English careerists, who employed Welsh curates to serve their largely Welsh-speaking congregations. Jenkins argues that although this picture of a Church in decline may be, in part, applicable to the Welsh Church after 1750, before this date it represented a distinctively Welsh body, which was not only well attuned to local traditions and Welsh culture, but commanded a high degree of popular loyalty.

On the whole, *The national Church in local perspective* has made an important step towards the creation of a definitive general history of the Established Church in the long eighteenth century, as well as contributing to the growing body of research into the English regions.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND

ANDREW SNEDDON

*Archbishop William King and the Anglican Irish context, 1688–1729*. Edited by Christopher J. Fauske. Pp. 190. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004. £50 (€55). 1 85182 681 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904711562

William King (1650–1729), successively bishop of Derry and archbishop of Dublin, was arguably the most important Church of Ireland prelate of his day, and remains the most frequently studied. In part this reputation reflects King's achievements and breadth of interests – as pastor, politician, theologian and philosopher – but it is also a consequence of his archival legacy: the volumes of letter books and piles of incoming correspondence that repose in the manuscripts room in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and are a primary port of call for research into the political and intellectual life of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ireland. For all these documentary riches, there have been only two attempts at a biography: a 'life and letters' volume published in 1906 and a recent and exclusively political biography by Philip O'Regan (Dublin 2000). Many facets of the archbishop's career have been studied piecemeal in essays and articles but a great deal remains to be done before we can obtain a satisfying picture of King in the round. The volume of essays gathered by Christopher Fauske constitutes a step in this direction, but only a step. Three pieces have already appeared in print (David Berman on King's philosophical writings, Andrew Carpenter on the extent to which he was prepared under James II to compromise with Protestant dissenters and O'Regan's account of his early political career). Of the rest, James McGuire prints a memorandum from November 1690 in which King vindicates Irish Protestants who had retained office under James II; Joseph Richardson places the archbishop's philosophy (particularly his work on the origin of evil) in its international context; Michael Brown excavates the unappreciated connection between King and the Presbyterian moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson, and makes an interesting comparison of their political ideas; Susan Reilly probes the ambiguities of King's attitude to economic 'improvement'; Patrick McNally reviews the development of his Irish 'patriotism'; and Mary-Louise Legg takes a more oblique view of the subject through studying another important



Irish clerical family, the Synges, examining their connections with the archbishop and comparing their views of religious toleration with his. The individual essays succeed in opening up new lines of inquiry and adding to knowledge, but the collection as a whole lacks coherence. Although the title promises a study of the 'Anglican Irish context', a reader unfamiliar with the detailed history of the Church of Ireland will find disappointingly little illumination. In this 'Anglican ... context' King's career raises important questions that are scarcely touched upon here. For example, he is repeatedly referred to as a 'High Churchman', even though in Queen Anne's reign he supported Whig administrations and opposed a self-consciously 'High Church' faction in the Irish convocation. His formative experience as bishop of Derry, facing an assertive and increasingly numerous Presbyterian interest, which was discussed by J. C. Beckett in an article published sixty years ago, deserves revisiting in the light of recent research. And there is the question, raised tantalisingly by Legg, of King's role as an ecclesiastical patron. While it is useful to have these essays gathered together (even at the price the publisher has set) they certainly do not obviate the need for a comprehensive modern biography, or even, perhaps, an edition of the correspondence that figures so prominently in historical writing on the period.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
BELFAST

D. W. HAYTON

*Fully instructed and vehemently influenced. Catholic preaching in Anglo-colonial America.* By Joseph C. Linck. Pp. xiv + 210 incl. 11 plates. Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2002. \$35 plus \$4 post and packing. 0 916101 40 1

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John Adams remarked that Catholics in British America were 'as rare as earthquakes'. Nevertheless, in eighteenth-century Maryland and Pennsylvania, Catholics, despite civil disabilities, managed to survive and even flourish into the period of greater freedom promised by the new republic. Joseph Linck ably offers a window into the practice of their faith through an analysis of some 460 sermons delivered by their primarily Jesuit priests. These clergy freely drew on published works from French and English sources, yet if the sermons were not always original, they were carefully contextualised to address the situation of colonial Catholics. Priests focused on the practical difficulties of maintaining a distinctively Roman Catholic witness in the midst of an overwhelmingly Protestant environment. They encouraged their flocks to a frequent reception of the eucharist (once a month representing an attainable ideal), to devotion to the saints, to the practice of the rosary and private spiritual reading and to maintaining a doctrinal and social separation from their Protestant neighbours (since intermarriage threatened the coherence and stability of the community). As befitted a Church vulnerable to persecution by loyalist and patriot alike, its priests preached not a word concerning the American Revolution. One of the most striking aspects of the Jesuits' preaching was its sheer self-confidence. At a time when their order was suffering persecution and suppression and when the universal Church was at a low ebb of international influence, their preaching was firm and uncompromising, exuding a 'sincere inability to account for the existence of the churches of the Reformation'.

ABINGDON

PETER DOLL

Philipp Jakob Spener, *Briefe aus der Dresdner Zeit, 1686–1691, I: 1686–1687*. Edited by Johannes Wallmann, with Martin Friedrich, Klaus vom Orde and Peter Blastenbrei. Pp. xlvii + 865. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003. €179. 3 16 147427 9

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With this blockbuster the second series of Spener letters commences, edited to the same magnificent standards as the first, and compelling admiration by the sheer scale of the enterprise. This volume contains (only) 201 letters and extends for only eighteen months from Spener's appointment as court chaplain at Dresden. It perforce excludes in-letters which appeared as a minority feature in the Frankfurt series. It also excludes Spener's correspondence with his son-in-law, Adam Rechenberg, running to some 1,140 letters, which would have made up every second letter in the Dresden series; but they have been used in the editing of the rest. Also excluded is the vast correspondence with August Hermann Francke which begins at the end of the Dresden period and peaks in Spener's Berlin years; the pious hope is expressed that someone else will cope with Rechenberg; a Spener–Francke edition is actually under way at Halle. If the conception and achievement of the edition is breathtaking compared with anything undertaken in the United Kingdom, one is bound to ask how Spener coped with such a correspondence on top of everything else. It is to some extent reassuring to find that he did not. He tended to answer letters in batches, and even in the Dresden period complained that he had a backlog of 300 unanswered. The letters also indicate some of his short cuts. The chief of his numerous correspondences with ladies was with Anna Elisabeth Kissner of Frankfurt. To her he applied for excerpts from Tauler and Thomas à Kempis for his treatise on *Nature and grace*. Through her he also made enquiries about his friends in Frankfurt, and a huge list of names tracked down by Klaus vom Orde offers new possibilities of elucidating the social composition of Frankfurt Pietism. Of course friends would ask how Spener was getting on in Saxony, and the best he would say was that he hoped not to change the world but to sustain the devout. And as usual Spener is cagey. Of course after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Reformed want union with the Lutherans; but care is needed. He is not satisfied that Louis XIV is AntiChrist. He cannot judge either Jakob Böhme or Molinos though Rome is playing a dangerous game with the Quietists. On a more cheerful note, it turns out that there was not one but three Collegia Philobiblica in Leipzig. The wealth of information in both text and notes is astounding.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*. Edited by Hartmut Lehmann. (Geschichte des Pietismus, 4.) Pp. xvi + 710 incl. 27 ill. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004. €86. 3 525 55349 8

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With this fourth blockbuster, the great *Geschichte des Pietismus* has gone out with a bang and no sign of a whimper, though a justly mournful note is struck at the end with a roster of all the distinguished scholars of the Historical Commission for Pietism Research who have not lived to see the day. This final volume, though not quite the largest, is perhaps the most useful from the standpoint of general scholarship. Like

Methodism, Pietism has attracted like a flypaper all manner of unwanted legends. What this volume does is to tackle a great number of themes in Pietist history, and to give the reader who will take the trouble that rarest of experiences in church history, a sense of what it felt like to belong to this particular movement. The focus is mainly German and Lutheran, but that is where the scholarship is, and the thematic approach preserves the volume from the difficulty encountered by volume iii; that volume explicitly ventured into the wider world, and so exposed flank to reproaches that this that or the other region had been left out. This volume begins conventionally with notable treatments of Pietist specifics, eschatology, the New Birth and prayer by Ulrich Gähler, Markus Mathias and Johannes Wallmann respectively; then come the Bible and hymns, the Jews (Wallmann excellent again) and missions, and a huge cluster of chapters on cultural matters which have badly needed systematic treatment, philosophy, psychology, medicine and technology, literature, music, women, economics and, what Professor Kent in a facetious moment once described as 'the Protestant peepshow', 'the world'. Max Weber comes rather badly out of these discussions, and apparent disagreements among some of the contributors show clearly where fresh work needs to be done. Thus Pietist addiction to Paracelsianism is held to have been ruinous to their great efforts to succeed in psychology, medicine and pharmacy, while they are said to have done well in technology. These views may be capable of reconciliation, but one would like to know more. Dubiety on the moral front is also unavoidable. The strict Pietist attitude to 'things indifferent' is famous; it is not often said that Francke had to dabble commercially in many of them, and especially the wine trade, to make Halle pay. British scholars should work their way through this feast from starters to *petits fours*, and then resolve to do something comparable for some aspect of British religious history.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*Philosophy, dissent and Nonconformity*. By Alan P. F. Sell. Pp. 296. Cambridge: James Clarke, 2004. £50. 0 227 67977 6

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904751568

Alan Sell tells the story of the philosophical activity of those excluded from the Anglican–Oxbridge establishment. The Toleration Act of 1689 finally enabled orthodox Protestant Dissenters to provide for the higher education of their young, and to that end they began to establish academies, with philosophy featuring within that provision. Despite early attempts to close down these institutions, most notably with the introduction of the Schism Bill of 1714 which was avoided only by the fortuitous death of Queen Anne on the very day it was to receive the royal assent, academies were founded and not just for the purpose of theological training. These institutions differed in their theological ethos and prospered for varying lengths of time. Initially, with no library provision, there was an unavoidable reliance on tutors' private collections including translations of texts by continental authors because English had been adopted as the medium of instruction. Given the range of institutions and philosophical activities with which the author is concerned, organisation of the material must inevitably present a challenge. Sell's solution is to provide a general chapter on the type of philosophical activity during the eighteenth century, organised according to the theological ethos of the various institutions.

Moral philosophy in the same period has a chapter on its own with attention drawn specifically to Isaac Watts, Henry Grove and Richard Price. Then, for the period from 1800 to 1920, a more general chapter is divided into denominations; and, in the light of the huge intellectual changes that occurred during the nineteenth century, this is followed by a further chapter on ethics and apologetics, where special attention is given to the work of George Payne, Richard Alliot, James Martineau and Robert Mackintosh. By 1920 regard for creedal considerations had ceased to play any part in the organisation of universities, and with Nonconformists increasingly able to make use of the facilities in the new universities, philosophical activity within Nonconformist theological colleges went into decline. This whole story, with the breadth of research required, is far from easy to narrate, and what we have here is effectively an inventory of philosophical activity within a range of institutions. Sell thus achieves his aim to provide ‘a modest memorial to those who taught and philosophized “without the gate”’; with its extensive bibliography and indices of colleges and personnel, his book provides a valuable source for all those whose interest lies within this area of intellectual history.

SURREY

JOHN IBBETT

*Jonathan Edwards. A life.* By George M. Marsden. Pp. xxi + 615 incl. numerous maps and ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2003. £25 (\$35).  
0 300 09693 3

*Jonathan Edwards's philosophy of history. The reenchantment of the world in the age of enlightenment.* By Avihu Zakai. Pp. xix + 348. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003. £35. 0 691 09654 6  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904761564

George Marsden's recent volume, *Jonathan Edwards: a life*, is undoubtedly the best biography of the great early American philosopher, theologian and pastor produced to date. While other biographies have been limited by a lack of available primary texts from Edwards's life, Marsden has benefited from the vast numbers of sermons, letters and treatises that have been made accessible in recent years through Yale's *Works of Jonathan Edwards* publishing project. This has allowed him to draw liberally, by his grateful admission, on the trench work of many of Yale's editors and transcribers to present a very full picture of Edwards, exploring the intellectual, psychological, social and religious dimensions of his remarkable life. At 512 pages (600 with notes), it is a work of daunting proportions. However, its weighty aggregation of scholarship is sweetened in the reading by Marsden's impressive ability simply to tell a good story, such that it is possible to forget that the book is a narrative synthesis of literally decades of scholarly work.

Marsden uses the biographical form to great advantage; the chronology of events in Edwards's turbulent life are, in this volume, at once the meat of the narrative and the setting in which Marsden seeks to unpack his take on Edwards's famous theological and philosophical writings. There are no challenging new interpretations here, just excellent narrative craft. Edwards is portrayed as a volatile soul born into the even more volatile environment of New England in the early eighteenth century. The threat of disease, Indian attacks, natural disaster and theological heresy is never

far from the centre of Edwards's experience as he traverses the well-trodden Puritan path from boyhood to the pastorate.

The greatest strength of Marsden's portrayal is that, throughout the various stages of his life, Edwards is seen to be at once a typical Puritan and yet utterly unique in his intellectual responses to the situations in which he finds himself. In particular, Marsden is concerned to show how Edwards attempts to harmonise his numinous experiences of God with Puritan biblical theology and contemporary philosophical thought. For example, when presented with the work of such Enlightenment luminaries as Newton and Locke, Marsden explicates the manner in which Edwards's peculiar mind sought to harmonise their findings with Puritan theology. More famously, when he experienced unusual spiritual revivals in the mid-1730s, half a decade before Whitefield arrived and the Great Awakening spread throughout the colonies, he sought to interpret them through no less than three treatises, culminating in his prescient psychological work of 1742 examining what he called human 'religious affections'. Marsden also highlights the final project that Edwards's untimely death prohibited him from completing, a universal history from the perspective of God's work of redeeming humanity through the mechanism of revivals such as the one that Edwards experienced in his lifetime.

By these examples among others, Marsden's biography shows that Edwards's work was an attempt to understand and articulate the truth about the nature of human existence and religious experience in the context of his life as an eighteenth-century New England pastor. Marsden dismisses the notion that Edwards was a lone philosophical genius in a world of backward superstition, or a tragic articulator of the unscientific theological hopes of an outmoded age. Rather, Marsden portrays Edwards as both a man whose thought was deeply informed by the fascinating social and spiritual milieu in which he lived, and one whose struggles to articulate answers to lasting questions have a dimension of ideological relevance beyond the contextual confines of cultural history. In both of these aspects, Marsden's biography contends that Edwards's attempts at self-understanding remain worthy of serious study.

Avihu Zakai's volume, *Jonathan Edwards' philosophy of history*, is a far more focused study of a particular dimension of Edwards's thought. Interestingly though, its claims are consonant with those of Marsden's biography in that it assesses the manner in which Edwards attempted to reconcile his contemporary philosophical context, orthodox Puritan theology and his experience of the present reality of God. While Edwards is often regarded as the final articulate outpost of a pre-scientific age, Zakai presents him in the broad context of the history of ideas in the eighteenth century, seeking to show that Edwards was thoroughly conversant with the modern science of his day and sought to address its implications in his work.

Zakai's contention is that Edwards discerned the mechanistic, deist implications of Newtonian ideas but decided to engage Newton's ideas from a Christian theological point of view, rather than fleeing from them into the subjectivism of 'heart religion' which began to be propounded by many of his Pietistic contemporaries. According to Zakai, the ultimate end of both Deism and Pietism for Edwards was the separation of the realm of grace and the realm of time and space which led immediately to the 'disenchantment' of history and a devaluation of the sovereignty of God. Edwards's proposed way out of this dilemma was through a philosophical engagement with atomic theory in which God was shown to be the necessary ground of universal laws and the end towards which all things bound by it must proceed. Edwards's solution

to these problems can be found in his great uncompleted *History of the work of redemption* in which he began to establish revivals as the cyclical mechanism by which God advanced his creation to its *telos*.

Zakai's expository assessment of Edwards's philosophy of history is creative and fascinating. He highlights a dimension of Edwards's thought that is deserving of further study, namely Edwards's vision of the role of revivals in history. However, a very important question remains unanswered by his volume, namely, whether or not his 'contextualisation' of Edwards is historically legitimate. Zakai is using a history of ideas method to represent Edwards's grand vision in contrast to Enlightenment Deism and Wesleyan Pietism. However, Zakai does not provide much evidence that Edwards was directly engaged with these themes, and is unfortunately prone to generalisations when discussing them in light of Edwards's work. There is little doubt that these ideas were awake in the consciousness of Edwards's contemporaries, but one is left wanting more specific documentation. Zakai's thesis thus remains open to the charge that Edwards was simply trying to create a unified theory of revival, rather than a philosophical response to contemporary science and philosophy. Perhaps both can be true at once. This area of Edwards studies has much to be mined, and Zakai has made a very significant opening contribution.

YALE UNIVERSITY

CALEB MASKELL

*Calendar of the Trevecka letters*. Edited by Boyd Stanley Schlenther and Eryn Mant White. Pp. xii + 528. Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2003. £29.95. 1 86225 039 1

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This calendar (in English) of the Howell Harris papers, 3,344 of them, mostly but not all in the National Library of Wales, and some of which in the original are in Welsh, is the most important collection of source materials for the early history of the eighteenth-century awakening to appear in print for many years; every scholar in the field will need it, and every self-respecting academic library should acquire it. This collection has been plundered in part by a number of scholars, but only now have editors been found with the stamina to provide general access to the whole. Besides Harris's in- and out-letters the collection contains a good deal of Whitefield correspondence and a fair number of Moravian papers. Many of the letters were written for public reading at 'letter-days', one of the regular means by which the evangelicals drew encouragement from a world-wide movement of grace. Indeed one of the striking impressions of this collection is that whereas the plebeian opponents of the revival interpreted it in the light of the past, bellowing 'Down with the Rumps', and were justified by at least one rabidly Cromwellian preacher in Pembrokeshire, the evangelicals went for contemporaneity and breadth. They knew what was happening in Germany; Zinzendorf himself reports on the revival in the Baltic; Whitefield is a first-hand witness on America; the Concert of Prayer comes in from Jonathan Edwards; James Erskine's schemes for harnessing the Welsh and Scottish revivals to the Leicester House chariot form a large correspondence. Also well represented until his untimely and violent death is Whitefield's business

manager, William Seward. He appears heralding Whitefield's visit to America in 1739 in memorably awful verse in the New York press:

Whitefield the great the pleasing Name  
Has all my soul possest  
For sure some seraph from above  
Inspires his Godlike breast.

At this stage in the revival Wesley appears pretty marginal compared with the 'God-like breast'; personally worthy, if politically unscrupulous, he is optimistically thought likely to see the light on the Calvinist issues. What is nowhere recognised is his ability to pace himself compared with the enthusiast Harris, who was more or less burned out by the early fifties. This in turn is a special case of another of the great general impressions here, namely the extraordinary gap between the religious zeal of Harris's circle and their inability to manage personal relations. The longest-running saga of the whole collection is that of Harris's attempt to find a wife; having lost Elizabeth James to the predatory Whitefield, he absurdly seeks Whitefield's advice. Having then set his heart on Anne Williams (and, it seems, set about softening up Catherine Poyer as a second string to his bow), he found her necessarily cagey towards his assertions that God (who seems to have said nothing to her) intended them to marry. Having landed his prize, he blew it by his prophetic cavortings with Mrs Sidney Griffith, and, when she did him the favour of dying early, he was involved in legal proceedings with her family for the rest of his life. No wonder the Welsh Methodists gossiped. Schlenther and White have edited this marvellous collection lightly; only two oddities in their work appear. Wesley did not go to Herrnhut in the early 'thirties (no. 3172) but in 1738. And Sir John Gonson (no. 171), who as Sir John Ganson eluded the searches of the editor of Wesley's *Journal* in both the *Book of knights* and the *Baronetage*, here eludes the index.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*Brother Charles*. By Barrie W. Tabraham. (Exploring Methodism.) Pp. xi + 146. Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2003. £14.99 (paper). 0 7162 0570 X  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904781567

Charles Wesley has always received less attention than his brother except as a hymn-writer and it is doubtful whether full justice has been done to his wider contribution to the rise of Methodism. Unfortunately his journal is much less extensive than John's and has never been published in full. His letters are often undated and only his sermons have recently received a scholarly modern edition. Until Gareth Lloyd's recent doctoral thesis, based on a thorough examination of the sources, is published, we lack an adequate study of Charles's career.

Barrie Tabraham does not claim great originality for his work but rather 'to make sources which have hitherto been less readily obtainable accessible to the general reader' so as to make Charles Wesley known as a person. The main text is supplemented by boxed extracts from the sources, questions for group discussion, a glossary and a good annotated bibliography. Well-designed and clearly written by an experienced teacher and minister, this book should certainly appeal to its intended audience. Despite its modest aims, it is in fact the most useful and well-informed

account of Charles to appear since Frank Baker's *Charles Wesley as revealed by his letters* over fifty years ago. Particularly revealing on Charles's character – more open, warm and emotional than his brother's – Tabraham also gives a helpful account of his activities as evangelist and check on his brother's more radical impulses as well as hymn-writer and poet.

MANCHESTER

HENRY D. RACK

*Catholics in Cambridge*. Edited by Nicholas Rogers. Pp. xxiv + 398 + frontispiece and 32 plates. Leominster: Gracewing, 2003. £20. 085244 568 7  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904791563

This new edition nicely complements a short volume written twenty years ago by M. N. L. Couve de Murville and Philip Jenkins: *Catholic Cambridge* (London 1983). That earlier history concentrated on the medieval and early modern university. *Catholics in Cambridge* focuses on the city and principally treats the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nicholas Rogers has gathered thirty-four articles of various lengths: Basil, Cardinal Hume's homily at the centenary mass in the Church of Our Lady and the English Martyrs along with lists of parochial organisations; the names of the Catholic clergy of Cambridge post 1841; names of members of religious orders in Cambridge in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and the names of heads of schools, St Edmund's College and the university chaplaincy. The articles are vivid and lively, based often upon personal reminiscences, newspaper articles and parish newsletters. They cover all aspects of Catholic life including such colourful characters as Yolande Marie Louise Lyne-Stephens, Baron Anatole von Hügel, Robert Hugh Benson and Alfred Gilbey; the contributions of the various religious orders and congregations; the roles played by the Polish and Italians during and after the Second World War; and organs, clock winders and architects. Few of the contributors are from the university; the majority are involved in some aspect of Cambridge Catholic life. Thus it is not surprising that their articles deal more with town than with gown, and are written from a Catholic perspective and primarily for the Cambridge Catholic community. Presumably to make the collection more accessible to non-academics, the authors have eschewed footnotes and clear documentation. A good bibliography somewhat compensates for their omission. Because of the wealth of information provided, it may be niggardly to expect a more adequate treatment of the world beyond the city's walls. Perhaps Cambridge Catholics will go for a hat trick and produce a third volume that situates their community within national and international, ecclesial and secular developments.

JESUIT PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

THOMAS M. MCCOOG

*Culture wars. Secular–Catholic conflict in nineteenth-century Europe*. Edited by Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser. Pp. viii + 368 incl. 7 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £50. 0 521 80997 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904801568

A comparative assessment of nineteenth-century anticlericalism has been long overdue and this volume more than fulfils that need. However, in leaving anticlericalism out of the title the editors were plainly determined to steer clear of narrowly based religious history and, instead, invited their contributors, first, to view the



phenomenon through the prism of cultural warfare involving 'mass mobilisation and societal polarisation' (p. 1) and, secondly, having a mind to the supra-national dimensions of the subject, 'to think Europe' (p. 4). In the first essay, Christopher Clark insists on looking beyond the tired terminology of the 'modern' versus the 'anti-modern' in line with what Manuel Borutta says later on: 'Religion is no longer seen as the residue of tradition, but as a powerful historical force within modernity' (p. 254). The Catholic Church was, in many respects, even more 'modern' than its opponents, Clark contends, in justification of his 'New Catholicism' labelling: a formidable international organisation, adept in media management, using papers like *Civiltà Cattolica* (1850) to powerful effect, connecting up the new Marian shrines into the railway network and achieving towards the end of the century the position of what Clark calls a 'transnational community of sentiment' (p. 35) or, as its adversaries would have it, 'a black international'.

There are ten individual essays. James McMillan revisits the French scene in a wide-ranging and commanding paper using a case study in the *guerre scolaire* drawn from the Rennes archdiocese in the 1890s; on Spain, Julio de la Cueva focuses primarily on Santander in the last decades of the century. In a country with a tiny Protestant community, secular schools were one obvious means of countering the Church's influence in an ongoing cultural warfare, vividly expressed in the anti-clericalist riots of the late 1890s. In treating England, Jonathan Parry concentrates on Gladstone's first ministry (1868–74) and shows how dissatisfaction with Foster's 1870 Education Act led to a Nonconformist upsurge in anti-sacerdotalism and played its part in the Conservative success at the polls in 1874. The essays on Belgium and Holland consider topics that will be unfamiliar to many anglophone readers. Els Witte on Belgium charts the breakdown of Catholic/Liberal coexistence down to the late 1850s, polarisation over the Monastic Law culminating in the 'School War' of 1879–84 and the 'St Bartholomew's Day of the Big Drums' (7 September 1884). Witte concludes that although the Liberals were heavily defeated in the Belgian elections of 1884, it was the Catholics who were the losers in the medium term. In Holland, as Peter Jan Margry and Henk te Velde observe, it was not school processions in Limburg and northern Brabant that were the flashpoints. The Dutch state became caught up in the German *Kulturkampf* when Limburg became a refuge for Germans who had fled across the frontier after the passing of the May Laws in 1875. Martin Papenheim is at pains to warn us against anticipating homogeneity in the Italian culture wars of the *Risorgimento*, noting, for example, the tensions within Lombard Catholicism. Using the controversial erection of a statue to Giordano Bruno in Rome in 1889 as his pivot, he argues that both clerics and liberals had a common enemy in socialism. Manuel Borutta ponders the anti-monastic dimension of the *Kulturkampf* in Germany with a consideration of the anxieties caused by growing Catholic strength in Berlin itself and the leadership offered by the Dominicans in what some called 'the second Counter-Reformation'. The main effect of the imperial government's repression was essentially to deepen the bonds between clergy and people. Heidi Bossard-Borner, scanning the years 1870–85, and with primary reference to the Lucerne commune of Ruswil, reveals that the politics of the *Kulturkampf* did not leave Switzerland immune. The growth of the Catholic population in Geneva and other problems in the Berne Jura became mixed up with politics and the constitutional reform of the Swiss Confederation, but Bossard-Borner concludes that efforts to weaken Roman Catholic influence at federal and

cantonal levels were unsuccessful. Laurence Cole treats the Catholic revival of the mid-century in Austria, what he calls 'The Counter-Reformation's last stand', one warmly favoured by the monarchy. Liberal efforts to dismantle the Church's privileged position largely failed though cultural warfare in the multi-ethnic province of Tyrol was intensive. In the other principal kingdom of the Dual Monarchy, Hungary, Liberalism remained a powerful force well into the 1890s as Robert Nemes sets out in his 'The uncertain origins of civil marriage: Hungary'. Tensions long predated the issue of an ordinance in 1890 calling on officials to enforce uncompromisingly the registration of children of mixed marriages, and warning Catholic clergy that they faced imprisonment or fines if they were obstructive. This was followed by five years of cultural warfare and the passing of other contentious measures, including state registers, religious equality and obligatory civil marriage. As Nemes reveals, by 1895 combining Catholicism and Liberalism had become extremely difficult for any individual. Instead, Catholics launched their own party, the People's Party, which obtained seventeen seats in the 1896 parliamentary elections.

*Culture wars* is an important collection with all-round strengths that should provide an exciting launch pad for future researchers. It is also an encouraging instance of transnational co-operation with only five of the thirteen essayists holding a British university post. If there is one disappointment it is that, despite the preference of the editors, comparative perspectives on the culture war are missing from the majority of the essays. They do not, to quote Dr Clark, 'think Europe' quite forcefully enough.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

NIGEL ASTON

*Great Britain and the Holy See. The diplomatic relations question, 1846–1852.* By James P. Flint. Pp. xvii + 302. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003. \$39.95. 0 8132 1327 4

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It is now forty years since Noel Blakiston produced an edition of Odo Russell's dispatches from Rome, covering the later 1850s and the 1860s and describing the difficulty arising from the absence of formal relations between the British crown and the papacy. This excellent and authoritative study by James Flint examines attempts by British ministers and agents to consider the prospects for diplomatic links in the later 1840s, and the responses of the Vatican. The issues at stake were rather different in the two periods thus illuminated by these two books; at the centre of Blakiston's account was the final crisis of the *Risorgimento*, and at the centre of Flint's was the Irish question in the years after the Famine. But in both phases it was always Ireland which provided focus. The British government was anxious to employ the authority of Rome to enlist Catholic sympathies for its policies in Ireland; the Holy See was not hostile to some kind of access to the most powerful nation in Europe. On balance, however, it was the crown that had the most to gain; yet however lukewarm they may have found papal officials to their various proposals it was sometimes popular prejudices inside England itself which made for caution. The vibrant anti-Catholic culture occasionally, as is the Papal Aggression uproar in 1850, stirred into a political tempest, and set definitive limits to excessive friendliness with the papal court. This study brings out the subtlety of the steps attempted, and uses papal archival material to flesh out the stages of negotiation and, ultimately, of failure. It

presents the Roman side of the question for the first time, and shows how well-informed both Propaganda and Pius IX were about British conditions and Irish realities. This was the result of all the information recorded by questioning the Irish bishops on their periodic *ad limina* visits to Rome, and of the Vatican's requirement that regular reports were sent in from the Irish sees. The sheer professionalism of the Holy See's conduct, and the self-interested courtesies of the British ministries, continued to produce a fascinating, if in the end sterile, dialectic of informal exchange. It was over a century before the matter was resolved, and by then the States of the Church in Italy had been reduced to a mere city centre, and the government in London had been, in practice, secularised.

YORK MINSTER

EDWARD NORMAN

*John Scott Lidgett. Archbishop of British Methodism?* By Alan Turberfield. Pp. xx + 490.

Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2003. £25 (paper). 0 7192 0571 8

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904821560

The timing of Alan Turberfield's magisterial and weighty book on John Scott Lidgett (1854–1953), amidst renewed talks about church unity in England and questions about Methodist identity and survival, is opportune. To view the development and decline of Methodism through the life of one of its most distinguished ministers and public figures is to see it through the lens of a polymath. The Lidgett Turberfield portrays, in an exhaustive study using sources other than family and Methodist records, is of a theologian, educationalist, politician, ecclesiastical statesman and social reformer, of significance far wider than his Wesleyan Methodist roots. In the author's assessment, tempered by admiration for the breadth of Lidgett's interests, he highlights the disappointments Lidgett experienced, his achievements necessarily limited by the tensions, social, political and religious, within Wesleyan Methodism. Lidgett's friendship with Archbishop Davidson never delivered the union with the Church of England he desired, but paved the way for easier ecumenical dialogue. His espousal of religious but non-denominational teaching in schools was vindicated but unfulfilled in the Education Act of 1944. Building on his work at the Bermondsey Settlement, his limited involvement in social reforms was unrealised in his wider role as leader of the London Progressives. Lidgett's achievements in ecumenism, education and politics were nevertheless to put Methodism on the national map, exemplified particularly by his roles as vice-chancellor of London University and president of the Uniting Methodist Conference of 1932. Turberfield's biography of the Grand Old Man of Methodism is paradigmatic of its strengths and weaknesses in the first half of the twentieth century.

SALISBURY

TIM MACQUIBAN

*The treasure of Rennes-le-Chateau. A mystery solved.* By Bill Putnam and John Edwin

Wood. Pp. xiii + 258 incl. 25 figs + 39 plates. Stroud: Sutton, 2003. £20.

0 7509 3081 0

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904831567

During the 1960s and 1970s the western world was swept by the story of how, in the 1890s, a priest in a poor southern French rural parish had suddenly come by large

sums of money. Those promoting the tale asserted that he had uncovered either ancient treasure or valuable knowledge, and a succession of popular authors have subsequently suggested what this might have been, including in their proposals the ornaments of the temple at Jerusalem and the secret of the identity of the linear descendants of Jesus Christ; the Knights Templar, the Cathars and ley lines have also made appearances. This book punctures the whole myth, raking through the textual and physical evidence to conclude that the priest got (briefly) rich by a squalid commercial traffic in masses for the dead. All the stories of treasure and secrets are based on sources forged or imagined by entrepreneurs inspired by a range of motives including greed, glory and fun. The argument is persuasively made, and it is to be hoped that this pair of authors reap something like the financial rewards of those whom they have so patiently debunked.

BRISTOL

RONALD HUTTON

*Recovering mother Kirk. The case for liturgy in the Reformed tradition.* By D. G. Hart. Pp. 263.

Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003. \$24.99 (paper). 0 8010 2615 6

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This book is mainly a collection of essays which have appeared elsewhere, though together they make a forceful study calling for a return to a serious ecclesiology and a serious liturgical tradition in the historic, and mainly confessional, Presbyterian traditions. In some ways the title is slightly misleading, for although a number of chapters are concerned with the Reformed liturgical tradition, including hymnody, others are concerned with issues such as the Church Growth movement, Reformed spirituality, ecumenism and Office and gender. In the chapter on 'The irony of American Presbyterian worship', Hart reaches the heart of the historic inheritance, at least in the USA. The older Reformed tradition, inherited from Scotland, had already lost Knox's liturgy, and sat lightly to the Westminster Directory. The rather unexciting diet of worship became prey for the Revivalist Camp meetings, particularly as developed by Methodist preachers. The outcome was the nineteenth-century battle between Charles Hodge, John Williamson Nevin and Charles Finney – three approaches to worship and three theologies which have never been successfully blended by Presbyterians. This is a useful collection, and though it has an American context, raises pertinent questions for all Presbyterian Churches.

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL

BRYAN D. SPINKS

*Christian worship in Reformed Churches past and present.* Edited by Lukas Vischer.

(The Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies.) Pp. xii + 432.

Grand Rapids, Mich.–Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003. £32.99 (\$45) (paper).  
0 8028 0520 5

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Lukas Vischer, former director of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, has drawn together a distinguished team of scholars in order to reflect on the origins and development of Reformed worship. The book comes in three parts. First, there is a series of historical essays, including contributions from

Elsie Anne McKee and Bryan Spinks on the period of origins, followed by an array of essays that describe the flowering of Reformed Churches in areas as far apart as South Africa (Coenraad Burger) and Indonesia (Ester Pudjo Widiasih), which were influenced by Dutch Reformed missionaries, as well as Korea (Seong-Won Park) and the Pacific (Baranite T. Kirata). These latter pose challenges culturally more pressing than the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement of Calvinism's European heartlands. Some of these issues are then taken up by Vischer in a meaty but perhaps too short chapter (entitled 'A common reflection') comprising the middle part of the book, where he provides a Trinitarian paradigm for word and sacraments that, among other things, avoids 'splitting apart past and present, turning sacraments into historical observances and preaching into glib relevance' (p. 292). In the third part, various key-questions are examined, such as the place of the visual (Geraldine Wheeler), the ministry of women (Leonora Tubbs Tisdale) as well as the lectionary (Horace Allen) – something Calvin himself did much to reform in the interests of continuous reading (and preaching). Between the lines of these essays lie many creative tensions, the principal of which is how to be genuinely 'reformed' on new terrain (Asia today, not Geneva then), in a globalised tradition that is part of a World Alliance, and often in a post-modern culture that is impatient with tradition and suspicious about any inherent authority given to it. These, of course, are questions shared by Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Lutherans. As many of these essays show, if set orders of liturgy (rather than actual set prayers) become too negotiable, and lack a doctrinal backbone, they suffer atrophy; on the other hand, when they are vibrant, faithful and innovative, like some of the recent revisions (e.g. Australian), one senses a spirit of confidence in how to be reformed in a new and different place. As usual, historians are not the people to create new liturgies on their own; they can only analyse, sift, offer new perspectives and open up the past in new and liberating ways. Most of the chapters are well-documented, with references to contemporary scholarship, with a greater sense of context than a previous generation offered. Vischer is to be congratulated on providing not only a useful tool for teachers but also some useful and quizzical pointers from the past as to how Reformed worship worldwide might be more adventurously faithful to the Genevan vision of the People of God worshipping together, regardless of their culture, language, gender or ethnic origin.

PORTSMOUTH

✉ KENNETH STEVENSON

*Kirchenrecht und Kulturkampf. Historische Legitimation, politische Mitwirkung und wissenschaftliche Begleitung durch die Schule Emil Ludwig Richters.* By Stefan Ruppert. (Jus Ecclesiasticum, 70.) Pp. ix + 297. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002. €59.30  
3 16 147868 1

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The *Kulturkampf*, or 'struggle for civilization', was an episode of prime importance in modern German history in which Otto von Bismarck and his political allies attempted to weaken the German Catholic Church's ties to Rome and to bring the Church under stricter state control. To that end, the government abolished various elements of the Church's self-administration, removed recalcitrant ecclesiastical officials, banned defiant religious orders, strengthened the government's influence

over appointments to ecclesiastical office and reformed clerical education. Within the context of this sweeping legislative agenda, Stefan Ruppert provides an engaging account of the role played by a small band of legal experts of whom the most important were Emil Friedberg, Paul Hinschius, Otto Mejer and Johann Friedrich von Schulte. He sees these jurists, more so even than Bismarck himself or Adalbert Falk, Prussia's minister of ecclesiastical affairs, as the primary shapers of state policy toward the Roman Church at the height of the *Kulturkampf* in the 1870s. According to Ruppert, these experts advised the government on the so-called May Laws (the cornerstone of the *Kulturkampf*'s legal edifice), intervened in legislative matters brought before the *Reichstag* and the Prussian diet, stoked anticlerical sentiments at patriotic rallies and assemblies, dispensed legal advice and produced a veritable flood of publications justifying the *Kulturkampf*'s goals and aims. For a decade and more, Ruppert claims, Friedberg, Hinschius, Mejer and Schulte – the leading representatives of an otherwise obscure academic discipline – stood at the centre of public interest and the making of *Kulturkampf* legislation. Though by no means uniform in their thinking or conduct, these scholars none the less had much in common. All received their legal training under the tutelage of Emil Ludwig Richter, an eminent authority on ecclesiastical law at the University of Berlin, and for that reason they represented what Ruppert calls the 'Richter school' of church law. As members of that group, furthermore, all argued that the Church–State relationship should be determined by historical custom or experience, positive law and contemporary realities. Although Ruppert assesses the role of this 'Richter school' with remarkable care (basing his conclusions on a comprehensive examination of its legal writings and opinions regarding the *Kulturkampf*) and delineates the methods and motives of its individual members with skill and insight, the originality of that effort is much diminished because he overlooks Robert W. Lougee's pioneering article 'The *Kulturkampf* and historical positivism', published more than fifty years ago in the pages of *Church History* (xxiii [Sept. 1954], 210–35), which, with greater economy and the omission of Schulte, covers a good deal of the same ground.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MILWAUKEE

RONALD J. ROSS

*Sääty, sukupuoli, uskonto. Mathilda Wrede ja yhteiskunnan muutos, 1883–1913.* By Marjo-Riitta Antikainen. (Bibliotheca Historica, 83.) Pp. 208 incl. 39 ills. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2003. 951 746 552 1; 1238 3503  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904871562

This excellent doctoral dissertation by Marjo-Riitta Antikainen is the first fully scholarly study of Mathilda Wrede, the Finnish Free Evangelical activist and prison reformer who has long enjoyed a reputation as something of a Protestant saint. Neither a full biography nor a case study in religious history, the study approaches its subject from three vantage points: class, gender and religion. Each is given equal weight and expertly contextualised. The picture emerges of a noblewoman who used her class position to destabilise traditional gender roles and to carve out for herself a unique position as a lay prison reformer and humanitarian worker in a system that was previously closed not just to women but to all non-governmental social workers. Antikainen shows that Wrede's original intention was simply to convert inmates to the Christian faith, and that she expected personal and social regeneration to follow

automatically. However, Wrede's traditional holiness evangelicalism was gradually transformed into a radical vision of extensive social reform that appealed to the Finnish extreme left, made her a quasi-socialist political propagandist and cost her her privileges. Unfortunately, Antikainen deals only with her subject's work in the prisons and does not examine Wrede's equally important activities in the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the 1920s. She does establish, however, that the British evangelicals Grattan Guinness and Henry Lansdell both inspired and funded Wrede's activities. All in all, this book is well argued and superbly conceptualised – an important addition to knowledge.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

MARKKU RUOTSILA

*Erasmus in the twentieth century. Interpretations c. 1920–2000.* By Bruce Mansfield. (Erasmus Studies.) Pp. xiv + 324. Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 2003. £45 (\$70). 0 8020 3767 4

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This study brings to its conclusion Bruce Mansfield's ambitious and illuminating account of reaction to Erasmus and his works over four centuries, a 'register of possibilities' already charted in *Phoenix of his age* (1979), which covered the period 1550–1750, and *Man on his own* (1992) which carried the story down to 1920. Throughout this major undertaking the author's voracious reading – which includes those German sources too often overlooked in anglophone discussions – has done justice to the fecundity of Erasmus' influence. At the same time, Professor Mansfield's alertness to the flow of intellectual exchange means that his enterprise has its value as a contribution to cultural history in addition to its strictly Erasmian interest. As historian he tends to stand in the wings, but as reader of Erasmus he can make his own voice heard, and he betrays a degree of impatience with those accounts which present Erasmus as integrated and self-possessed, preferring to see him holding a range of ideas in creative tension. It is this reluctance to accept closure, whether in rhetorical or theological terms, that has made Erasmus so attractive to the twentieth-century mind and led to something of an Erasmian renaissance, evident in such projects as the Amsterdam *Opera omnia* and the Toronto *Collected works*. Certainly Erasmus' desire to elicit a subjective response from the reader means that consensus rather than submission is in view, yet this can lead to startlingly opposed interpretations. The range of this final volume takes us from the fastidious humanist evoked by Huizinga – the 'man of half-tones' – to the radical figure projected by Silvana Seidel Menchi in her investigation of reader response as documented in Italian inquisitorial archives. The transition, as Mansfield observes, is in methodology as much as in interpretation: the volume records an era of unprecedented academic expansion, and a key element for scrutiny is the part played by the major commemorative conferences and the papers which they have generated. The quartercentenary of Erasmus' death in 1936 sat uneasily with Hitler's Berlin Olympics; the quincentenary celebrations of his birth in 1966–9 jarred with student unrest and cultural radicalism; the more muted observances of 1986 saw the demise of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War. All coloured the ways in which Erasmus has been seen and used. One theme Mansfield

traces is the Catholic reclamation of a man whom Joseph Lortz, as late as 1950, could dismiss as a 'half-Catholic'; two decades later, after Vatican II's disposal of Tridentine priorities, Jozef Coppens hailed the conciliar constitution *Lumen gentium* as an Erasmian document. If one thing emerges from Mansfield's survey it is the protean quality of Erasmus' thought; his outlook, he argues, 'was essentially pastoral'. Its unresolved tensions lend it a creative potential that slips through the rigid embrace of systems or institutions; at the conclusion of this absorbing study Mansfield is confident that he is 'still a man for our anxious and fragmented times'.

UBBESTON

DOMINIC BAKER-SMITH

*Church and state education in revolutionary Mexico City.* By Patience A. Schell. Pp. xvii + 255 incl. 15 figs, 2 maps and 5 tables. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. \$50. 0 8165 2198 0

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904891565

This book is a valuable study of Catholic and public education, both primary and secondary, in post-revolutionary Mexico City. It also explores other key areas, such as the problematic Church–State relationship from 1917 to 1926, Mexican 'social' Catholicism and the important roles played by Mexican (especially Catholic) women in the 1920s. Particular strengths include the book's clarity of argument, its comparative, urban focus and its rich array of primary sources. In the early chapters, for instance, the author makes good use of school reports and curricula to vividly bring to life the (highly gendered) diversity of educational experiences in the capital, whether in flagship SEP establishments where girls studied puericulture and boys engineering, or the impoverished night schools where reluctant students organised *tamal* parties in dilapidated buildings. The important and varied contributions of Catholic educators – especially the Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas – are also rightly stressed throughout, though the latent radicalism attributed to such 'conservative', even elitist, groups may prove contentious (so, too, the argument advanced in the final chapter that revolutionary anticlericalism was fundamentally gendered). The book's central thesis, meanwhile, is that the Church–State relationship – inasmuch as it revolved around education – was only exceptionally marked by hostility before the religious crisis of 1926. If there were occasional political spats, the author contends, education was generally characterised by 'quiet cooperation' (p. 94) between revolutionary and Catholic pedagogues. Moreover, if the revalorising aims of Catholics and revolutionaries ultimately derived from different world views, the methods employed on either side were not so different in practice. There was, above all, an overriding developmentalist concern to remoralise the poor and promote national economic advancement which ordinarily transcended any ideological divide between Church and State. Thus revolutionary schools organised crusades against *pulque* and instilled literacy and patriotic sentiments; Catholic schools, for their part, substituted an alternative (sacral) nationalism for the official variant, but otherwise played the game by the state's rules, teaching 'scientific' disciplines and extirpating vice. Hence, the author concludes, prudential Church–State coexistence – based on a 'fundamental consensus' (p. 42) about



national problems – flourished at the expense of ideological confrontation until the fateful days of 1926. This interpretation usefully revises previous accounts which see the Church–State relationship as one of implacable hostility. If viable for Mexico City, however, it could be asked how well this pragmatic, consensus-driven model would apply in other contexts, and hence to what extent the *capitalino* experience should alter our overall perceptions of Church–State relations (in the countryside, of course, the Church bitterly opposed public education before 1926, partly because of its association with *agrarismo*; events after 1926 – when the book ends – also suggest that the Church–State relationship remained, at bottom, distrustful and fractious). All told, however, this is an important book which nuances our understanding of a vital institutional relationship at a critical juncture, and deepens our knowledge of the history of revolution and Catholic social militancy in Mexico. It should be read by all students of revolutionary Mexico and those interested in Latin American religion and state formation more generally.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
BELFAST

MATTHEW BUTLER

*Der Staat und die katholische Kirche in Litauen seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs.* By Martin Jungrathmayr. (Zeitgeschichtliche Forschungen, 16.) Pp. 425. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002. €76 (paper). 3 428 09969 9; 1438 2326  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690490156X

This Marburg University law doctoral thesis (2001), which examines the legal relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the State in Lithuania in the Cold War, is symptomatic of current German interest in the contemporary church history of central and eastern Europe. It complements three volumes (Göttingen 2002–3) published by a Scandinavian and German research project consortium. This, run by Professors Jens Holger Schjørring (Aarhus), Peter Maser (Münster) and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen), and the Munich-based Protestant *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, employs young scholars to write up the church histories of the Protestant Churches of their respective countries in central and Eastern Europe since 1945. Jungrathmayr's strength lies in his lucid account of a troublesome Roman Catholic church province both before and after Soviet occupation in 1940. His centre piece, however, is the Church's *via dolorosa* in the half-century 1940–90. However, it remains questionable if Jungrathmayr's legal perspective, though he does point the reader to patchy documentation (p. 19), really uncovers the reality which turned Lithuania into a land of twentieth-century crosses. Only four pages (pp. 110–13) are devoted to the brutal German occupation period (1941–4), which saw the destruction of Lithuania's Jews, Lithuania's largest religious and ethnic minority (7.2%). Needless to say, Nazi occupiers did nothing either to stop the policy of Soviet religious destruction which Jungrathmayr describes in great legal detail. There is, perhaps, too much reliance on source material in German translation and on German interpretations, notably the scholarship of Otto Luchterhandt, Gerd Stricker and the institute, *Glaube in der 2. Welt* at Zollikon in Switzerland, for a reader to be confident about impartiality here.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

NICHOLAS HOPE

*Lutheran cooperation and confrontation in Pakistan, 1958–1962. Church–mission relations from the perspective of the Finnish Missionary Society.* By Anja Nurminen. (Schriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 54.) Pp. 347 incl. numerous ills. Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Seura, 2003. €28 (paper). 951 9047 64 6; 1236 9675  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904911566

Nurminen traces the ultimately unsuccessful attempt by minuscule missions in West Pakistan, most notably the Danish Lutheran Pathan Mission, the American World Mission Prayer League (from 1955) and (from 1958) the Finnish Missionary Society, to co-operate and perhaps unite. The pressure of narrative detail, though relieved by photographs of relevant personalities, is unremitting. It demonstrates beyond doubt, however, the extraordinary difficulty of establishing a binding constitutional consensus about the exercise of church authority where forceful personalities with distinct institutional perspectives, ambitions and, above all, divergent theological commitments are deeply involved. The formidable Pashto scholar and Barthian theologian Jens Christensen had served the Pathan mission since the 1920s. His evangelical view of mission did not accommodate the missionary strategy, favoured by the Americans, of investing in institutions, schools and hospitals. He had little time for Punjabi ‘mass movement Christians’ or the ‘spirituality’ of the WMPL. But he allowed himself to enter into negotiations with the Americans, a relationship in which institutional improvisation inevitably came to threaten liturgical commitments and polarise positions. Though he dominates the narrative, Christensen kept aloof from the recuperative and ecumenical hot-weather roosting, in the Murree hills, of missionaries from many organisations. Despite *rapprochements* in Copenhagen, Christensen, now bishop, dismissed his critics in the Pathan Mission as ‘sheep-stealers’ and thwarted their plans. Only the formation of a much broader configuration in 1970, the Church of Pakistan, ‘quite unexpectedly’ – but surely in response to national political developments – allowed the Lutherans ‘to drop their disagreements’ and join Anglicans, Methodists and Sialkot Presbyterians.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

GERALD STUDDERT-KENNEDY

*Against establishment. An Anglican polemic.* By Theo Hobson. Pp. xiv + 146. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2003. £7.95 (paper). 0 232 52508 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904921562

This impassioned little tract from a journalist specialising in religion comes with a disarming preface announcing it as ‘manifestly incomplete, and sometimes rather cavalier’; nevertheless it is an engaging and well-informed assertion of the continuing (and malign) importance of the Church of England’s established status. For Hobson, the Church’s establishment is ‘draining it of vitality, of credibility’, as the idea of nationhood to which establishment was attached vanishes from public consciousness. To make his case, he begins with a crisp survey of the Church since the present queen’s coronation, describing how the Geoffrey Fisher years of reassertion and self-confidence in the 1950s were succeeded by the rapid decline which has produced such a dramatic divide between England and that most churchgoing of anglophone nations, the United States. Hobson would savour a footnote in a work published at the beginning of this story, Alec Vidler’s *Orb and the cross: a normative study in the relations of Church and State* (1945), in which (p. 126) Vidler

suggested apparently in all seriousness that when new towns or villages were planned, the parish church should be placed in the centre with the Town Hall, while buildings 'of dissenting societies' should be placed 'nearer the circumference'. The following chapter tracing establishment from Reformation beginnings is briskly and accurately done. Perhaps the most entertaining chapter is Hobson's round-up of 'recent apologists' for Anglican establishment from the Tory romanticism of T. S. Eliot to the nuanced scepticism of Rowan Williams. One savours Hobson's excerpts from the literary oeuvre of the Revd David Holloway of Jesmond parish church, which are indeed 'a useful, and sobering glimpse into the conservative Evangelical mind'. This entertaining meditation on the situation of the Church of England will become a fruitful primary source for modern church history.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
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DIARMAID MACCULLOCH