Journal of Ecclesiastical History, *Vol. 50*, *No. 3*, *July 1999*. Printed in the United Kingdom

Reviews

Tolerance and intolerance in early Judaism and Christianity. Edited by Graham N. Stanton and Guy G. Stroumsa. Pp. xiv + 370. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £40. 0 521 59037 X

Tolerance and intolerance are modern concepts that betray modern political preoccupations. 'Tolerance was not a virtue in the ancient world', as Guy Stroumsa epigrammatically remarks, in his thoughtful afterword to this cocktail of essays by eight scholars from Israel and eleven visitors, all but two of them from Britain. They were originally delivered as talks at a symposium held in Israel in 1994. The meeting of minds was financed by the Academic Study Group, which is part of the gentler face of the Israeli propaganda machine. The purpose of such events is normally to familiarise foreign scholars with the Israeli academic scene; in this specific case there is a further purpose, indicated in the title, of confronting jointly some of the difficult issues in Israeli society today and in relations between Jews and Christians in the past. 'The world of theological ideas is not quite distinct from the world of day-to-day life and action' (Stroumsa again). The papers were presumably prepared before the encounter (though some were revised later), and it is hard to find traces of a real interaction. One of the British theologians, after studying the language of disinheritance in the Gospel, makes the fashionable confession: 'As we know from Christian history, it is an uncomfortably small step from a theology of salvation-historical disinheritance to a concrete policy of eviction, or from the latter to genocide' (p. 222). But he adds that if he lived in Israel he would be tempted to proclaim the bad news of disinheritance to those who justify violence against Arabs by citing the biblical conquest traditions. Is this what the liberal Israelis who organised the meeting wanted to hear? Perhaps. The Christians, no less liberal, focus fairly narrowly on Christian-Jewish relations (while sometimes evidently having the intolerance of Christian to Christian in their minds), whereas the Israelis, agonising about the limits of tolerance, seem to have an eye to their own contemporary predicaments. Both sides betray a preoccupation with the dangers of Jewish nationalism. What else would one expect? There are some fine essays in a rather mixed bag. This reader was particularly struck by those by Ithamar Gruenwald, on intolerance and martyrdom, Guy Stroumsa, on Tertullian, Judith Lieu, on why the early Christians describe the Jews as persecutors, William Horbury, on the use of Christian sources for reconstructing the early history of Jewish worship, and Markus Bockmuehl, on Jewish and Christian public ethics.

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Laughter at the foot of the Cross. By M. A. Screech. Pp. xxiii + 328 incl. 6 ills. London: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1997. £30. 0 713 99012 0

This is a splendid and exciting book, and a learned one. It takes the maxim that man is a laughing animal and enlarges it to encompass the concept that Christianity is a religion centred upon laughter:

> God gave divine sanction to such laughter [as that of the Renaissance authors], but perhaps to no other. Many in positions of power and authority never accepted laughter as a vehicle for Christian joy, Christian preaching, or the propagation of Christian truth. Faced with an Erasmus or a Rabelais they sought to censor, to suppress, to burn book or author. Some never understood what such laughter implied. Some even amongst the censors understood, and laughed despite themselves; others understood, and snarled. (p. xxiii)

There are fifty-three chapters, many only homily-long (the longest, I believe, fifteen pages). There are half-a-dozen illustrations: Wisdom preaching (from the *Stultifera navis*) and from the *Moriae encomium*; and others of the same genre. The one reservation is that the index is not complete, for some of the minor figures are not completely indexed, and access to the author's thoughts, for example on Erasmus, is not always made easy. This reservation is the more important because there is no bibliography.

The thesis is at least double. First, that laughter is fun, and that there is laughter among the Prophets and in many a Christian home. Yet some Christians have felt ill at ease with happy laughter: 'Can it', they wonder, 'have any place at all in an evil, unjust, faithless, suffering world?' Partly in response to that question and partly for other reasons, Screech calls attention to the fact that:

> rarely has laughter been more pervasively present than during the Renaissance and Reformation. Laughter echoed round the Western Church as it set out to purify itself, and sought its soul. Erasmus and Rabelais, two of the greatest laugh-raisers ever, lived then, wrote then, thought then, and they influence us still. Both had been monks. Both became secular priests. Both were well aware of the Christian dimension of their laughter. Neither was a prisoner of a narrow view of the Church. (pp. xv–xvi)

The level of address is one to the *homme moyen sensuelle*, the fabled general reader; yet specialists in Scripture and the history of theology will find unexpected rewards in what skilful exegesis can uncover, making use of the Anne Reeve–Screech edition of *Erasmus' annotations*, as well as his widely used *Paraphrases*. Much is in the spirit best expressed perhaps by Thomas à Kempis in *The imitation of Christ*: 'If you wilt receive profit, read with humility, simplicity and faith; and seek not at any time the fame of being learned.' Yet it must be confessed that there is precious little laughter in the writings of the *Devotio Moderna*; but with Screech in hand I shall reread key passages in the seven volumes of the works of à Kempis. If it can be said that the crowning achievement of Erasmus was to restore irony to the western world (thus J. A. K. Thomson), it must now be added that a twin crown is to be found in Erasmian laughter.

Chapter vii, 'Words and their meanings', is a key chapter in the strategy of the book, and it is illuminating in a number of ways. Screech writes that the terms used for the mocking of Christ in the Latin Vulgate are ones well understood in the Latin-educated Renaissance. They are basic, Screech emphasises (p. 24) to

any study of Christian laughter. In Matthew and Luke the Latin word for 'to mock' is *illudo* (containing within it the verb *ludo*, to sport, to play, to amuse oneself). In classical Latin the range of signification moves from 'to play at' or 'to make sport of', 'to jest', to the stronger 'to scoff or mock at' (as in Horace, *Satires* ii.8.62, and in the Terentian 'satis superbe illuditis me' and the Vergilian 'verbis virtutem superbis' (Aen. ix.634) – all school texts and often memorised by Renaissance students. In the Greek Gospels, Screech emphasises, a small cluster of powerful verbs is used for the mocking of Christ. Thus philology is the key to unlock words and their meanings, both in the New Testament and in the tradition built upon the Gospels; and at every stage Screech richly presents the philological dimensions of the New Testament, especially through the Erasmian programme of the *Novum instrumentum* accompanied by his Annotations and Paraphrases.

Laughter at the foot of the Cross is a book that is historical in its thrust, philological at every step in its argument, and vigorously celebratory of the achievement of Erasmus and Rabelais both for their own times and for our own. That rarest of the powers of the literary imagination is a Jamesian sense of felt life (which has profound theological implications), and for theological studies that sense of felt life is as vital.

LAWRENCE, R. J. SCHOECK
KANSAS

From feasting to fasting. The evolution of a sin. Attitudes to food in late antiquity. By Veronika E. Grimm. Pp. x + 194. London–New York: Routledge, 1996. £40. 0 415 13595 8

This book attempts to trace the dramatic changes in attitudes toward food that characterise the first five centuries of Christianity. Where New Testament writings indicate that the first Christians gathered in worship in conjunction with ritual or celebrative meals, Christian texts from the post-Constantinian era lavish praise on the ascetic body worn pale with fasting. To trace this shift, Grimm first surveys attitudes towards, and uses of, fasting in pre-Christian religious practices both Jewish and Graeco-Roman. Her study of the development of fasting as a major component of Christian life is then presented in a series of chapters that focus on key texts and figures in Christianity's evolution: the Pauline epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome and Augustine. Grimm's contention is that food and sexuality became profoundly intertwined concepts in ancient Christianity, to the point where fasting became seen primarily as a means for controlling (and denying) sexual desire. Grimm's background in the human sciences, principally psychology, enlivens her discussion; she works with deliberate awareness of biological issues in addition to anthropological models, as she seeks historical and cultural contextualisation. Yet, while she insists that we are dealing with texts rather than people – that is, that the rhetoric about fasting may be entirely distinct from actual practices or even capabilities – she falls prey to an anachronistic reductionism in her own readings. Despite the admonitions of Caroline Walker

Bynum and other historians, Grimm repeatedly refers to ancient Christian ascetic fasting as 'anorexia'. No attention is given to the ascetic impulse that sought to re-fashion the body according to its healed and restored pattern in the Second Adam; the powerful influence of Christ's temptation in the wilderness as a paradigm for ascetic practice, in which hunger becomes a weapon in the combat against Satan, is not considered. Instead, Grimm dwells on those texts and writers in which the correlation between food and sexuality is at its most problematic – but even Jerome cannot be reduced to a single obsession! There is little exploration of the rich theology that develops around the eucharistic bread and wine, nor of the profound, and profoundly cherished, eschatological imagery of the heavenly banquet. No treatment whatsoever is given to the frequently heard correlation of fasting with feeding the poor, a theme prevalent in hagiography and homilies alike. These are serious omissions. The book presents one strand of a complex pattern as if it accounted for the whole. It does not, but there remains much here to intrigue and engage the reader, opening wide the door for further study.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, RHODE ISLAND — SUSAN ASHBROOK HARVEY

Constantine. History, historiography and legend. Edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu and Dominic Montserrat. Pp. xix + 238. London–New York: Routledge, 1998. £45. 0 415 10747 4

The editors of a previous symposium on Constantine and his *Nachleben* join again in the present volume, containing papers presented at their symposium on 'Constantine and the birth of Christian Europe'. Unlike the symposium, the book's title admits, and indeed includes, a very heterogeneous collection of studies. The 'birth of a Christian Europe' plays only a marginal part in the volume, although it is central to Timothy Barnes's study of Constantine's relations with the Christian Church, notably in the troubled and controversial history of Athanasius. Barnes questions (as he did in his book on Athanasius) some current accounts of Constantine as setting the empire on its course of dominating the Church. The shape taken by the image of Constantine in later European legend is the subject of a paper by Samuel Lieu on the early and Byzantine legends and one by Jane Stevenson on their variants which seem to have found their way into Anglo-Saxon England. Terry Wilfong contributes a study on Egyptian constructions of Constantine. An outstanding essay by Anna Wilson is devoted to 'Biographical models'. The remaining chapters deal with a variety of themes: Roger Tomlin (on Christianity in the late Roman army), Stephen Mitchell (on cities in Asia Minor), Bill Leadbetter (on Constantine's family) and Stuart Hall (on some of the Constantinian documents in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*). Averil Cameron contributes a short and characteristically learned and helpful introduction. An interesting volume, rendered, alas, resistant to various uses by the labour it imposes on the reader who might wish to pursue a reference: he is sent to the end of the chapter for the note, which then refers him to the bibliography for identification of the work referred to.

NOTTINGHAM — R. A. MARKUS

Messalianismus und Antimessalianismus. Ein Beispiel ostkirchlicher Ketzergeschichte. By Klaus Fitschen. (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 71.) Pp. 380. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998. DM 148. 3 525 55179 7

The study of 'Messalianism' has been dominated by German scholarship since the groundbreaking work of Hermann Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien: die Überlieferung der messalianischen 'Makarios' Schriften* (Leipzig 1941). Dörries continued to publish on the subject into the 1970s, and his students Reinhart Staats and Otmar Hesse carried the subject into the next decade. Meanwhile the French Benedictine Vincent Desprez has been editing the Macarian *Homilies* for *Sources Chrétiennes*, and in 1991 one of the few English monographs appeared, my '*Working the earth of the heart': the Messalian controversy in history, texts and language to AD 431* (Oxford). One could characterise the approach of Dörries and his students as historical–doctrinal, with a particular interest in Messalianism as a kind of extreme pietist movement in an imperial Church, while others have tended to study the terminology and spirituality of writings associated with Messalianism with less focus on the movement itself (whatever it was). Klaus Fitschen in his *Habilitationsschrift* for the University of Kiel revisits the problem within the tradition of Dörries, studying the use of 'Messalianism' as a heresiological category from its fourth-century origins to the Bogomil and Hesychast controversies in the tenth–fourteenth centuries. Like most scholars of the subject, he devotes most of his attention to the materials related to the original (fourth–fifth century) controversy in Syria and Asia Minor. Some 254 of Fitschen's 345 pages of text are devoted to an exhaustive analysis of this oft-studied material, to the Ps-Macarian texts (more than 100 pages), and to the Syriac *Liber graduum*. Most helpful are his study of 'pre-Messalianism', the context in which early critics situated their condemnation of alleged Messalian traits and practices (pp. 99–107), and his effort to localise and date the author of the Ps-Macarian *Homilies* (pp. 162–70). Readers will find no dramatic conclusions but rather a further consolidation of the evidence. Fitschen suggests that the Messalians were a radical breakaway group from the ascetic movement nurtured by the Ps-Macarian writings; these 'pray-ers' led by Adelphios of Edessa interpreted the Ps-Macarian texts according to their own extreme tendencies (p. 238). The conclusion that there was in fact a specific party of Messalians and that they arose within the Ps-Macarian circle is intriguing but, like so many aspects of the problem, impossible to prove. I welcome Fitschen's reconstruction but would question both the emphasis on Adelphios and the certainty that an identifiable group actually existed. His overview of later Byzantine reception of the Ps-Macarian *corpus* (pp. 269–72) and the three final chapters on the way that 'Messalianism' became a heresiological category and polemical tool in both Syrian, Armenian and Byzantine Christianity (pp. 273–341) are most useful since this ground (unlike much of the earlier material) has been relatively little ploughed by others. Fitschen concludes that in Syrian Christianity the label 'Messalian' was used as a generic label for enthusiastic

monastic groups, whereas authorities in the Byzantine world relied more heavily on the official lists of alleged Messalian doctrines when determining a group to be 'Messalian'.

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Augustinus und das Maximianistenkonzil von Cebarsussi. Zur historischen und textgeschichtichen Bedeutung von Enarratio in Psalmum 36, 2, 18–23. By Clemens Weidemann. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 655. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der Lateinischen Kirchenväter, 16.) Pp. 71. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998. öS 197. 3 7001 2705 7

Augustine had reason to be pleased that wet weather ('propter imbrium nimietatem') in October 403 prevented him returning to Hippo from Carthage. In the previous month the Donatist Bishop Primian of Carthage had rejected formally an invitation by the Catholic bishops to a conference which the Catholics hoped would restore unity in the North African Church. Augustine had time to consult the public records and what he found was a nugget. Here were the decrees (*iudicia*) of senior imperial officials ordering the restoration to the official Donatist community of property in the hands of bishops who had joined the Maximianist schism in 393. There were also the *acta* of the Maximianist council at Cebarsussi held on 24 June 393 at which 'about a hundred' bishops had condemned Primian for grave misconduct, declared him deposed, and transferred their allegiance to Maximian, a deacon in the Church of Carthage and a descendant of Donatus himself.

Primian had struck back, and on 24 April 394 310 bishops attended an overwhelmingly Numidian council at Bagai. This condemned the Maximianists in the strongest terms. However, it was agreed that those who returned to communion with Primian within a fixed period would be accepted in their bishoprics without further ado. Augustine saw his chance, for if schismatic Maximianists could be readmitted to the Donatist Church without rebaptism, why had this been denied to the supporters of Caecilian at the outbreak of the Donatist schism? And what justification was there for its continuance? From now on, the Maximianist issue was never far from Augustine's thoughts in his debate with the Donatists. The fourth book, *Contra Cresconium*, written *c.* 407, was devoted to it, and in his excitement he broke off his detailed verse by verse *Commentary* on Psalm xxxvi to set down as much of the text of the Council of Cebarsussi as suited his purpose and to comment ruthlessly on it.

Clemens Weidemann has devoted himself to a thorough and exact study of the text of sections 18–23 of *Sermo* ii of Augustine's *Commentary*. These contained the *acta* or *tractatoria* of the Maximianist council and the signatures of the bishops attending, of which Augustine reproduced fifty-three. The manuscript tradition of the *Commentary* is extremely rich, but the medieval copiers, writing from the ninth to the twelfth century had no experience of North African geography, and hence accumulated errors in both the names of sees and their occupants. By

comparing carefully different manuscript traditions the author is able to reconstruct and correct corrupted names and often to match these with bishoprics and their occupants known from other sources. While the last word will rest with inscriptions which could have helped the author's research, his study is a considerable advance in knowledge of the precise distribution of Maximianist sees, particularly in Byzacena. It also aids the identification of up to eighteen former Maximianist bishops who participated in the Conference of Carthage in 411 as Donatists. The author's scrupulous application to complicated textual problems has succeeded in throwing new light on the Maximianist schism of 393–4, as well as maintaining the best traditions of the Vienna CSEL.

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La Parole du Seigneur. Moines et chanoines médiévaux prêchant l'Ascension et le Royaume des Cieux. By Martine de Reu. (Institut Historique Belge de Rome, Bibliothèque, 43.) Pp. 419. Brussels–Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1996. 90 74461 22 0; 0073 8522

Dr de Reu's aim is to trace the evolution of ideas about the kingdom of heaven and how to enter it, insofar as these ideas are reflected in Latin sermons, written before 1200 (for the most part), on the Assumption or on the text *Simile est regnum celorum*. She relies heavily on quantitative analyses of computer data bases. She also aims to set her findings about sermons in their social context. There are sections on the periods up to 900, from 900 to 1100, and from 1100 to 1200. Each begins with a rather basic summary of the intellectual history of the period. The section on 500–900 analyses the way in which homilies were stitched together from earlier sources: an interesting and useful exercise. It brings out the originality of Paschasius Radbertus. De Reu analyses statistical tables to work out the relative proportions of citations, paraphrases and allusions, concluding that the more authoritative sources are more likely to be cited more or less word-for-word rather than just paraphrased. The subsequent periods are studied in much the same way. Some interesting observations come out of this. For instance Ratherius of Verona and Abbo of St Germain (in her 900–1100 period) stress confession and penance, which she contrasts with the preceding period (p. 113); Bruno of Segni and Gregory the Great share images and a structure, yet the message is quite different, even though Bruno seems to be imitating Gregory (p. 139); twelfth-century Benedictines deprecate oblates (p. 165); they also show more interest in the world outside the cloister than in previous periods (p. 177); Cistercians borrow ideas from non-religious literature (pp. 186–7); in their sermons Christ's role as judge is relativised by their stress on his role as intermediary (p. 200); the Cistercians are more emotional than the Victorines, but both go in for analysis of conscience (p. 220). These are just examples of the author's findings. It is arguable that some of de Reu's most interesting results could have been reached without the computer analyses; her own intelligence in direct contact with the sources produces better results than the statistical results. The computer is certainly too much in evidence in the superficial form of the book. Her sources are quoted in forms such as 'GALTVIC.1' and 'PETCEL.2'. If I mistake not, the abbreviations are not properly explained until p. 40. This

bizarre system makes it laborious to follow up a reference. For instance, on p. 77 a passage is quoted from 'PASRADB.2'. If one is lucky, one may have realised that on p. 367 there is a list of abbreviations. The actual reference is tucked away in Appendix I. This is in chronological order, so one must flick through until one reaches the right codename (a nuisance for any reader so unlucky as not to know the dates of Paschasius Radbertus). When one finally finds PASRADB.2, one is given a reference to PL cxx. 502–8, unacceptably imprecise since one is trying to identify a single paragraph. The older scholars who have guided de Reu should have warned her against this system before completing her thesis, let alone before publishing it. Again, the book would have lost nothing if it had shed some of the sections on sermons and social change, which seem a little forced to me: for example, 'L'intériorisation et la diversité sont les principales caractéristiques de la prédication du XIIe siecle: cette rénovation concorde avec la naissance et le développement des villes' (p. 265). Again, it is startling to come up against a remark like 'jusqu'à Vatican II, on est convaincu qu'il n'y avait pas de salut possible en dehors de l'Eglise' (p. 253). All that said, a vast amount of work has gone into this book and valuable findings have come out of it, and for that the author should be congratulated.

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David D'Avray

Pseudo-Dionysius of 'Tell-Mahre', *Chronicles* (*known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin*), III. Translated with notes and intro. by Witold Witakowski. (Translated Texts for Historians, 22.) Pp. xxxii + 158 incl. 3 maps. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996. 0 85323 760 3

One of the richest historical sources to survive from the medieval Near East is the *Chronicle* compiled in Syriac in the late eighth century CE by an unknown monk from the monastery of Zuqnin, located in what is today eastern Turkey. Scholars had long misidentified the author as the ninth-century Syrian Orthodox patriarch Dionysius of Tell-Mahre. Despite its correction as early as 1896 the name has stuck, albeit prefaced with its disclaimer 'pseudo-'. The *Chronicle* itself follows the pattern of the universal or world history as conceived by Eusebius of Caesarea at the turn of the fourth century, extending from creation to the writer's own time with short dated entries. In the case of the monk of Zuqnin, a greater ambition and historical vision characterises the product than those of earlier Syriac chroniclers. This writer not only provided entries that summarised material from previous chronicles, but went so far as to incorporate long excerpts – even whole works – by historians, hagiographers and other types of Christian writers; to this wealth of textual memory, he added the story of his own day, as well as an overarching moral frame of interpretation. Because of his scrupulous care with his sources, our unknown monk managed to preserve a great deal of material that would otherwise be lost to us. The final untranslated portion is what Professor Witakowski offers in the present volume. Particularly valuable, it preserves an otherwise lost account of the years 489–569 (the reigns of four Byzantine emperors, Zeno, Anastasius I, Justin I and Justinian), drawn from the

Ecclesiastical history of the sixth-century monk and bishop John of Ephesus. Himself eye-witness to much of his account, or else dependent on excellent sources, John presents a vivid portrayal of the eastern provinces, especially north Mesopotamia, and of Constantinople itself. Equally familiar with villages and cities, with monasteries and families, with the poor and with the imperial household, John's portrait of the era is arresting for its candour, its honesty and the sheer drama of events recorded. Riots, earthquakes, famines, bubonic plague, religious persecutions, raids by maurauding Huns and war with Persia all swept through these years with relentless assault; in Mesopotamia, a plague of madness finally broke out, blunt measure of the cost. A leader among the dissenting anti-Chalcedonians even while working as Justinian's missionary in Asia Minor, John tells these events also as the formation of the separate Oriental Orthodox identity over and against the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy promulgated from Constantinople. Witakowski's translation is clear; the accompanying introduction and notes to the text are concise and helpful. Useful to student and scholar alike, this book merits the attention of every historian of the sixth century.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, RHODE ISLAND — SUSAN ASHBROOK HARVEY

The book and the body. Edited by Dolores Warwick Frese and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe. (University of Notre Dame Ward-Phillips Lectures in English Language and Literature, 14.) Pp. xviii + 169 incl. 9 ills. Notre Dame–London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997. $24.95 (cloth), $15 (paper). 0 268 00699 7; 0 268 00700 4

Four learned and distinguished medievalists pursue the metaphor of the body as book in densely argued essays. The book is seen, in the first three essays, as a feminised sexual object suffering violence in the process of preparation, the scraping of the skin, the incision of points, perhaps the very act of writing. How far this metaphor should be taken is a delicate question. It was certainly a trope known to medieval writers, though the body in question might be that of Christ on the cross, a martyr, often female, or a schoolboy. Mary Carruthers, in a learned essay, shows how the body was used as a site for memorising, the memory being reinforced by pain, literally inflicted by the teacher. Pain was part of the work of remembering as it was of reading. She notes the physicality of the words used to describe memory, meditation and writing. Military metaphors are shown also to be used, all in the service of an essentially rhetorical concept of the use of words. Michael Camille, in a strongly psychoanalytical contribution (Freud and Foucault), discusses, through the case of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblio*, the book as a fetish, that is as 'the eroticised substitute object', 'a dehumanised replacement for the lost object of the mother's penis' (p. 36). He emphasises the erotic physicality which, he claims, medieval readers saw in books. Some of this is witnessed by the *double entendres* by which some writers described the act of reading, but Richard de Bury is shown to stand back, as it were, from actual books and their use, despite his obsession with collecting. The metaphor body/book is on the whole convincingly portrayed. One is left with the impression that there

was something discreditable, or perhaps pathetic, about Richard's collecting mania. Seth Lerer's aim is to 'rehistoricise' the poetry of Stephen Hawes, i.e. see it in its historical context as concerned about his position in court. Lerer emphasises Hawes's anxiety about the male body and about the female form which is read as text. The poetic image of the Lady being engraved on his heart, with engraving as a central image, suggests to Lerer the virtual identity of body and book. He also discusses the anthology of texts from a variety of sources including Hawes made in the early sixteenth century by Humphrey Welles, which also illustrates anxiety and is said by itemising the descriptions of beautiful women to address body parts in fetishised or disembodied terms (though such itemised descriptions had been commonplace for a thousand years). Carolyn Dinshaw, writing from the point of view of a 'queer medievalist', wants to resist what she describes as the anti-homosexual force of the fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. After analysing what seems to be a thoroughly nasty modern film, *Pulp Fiction*, which she claims has the same force, she argues that if Gawain had indeed succumbed to seduction by his host's wife, the only way by which he could have fulfilled his bargain of the Exchange of Winnings would have been to have had homosexual sex with his host, which as she rightly says the poem absolutely forbids (if indeed it had entered the poet's head). But in her view the poem inadvertently tips the scale in favour of sodomitical relations. This does indeed seem a resolutely perverse reading. The 'breaking' of the deer after the hunt is claimed to represent the disintegration of Gawain's body. She uses a complex examination of Foucault's *History of sexuality* to argue that identity should be dissolved and be regarded as independent of acts. Dinshaw's contribution is full of interesting ideas, but she is resolutely determined to break down historical structures in favour of certain controversial modern views, and has virtually nothing to say about the body and the book.

Emmanuel College, Derek Brewer
Cambridge

Dudo of St Quentin. History of the Normans. Translated, with introduction and notes, by Eric Christiansen. Pp. xxxvii + 260. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998. £50. 0 85115 552 9

Dudo, a canon of Saint-Quentin (France, Vermandois) (d. after 1015), wrote a serial biography of the counts of Rouen, the first of its kind in France. As an envoy of Count Albert of Vermandois Dudo had been sent to Richard I (943–96), count of Rouen, and had stayed in his service. He rose to chancellor and was persuaded by the count, his half-brother Count Rodulf of Ivry (d. after 1017) and his son Richard II (996–1026) to write the history of the ducal dynasty. Richard I's grandfather was the Norse Viking Rollo, who had settled in Rouen, which had been entrusted to him by King Charles the Simple (d. 929) against attacks from other groups of Vikings. The chronicle has survived in thirteen manuscripts of which four date to the eleventh century. Stylistically it belongs to the so-called hermeneutic style of Latin which is characterised by what Michael Lapidge calls 'the ostentatious parade of unusual, often arcane and apparently learned

vocabulary'. The difficulty of the Latin coupled with the virtual unobtainability of Jules Lair's edition of 1865 emphasise the importance of Eric Christiansen's magisterial English translation. Moreover, his historical and literary commentaries are models of information-packed brevity. His courage in tackling one of the most difficult historical narratives is to be praised. Similar congratulation is also due to the Boydell Press for undertaking to publish this important eleventh-century chronicle that will no doubt widen the circle of readers which both Dudo and Christiansen deserve.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE — ELISABETH VAN HOUTS

Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis, 1050–1200. Papers of the fourth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, Portaferry, Co. Down, 14–17 September 1995. Edited by Margaret Mullett and Anthony Kirby. (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.2.) Pp. xxi + 484 incl. 52 figs + 58 plates. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1997. £42. 0 85389 712 3; 0960 9997

1994 saw the appearance of *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, the fruit of an interdisciplinary conference organised by Margaret Mullet at Belfast in 1992. *Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis* represents the second volume in the series of the Belfast project on the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, a project which will now encompass editions, translations, commentaries and studies. This very substantial set of essays includes papers given at Belfast, Rome and Boston and at a Spring Symposium on Byzantine Studies at Birmingham, which was devoted to the subject of Mount Athos. *Work and worship* represents work in progress in investigating and contextualising the monastery of Theotokos Evergetis. As such, it does much not only to illuminate the history of that important if physically elusive foundation but also of Byzantine monasticism in general. Lyn Rodley continues to assess possible sites for the actual location outside Constantinople of the house itself, while no less than eight papers are concerned with monastic archaeology. As the foundation document of Evergetis influenced other monasteries, attempts are made to find possible similarities between them and the Evergetis: there may be correspondences between the way of life followed on Athos and that of Evergetis itself. The discussions of holy mountains, the monasteries of Cappadocia and monastic archaeology in general are clear and helpful. Taken as a whole, they are extremely thought-provoking – especially as they are followed by Robert Osterhout's questioning of the evidence for Cappadocian monasticism, in which he points out that no texts from the period after the Arab invasions actually point to the existence of monasteries there and that Leo the Deacon's often-quoted reference to 'troglodytes' is not made in the context of a specifically monastic group. The question of how to tell whether archaeological remains constituted a monastery is one which has exercised archaeologists from Tintagel to Turkey and Osterhout follows up Stephen Hill's valuable work in the earlier Evergetis volume with the suggestion that some sites currently interpreted as monastic might well have started life as secular residences. The contributions on archaeology and architecture would

alone make this volume worthwhile – but it also contains excellent work on liturgy and mysticism. Liturgy all too often tends to be cordoned off into a separate area: here valuable studies are set out with great clarity and once again Evergetis itself is fitted into a wider context. In addition, the mysticism of Symeon the New Theologian is analysed and contextualised in a challenging article by John A. MacGuckin, while John Turner examines the realities of monastic formation at the Evergetis, contrasting them with the more ambitious aims of the great Symeon. Margaret Mullett and these modern Evergetinoi have done an immense amount, over a short period of time, to advance our knowledge of all aspects of Byzantine monasticism as well as of the Theotokos Evergetis itself. It is immensely exciting to see such rapid progress and all involved deserve our thanks: the publication of further volumes will be eagerly awaited by everyone interested in Byzantine monasticism, liturgy, mysticism, art and archaeology.

University of Glasgow Marilyn Dunn

Coventry and Lichfield, 1072–1159. Edited by M. J. Franklin. (English Episcopal Acta, 14.) Pp. lxvii + 154. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for The British Academy), 1997. £25. 0 19 726172 8

Coventry and Lichfield, 1160–1182. Edited by M. J. Franklin. (English Episcopal Acta, 16.) Pp. lv + 148 + 4 plates. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for The British Academy), 1998. £20. 0 19 726181 7

The number of surviving *acta* for the midland diocese is not large by comparison with other volumes in the series. The proportion surviving for Coventry is particularly low, though the editor indicates how the gist of some can be recovered from papal bulls and from a later memorandum. A high proportion of those which do survive, as in other dioceses, were confirmations issued for the growing number of religious houses, mainly for men but some for women. In volume xiv twenty-four texts out of eighty-one have not been published before, the editor having missed the fact that no. 72 had appeared in *Collections for a history of Staffordshire* (William Salt Society 3rd ser., 1926, 169–76); in volume xvi the proportion is fifty-seven out of 111; both therefore provide much fuller information then was previously available for the hitherto neglected careers of the midland bishops.

Roger de Clinton (1129–48) in particular emerges as a dynamic figure. He was archdeacon of Buckingham at the time of his election, and the nephew of Henry I's chamberlain and treasurer, Geoffrey de Clinton. Roger was in a difficult situation when civil war broke out after 1135. His diocese was in one of the zones of conflict, and he had to deal with one of the major protagonists, Ranulf II earl of Chester, whose estates were thickly clustered in his diocese, and one of whose chief castles was at Coventry. The *acta* however are less concerned with war than with Roger's role as a founder and patron of religious houses. He founded the Savigniac house of Buildwas and took a particular interest in the regularisation of eremetical communities. At Farewell Franklin argues that the bishop's role in the foundation of a nunnery was more important than has hitherto been thought.

His successor Walter Durdent (1149–59) was a man of very different temper. He was a monk, and was prior of Christ Church Canterbury at the time of his nomination to the see. He owed his promotion to the influence of Archbishop

Theobald, then at the height of his influence. He was elected by the monks of Coventry; unsurprisingly there were protests from both Coventry and Lichfield, but after an appeal to Rome he was confirmed in his office. Thereafter he seems to have given the Coventry monks a hard time. His *acta*, and those of his successor Richard Peche (1160–82), to whose episcopate volume xvi is devoted, contain few surprises.

Unlike Bishop Walter, Richard was an insider, the son of an earlier bishop of the diocese, Robert Peche. Although the Peche family was not as ubiquitous in Coventry and Lichfield as was the Belmeis family in the diocese of London, other family members occur in his *acta*, including Geoffrey Peche, his steward. Richard was a contemporary of Thomas Becket. He evidently tried to keep a low profile during the archbishop's quarrel with Henry II, to the point where in 1169 he conveniently took himself out of the firing line by deciding to visit the wilder reaches of his diocese. After Thomas's death, however, Richard sent a sealed letter, included here in an appendix, to the archbishop of Canterbury confirming a miracle performed by Becket on Thomas the deacon. The bishop also founded a hospital dedicated to St Thomas at Stafford. The chief interest of the later volume for the ecclesiastical historian, however, lies in the material relating to the development of vicarages, as the precise terms and conditions under which religious houses held the local churches they had been given by pious benefactors were gradually sorted out. Here the editor's discussion is particularly helpful.

As usual in this series the volumes are beautifully produced with fine black-and-white photographs. However, the two volumes could surely have been combined in one, and economies could have been achieved by pruning the appendices, some of which arguably do not belong in this series, such as appendices 5 and 6 of volume xiv devoted respectively to the letters of John of Salisbury and Gilbert Foliot as sources indicating possible lost acts. At various points the apparatus and appendices either seem to get unduly bogged down or, given the level of detail usually supplied, omit references which should have been included. As an example of the former, for instance, there is the discussion in volume xiv, p. xxxix n. about the place of origin of Roger de Clinton: it is clear enough from the manorial descent of Glympton, Oxfordshire, that this was the place from which the family derived its name. On the second point, in the notes to volume xiv, no. 43, a confirmation by Bishop Roger for Kenilworth priory, there is no reference to Archbishop Theobald's confirmation, or the latter's general confirmation for the priory though such confirmations are usually mentioned (Saltman, *Archbishop Theobald*, nos 282, 139). In the notes to no. 30, Bishop Roger's confirmation for Lilleshall, a reference could have been made – if only to be rejected – to Eyton's suggestion that the bishop was opposed to the foundation (*Antiquities of Shropshire*, viii. 215). Occasional errors have been found. In volume xiv, for example, on p. xxiv, line 8, the word 'the' has been omitted; p. xxix n. 24 should read 'visitation'; p. lxi, line 19, omits the words 'on the' and on page 78, line 29, we read of the *death* not dearth of evidence, as presumably was intended. On p. 38 Wootton Wawen occurs at Wootton Warren. In volume xvi, p. xxx n. 57 should read 'century'.

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST — JUDITH A. GREEN
GLASGOW — STEPHEN MARRITT

La Papauté et les abbayes françaises aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Exemption et protection apostolique. By Ludwig Falkenstein. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes. Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 336.) Pp. xxx + 241. Paris: Honore Champion, 1997. Fr. 315 (paper). 2 85203 748 3

The role of monastic exemption in the power politics of the reform papacy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, let alone its impact on diocesan organisation, is difficult to assess. Citing the common assumption that 'the popes … made use of exempt monasteries in a planned action aimed at bringing their claims of universal episcopacy to bear', Gerd Tellenbach (*The Church in western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century*, Cambridge 1993, 113–18) expressed the need both for greater caution in making assumptions about the political motivations which lay behind the evolution of exemption and for more detailed analyses of its precise nature. Falkenstein's lucid and sharply focused book provides just such an analysis. His conclusions do indeed cast doubt on some of the more exaggerated claims for the use of exemption as a political weapon by the reform papacy (exemptions commonly arose from local monastic rather than papal initiatives). The chief contribution of this scholarly study however is its thorough and rigorous analysis of the confusing array of different and constantly evolving forms of privilege, protection and exemption which are often, but inaccurately, cited under the umbrella term 'exemption'. The questions of which episcopal powers were limited by these arrangements, and to what degree, were a matter of confusion for contemporaries (as far as their clarification is concerned, it was the pontificate of Alexander III, not that of Gregory VII, which was the crucial one). The central element was the restriction of the bishop's jurisdictional power (ultimately of interdict and excommunication) rather than his *potestas ordinis* (right to ordain, consecrate churches, bless etc.). Of fundamental importance beyond this is the distinction between special apostolic protection and true exemption, the former offering protection against a bishop abusing his powers, the latter excluding his authority entirely. The relationships between this status and earlier forms of protection, the payment of *census*, the recommendation of new foundations to the Holy See and the customary rights of local bishops, to list just some of the other elements involved, were neither straightforward nor applied universally. Falkenstein traces the slow evolution of exemption, and establishes, in part through detailed case studies, the precise relationship between full exemption and these other rights, privileges and legal claims. Considerations of the meaning of exemption for dependencies, of the status of exempt churches in areas subject to interdicts, and of the different operation of exemption within the new monastic orders, follow. With its lucid analysis of a complex institution and its detailed consideration of the various legal, political and financial contexts in which exemption actually evolved, the needs which it met on the ground, and the complexities of its operation, this book offers a useful corrective to common and sweeping assumptions about the institution of exemption, and more importantly, presents a clear and concise picture of it as it appeared to and was used by contemporaries.

University of Hull Julian Haseldine

The Cistercians in the early Middle Ages. Written to commemorate the nine hundredth anniversary of foundation of the Order at Cîteaux in 1098. Under the patronage of Blessed Vincent Kadlubek, bishop of Kraków (1208–18), monk of Jędrzejów (1218–1223). By David H. Williams. Pp. x + 479 incl. 22 maps, 4 plans and 3 figs + frontispiece and 31 plates. Leominster: Gracewing Fowler Wright Books, 1998. £60. 0 85255 350 1

David Williams's huge book is the end of a long road. He began publishing on the Welsh Cistercians as far back as 1966, and has clearly been working on this larger study for many years. To this end Dr Williams has searched an exceptionally wide range of primary sources and has read the relevant literature in many languages. The resulting cornucopia – richly informed, clearly organised, and meticulously referenced – must surely be the start of many future research projects on the Cistercians. However, it is important to be clear what this book is not. *The Cistercians in the early Middle Ages* – by which is meant 1098–1350 – is a book without a thesis. Dr Williams reaches no conclusions and rarely ventures an opinion of his own, leaving the facts to speak for themselves. His section on 'The Conversi', one of the longest in the book, demonstrates both the strength and the weakness of his method. Dr Williams tells us where and how the lay brethren lived, how they worshipped, what their jobs were, what they ate and drank, what happened to them when they were ill, and much else. But concerning the important and unresolved debates about the number of lay brethren recruited at any time, and why, quite soon, they were driven to rebel, Dr Williams (characteristically) gives us many examples but few reflections. Reading this book is like dipping into the files of his filing cabinet, or rifling through the cards of his card index. Start here by all means: it is what, from now on, we all must do. But don't look for many answers in Dr Williams's text. This book is a quarry, and none the worse for that. It is up to you entirely what you extract from it.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON COLIN PLATT

Les Prémontrés et la Lorraine, XIIe–XVIIIe siècle. Edited by Dominique-Marie Dauzet and Martine Plouvier. (Bibliothèque Beauchesne. Religion Société Politique, 33.) Pp. xi + 324 incl. 4 figs, 7 maps and 3 genealogical tables. Paris: Beauchesne, 1998. Fr. 192. 2 7010 1368 2; 0339 2270

This collection of seventeen papers delivered in 1997 at the *Centre d'études et de recherches Prémontrés*, in Pont-à-Mousson, will be of greatest use to specialists in the history of monasticism, the Premonstratensian Order and Lorraine itself. The papers do not pretend to offer a synthesis of the seven centuries they cover, but instead lift 'a corner of the veil' and suggest directions for research on five selected topics. First, building the Order: Michel Parisse reviews its birth in Lorraine, Hubert Collin describes the founding of Sainte-Marie-au-Bois, and Pierre Sesmat shows the architectural links between Pont-à-Mousson and Jesuit houses. Second, the Order at the time of the Protestant Reformation: Leo van Dijck provides a useful, though inevitably brief summary of the state of the Order in the sixteenth century, while Lorenzo Alcina-Rossello contributes a most

interesting selection on the vicissitudes of the Order in Spain. Third, the wider context for the internal reform of Premonstratensians in Lorraine: Jean-Robert Armogathe highlights the distinct qualities of Lorraine's brand of Catholicism, Bernard Ardura narrates the multi-faceted life of Nicolas Psaume (abbot, bishop and count), Gérard Michaux recounts the reforming zeal of the Benedictine Dom Didier de La Cour, while Georges Viard studies the foundation of the teaching congregation of Notre Dame. Fourth, the Premonstratensian Reform which went by the name of the *Antique Rigueur*: Dominique-Marie Dauzet presents a portrait of Servais de Lairuels, the founder of the Reform, Xavier Lavagne d'Ortigue sketches the entire history of the Reform, Martine Plouvier provides several colourful examples of resistance and submission to the Reform in the *circarie* of France-Champagne, and Jean Fournée describes the fate of the Reform in Normandy. Finally, Marie-Thérèse Fischer, Jean-Marc Vaillant and Monique Taillard all portray three abbots of Étival, respectively Jean Frouart (a reformer), Épiphane Louys (a mystic) and Charles-Louis Hugo (a historian). One of the useful things about the papers is the mix of context and specialisation they offer, especially for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Also useful is an appendix which lists generals of the Order, many houses and a lexicon of terms. Less appealing is the necessarily short length of most selections (resulting in much abstraction and few full-blooded personalities), the occasional lapse into filial piety (especially for Lorraine, the centre of the '*dorsale Catholique*' that 'protected' France from Protestantism), or referring to the decrees of Trent as if their implementation were a *fait accompli* and their meaning self-evident. And is the acceptance or rejection of reform, whether of the Protestant or internal variety, the only topic of interest in monasticism? Reform is obviously a worthy topic, in part because it provokes so many documents, but so are many others. As one author points out, for instance, much remains to be learned about the many Premonstratensian canons who served as *curés* in parishes. But this collection certainly succeeds in its goal of arousing interest.

Brigham Young University Craig Harline

Censure and heresy at the University of Paris, 1200–1400. By J. M. M. H. Thijssen. (Middle Ages Series.) Pp. xiii + 187. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. £33.50. 0 8122 3318 2

J. M. M. H. Thijssen examines the *Collectio errorum in Anglia et Parisius condempnatorum*, compiled at the end of the thirteenth century and continued throughout the fourteenth, and other related documentary funds for what they reveal about academic censure at the University of Paris from 1200 to 1400. Omitting the early case of Amaury of Bène (1210), treated in *Speculum* lxxi (1996), 43–65, he concentrates on four celebrated condemnations: (1) the 219 propositions by Stephen Tempier, bishop of Paris, in 1277; (2) the six errors of Ockham in 1340; (3) the censures of Nicholas of Autrecourt; (4) the censure of John of Mirecourt in 1347. His objective is not to investigate the intellectual issues involved but the judicial procedure of academic censure which he defines as 'the prohibition or condemnation of teaching disseminated by a university-trained scholar con-

cerning the fine points of scholastic theology or philosophy' (p. x). Academic censure could involve any one of four courts (*fora*): (1) the chancellor's or university masters'; (2) the minister-general's of a religious order; (3) the bishop's; (4) the pope's. The first two were disciplinary; the second pair alone could adjudicate and punish an ecclesiastical crime. The choice of these courts was normally decided from below by the masters; the papacy, contrary to modern assumptions, rarely took the initiative. At whatever level, whenever a disputed proposition was determined to be heretical, the accused master was required to recant. In all cases the pope's final authority to define right faith, and therefore heresy (at times delegated to the bishop), was never in question. Many opinions, however, were determined to be of no danger to the faith and therefore open to discussion. Within this framework the masters developed the judicial procedure of academic censure which Thijssen explicates and applies to the four cases with rich and illuminating detail. It was inquisitorial, by which public rumour (*fama*) ascertained that a suspect had voiced an erroneous opinion. A preliminary investigation was conducted by a commission of masters to determine whether the accused held the opinion and whether it was in error. After the citation, the accused had the right to deny the opinion, to interpret its meaning and to distinguish whether it was believed or merely offered for the sake of argument. If convicted, the accused was required to recant and swear never to teach the opinion again. Normally the procedure was conducted by the masters themselves. Under these conditions academic freedom was not that of learning and teaching in the modern sense, but of the university's right to manage its own affairs within the bounds set by heresy. The sacerdotal power of the priest/bishop/pope had been traditionally defined by the metaphor of the two keys, those of power and knowledge. From the early twelfth century the masters of theology began to assert their expertise and encroach on the second. By the fourteenth the Paris masters were claiming the authority of the *magisterium* not only to govern their own affairs but even to decide matters outside the university. This was the conclusion to a development that began in the twelfth century when Henry II proposed that the masters of Paris adjudicate his quarrel with Becket.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY JOHN W. BALDWIN

Licet preter solitum. Ludwig Falkenstein zum 65. Geburtstag. Edited by Lotte Kéry, Dietrich Lohrmann and Harald Müller. Pp. x+292, incl. frontispiece. Aachen: Shaker 1995. DM 39 (paper). 3 8265 3636 3

A *Festschrift* of seventeen essays, produced by colleagues and friends, celebrates the sixty-fifth birthday of Ludwig Falkenstein, whose contributions on the history of the Rhineland and northern France and on papal jurisdiction, especially under Pope Alexander III, will be known to many readers of this JOURNAL. Fittingly enough, in view of the honorand's work on the Aachen Lateran, it was published in Charlemagne's capital, and fittingly enough, too, its title 'Licet preter solitum' comes from a decretal letter of Pope Alexander III. The three editors lead the orchestra with essays on 'An *inquisitio* of 1209/10 concerning Abbot Walter of Corbie (*X*.5.1.22)' (L. Kéry), suits from France concerning mills which went to

the papal court in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (D. Lohrmann), and the conflict at Rouen in the twelfth century between the burgesses and the cathedral chapter (Harald Müller). There are two contributions on specific papal letters (Gregory I: J. Müller; Innocent II: B. Delmaire), and two further 'papal' articles on Pope Joan, of ever-abiding appeal (M. Kerner) and the history of Trastevere in antiquity and the Middle Ages and the consecration of S. Maria in 1215 (B. Schimmelpfennig).

Falkenstein's Aachen, Rhineland and northern French interests are reflected in the second group: R. Nolden on the *Marienstift* there; H. Kranz's 'Coal and water: the beginning of the long conflict in the Lüttich mining industry'; the career of a fifteenth-century curialist archdeacon of Metz (Heribert Müller); altar fees and incorporation in northern France in the twelfth century (F. Kerff); and a synodal book of a fourteenth-century archbishop of Rheims (J. Avril). The contributions not only cover a wide geographical range from the town-books of Old Hildesheim in the north (T. Giessmann) to the life of a canon of Maguelone cathedral, right down in the south of France (J.-L. Lemâitre), they also cover a wide period of time, from seventh-century heathenism in Byzantium (K. L. Noethlichs) to the late medieval practice of *commendam* (E. Meuthen), and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century speeches from the imperial assemblies (J. Helmrath). It would, of course, be specious and personal to pick on particular articles for praise or otherwise. Suffice it to say that, to the mind of the present reviewer, it is a worthy offering, which culminates, as is usual, with a bibliography of the honorand's monographs, articles and reviews.

University College, London

Jane Sayers

Päpstliche Delegationsgerichtsbarkeit in der Normandie (12. und frühes 13. Jahrhundert), I: *Untersuchung*; II: *Regesten und Edition*. By Harald Müller. (Studien und Dokumente zur Gallia Pontificia, 4, 1 and 2.) Pp. x+285; v+503. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1997. DM 220 (paper). 3 416 02690 X

Harald Müller's study of Normandy provides a wealth of evidence towards the further understanding of the significance of the judge delegate system in the localities and the development of papal influence in Europe through the delegated courts. As more texts are revealed, we gain a wider screen. In the second volume he lists the cases which came before papal judges delegate between 1094 and 1216 and edits 263 documents (some original final *acta*, but mostly cartulary copies) for the first time. As might be expected, more than half of the cases date from the end of the period, the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), and only forty could possibly come from before the Compromise of Avranches of 1172. The duchy of Normandy was coterminous with the province of Rouen and formed part of the possessions of the English kings until 1204. A fair proportion of the delegated suits concerned Norman monastic houses with settlements, estates and dependencies in England: Furness, a daughter of Savigny, Cogges, dependent on Fécamp, Wootton Wawen, dependent on Conches, Newton Longville, dependent on Longueville, all appear as plaintiffs or defendants. There were 'cross-Channel' petitioners and 'cross-Channel' judges.

One of the earliest documents edited by Müller comes from the 1090s when the abbey of Mont-St-Michel had recourse to the papal court, finding itself involved in a dispute with a knight called Harscoitus, who had seized their vill of La Croix-Avranches. Pope Urban II commissioned Bishop Roland of Dol and Bishop Marbod of Rennes to settle the matter. It was not a satisfactory occasion, for although the monks, the judges, and many others convened for the purpose, waited from dawn until dusk, Harscoitus failed to turn up. The report of Bishop Roland *episcoporum minimus* survives in a late copy, but it has the ring of authenticity and a simplicity and freshness which would not have been found in such a document later. These were early days – some fifty years before recourse and appeal to the pope became established (if not entirely accepted). Müller's study ranges over the whole scene: origin and development, the process, the business, the judges, the typology of the documents. Nowhere is the growing sophistication of the system better illustrated than in the increasingly formalised language developing under Alexander III and the typical technical reports of the late twelfth century, and Müller is especially good in analysing the documents. The key problem is that for the most part the evidence consists of standardised sources, basically the accounts of the settlements. We are still maddeningly short of comments on chronicle sources and the like, nor does the material exist to show much of the attitude of the Norman dukes to the papal courts. In a short review one cannot do justice to all aspects of the study. The two volumes form an extremely scholarly work which has opened windows on the judge delegate system in Normandy before 1216. The edition is almost impeccable and Müller has squeezed everything possible out of the evidence, frustrating though it may sometimes be.

University College, London — Jane Sayers

Eucharystia. Biskup i Król. Kult św. Stanislaw w Polsce. By Jan Kurek (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 1923.) Pp. 400 incl. 56 ills + 4 black-and-white and 43 colour plates and loose leaf map. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998. 83 229 1752 X; 0239 6661

The vast extent of the cult of St Stanislaus in Poland is analysed; its manifestations were in some ways so unusual that they need a theory of explanation. Though he was killed in 1079 the first *Vita* was not till the thirteenth century. That he was murdered in the cathedral and by the king whom he tried to stop from tyranny was weighty in Polish folk-culture. Some forms of the cult seem to be pre-Christian. In earlier modern times he was partly displaced by the cult of Mary, and in very recent times he had seemed to be a less important symbol in Polish religion. The book is given a table of contents in English and a summary of its thesis in English at the end.

Selwyn College, Cambridge — Owen Chadwick

Die Bibel in der Schweiz. Ursprung und Geschichte. Edited by Urs Joerg and David Marc Hoffman. Pp. 352 incl. 191 ills. Basle: Schwabe, DM 150, 3 7965 1004 3

This impressive and richly-illustrated volume appeared in conjunction with the exhibition 'The Bible in Switzerland', held to mark the seven-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Swiss Confederation. Published with the collaboration of the three major Swiss Christian denominations (Catholic, Reformed and Christian Catholic), it contains more than forty essays by librarians, archivists and academics from disciplines including history, art history and theology. The volume is admirably comprehensive in scope, the most glaring omission being, perhaps, the lack of any detailed consideration of the Bible's place in Catholic Switzerland between the Reformation and the ecumenical age. Contributions are organised into four chronological sections, covering the Middle Ages, the early modern period and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For the medieval period the focus is on manuscript Bibles held in Swiss collections, along with Bibles of Swiss provenance located abroad. Some consideration is also given to Hebrew codices produced by Switzerland's small Jewish community during the late Middle Ages (Garel, Sed-Rajna). With the onset of the Reformation, the Swiss cities of Basle, Zurich, Neuchâtel and Geneva emerged as centres for Bible printing – in Latin, Greek and the new European vernaculars. This activity is the principal theme of the volume's early modern chapters: the late Hans Guggisberg offers an excellent survey of sixteenth-century Bible editions in Basle, with an emphasis on the work of Sebastian Castellio; Dominique Barthélemy and Max Engammare trace the history of the Reformed French Bible from Pierre Olivétan's 1535 translation through the various Genevan revisions of the sixteenth century; and Hans Rudolf Lavater follows the evolution of the Zurich Bible, the enduring legacy of Zwingli's *Prophezei*. The nineteenth-century contributions deal principally with the work of Protestant Switzerland's Bible Societies, which, as part of the wider European missionary endeavour of the time, promoted the translation of Scripture into non-European vernaculars. More recently, ecumenism has created opportunities for Swiss Bible translators to work together across the confessional divide; scholars from Switzerland's different linguistic communities have also become involved in international projects for new translations of the Bible into German, French and Italian (Rauch, Margot). All four of Switzerland's language groups receive due consideration in the volume (see Gion Gaudenz's article on Rhaeto-Romanic Bible translations), and strenuous efforts are made throughout to reflect the regional diversity of what is still a country of intense local loyalties. These are exemplified by the fact (alluded to on more than one occasion here) that the states of German-speaking Reformed Switzerland were never able to agree on a standard vernacular text of Scripture, with Zurich issuing its own translation, Basle retaining the Luther Bible, and Bern eventually adopting the version produced by the Herborn theologian Johannes Piscator (Michaelsen). However, the history of the reception of the Bible in Switzerland is a testimony to Swiss internationalism as well as Swiss particularism. As this collection makes clear, outsiders have always played a significant role in shaping Switzerland's biblical heritage, from the Irish monks of St Gallen in the ninth and tenth centuries (Ochsenbein) to the French, English, Italian and Spanish evangelical exiles of the Reformation era

(Guggisberg, Campi). In return, Swiss scholars and clerics have contributed in no small way to the dissemination of Scripture, first throughout western Europe, and latterly across the globe.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS MARK TAPLIN

The Waltham Chronicle. An account of the discovery of our Holy Cross at Montacute and its conveyance to Waltham. Edited and translated by Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Pp. lv + 99 incl. 2 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. £27.50. 0 19 822164 9

The Waltham Chronicle, one of two key sources (the other is from Christchurch, Hants) for the internal lives of houses of canons in mid to late eleventh-century England, was last edited in 1861; this excellent new edition, with a full introduction, is no less welcome because the contents are familiar. The text is late twelfth century: the author's recollections only go back to the 1120s, though supplemented by the stories of aged canons who could remember the Conquest, and by sporadic (and, as the editors show, problematic) use of documents. The narrative begins with the finding of the mysterious stone crucifix in Somerset and its transfer by Tofig the Proud to Waltham, 'a lowly hut ... in a woodland region'. This *topos*, the emptiness of a monastic site before the perceived founder acquires it, is demonstrably false at Waltham: excavation has revealed pre-Conquest churches and burials. Earl Harold's acquisition and reorganisation of the church, in some ways enigmatic (as the editors ask, why not Bosham?), was a vehicle for the continental models for the common life of canons to which, as Julia Barrow has shown, England was remarkably impervious before Leofric's reforms at Exeter in the 1050s. Harold, having 'heard that German churches were controlled by a very carefully regulated discipline', installed thirteen canons including Master Adelard, a native of Liège who had studied at Utrecht. The author, looking back wistfully, stresses the strict living of the early community, but it is actually far from clear (as at Christchurch) that the Rule of Chrodegang was ever properly enforced: while it was certainly the model for liturgical and other arrangements, the canons had vast food allowances and, including Master Adelard, brought up families. Waltham and Christchurch are rays of light in a darkness: it is entirely possible that other mid eleventh-century nobles practised such equivocal sponsorship of continental rules. The most famous passages concern October 1066: the bowing of the miraculous rood in grief, Harold's death, the identification of his corpse by Edith Swan-neck and its burial at Waltham. For another century the canons steered the usual uneasy course between predators and patrons. Later chapters give some remarkable glimpses of the canons; interaction with the world around them; the inept thieves who took stolen treasures straight to the royal goldsmith who had made them; the canons' parochial service to the local laity ('in those days we frequently saw fine young men come like colts from the ample pasture of the meadows of our small town'); the church piled high with townsfolks' goods in 1143 during an attack by Flemish mercenaries. In 1177 the end came for these secular canons, as it had for so many others whose voices are lost, with the transfer of their church to Augustinians.

Hence this chronicle: lamenting 'that I should have lived to see myself separated from the bosom of my mother church', the author strives to give the new occupants a due reverence for its history and miracles.

The Queen's College, John Blair
Oxford

Rom und der römische Adel in der späten Stauferzeit. By Matthias Thumser. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 81.) Pp. x+425 incl. genealogical tables and map. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995. DM 123. 3 484 82081 0; 0070 4156

This *Habilitation* (Marburg 1992) is a very detailed study of Roman social classes from *c*. 1190 to 1268, relying on a vast and very impressive database of primary sources both archival and printed. A brief introduction is followed by the presentation and prosopographical analysis of the data obtained for each of the identifiable Roman families (forty-two), when possible accompanied by genealogical tables (pp. 11–204). The narrative sections III–IV (pp. 205–343) then proceed to depict the struggles both within the communal government, the senate, and of the senate in collaboration and confrontation with the papacy on the one hand and the Staufen emperors on the other. The book continues with an edition of five documents of critical relevance to Thumser's conclusions, a chronological list of Roman senators (1191–1268), and a list of ecclesiastical and secular officials who were members of the noble families emerging largely in the first half of the thirteenth century. Particularly striking is the high number of Romans who serve as *podestà* in other Italian communes and, at another level, the role played by French and English benefices – Thumser certainly shows that nothing could be more unreasonable than to repeat the standard accusation of the Romans as particularly unreliable or untrustworthy (p. 343). The shifting alliances are a result not only of the common struggle by the 'ins' against the 'outs', which is never absent anywhere, but in the case of Rome also of the intervention of the papacy, illustrated for example in the rise of the Conti (Riccardo was a brother of Innocent III) and the Annibaldi (brother-in-law of Innocent III). The Staufen option is yet another complication, but one that is shared by other communes. Thumser is not entirely persuasive when he tries to define 'nobility' in the Roman context, which means in the absence of a closed class of nobles as he rightly stressed (esp. pp. 209f.). Reassuring is the due caution in the face of uncertain or equivocal data. Despite the massive details, a treasure trove for anyone concerned with thirteenth-century Rome or Italy, the work is clearly presented and especially user-friendly. The only regret is the absence of a map of Rome and its surrounding regions showing the spheres of influence of the most important families described so well in the text (p. 225). The map of Rome and its regions *c*. 1300 (p. 425) is not really helpful.

Catholic University of America, Uta-Renate Blumenthal
Washington,
DC

The letters and charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, papal legate in England 1216–1218. Edited by Nicholas Vincent. (Canterbury and York Society, 83.) Pp. xcvi + 193 incl. 4 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for The Canterbury and York Society), 1996. £25. 0907239 53 6; 0262 995X

If there were a competition for the work with the greatest proportion of editorial material to text, this volume would certainly reach the shortlist. Its importance lies more in its splendid introduction and massive annotation than in the collection of texts which have been assiduously collected by Dr Vincent. Cardinal Guala, in a relatively brief period as papal legate in England from 1216 to 1218, played a vital role in the restoration of order in the difficult days after the death of King John. Guala probably kept a register, but it has not survived. Most of his *acta* are known, not from surviving originals or even copies, but from references to them in other documents. Some of the items referred to in this volume concern major matters of state, such as the reissue of Magna Carta in 1217, and the issue of the Charter of the Forests. The majority of documents, however, relate to relatively routine matters, such as the appointment of judges delegate, and questions of ecclesiastical patronage. Guala's priorities lay with the political settlement of England, and he did less than might be expected to bring about church reform in the aftermath of the 1215 Lateran Council. He was in an excellent position to fill English livings with Italian clerks. His nephews did particularly well: Ruffinus was canon of three cathedrals and rector of six churches. Accusations that he took much wealth with him when he left England find some support from the fact that, a decade later, he left £1,000 sterling to the abbey in his home town of Vercelli. Vincent has searched an impressive range of archives in England, Italy, France and America. He has done a remarkable job in identifying individuals with whom Guala had dealings. The notes are full of riches, such as the study of the careers of Robert of Dean, canon of Malling, and his brother Thomas, ardent royalists in Sussex who, like many, used the civil war as a means for self-enrichment. This is a fine volume.

University of Durham Michael Prestwich

Worcester 1218–1268. Edited by Philippa M. Hoskin (English Episcopal Acta, 13.) Pp. liv + 192. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 1997. £25. 0 19 726171 X

This volume prints the *acta* of three bishops of Worcester, William of Blois (1218–36), Walter de Cantilupe (1236–66) and Nicholas of Ely (1266–8). Thirty-three of the texts come from Blois's episcopate, 122 from Cantilupe's and four from Ely's. Hoskin's editing is meticulous and fully in line with the high standards set by the rest of the series. After a brief sketch of the careers of the three bishops, the introduction offers an analysis of the bishops' households, concluding that both Blois and Cantilupe employed professional men, many with university degrees. The introduction also provides a comprehensive study of the diplomatic of the *acta* which shows that forms were becoming more and more standardised. One interesting feature is the way Cantilupe from about 1253 increasingly styled himself *minister humilis*. It was Becket who first used this as a regular title in

episcopal charters and it was adopted by Archbishop Langton after Becket's translation in 1220, obviously to stress his affinity with the saint. Hoskin thus wonders whether its use by Cantilupe reflected his closeness to Simon de Montfort whose circle may have cherished the memory of Becket as a champion of the liberties of the realm. The *acta* deal with a familiar range of business, for example the appropriation of churches, the ordination of vicarages, the admission of vicars and rectors, the issuing of indulgences and the settlement of disputes. All this reinforces the impression, gained from their statutes and from references to their synods and visitations, that both Blois and Cantilupe were conscientious diocesans. Cantilupe also edited a penitential tract for the education of his clergy. However, Hoskin suggests that his diocesan activities may have slackened in later years as he became increasingly involved in affairs of state. Of course, Cantilupe would have regarded reform of the state as highly necessary for the welfare of the Church. Indeed, the extent to which the Church was dependent on the State to enforce its authority is apparent from his *acta*, thirty-three of which are requests to the king to bring the secular arm to bear on malefactors who had remained contumacious after excommunication. These letters from Cantilupe (as from other bishops) were kept by the chancery, hence their survival. The chancery did not, however, enrol the resulting letters to the sheriffs, which shows perhaps just how routine this type of co-operation had become.

King's College, D. A. Carpenter
London

'*And the rich man also died; and he was buried in hell*'. *The social ethos in mendicant sermons*. By Jussi Hanska. (Bibliotheca Historica, 28.) Pp. 196. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997. 951 710 0760; 1238 3503

In a stimulating and lively book, Jussi Hanska explores the attitudes of thirteenth-century friars both to the rich and powerful in their world, and to the poor, including the sick and those who laboured with their hands. At the heart of the book is a detailed study of thirty-five model sermons written by eighteen different preachers between the second quarter of the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth, all on Jesus' parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi.19–31). As these sermons refer only occasionally to specific social groups, they are compared with other mendicant sources, mostly *ad status* sermons. On this basis Hanska argues that the friars were highly critical of the rich and powerful, stressing their tendency to sin and their slim chances of attaining salvation. Their attitude to the poor, on the other hand, although less clear, was broadly sympathetic, with most friars considering them to have better chances of salvation than the rich, and even to bear comparison with the voluntary poor. Hanska maintains that these attitudes were shared by both Dominicans and Franciscans, and that there were no geographical variations. He notes, however, that university theologians tended to be more moderate in their attitude to the rich than rank-and-file friars. The last part of the book focuses on the social impact of these views. While noting their radical aspects, Hanska argues that their effect was to reinforce existing hierarchies. The poor were to be

patient in this life, while the promise of both reward and revenge after death helped them to accept this injunction. The impact of Hanska's thesis is slightly diminished by an unevenness in the quality of argument: the same point will be stated sometimes naively and sometimes in a much more nuanced and sophisticated way. Thus, for example, Hanska first stresses differences between the writings of university theologians and those of the rank-and-file in such a way as apparently to set them far apart, and perhaps even in opposition; he is very slow to explain these differences in terms of their different audiences and aims, an explanation which renders their views entirely compatible. Again, he frequently writes as if criticism of abuses can be taken as evidence that these abuses actually occurred, at other times admitting that this need not be the case. He is similarly unconvincing when he insists that a writer who adopts a bitter or vindictive tone cannot only be rehearsing a literary *topos* and must be engaging with social realities. It should also be said that the text contains many typographical and grammatical errors. None the less, the book addresses fascinating issues, rests upon meticulous scholarship, and ultimately presents a case which is both thought-provoking and valuable.

University of Bristol Ian P. Wei

Jews in the notarial culture. Latinate wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350. By Robert I. Burns sj. Pp. x + 267 incl. frontispiece. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1996. £35 ($45). 0 520 20393 3

With this study of Jewish wills recorded in Latin by Christian notaries, Professor Burns once again introduces readers to a virtually unstudied and fascinating field. His analysis is based upon a small collection of wills gleaned over many years of research in a number of Catalan–Occitanian archives. Small as the sample is, it is the result of a search unlikely to be duplicated by a less indefatigable scholar, as the author is the first to admit. His hope, however, is that the book's appearance may inspire the publication by others of less systematically collected individual wills. As he points out, this painstakingly collected group of wills dwarves the sample of surviving Hebrew wills from the period, which, though originally more numerous, never entered the protected sphere of notarial archives. Partly for this reason the wills are an important source of Jewish history of the period, even if they are filtered through Christian notarial practice. Burns contextualises these documents within the broader world of Jewish–Christian relations, and within an institutional history of Jewish and Christian notarial and legal practice. He also studies an interesting sub-group of the wills, those dictated by women. If the book suffers slightly from a lack of access to Hebrew sources, it gains a great deal from Professor Burns's vast knowledge of Christian and Muslim culture in the Crown of Aragon, and is in fact a good deal broader than the title's emphasis on Jewish Latinate wills might imply. Many of its pages, for example, are devoted to the etymology of Jewish names in Romance. Further, the structure of the book is so explicitly instructive as to be termed heuristic. Graduate students about to be confronted by archival (and especially notarial) documents for the first time will be well served by the book's careful reading and

contextualisation of individual documents. They will also doubtless profit from the many important, if often tentative, conclusions drawn by the author. In particular, the book's broadly comparative approach is invaluable. Juxtapositions of Jewish with Muslim (*Mudéjar*) and Christian notarial practices, of Jewish Latinate with Genizah wills, and, in general, of Jewish with Christian testamentary culture: these all offer a fruitful comparative methodology which future scholars should imitate, aspiring always to the same care and verve that Professor Burns has brought to the present work.

Rice University David Nirenberg

Dante's Monarchia. Translation and commentary by Richard Kay. (Studies and Texts, 131.) Pp. xliii+449. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998. $85. 0 88844 131 2; 0082 5328

Dante's *Monarchia*, as Richard Kay observes, is one of the best-known works of medieval political theory, thanks to the peculiar distinction of both its arguments and its author. These attractions, together with its brevity and unity of theme, ensure its place on student curricula, while scholarly debate over its date, purpose and theological and political credentials is very much alive. This volume addresses both sets of readers, and its clear organisation makes it one of the best of several versions of the treatise for Anglophone readers currently in print. The Latin text, based on Ricci's 1965 *edizione nazionale*, is accompanied by a new translation, and extensive footnote commentary (all references are in English, with occasional key terms in Latin or Italian). An appendix summarising each chapter's arguments provides a useful student tool. The introduction offers basic biographical and textual information, while Kay's own insights into the text's date, purpose and genesis are backed up by detailed references. He offers plausible evidence for his assertion that the treatise is the product of a specific crux in papal–Ghibelline relations within Italy, relating it to the publication of the bull *Si Fratrum* in 1317. More controversially, Kay's analysis of the occasion of the *Monarchia* emphasises Dante's patronage obligations and rhetorical activity, reminding us that the treatise is written by a poet, whose linguistic choices are as significant as his political arguments. Such insights make this edition a stimulating contribution to Dante studies, as well as a serviceable student text.

St John's College, Cambridge Catherine Keen

Canon law and cloistered women. Periculoso *and its commentators, 1298–1545*. By Elizabeth Makowski. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, 5.) Pp. x+150 incl. frontispiece. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1997. £37.50. 0 8132 0884 X

A careful study of Boniface VIII's 1298 decree regarding the enclosure of religious women, Elizabeth Makowski's book discusses the impact of *Periculoso* on canon

law (with some emphasis on English commentaries) and on the reality of women's enclosure in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The decree itself is reproduced, both in Latin and translation, in an appendix. This is a beautifully-produced study which will change our thinking about religious women in the later Middle Ages more than anything published in the last century. The opening chapters set the background for this decree, which might be thought of as the culmination of a series of regularising efforts by the thirteenth-century papacy with regard to monastic women, concerning as it does not only the enclosure of nuns and abbesses, but the size of religious communities for women. These first two chapters are the most fragile, based as they are on initial findings about topics still being seriously rethought by feminist scholars. The rest of the text is a significant contribution to scholarship, showing not only that there was no straight line development in the cloistering of religious women either up to or after 1298, but some of the difficulties of incorporating this decree into canon law. Too often monastic women have been seen through the lens of the post-Tridentine Church's control, or *Periculoso* is seen as simply the confirmation of long-extant practice. In her careful analysis of the issues, Makowski has confirmed what many of us had long suspected: *Periculoso* had somewhat less impact, particularly less immediate impact, than is usually argued by those traditional ecclesiastical historians who have taken it as a description of fact. Makowski's is a brilliant corrective to such over-simplification. Indeed, the last chapter of this study will definitely change how we write medieval religious women's history from here on out.

University of Iowa CONSTANCE H. BERMAN

Lies, slander, and obscenity in medieval English literature. Pastoral rhetoric and the deviant speaker. By Edwin D. Craun. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 31.) Pp. xiii + 257. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. £35. 0 521 49690 X

The subtitle represents more precisely the main topic of this useful book than the main title, which was perhaps chosen because it seems more exciting. But excitement is not the only criterion of scholarly merit. Professor Craun gives a careful analysis of Sins of the Tongue, or in modern relativist terms 'deviant speech'. He is impressively well-versed in the little-known works of medieval pastoral instruction in Latin and mostly in manuscript, and their philosophical and ethical bases. He points out how relevant their concerns are to contemporary cultural debates on such sins, or if preferred, 'deviant speech', as lying, deception in law, medicine and political life, which are indeed endemic in any human society, at any time and anywhere. The difference from modern times is that the medieval effort was more widely spread, more analytical, harder-edged, indeed more 'hegemonic' (p. 4) which perhaps in this context means more confident, authoritarian, didactic and less questioned in theory. It arises in many medieval literary works, and although it must be that any society has to assert the need for telling the truth and that it does not need special learning to see that assertion in medieval literature, the specifically medieval cast of the demand is well

brought out in considering the 'murmuring' of Jonah in Patience, The Lover's deceptive speech in Gower's *Confessio amantis*, Langland's condemnation of minstrels etc., the curious ambivalences in Chaucer's Manciple, and the condemnation of 'vain fables' by Chaucer's Parson. Even with this latter Chaucer's relative openness and secular freedom stand out.

The important underlying theme is the medieval concept of language as more than merely a system of labelling things or ideas. Here it falls in well with recent modern realisation of the performative nature of language, the actuality and power that language has in itself, the nature of persuasive discourse and the place of intention, the complex nature of signs. One would have liked more on Chaucer. For example, *The friar's tale*, a version of a widely known folktale about the efficacy of real intention in cursing, would have made one of Craun's points very effectively.

While it is possible to differ from various of Craun's literary judgements, as it is from those of most literary critics, he has thrown light on a little-known area of ethical discourse and cultural history. Not all the illumination tells us what we might not otherwise have realised, but some does, and the emphasis on, and the analysis of, certain rhetorical aspects of moral didactic discourse is refreshingly different from most presentations of rhetoric as found in medieval literature.

Emmanuel College, Derek Brewer
Cambridge

Imagining peace. A history of early English pacifist ideas, 1340–1560. By Ben Lowe. Pp. xiv + 362. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997. £54.50 (cloth), £17.90 (paper). 0 271 01688 4; 0 271 01689 2

The author's aim is to trace the prehistory of the 'institutionalisation of a peace ethic' which he believes had taken place in England by the 1550s. He argues that this was a development which had its roots in contemporary debates about the Hundred Years War, although he chooses to start his survey earlier, with an account of the concept of the just war and the implications this had for ways of thinking about peace. Peace, as distinct from war, is relatively understudied in this period, and it is useful to have its importance asserted here. But for the period up to the sixteenth century Lowe offers little more than a preliminary trawl through existing work – and the result is an unsatisfactory patchwork. If an issue has been discussed elsewhere, then it appears here. Questions are often left hanging. Medieval writers were much exercised by the place of private morality within the public arena, as Lowe's citations make clear, but the issue is nowhere given sustained discussion. Elsewhere, Lowe's reliance on his authorities produces unresolved contradictions. Sometimes these are noticed and brushed aside. He cites Steve Gunn's work on Henry vii and chivalry in a footnote, for instance, although it undermines much of what he has said in the text about the tone of Henry's court. Sometimes the contradiction is apparently unnoticed. Thus in discussing the sixteenth century Lowe asserts that it was then that the feudal basis of army recruitment disappeared (p. 192), but in earlier chapters has shown himself aware (thanks to his use of Michael Prestwich's work) that feudal

obligation had been replaced by contract armies and national array very much earlier than this. Lowe is locked into the view that the Tudor period brought massive cultural and political change, and that, by definition, the Middle Ages must have been different. He is thus able to assert that that medieval commonplace, the concept of the body politic, *replaced* medieval models in the 1530s. As this implies, his grasp on the medieval period is very uncertain. It is startling to be told that *literati* like Gower sympathised with the 1381 rising or that the Wars of the Roses led to Cade's rebellion. More generally, and more damagingly, his search for 'anti-war' texts leads him to bundle up examples with little concern for their context. To take just two examples out of many, the tone of the Beverley letter cited on p. 139 is entirely mispresented here and the extract from 'How man's flesh complained to God against Christ' on p. 128 is so drained of context as to be virtually meaningless. This cavalier attitude to his sources allows him to use Christine de Pisan and Thomas More as representative national texts in a comparison of English and French attitudes, although they were writing more than a century apart. The result is unpersuasive.

FITZWILLIAM COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE ROSEMARY HORROX

Unarmed soldiery. Studies in the early history of All Souls College Oxford. The Chichele Lectures, 1993–1994. By James McConica and others. Pp. v + 110. Oxford: All Souls College, 1996. £15 (paper). 0 9527826 0 X

Unarmed soldiery is a small but splendid contribution to English university history. A collection of the six papers given as the 1993–4 Chichele Lectures at All Souls College, it examines the college and its fellowship in its first two centuries, and sheds new light not just on Oxford collegiate history but on the college's role in England. The research is solid and often new, and it is a welcome supplement to the second and third volumes of the *History of the University of Oxford*. Jeremy Catto's article sets the tone by demonstrating how the foundation fitted into Archbishop Chichele's larger political and religious world and shows how All Souls relates to, yet differs from, the earlier Wykehamist foundations. All Souls had a reforming purpose of producing better servants for Church and State, especially but not exclusively lawyers. Simon Walker then looks more closely at the first Warden, Richard Andrew, a lawyer who exemplified that ideal of service to Church and State, and put those ideals into practice during his later years as dean of York. The collection's editor, James McConica, provides essays on the early fellowship and on Warden Robert Hovenden. The former re-examines the fifteenth-century fellowship, long dismissed as obscure and mediocre, and demonstrates its contribution to an English Church then still largely dominated by Oxford men. McConica also explains how the statutory requirement that men must have completed three years of university before they could be accepted into the fellowship made All Souls unique, from its very inception, and gave it a more stable fellowship than other foundations. He also traces the tradition of physicians in the college even before Thomas Linacre's election in 1484. McConica's latter essay, on the late Tudor Warden Hovenden, is a striking

portrait of a college head at work, contending with contested elections, ordering collegiate life, and struggling with the queen herself to protect his college's patrimony. Ralph Evans contributes an excellent article on estates and finances in the fifteenth century, much in the tradition of his earlier work on Merton and other colleges. Andrew Watson has the longest piece, detailing the life of the post-medieval library. *Unarmed soldiery*, although a paperback, is a beautifully-produced book in every sense, and will be a valued source for university, ecclesiastical and political history.

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA DAMIAN LEADER

Honor your fathers. Cathechisms and the emergence of a patriarchal ideology in Germany, 1400–1600. By Robert James Bast. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 63.) Pp. xx + 272. Leiden–New York–Cologne: Brill, 1997. Nlg 165. 90 04 10856 4; 0585 6914

Modern studies of the state-building process tend to assume that the patriarchal ideology of the early modern age emerged with the Protestant Reformation. In *Honor your fathers*, Robert James Bast takes issue with this notion, and instead speaks of a continuum of patriarchal discourse which ran from the Great Schism to the Thirty Years' War. His work sets out to illustrate that 'the patriarchal ideology of Protestantism was part of a shared discourse for the reform of society which took shape during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and grew apace with the religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth' (p. x). Bast locates the language of paternalism in the late medieval catechism. Well before the emergence of the Protestant catechism the medieval clergy had been addressing a broad audience (clerical and lay) in vernacular catechisms. Written in short, simple, metrical prose, the authors tended to place stress on the Decalogue, and they spoke in harsh terms of the need for order. In Bast's opinion, this reflected the 'crisis consciousness' of the late medieval period, a general conviction that the world had never been so impious or its people so dissolute. As he writes: 'Obedience to the Commandments became a rallying cry for reform preachers working to combat the perceived dissolution of Church and society' (p. 43). Based in large part on the principles of monasticism, the ideology of paternalism, with its emphasis on the Commandments and its need for order and discipline, proved a ready discourse for the central relations of rule in early modern Germany. Bast speaks first of the 'fathers of the house' and how the catechism carried the patriarchal ideology into the household. The late medieval catechisms invested and confirmed the father with the rule over the household, for this was an order established by God. To rebel against the father was thus to rebel against the faith. (Luther would later endorse this conviction.) A patriarchal ideology proved just as relevant to the relations between the clergyman and his flock. In a climate of growing anticlericalism, the catechists called on the Fourth Commandment to elicit support for and obedience to the spiritual estate. The clergy should be honoured as 'second fathers' who brought forth a second birth through baptism. Finally, Bast illustrates how a patriarchal ideology described

and endorsed political culture in Germany. Referring to the sovereign as the 'father of the land' is an idea which predates the medieval catechism, but it was the medieval monastic catechists who first offered developed notions of rule and discipline as matters of faith. The secular officials were not just disciplining fathers, but God's agents on earth. That is why Jan Hus addressed his treatise on the Decalogue to the secular rulers ('Now, you kings, princes, knights and lords…'), just as Luther would write his *Address to the Christian nobility* (1520) with the godly sovereign in mind. In this, as with most other aspects of their notions of rule, Luther and the Protestant reformers were building on a medieval tradition. As Bast words it, 'the political ideology of the Protestant movement was inherited, not self-made' (p. 187). And it is this medieval inheritance that *Honor your fathers* succeeds in bringing to light, a long tradition of patriarchal thought that both preconditioned and helped shape the destiny of post-Reformation Germany. Historians who deal in systems and state-building should adopt a similar range of vision when coming to terms with the early modern age.

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST C. SCOTT DIXON

Witchcraft persecutions in Bavaria. Popular magic, religious zealotry and reason of state in early modern Europe. By Wolfgang Behringer. (Past and Present Publications.) Pp. xxiii + 479 incl. 17 plates, 3 figs, 3 maps and 13 tables. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. £50. 0 521 48258 2

A trial of witches. A seventeenth-century witchcraft prosecution. By Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn. Pp. xix + 284 incl. 8 ills. London–New York: Routledge, 1997. £45 (cloth), £14.99 (paper). 0 415 17108 3; 0 415 17109 1

When the German edition of Wolfgang Behringer's account of witch-persecution in Bavaria first appeared in 1987, it was widely greeted as a major contribution to witchcraft studies. The English version has been long in coming, but Grayson and Lederer's clear and readable translation of Behringer's influential survey has been amply worth the wait. Well-nigh definitive as a study of witchcraft prosecutions in south-east Germany between the late Middle Ages and the end of the eighteenth century, Behringer's work also throws dazzling light on the religious, cultural and socio-political background of continental witch-hunting as a whole.

Witchcraft persecutions in Bavaria relies on the premise that 'only a combination of different methods, such as statistical, structural and textual analysis and the reconstruction of mentalities, an armoury of quantitative and qualitative methods, allows for a sensible interpretation' of the exotic phenomenon of witch-hunting (p. 28). Behringer's integrative approach to his topic produces an analysis of exceptional depth and richness which overturns a number of previously received ideas about the causes, the chronology and the geographical incidence of witch-prosecution in Germany. All available 'witchcraft files' (trial records) in state, civic and ecclesiastical archives were examined in order to establish the patterns of witch-hunting over several centuries. Among the many significant conclusions drawn from this data three in particular stand out: (1) three-quarters of executions for witchcraft in south-east Germany took place

between 1586 and 1630, with peaks in the early 1590s and late 1620s; (2) the worst phases of prosecution tended to be associated with acute agrarian crises and the economic instability these generated; (3) the rate of execution for witchcraft was much lower than has usually been supposed, the vast majority of trials resulting in a lesser sentence or even the punishment of the accuser.

Behringer provides an extensive account of the learned debate which accompanied the prosecution of witches, holding this to be the key to understanding the trials in Bavaria. In both Catholic and Protestant areas the treatment of witches was a controversial matter, and while outright scepticism about witchcraft was uncommon until late in the period, fierce passions were aroused regarding the legal processes appropriate for a crime that was intrinsically impossible to prove. Some of Behringer's most interesting pages concern the disputes between the hard-line advocates of prosecution such as Chancellor Johann Wagnereckh, who thought that no one was ever denounced for witchcraft who was not a witch, and more cautious jurists such as the Ingolstadt professors who in 1601 recommended that 'fortiora indicia' were needed for witchcraft than for other crimes, to prevent the innocent being put at risk. While Behringer emphasises the wide variety of opinions to be found among both Catholic and Protestant authorities, he concedes the truth of Midelfort's observation that the fully elaborated concept of witchcraft (with witches' sabbaths, flight and sex with the Devil) was more prevalent in Catholic circles.

Very different in scope to Behringer's magisterial study is Geis and Bunn's detailed investigation of a single East Anglian witch-trial of 1662, which resulted in the hanging of two elderly women of Lowestoft for malicious magic. Geis (a criminologist) and Bunn (a local historian) tell a story of considerable narrative interest, drawing on extensive extant records and published responses to the trial. The colourful cast of the pathetic drama they unfold includes not only a cross-section of Lowestoft society but also two luminaries of the age: Sir Matthew Hale, noted jurisprudentialist and later Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Thomas Browne of *Religio Medici* fame, whose cameo appearance at the trial as a consultant on the power of the devil is vividly described. In contrast to Behringer, Geis and Bunn paint with a fine brush on a 'little bit (two Inches wide) of Ivory', but their micro-historical approach is a useful complement to the macro-historical approach of the larger book. Geis and Bunn bring sharply home to us the disastrous impact on individual lives of the general determinants of witch-prosecution so ably delineated by Behringer.

The second part of *A trial of witches*, entitled 'What does it all mean?', begins with a useful and able survey of recent witchcraft theory (though Geis and Bunn repeat the figure of 100,000 executions for witchcraft, which most authorities now consider too high). Two possible criticisms of the book are the arguably over-judgemental attitude taken by the authors towards those who condemned Amy Denny and Rose Cullender, and the over-elaboration of detail concerning lesser figures and some of the more parenthetical aspects of the case. Does it really matter, for instance, whether a toad placed in a fire explodes with 'a great and horrible noise' or merely 'a popping noise or sharp crack,' as the authors seek to persuade us? (p. 49). While there is much to be said for the view that 'historians have the obligation to hold those who wield power to some moral standard' (p. xiv), and though Geis and Bunn are far from the condemnatory excesses of the

early rationalist historians of witchcraft, some of the criticisms of the evidential standards maintained at the trial struck this reviewer as at least mildly anachronistic. It is surely unfair to compare Hale's disposition to believe in maleficent magic to the 'absence of criticality' displayed by those Americans who were taken in by Orson Welles's famous radio broadcast describing an invasion from Mars (p. 161).These reservations aside, I found *A trial of witches* a moving account of a human tragedy that is no less poignant for the passage of three centuries and the transformation of our thought-world.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM GEOFFREY SCARRE

Thomas Basin (1412–1490). The history of Charles VII and Louis XI. By Mark Spencer. (Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, 57.) Pp. 326. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1997. Nlg 120. 90 6004 442 8

Although Samaran's edition of Basin's work has been much used as a source by both French and English historians of the fifteenth century, there has never been a full-scale study of Basin until now in any language. There have been a number of articles on aspects of his life and work in French, and we must be grateful to Mark Spencer for drawing all this work together. Spencer has, moreover, a strong line of his own. Thomas Basin's *History* was clearly not a work in the older vernacular tradition of the chivalric chronicle of Froissart, nor yet in the new pattern of official histories of Basin's own day, such as that of Chastellain, whose authors, as well as princely pensions, were given ample access to government documents. Spencer's thesis is that Basin's work is part of another new genre, the neo-classical history exemplified by Bruni's *History of the Florentine people*. Basin's education made him a sort of a hybrid, with some classical traits. Spencer has to admit that although Basin wrote in Latin, it was not really the best of the new stylistic Latin of Italian rhetoric. Unlike Bruni, he does not seem to have been directly influenced by Livy, although he does quote, and try to imitate, Cicero and Sallust. Like Bruni he was more inaccurate than his despised vernacular predecessors. Spencer argues that it was the inaccuracy of a man who was subordinating historical 'facts' to fit an overarching 'moral' theory of history. He suggests that Basin's theme was that when monarchy declines into tyranny, it carries the seeds of its own destruction, quoting Cicero *De officiis*: 'No power sustained by fear can long endure'. In my opinion Basin's work fits much more into the pattern of personal 'memoirs', like those of Commynes or La Marche, rather than into Bruni's neo-classical genre of 'history', with its display of linguistic fireworks. As a set of memoirs its focus of interest shifts with the course of the author's life. At the beginning are the conquest of Normandy in his childhood and the miseries of the early years of the English occupation. Later he draws the contrast between the poverty of France and the prosperity of Brabant and Flanders under Philip the Good, his model prince, as he saw it during his long years as a student of civil and canon law at Louvain. Like Fortescue he attributed the difference to the burden of taxation on France. The next stage of his history cover the years when Basin was back in Normandy as a perhaps rather too litigious bishop of Lisieux. Basin tells us what an exemplary bishop he was.

As a Norman patriot he helped to secure the restoration of Norman privileges and played a leading role in the Norman Estates, but complained of Charles VII's maintenance of a standing army after the expulsion of the English, and the consequent burden of taxation. Basin considered that the 'twin scourges of servitude', Charles' taxes and his standing army, were worse than his much publicised lechery. At the beginning of Louis XI's reign, in 1461, Basin sent the new king a memorial arguing for lower taxation, and only when it had been agreed by assemblies of estates. Instead he saw Louis renege on his promise and impose increased arbitrary taxation. Charles had at least supported the ancient rights and liberties of the Gallican Church (or perhaps one should say the privileges of Gallican bishops) against papal interference. To Basin Louis was unmitigatedly awful, for he helped himself to church money without any sort of clerical grant. Basin was soon heavily involved in the princely alliance of the *Ligue du bien public*. Although the princes won the battle of Montlhéry, Louis was able to pick off his enemies one by one in the years that followed. Basin himself went on an embassy to Charles of Burgundy in the Netherlands late in 1466, and was never allowed to return to Lisieux. He spent more years in exile, in Louvain, Trier and Utrecht, than in his see, whose temporalities Louis naturally expropriated. Basin wrote his memoirs in distant Trier and Utrecht and they are informed by the nostalgia and bitterness of exile. Basin's inaccuracies seem to me to come not from any theory of history, but from separation by time and distance from the French rulers he purports to describe. Unlike Commynes, he had never been at the centre of French politics. He had sat in ecclesiastical assemblies, for example those at Orleans and Bourges which reaffirmed the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. The nearest he got to royal power was to compose legal arguments for the crown, and even these were ecclesiastical in their nature. He produced a treatise on the 'Liberties of the Gallican Church' for Charles VII, and devised a scheme for reforming royal law courts along the lines of the papal Rota, which he knew from his time at the Curia. Unlike Commynes, whose memoirs have been translated many times since the sixteenth century, Basin's have not yet been translated into English at all, and are thus much less known to English readers. Mark Spencer gives us an opportunity to know the man and his work better, even if we may not be quite convinced that he was 'one of the greatest historians of the fifteenth century'.

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

PETER SPUFFORD

The Longman companion to the European Reformation c. 1500–1618. By Mark Greengrass. (Longman Companions to History.) Pp. xii + 398 incl. 3 diagrams, 3 genealogies and 9 maps. London–New York: Longman, 1998. £15.99 (paper). 0 582 06176 X; 0 582 06174 1

This excellent book admirably fulfills Greengrass's intention to provide 'a friend in need' to 'the teachers and students of the sixteenth-century European reformation in departments of history, divinity and biblical studies' (p. ix). Its thirteen sections detail: (1) 'The fabric of the church' – liturgy, devotions,

ecclesiastical structures, monastic and clerical life; (2) Controversies on the eve of the Reformation – conciliarism, theology, humanism, apocalypticism, mysticism, heresies; (3) 'The Luther affair'; (4) Reformation in Germany, Scandinavia and the Swiss cantons including the Peasants' War, Imperial Leagues and the urban Reformation; (5) 'Sectarian lineages' – the radicals and spiritualists; (6) 'Reactions to the reformation' – France, the Netherlands, Italy, Iberia, the Danube lands and Poland–Lithuania; (7) Calvin and Geneva; (8) Roman Catholic renewal and reaction including the Council of Trent; (9) 'Confessional identities' – colloquies, confessions, catechisms, prayers, Bible translations and Protestant martyrologies; (10) 'Background contexts' – demography, academic institutions, printing and missions; (11) 130 mini-biographies of varying substance; (12) a brief 'Glossary'; and (13) a 'Guide for further reading'. Numerous chronologies and a cross-referencing system enhance the text. Unfortunately the British Isles are omitted because Longman has a 'Companion to the Tudor Age'. A list of appropriate journals and a table on monetary systems would be useful for future editions. Kudos to Greengrass and Longman for a unique and accessible handbook.

Boston University Carter Lindberg

Desiderius Erasmus. Colloquies. 2 vols. Translated and annotated by Craig R. Thompson. (Collected works of Erasmus, 39–40). Pp. xlix+618 incl. frontispiece and 22 ills; xiv+619–1227 incl. frontispiece and 23 ills. Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 1997. £187. 0 8020 5819 1

Collected works of Erasmus, LXX: *Spiritualia and pastoralia. Disputatiuncula de taedio, pavore, tristicia Iesu*; *Concio de immensa Dei misericordia*; *Modus orandi Deum*; *Explanatio symboli apostolorum*; *De praeparatione ad mortem*. Edited by John O'Malley. Pp. xxxi+466 incl. frontispiece. Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 1997. £93. 0 8020 4309 7

Of all Erasmus' books, the *Colloquies* probably did most to disseminate his reservations about contemporary religious practice through society at large. The ambivalent character of these dialogues, hovering coyly between the status of school manual and theological critique, meant that some of his most radical ideas might be absorbed in the course of a quest for Latin fluency. In any case, their sheer readability made them a conspicuous challenge to that reliance on institutional forms which always galled Erasmus; no doubt their condemnation by protagonists of the Counter-Reformation (who might have been expected to welcome some of their thrusts) arose from their solvent effect on submission to Catholic discipline. The *colloquies* were designed for an age in which the weight of tradition too often stifled spiritual understanding, and in the post-Lutheran situation their controlling context had been lost. The earliest colloquies to appear in English translation, the *Funus* (1534) and *The pylgremage* (1536?) were well-adapted to supporting Thomas Cromwell's campaign of disengagement from Catholic practices. The first translation of the full body of colloquies, by 'H.M.', appeared in 1671, to be followed in 1725 by Nathan Bailey's version. The late

Craig Thompson, in addition to his other contributions to Erasmus scholarship, made the *Colloquies* his own particular province: a translation of *Ten colloquies* appeared in 1957 and in 1965 a complete translation was published by the University of Chicago Press, with the rash promise (on the dust cover) of a further volume of 'detailed commentary' which never saw the light of day. The Chicago translation provides the basis for these two Toronto volumes, which must now count among the most valuable resources made available in the *Collected Works*. Here we have the full body of colloquies prepared by Erasmus between the first printing of 1518 and the final Froben edition of 1533 (a year which also saw five independent editions), and this time we really do have the detailed commentary – as much as we could possibly hope for. This remarkable presentation of one of the key works of the Northern Renaissance is a tribute to the memory of Craig Thompson, and it is also fitting here to salute all those who contributed to the sorting of his manuscript when ill-health overtook him. The result is an extraordinary means of access to the thought of Erasmus and to his world.

As already remarked, there is all the annotation that anyone could hope for, an Aladdin's cave of scholarly riches, though this does not mean that the reader need rummage through it all at once. To take one example, 'The abbot and the learned lady' (xxxix.499–519): the reader is confronted by just over four pages of text, but is offered the support of two introductory pages and fourteen pages of notes. This is an exceptional case, and the notes include a two-and-a-half-page essay on the classical languages in the Renaissance (n. 4) and five pages on learned women in the period (nn. 32–4) which, like all the notes, are rich in bibliographical suggestions. Some readers may not feel it necessary to learn more about the status of Latin, but nearly everyone can gain from the material on learned women. The notes, in other words, are generous, with much to offer readers at a variety of levels, and since they are placed at the end of each colloquy they are easy to use but may be skipped at will. A surprising number of the dialogues deal with ecclesiastical themes. For the most part these are ironic exposures of the stultifying effect of 'custom' (there is an excellent note on this key term in xxxix.158 n. 58) and of superstition, the manifestations of a religion which fails to engage the heart and relies heavily on ritual performance. Particularly searing in this respect are 'A fish diet', 'The funeral', and Erasmus' scathing recollection of a visit with John Colet to Walsingham in 'A pilgrimage'; such writing can lose its force in translation and it often relies on allusions which may baffle the modern reader. It is a measure of Thompson's success that so much of the original reading experience is available to us, reinforced with his magisterial commentary. A good instance of the latter is the compact essay on the damnation of unbaptised infants ('A fish diet', n. 62) where a less dedicated editor might have let sleeping dogs lie, while the note to that enigmatic prayer in 'The godly feast', 'St Socrates, pray for us' (xxxix.194 and n. 215) is judicious as well as erudite.

Volume lxxiii of the *Collected Works* is devoted to five of Erasmus' shorter spiritual writings of which it may be said none have received the attention they deserve. Only one, the *De immensa Dei misericordia*, has been available in English before. In the light of their publication history it might be said that Erasmus' spiritual writings as a whole had only a muffled impact since they failed to meet the increasingly belligerent tone of Reformation debate. The earliest work

included in this volume, the *De taedio Jesu*, printed in 1503, developed out of a dispute with John Colet over the nature of Christ's agony in Gethsemane. The four others date from his mature years, the *De immensa Dei misericordia* and the *Modus orandi Deum* from 1524 and the *Explanatio symboli* and *De praeparatione ad mortem* from 1533. Yet, as John W. O'Malley remarks in his helpful introduction to the volume, it is evident from the *De taedio* that 'Erasmus had acquired by this early date a command of doctrine and theology that was profound'. Against Colet's argument that Christ's anguish was caused by his sorrow for sinners rather than fear for himself, Erasmus places his own conviction that Christ's humanity necessarily included horror of death: 'he was setting us an example of gentleness, patience, and obedience, not fearlessness. On display were the lineaments of humanity, not the trappings of divinity' (p. 64). In this, his first essay in theology, Erasmus shows that confidence in the openness of nature to grace which is central to later works like 'The godly feast' and remains central even after his initial response to Luther. If there is one theme which binds the writings in volume lxxiii together it is the constant appeal to a merciful God, conveyed so movingly in the *Modus orandi Deum*: 'So that none of us may be deterred from prayer by considering the majesty of God, let us realize that God's greatest attribute is his compassion for and love of the human race. You approach the Creator, but he is also the redeemer. You go to the Lord of all, but he is also the Father of all who trust in him' (p. 180). This compassion is reflected in his account of the communion of saints: while he is scornful of those practices which reduce the cult of the saints to a quasi-magical performance (as in the colloquy 'The shipwreck' which so caught the fancy of Rabelais), 'No one will deny that the saints are gripped by an unceasing longing for our salvation. And yet this longing is itself a form of intercession. Whenever we call on their help, we are praying that their longing will be fulfilled' (p. 194). Not every pilgrim on the way to Walsingham would have seen it this way. Sadly, by the time these words were written they were already too reductive for some, and not radical enough for others.

As all the works in this volume make clear, Erasmus' approach towards theology is profoundly marked by his training in rhetoric. Consequently there is an emphasis on the subjective process by which doctrine becomes part of the fabric of life. The goal of his religious works (and, as in the *Colloquies*, of his religious satire) is rather to reanimate the received forms of the Christian Church than reform them, to encourage that spiritual perception by which signs can point beyond themselves. In the *De praeparatione ad mortem* he recommends frequent reception of the eucharist, 'since this sacrament commends two things to us: the unmatched love of the head for its members and the very close fellowship of the members themselves' (p. 421). Erasmus fought all his life against those who were literal-minded, whether in the interpretation of texts or of ceremonies; this did not commend him to a controversial age, but it can give him a surprisingly modern appeal. These additions to the *Toronto Collected Works* offer access to a mind which shows no signs of losing its fascination as the millenium draws to an end.

UBBESTON DOMINIC BAKER-SMITH

Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500–1650, VII: *Bilanz–Forschungsperspektiven–Register*. Edited by Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler. (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform i Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 57). Pp. 312. Münster: Aschendorff, 1997. 3 402 02978 2; 0170 7302

This volume is the last in a highly accomplished series of seven studies which deal with the regions of the empire during the extended process of 'confessionalisation'. The present volume rounds off the instructive individual analyses with much-needed overall considerations. The concept of 'confessionalisation' and its limitations are treated in seven separate contributions. These conceptual problems are illuminatingly worked out in the contribution by Anton Schindling ('Konfessionalisierung und Grenzen der Konfessionalisierbarkeit', pp. 9–44). Walter Ziegler ('Altgläubige Territorien im Konfessionalisierungsprozess', pp. 67–90) deals in a masterly short study with the self-limitations of the confessionalisation debate by reviewing the situation in those territories that remained Catholic. He does not consider adequate the social-history orientation of the theory of confessionalisation in the assessment of developments of the Catholic areas. Dieter Stievermann, Barbara Henze, Johannes Merz and Manfred Rudersdorf cover aspects of the confessionalisation of Protestant territories, religious orders, territorial towns and territorial princes. Georg Schmidt ('Konfessionalisierung, Reich und deutsche Nation', pp. 171–99) assesses recent contributions to the confessionalisation debate as well as setting new targets for research. The usefulness of the publication is enhanced by the meticulous and comprehensive index to all seven volumes by Matthias Asche and Sabine Schlögl (pp. 201–311).

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN — HELGA ROBINSON-HAMMERSTEIN

El Renacimiento y la otra España. Visión cultural socioespiritual. By José C. Nieto. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 315). Pp. 855 incl. 29 ills. Geneva: Droz, 1997. 2 600 00234 0; 0082 6081

José Nieto's survey and analysis of Spanish Christians, some of whom, in the sixteenth century, left their native land and joined various of the newly-forming Protestant churches, is a labour of love which majestically represents a lifetime's work. At one level it is a dialogue with great nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians of Spanish religion and culture – Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcel Bataillon, and Amérigo Castro. Against these scholars, and others who have worked on the basic assumption that 'heresy', other than that of clinging to Jewish or Muslim belief, did not, and could not arise of its own accord in the Iberian peninsula, Nieto argues, throughout these many pages, that the contrary was true. Spaniards were as capable as anyone else of questioning received Christian doctrine and practice, and his subjects, who primarily emerge from known groups of Catholic dissidents in Seville and Valladolid which were cruelly and effectively suppressed by the Inquisition, demonstrate this point graphically. Yet Nieto is also engaged in another dialogue, on a political and personal level,

with his fellow Spaniards. This concerns the country's experience in later centuries, and in particular the consequences of the loss of the colonies in Cuba and the Philippines, in 1898, and the subsequent dictatorships of Primo de Rivera and Franco, on either side of the civil war of 1936–9. Nieto identifies at a deep level with 'Protestant' exiles from sixteenth-century Spain, such as Cassiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera, because he regards himself as an exile too, for political reasons. For him, this lengthy and elaborate treatment of certain religious 'dissidents' in the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation is a debt of honour to what he calls the 'Other Spain', which has existed from that day to this, and in which he includes himself, the one which refuses to accept authoritarianism in Church or State.

Inevitably, though, the features of the twentieth century which intrude into this discussion of the sixteenth century include the sectarian divisions which exist between the Christian Churches of the present day, as well as the conflict between dictatorship and democracy in Spain, which took place between 1898 and 1975. This treatment of notions of church reform which arose in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain begins with a somewhat arbitrary selection of supposed medieval representatives of the 'Other Spain', including Ramón Llull and, somewhat surprisingly, Geoffrey Chaucer rather than John Wycliffe, as an English representative of the genre. The bulk of the book consists of an intricate reconstruction of the writings, beliefs and careers of the mid sixteenth-century Seville and Valladolid groups of reformers, some of whom died at the hands of the Inquisition, or by natural causes, in Spain, while others forged new lives for themselves in what had by this time become Protestant Europe. Nieto's book concludes with a discussion of various leading figures, and intellectual and artistic currents in what is known in the country itself as 'Golden Age' Spain, including Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, the work of El Greco, and a discussion of the supposed 'kabbalism' of the Augustinian theologian and poet, Fray Luis de León.

It has to be said that the quality of treatment of the numerous elements of this colossal agenda is, perhaps inevitably, somewhat uneven. The section on late medieval Spain, for instance, though containing a useful treatment of the 'dissident' Salamancan theologian, Pedro de Osma, is somewhat lacking in awareness of current debates (and bibliography) in pre-Reformation religious history, both inside and outside Spain. The discussion of late sixteenth-century Christian (and Jewish) kabbalism also lacks a full grounding in the massive contribution to the subject which is currently being made in the context of Jewish studies. Thus Nieto's judgements in these areas are not wholly reliable. Shortage of space renders it impossible, here, to discuss specific matters in detail, and fill in some of the gaps, but there is one major problem with the book (apart from its liberal scattering of misprints), which must receive fuller treatment. This is the matter of terminology. First, on the positive side, as has already been noted, the author here deploys a lifetime of commitment and scholarship in the cause of opposing hierarchy and authoritarianism, especially in the Roman Catholic Church, and in defending, and demonstrating, the capacity of Spaniards to question and debate received religious beliefs and practices without necessarily requiring any foreign input. In this effort, he basically succeeds. He does indeed demonstrate that the late, and mighty, Marcel Bataillon greatly overstated his case when he ascribed virtually all reforming movements in early sixteenth-

century Spain to the influence of Erasmus, important as that obviously was, for a time, at the court of Charles V, and he makes a similarly convincing case for the influence of Luther and Calvin. Indeed, had the book under review been written in English, which the author could have done, it would have successfully placed on the map, for historians of the Reformation period outside Spain, some distinguished, and often courageous, reforming Christians who lived and died in Spain, and never became members of any of the new Protestant denominations. Those who study Hus and Wycliffe should certainly be equally aware of Pedro de Osma and the Pastrana illuminists, and, in particular, Nieto's lengthy and committed treatment of the Seville canon, Dr Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, certainly deserves to place him among those who are remembered as 'saints and martyrs of the Reformation era'. There is, none the less, a downside to all this. When we talk about 'Reform' in this context, what exactly do we mean?

Throughout the book, Nieto is at pains to stress a distinction, which he perceives, between the 'Roman' Catholic church, deriving from the See of Rome, and what he describes as the 'evangelical catholic church', to which he believes that Spanish reformers such as Egidio and Ponce de La Fuente subscribed. In contrast, he tends to downplay the contribution of equally courageous reformers, such as Fray Bartolomé de Carranza, who remained loyal to the Roman See despite spending eighteen years in Inquisition prisons. There seem to be two main problems with the term 'evangelical catholic'. Firstly, it is not an expression which is used in Nieto's sense by sixteenth-century churchmen to describe either themselves or anyone else, and secondly, it must cause confusion to those who currently employ the term 'evangelical' to describe reformers elsewhere in Continental Europe and in the British Isles. This is a pity, as it tends wrongly to restrict Nieto's contribution to a debate only within Spain itself, when his contribution to Reformation (and Counter-Reformation) history is in fact much greater than that. It is to be hoped that, whatever its flaws, this mighty book will contribute to a growing awareness of the fluidity of religious labelling and divisions in the Western Church of the early and mid sixteenth century, which could have important implications for the life of the whole Church today. In any case, it is clear that no serious student of this period and subject should avoid engaging with Nieto's mighty achievement.

OXFORD JOHN EDWARDS

Henry VIII's conservative scholar. Bishop John Stokesley and the divorce, royal supremacy and doctrinal reform. By Andrew A. Chibi. Pp. 204. Bern: Peter Lang, 1997. £21 (paper). 3 906757 33 1; 08204 3403 5

The religious conservatives of the reign of Henry VIII are still a neglected and often misunderstood group. John Stokesley, bishop of London from 1530 to 1539, was a leading Henrician conservative, and his career has (to date) suffered even greater neglect than those of his contemporaries Stephen Gardiner and Cuthbert Tunstall. Andrew Chibi's *Henry VIII's conservative scholar* is a worthy and worthwhile attempt to redress the balance. His book, based on a Sheffield University doctoral dissertation, is not quite a comprehensive biography; rather,

it deals with those aspects of Stokesley's career outlined in the subtitle: his role in the campaign to secure Henry VIII's divorce, his attitude to the royal supremacy, and his part in the composition of the doctrinal statements and formularies of the later 1530s. Chibi also deals with Stokesley's administration of his diocese and provides a brief account of his career up to the start of the divorce crisis. His basic thesis is that Stokesley gave Henry 'a consistent view with regard to Catholic doctrine' (p. 173). Despite his conservatism, Stokesley was an active supporter of the divorce, and was in the 'vanguard' of the king's agents (p. 41). He was an advocate of the royal supremacy as well as of the divorce, and Chibi regards him as 'a model for other loyal Catholics' (p. 90), and a 'conservative leader'. He argues that Stokesley's position on the supremacy was consistent (p. 119). But Stokesley was also 'a bulwark against doctrinal innovation' (p. 133), both in his diocese and in the wider councils of the Church of England. As Chibi conclusively demonstrates, he played a major part, alongside Tunstall, in the composition of the *Bishops' book* (pp. 104–5). Chibi has written a careful and sober work, and his conclusions are for the most part convincing. However, he occasionally presses his case too far. He contends that Cromwell did not pursue 'a personal vendetta' against Stokesley (p. 151), yet some of the evidence he cites points in the other direction. For example, in 1537 Cromwell tried to link Stokesley with the northern rebellion of the previous year (p. 153). Chibi portrays Stokesley as a convinced and consistent supporter of the royal supremacy; in so doing he confines himself strictly to the available evidence. A more self-indulgent (or a more daring) scholar might have asked whether Stokesley was – like Gardiner – something of a residual papalist at heart. There is a story, which Chibi is perhaps too ready to dismiss as apocryphal (p. 17), that Stokesley was wont to lament his failure to side with Fisher. It may not be without an element of truth. But these differences of interpretation should not overshadow the fact that Dr Chibi has written a book which all serious students of the Henrician Reformation should read. The further study of the Henrician episcopate which he promises is awaited with interest.

BELFAST C. D. C. ARMSTRONG

De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen 1522–1545. Dutch translations of the Bible 1522–1545. By A. A. Den Hollaender. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 33.) Pp. xiv + 565 incl. 166 ills. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1997. *f* 250. 90 6004 430 4

The Bible in print. Netherlandish Bible illustration in the sixteenth century. By Bart A. Rosier (translated by Chris F. Weterings). Pp. xv + 359; iii + 216 + 529 plates. Leiden: Foleor, 1997. Nlg 460. 90 75035 09 8; 90 75035 09 8

It is well known that Luther's movement produced an extraordinary resonance in the Netherlands. Sympathisers with the new movement could draw upon one of the most sophisticated publishing industries in the whole of Europe, and a large and eager book-reading population. In the publication of evangelical works editions of the Bible played an important role: a total of some eighty-nine vernacular editions were published in the Netherlands between 1522 and 1545. The history of Netherlands Bible editions was not uncomplicated. Open

supporters of the new doctrines were savagely dealt with, and any publications in which the Bible text was printed with prefatory material or glosses of an overtly evangelical character laid their publishers open to prosecution. It says a great deal for the demand for such works that Bible printing continued, notwithstanding, at such a high level; not even the execution of two of the most prolific Bible printers could interrupt the flow, though overtly Protestant editions were henceforth mostly published abroad. The two specialist works reviewed here take our understanding of this important literature to a new plane. Both are highly technical works, Den Hollaender's devoted to the text and Rosier to the illustrations of Dutch Bibles in the period (for different reasons both are effectively confined to the first half of the century). Den Hollaender's work offers a careful re-examination of the evolution of the text of vernacular Dutch Bibles from the first partial edition of 1522. The point of departure is the author's recognition that previous attempts to reconstruct the textual basis of Dutch Bibles has been based on a very partial examination of texts: for the most part focused almost entirely on the comparison of translations of passages of the greatest confessional sensitivity. Here instead Den Hollaender offers much more scientific investigation of the geneaology of Bible texts based on an extensive comparison of essential randomly chosen passages. Not surprisingly, a more complex picture emerges. The author is able to show that the most important Dutch translations were seldom based on one single text, but rather drew on a variety of sources, as well as other Dutch translations. For instance the famous Liesveldt Bible of 1526 drew on no fewer than seven separate sources, including Luther, the Isaiah commentary of Oecolampadius, the Vulgate and earlier Dutch translations. Later editions witnessed the text in further stages of evolution, as printers introduced refinements on the basis of newly available resources (in the case of Liesveldt, the Zurich Bible of 1531). This is complex work, which requires careful attention to follow in all its intricacy. The technical explanation at the beginning of the text analysis is particularly demanding in this respect. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that this work has taken our understanding of the processes behind the development of a Dutch vernacular Bible to a new level. The study is complemented with a full bibliographical appendix, providing a finding list, title-page illustrations, and detailed descriptions of print variations for all the Bible editions listed.

Bart Rosier's beautiful book is a breathtaking achievement. Many (though not all) of the Dutch Bible editions on the market in these years enhanced their appeal by woodcut illustrations: up to 180 in the richest and most lavishly decorated. In fact, the native Dutch woodcut tradition was not at this point particularly strong; as with the text, the illustrations drew heavily on German models. The three most frequently copied cycles of illustrations in the Old Testament, for instance, were all of German origin: Erhard Schön's series for the Lyon Vulgate of 1518–21, the *Icones* of Hans Holbein, and Hans Sebald Beham's *Biblische Historien*. Also influential were the series of Apocalypse figures designed by Holbein, in turn based on Cranach's famous illustrations for the Luther Testament of 1522. Interesting, too, is the extent to which this illustrative tradition drew on pre-Reformation models. All three major cycles described above ultimately derived from the compositional designs of the Cologne Bible of *c.* 1479, and many of the woodcuts used to illustrate the books of the New

Testament were drawn from works of devotional literature. This circumstance casts an interesting light on the hypothesis that specific illustrations, or indeed the urge to decorate the text with such visual materials, might have been imbued with confessional significance. In fact Rosier is strongly of the view that it is scarcely possible to discern any denominational signature in Bible illustrations, a fact supported by the fact that by and large illustrative schemes flowed back and forth between Protestant and Catholic Bibles with little attempt to customise them for a specific audience. The real change came in mid-century, with the arrival of Bible text of a specifically Reformed character, for the publishers of these Bibles largely eschewed any illustration beyond the 'technical' diagrams (the Temple, Tabernacle and maps of the Holy Land) adopted from the Geneva Bible. The tradition of Netherlandish Bible illustration, though rich, was thus short-lived; it is interesting to speculate how far the designs might have dropped out of the common consciousness before the revival of religious art in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

As with Den Hollaender, Rosier's work is supported by full technical appendices, with a checklist of illustrations in each Bible edition, an index according to subject, and 529 plates. This in particular will make this book an invaluable addition to any library. Taken together, the two works are a remarkable monument to the meticulous character of Dutch academic scholarship in this field.

St Andrew's Reformation Studies Institute Andrew Pettegree

Wales and the Reformation. By Glanmor Williams. Pp. xii + 440. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997. £25. 0 7083 1415 5

The problems of providing a comprehensive account of the Reformation in Wales are such that it is easy to understand why the task should have taken Sir Glanmor Williams almost fifty years to complete. There is a shortage of local evidence: the churchwardens' accounts for Swansea are the only ones to have survived for the sixteenth century. There are, probably for that very reason, few local case studies of the kind that are now abundant for England. Apart from the Council in the Marches, seated at Ludlow, there were no institutions, secular or spiritual, common to the whole of Wales; and the story of the Church in Wales is, therefore, very much the story of four separate bishoprics and their clergy. Wales was at the receiving end of policies created by the crown in London and there was little in the way of an indigenous movement for reform: the Reformation in Wales was essentially reactive. All these deficiencies make it hard to write a fully coherent history; but Sir Glanmor, building on his published work for the last five decades, has produced as comprehensive and scholarly an account of the matter as could be hoped.

The central core of the book lies in nine chronological chapters, flanked by two on the Welsh Church before the Reformation and, at the end, by two on the state of the Church and one on the Welsh Bible. I do not think that the problems of structure have been entirely overcome. For each stage of the Reformation the policy of the Crown has to be described before its reception and enforcement in

Wales can be discussed; and this has often to be done separately for each of the four bishoprics in turn, giving, especially in the four chapters on the reign of Henry VIII a somewhat disjointed effect. Once we get to the reign of Elizabeth the story becomes more coherent, since two big themes emerge: the Romanist challenge and the translation of the Prayer Book and the Bible.

The analytical chapters, on the clergy, the laity and the Welsh Bible, are the most successful. On the whole the obstacles facing the Protestant Church in Wales were similar to those in England, but more difficult for reformers to circumvent or remove. Dioceses and parishes were poor, most of the clergy were unlearned; schools were few. Above all, large parts of the population were 'no more than superficially Christianised' on the eve of the Reformation and even in 1567, according to Bishop Robinson, 'ignorance continueth many in the dregs of superstition'.

One prime reason for this was the lack, until that moment, of a Welsh Bible or Prayer Book: the word of God was 'closed up in an unknown tongue', to quote Robinson again. The great strength of this book lies in its excellent discussion of the campaign to achieve translations into Welsh. At the outset arguments were advanced for leaving the Welsh people to cope with the texts in English, as the Irish, Scots and Cornish were required to do: a single language of religion throughout the kingdom would, it was thought, strengthen the unity of the Church. In the end, thanks to the persistence and determination of a few men – William Salesbury, Richard Davies and William Morgan above all – the opposite view prevailed, with incalculable results not only for religion in Wales but also for the Welsh language and for Welsh society. Coming at a time when the professional poets of Wales were in 'a state of terminal decline' the Welsh Bible gave the language a new lease of life and a high status. It contributed as well to the Welsh sense of identity.

As in England, religious reform made slow progress in Wales. Reactions to proposals for change were negative or, at best, indifferent. There were, to the surprise of many, no big protests, but nor was there much enthusiasm. Williams is particularly good at using the poetry of the bards to assess reactions to change: a type of source not available to church historians in England. Almost all these men disliked change and they probably represented the views of the majority. But by the end of the sixteenth century the survival of the Reformation was assured. It would have been interesting to have had a more extended comparison with Tudor Ireland, where the results were so different. Williams is probably right to argue that the prime reason for the contrast lies in the political control exercised in Wales by the crown thanks to the support of the gentry, who hoped for pickings from the religious changes. In Ireland the Tudors managed to alienate their natural supporters with disastrous consequences.

This book appropriately crowns the scholarly career of Sir Glanmor Williams. English, Scottish and Irish historians, as well as Welsh, should be grateful to him. It comes at an appropriate historical moment when questions of national identity within the United Kingdom are high on the political as well as the historical agenda.

New College, Penry Williams
Oxford

Birth, marriage, and death. Ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England. By David Cressy. Pp. xv+641 incl. 26 ills. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. £25. 0 19 820168 0

How can we gauge laypeople's responses to religious change in early modern England? We have tried counting heresy cases, testamentary preambles, bequests, churchwardens' expenditures, returns of recusants and visitation presentments. Perhaps the number-crunching becomes arid and impersonal, and misses the wishes and worries of individuals. Now David Cressy tries a different strategy: he looks at conflicts over ritual, and explores the attitudes of the laity towards what the clergy offered them. Cressy's book examines major life events, and the religious rites and secular customs which accompanied them. As rituals changed and alternatives became available, who was to determine the ceremonies used? – families who wanted (or hated) traditional ways, or ministers with their own liturgical inclinations? Which rule should prevail? – parish custom, Prayer Book prescription, personal preference or a clergyman's conscience? The liturgical contests which followed tell us much about attachment to old ways, acceptance of the Prayer Book, the growth of Protestantism and the response to Laudianism. Cressy shows that laypeople often held their own strong views. There was a determined retention of old rituals and a determined resistance to new ones, so both clerical Protestants and Laudians met opposition from at least some of their parishioners. The people came to want what was in the Prayer Book – no less and no more.

One of Cressy's most vivid demonstrations of this is on the churching of new mothers. Far from resisting what the godly saw as superstition, women demanded the ceremony as prescribed in the Prayer Book. When the vicar of Preston Capes refused it in 1584, he was beaten up by a butcher whose wife wanted to be churched as usual. Women wanted the formal ceremony in church, and not just the female partying which marked their return to the active world. But when clergy began to demand that women wore veils for their churching, as did Bishop Harsnett of Norwich in 1620, there was trouble. The next year, Elizabeth Shipden was excommunicated by the diocesan chancellor for refusing the veil; she sued him in King's Bench, but lost. As the veil became a disciplinary issue for the hierarchy, so hostility to bishops increased. There were also the better-known contests between clergy and laity over use of the ring in marriages and the cross in baptisms. But Cressy's evidence shows that many ministers were more flexible than doctrinaire. Some would provide the rituals their parishioners wanted – and were willing to vary them according to the demands of individuals. If pressed by forward Protestants to omit the sign of the cross in baptism, they might do so, but retain it for their more conforming parishioners. Thus some ministers offered customised rituals, and performed the ceremonies in different ways.

For ecclesiastical historians, the material on liturgical conformity and controversy is perhaps the most significant. But Cressy also provides broader human contexts for life events. A refusal to bring a new baby to church for baptism might not be doctrinal, but because the mother feared for a sickly infant. In birthing rituals and in churching, women partly controlled what happened, determining the customs of preparation and celebration. These included secular and magical practices, with talismans for childbirth and much jollity after weddings, churchings and baptisms – though the mother was usually absent from

baptism itself. Courtship had its unwritten secular steps, of gifts and gloves, long before the church banns, and Cressy gives graphic accounts of pre-marital pursuits and negotiations.

This is a big book on a huge subject. It has twenty chapters: four on birth; five on baptism and churching; seven on courtship and marriage; and four on death. It is based on research in twenty-five archives and record offices, detailed in 1,471 end-notes. And all for £25: other British university presses please note. The sources include regulations and conduct books, church court and visitation records, and autobiographical works (most of them from the pious, the middling sort, and the end of the period). Nearly all of the evidence was produced by men, and a good deal of it resulted from recorded conflicts. Usually it can tell us little about childbirth for the 'woman in the straw', or the 'gossipings' which followed – though in 1633 Thomas Salmon of Great Tew dressed in female clothes to join in the women's fun after a delivery. Such patchy materials have been tackled by Cressy with impressive care and sensitivity, and without sentimentality. The arguments are put forward gently, mainly in two pages of initial 'positions' and briefly in the conclusion. There is no polemical drive and little open debate, as he gets on with the stories. There is the fascination, in the detail – rich, raw, well-marshalled, sometimes funny, often poignant. Of course, there is more to be done: Cressy himself hopes we will look at regional variations in ritual practice, at comparisons with Scotland, North America and continental Europe, and at the disruptions of 1640–60. The world must be turned upside down again. Perhaps there is also something to be said about the early sixteenth century, about differences between town and country, about catechetical teaching on baptism, about deathbed will-making, and about the bureaucratisation of ritual with the introduction of parish registers. Ritual will run and run. But David Cressy has brought us a long way already, and written a valuable book. His tales suggest that 'Renaissance, Reformation, Revolution, and Restoration' did not much affect life-cycle rituals, except for Protestant success in stamping out prayers for the dead. Godly ministers could not destroy customary celebration and Prayer Book observance, while the Laudians could not impose new ones. The laity usually got what they wanted, whatever the clergy thought was good for them. And quite right too.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD — CHRISTOPHER HAIGH AND ALISON WALL

Press censorship in Elizabethan England. By Cyndia Susan Clegg. Pp. xv + 296. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. £35. 0 521 57312 2

This is a truly alarming book. Not that Cyndia Susan Clegg can be blamed for that. Her careful and comprehensive scholarship lucidly presents an interpretation of Elizabethan press censorship that destroys the underlying assumptions of many recent 'new historicist' and 'cultural materialist' literary and cultural studies of the period. That she exposes those assumptions as historically naive and ill-informed constitutes the really alarming part of her argument. Readers of this JOURNAL might be interested to find that in consequence her book also offers

important insights into the religious debates of the period, particularly the Marprelate controversy. However, more importantly, they would recognise that this book will become essential reading for anyone wishing to understand early modern print culture, whether from a literary or an historical perspective.

The last point seems most surprising, and therefore worrying, since her argument resembles the findings of the last twenty years of research into early modern monarchy. Historians have discovered not long-term policy goals and ideological conflicts, but the interaction of personality, patronage, religion, institutional conservatism and inertia, and foreign affairs, in the daily decision-making of Tudor government, buffeted by the complicated ebb and flow of political events. However, as Clegg shows, this evidence has yet to be appreciated by such luminaries of literary studies as Lorna Hutson and Annabel Patterson, who through 'a curious amalgam of historical evidence, decontextualized facts, overgeneralization and half-truths' (p. 219) have perpetuated the ancient Whiggish conceit of a despotic Tudor regime, able efficiently to suppress any text it found objectionable, measured by commonly acknowledged criteria. Patterson in particular has built her influential ideas about the functional ambiguity of Tudor literature on the premise of a repressive machinery powerful enough to shape a discourse of nods and winks used by both authors and authorities. The surprise is not that this is argued well but that is still argued at all.

Clegg shows that the infrequent occasions of press censorship reflected pragmatic responses to extraordinary events. It could hardly be otherwise. Elizabethan government sought to protect the English print trade from foreign competition by appointing monopolistic royal printers, and by extending privileges to private printers that protected their copyright over particular texts. The effectiveness of what little pre-print censorship there was depended on the accessibility and diligence of those various individuals, ranging from minor clerics to the monarch, who were required by statute, proclamation and the courts to oversee a rapidly-increasing volume of publications. None treated this onerous, unpaid labour very seriously. Nor did the Ecclesiastical Commission, given licensing powers by the 1559 Royal Injunctions, appear to apply its restraints regularly, even within its narrow ecclesiastical remit. The much-vaunted Stationers' Company busied itself more with suppressing 'illegal printing', defined as printing outside the Company, or printing against the exclusive printing license it granted to its members, than with the actual content of books. Though it preferred official approval for religious or political books, at times a majority of books published were neither privileged, licensed nor copyrighted by the Company.

This technical illegality did not make such books transgressive. That depended upon their contents and especially their reception. The government only actively sought to suppress Catholic texts dealing with the state and Elizabeth's sovereignty, but the frequency of proclamations against their import and the infrequency of sanctions against their owners tells its own tale. Treasonous writing, writing on the succession and libel against Elizabeth or her ministers only attracted attention when it directly attacked the government and especially when its appearance coincided with a destabilising political event. Only a surprisingly few texts mark out the territory of press censorship in Elizabethan England, as one bounded by personality, patronage and political interest. Those

boundaries appeared distinct only when delimited by *ad hoc* responses to particular texts, perceived at moments of crisis, caused by the rising or setting of some political sun, to endanger the exercise of the régime's legitimate authority. Then the response could be authoritarian. This happened especially when those texts mediated the exercise of power by requiring the government to be self-conscious of its practices in areas in which it felt itself to be vulnerable – the succession, the treatment of Jesuits and Catholic priests, its efforts against international Catholicism in the Low Countries and Ireland, and radical Protestantism at home.

This record of institutional indolence punctuated by outbursts of vicious personal vindictiveness is depressingly familiar to even the most inexperienced student of Tudor government. That those outbursts largely reflected temporary political hysteria rather than vigilantly policed boundaries can be seen in the variety of their victims. From the naively patriotic compilers of *Holinshed's Chronicles*, out of their depth in the destructive tidal flows of court politics, to the well-connected John Stubbs, fatefully attacking French duplicity at the very moment when Elizabeth had decided that relations with France needed to be enhanced, to the Marprelate group, running foul of a moral panic which turned previously acceptable satire into treason, contingency ruled Tudor print culture. Cyndia Clegg's considerable achievement is to remind us of this salutary fact, and consequently to cause us to question the validity of those 'new historicist' interpretations to which, sadly, this latest product of the press will be news indeed.

Victoria University of Wellington Glyn Parry

The recovery of the past in early Elizabethan England. Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the circle of Matthew Parker. Edited by Timothy Graham and Andrew G. Watson. (Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph, 13.) Pp. xii + 130 incl. 4 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library (for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society), 1998. 0 90220556 0; 05756782

The bibliographical disaster triggered by Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries was as much a source of distress to Protestant scholars as to those loyal to the traditional Church, not least because Protestants saw the dispersal of monastic libraries as an own goal, destroying vital evidence for the historical validity of their religious revolution. Appropriately, foremost among those leading a belated fight to save something from the wreck was Elizabeth I's Primate of All England, Matthew Parker. This meticulously-edited volume presents (after a brief introduction) three surviving documents from his campaign. The first is a long and detailed letter of 1560 to Parker from John Bale, first complaining about the dispersal of his own library by Catholic enemies after his whirlwind Edwardian tenure of the see of Ossory, and then providing suggestions as to where major texts on church history might be found in manuscript or in print. This is of particular interest in representing part of an English response to a request for information made to Elizabeth I by the Magdeburg Centuriators, testifying to the international ties of the Elizabethan Reformation. The second two documents are lists of books and their whereabouts

compiled in the 1560s by Parker's secretary John Joscelyn, both now in the Cottonian MSS; the lists draw on Bale's earlier letter. Their chief importance is to show how manuscripts had been distributed, and also (as the editors) observe, to show just how hard it was, even for someone as well-placed as Parker, to get hold of comprehensive information. The situation highlights the heroism of Parker's achievement in building up his magnificent manuscript collections now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

ST CROSS COLLEGE, DIARMAID MACCULLOCH
OXFORD

The Bible, Protestantism and the rise of natural science. By Peter Harrison. Pp. viii + 313. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £40. 0 521 59196 1

As his uncompromising title announces, Peter Harrison's study of the link between readings of the Bible and the rise of natural science in Reformation Europe is a formidably ambitious enterprise. As with most ambitious undertakings, it succeeds in part, but it occasionally overreaches itself. Naturally, as with any work which concerns itself with analysing widely differing conceptions of the nature of *the* fundamental text in Christianity, Harrison's brief is extraordinarily wide, and he is obliged to engage with patristic study just as were the Reformation divines and lay readers who are the primary actors in his history. The range of the work is, then, vast, and what emerges is nothing less than a very particular reading of Christian reactions to the natural world from Augustine to the late seventeenth century. Few historians would be happy to take on Harrison's self-imposed task, even at the level of the introductory textbook, and still less to do so at the altogether more exacting standards actually achieved by Harrison. There are problems with Harrison's approach, however, and it is to some of these that attention will now turn.

To begin with, Harrison initially presents his text as an attempt to re-examine the 'Merton thesis', namely, the notion that the rise of natural science in seventeenth-century England was intimately linked with Puritanism. He qualifies the thesis considerably, announcing that what is most important in this link between religion and science is actually the Europe-wide change in ideas induced by the impact of the literalist mentality propounded by the Protestant reformers, thereby undermining Merton's particular emphasis on England and Puritanism. At which point, after literally three or four pages of exegesis, exit the 'Merton thesis'. This criticism is not designed to privilege the 'Merton thesis' (along with its reifying quotation marks), which is plainly deeply flawed, but it is to wonder how exactly Harrison sees his response in relation to the mass of secondary literature unleashed by Merton's critics. The 'Merton thesis' obviously matters to Harrison, but his response to it is somewhat oblique.

In order to situate his hypothesis, Harrison takes his readers on what sometimes reads like a rather rushed magical mystery tour of what he calls the medieval world. It is one of the penalties of the book's chronological ambition that it tends to take such conceptions as a 'medieval world' for granted; likewise, the 'twelfth century renaissance' is presented as an unproblematic characterisation, and the work of Origen and Augustine is plotted according to such a

doubtfully reassuring itinerary of conventional intellectual signposts. At one surreal point only are such reassurances questioned, when Albert the Great is discovered 'sounding rather like an eighteenth-century British empiricist': have intellectual historians such as Skinner and Pocock laboured in vain on methodological questions for such proleptic pseudo-jokes to continue to flourish? The serious point remains: why are so many chapters given over to largely unsurprising exegesis of patristic and medieval exegesis when the book is ostensibly devoted to the nature and consequences of specifically *Protestant* exegesis? Plainly, the inter-relationships here matter, but rather less space might have been given to medieval sources in favour of early modern ones. The transition from the allegorical to the literal interpretation of Scripture, along with that from textual to empirical understandings of the natural world, is clearly fundamental to Harrison's argument, but it still seems odd to give up quite so much space to background over development.

This division in Harrison's attention matters fundamentally since such of the space as he does devote to the seventeenth century is so well used. By charting the transformation of the Bible into 'history' through the favouring of the literal interpretation, he is able to draw out many familiar, and some less familiar trajectories of the early relationship between religion and science. He also successfully demonstrates the congruity between literal and typological readings, as well as opening up the accommodationist arguments that allowed scholars and *virtuosi* to discern in Genesis a genuinely scientific account of the world. This in turn opens up a useful discussion of the rise of physico-theology, and a fascinating analysis of eschatology, which, he argues, began to be understood *within* time. The rise of science can also be interpreted as an attempt at rediscovering the lost knowledge of the language of nature, as the literal reading of Scripture allowed observation of the natural world to predominate over purely textual understandings. A gallery of seventeenth-century philosophers and divines, including such worthies as Isaac Newton, Henry More, Thomas Burnet and William Whiston are used to illuminate the interaction of the word with the world to supremely good effect. The second half of the book leaves one regretting that so much was given up to potted exegetical histories in the first half.

Although a philosopher, Harrison writes as an intellectual historian. Perhaps this explains the somewhat odd fact that he nowhere discusses a central issue inherent in his discussion: what does all of this entail for the emergence of the notion of 'truth' in the early modern world, and how do we in turn understand those claims? His notes refer to the work of Steven Shapin, who has worked so much on this matter, but one would like to know what Harrison's position is on this highly contentious question. Does his silence merely imply assent to the 'truth' model which emerged in the seventeenth century?

University of Sussex B. W. Young

King James VI and I and the reunion of Christendom. By W. B. Patterson. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Pp. xv+409. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. £40. 0 521 41805 4

For nearly thirty years Brown Patterson has published essays on aspects of ecumenism in early modern Europe, often in *Studies in Church History*, many of

which provide the building blocks for this book. However, in its detail, coherence and ambition, this monograph is much more than a series of articles stitched together under one cover. Patterson argues that recent reassessments of James VI and I have largely overlooked his dogged pursuit of religious reconciliation, which should be placed alongside his well-known commitment to international peace as an abiding objective in foreign affairs. Although these ideals were sorely tested in the European conflict after 1618, few have appreciated how close the king came to success. Patterson finds the roots of James's ecumenism in his rule in Scotland before 1603, where religious and political conciliation was a central element of his domestic programme to achieve stability, though the king made few moves on the international stage beyond contacting the papacy to smooth his succession to the English throne. Once safely ensconced in Whitehall, James could develop his cherished role as mediator and conciliator at home and abroad. Despite the dusty response he received from the papacy – Clement VIII's comment was that he doubted James believed anything – the king repeatedly pushed for a general council, placed himself at the head of that broader European ecumenical movement which included Casaubon, du Moulin, Calixtus and, briefly, the apostate de Dominis, and also fostered relations with the Greek Orthodox Church. The latter was perhaps the most enduring legacy of Jacobean ecumenism; elsewhere, James often encountered suspicion and frustration. Early in his English reign, James's attempt to defend the Oath of Allegiance unintentionally reinforced confessional antagonisms, while his diplomatic initiatives of 1618–23, in the midst of European war, ultimately came to nothing. James's strategy, Patterson provocatively suggests, displayed not political naivety but a hard-headed appreciation of the destructive capacity of religious division, and in 1622–3 it nearly achieved a negotiated settlement of the crisis over the Palatinate. The lack of consistent support from other European powers and an inability to control militants including his son-in-law, Frederick V, best explains James's failure. Patterson writes lucidly, treats other historians with appropriate irenicism, and should succeed in pushing Jacobean ecumenism from the margins into the mainstream of current historiography.

UNIVERSITY OF KENT KENNETH FINCHAM

The history of the University of Oxford, IV: *Seventeenth-century Oxford*. Edited by Nicholas Tyacke. Pp. xxi + 1008 incl. 2 maps + frontispiece and 32 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. £75. 0 19 951014 8

Of the making of books on the history of the University of Oxford there shall be no end – a state of affairs most heartily to be applauded. The Oxford Historical Society has been producing fine editions of essential texts since 1884 and, happily, continues so to do. The appearance of this present volume brings into sight the end of a massive undertaking by Oxford University Press, first set on foot at least a quarter of a century ago, of a multi-volume collaborative history of the university from its origins to the present day, with only volume vii (part II of the nineteenth century) to come. Many valuable sources have been published since the appearance of the first volume in 1984, notably John Fletcher's fine work on the accounts of Merton College, leading us to hope that a process of continuous

repair, as of the Forth Bridge, is already attracting enthusiastic volunteers among Oxford historians. Not that all the contributors to the series, or to this volume, are indigenous, as befits an enterprise of far more than parochial interest. One of the threads traced in this volume is of the path that led to Oxford's emergence after the Restoration as the recognised bulwark of Church and State, the guardian of High Anglicanism and High Toryism, a position of which traces may be discerned to this day.

Many aspects combine, and sometimes conflict, to define any university, and especially a collegiate one, and the complexities are compounded when such a university, as in the period covered by this volume, is more than usually embroiled with national events. There is no shirking of these difficulties here. Stephen Potter in the opening chapter, on 'The university and society', grapples manfully, and to very good effect, with calculations of the size of the university throughout the period, of the average age on matriculation, the average period of residence and the percentage of students graduating, so providing a demographic outline, and also sets the university in the context of the economic and, specifically, agricultural background. Alan Crossley describes the relations of the university and the city, not failing to mention that there were many instances of co-operation against the background of the habitual antler-rattling. John Newman, recounting the many building works undertaken at either end of the century, earns our thanks for his careful investigation of college fund-raising and elucidates, most elegantly, the history of the schools site and the evolution of Bodley's library.

As to the university's involvement with, and reactions to, the whirligig of the century's political upheavals: Kenneth Fincham deals with Oxford and the early Stuart polity, most particularly with the university's dealings with James I and with Laud, reminding us of the extraordinary powers of Oxford chancellors who, from 1570, chose the vice-chancellors, a practice embodied in statute in 1631, at which time Laud also demanded weekly letters from his nominee. The story is continued with a very vivid account by Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhard of Oxford's fate during the civil wars, both as to personnel and as to unaccustomed uses to which the university and college buildings were subjected, and with a subtle narration by Blair Worden of the Cromwellian era. Three chapters are by R. A. Beddard, on Restoration Oxford, Tory Oxford and 'James II and the Catholic challenge'. All these chapters are exemplary, as is Nicholas Tyacke's on religious controversy, both in setting Oxford in the context of national events and in tracing the manoeuvrings of the university's leaders. These are all intricate areas, and the authors do well not to attempt facile summaries.

The stuff of universities, however, is their studies, and these are lavishly treated with three chapters by Mordechai Feingold, on the humanities, the mathematical sciences and new philosophies, and oriental studies; by Robert Frank on medicine; Penelope Gouk on music; and Brian Levack on law. Gouk and Frank show themselves, unsurprisingly, totally at home in their subjects and provide comprehensive accounts both of academic and practical endeavours in their chosen fields and the areas in which they overlapped with other studies, while Levack's chapter is more confined to the syllabus and its fulfilment.

Feingold's chapters provide an astounding array of citations for the reading of Oxford students in each of his three groups of studies, and for this merits our

eternal gratitude. He is probably at his best when dealing with the mathematical sciences and new philosophies, but even here leaves us wondering what critical attention he has accorded his sources. He gives, for example, a number of instances of Oxford men familiar with Descartes, before the publication of his *Discours* in 1637, culminating in Meric Casaubon's claim that 'he had read his method, in French … many years before [he] mett any man, who eyther in print or by discourse tooke any notice of him'. It would seem that either Casaubon was deceived or Feingold has made insufficient allowance for academic vanity. Allowance should also perhaps be made, in considering the posthumous reputations of those Oxford orientalists who published nothing, for the language of encomium in the mouths of their friends. The style of Feingold's chapters is robustly combative, but he gives hostages to fortune. In defending the Oxford classicists of the era against the disparagements of Housman, Brink and Binns, he argues that the aim of his heroes was not pure philology but rather the discovery and defence of theological truth: many of their continental colleagues displayed their superior skills in the same cause. Greek seems problematic to Feingold, like an executive toy very fine, no doubt, but what is it for? Yet even a modestly equipped student of the classics in seventeenth-century Oxford would demur at including Nepos in a list of Greek authors, while few can have been familiar with the obscure and doubtless bloodthirsty Andronicus Rhodius (*sic*). With so great a wealth of examples of Oxonian readings set before us, it is perhaps ungrateful to quibble with some of its handling.

Studies in their turn cannot thrive without *materia*, and Ian Philip and Paul Morgan provide an accomplished and very useful account of libraries, books and printing, with inevitable emphasis on the Bodleian and the achievements of the energetic Dr Fell, while John Elliott, Jr, supplies valuable information on drama, not only in the colleges (where we may regret that saltings are not more fully discussed) but also in the court at Oxford under the direction of Inigo Jones.

The volume as a whole covers in a masterly fashion a vast expanse of learning and charts sure-footedly an extraordinarily complex period in the history of Oxford, deeply enmeshed as it was in the religious and political tergiversations of the century. No historian, and certainly no ecclesiastical historian, of the seventeenth century can afford to ignore it.

DARWIN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE — ELISABETH LEEDHAM-GREEN

The altars and altarpieces of new St Peter's. Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666. By Louise Rice. Pp. xvi + 478 incl. 186 black-and-white plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/New York: American Academy in Rome, 1997. £65. 0 521 55470 5

It would have been impossibly lugubrious to have put it in the title, but it ought to be noticed that this excellent monograph excludes, as already well-studied and published, the high altar with Bernini's stupendous baldachin and the four altars of its surrounding piers, and that it includes the church's *sopraporti*. As it is, the subject is more than rich and big and complex enough. Louise Rice tackles it brilliantly; with magisterial organisation and a style which is always transparent.

The main part of the book is narrative. Its protagonists are the popes, of whom the hero must be the Barberini Clement VIII; the Congregation of the Fabbrica which was established in 1605 and included connoisseurs of the stature of Cardinal del Monte; the Chapter of St Peter's; and artists such as Caravaggio, Poussin, Guercino, Vouet, Lanfranco, Reni, Pietro da Cortona and Domenichino. The contributions of the artists to the furnishing of the basilica are put in a catalogue which confidently deploys all the art historian's resources and is not shy of shrewd aesthetic evaluation. Behind them all looms the giant figure of Michelangelo. His Greek cross plan had to be extended into a Latin cross by Maduro to accommodate at least some of the relics and altars which cluttered the Constantinian basilica. His Pietà was championed by the Chapter with appropriate jealousy. Both these parts of the Michelangelo heritage involve the central drama of this book: the transfer from the old basilica to the new and the negotiations between the popes, the Fabbrica and the Chapter. Rice is particularly acute here. The Chapter was for continuity, carrying on in what Julius II had left of the old basilica as if there were no tomorrow in the new one, under construction the other side of the wall. They were reinforced in this by the appeal of antiquity and the devotions of the people. Even when the old church was rubble they insisted, with considerable success, on continuity between the two basilicas. The Fabbrica, on the other hand, were for a new and integrated Petrine and Christological liturgical/decorative scheme – particularly under Clement VIII. They found themselves yielding to the Chapter surprisingly often. The altar of St Erasmus can be counted a victory for the Chapter – justified by Poussin's noble altarpiece. So was the altar of St Petronilla (putative daughter of St Peter, but suspect as such from a familiar mixture of historical criticism with dogmatic *a priori*) which got a masterpiece by Guercino. Neither of these fitted into the Fabbrica's grand scheme. Both were popular. But papal sovereign grandeur had Bernini among its interpreters, not least with his stunning setting of the arch-relic of the *cathedra Petri*, and could, in the end, afford to be generous. The most distinguished casualties of the whole triumphant exercise were the Constantinian basilica itself and Caravaggio's *Madonna dei Palafrenieri*, with its electrifying nervous and intellectual power. The latter was only above its altar for a few days before falling victim to the ban on private patronage, such as had flourished in the old church, in the new. The Palafrenieri lost their altar but profited by twenty-five *scudi* when Cardinal Scipione Borghese bought the picture for his collection.

CHRIST CHURCH, JOHN DRURY
OXFORD

Primitivism, radicalism, and the Lamb's war. The Baptist–Quaker conflict in seventeenth-century England. By T. L. Underwood. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) Pp. xii + 188 incl. frontispiece. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. £30. 0 19 510833 7

The three principal denominations of English Puritanism to emerge in the 1640s, Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, sought to recover a purer model of church discipline based on scriptural ordinances, the Baptists most radically with their sectarian doctrine of believers' baptism. In the 1650s the Quakers rejected

these formalist models for a dramatic and extremely heterodox enthusiasm. This study of their public disputes and pamphlet wars between the mid 1650s and mid 1670s places novel emphasis on the similarities between Baptist and Quaker. The common link was primitivism, both seeking to recover as early a version as possible of the Christian Church; the difference was in what they thought possible. Baptists employed the blueprint of primitivism set out in the New Testament. Quakers claimed to have recovered, through the light within, the authority to which the first Christians were subject before the New Testament was written. The historical origins of Christianity were relived, internally and spiritually, through the power of the inner light. These are valuable insights but the paradoxical emphasis on similarities and differences confuses the thesis. For Quakers authority was inward; for Baptists outward. For the Baptists, Christ was mediated through Scripture; Quakers enjoyed the immediate inspiration of Christ within. Quakers were saved by their regeneration to perfection by the inner light and Baptists by the imputed righteousness earned by the sacrifice of the historical Christ. These polarities, reinforced by the nature of the sources, overwhelm the case for common characteristics. The most persuasive connection is that Quakers agreed with John Bunyan that baptism and the Lord's Supper were outward shows of inward acts. The Baptists saw them as 'signs' whereas to the Presbyterians and Independents they were covenantal 'seals'. However, the Quakers rejected all outward observance of these ordinances as redundant; the Baptists practised them in conformity with biblical precept. Despite his best efforts to sustain a comparative scheme and to emphasise incidental points of similarity, the author's principal contribution to our understanding of radical Puritanism is his subtle and complex analysis of the Quaker's indwelling light which dominates his comparative treatment of Christological, Trinitarian, soteriological and eschatological doctrine because, as he observes, Quakers used interchangeably the terms '*light*, *Holy Spirit*, *Spirit*, *Spirit of Christ*, and *Spirit of God*' (p. 102). The Baptists are overshadowed by the Quaker light, little more than witnesses to the zealous impact of the Quakers on England in the 1650s, suggesting that a wider coverage of contemporary critiques, including Richard Baxter as well as John Bunyan, would have produced an even richer study of the religion of early Quakerism. This is a valuable study which might usefully be read in conjunction with some of the recent works which particularly capture the vitality of early Quakerism such as H. Larry Ingle on George Fox and Leo Damrosch on James Nayler.

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE J. F. MCGREGOR

God's other children. Protestant non-conformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland, 1660–1700. By Richard L. Greaves. Pp. xii + 474. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. £40 ($55). 0 8047 2821 6

The substantial literature on the problem of religious dissent in late seventeenth-century England is not mirrored in the Irish historiography. The reasons are easy to find. Dissenters in Ireland were a small minority who often viewed their own interests as part of a wider Protestantism. Moreover Ireland failed to produce a John Bunyan to reveal the dissenting mind in all its contradictions and complexity. Recent welcome additions to J. C. Beckett's pioneering work of the

1940s are Phil Kilroy's *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland* (1994) and Kevin Herlihy's edited volumes on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Irish dissent. Richard Greaves's book is the most recent contribution to this emerging discussion. It is valuable because it reveals the unsuspected wealth of sources for early modern Irish dissent, and, drawing from official and ecclesiastical archives with extensive quotation, provides an excellent summary of the available evidence. Anyone who wants an introduction to, for instance, the riches of the Irish Quaker archive for the late seventeenth century could do no better than read the relevant chapter of this book. As a contribution to understanding the evolution of Irish dissent the volume is more problematical. Greaves argues that persecution transformed Ulster Presbyterians and Quakers from sect in the 1650s to denomination by 1700 while the Baptists and English-style Presbyterians in southern Ireland were effectively eliminated by the same process. He argues that the difference between the two experiences lay in the Scottish Presbyterians' 'sense of national identity, their relatively compact geographical base, their earlier organisational network and their socially unifying tradition of festal communions'. Southern Presbyterians and Baptists, allied to the radical regime of the 1650s, failed to establish such an organisational base and so drifted off into Independency or conformity. Greaves concludes that, since these groups were all within a Reformed tradition, theology alone cannot explain such a change. The argument is attractive but poses considerable problems. The evidence for the short-term collapse of Presbyterians outside Ulster is thin: eight new congregations were founded in southern Ireland between 1670 and 1704. Persecution is a problematic idea in a world where Protestants as a whole were a minority and for survival had to co-operate. There was no sustained attempt to close dissenting meetings. One Baptist group met, with the agreement of the Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin, beside the episcopal palace. Apart from the middle of the 1660s and the Tory hysteria of the early 1680s 'persecution' was muted or non-existent. Links with the wider community may be more important in explaining why some groups succeeded in maintaining their position while others declined. Styles of singing, preaching and praying which were attractive to contemporaries may be more significant than levels of persecution in determining the fate of a Church. The importance of ecclesiology and the differences in theological emphasis between groups within the Reformed tradition are not adequately explored. This volume has however raised awareness of the wealth of evidence which exists on such topics and for that we should be grateful.

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Raymond Gillespie

Religion and society in England and Wales, 1689–1800. Edited by William Gibson. (Documents in Early Modern Social History.) Pp. xi + 241. London–Washington: Leicester University Press, 1998. £69.95 (cloth), £17.99 (paper). 0 7185 0162 4; 0 7185 0163 2

This volume in the series *Documents in Early Modern Social History* was prepared in conscious imitation of the sourcebook edited by David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell for the period 1530–1660 (*Religion and society in early modern England*, London 1996). But while they adopted a strict chronological sequence and

focused almost entirely on the contentious issues of their period, Dr Gibson begins with three chapters on his opening decades – the aftermath of the Revolution of 1689, the Church in the early eighteenth century, and the Convocation, Bangorian, and other controversies – and then moves on to seven thematic chapters that give due weight to consensus and continuities in the period as a whole. New developments are treated as they arise: Methodism in a chapter on 'Religion outside the establishment', and the start of Sunday Schools under 'Popular religion'. The result is a much more rounded and convincing picture of ecclesiastical life. The author must also be congratulated on choosing his documents from a wide range of public and private sources, including many less familiar ones, and providing short, clear introductions to each, though in places the documents would have benefited from the kind of explanatory footnotes provided in the earlier volume. Moreover, in the introduction, rather than engage with current debates on ecclesiastical and social conditions in the eighteenth century, the author does little more than justify his selection and anticipate their contents. For those needing a sourcebook for this topic the volume can be recommended, but tutors will need to supplement it both orally and with a variety of other materials.

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST IAN GREEN

Jonathan Edwards. Letters and personal writings. Edited by Georg S. Claghorn. (The Works of Jonathan Edwards, 16.) Pp. xxiv + 854 incl. frontispiece and 16 ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1998. £55. 0 300 07295 3

This sixteenth volume in Yale's complete edition of his works comprises all Edwards's known letters (a total of 236 including 116 not previously published) together with a collection of personal writings – the 'Resolutions', the diary of 1722–35, his famous text 'On Sarah Pierpoint' and the 'Personal narrative'. These personal writings are vital for any attempt to understand Edwards and students will be grateful to see them here presented together in a careful critical edition. Even more impressive is Claghorn's industry in gathering together the remains of Edwards's epistolary output. The crucial importance of familiar correspondence in the propagation of eighteenth-century evangelicalism is well-known, and there is plentiful evidence here to illustrate the importance of Edwards in this context. Other letters add usefully to our understanding of Edwards's life and ministry (especially previously unpublished material relating to the conflicts at Stockbridge) and to an appreciation of his views on a wide range of matters. Particularly interesting in this latter respect is a draft letter of 1738 in which Edwards comments on slavery and slave-trading. A biographical glossary of Edwards's correspondents, a list of letters too fragmentary for inclusion and a list of letters received by Edwards together with their locations are provided in a series of appendices. The volume is also equipped with a useful index. Altogether, this is a well-produced edition which will be an excellent resource for both Edwards scholars and more generally for students of eighteenth-century New England and its religious contacts across the North Atlantic world.

KINGS COLLEGE, M. A. SMITH
LONDON

John Bennet and the origins of Methodism and the evangelical revival in England. By Simon Ross Valentine. (Pietist and Wesleyan Studies, 9.) Pp. xxii + 370 incl. frontispiece and 8 ills. Lanham, MD–London: Scarecrow Press, 1997. $85. 0 8108 3326 3

This is a carefully written and meticulously researched book. The level of scholarship – and the price – may perhaps deter the casual reader, but those who wish to understand the complexities of early Methodism and the part played in it by the unsung and oft maligned Bennet, will neglect Simon Valentine's study at their peril. Most students of the period will know that he was a tireless evangelist (like Whitefield, preferring to 'wear out rather than rust out') who died in 1759 at the relatively early age of forty-five, and that it was Bennet who wrote the minutes of the early Methodist Conferences beginning with the first in 1744. They will be aware, too, of Bennet's competition with John Wesley for the hand of Grace Murray and the clash of personalities that led Bennet to go his own way in 1752. However, Simon Valentine fleshes out this popular thumbnail picture by analysing Bennet's work as an assistant, showing his profound influence on the development of connexional Methodism – for example, in the introduction of the Quarterly Meeting. The author also gives us the most thorough examination to date of Bennet's theology and its Calvinist emphases which lay at the heart of his disenchantment with Wesley. It is these areas of investigation that will make this book a standard work of reference and a springboard for further research, though Simon Valentine's clear and readable style of writing makes it worth reading simply for its own sake.

WORCESTER PARK, SURREY BARRY TABRAHAM

The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760. By Colin Podmore. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xv + 332 incl. frontispiece and 10 figs and 2 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. £45. 0 19 8207255

Major changes in historical perspective sometimes arise from the development of broader views, sometimes from the minute examination of a restricted theme. In *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760* Colin Podmore takes the second route, and succeeds handsomely in unravelling many vexed questions relating to the chronology and personal relations of the early history of the evangelical awakening in England. One of the characteristics of the revival movements was to accumulate archives rather than to draft confessional statements, and the Moravians were notorious hoarders of correspondence, statements of religious experience, diaries of Zinzendorf's intimate dealings with his flock, and of historical writing based upon them. Podmore's long stay in Herrnhut has yielded abundantly; but he also shows what can be squeezed from a great deal of not very *recherché* material which has been lying about in this country awaiting an historian prepared to recognise that at the beginning of the revival the part played by the Moravians was out of all proportion to their ultimate minuscule role. This is all the more curious since for many reasons evangelism was not, in England, their *forte*. Nevertheless they had a religious appeal to dissatisfied

Anglicans, a political use to the court-in-waiting at Leicester House (which began earlier than Podmore indicates), and an attraction to labour-hungry colonial entrepreneurs. The last appear here as equally avid for man-power as the kings of Prussia, and less realistic as to what the Moravians might actually deliver; nevertheless they added to the Moravian political clout. On the way, for example in showing in some detail what the Moravians had to suffer during the '45, and revealing the viciousness of the episcopally contrived press campaign against them in the 'fifties, Podmore illuminates a wider field, the history of Methodism for example. And it is not to detract from a very successful book to say that it would sometimes have been an advantage if he himself had taken a wider view. Talk of ecumenism obscures the fact that Zinzendorf was engaged in an impossible balancing act between his own Philadelphian convictions, and the desire of the original Moravians to restore and renew the Unity of the Brethren; and OK labels neither alter nor redeem the fact that no man of independent mind could stand Zinzendorf for long.

PETERSFIELD W. R. WARD

The modern papacy since 1789. By Frank J. Coppa. (Longman History of the Papacy.) Pp. viii + 296 incl. 3 maps. London–New York: Longman, 1998. £42. 0 582 09629 4; 0 582 09630 8

Longman plans a new history of the papacy from early medieval times to now and this is the last in time but the first to be published. If this standard is kept up we shall welcome the series. It might be supposed that with such a mass of great events and so much time to be squeezed into less than 300 pages the result could hardly be other than superficial. But this is not so; there is no pope in this treatment about whom historians will not learn things which they are glad to find. The spacing is just in the sense that the author has not allowed his own scholarly enthusiasm to run away with matters that specially concern him, each pontificate is given a balanced and fair-minded treatment, the case of the advocates and that of the critics. Perhaps it is harder for him to say the best possible for the conservatives like Gregory XVI or Pius IX than for such as John XXIII or Benedict XV. In very modern times, where the historical perspective is shorter, it is more difficult not to rely on what is said by observers and sometimes they are inevitably gossipers; though he has no truck with the buzz that John Paul I might have been murdered. Archbishop Marcinkus appears in the index but curiously without a page number. The chapter on Americanism is valuable. There is an excellent bibliography.

SELWYN COLLEGE, OWEN CHADWICK
CAMBRIDGE

The Churches in England from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II, III *: 1833–1998*. By Kenneth Hylson-Smith. Pp. xiii + 383. London. SCM Press, 1998. £40 (cloth), £19.95 (paper). 0 334 02726 8; 0 334 02727 6

In this, the third and final volume of his history of the Churches in England Dr Hylson-Smith seeks to provide an 'historical overview' from the reign of

Elizabeth I to that of Elizabeth II. His book is noteworthy for the judicious manner in which it summarises much recent work in the field: an approach which is exemplified by its full bibliography. The work of other scholars, often encapsulated in well-chosen quotations summarising the issues under discussion, is also subjected to the author's personal and well-considered gloss. Yet, for all its thoughtful thoroughness, the viewpoint presented here is that from the window of the well-stocked country rectory library which was more common in the earlier than in the later part of the period under consideration. It is a viewpoint well enough informed to list the names of outstanding slum priests, but sufficiently detached from the circumstances in which they ministered to convey less of the reality of the problems they faced. It is also more empathetic to the Church of England than to other Churches and religious bodies: the facts of the 1932 Methodist Union are marshalled competently, its impact on local chapel life is left largely unconsidered. Much is accomplished within a relatively constrained format but distillation has perhaps squeezed out much of the lifeblood.

UNIVERSITY OF HULL R. W. AMBLER

A history of Japanese theology. Edited by Yasuo Furuya. Pp. v + 161. Grand Rapids, Mich.–Cambridge: Eerdmans. 1997. $17. 0 8028 4108 2

Professor Furuya has expertly translated and edited this pioneering short history of Japanese theology. The book is well-structured, readable and engaging, especially when the authors highlight their own lively contributions to Japanese theology. Throughout the book Japanese technical terms are avoided so that the content is accessible to anyone whether or not familiar with Japan. After an introduction by Furuya the chapters include 'The first generation: Christian leaders in the first period', by Akio Dohi (covering theologians born in the 1850s and 1860s: Ebina, Kozaki, Uemura and Uchimura), 'The second generation', by Toshio Sato (Hatano, Takakura, Nakajima, Watanabe, Asano, Yamaya, Ishihara, Uoki, Ariga, Sato, Otsuka, Kawada, Kan, Kumano, Miyamoto, Tsukamoto, Kurosaki, Iwashita, Yoshimitsu), 'The third generation, 1945–1970', by Seiichi Yagi (theologians such as Kitamori, Akaiwa, Odagiri, Noro, Tagawa, Arai, Sekine, Takizawa and Yagi himself) and 'Theology after 1970', by Masaya Odagaki (Takizawa and Yagi [again], Furuya, Doi, Muto, Inoue, Endo and Odagaki himself). In the epilogue Furuya reflects on the theological situation in the aftermath of the Emperor Showa's funeral in 1989; for many Japanese this was the symbolic closure of a long and traumatic era in Japan's history. The volume brings readers up to date (almost; the book was evidently finished by 1990) with most strands of theological thought in Japan, from the early experimental phases in the late nineteenth century when Christian thought was assimilated to or distinguished from Confucianism to the mainly Barthian 'Germanic captivity' of the mid 20th century; wartime collaboration; the ideological upheavals and university revolts of the late 60s, and most recently a departure from Eurocentric theologies and the emergence of more indigenous meontological and pluralist theologies after 1970 or Vatican II. The influential role of 'non-church' (Mukyokai) theologians in Japan is well brought out. There

is only one brief mention of a woman's own ideas (pp. 134–5) in 130 years of Japanese theology, though the sad loss of a wife or daughter is said to have had a decisive influence on male theologians in several cases (pp. 38, 75, 76). The title should perhaps be *A history of Japanese Christian theology* since Christianity is not the mainstream theological current in Japan. The traditional pre-eminence of Buddhism in the field of engaged intellectual reflection on religious questions is amply illustrated here by the decisive influence of the Buddhist philosopher Nishida's thinking on modern 'indigenous' Japanese Christian theologies once European influence began to recede. As a theologian of religious pluralism, Furuya is fiercely opposed to the dispassionate study of religions (on p. 135 he says 'humans have no right, fundamentally speaking, to take a neutral position and to compare one religion with another') but since he is interested in a theological critique of Japan itself, greater attention could perhaps have been paid to Japanese religion; not only Buddhist theology but also other well-established non-Christian theologies such as that of Tenrikyo, for pointers to the future direction of any indigenised Japanese Christian theology.

BATH SPA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, BRIAN BOCKING
BATH

Gladstone. Edited by Peter J. Jagger. Pp. xviii + 302 incl. frontispiece and 25 ills + 8 plates. London–Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1998. £25. 1 85285 173 2

The first thing that must be said about this book is that it is meant to be read aloud. This is not surprising, of course, when one considers that of the thirteen essays collected in the volume all but two were delivered as Founder's Day lectures at Gladstone's St Deiniol's Library. And, for the most part, this book's origin as a collection of lectures is its greatest strength. If the essays are not always written with a specialist academic audience in mind, they are, for that, all the more readable and entertaining to the non-specialist.

The essays fill an important middle ground between the full biography and the more specialist scholarly article. The reader gains a solid, and often colourful and witty, portrait of Gladstone through a series of vignettes by such historians as Derek Beales and H. C. G. Matthew. Topics range from Robert Blake's amusing and informative 'Disraeli and Gladstone' (Disraeli on Gladstone: 'he was essentially a prig and among prigs there is a freemasonry which never fails. All the prigs spoke of him as the coming man', p. 52) through the editor Peter J. Jagger's 'Gladstone and his library' which deals with the foundation of St Deiniol's Library itself. These essays are able to cover particular, and often overlooked, subjects at much greater depth than a biography, while still remaining accessible to the general reader.

It must not be assumed, however, that this volume offers nothing to the specialist. In particular, Derek Beales's 'Gladstone and Garibaldi' points to the extent, still under-explored, to which Gladstone's anti-papalism drove his political agenda, a factor which drew him to the otherwise uncomfortably revolutionary Garibaldi, a man of 'attenuated belief' (p. 148). Kenneth O.

Morgan's 'Gladstone, Wales and the new radicalism' sheds important light on Gladstone's attitude towards Welsh nonconformists and the disestablishment of the Welsh Church. Other essays, particularly David Bebbington's 'Gladstone and Grote', Michael Wheeler's 'Gladstone and Ruskin' and Peter J. Jagger's 'Gladstone's library', bring the centrality of Gladstone's religious views squarely to their readers' attention. Of note, too, is the re-publication – it first appeared in 1987 – of Colin Matthew's important essay 'Gladstone, rhetoric and politics'. If this essay tells the reader little of Gladstone himself, it does provide a fascinating study of the importance of rhetoric in Victorian politics, and in particular the critical role played by newspaper reports of public speeches.

All in all this handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated book (some thirty-three illustrations and plates, plus an essay by Asa Briggs on 'Victorian images of Gladstone') is an important addition to the existing corpus of Gladstone studies and will no doubt feature prominently on undergraduate reading lists for some years to come.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE COLIN BARR

Emily Dickinson and the art of belief. By Roger Lundin. (Library of Religious Biography.) Pp. xiv + 305. Grand Rapids, Mich.–Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998. $24 (cloth), $16 (paper). 0 8028 3857 X; 0 8028 0157 9

Roger Lundin's intellectual biography of the American poet, Emily Dickinson, focuses with considerable insight and sensitivity on his subject's complex struggle with Christian belief. As such, it is a welcome corrective to the hitherto simplistic treatments of this important side of Dickinson's life and work.

The Dickinsons were descendants of New England Puritan settlers but Lundin wisely discards the caricatured portrait of their Calvinism. He demonstrates that Emily Dickinson's story is not, in fact, 'a moral lesson about liberation from [doctrinal or ecclesiastical] bondage' (p. 216). She was raised in a cultural milieu that blended revisionist New School theology and earnest Whig moralism. Accordingly, her poetry drew heavily from American evangelicalism while it broke with many of its central tenets; Lundin teases out both these threads with commendable skill. Despite the experiences of several family members, Dickinson resisted conversion during the revivals that periodically affected her small home town in western Massachusetts. After graduating from Mount Holyoke, she returned to the family homestead. She stopped attending church altogether at age thirty and soon earned a reputation as a reclusive 'spinster skeptic' (p. 31). Ultimately she chose poetry as a sort of 'surrogate faith' (p. 59).

As for many of her generation, Darwinism encouraged Dickinson to draw unsettling conclusions from a consideration of a seemingly amoral nature. Yet, as the author deftly shows, her scepticism predated her encounter with evolutionary naturalism and was rooted in her development of key elements of Antebellum Romanticism and her own idiosyncratic perspective that anticipated modernism in some respects. In the last twenty years of her life, she became even more secluded, venturing out of her parents' home only once. The deaths of several

family members and close friends appear to have confirmed her reclusiveness. When she died in 1886 her poetic genius was not known beyond a very small circle. By design, public recognition came posthumously after substantial selections of her work were published in the 1890s.

In sum, writes Lundin, she 'lived the most intensely focused inward life of any major figure in American history' (p. 5). As such, the cerebral Dickinson is a fascinating window on the religious and philosophical crises of the nineteenth century. Lundin's biography is a penetrating contribution to both our understanding of those crises and to a more subtle appreciation of the personal ordeals and artistic genius of Emily Dickinson.

ACADIA UNIVERSITY, GILLIS J. HARP
NOVA SCOTIA

Christian social ethics in Ukraine. The legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky. By Andrii Krawchuk. Pp. xxiv + 404. Edmonton–Ottawa–Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press/Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies/Basilian Press, 1997. $49.95. 1 895937 04 3; 1 89557l 13 8

Nihil Obstat. Religion, politics, and social change in East–Central Europe and Russia. By Sabrina P. Ramet. Pp. xi + 425. Durham–London: Duke University Press, 1998. £66.50 (cloth), £22.95 (paper). 0 8223 2056 8; 0 8223 2070 3

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky is virtually an unknown name outside Ukrainian circles. Yet he was one of the great church leaders of the twentieth century, possibly of all time: a man of deep humanitarian motivation, a fearless activist in what became impossible political circumstances, a spiritual leader of a great nation in embryo, above all a dedicated Christian of total integrity. So little is he known to the world at large that, for example, when Anna Reid wrote *Borderland* in 1997, her 'Journey through the history of Ukraine' as she subtitles it, she devoted only four lines to him and had nothing on his role. So this is the biography, at last, of the man who perhaps did more than anyone else in the twentieth century to forge the identity of the Ukrainian nation.

It has been worth the wait. Andrii Krawchuk has finally put the record straight and the only regret is that the provenance of the book, handsomely produced through it is, seems to indicate that it is by a Ukrainian for Ukrainians. It is not: it is for the world and deserves wide readership for the way in which it rectifies one of the many imbalances as twentieth-century church history is viewed in retrospect.

There are indeed many other great men and women, thousands of them martyrs on Soviet soil, who deserve to be much better known, but Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky is in a category on his own.

A child of the nineteenth century (born into a Polish aristocratic family in Lviv in 1865) Sheptytsky may yet come to be seen as a seminal figure in the Europe of the twenty-first century, as Ukraine develops to take its rightful place in the new political configuration of a changing continent. His life encompassed a period of political turbulence unparalleled even in that troubled area of central

Europe, and he lived on, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to fight, as an old man, against, the incursion of Soviet atheism (1939–41) and the horrors of Nazi occupation, replaced by the Soviet re-occupation which occurred just three months before his death at the age of seventy-nine in October 1944.

Sheptytsky's view, now considered heretical by the Moscow Patriarchate and outmoded by the Vatican, was that his emerging nation was uniquely blessed by being the home of the Ukrainian 'Greek Catholic' Church (as it is now most commonly called). He saw this not only as the key factor in the forging of national self-consciousness, but also as a genuine bridge between the Orthodoxy of the East and the Catholicism of the West. He was a true ecumenist who would have been devastated to see the way in which his church is now seen as an impediment to unity – but as one looks at the growing hostility between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics, the Eastern-Rite Catholics may yet have some surprises in store for the future. Certainly their re-emergence from the catacombs in the Gorbachev era (following their official abolition by Stalin in 1946) has already played a significant role in the forging of the new Ukraine as an independent nation.

This book by a representative of the new generation of Ukrainian scholarship is in every way worthy of its subject.

Sabrina P. Ramet is a much longer-established scholar, well known for her numerous surveys of the religious scene throughout the former communist bloc in Europe. In this book she follows her well-worn path: broad survey, sound exposition, somewhat pedestrian style, few exciting revelations. There is reference to just about the whole published literature relevant to the subject (though I noted no citation of my own study of the Church in the Soviet Union 1985–90, *Gorbachev*, *Glasnost and the Gospel*, which does indeed deal with the same subject as Ramet's chapters ix and x).

This new book is a little patchy. The author, as in her previous work, is stronger on the Balkans than on Eastern Europe. The thirty-four pages on Yugoslavia contain a clear account of the role religion played in the tragedy of the mid 1990s, a factor which should have been better documented and analysed by the secular journalists massed in the disintegrating country at the time. Though the twenty-five pages on Albania have been somewhat overtaken by events, they form a very useful background to one aspect of a country which seems set on tearing itself apart, just when it seemed to be beginning to stabilise itself and develop its economy.

By contrast, the thirty-three pages on the former Soviet Union, equally divided between Russia and Ukraine, but ignoring several key areas, such as Moldavia, Belarus and the Baltic States, are inadequate. Of these, only two pages cover 'The Russian Orthodox Church since 1991'. Even the non-specialist might have expected considerably more and, beyond an excursus on the re-emergence of antisemitism in Christian circles, there is virtually nothing which illuminates an absorbing subject.

Both these books, however, will find a place on the shelves of a growing library of works on a geographical area of religion which was virtually ignored until two decades ago.

KESTON INSTITUTE MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

Antimodernismus und Modernismus in der katholischen Kirche. Beiträge zum theologiegeschichtlichen Vorfeld des II. Vatikanums. Edited by Hubert Wolf. (Programm und Wirkungsgeschichte des II. Vatikanums, 2.) Pp. 397. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1998. DM 108 (paper). 3 506 73762 7

This is an important and original series of studies. Effectively the book is divided into three: first, a valuable analysis of the more recent studies of Modernism, conventionally so-called, from 1896 to 1914, with suggestions of the areas where further work cries out to be done. Then there comes a profound attempt to analyse what was meant by Modernism, and this endeavour takes us into a wider range in the church history of the epoch. The English reader will be interested by an essay by Manfred Weitlauff on the modernism of Edmund Bishop, who is justly credited with much influence in the liturgical revival. And thirdly there comes a moving and tragic treatment of certain attempts by German church leaders to repress Modernists, at a date long after the pre-war hunt for heretics. The two chief characters are Keppler and Wittig. As bishop of Rottenburg Hefele had acted with such moderation, and was so respected, that he kept the *Kulturkampf* out of Württemberg and secured that the Catholic faculty at the University of Tübingen was still respected for its scientific studies by non-Catholics in the universities. Keppler, as bishop of the same see, was an ignorant man without tact and the results were bad in both Church and State and the university. Wittig, though with fewer public consequences, had a still sadder story. He was a professor in the theological faculty of the University of Breslau. His chair was of patrology; but he was an unusual academic in that he wrote popularly for a young audience. We know too much about his bishop, Bertram, from the Nazi era to expect him to have behaved with humanity in such a case. But we find Cardinal Gasparri, of all people, making a crass mistake about the affair; and then it all ends in excommunication, and his consequent marriage, and Russian occupation, and plunder of the house, and a desperate flight in a cattle truck. Such a tragedy brings home to the reader, in a personal way, the great importance of the Second Vatican Council.

SELWYN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE — OWEN CHADWICK

The German Evangelical Alliance and the Third Reich. An analysis of the 'Evangelisches Allianzblatt'. By Nicholas Railton. (German Linguistic and Cultural Studies, 2.) Pp. 265. Bern: Peter Lang, 1998. £27 (paper). 3 906757 67 6; 0 8204 3412 4; 1422 1454

Railton, known already to readers of this JOURNAL for his new assessment of the German Free Churches and the Third Reich (xlix [1998], 85–139), serves an English-speaking readership well once again with this very revealing study of the German Bible belt. Consisting of about one million adherents in the 1930s, and stretching from the Saxon Erzebirge through Thuringia and Hessen to Baden and Württemberg, it gave a depressingly rosy public response to Hitlerism as a force standing for 'positive Christianity'. Railton shows us quite clearly how much German evangelicalism ('*evangelikal*' used in its Anglo-American sense can

be dated only as far back as 1965) in its modern phase, beginning with the loose inter-denominational Gnadau Association (1897) of Lutheran, Reformed and United Church evangelicals and their new missionary press (1890: *c.* 5,000), owed to the early modern and habitual German home-town environment and mentality of Pietism, Moravianism and early nineteenth-century Revivalism. Wilhelmine and Weimar successors, simply put, could not adapt either spiritually or morally to the challenges posed by our modern industrial age. It appears also that authoritarian political values investing the 'state' and those who ran it with an almost divine aura over-rode a religious ethos associated with being 'born again'. The ideals of 1789, western Liberalism, Marxism, Bolshevism, post-1918 democratic republicanism and an alleged Jewish 'materialism' were lumped together, with not much as the odd tweak of conscience, as poisons. These supposedly contaminated a German muscular evangelical post-1918 culture which drew its main inspiration from the recent hurrah patriotism of Bismarck's Second Reich, and the 'we-are-so-hard-done-by' interwar German Nationalist Party. It does seem extremely odd today, that the two years 1933 and 1934, marking Nazi 'co-ordination', should be seen by the German Free Churches and evangelicals as giving far greater freedoms and opportunities than the years of the Weimar Republic. It had awarded the Christian Churches and other religions freedoms and financial support on a scale unheard of in Germany before 1918. It repays to read again and again, however bleak one's frame of mind, this German 'evangelical' way of thinking and speaking during 1930–3. Railton summarises it in the following way: 'Hitler talked of "*God*", "*the Lord*" and "*Providence*", so now they began to talk of the "*Zeitenwende*", the "*nationaler Aufbruch*" and "*Vorsehung*". The language of the Third Reich was already becoming the language of German evangelicalism' (p. 27). Chapter vi, 'Evangelical social concerns', and chapter vii, 'The Jewish question', recording adulation for Hitler as Mr Clean, and overt evangelical support for Nazi public moral hygiene, meaning clearing the streets of pimps, prostitutes, homosexuals, Jews and assorted riff-raff, and approval of Nazi anti-abortion policy, pile a murky Pelion upon Ossa. The teaching of the Bible, purged one might add, of the Old Testament, seems to have been completely dispensed with.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW NICHOLAS HOPE

Pfarrer und Nationalsozialismus. Geschichte einer Verstrickung am Beispiel der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern. By Björn Mensing. (Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte. Series B: Darstellungen, 26.) Pp. 292. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998. DM 68. 3 525 55726 4

Mensing is a welcome addition to new regional prosopographical research conducted by German church history PhD students in the last ten years on the parish clergy and their ambivalent relationship with National Socialism in the crucial years either side of 1933. Mensing's study of Nazified Lutheran Bavaria right of the river Rhine builds on Paul Kremmel's telling study, *Pfarrer und Gemeinden im evangelischen Kirchenkampf in Bayern bis 1939* (1987), of the strongly Nazified Franconian Weissenburg deanery, and complements Thomas Fandel's

contemporaneous and more broadly conceived comparative study of Protestant and Roman Catholic parish clergy in the Nazified Bavarian Palatinate *Konfession und Nationalsozialismus: evangelische und katholische Pfarrer in der Pfalz 1930–39* (Paderborn 1997). All three confirm Jürgen Falter's conclusion in his authoritative *Hitler's Wähler* (Munich 1991), that the Bavarian Protestant clergy's sympathy for National Socialism, which frequently extended to party membership in the period 1930–3, was very persuasive with parishioners, given their authority in this poor and staunchly conservative rural and home-town Lutheran churchscape. Mensing's value lies not so much in his quantitative application of a modern 'statistical package for the social sciences' and interview techniques with 245 clergy party members, which may be open to methodological criticism, as in the detail he gives us about their modest social background, their anti-republican schooling, and subsequent theological study in brown Erlangen university, and how all of this reinforced a muddled German national revival mentality swinging between national-conservative – often really Bavarian-conservative – and *völkisch*. In particular, Erlangen's old student corporations such as Bubenruthia, Uttenruthia and Wingolf functioned, it seems, like their counterparts in Heidelberg, as extreme nationalist seedbeds producing members of the anti-Bolshevik 'Freikorps Epp', 'Bund Oberland', Erlangen SA and, after 1926, the Nazi 'Studentenbund'. The latter incorporated 36.6 per cent of all Erlangen theology students during 1930–1, which made theology the most over-represented university faculty. Mensing's conclusion, that his interviews, which he conducted some forty years after Bavarian clergy de-Nazification procedures, seem for the first time to have jogged the memory of these pastors in a self-critical way, leaves the reader with something to think about too.

University of Glasgow Nicholas Hope

Churches and social issues in twentieth-century Britain. By G. I. T. Machin. Pp. xii + 269. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. £35. 0 19 821780 3

Professor Machin's latest book on the relationship between the Churches and society in mainland Britain (he has already dealt with the nineteenth century at some length), really begins in 1918. He recounts the events and controversies of the period in six chapters, ending in 1996. The author says that most of the research for the book was done on the period from 1918 to 1970; the concluding chapter, on the years since 1970, is a general survey rather than a detailed treatment. He has worked hard at Lambeth Palace and in the files of many newspapers. His method has its own rewards: for instance, the sober account of what was done makes it clear that Michael Ramsey was by far the most distinguished Christian leader in Britain after 1945. Professor Machin is very fair in summarising the views of different religious organisations, but it is not always clear to the reader what weight should be attached to some of the sources he employs. He makes it clear that between 1918 and the 1980s the Churches were reluctant to advocate moral and social change officially: nevertheless, 'censorship, gambling, abortion, homosexual practice and divorce received liberating reforms which had long been advocated'. In the same years the death penalty

was abolished, Sunday was secularised, and the National Lottery set up and sanitised by diverting some of the profits to 'good causes', such as the Royal Opera House. Writing from an institutional point of view Professor Machin says that the Churches have had to adjust to a 'torrent of change'; he points out that there is a wide gap between official church pronouncements, which, especially in the Roman Catholic case, remain conservative, and the behaviour of the faithful, which does not; and he consoles himself with the thought that, after all, the Ten Commandments 'have remained remarkably intact and well respected' – though he has to qualify this last assertion immediately, reminding himself that the Commandment to keep the Sabbath holy is interpreted very subjectively. His explanation of the 'torrent' is that in the 1960s 'the new urge towards permissiveness – natural in a society that was built on democratic freedom of choice, popular prosperity, and the questioning and critical approach encouraged by widespread education – came to fruition'. There was an overwhelming combination of forces – he adds scientific innovation and concern to alleviate the position of minorities – so that 'it was very difficult for [the Churches] to resist'. He also says that 'it became increasingly difficult to claim that the teaching of the Churches was at the root of the new developments': (this had been the way in which some Christian apologists had tried to take some theological credit for secular reform.) In such cases as the proposal to ordain women as priests in the Church of England, for example, or to decriminalise homosexual acts, it was implausible to suggest that the changes demanded were what the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran Churches had always 'really' taught. Church leaders clung to the opinion, still dominant in the Vatican, that Christianity was and remains the creative force behind the growth of European culture and morality, that the Churches possess a divinely-given insight into human nature, and are able to declare 'the law of God'. Professor Machin's low-key account gives the impression that the Churches were justified in this opinion, and therefore right to resist the greater number of these social changes, and that it was a pity that their opposition failed. What one misses here is a more sympathetic treatment of William Temple's long, frustrated endeavour to commit, not just Anglicanism as an institution, but the Anglican laity to social justice; and a more developed account of the honourable tradition of Christian liberalism. Liberals lost two important theological battles. The first was over biblical criticism, which never penetrated to the heart of official theology in the mainstream Churches, and therefore had little liberalising influence on issues like feminism and homosexuality. Secondly, the liberals failed to work out an adequately popular Christocentric ethics; consequently, they left the ecclesiastical field to hazy notions of 'natural law' which could then be used to buttress convenient biblical texts. But what gave the secular torrent of reform its power was the growth of the view that a Christian 'minority' no longer had the right to expect the non-Christian 'majority' in society to obey whatever Christian institutions declared to be the law of God. Traditional Christian views on morality might remain a 'law' for the members of Christian bodies, though that turned out to be disputable, but *extra ecclesiam* the Churches might persuade but could no longer demand. This change in the public attitude is hardly surprising when one realises that during the second World War Cardinal Hinsley apparently commenced a correspondence with the Anglican archbishops and the Moderator of the Free

Church Council because of fears that 'the internal use of tampons [was]… a possible means of contraception… the question of making official approaches to the Ministry of Health was discussed'. Fortunately, nothing came of this, but Professor Machin's book leaves the feeling that masculine leadership of the Churches went on lamenting the growth of feminism for far too long, and was too easily satisfied with talk about 'permissiveness', as though the term contained a sufficient analysis of what was happening. Now the mainstream Churches, fortified by a highly politicised American Evangelicalism, seem about to commit themselves to a last stand on the issues of anti-abortion and anti-homosexuality.

BRISTOL JOHN KENT