

## Reviews

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*Le Thème de l'opposition entre Pierre et Simon dans les Pseudo-Clémentines*. By Dominique Côté. (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 167.) Pp. viii + 300. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2001. €46.44 (paper). 2 85121 188 9; 1158 7032

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The study of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions has, since the beginning of the last century, been dominated by questions of a source-critical nature. The usual view asserts that the similarities between the two works cannot be explained by arguing that one author copied from the other, but can only be accounted for if one assumes the independent use of a basic writing by each author. Named in German the 'Grundschrift' or, for short, G, this was itself, it is claimed, a composite work and it is the pursuit and description of the constituent parts of that mooted source which has, in the main, engaged the minds of Pseudo-Clementine experts.

Such source-critical work has never been without its critics and in recent times it has come under more detailed attack. In particular scholars have argued that stylistic arguments do not support the conventional division of the sources of G, and that in any case the pursuit of such sources is, in the face of the lack of reliable supporting external evidence, dangerously circular. J. Wehnert in particular has suggested that rather than adopt the source approach, we should assume a series of editions of the work in which various narratives about Simon, Peter and Clement are brought together over a period of time.

It is against this changing background of Pseudo-Clementine research that Dominique Côté has penned the monograph under review. Côté is not, however, intent upon a detailed critique of the source-critical approach, although he notes in his helpful review of Pseudo-Clementine research the criticisms of it by Wehnert and others. He is keener rather to justify a different approach to the text. This will involve analysis of the way in which both the Homilies and the Recognitions present the personalities of the chief protagonists of the two works, Peter the Apostle and Simon his enemy. The interest in such a presentation does not lie in what one might broadly term a historical reconstruction of these important characters, or a straightforward analysis of the purpose of the authors of Homilies and Recognitions, but in a description of the way in which the two works seek to communicate themselves through an essentially fictional construction, a movement in a sense from author to reader.

Côté begins the main part of his monograph with a description of the depiction of the relationship between Peter and Paul in Homilies and Recognitions.

Fundamental to the relationship is the notion of opposition, characterised by what Côté terms dialectic (the formal manner in which the two authors present the debates between the two protagonists) and a form of dualism whereby the opposition between the two characters is placed within a wider theological setting of a divinely ordained opposition between good and evil (the so-called syzygies), emphasised in particular by the Homilist. In the second major section Côté analyses the manner in which the two opponents are presented, arguing for the significance of the figure of the magician and the philosopher, figures who in the second and third centuries AD were regularly witnessed in literary sources (cf. in particular Lucian, Apuleius, Philostratus and others). Côté argues that there is a distinct attempt on the part of the Pseudo-Clementine authors to distance the figure of Peter from the magician, an essentially negative figure associated with charlatanism, and to show that such a description is more appropriately applied to Simon. The relationship to the figure of the philosopher is more complex. While there is an essentially negative appraisal of this figure, made clear in particular in the depiction of Clement's conversion to Christianity, in the presentation of Peter as unlettered in Greek 'paideia' and in the presentation of Simon as learned in these matters, there is a willingness to allow Peter to make use of methods of argumentation associated with the philosopher. Moreover, in the presentation of Peter as a high-minded ascetic, there are clear parallels with the figure of Pythagoras and his followers whose reputation was experiencing a revival in the second and third centuries.

In a third section Côté seeks further to elucidate the Simon/Peter relationship through an analysis of other representations of that relationship within early Christianity, beginning with Acts, moving through the work of Justin and Irenaeus where Simon is first represented as the originator of all heresy, to the fragmentary remains of the Acts of Peter. The development of certain themes is pointed up (the association of Simon with magic, his view of himself as divine, the apostolic authority of Peter etc.). Côté argues, however, that the most significant changes come in the Pseudo-Clementine literature. Simon's magical activity is given a Hellenistic colouring (he is depicted as having studied in Alexandria) and his philosophical expertise is given greater emphasis. Peter himself, Côté argues, while still appearing as an Apostle and disciple of Christ, is presented more in the manner of a leader of a school, of an expert in the 'ars disputandi'. The Pseudo-Clementine writings have, then, Côté concludes, given us a more sophisticated, a more Hellenised version of the Simon/Peter relationship. But he cautions us not see the work as having primarily the function of opposing a particular doctrine or ideology (he rejects monolithic readings of the works as opposed to Paul, Marcion and others). Rather, through a fictive narrative, the authors seek to provide an edificatory work which in a variety of ways enables Jewish Christians of the third and fourth centuries to respond to the world in which they found themselves, a Hellenised world in which magic and philosophy and their depiction played a significant role in the understanding of religious identity.

This is a stimulating and learned monograph. In seeking to examine the Pseudo-Clementines from a literary/contextual rather than from a source-critical or purely historical-critical perspective, Côté has opened up potentially new vistas in the tangled study of these complex texts. Some may ask whether his claim, supported by a battery of hermeneutical comment, to move from an 'intentio auctoris' to an 'intentio operis' is really carried through. In the end, after all, Côté is still keen to

attribute some intention to the authors, even if these intentions lack the specificity of some previous studies. In my opinion his real contribution lies in seeking to contextualise the Pseudo-Clementines more widely within the world of the so-called Second Sophistic, rather than seeking to understand them against a narrower Christian context. Such a context, or contexts, no doubt exist, and Côté would not himself deny it. But by concentrating on the representation of Peter and Simon and seeking to contextualise that within a wider pagan environment, he has allowed these works which, after all, give us the first evidence of a Christian novel, a form which strikingly proliferates in the Second Sophistic, to appear somewhat differently than normal. One hopes that future work will take up some of Côté's leads, not least that relating to the elucidation of the fourth-century context of the works, their 'final form' as it were, a *desideratum* to which J. Chapman, admittedly in a very different way, pointed many years ago.

PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*Plato and Saint Paul on man. A psychological, philosophical and theological study.* By Athenagoras Ch. Zakopoulos. Pp. xv + 246. Greece: Athenagoras, The Metropolitan of Phokis, 2002. 960 7298 96 9  
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The Orthodox Metropolitan of Phokis ostensibly offers here a comparative study of anthropology in Plato and St Paul, although its thirty pages on pre-Socratic preliminaries and fifty on Plato are concerned more specifically with the view of the soul and the question of its immortality (the subtitle's 'psychological' concerns the view of the ψυχή), while leaving other aspects of anthropology unexplored. The Pauline 'part three' adds to this an interest in the spirit, the body and its resurrection, and in the problem of whether in 1 Thess v.23 Paul subscribes to a 'trichotomy' of body, soul and spirit (he does not). The sound and important, if perhaps hardly original, conclusion is that Paul's anthropology is far removed from Platonic dualism of body and soul: the Apostle views human beings as an integral, indissoluble unity of body, soul and spirit, which in its entirety is divinely redeemed and sanctified. The human person, on this reading, is an 'ensouled body' to be resurrected, rather than an immortal and transcendent soul entombed in a material body. The work concludes with five appendices relating these findings *inter alia* to contemporary scholarship on Plato, Freud and modern theologies of life after death.

Most experienced scholars will sympathise with the trial and tedium of juggling a demanding 'day job' with bringing fresh research to publication, or indeed of keeping it in press once it appears; and there is no shame in revising or reprinting earlier material duly identified as such. But readers have a right to be told that the present work combines and reproduces, without acknowledgement and in large part verbatim, work first published three decades ago (*Immortality of the soul or resurrection of the individual*, Chicago 1974; *Plato on man*, New York 1975) which in turn derived substantially from a 1967 Glasgow PhD thesis ('The nature of the human soul and its immortality in the thought of Plato and St Paul'). With only a modest number of more recent exceptions, many of doubtful relevance, the bibliography

reflects that postgraduate work of the mid-1960s. Typographical errors old and new abound.

DIVINITY SCHOOL,  
CAMBRIDGE

MARKUS BOCKMEUHL

*East and west. The making of a rift in the Church. From apostolic times until the Council of Florence.* By Henry Chadwick. (Oxford History of the Christian Church.) Pp. x + 306. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. £60. 0 19 926457 0

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The Great Schism between the eastern and western parts of the Church has been associated with the date of 1054 when Cardinal Humbert placed a bull of excommunication of the patriarch on the altar of the Great Church at Constantinople. Since then the Churches have been out of communion with each other. All studies of the schism point not only to the fact that the division was a long drawn out process but also to the different aspects – theological, political, cultural – of the complex process of growing apart. This study takes this process further, locating the origins of the schism as early as possible, in the divisions of the quarrelsome church at Corinth to which the Apostle Paul wrote his epistle.

The book suggests in its opening sentence that the cords of love, faith and solidarity which make the Church into a single body are the very forces which also bind smaller groups together, and thus enable differences to harden into intractable rifts of division. The most serious of these is the rift between the east and west.

The argument is presented in forty-two short but compressed chapters, which collect together a vast body of material – the history of the ecumenical councils, the life and thinking of significant ecclesiastical figures, the background to cultural factors such as the wearing of beards and much more. This kaleidoscope of evidence is presented with deftness and judgement, a minimum of comment and summary and a truly magisterial command of a huge subject.

The treatment of different parts of the story is deliberately uneven. The events surrounding the life of Photius cover about a third of the book, summarising, the author argues, many of the differences which were conspiring to separate the Churches; while the crusades, including the Fall of Constantinople in 1204 are lightly sketched in less than three pages. The story concludes in 1439 with the Council of Florence, nominally a moment of union, but one that proved superficial and unsustainable. However the logic of the argument suggests that the story could have been continued to the present day, since the rift shows no sign of being overcome. Some have argued, for example, that the decision of Orthodox patriarchs in 1755 to rebaptise Catholics joining the Orthodox Church, and thus that Catholic baptism is invalid, marked the completion of the rift. Another volume taking the story up to the present day, preferably by the same author, would be a valuable addition.

The achievement of the book is to show how the rift is a feature of the history of the Church rather than an event or series of events in it. As well as setting its subject in a spacious yet detailed context, the book is also beautifully clear, full of unexpected pieces of information and a joy to read. It is accessible to a wide

audience, and, like so much of Professor Chadwick's work, will become a basic and much used text.

GREAT ST MARY'S,  
CAMBRIDGE

JOHN BINNS

*Is the Church too Asian? Reflections on the ecumenical councils.* By Norman Tanner. Pp. 91. Rome: Chavara Institute of Indian and Inter-religious Studies/Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 2002. £5. 81 86861 48 3  
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A distinction can be – and often is – made between the Christian European west and the non-Christian Asian east, and a possible interpretation of many political conflicts is to see them as rooted in this polarity. Here, Norman Tanner challenges this perception through a survey of the councils of the Church which shows an unexpectedly strong Asian influence. There are three parts to his story. First the seven ecumenical councils starting in 325 and finishing in 787 at Nicaea – with others at Constantinople and Chalcedon. All these took place within Asia – albeit Asia Minor, although with economic and cultural connections to the east – and were dominated by Asian theologians. These councils provided the doctrinal definitions and credal statements which have become definitive. Second the ten general councils held between 1123 and 1517, held on western soil by a Church nervously watching the advance of Islamic and Tartar forces. Here Asia produced hostile and frightening invaders who at times seemed to pose a serious threat to the Church. Third, the two Vatican councils of 1869 and 1962–5, which had a world-wide character, with both indigenous and missionary Asian theologians being actively involved at several important moments. This set of three lectures – the Placid lectures given in Rome in 2001 – does not conclude that the Church is too Asian but it does remind us that Asia has given much to the Church which should be more widely recognised.

GREAT ST MARY'S,  
CAMBRIDGE

JOHN BINNS

*Ancient traditions of the Virgin Mary's dormition and assumption.* By Stephen J. Shoemaker. (Oxford Early Christian Studies.) Pp. xvi + 460 incl. 9 figs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £80. 0 19 925075 8  
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Stephen J. Shoemaker nous donne un ouvrage superbe et fondamental d'une utilité extrême, qui cherche sa voie à travers la masse des traditions orientales. Comme il l'observe dès l'abord, il aurait aimé écrire un autre livre, sans assumer le devoir de clarifier une série d'assertions dans des ouvrages antérieurs sur le même sujet. Néanmoins, je suis convaincu que son travail arrêtera l'orientation erronée qui a été lancée par Simon-Claude Mimouni en 1989, et ce seul objectif justifierait déjà l'étude de Shoemaker. L'analyse est clairement proposée dans le premier chapitre: il s'y agit d'une thèse théologique dans la ligne de Cothenet, selon laquelle l'idée de l'Assomption se serait lentement développée à partir et en dépit d'une conception initiale où Marie avait d'abord à mourir avant d'entrer au ciel. Le contexte de cette

prétention au dernier siècle, aux alentours de la proclamation du dogme de l'Assomption en 1950, est une page de théologie du vingtième siècle, finement retracée par l'auteur. Cette théorie a servi à Mimouni pour remodeler les rapports entre les nombreux textes sur la Dormition de la Vierge. Il a introduit ainsi bien de l'obscurité dans les relations entre les textes. Bien plus, Mimouni a opposé, sur la base de l'acceptation ou non du concile de Chalcédoine, les deux variantes de l'unique légende syriaque dite en six livres. Shoemaker nettoie le champ de la tradition textuelle en vue d'autres études et revient à la classification que j'avais proposée il y a une vingtaine d'années, tout en ajoutant une forme 'atypique' que je suis très volontiers enclin à accepter. J'avais en effet mesuré moi-même combien certains textes sont reliés de manière ténue soit avec la branche de la tradition de la Palme, soit avec celle de Bethlehem.

L'absence de toute controverse chalcédonienne dans les deux branches de la tradition n'est pas un indice de ce que le concile n'a pas eu d'influence sur le dossier : la tradition de la Palme est antérieure au concile, et celle de Bethlehem est toute entière sous l'influence de l'Hénotique après 482.

Dans le cadre de l'archéologie, le troisième chapitre apporte des nouveautés archéologiques, particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'église du Kathisma, avec ses deux édifices, l'un d'une église ancienne et l'autre avec un double octogone, transformé aux VII-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en mosquée. L'étude présente propose une chronologie qui me paraît insoutenable. Je n'ai malheureusement pas pu communiquer mes dernières études sur le sujet qui font l'objet de communications diverses encore sous presse. J'ai cru il y a bien du temps moi aussi que la tradition de Bethlehem était d'origine monophysite et devait être mise en rapport avec l'église de la Sainte-Sion. Telle semble la conviction de Shoemaker. Je suis sûr aujourd'hui que le contraire est vrai. La traduction très chalcédonienne de Bethlehem est liée à l'église de la Nea sous Justinien, et non avec la Sainte-Sion. Elle prend sa source dans l'édifice d'Hikelia avec la bénédiction du très chalcédonien Juvénal de Jérusalem. La fête du 17 août est la semaine mobile dotée du Transitus géorgien sous le nom de Basile en est la récupération Justinienne, à un moment où la Sainte-Sion ne se laisse pas influencer par l'empereur Justinien. La date de la fondation de la Nea est 543. D'autres points qui semblent sans problème pour Shoemaker me paraissent discutables. Je ne saurais entériner la date du 15 août dans le lectionnaire arménien. Le manuscrit le plus archaïque a une lacune dans cette section, et les autres véhiculent la date de l'empereur Maurice, qui fit une nouvelle église à Gethsemani. Au sujet de la tradition syriaque en six livres, je suis arrivé à d'autres conclusions. Le but de cette composition est essentiellement hénotique. Les trois fêtes *μαρτιαλέως* proviennent d'une tripartition d'une seule fête apostolique plus ancienne, celle du 13 au 15 mai. Ce triplet entendait concilier les traditions liturgiques non seulement des partisans pour ou contre le concile de Chalcédoine, mais même les Nestoriens avec la tradition d'Éphèse. C'est pour cela que cette ville figure d'entrée de jeu dans le « premier » livre, et cette ville doit être mise en rapport avec la mention des Antidicomarianites, alors ariens, d'Épiphanie de Chypre. De même, il n'y a pour moi pas de doute que la lecture géorgienne du 13 août reflète la liturgie intégrée aux alentours de 543, et non celle du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Sur quelques points mineurs, j'ai proposé d'autres solutions. Par exemple, p. 30, je crois que Jean de Scythopolis n'a pas vécu au milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, car il y a eu deux Jean de Scythopolis, et seul le premier est responsable des Scolies au Corpus de

Denys avant 516 (Y. de Andia, *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en orient et en occident*, Paris 1997, 183–5); p. 75, j'ai donné une analyse plus poussée sur la 'date' de la mort de Marie dans une liste d'Apôtres datée de 874, dans 'Neuf listes d'apôtres orientales', *Augustinianum* xxxiv (1994), 147–52. Par ailleurs j'ai été très satisfait de trouver dans le livre bien documenté de Shoemaker des articles anglais que je n'avais pu avoir le temps de connaître depuis mes premières publications.

Si j'avais à donner une impression globale, ce serait que le calendrier géorgien de Jean Zosime n'a pas été suffisamment utilisé, car il utilise au Xe siècles quatre sources anciennes. Un regard sur le nombre des *unica* préservés seulement en géorgien pour la période de Justinien rend la classification du Transitus pseudo-basilien à cette époque toute naturelle. J'ai retracé cela également au sujet de la politique religieuse de Justinien avec les quatre évangélistes à Jérusalem ('Primauté, patriarcats, catholicossats, autocéphalies en orient', in M. Maccarrone, *Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio*, Roma 1991, 510–13, 517–21). Il n'y a au VIIIe siècle aucun contexte religieux ou politique permettant d'encadrer une lecture liturgique comme celle du 13 août au Kathisma.

C'est une excellente idée d'avoir traduit en fin de volume plusieurs textes sinon traduits seulement en latin. Le texte éthiopien si ardu a de quoi rebuter le lecteur. Je me rappelle encore le temps de ma jeunesse, lorsque, exerçant l'éthiopien avec Victor Arras, nous remarquâmes soudain l'extraordinaire parallélisme avec les textes géorgiens non publiés. Sur la Palme, Shoemaker a donné une interprétation définitive en décelant le grec *Thallos* sous sa translittération syriaque. Même les Thallia étaient une fête grecque païenne ancienne.

C'est pour moi enfin une grande consolation de noter les divers alphabets qui apparaissent dans les notes. Elles ne sont pas trop nombreuses pour ne pas effrayer le novice, mais assez belles pour persuader un byzantiniste que sans les langues anciennes du moyen orient, l'histoire de Byzance à l'est n'aboutit à aucun résultat sérieux.

Je serai très intéressé de lire le volume encore futur, dont le présent volume est une annonce involontaire destinée à créer un espace nouveau pour une autre synthèse sur la dormition de la Vierge. Ce premier volume est une promesse d'un *opus* à venir de grande valeur.

LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE

MICHEL VAN ESBROECK

*Femmes des premiers siècles chrétiens*. By Anne Jensen (with Livia Neureiter, trans. Gérard Poupon). (Traditio Christiana. Thèmes et documents patristiques, 11.) Pp. lxxii + 316. Bern: Peter Lang, 2002. £41. 3 906767 67 1; 0172 1372  
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With this volume, Anne Jensen continues her several studies on women in early Christianity, most notably in English translation, *God's self-confident daughters: early Christianity and the liberation of women* (1996). The present book contains Greek and Latin texts with French translation, prefaced by a detailed, informative introduction and a lengthy bibliography. Jensen retains the same organisational categories throughout her introduction, texts and translations: 'Sketches of women's lives' (under which rubric she briefly discusses the categories of female apostles, prophetesses, martyrs, ascetics, widows and deaconesses, teachers, and wives and

mothers); 'Theories concerning women' (under which rubric she explores such themes as Eve and Mary, 'masculine women', hierarchy of the sexes and division of labour, and the question, is woman in the 'image of God'?); and 'Exemplary figures' (under which category she presents material pertaining to Proba, Macrina, Marcella, Olympias and Pulcheria. Jensen's command of the scholarship in several languages is impressive, and the translations are clear and engaging. This is a useful volume for French-readers.

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DURHAM,  
NC

ELIZABETH A. CLARK

*Reading in Christian communities. Essays on interpretation in the early Church.* Edited by Charles A. Bobertz and David Brakke. (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series, 14.) Pp. xi + 233 + 1 colour plate. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002. \$35 (cloth), \$19 (paper). o 268 03165 7; o 268 04017 6  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904270774

This collection of essays was written by former students, colleagues and friends to honour Rowan Greer. It is intended, as David Brakke explains in his admirably clear, interpretive introduction, to take up the agenda, in part set by Greer himself, which places 'ancient readers and their readings within cultural worlds in which interpretation informs and is informed by communal life and its diverse practices' (p. 2), and which also recognises the need to reflect on the 'act of interpretation in the present' (p. 3). The book does so by studying the connections between the act of interpretation and the formation of religious identity. It is divided into two sections, the first, entitled 'Interpretive locations' and consisting of seven essays, deals with specific examples of early Christian biblical interpretation as a means of creating identity; the second, 'Locating interpreters' and consisting of four essays, while dealing with specific examples of interpretation, goes beyond that to look at the general problem of interpretation within communities of faith. Among the contributions in the first are a nuanced study of the Gnostic understanding of the seed of Seth at the Flood and its significance for biblical interpretation and Gnostic theology by Brakke; another by Richard Norris on Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* 2, which, he argues, was written to isolate the mythic hypothesis of Irenaeus' opponents and refute it, in the recognition that scriptural exegesis alone was insufficient to win the argument; and a thorough and engaging study of the scriptural basis for the apse mosaic in the Church of Hosios David, Thessalonika, by Wayne Meeks and, posthumously, Martha Meeks. Other essays are by Frederick Weidmann, on the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*; Allan Scott, on zoology and Origen and the *Physiologus*; Micheal Simmonds, on Porphyry's biblical criticism; and Arthur Shippee, on the contrasting understandings of realised and future eschatology in the eastern and western traditions. In the second section, Mary Rose D'Angelo's careful study of the ways in which 'no male and female' of Galatians iii.28 could have been read in the earliest period of Church suggests that 'there is no reason to assume a single, universally agreed-upon meaning for the phrase, either for the communities who used the baptismal formula or for Paul' (p. 151). There are also essays by Charles Bobertz on how a ritual/liturgical reading of the Gospel of Mark might produce new

insights into the text not reachable by Reformation-Enlightenment engendered, rationalistic historical-critical methods; and one by Frederick Norris on the transfiguration of Christ and the transformation of the Church. The last contribution is a warm and theologically provocative appreciation by Stanley Hauer of how his friend Greer taught him to read, in which he reflects on the fundamental similarities, and the dissimilarities, between their respective understandings of the Church and the world. This book will be of interest for those concerned with patristic exegesis and the contemporary discussion of how that exegesis, and texts generally, are to be interpreted.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY,  
HAMILTON,  
ONTARIO

PETER WIDDICOMBE

*Christianity in the second century. The case of Tatian.* By Emily J. Hunt. Pp. xii + 240.

London–New York: Routledge, 2003. £60 (cloth), £19.99 (paper).

0 415 30405 9; 0 415 30406 7

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The second century can be seen as the most important in the Church's history. It could, after all, have been the period in which the Church ceased to exist, at least in any clearly identifiable form, racked, as it was, by both internal dissension and external hostility. But by the end of the century it emerges as a much more clearly defined movement with a gradually stabilising hierarchical structure, a developing sense of the shape of its teachings and a more or less agreed canon of scriptural texts. Moreover, it was this century that saw Christianity begin to transform itself into an intellectual presence in the Roman and Greek worlds, at once contributing to and appropriating from the multiple philosophical movements of the time. Of course, what we know of that time is lacunose and distorted – in fact our very lack of information about the time may arise precisely from a belief, entertained by opinion-formers of a later period, that, while the second century was important, peopled as it was by martyrs and significant thinkers, there was also much within it that was regrettable and suspect, at least when measured against the norms of a later more 'orthodox' time.

In her introductory remarks, Emily J. Hunt makes some of these points. Her aim, she states, is 'to help to clarify the forces that were acting in the second century by focusing on a figure who is presented as bordering on the heretical' (p. 1). That figure is Tatian, the first Syrian Christian of whom we know anything of real significance. The book, then, promises to elucidate an important period of ecclesiastical history by focusing on a single person who, in a variety of ways, may be said to embody something of its character.

She begins by discussing Tatian's life. He was an Assyrian born in approximately 120 CE. After a broad Greek education, he travelled extensively and at some point converted to Christianity. He visited Rome where he probably came under the influence of Justin. After the latter's death, Christian tradition asserts that Tatian broke with orthodoxy and became a Valentinian. Soon after this he returned to his native Syria after which we hear almost nothing about him except that, according to the less than reliable Epiphanius, he founded a school there. He wrote a number of works, including the famous *Diatessaron*, but of these only the so-called *Oratio ad*

*graecos*, an apologetic work written in Greek, survives complete. It is this work, therefore, which Hunt dates to around 160 CE, which will be the principal subject matter of Hunt's monograph.

A brief chapter follows on Christianity in the second century. Hunt discusses its gradual emergence from Judaism, its developing relationship with the Hellenistic world, and issues pertaining to orthodoxy and heresy and the contested question of their definition in this period. She also includes a discussion of Gnosticism and a helpful introduction to Christianity in Syria and Rome, the two theological contexts Tatian inhabited. There is little that will surprise the *aficianado* here, and perhaps rather too many generalisations, but the chapter is necessary to make it easier to 'locate Tatian within the divergent streams of the second century'. A principal characteristic of this time is that it is 'flexible and fluid' (p. 19).

In chapter iii Hunt argues, against the earlier R. M. Grant, that clear traces of Valentinian influence can be found in Tatian. Hunt's claim is that too often in his argument Grant has relied upon verbal similarities without due regard to the context in which they are found in Tatian. The association of Tatian with Valentinianism, which we first find in the writings of Irenaeus, is broadly to be rejected. Hunt seems to regard it more as a smear inflicted upon a Christian who refused to comply with the developing 'conservatism' of the Church in Rome, and a way of attacking Tatian's encratism by association.

In the following two chapters Hunt presents discussions of Tatian's relationship to Justin and Hellenistic philosophy. She cautiously affirms the view that Tatian was a pupil of Justin, even if a somewhat independent one. Tatian's view of Greek philosophy was both typically negative but at the same time appropriative. She emphasises in particular his debt to middle Platonism, manifest both in his view of the world and its relationship to the heavenly realm and in his concept of the Logos. While affirming that both Tatian and Justin are the first Christians to present their faith as a philosophy rivalling other philosophies, Hunt leaves open the question as to whether Tatian has applied to his acquired faith already existing philosophical modes of thinking, accumulated while he was still a pagan, or whether he simply gives voice to an already existing tradition of philosophical Christianity.

This last question is central to chapter v. In this context Hunt explores further the middle Platonic heritage of Tatian but argues for its mediated character. He has inherited a view developed by Justin. In this vein Hunt states she 'strongly suspects that he (Tatian) was unaware of the incorporation of Platonism into Christian philosophy, and that he ... believed that any similarities between Greek philosophy and his own Christianity (were) due to plagiarism' (pp. 124–5). Against this background Hunt believes that 'we should see him [Tatian] as a philosopher and apologist, presenting his inherited Christian philosophical tradition to a Graeco-Roman world' (p. 143).

The final chapter deals with Tatian's place within early Syrian Christianity. Hunt begins by examining the vexed question of Tatian's relationship to Encratism. She affirms the presence of signs of ascetical tendencies in some variants of the *Diatessaron* and in a few passages in the *Oratio* but denies that these give evidence of Encratism as traditionally conceived. She admits that Syrian Christianity did from an early stage contain a strong ascetic tendency but does not see this as heretical, at least in eastern terms – after all, such tendencies are found in later 'orthodox' eastern authors such as Ephrem and Aphrahat. Tatian's work is then compared with works of a Syrian

origin (*Acts of Thomas*, *Odes of Solomon*, Bardaisan, Ephrem and Aphrahat) with the closest parallel being seen in the *Acts of Thomas* and Aphrahat. Hunt concludes by supporting Epiphanius' claim that Tatian founded a school in Syria on his return there from Rome. This is in part supported by the view, given special prominence by Peter Lampe, that early Roman Christianity was made up of rival schools (hailing from such an environment it would have been a natural thing to form a school), and in part by the claim, already argued for in the chapter, that there are signs of Tatianic influence in later Syrian writings. The monograph concludes with a helpful *résumé* of its most important assertions and a brief appendix in which Hunt rejects Clement of Alexandria's claim that Tatian appeared to hold Marcionite opinions about the Hebrew Scriptures.

Emily Hunt has brought together a wealth of material on a sometimes neglected figure. Inevitably, I have some reservations about the book. The first relates to its title. On the cover we read in large print, 'Christianity in the second century' with the subtitle 'The case of Tatian' in smaller print. In some senses this is a little deceptive. While one short chapter is devoted to a discussion of a variety of second-century issues, the real emphasis lies on Tatian. In a way he acts as a kind of symbol of the changing emphases of the century, a liminal figure, helpfully straddling both eastern and western Christianity, who, for political reasons, bound up in part with western dislike of a less orthodox eastern Church, found himself, according to Hunt, the victim of ecclesiastical machinations, but who gives clear evidence of the 'fluid and flexible' character of the age before 'orthodoxy'. In this respect Tatian illustrates an aspect of the story of the second century. Much of what Hunt says about Tatian as an illustration of this reading of the century depends on her own reconstruction of his life and her strong assertion that he never was a heretic, by whatever standards. Some may agree with her but much will depend upon how they assess her arguments in favour of seeing the *Oratio* as typical Tatian, or Tatian in his final form. With so little of him left for us to read, answering this question would seem very difficult in spite of Hunt's protestations about the Assyrian's love of consistency. Would our view of him be any different if we had a full copy of the *Diatessaron* or a version of his *On perfection according to the Saviour*, or his *On problems*? On all of this, I felt that Hunt was over-confident, and that she could perhaps have renamed her book 'Tatian and the second century', a title which would better reflect its contents. In addition to these general observations, it would have been good to have seen a greater discussion of the distinctive sharpness of Tatian's tone when discussing pagan religion, and at least a cursory assessment of his claim in *Oratio* 29 that he had been admitted to the mysteries. More could perhaps have been made of the parallels between Tatian and the Pseudo-Clementine literature, parts of which are traditionally associated with Syria.

But these reservations excluded, I found this an interesting and stimulating contribution to a surprisingly under-studied subject.

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JAMES CARLETON PAGET

*Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung. [Marcion and his impact on church history.] Vorträge der internationalen Fachkonferenz zu Marcion, gehalten vom. 15.–18. August 2001 in Mainz.* Edited by Gerhard May and Katharina Greschat, with Martin Meiser. (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 150.) Pp. xi + 333. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. €94.30 017599 1; 0082 3589

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From his undergraduate prize dissertation of 1870 (recently rediscovered and published as *TU* 149) till his monumental monograph of 1921 (2nd edn 1924), Adolf Harnack had Marcion at the heart of his thinking. He held that Marcion had more impact on the second-century Church than did the Reformers on that of the sixteenth. Harnack's own influence has been immense, and now a starry cluster of patristic scholars has sought to reassess his subject. Predominantly German, three of the eighteen essays are in English, one in Italian. Three essays are on our sources for Marcion: Claudio Moreschini shows that Tertullian is more concerned to state his own anti-Platonic and anti-Gnostic theological system than to present Marcion; Wolfgang Hage presents and evaluates the direct descriptions of Marcionites from Ezrik of Kolb; and the immensely learned Marco Frenschkowski finds clear evidence in Arabic sources that Marcionite congregations survived in eastern Iran into the tenth century, well beyond their end as seen by Harnack. Three studies of Marcion's Bible follow: Ulrich Schmid argues that a four-Gospel collection (not canon) pre-existed Marcion, and that he chose Luke because his account of the eucharist agreed with Paul's; Markus Vinzent argues the importance of the Lukan resurrection-narrative (without ascension) to Marcion's notion of revelation; and Eve-Marie Becker illustrates how far we still are from separating the genuine Marcionite text of Paul's letters from Tertullian's casual quotations and perverse imputations. The longest section, on Marcion in his ancient context, has seven essays, of which I commend particularly the analysis by Enrico Norelli of philosophical influences or presuppositions in Marcion, against the simple biblicism imputed by Harnack to his hero. This point is undoubtedly strengthened by the partner studies of Winrich Löhr, Barbara Aland and Christoph Marksches; the last describes how Valentinus and his followers react to Marcion's challenge. Other essays are on Cerdo (David W. Deakle), on Apelles (Meike Willing), on Marcion's alleged anti-Judaism (Wolfgang A. Bienert); and (very interesting) Alistair Stewart-Sykes reconstructs the material of Marcionite ritual meals, which preserved second-century practice in later times. The final section, on Marcion's significance in history, includes a remarkable essay by Katharina Greschat on the part played by Marcion's docetism in the eucharistic debates of Oecolampadius, Zwingli and Luther. Wolfram Kinzig summarises brilliantly Harnack's personal engagement with Marcion, whom Harnack saw as rebelling like him against the legalising of the pure Gospel. Achim Detmers describes the antisemitic aspects of his material, which belong less to Harnack than his readers; these biographical chapters should be read in conjunction with Gerhard May's introduction to the book, 'Marcion *ohne* Harnack'. A final essay in practical theology by Jürgen Regul deals shrewdly with the Marcionite elements in modern preaching and religion. There is a full (if selective) bibliography of works on Marcion since Harnack's monograph, and indices. The indices are generous, though too much subdivided, and marred by unarticulated strings (thirty naked numbers after the name Irenäus). Even so short a

review as this must attract the reader to a feast of good things, a worthy companion to A. Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium der fremden Gott*.

ST ANDREWS

STUART G. HALL

*Hippolytus between east and west. The commentaries and the provenance of the corpus.* By J. A. Cerrato. (Oxford Theological Monographs.) Pp. x + 291. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £50. 0 19 924696 3

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Cerrato has made an interesting attempt to challenge current theses on the Hippolytan *corpus*, divided between the claim on the one hand that there is a common author to most of the works attributed to Hippolytus (excluding certain *pseudepigrapha*), and on the other that there are two or three distinct authors in the Hippolytan School. The latter position, associated with Nautin, Simonetti, Loi and the present reviewer, rely on establishing that the *Refutatio* and the *Contra Noetum* are by different authors between whom the remainder of the works can be approximately divided, even though a third hand can be discerned in some cases. The former position relies on refuting the case for such a division, either because the differences between the two principal works are illusory (Guarducci and Marcovich), or because one of them, the *Contra Noetum*, is in fact the result of a fourth-century interpolator or forger in the name of a theology resembling that of Marcellus of Ankyra (Frickel and Hübner).

Cerrato is convinced that there is no connection between the genuine Hippolytus, who is Eusebius and Jerome's writer, and the author of the *Elenchos*, and therefore the Roman opponent of Callistus. He appears in passing to accept that the *Contra Noetum*, in whole or in part, is the *Syntagma* mentioned by Jerome and others, but mainly because, read with no notion of its textual nuances, it supports his thesis of the eastern (Asia Minor) provenance of the *corpus*, and of the author's place of residence (pp. 61, 81). He then lists 'core documents', since 'it is not the aim of the present study to reconstruct a complete dossier of the works of Hippolytus the commentator' (p. 127). Yet the majority of such works will be commentaries, an examination of the contents of which will reveal a writer who lives in the east with eastern concerns. In analysing those contents, Cerrato undoubtedly does able service to Hippolytan studies. His treatment of the figures of Martha and Mary in *Canticum canticorum*, the theme of the *myrrhophores* at the resurrection, their presence in the form of an anti-Gnostic critique of themes in the *epistula apostolorum* and the *Second Apocalypse of James*, is most illuminating (chapter xiii). His argument regarding the interconnections between *De antichristo* and one aspect of the Cataphrygian movement, that sets it apart from the *Elenchos*, is also suggestive (chapter xiv).

But his claims that we must sever all links between the eastern Hippolytus and the Roman community of Callistus and Pontianus I find extremely questionable. My position, I agree, is based upon an intricate web of relations between the Statue and its inscribed works and Calendars, the Liberian Catalogue, and literary claimants to be part of the *corpus*. I will indicate here but some objections.

Cultural differences do not prove geographical distance. Simply to show that a group of documents are, arguably, Asian does not of itself disprove a Roman provenance. Even if he can show, following Cantalamessa, that the Quartodeciman

Controversy, with which Hippolytan extracts interconnect, was fought out in Asia, this does not disprove that similar disputes took place between rival, culturally-based congregations, in Rome. Surely no one would still suggest that Victor, in the second century, acted like a fourth-century pope and excommunicated such congregations distant from Rome, rather than rival congregations within Rome itself. Tertullian's attack as a member of the New Prophecy on Callistus in the *De pudicitia* and in the *Adversus Praxean* show that laxist and puritanical groups could still communicate their affinity with each other, and hostility to their opponents, across the Mediterranean.

The links between the works listed on the Statue and those of the Eusebius and Jerome Catalogues are more tenuous than proving a single author. But I find it somewhat crass to suggest that there are no links at all between the *Elenchos* and the surviving or restored *corpus*. As an example let us take Cerrato's comment 'Nautin has shown that the chronology of the Daniel Commentary disagrees with the chronology of the Statue's paschal computus, thereby loosening connections' (pp. 254–5). Thus he appears to believe that there is no evidence for connecting the Hippolytan work, *In Daniele*, with those on the Statue. But it is simply incorrect that Nautin was the first to detect that inconsistency. It was a second hand that inscribed in the margins of the Paschal chronography on the right hand side of the Statue corrections of various dates  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ;  $\Delta\alpha\nu\iota\eta\lambda$  that was the hand of a contemporary corrector. The hand of a commentator on *Daniel* is thus there correcting the originally secular, 'scientific' establishment of those dates. Two hands, one of whom knew the work of the other, is thus evidenced from the Statue, not on grounds of a mere literary hypothesis, but from marks set in the stone.

I appreciate Cerrato's use of my position that 'Hippolytus,' like 'Clement' or 'James,' became ciphers for traditions. But I wonder whether such a method can be used to dispose of the clear, eastern evidence, beginning with Apollinaris of Laodicea (AD 315–92), that Hippolytus was bishop of Portus or indeed archbishop of Rome (pp. 83–4). Can we assume that his name was simply used and associated with Rome by the Monophysites, who considered his theology heretical? (p. 85) Surely they would have wanted someone western to blame rather than an ancient theologian who was, according to this hypothesis, unchallengeably eastern?

Attempts to regard Döllinger as producing an anti-papal interpretation of the Hippolytan events as due to his personal biography are wide of the mark (p. 252). Döllinger broke with Rome subsequent to the decree of Vatican I (1870) on papal infallibility. When he wrote on Hippolytus (1853), he defended Callistus I in the dispute as socially egalitarian, and opposed to the heresy of the *Contra Noetum* (written he believed by the author of the *Elenchos*) that denied perfect Sonship before the Incarnation.

Cerrato has produced a significant study in that at individual points it is most insightful. But I am unconvinced by his overall argument.

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ALLEN BRENT

*La antropología de Tertuliano. Estudio de los tratados polémicos de los años 207–212 d.C.* By Jerónimo Leal. (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 76.) Pp. 220. Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2001. 88 7961 017 1  
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This fine study presents the coherence of Tertullian's thought on the human person by following Tertullian's own method which respects the context of the relevant words and arguments ('secundum plura intellegi pauciora/ incerta de certis et obscura de manifestis praejudicari'). A whole chapter is dedicated to the word *caro* which is for Tertullian synonymous with *corpus*. Philology and theology go together for the study of the words apart from their logical setting produces inaccurate results; induction and deduction complement one another (p. 184). What Tertullian said in the majority of his diverse works proves the high value which he placed on the flesh and on the *saeculum*. The unity of the human being as flesh is striking (p. 186). Tertullian uses adjectives and nouns with the same sense while allowing a different sense to adverbs; *caro* and *carnalis* go together whereas *camaliter* means something different. As in other second-century writers, flesh is governed by the divine economy which joins protology and eschatology. Together with positive exposition, Tertullian warns against errors; but his chief value is the actuality of his positive anthropology. In his account of flesh Tertullian has presented 'una antropologia, que goza de un irreproachable equilibria teológico y humano' (p. 190). The author rightly laments the uncritical thought which has been directed towards Tertullian, so that a Renaissance favourite became a Victorian villain. Isolated utterances have been divorced from their context, a practice which is unpardonable in the history of ideas. Following the example of Plato (ἀγεωμέτρητος μηδεις εἰσιτω), should competence in geometry be required of those who study historical theology? A careful reading of Quentin Skinner on meaning and context might suffice; for the history of ideas presents similar challenges no matter where the ever-changing ideas are found. This work of Jerónimo Leal will greatly enrich the understanding of early Christian thought.

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ERIC OSBORN

*The making of a Christian aristocracy. Social and religious change in the western Roman empire.*

By Michele Renee Salzman. Pp. xiv + 354. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press, 2002. £34.50. 0 674 00641 0

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Salzman approaches a classic problem of late Roman history – 'the seeming paradox of a conservative and proud pagan senatorial aristocracy turning to the religion of "the poor and powerless"' (p. 3). The core of her book is a study of 414 'short biographies' of Roman senatorial aristocrats, between Diocletian and Honorius. These are drawn chiefly from *The prosopography of the later Roman empire*, i–ii, with additions from published *addenda* and *corrigenda* and from the *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas-empire*, i–ii. Her intention is to place the aristocracy itself at the heart of the problem. Emperor and bishops, and the evolution of religious life in society, are regarded as 'important insofar as they intersect with the interests and views of aristocrats' (p. 4). In particular, Salzman contends that 'the role of status concerns is a most important key ... The difficulty that Christianity presented to senatorial

aristocrats was how to incorporate this new religion as a status-confirming aspect of their social identity' (p. 13).

Salzman finds the answer to the 'seeming paradox' by dispelling it. She concludes that the interaction of Christianity with aristocratic status culture led to mutual adaptation (pp. 200–19). 'Church leaders', she argues, 'accepted as important certain central aristocratic ideals – such as *nobilitas*, *amicitia* and *honor* – even as they attempted to redefine them to be consonant with a Christian message' (p. 219). Hence conversion became possible for aristocrats without threatening time-honoured values.

Recognition that traditional aristocratic values survived – and were regarded as consistent with – conversion to Christianity is of long standing (for example F. Ermini, *Il centone di Proba e la poesia centonaria latina*, 1909). What is new is not so much the author's main conclusion as her manner of reaching it. Her use of prosopographical evidence is the most systematic yet on this subject, prompting important points that would not otherwise have emerged. She is clear, most strikingly, that much of what has been said about the role of women does not stand up (pp. 138–77). Quantitative evidence does little to suggest that aristocratic women converted earlier than men, indicates that religious intermarriage was marginal and that children's religion tended strongly to follow that of parents (pp. 143–7). These are important pages that cannot be passed over lightly hereafter. More broadly – since Salzman frankly maintains that 'men generally orchestrated the religious affiliation of the late Roman family' (p. 177) – her argument moves the focus of explanation away from private life, back into the public arena. Her discussion of the influence of emperors is balanced (pp. 178–99). Quantitative conclusions are less provocative but none the less welcome: an episodic process emerges, in which Christians only predominate consistently as office-holders from the 390s (pp. 186–8). A survey of practical limits on imperial influence and a brief portrait of 'the emperor as the ideal Christian aristocrat' (pp. 188–99) point to the importance of gradual change in public culture. Against this background, it is all the more intelligible that the Church and senatorial aristocrats should have gradually adapted to one another: we are, to say the least, a long way from 'conflict' and 'triumph'.

Yet, by placing status culture at the heart of her argument, Salzman limits the scale of the problem. The need to reconcile aristocratic values with Christian teaching was undoubtedly a primary challenge; but the means by which it was met do not, themselves, explain conversion. Her remarks on honour and office highlight the distinction, drawn increasingly sharply, between ecclesiastical and secular careers (pp. 202–5). Yet members of Italian senatorial families, especially, seem rarely, in the long term, to have sought distinction through ecclesiastical office (S. Barnish, 'Transformation and survival in the western senatorial aristocracy, c. 400–700', *Papers of the British School at Rome* lvi [1988], 120–55 at pp. 138–40). Equally, on wealth and patronage, Salzman emphasises continuity between traditional euergetism and Christian almsgiving (pp. 205–9): this, however, may be missing altogether a much more complex shift in public values (P. Brown, *Poverty and leadership in the later Roman empire*, 2002).

Where this reviewer would differ most sharply, however, is over the line Salzman draws around the Roman aristocrats. Despite discussions of their social origins (pp. 69–106) and varying career paths (pp. 107–37), her emphasis on status culture is homogenising. In particular, she asserts (for example pp. 16–33) a social distinction between Roman senators and senators enrolled at Constantinople, following the

division of the order under Constantius II. This is conventional but misleading, sustainable only in the absence of systematic scrutiny of eastern senators (but see A. G. Skinner, 'The social origins of the senators of Constantinople from Constantine to Chalcedon', forthcoming). The assertion allows Salzman, however, to present the Roman aristocracy in the terms that a Symmachus or Praetextatus would have wished (pp. 43–68). What she does not allow for sufficiently is that expansion of the western order, on the same scale as the eastern (P. Heather, 'Senators and senates', in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey [eds], *Cambridge ancient history*, xiii, Cambridge 1998, 184–210), brought into the western senate a substantial majority by no means so resolutely steeped in the values that Salzman describes. By contrast, the great majority of eastern senators were steeped in traditions of civic hellenism, with all that that entailed in terms of social, cultural and political expectations (cf. A. G. Skinner, 'The birth of a "Byzantine" senatorial perspective', *Arethusa* xxxiii/3, special issue, *Elites in late antiquity* [2000], 363–77). The paradox that the author neglects, therefore, is that despite the conservative values she emphasises, a majority in the Roman senate may well have been more susceptible to conversion than ever by the late fourth century, not least because of the social fluidity she believes was characteristic of the east. All the more forcibly, therefore, she makes obvious the benefits of an approach that can dismantle easy truisms. Behind the tables and appendices that describe her 'study population' lies an important new opportunity for a differentiated answer to the problem. Salzman herself has made an important contribution to that end.

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ALEXANDER SKINNER

*The cross goes north. Processes of conversion in northern Europe. AD 300–1300.* Edited by Martin Carver. Pp. xiv + 591 incl. frontispiece, 87 figs and 49 plates. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2003. £75. 1 903153 11 5

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A conference at York in July 2000 produced a galaxy of learned papers focused on the culture and marks of religious conversion in northern Europe during the first millennium ranging from fourth-century Ireland to thirteenth-century Estonia and Lapland; the evidence, being mainly archaeological, is presented under the editorial control of Professor Carver of York.

As one might expect, some of the evidence points to syncretism with the cohabitation of Saxon and Christian. By custom Saxon women were responsible for funerals. This continued after conversion, so that women were prominent in important roles for religion in a single household or village.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
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HENRY CHADWICK

*Re-thinking Gregory of Nyssa.* Edited by Sarah Coakley. Pp. iii + 137. Malden, MA–Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. £17.99 (paper). 1 40510 37 9

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Within the extensive literature that continues to be devoted to the youngest of the so-called Cappadocian theologians this book, a collection of essays, merits special

attention. For it broaches a new, comprehensive vision of Gregory's thought potentially embracing and integrating a variety of specific research within the confines of a consciously post-modern theological agenda. The starting point, as the editor remarks in her opening contribution, is two-fold. First, Gregory has figured prominently in the Trinitarian debates of past decades, but is understood by authorities such as J. Zizioulas in a way which all the contributors, rightly, agree is extremely one-sided and in its consequences dangerously wrong. Secondly, while many single strands of Gregory's thought, such as his interest in apophaticism, asceticism and desire, have found recognition in the context of more recent cultural studies, they have as yet not been integrated with the traditionally known, doctrinal concerns of this church Father.

Consequently, the essays collected in this volume attempt in the first place to correct the aforesaid interpretation of Gregory's Trinitarian thought within what is sometimes referred to as the 'de Régnon' paradigm, as exemplary that is for an alleged 'eastern' approach starting from the three Persons to move on to their commonality. Lewis Ayres argues that Gregory's *Ad Ablabium*, which is often cited in support of the pluralistic interpretation, is in its entirety not governed by the logic of the 'three-men analogy' but by his interest in a pro-Nicene 'grammar' of divinity based on his apophaticism and his account of divine power. Similarly, Lucian Turcescu urges that Gregory cannot be considered a legitimate point of reference for contemporary, 'personalistic' interpretations of the Trinity. And David Bentley Hart demonstrates in a highly illuminating article that any attempt to drive a wedge between Gregory and Augustine on this question is necessarily based on a superficial appreciation of the complexities of Trinitarian analogy. The remaining articles are devoted to evidence that a thus modified interpretation of Gregory's Trinitarianism allows alongside the integration of this with other elements of his thought. In what is perhaps the central essay of the collection Michel René Barnes takes Gregory's psychology as the background for his Trinitarian theory, a procedure that convinces by shedding new light on both areas. Brian E. Daley (in the only previously published article of the collection) tries to find some friendly words for Gregory's often chastised Christology; and Martin Laird demonstrates, on the basis of Gregory's homilies on the Song of Songs, the Trinitarian grounding of his understanding of human desire.

There can be but little doubt that the authors' attempt to disown a pluralistic interpretation of Gregory's Trinitarian theology is successful. For patristic scholarship on Gregory this cannot be judged a fundamental novelty as it was the upshot of Holl's pioneering and highly influential study of 1904. Holl (and many after him) found Gregory considerably less 'pluralistic' than (for example) his brother, Basil of Caesarea. This, however, raises the possibility of 'de Régnon' restated on the basis primarily of Basil's theology, which would be in keeping with the much stronger influence of the latter in the eastern tradition, but contrary to the wider theological intentions of the present book. Too narrow a focus on Nyssen's individual theology will, therefore, eventually endanger some of its commendable objectives. As far as the prospect of a new, unified interpretation of Gregory's thought is concerned, the ultimate value of this collection lies in its very character as a project aiming to tie together historical and systematic approaches to Gregory's Trinitarian, anthropological and ascetic teaching. As such it is still in its early days. The results thus far are quite

promising, and readers (this present one at any rate) will hope to see more of it soon.

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JOHANNES ZACHHUBER

*Die Armenische Kirche. Materialien zur armenischen Geschichte, Theologie und Kultur.* By Mesrob K. Krikorian. Pp. 307+5 ill. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2002. £28 (paper). 3 631 38702 4

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This volume, by the present Armenian archbishop of Vienna and Honorary Professor of Armenology at the University of Vienna, reflects his many years of activity in the ecumenical movement and work for the *Pro Oriente* foundation. Over the years Archbishop Krikorian has prepared numerous papers on specific aspects of Armenian history and theology. These have now been gathered and up-dated to provide a broader and deeper view of the Armenian Church as a whole. The book is divided into chapters by subject. It begins with a survey of the origins of Christianity in Armenia and the history of the Church to modern times. The second part studies Armenian reception of ecumenical councils down to the break with the imperial, Chalcedonian Church in the early seventh century; the development of the office of primate 'Catholicos'; and the subsequent division of authority in the Church into the two catholicosates of Ejmiatsin and Cilicia and the two patriarchates of Jerusalem and Constantinople. The third and longest section is devoted to basic theological texts and the Armenian position in ecumenical dialogue, both in the past and in the present. The last two sections are concerned with Armenian liturgical traditions and canon law. The book will be particularly valuable for those involved in contemporary issues of ecumenical concern, since it provides good background material for anyone interested in learning more about this ancient branch of Christendom who is not a specialist in Armenian traditions. The author also aims at a wide readership among members of the Armenian community. There is no separate bibliography, but the text is well documented.

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ROBERT W. THOMSON

Constantine and Christendom, *The oration to the saints. The Greek and Latin accounts of the discovery of the cross. The edict of Constantine to Pope Silvester.* Translated with introduction and notes by Mark Edwards. (Translated Texts for Historians, 39.) Pp. xlvii+143. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003. £12.95 (paper). 0 85323 648 8

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The *Translated Texts for Historians* series, published by Liverpool University Press, has rendered great service to scholarship in enabling students of ancient and medieval history to broaden their studies by reading important sources in English. The three texts relating to the Emperor Constantine featuring his personal attitude to Christianity, and the fervour in different forms both in east and west that his

conversion aroused have been admirably introduced, edited and translated by Mark Edwards. His well annotated rendering of the *Oratio to the saints*, in particular, demonstrates the influence of Lactantius' *Divine institutes* on the thinking of the emperor, while his case that the *Donation of Constantine* to Pope Sylvester could well have originated in the reign of Charlemagne would seem to be proved.

The editor, however, raises questions in his introduction which require further proof. Against a general consensus that would place the *Oratio* between 321 and 325 and preached in Serdica, Thessalonica or Antioch that is, after the first victory over Licinius, Edwards suggests Rome as Constantine's 'favourite city' and the *Oratio* preached as early as Eastertide 315. The objection is that Rome, despite its enthusiastic welcome to Constantine after his defeat of Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, was not a Christian city, and the emperor's army and officer-corps was mainly pagan (*Cod. Theod.* vii.20.2 of 1 March 320: and the emperor respected their 'salutation' in the name of 'the god'). The senate remained divided in its allegiance until the reign of Theodosius I, and Constantine was disliked, particularly for his obvious contempt for the Capitoline gods (*Zosimus, Hist. nova* ii.29.5). Moreover, the Church in north Africa and the west generally was occupied with the Donatist revolt against Caecilian. Rome in 314–15 was thus not an appropriate site for the emperor to declare his undivided allegiance to Christianity.

There is also some heavy weather in the editor's discussion of the different sources for the story of the Empress Helena's 'discovery' (*inventio*) of the cross. The earliest literary mention in the west is in Ambrose of Milan's funeral oration for the Emperor Theodosius in 395 (*De obitu Theodosii* 43–7), but more than thirty years before that there was a cult of the cross, knowledge of which had spread to a village site in western Numidia. An inscription dated 7 September 359 from Oum el Adham records the burial of relics 'de ligau (*sic.*) crucis' among an abundance of other sacred relics commemorated on the inscription (A. Audollent and J. Lataille, 'Mission épigraphique en Algérie', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* x (1890), 397–470, illustrated at p. 400). This would bring a Latin version of the *inventio crucis* back at least to a generation after Helena's visit to Palestine, and also affect the dating of the original Greek version.

These are points for discussion, but the publication of these valuable texts relating to Constantine is to be welcomed unreservedly. The editor has produced three admirably annotated translations which should stimulate those who read them to explore further the possibilities of advanced research.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*Failure of empire. Valens and the Roman state in the fourth century A.D.* By Noel Lenski. (The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature.) Pp. xix + 456 incl. 5 maps and 22 ills. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2002. \$75. 0 520 23332 8

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904370776

The emperor Valens (364–78) is best known for his death at the disastrous defeat of the Roman army by the Goths near Adrianople on 9 August 378, and for his relentless pursuit of the Nicene party in the Church in the eastern provinces of the empire.

The author, who is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Colorado at Boulder, has written a balanced and expertly documented account of Valens's reign. While a man of no great military ability and a rural Pannonian background, he proved himself an able administrator and fair-minded ruler. His basic policy, proclaimed on the bronze coinage issued by his elder brother, Valentinian, and himself, was *Securitas reipublicae* maintained by *Gloria romanorum*, showing the emperor bearing the Labarum dragging a barbarian captive behind him. Neither Valens nor his advisors were prepared to treat the Goths as other than inferiors and enemies. The three-year campaign against them of 367–9, excellently described by the author, should have warned the emperor that the Gothic tribes were a powerful force that should not be provoked. As it was, in the next decade, Valens accumulated enemies: Persians and Saracens on Rome's eastern frontier, Isaurians threatening the inland provinces of Asia Minor and perpetual unrest and hostile intrigue in Armenia. When a new Gothic crisis arose in 377 Valens did not have the troops at his disposal to meet it.

A well-researched chapter on administration and finance, which shows Valens at his best as an organiser and reformer, is preceded by the author's consideration of his religious policy. The story is told from the emperor's stance as a firm adherent of the Homoian (Christ was 'like God') position agreed at the Councils of Seleucia in 359, and Constantinople in 360. The forces, however, that frustrated that policy and led to the Nicene triumph at the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 381, are only lightly touched on. In particular, too little is said about the power of the pro-Nicene monastic movement in rural Syria and Egypt and the ascetic outlook of leaders in Asia Minor, such as Basil of Caesarea tending in the same direction. There is no indication of the spread of Manichaeism among the literate classes who accepted Christ but not the Old Testament, which the young Augustine characterised as 'absurd' (*Confessions* vi.4.6). Manichaeism and Donatism, then the majority Church of North Africa, are dismissed in a single line (p. 238). The lack of interest in the increasing spread of Christianity at this decisive period in its history and of the intellectual ferment among Christians in east and west is a weakness in this otherwise admirable study.

None the less, this is a well-written, in many ways original and exceptionally well-organised book. Light is thrown on obscure episodes in Valens's reign. Thus, the revolt of Procopius (365–6) was not a pagan reaction against Valens, but lingering support for the Constantinian house fuelled by apparently relentless increases in taxation in the capital. The military history and foreign policy are both convincingly described. In these as well as in the field of the emperor's administration of his vast empire, the author's precise and acute scholarship has brought coherence to a reign that otherwise seemed to lack any organised policy. This book will be a hard act to follow.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*Christianity in Roman Britain*. By David Petts. Pp. 189 incl. 76 ills. Stroud–Charleston, SC: Tempus, 2003. £17.99 (paper). 0 7524 2540 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904380772

It is just over twenty years since Charles Thomas's epic publication of *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500* (London 1981). In the six chapters into which this volume is divided, David Petts has attempted to bring the evidence up to date, and more ambitiously to write a history of Christianity in Roman Britain. After reviewing the evidence he concludes that much of Britain went into the subRoman period as a firmly Christianised society. He is able to show that the Church in Britain is mentioned in the fifth century in a work entitled *The seven offices of the Church* as well as in Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus* (c. 490), while a reference by Sidonius Apollinaris in c. 470 to Riocatus, 'a priest and monk' returning a book to Britain on behalf of a certain Faustus, is also an indication of the survival of its intellectual life. The author bases much of his case on the existence of urban cemeteries at Poundbury (Dorchester) and Butt Road (Colchester), and the now plentiful supply of Christian objects from fourth-century sites spread over a large part of the country. He must also be correct in stressing the non-confrontational character of the new religion, by pointing out, as others have before him, notably Jocelyn Toynbee, the combination of Christian and pagan symbolism on mosaics in wealthy villas, such as Hinton St Mary and Lullingstone.

The author's brief is Christianity, but he should have noted the long survival of Romano-Celtic paganism through the whole of the fourth century. He should also have conceded that the lead tanks often inscribed with Christian symbols and perhaps used for baptisms have often been found broken up or burned. At Ashton, for instance, near Oundle, the remains of three were recovered from a well, smashed or cut up into fragments. One must take into account that while churches can be identified in town and occasionally, as at Icklingham in Suffolk, in the countryside, no parish system survived the fifth century, and there is no record of subRoman bishoprics; the churches at Silchester and Colchester seem to have been abandoned before the end of the Roman period and given over to squatter occupation. Evidence, too, for Christian mission among the rural population, such as that of Martin of Tours or Victricius of Rouen is lacking. Britain had no Lérins to inspire and train a leadership from among villa-owners and other wealthy Christians. When Augustine of Canterbury landed at Thanet in 597 he found little on which to base the conversion of the English people.

Nevertheless, if the author has not been able to prove his case, he has written a well-researched and well-illustrated study. He has been able to show that in the fourth century Christians were recognised as a distinct religious group as is evident from the lead tablet found at Bath. His work will encourage further research and is a valuable continuation of the work of Charles Thomas.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
 CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*The use and abuse of time in Christian history. Papers read at the 1999 summer meeting and the 2000 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society.* Edited by R. N. Swanson. (Studies in Church History, 37.) Pp. xx + 399. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Ecclesiastical History Society), 2002. £40. 0 9529733 7 5; 0424 2084

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The conference at which these papers were given was devoted to the theme of 'Work, rest and play', and the proper use of time has been an integral element in discussion of these matters by Christian thinkers and others for two millennia. As the introduction points out, quoting J. K. Galbraith, 'The word "Work" is our most misleading social term', and so, recognising its protean character, the focus of the volume has moved from 'Work' to 'Time', a move which has required some uneasy editorial compromises, as in the essay by Susan Boynton on sacred music. The volume gets into its stride with a piece on Augustine by Carol Harrison, which discusses his treatment of Genesis, introducing the concept of 'free work' as spiritually uplifting in contrast to 'forced labour' resulting from the Fall. The pace picks up through a characteristically pithy and thought-provoking piece by Janet Nelson using ninth-century monastic manuscripts on the 'labours of the months' to postulate a heightened spiritual value for peasant labour in this period and later. It is Nelson who brings the work of Jacques Le Goff into view, and it is his work and that of Max Weber which informs many of the subsequent essays. Frances Andrews discusses the involvement of religious orders in civic government in thirteenth-century Italy, to make preliminary suggestions about the tensions caused by these secular activities both within the orders and with ecclesiastical authority. The opposition between 'church time' and 'astrological' or 'natural' time is discussed by Hilary Carey in an essay on Bradwardine, and if one wanted to find an example of the victory of Le Goff's merchant time over 'theological time' one need look no further than Barry Collett's piece on the career of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester. Fox was the archetypal ecclesiastical civil servant, serving both Henry VII and Henry VIII. He worked a seventy-hour week, and in translating the Benedictine Rule for Women in 1517 Collett concludes that Fox 'expounded monastic time in terms of the efficient use of secular time', though of course the distinction between the two was far from clear cut and the bishop maintained the primacy of the former, in theory if not in practice. Fox's work was directed at female religious, and the following papers, by Joke Spaans on the *kloppen* in seventeenth-century Holland and Anne Laurence on godly English women, take up this theme. They demonstrate the gendered nature of time, with its emphasis on the balance of prayer and work within a domestic or nurturing environment, whether in household or community, and here male writers could not resist the standard biblical trope: Thomas Ken when preaching the funeral sermon for Margaret Mainard, who 'united Mary and Martha together', recalled an enduring image which has contributed to a perceived feminisation of religious practice, in its informal if not its formal expression.

The following six essays, covering the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, engage in varying ways with the work of Max Weber. By juxtaposing the careers of two Lancaster businessmen, the Catholic furniture maker Robert Gillow and the Quaker merchant William Stout, Michael Mullett raises questions about the Weberian model which can also be traced in works of Catholic piety such as Challoner's *Garden of the soul*. As part of their nightly examination of conscience

Challoner asked his readers 'in what manner have you acquitted yourself in the duties of your calling?', reminding them of their obligations to what one might call a Catholic work ethic. John Walsh elegantly reminds those readers who still need reminding that E. P. Thompson's analysis of Methodism and factory discipline was only part of the story, that many contemporaries saw Methodist devotions as anti-work and that evangelical religion contained both 'disciplined asceticism and a charismatic freedom of the Spirit'. In a wide ranging and engrossing essay Jane Garnett examines the Weber thesis in the context of economic modernisation through an unexpected comparison of English Protestant writings and those of Italian Catholics, where both sought to provide an alternative to a purely secular political economy. With the exception of Ruskin and his followers, the generally accepted English view was that Catholicism could make no contribution to economic life, a view confirmed by the publication of Weber's work in English. In Italy the issue was more complex, as the struggle between conservative and liberal forces in Genoa amply demonstrates, but the subsequent association of Catholic corporatism with fascism, has also undermined the positive elements of that debate. The work ethic could also turn individuals into workaholics, and we are given two case studies here: Bishop Selwyn, that evangelical superman, allowed ten minutes for dinner 'including grace' and exhausted even his most fervent admirers; Marianne Farningham, the Baptist journalist, worked herself to a breakdown rather in the fashion of an Anita Brookner character. By the time she was writing, work had become labour, with a capital L, and the volume includes two essays directly addressing this: Krista Cowman demonstrates how the Labour Churches offered a rich alternative culture to working men and women in late nineteenth-century northern cities, and Tim MacQuiban looks at Social Christianity, as opposed to Christian Socialism, within Edwardian Methodism. The volume ends with two rather odd pieces: one on Benedict xv, who did not actually issue an encyclical addressing the social implications of work, seeks to establish his 'radical' views in comparison to those of his predecessor and successor, neither a difficult nor a large claim to make, and the Presidential Address on the earlier career of Randall Davidson argues that his pursuit of country sports formed a programme of disciplined recuperation rather than recreation, and illustrates his commitment to 'rational recreation' (though the author does not use that term) through his support of Sunday opening of museums and libraries, and his engagement with industrial questions through his successful intervention in securing an act requiring shopkeepers to provide seats from their female assistants. One is left with the impression that Lambeth fiddled while Rome froze when faced with the moral dilemmas of the industrial work-place. This is unfortunate historically, as far more interesting initiatives were being explored by both Churches at this time, and aesthetically, in that it leaves an otherwise vigorous collection of essays with a rather limp conclusion.

*Byzantinische Miniaturen. Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert.* By Axinia Džurova (trans. Peter Schreiner). (First publ. as *La miniatura bizantina. I manoscritti miniati e la loro diffusione*, Milan: Editoriale Jaca Book SpA, 2001.) Pp. 304 incl. 240 black-and-white and 244 colour plates. Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2002. €99. 3 7954 1470 9

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This handsome volume is the revised and corrected edition of a work recently published in Italian as *La miniatura bizantina: i manoscritti miniati e la loro diffusione* (Milan 2001), as explained by the author (p. 281). It follows a straightforward, one could say traditional, scheme. An introductory chapter stresses some of the differences between the Byzantine world and the west (broadly understood). Five chapters survey the material, divided chronologically into fourth to seventh century, Iconoclasm, 843–1204, 1204–1453, and fifteenth to nineteenth century. There is a brief conclusion, a glossary, an extensive bibliography and an index of manuscripts. The text is accompanied by numerous small black-and-white reproductions, of moderate quality, and interrupted by four blocks of colour illustrations, generally of excellent quality. (Some of the manuscripts reproduced are not mentioned in the text, however.) Most of the colour plates show full pages of the manuscripts, and some show the books lying open (a vital guide to understanding – e.g. the Tomic Psalter, colour plates 166–9), but sometimes the designer has organised the images misleadingly and created ‘false openings’, juxtaposing images from different books (e.g. colour plates 128–9). The author locates Byzantine manuscript illumination in a broad historical and geographical setting, with a particular focus on Slavonic material (the final chapter is almost entirely Slavonic in focus). The chronological framework makes questions of dating and periodisation especially important, and discussion of these matters is supported by numerous sketches of ornamental initials. Codicological detail, or closely focused argument, are generally avoided. Because the book is addressed (it can be assumed) to a broad public, there are no footnotes, although references to the bibliography are included. Of particular interest to specialists will be the reproductions from numerous manuscripts in the Dujčev Centre in Sofia, which were largely unknown (because inaccessible) until the 1990s. These provide fascinating new insights. Dujčev gr. 117, for example, a mid eleventh-century catena on the Gospels with evangelist portraits on blue and purple grounds, was restored and rebound in the thirteenth century for a Maria Komnena Palaiologina (p. 87 and colour plate 60). Dujčev gr. 358, a New Testament with evangelist portraits, dated 1125 (pp. 148–9), has an image of St John holding the unusual text (unusual in a Byzantine illuminated book, that is) ‘No man has ever seen God’ (John i.18; colour plate 77). Dujčev gr. 339 is clearly a member of Carr’s ‘provincial’ group of manuscripts of predominantly late twelfth to early thirteenth century date, yet it is dated 1285. Džurova specifically passes over for the present an attempt to revise the group’s chronology (p. 179 and colour plate 128). We must hope she continues her scholarly work on these books (published since 1991). In short the volume is a useful survey, which by its Slavonic emphasis and inclusion of Dujčev Centre material makes a valuable contribution.

COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART,  
LONDON

JOHN LOWDEN

*Südfranzösische Lokalheilige zwischen Kirche, Dynastie und Stadt vom 5. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert.*

By Anke Krüger. (Beiträge zur Hagiographie, 2.) Pp. 399 + 11 plates. Stuttgart:

Franz Steiner, 2002. €70 (paper). 3 515 07789 8

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Saints' *Lives*, not so very long ago, were relegated at best to a marginalised history of the liturgy, and at worst to an easily dismissed 'history of superstition'. In recent years, however, scholars have found much of interest in these *vitae*, perhaps most intriguingly the way that saints' *Lives* were written and rewritten over the centuries, as the past was reworked to meet the changing needs of the present. Anke Krüger here examines the major saints of six southern French dioceses – Arles, Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, Tarascon, Narbonne and Toulouse – over the period of a millennium, from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries. Specifically, Krüger concentrates on local saints like Trophimus of Arles, rather than the more universal saints like Stephen or Peter, and on how these saints were reconceptualised during the early, high and late Middle Ages to serve the needs of the Church, the local aristocracy and the city. The region remained more urbanised than most of France during the Middle Ages and was also on the front line for military and religious conflicts, from the invasions of the Saracens to the Albigensian Crusade. Krüger argues that the patron–client relationship that characterised the social and political structures of late antiquity was preserved throughout the centuries in the relationship between the saint and the faithful. This was true when the cities were dominated by their bishops, when the counts gained ascendancy in the high Middle Ages and even when secular city councils assumed authority. A helpful appendix lists the various *vitae* of the saints studied, with approximate dates and reference to manuscripts or printed editions. Maps, however, would have helped. Although the book is thoughtful and based on a close reading of the primary sources, it is unfortunate that the author seems unaware of the anglophone scholars who have been studying saints' *Lives*; they have made it clear that the old dichotomy between 'truth' and 'legend,' with which Krüger feels compelled to begin, has long since lost any usefulness. The book also has a somewhat mechanical organisation, proceeding chronologically through the saints' *Lives* of each of his six sees in turn, with rather minimal conclusions. The distinction between the Merovingian and Carolingian eras especially would have benefited from further exploration. But the book will still be required reading for anyone studying the way that medieval society thought about its saints.

UNIVERSITY OF AKRON

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD

*Women in a Celtic Church. Ireland, 450–1150.* By Christina Harrington. Pp. x + 329 incl.

4 maps and 1 fig. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £40. 0 19 820823 5

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In his classic work, *Irish monasticism* (1931), John Ryan could conceive of little other role for Patrick's female converts in the neophyte Irish Church than as providers of 'vestments for the clergy, cloths for the altars, decorative hangings for the walls' and responsibility for 'the general cleanliness and beauty of church interiors'. Drawing on a wide range of sources, Christina Harrington's study presents much more diverse roles of women religious from the time of Patrick's mission in the fifth century (whose writings paid particular attention to female virgins), to the eve of the

transformation of the Irish Church in the twelfth century that resulted from the impact of the European-wide reform movement. Although a wide variety of sources bearing on women religious is drawn upon, they present problems in that there is no continuous sequence of particular groups of material; one type of source may be relatively abundant for one period, but scarce or absent for another. Furthermore, there is no scholarly consensus on the precise dating of key Hiberno-Latin and vernacular texts. The author does her best to overcome these difficulties, but hagiographical material, in particular, will merit more systematic exploration than it is afforded here. Harrington is notably judicious in her treatment of the historical cult of St Brigit of Kildare whom it has long been fashionable to regard as a euhemerised pagan Celtic goddess. The most problematic aspect of the book remains its title, *Women in a Celtic Church*, since the author explicitly argues against the assumption that there was a group of churches that was sufficiently homogeneous in structure, liturgy, practice and outlook to merit being classed as specifically 'Celtic'. One is left with the suspicion that 'Celtic' was included as an afterthought in the hope that the book would attract the attention of the modern Celtic Christianity movement. This, however, is bound to be disappointed since comparisons and contrasts throughout this study are drawn more with the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon rather than with other 'Celtic' Churches. The women's and feminist spirituality movements may draw some comfort from the fact that Irish clergy, in their writings at least, exhibited a less gynophobic bias than their contemporaries: notwithstanding the reputation of the early Irish Church for extreme asceticism, women are not presented to the same degree as 'daughters of Eve' whose company should be avoided. There is also less emphasis in the Irish sources on female segregation and claustration, while hagiographical portrayals of Brigit, in particular, depict her as an inveterate traveller, though this may reflect less a realistic opportunity than a predilection for a particular hagiographical itinerarium *topos*. Read alongside Dianne Hall's *Women and the Church in medieval Ireland, c. 1140–1540* (Dublin 2003), which explores the roles of both lay and religious women, historians now have an up-to-date scholarly exploration of early medieval Irish nuns, holy widows and penitents that should serve to stimulate further studies in a hitherto much neglected area.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
BELFAST

M. T. FLANAGAN

*Apocryphal texts and traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*. Edited by Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg. (Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2.) Pp. xi + 170. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. £50. 0 85991 774 6  
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This is the second volume in a new series, *Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies*, and arises from a conference held in Manchester in 2001. A commissioned introductory essay for the published volume (by Frederick M. Biggs) discusses recent work in the field and shows how the Old Testament apocrypha (by which is meant those works like Judith or Sirach absent from the Hebrew canon, as well as the Old Testament pseudepigrapha) were known and used in Anglo-Saxon literature. He also deals with other non-canonical literature, especially the so-called New Testament apocrypha. It is the latter corpus that figures predominantly in

Anglo-Saxon literature: it includes the Gospel of Nicodemus, the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, the Epistle to the Laodiceans (deemed canonical in some Latin manuscripts) and much Mary literature. The remaining chapters are based on the conference papers. One particularly important article (by Charles D. Wright) sets out some new Latin texts of the Apocalypse of Thomas which influenced Old English versions. These texts will need to be taken into account in a much needed critical edition of the Latin. Other articles cover the Sibylline oracles, the apostolic *Passiones* in early Anglo-Saxon England, and Aelfric's use of Laodiceans. One article (by Elizabeth Coatsworth), related to the Old Testament pseudepigrapha, looks at the influence of the Book of Enoch on Anglo-Saxon art. Another article (by Catherine E. Karkov) is also on art history; it investigates the themes of judgement and salvation in the New Minster manuscript *Liber vitae*. But it is the more textual studies that are most significant as is Joyce Hill's concluding magisterial essay, 'The Apocrypha in Anglo-Saxon England', which helps to set the whole in context. Study of extra-biblical influences on early Irish literature is now bearing fruit with several pioneering publications; this present collection concerning Anglo-Saxon literature should prompt comparable studies in this field too, and is to be commended. The theological significance of these non-canonical sources cannot be underestimated.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

J. K. ELLIOTT

*God and the goddesses. Vision, poetry, and belief in the Middle Ages.* By Barbara Newman.

(The Middle Ages.) Pp. xv + 446 incl. 49 ills. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. £30 (\$42.50). 0 8122 3691 2

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Anyone looking for the influence of northern European goddesses, whether Germanic or Celtic, on the religious literature of the Middle Ages will not find it here. Newman does, however, explore the influence of the goddesses of classical mythology, but these were 'cleansed of their cultic taint by the magic wand of allegoresis, retained dominion over the planetary spheres and at the same time gained new life as virtues, natural forces, or even figures of Christian sacrality' (p. 322). She argues that the medieval goddesses were essentially the constructions of the Christian imagination. The 'goddesses' she examines are not female deities posed in addition to the monotheistic God of Christianity or as rivals to him; rather, they are ways of exploring aspects of that God. According to Newman, one reason goddess language was so predominant in medieval writing was because of the normal human inclination to imagine the deity, who is beyond the biological restrictions of gender, in both sexes. Another is the habit of thought that could accommodate the paradoxes that inform Christianity, including the nature of the Trinity, the dual nature of Christ and the Immaculate Conception. Goddess language used in relation to Christianity may sit uncomfortably with modern thinkers, but that is due to the Reformation, which reasserted strict monotheism, and the Counter-Reformation, which enforced uniformity and required the enclosure of nuns. Further, Newman considers that the advent of printing marginalised women writers whose works were more unlikely to find publishers (p. 315). In medieval times, however, orthodoxy was not threatened by goddess language in poetry, art or visionary accounts since it did not challenge ecclesiastical power. Except for the Virgin Mary, goddess

figures were not embodied and did not alter the inferior status of medieval women (pp. 309–10). The ‘goddesses’ Newman explores in Latin and vernacular writings are Natura (given 2 chapters), Lady Love, Wisdom or Sapientia, and finally, the Virgin Mary. Newman uses the term ‘goddess’ quite loosely and with rapid shifts of terminology for the same entity within a given passage. What she has done is to make the reader more aware of the feminisation of concepts that medieval writers employed with considerable freedom and variation. In this book she introduces a new category to medieval studies by coining the term ‘imaginative theology’ to indicate literary and artistic fictions that engaged with religious subjects. These did not rouse the ire of churchmen because they did not claim to be truth even though they might serve to inspire the devout. The many illustrations Newman has chosen with great care often go further than the texts since they physically manifest the abstract and make linkages clear. An example is an illustration of Alan of Lille’s *Anticlaudianus* depicting the throne of Natura directly below the throne of God. This erudite and provocative book will no doubt open up a new field and generate further scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

MAIDIE HILMO

*Dumbarton Oaks papers. Number fifty-six.* Edited by Alice-Mary Talbot and others. Pp. vii + 324 incl. 9 tables and 1 map + 94 plates. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2003. \$85. 0070 7546

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Sandwiched between other sections, one including D. Knipp’s important ‘The chapel of physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua’ (pp. 1–23), another comprising three papers from a colloquium concerning Byzantine monastic foundation documents, is ‘Pilgrimage in the Byzantine empire: 7th–15th centuries’ (pp. 57–241), the fruits of a Dumbarton Oaks Symposium. As A.-M. Talbot remarks in her introduction, little attention has been paid to pilgrimages in the Byzantine world after the Holy Land came under Moslem rule. None the less people continued to journey to Syria and Palestine, as well as to sites still under imperial sway: Constantinople (‘the new Jerusalem’), places associated with the Apostles, local shrines or a holy man. The variety of objectives is significant in itself. As Talbot points out, there was no equivalent to the English term ‘pilgrimage’. The words most commonly used, *proskynēsis*/*prosklyneo*, have no necessary connotations of travel, although some saints’ *Lives* depict their heroes on sacrally charged journeys as M. Kaplan shows (‘Les Saints en pèlerinage’, pp. 109–27). The lack of unambiguous labels for Byzantine pilgrims makes it harder to define ‘pilgrimage’ in Byzantium. Several studies conclude that short-distance pilgrimage was the norm. C. Foss points out that the majority of pilgrims in Asia Minor were ‘local people, overwhelmingly peasants’ (‘Pilgrimage in medieval Asia Minor’, pp. 129–51 at p. 146). Likewise the visitors to Lazaros of Mount Galesion were mainly of local origin (R. Greenfield, ‘Drawn to the blazing beacon’, pp. 213–41). Galesios was a Stylite whose reputation grew through the second quarter of the eleventh century. Some shrines proved durable, drawing veneration from afar, for example that of St Demetrios. The workings of his cult are investigated by C. Bakirtzis, ‘Pilgrimage to Thessalonike’ (pp. 175–92). Other centres were short-lived: not all holy men became lasting cult figures after death, or the circle of their veneration contracted over time. J. O. Rosenqvist argues that

St Eugenios's cult attracted pilgrims from a wide area until the eleventh century; thereafter his cult existed mainly in the region of Trebizond ('Local worshipers, imperial patrons', pp. 193–212). Wonders of healing were a key element in establishing many pilgrimage centres, as A.-M. Talbot demonstrates in a wide-ranging survey. It appears that pilgrimages in quest of healing were more frequent in some periods than others ('Pilgrimage to healing shrines', pp. 153–73). The eleventh and twelfth centuries seem to have been relatively quiet in comparison to the immediately preceding and succeeding eras. These were centuries when a veiled icon of the Mother of God at Blachernae and the Hodegetria Icon drew huge crowds and, as A. W. Carr suggests, 'the later eleventh and twelfth centuries may have marked a phase in the formulation of the cult icon' ('Icons and the object of pilgrimage', pp. 75–92 at p. 90). Only then did certain icons emerge as objectives in their own right; previously the icon seems to have been ancillary to relics at a shrine. The fact that relics served as focal points of pilgrimage is liable to be overlooked because it rarely occurred to Byzantines to compile detailed inventories. For fuller details we rely largely on the descriptions of travellers from the Christian west and Rus. G. Majeska offers a survey of Constantinopolitan sites described by Russian pilgrims, concluding that Russian and west European pilgrims 'for the most part ... frequented the same shrines and venerated the same sacred relics' ('Russian pilgrims in Constantinople', pp. 93–108 at p. 103). The Russians' itineraries seem to have been determined by precedents set by earlier compatriots and their Byzantine guides' preferences. Pilgrims such as Anthony of Novgorod sought to pray at places radiating sacred power and in this they resembled predecessors who, as P. Maraval remarks, sought to 'appropriate through some form of physical contact part of the holiness of the place they had come from near and far to venerate' ('The earliest phase of Christian pilgrimage', pp. 63–74 at p. 73). Maraval notes the reservations about holy places of some Church Fathers and also the pre-Christian antecedents of 'incubation' at a shrine, such as Knipp proposes for Santa Maria Antiqua in the eighth century. The cross-currents of Byzantine spirituality as well as the better-known fixed points are brought out in this splendid collection of papers. They make an original contribution to the study of individual piety in Byzantium. One's sole regret is the absence of an index for what will be a standard work of reference.

KEW

JONATHAN SHEPARD

*Heraclius. Emperor of Byzantium.* By Walter E. Kaegi. Pp. xii + 359. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2003. £50. 0 521 81459 6

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History written in terms of 'great men' and events has long been out of scholarly favour, as Professor Kaegi acknowledges in his introduction. Yet this, the first biography of Heraclius in English, needs no *apologia*. Heraclius cut a self-consciously heroic figure, reputedly fighting 'often' with lions in the arena. Kaegi's careful presentation sets Heraclius' usurpation of the throne and qualities as soldier emperor against the broader background of religious and cultural change and considers the interplay between forceful ruler and society. Kaegi demonstrates Heraclius' reliance on his relatives for loyal military commanders. There were precedents for this and for his deference towards holy men such as Theodore of Sykeon, not least on the part

of Phokas, whom he deposed. But in leading his army in person, Heraclius was breaking with his predecessors who had, for the past two hundred years, mostly left the actual campaigning to their commanders. An emperor in the battlefield could not so easily deflect blame for defeat onto a general and one may surmise that Heraclius' demonstrative devotedness owed much to his exceptionally exposed role. But parading of religious devotions was not just a matter of Heraclius' personal predilections or the empire's plight before the Persians. As Kaegi puts it, 'Religion overhung and suffused most dimensions of life, and those tendencies intensified in emergencies' (p. 105). Heraclius' reign was one long state of emergency and Kaegi shows how morale-boosting rites to propitiate divine wrath compounded with general yearnings for access to the sacred throughout eastern Mediterranean society. The loss of Jerusalem within four years of Heraclius' accession could mean that God was showing His displeasure, and thus Heraclius had every reason to represent the combat in biblical terms. When victory over the Persians eventually came, Heraclius was not slow to proclaim this as a mark of divine approval of his regime, and he made great play of his restoration of the relic of the true cross, abducted by the Persians, to its rightful place, Jerusalem. Heraclius' qualities of shrewdness, ruthless opportunism and resilience are convincingly expounded in this book. Early acquaintance with borderland warfare and subversive diplomacy may have helped in his expedition through Caucasia to the heartland of Persia, a daring lunge which might easily have come to grief. One may, however, wonder whether Heraclius had not brought much of his predicament on himself, by rebelling at a time of Persian military pressure. The Persians took full advantage of the disarray of Byzantium's armed forces. Equally, Heraclius' underestimation of Arab military capabilities and cohesiveness may owe something to conclusions drawn from successful manipulation of Arabs and Berbers in what Kaegi fairly terms 'the formative years' in Armenia and Africa, as well as during recent operations against the Persians. Kaegi draws attention to a neglected indication in a *Life* of St John the Alms-Giver that Arabs were swift to exploit the Byzantines' and the Persians' mutual preoccupation to raid in (probably) southern Palestine. Heraclius' characteristic vigilance seems to have failed to register the Arabs' potential to resume such incursions effectively. However, he can hardly be blamed for failing to appreciate the extraordinary, binding force which common faith in the Prophet brought to Bedouin raiders or the transformation in desert warfare which followed from this. Kaegi offers a perceptive account of Heraclius' campaigns and strategy. Drawing on rebarbative source materials and showing command of recent secondary literature, he offers a compelling assessment of an extraordinary reign.

KEW

JONATHAN SHEPARD

*Figure and likeness. On the limits of representation in Byzantine iconoclasm.* By Charles Barber.

Pp. 208 incl. frontispiece and 30 figs. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002. £26.95. 0 691 09177 3

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In this important book, Charles Barber presents a fresh approach to the Iconoclast Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries, that seeks to focus attention on questions of art and theology of art, rather than allowing these issues – the issues in

which the existing sources discuss it – to be overshadowed by questions of political expediency. The starting-point of Barber's investigation is a comparison of the relic and the icon, suggesting that the origins of the veneration of the icon are closely linked with the veneration of relics as sacred objects. The next step is consideration of canon 82 of the Quinisext Council which insisted that the incarnate Christ be depicted as a human being, rather than symbolically as a sacrificial lamb. In this canon he sees the convergence of various concerns: to represent the humanity of Christ, by depicting his body (in accordance with the Christology of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, of which the Quinisext was regarded as a continuation), to emphasise the New Testament at the expense of the Old and to lay down rules determining the legitimacy of Christian art. It is these concerns with which the iconoclasts engaged: emphasising the continuing validity of the Old Testament, focusing on the cross, rather than Christ's humanity, as summing up the divine economy, and upholding its concerns about the legitimacy of Christian art (and the need to police it). The chapter on the significance of the cross for iconoclast art is particularly illuminating, emphasising the way in which the iconoclasts developed existing traditions, rather than pretending to uncover uniquely iconoclast artistic and theological traditions. The rest of the book explores the way in which the defenders of icons responded to the challenge of the iconoclasts, with particularly illuminating discussions of the ninth-century iconophile theologians, Nikephoros and Theodore of Stoudios, showing how by means of a skilful use of Aristotelian categories (not at all a new point, but pursued here in illuminating detail) they made a distinction between the work of art and the subject it represented, thereby endowing the artist with something of the responsibility of a theologian, no mere artisan but the interpreter of church tradition. Barber's exposition – both of theological texts and the surviving art of the period – is concise and will repay careful re-reading. This also means that it is impossible in a brief review to do more than sketch the broad lines of his exposition: the detailed analysis is profoundly illuminating and thought-provoking. John of Damascus is perhaps passed over too rapidly in favour of the ninth-century iconodules, for although John does not use the technical vocabulary of Aristotelian logic, there is no doubt that he was familiar with it, and it can be argued that many of the so-called distinctive points of the later iconophile theologians (relative veneration, an analysis of the icon in terms of Aristotelian causality) are present in John, though expressed in a less technical way. This book is, however, the most important book on iconoclasm to have appeared for years, and is particularly to be welcomed for the way in which it sets at the centre the explicit concerns and arguments (both in writing and in art) of those involved, rather than looking elsewhere for understanding.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

ANDREW LOUTH

*Writing, society and culture in early Rus, c. 950–1300.* By Simon Franklin. Pp. xv + 325 incl. map + 14 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45.00 521 81381 6

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Sprawling masses of publications offer catalogues, brief descriptions or bare mentions in passing of the characters, letters and words fashioned on the territory

of what became European Russia during the pre-Mongol period. Meanwhile the spate of modern publications concerning more theoretical issues such as literacy and types of literary culture among the East Slavs runs fast and furious in diverse, often contrary, directions. The latter kind of publications necessarily draws in the data provided by the former, sometimes in hefty lumps. But seldom, if ever, has an attempt been made to view the subject in the round, raising fundamental questions against a theoretical framework, essaying clear definitions and then providing a magisterial review of the evidence. This book not only makes the attempt, but succeeds in providing authoritative answers to the self-set questions. The author provides a coherent, illuminating, yet far from simplistic synthesis of themes all too liable to be treated in terms of sweeping assertions or preoccupation with technical minutiae (unavoidable though the latter are).

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part offers evidence of the sorts of writing in use among the Rus before *c.* 1300. The second examines the uses to which written words were put, the recourse made to normative texts in church life, monastic discipline and princely governance, the general standing of writing and also the reasons why persons somewhat lower on the social scale wrote things down – or, no less important, forbore from writing. An original and very valuable theoretical device assists the author in bringing order to these potentially limitless problems and materials. He divides types of writing into three categories: ‘primary writing’ designates writing on objects which were made essentially for the purposes of bearing a written message; ‘secondary writing’ designates objects created partly but not exclusively for the purpose of being written on; and ‘tertiary writing’ is ‘that which is produced on objects which already exist for other purposes’ (p. 20). Most items prove amenable to these distinctions, birch-bark belonging with parchment manuscripts to the first category, captions, inscriptions on manuscript illuminations and wall-paintings, bricks, seals and coins to the second. The third category is at first sight more random – wooden sticks, walls, pots, ingots, spindlewhorls. Yet even these items turn out to have some qualities in common, in that very many of them were used in commerce or exchanges of one sort or another; some lasting record, mark of ownership or specification of type was therefore of value. In arguing through this categorisation, the author gives a full survey of the evidence without allowing any one type to eclipse the rest. The birch-bark letters receive their due, for they evince a fair degree of functional literacy on the part of at least the better-off traders and craftsmen of urban centres such as Novgorod, but the narrowness of their scope is also emphasised. Men – and sometimes women – set down on birch-bark messages mainly about money, business and property, even if a number concern affairs of the heart, household or spirit. The nature of the birch-bark precluded lengthy texts. Due weight is also given to the fact that several other languages and scripts besides Slavonic and Cyrillic were in use among some inhabitants of or visitors to early Rus, for example Arabic and Hebrew scripts, Scandinavian runes, and their corresponding languages. This diversity of practice seems to have ebbed from the mid- to late eleventh century onwards, with ‘the rapid growth in the uses of Cyrillic, with a special subsidiary status, in certain contexts, for Greek’ (p. 122).

The second part of the book examines the question of why massive change came at that time, rather than earlier at the time of Prince Vladimir’s imposition of Christianity on his subjects, and it explores the ways in which writing was used and, no less important, was *not* used. This involves fathoming the often treacherous depths

and shallows of early Rus culture and society, a task for which the author is uniquely well-qualified. He demonstrates what might be termed the rich biodiversity of the urban networks. Several cultural communities having recourse to writing coexisted, partly – but only partly – overlapping with one another, some being exposed to external written culture, principally Byzantium's. The likelihood of quite intensive dealings of Rus traders and craftsmen with their Greek counterparts is noted, encounters which probably explain the presence of Greek and Cyrillic lettering on artefacts already in the tenth century. And the monastic community which took Byzantine monastic rulebooks and hagiographies as exemplars was treating these texts as normative by the mid-eleventh century, although in practice monks could not abide by them word for word. A contrast emerges between the outlook of churchmen to whom the written Word held out ultimate authority (notwithstanding inevitable on-the-spot accommodation in the land of Rus) and that of the princes, their agents and social groups whose norms of behaviour, boundaries and ways of resolving disputes did not derive ultimate validation from written documents or tablets of stone. As the author succinctly puts it: 'Effective and quite elaborate systems of regulation could be sustained without the necessary recourse to formal written procedures' (p. 185). Deeds and commands set in writing do not seem to have played a very important part in princely governance or in the self-regulating activities of population centres, although a significant proportion of the inhabitants of large towns could probably manage some writing. This was not, however, a fixed state of affairs. The dynamics of change in early Rus are expounded with clarity and precision: the accelerating recourse to birch-bark letters and, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the proliferation of written regulations for church discipline and Christian living. Metropolitan Kirill II (c. 1242–81) commissioned texts of the 'Book of the Helmsman' (*kormchaia kniga*), obtaining a recently compiled Serb compendium on Church discipline, based on a translated Byzantine *nomokanon*. This was modified, substantial Rus material was added, copies were widely disseminated and regional variants appeared quite soon, to be copied in turn. Thus senior churchmen were actively engaging with received orthodox Christian wisdom and attempted to abide by it even while enacting modifications and 'fine-tuning' for themselves. This indication of the resourcefulness and intellectual vigour of leaders, bookmen and copyists of the Church in Rus is consistent with other forms of evidence now coming to light. Collections of studies based mainly on archaeological findings (see N. A. Makarov (ed.) *Rus' v XIII veke: drevnosti temnogo vremeni* [Moscow 2003]) suggest that there were 'winners' as well as 'losers' in the wake of the Mongol onslaught, and commercial exchange nexuses and patterns of settlement were already beginning to alter markedly beforehand. Thus the more frequent recourse to writing and the changing status of written texts form part of major cultural and social shifts of Rus in general. The distinctive make-up of Christian Rus is brought out by the author with great insight. At the same time, comparisons with the uses of the written word in other antique and medieval societies are drawn. Constituting at the same time gazetteer, original thesis and wide-ranging synthesis, this fine work does justice to the many dimensions of the culture that eventually gave rise to Russia.

*A companion to the Anglo-Norman world*. Edited by Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts. Pp. xix + 298 incl 5 maps and 12 ills. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003. £40. 0 85115 673 8  
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As the editors observe in their preface, the volume of research on Anglo-Norman studies is now such that not even the most conscientious student or teacher can master the 'torrent of literature' devoted to it. This prompted the editors to commission surveys of the current state of research within various specialist fields. The volume contains four papers concerned with politics and politics in various parts of the Anglo-Norman world: Ann Williams, Cassandra Potts, Daniel Power and Matthew Bennett treat 'England in the eleventh century', 'Normandy 911–1144', 'Angevin Normandy' and 'the Normans in the Mediterranean' respectively. There are also seven thematic papers: Lesley Abrams on contacts and connections between 'England, Normandy and Scandinavia', Elisabeth van Houts on 'Historical writing', Marjorie Chibnall on 'Feudalism and lordship', Emma Mason on 'Administration and government', Christopher Harper-Bill on 'The Anglo-Norman Church', Ian Short on 'Language and literature' and Richard Plant on 'Ecclesiastical architecture, c. 1050 to c. 1200'. There is also a ten-page bibliographical essay, five maps, six genealogical diagrams and two 'time lines'. The volume is replete with learning, and makes a most congenial companion – though different readers will of course find some contributions more congenial than others, depending on their own interests and prejudices. This reader derived particular enjoyment and benefit from the contributions by Abrams, Harper-Bill and Chibnall. The paper by Abrams is not so much a synopsis of recent research as a major contribution to it; that by Harper-Bill is a lucid, thought-provoking and wide-ranging piece which every student of medieval ecclesiastical history should read; and the paper by Chibnall is important, not only because it offers an accessible introduction to a difficult topic, but also because it identifies the way forward for English historiography: 'It is likely that in future discussions of tenurial change historians will give more emphasis to lordship than to feudalism. This will involve greater consideration of peasant society and seignorial authority, topics which English, unlike French, historians, have not normally treated as feudal' (p. 134). Quite so: English historians have been constrained by an overly narrow definition of feudalism which gives too much emphasis to the relationship between land tenure and military obligation, and not enough to other aspects of relationships between lords and their dependants at different levels of society. It is also true that more work is needed to build on Ros Faith's seminal book *The English peasantry and the growth of lordship*, and that such work could profit greatly from comparison with continental scholarship in this field: the question as to whether there was a 'feudal revolution' in England is one which needs to be pursued. Does the volume succeed in making the vast literature on Anglo-Norman studies accessible to a lay audience? It is certainly a useful starting-point, especially if placed alongside the volumes of essays on Anglo-Norman warfare and castles recently edited by Matthew Strickland and Robert Liddiard respectively. However, even with these additions the coverage remains partial. This is not a criticism of the relevant editors or contributors; the simple truth is that Anglo-Norman studies are too voluminous and diverse to be distilled into one, or even three volumes of essays, however good these may be. The *Blackwell's encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* edited by Michael Lapidge and

others is invaluable: perhaps the time has come to produce an Anglo-Norman equivalent?

MAGDALEN COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

STEPHEN BAXTER

Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*. Translated with intro. and notes by Robert Ziolkowski. (Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 1.) Pp. xvi + 152. Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002. €40 (paper). 90 429 1192 1  
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Manegold of Lautenbach's *Liber contra Wolfelmum* is a relatively short work of twenty-four chapters, composed probably in 1085–6, and extant only in a single manuscript. The response (allegedly) to an intellectual spat with Wolfhelm of Cologne in the gardens at Lautenbach, the tract incorporates a tirade against classical philosophy's seductions in undermining Christian faith, provides a brief digest of key points from the Bible (especially the New Testament and the status of Christ) and defends Gregory VII against detractors. Its translated text takes up slightly over thirty pages (pp. 35–68) of this volume, the rest being occupied by an introduction and other preliminaries (pp. 1–33), notes (pp. 69–92), a 'bibliographical essay' (pp. 93–103), a 'biographical dossier' (pp. 105–40) which provides translations of texts giving the meagre evidence for the author's life (and for other Manegolds with whom he may or may not be confused or identical) and four indices. This is the first volume of a series which has set itself an ambitious goal: 'to build a library of medieval Latin texts, with English translations ... that will represent the whole breadth and variety of medieval civilization' (p. vii). Where a good Latin edition is already available (as in this case), only a translation will be produced. Ziolkowski offers a text which flows, backed up by extensive commentary; but it is hard to avoid feeling that a little is being made to go a long way – some of the 'biographical dossier' certainly seems like padding. The central issue with all translations is their utility. Manegold's text, while reflecting contemporary disquiet at how intoxication with ancient classical philosophy could undermine Christianity and the Church's doctrinal authority, is not exactly an indispensable text for students. It may have caused a few ripples at the time of writing, but one wonders how many it will generate in translation.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

R. N. SWANSON

*Manuscripts in Northumbria in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. By Anne Lawrence-Mathers. Pp. xii + 303 incl. 73 figs + 30 plates. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. £60. 0 85991 765 7

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This is an ambitious attempt to view the bibliographical, cultural and ecclesiastical history of a region between c. 1066 and c. 1170 through the evidence of its manuscripts. It is ambitious not only on account of the scope but also because of the many *lacunae* in the evidence: while a considerable number of Durham Cathedral books survive, there are very few from other houses. Unsurprisingly, then, Durham is the subject of more than half of the work, and its manuscripts loom large in much

of the rest. After a summary of the exiguous pre-Conquest evidence (ch. i), the growth (ch. ii) and consolidation (ch. iii) of Durham's collection in the aftermath of the Conquest is sketched, and its most elaborately decorated book, an illustrated copy of Bede's *Vita Cuthberti*, is examined (ch. iv). Following a survey of other Benedictine foundations (ch. v), the focus returns to Durham in the second and third quarters of the twelfth century (chs vi–vii). Chapters on the Augustinians and Cistercians (chs viii–ix) – the latter particularly successful given the extreme limitations of the evidence – are followed by a survey of Northumbrian manuscripts of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (ch. x) and an account of Aelred of Rievaulx which highlights his perceptions of his region (ch. xi). The conclusion summarises the evidence for literary exchange between the various communities, arguing that 'by the middle of the twelfth century a genuine and shared sense of regional identity existed in the religious houses of Northumbria' (p. 260), which had 'a very distinctive spiritual and intellectual culture' (p. 261).

The strengths of the work are the extent to which it is based on first-hand examination of the manuscripts, its use of this under-exploited type of evidence to address historical as well as bibliographical and art-historical issues, and, more generally, its attempt to write a literary history that takes account of local political as well as ecclesiastical developments; correspondingly, it has something to offer to students in all these fields. Sadly, however, many of them are unlikely to stay the course because of a series of interlocking presentational weaknesses. Densely written, the text is littered with shelf-marks and palaeographical comparisons. Crucial though such work is to grouping, dating and localising manuscripts, it makes unappetising reading, and in such quantity is positively indigestible. (It would have been far more effective to have summarised the most important links in the text, highlighting their significance, and to have presented the mass of detail in appendices.) Even the student of manuscripts with an appetite for such *minutiae* (amongst whom the present writer would number himself) is unable to follow and hence agree or disagree – let alone build upon – the comparisons because they are almost invariably not illustrated. A total of thirty pictures (drastically reduced and squeezed onto a mere sixteen plates) is simply not enough to render comprehensible a study of hundreds of manuscripts. A more general criticism is that the focus is too exclusively on Northumbria. This may seem a paradoxical comment given the breadth of the topic; nevertheless, claims about the distinctiveness of Northumbrian culture presuppose comparisons with other areas, but such are never offered. Yet there are good modern studies of English Romanesque *scriptoria* from other regions, not to mention a panoramic survey of all the manuscripts and texts of English provenance for much of the author's period, which offer ready-made *comparanda*. Many of the trends the author identifies – the nature of the book collections and their pattern of growth, the types of decoration, the exchanges between houses of different orders, even the attentive study of the *Historia ecclesiastica* – are paralleled elsewhere not only in England but also across the Channel. The earliest – indeed virtually the only – author-portrait of Aelred of Rievaulx, for instance, appears not in a Northumbrian book, but in an early copy of his *Speculum caritatis* made at Anchin Abbey near Douai; founded in 1079, this Benedictine house built up much the same type of collection as Durham, with a good run of Bede's works (including the *Historia ecclesiastica*), and was likewise engaged in bibliographical exchange with other orders, producing the oldest 'collected' edition of the works of St Bernard.

In brief, whilst *Manuscripts in Northumbria* is a valuable contribution to its field, it is not one that communicates its findings as well as it might; nor does it engage with the broader context of Romanesque manuscripts and cultural history as fully as it should.

UNIVERSITY OF KENT,  
CANTERBURY

RICHARD GAMESON

*St Anselm and the handmaidens of God. A study of Anselm's correspondence with women.* By Sally N. Vaughn. (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 7.) Pp. xii + 335 incl. 6 maps and 26 ill. + errata. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. €60. 2 503 51337 9

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Sally Vaughn notices that of the 475 letters in Schmitt's edition of Anselm's letters seventy-three are to, from or about women, and that of these more than three-quarters concern lay women. She prefaces her discussion of them by arguing, with Walter Fröhlich but against Sir Richard Southern, that Anselm's letter collections were compiled during Anselm's lifetime and by Anselm himself. As part of collections so compiled, his letters concerning women not only illustrate his dealings as prior and abbot of Bec and then as archbishop of Canterbury with a cross-section of society but also offer a considered statement of the ideals and counsels that informed his dealings. Vaughn is concerned to extend her earlier studies of Anselm himself from a fresh angle rather than to write a work of 'women's history'. Nevertheless, the strength of this book lies in her diligent collection of information about Anselm's correspondents, especially those with major political roles such as Henry I's queen Matilda and countesses Ida of Boulogne and Clementia of Flanders; although there are some slips and inaccuracies. Overall, Vaughn probably claims too much for Anselm's clarity and novelty of social and political vision, especially as regards the equality of men and women and their respective religious and secular roles. Her depiction of Anselm stimulates thought rather than carries conviction; he is presented as too much of an ideal figure to be true to life.

ST EDMUND HALL,  
OXFORD

H. E. J. COWDREY

*L'Attente des temps nouveaux. Eschatologie, millénarisme et visions du futur du moyen âge au XXe siècle.* Edited by André Vauchez. Pp. 170 incl. 18 plates. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. €44 (paper). 2 503 51335 2

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This collection of ten short essays, in French, English and Italian, originated in a conference held in Oslo in August 2000, with the new millennium encouraging an international team of scholars to reflect on the current state of scholarship on apocalyptic, messianic and millenarian themes across European and Mediterranean history. Most contributors opted for a historiographical overview of their particular field, and this book will be most useful for anyone looking for an up-to-date introduction to unfamiliar periods or places. One notable strength is the coverage given to Jewish and early Islamic traditions. Said Amir Arjomand demonstrates how early

Islam was coloured by both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and messianic traditions. Another strength is the emphasis on the transmission and modification of beliefs and cults over remarkably long periods. Roland Goetschel, focusing on the well-known career of the seventeenth-century Jewish messiah Sabbatai Sevi, shows how Sabbatai's cult retained a significant following up to the early twentieth century, notwithstanding his 'conversion' to Islam in 1666. Several contributors review the medieval traditions associated with Joachim of Fiore, and expectations of a Last World Emperor or *pastor angelicus*. Marina Caffiero explores the French Revolutionary era, tracing both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary currents stimulated by the upheavals in Church and State. Pdraig Lenihan, focusing on Irish cults from medieval times to the present, finds prophecies attributed to St Colmcille repeatedly reworked and reapplied to fit changing circumstances up to the nineteenth century, and offers suggestive evidence on the hold they exerted. Bernard McGinn rounds off the volume with some general reflections on apocalyptic mentalities, and finds contemporary manifestations not only in fundamentalist movements but in the 'secular apocalypticism' he detects in the more radical branches of the ecological movement. The book includes useful bibliographies and eighteen striking illustrations – which, however, appear to be unmentioned by any of the contributors.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

BERNARD CAPP

Gilberto di Stanford, *Tractatus super Cantica canticorum. L'amor di dio nella voce di un monaco del XII secolo*. Edited by Rossana Guglielmetti. (Per Verba. Testi mediolatini con traduzione, 16.) Pp. cxv + 337. Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002. €49 (paper). 88 8450 037 0  
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With Rossana Guglielmetti's complete edition (and translation into Italian) of the twelfth-century *Tractatus super Cantica canticorum* of Gilbert of Stanford, this interesting and important text has now for the first time become accessible to a wider public (Jean Leclercq edited the prologue, the beginning and end in 1948). In the introduction to her edition the question of the author's identity is discussed, on the basis of some indications in the text itself, the manuscript tradition and Gilbert's sources and the monastic libraries which are known to have contained these sources. Strong evidence suggests that the author came from England, and wrote his commentary in the north-eastern parts of France, most likely in the 1140s. There is more uncertainty about the actual monastery where he lived and/or wrote, but several indications point to Clairvaux, or one of its filiations. An extensive analysis of the sources – from Augustine, Gregory the Great and Bede to Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of Saint-Victor – and a discussion of the tradition of exegesis of the Canticle are the background for an evaluation of Gilbert of Stanford's commentary: its novelty, it is claimed, is not due to any new theological or psychological thought, which remains traditional, but to the organisation of its exposition. The personal tone of the treatise is striking – a personal tone which it shares with the treatises and sermons on the canticle of Gilbert's contemporaries. From the perspective of the distinction, famously made by Jean Leclercq, between scholastic and monastic theology – a distinction which is increasingly nuanced nowadays – Guglielmetti interestingly draws attention to Gilbert's use of *distinctiones*, a device common to

masters at the urban schools and monastic writers. More properly monastic (monastic here taken in a broad sense, applying equally to Benedictine and Cistercian monks and to regular canons) is the circularity between exegesis and contemplation, to which Guglielmetti points, which is so distinctive of twelfth-century devotion in the communities of monks and canons, different from later medieval mysticism. Christ is the bridegroom, his breasts the two testaments (1.28), and discussions of the hermeneutics of this contemplative exegesis can be found throughout the text (e.g. 1.91–7). But among other things, the treatise also contains, in a nutshell, woven into the exegesis of the Canticle, a Trinitarian history of creation, fall and redemption. In his treatise Gilbert offered his readers a script for their inner life as well as an exegetical encyclopedia. By making this treatise accessible the editor has done a great service to scholars of twelfth-century monastic and intellectual culture.

CLARE HALL,  
CAMBRIDGE

INEKE VAN 'T SPIJKER

*The vernacular spirit. Essays on medieval religious literature.* Edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson and Nancy Bradley Warren. (The New Middle Ages.) Pp. vii + 324. New York–Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. £32.50. 0 312 29385 2

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This interdisciplinary collection of essays on the medieval vernacular (English, French, Flemish and German, and Spanish) ranges from the mid-twelfth to the late sixteenth century. English opens the volume, for alphabetic reasons. Lisa Manter's heavily theorised article on Richard Rolle argues for the creation of a saintly *persona*, 'Richard Hermite', identified with 'the name of Ihesu' as transcendental signified. Moira Fitzgibbons usefully discusses *The lay folks' catechism*, Gaytryge's translation of Thoresby's 1357 Latin *Injunctions*, which she sees as empowering the laity rather than, as the archbishop had no doubt envisaged when he commissioned it, controlling them. Fiona Somerset's learned contribution on 'excitative speech' defies summary: her argument moves from Richard Fitzralph's discussion (in Latin) of whether Christ begged through to Margery Kempe as 'vernacular theorist' of the effects of emotive language, *via* the popular *Quis dabit* topos. In the French section Morgan Powell uses close textual analysis to argue that a twelfth-century paraphrase of Psalm xlv publicly re-enacts for an audience presided over by Marie de Champagne the Psalmist's performance as *jongleur* at the wedding of the king and queen of heaven. Barbara Newman develops her concept of *mystique courtoise*, linking Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer* to a little-read text by Gérard of Liège. Examining the mirror images in Porete and the *Roman de la rose*, Newman also considers the part this association may have played in Porete's condemnation. Maureen Boulton comprehensively considers Digulleville's cycle of three pilgrimage poems, focusing on the *Pèlerinage de Jésus Christ* and how it adapts various techniques from courtly literature used in the earlier poems, especially greater use of narrative intervention for emotional effect. Lori J. Walters's labyrinthine essay argues that in Christine de Pizan's *Sept psaumes allégorisés* God speaks through Christine in French, 'the royal vernacular', addressing

Charles III of Navarre and the French people at large on the dangers of internal division. Else Marie Wiberg Pedersen writes on the Cistercian nun Beatrice of Nazareth, who wrote the earliest extant Middle Flemish prose work, *Seven manieren van heiliger Minnen*, which expounded orthodox Bernardine theology and was later incorporated into her Latin *vita*. Ulrike Wiethaus rejects the assumption that the vernacular is essentially 'good' and Latin 'bad' by showing how Marguerite Ebner, in spite of writing her own *vita* in German, could still have barbaric attitudes towards the Other, and how Heinrich Seuse could use the vernacular to put down religious women, especially Elsbeth Stigel, his own biographer. Werner Williams-Krapp surveys the explosion of German religious literature written for laypeople in the fifteenth century. In the final group of essays, Ronald E. Surtz discusses two aristocratic women, Isabella of Castile and Leonor Pimental, countess of Plascencia, who both commissioned their respective confessors to write for them. Elizabeth Teresa Howe writes on Cisneros, primate of Spain and early humanist, who in the early sixteenth century sponsored translations for Spanish nuns and also protected visionary women. Finally, Carole A. Slade writes on Teresa of Avila, her reading of vernacular chivalric romances and her later use in her own writings of martial imagery.

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

ALEXANDRA BARRATT

*Petrus Blesensis. Tractatus duo. Passio Reginaldis principis Antiochie. Conquestio de nimia dilatione vie Ierosolimitane.* Edited by R. B. C. Huygens. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 194.) Pp. 136. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. €65 (cloth), €52 (paper). 2 503 04941 9; 0 503 04942 7  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904560773

The story of the how Saladin himself decapitated Raynald (*Raginaldus*) of Châ directly after the Battle of Hattin (4 July 1187) is well known. Many contemporary and near-contemporary sources for the period reported this episode, and at one time historians tended to see it as an appropriately violent end to the career of a man whose whole life had been characterised by violence. Peter of Blois's near contemporary *Passio* of the former prince of Antioch shows that at least some of his contemporaries regarded him in an altogether more favourable light, and, in presenting him as a martyr, Peter was at the very least encouraging participation in the Third Crusade and may have had thoughts of a possible canonisation. In recent decades this text has led historians, notably Bernard Hamilton, to reconsider Raynald's career and, in attempting to understand his actions in the context of the Moslem resurgence of the 1170s and 1180s, engage in a partial 'rehabilitation' of his memory. Other influential medieval authors such as William of Tyre and the anonymous French continuator of William's *Historia* painted a much more hostile portrait of Peter's hero, and so it is interesting to find that the *Passio* describes another man denigrated in the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, the Patriarch Eraclius, as 'vir sanctus et prudens'. Hamilton and others, including Sir Richard Southern, who have discussed this hitherto rather neglected work, have had to make do with the less-than-adequate edition in volume ccvii of the *Patrologia latina*. The *Passio*, together with Peter's shorter discourse on the fall of Jerusalem and its

turbulent history in earlier times (*Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*) and some extracts from his *Libellus de penitentia* which touches on related themes, is now made available in a modern critical edition. Huygens's editing matches the exemplary standards he himself has set, and we are indebted to him for providing a most worthwhile addition to an excellent series.

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY

PETER EDBURY

*Die Gestalt des Pontius Pilatus in Legende, Bibelauslegung und Geschichtsdichtung vom Mittelalter bis in die frühe Neuzeit. Literaturgeschichte einer umstrittenen Figur.* By Andreas Scheidgen. (Mikrokosmos. Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, 68.) Pp. 348. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2002. £30 (paper). 3 631 39003 3; 0170 9143

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In this book Scheidgen examines two groups of sources relating to Pilate. First, independent literature, that is, the ancient biblical, apocryphal and historical witnesses to Pilate.<sup>1</sup> Second, literature from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which takes up, works over and absorbs this Pilate material (for instance, chronicles)<sup>2</sup>. In this category we should include encyclopaedic literature in Latin, theological literature and medieval 'Weltkunde'. Also included are German works such as the so-called 'Pilatusdichtung' in middle high German (written about 1200), certain passages in *Parcival*, German mystical literature, sermonic and specialist literature as well as material in medieval lyric poetry. The material ranges from Martin Luther to Abraham a Santa Clara, and the book also takes account of pictorial sources.

From a literary historical perspective, Scheidgen offers a complex, differentiated and in its analytical approach, highly interesting, picture of Pilate in the Middle Ages. He considers that any attempt to reconstruct the medieval image of Christ's judge will necessarily involve an illumination of the meaning of its contents from a theological, moral-didactic and spiritual angle. In doing so conceptual positions are defined. 'The means of research into medieval meaning', which has been given prominence by the research tradition influenced by Ohly, has helped Scheidgen successfully 'to illuminate the spiritual dimension of its content and better to understand its specific character through the language of imagery and symbol which have developed over centuries' (pp. 15f.).

Scheidgen does not fail to take account of the narratological side because the 'narratively and multiply interconnected character of the transmission of these stories' is itself 'an object of study'. Such analyses become the starting point for demanding research-based interpretation and illumination of meaning. In this context the central parts, B and C, of the monograph, entitled 'Gottesfeind, Bankert, Vorbild', are of particular note. In these sections and at every point, one is struck by Scheidgen's literary-historical acuity. Thus he attributes to the 'Historia apocrypha' from the twelfth century an appropriately key historical position (p. 103). Scheidgen

<sup>1</sup> J. Knappe, 'Pilatus', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, vii, 2nd edn 1989, 669–82.

<sup>2</sup> E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig 1899, 276–335.

judges it as a narrative unity; its main intention to portray Pilate as 'a culmination of evil'.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up, Scheidgen shows in this comprehensive and important work that 'the medieval narrators of this Pilate material have associated much more with the topic than interpretations based simply on concepts of a parenetic or edificatory kind would show'. Overall we should note how 'both biblical transmission as well as its legendary and historiographical rewritings are used, to produce themes connected with contemporary politico-social problems. To these secularising adaptations of the material we should also add the class-critical interpretation of the passion within theologically erudite literature'.

With such and similar observations, Scheidgen makes clear the scholarly gains of literary-critical analyses of images. Pilate was an object of fascination in the Middle Ages. Only thus can the intensive and many-sided interaction with this figure be explained. The acknowledged many-sidedness of Pilate from the perspective of both his character and behaviour enabled an author to interact with him with relative freedom, and thus to use him to further his own tendencies.

TÜBINGEN

JOACHIM KNAPE

<sup>3</sup> Compare with this the chapter entitled 'Die Einheit der "Historia"' in my edition of the Latin and German text: J. Knappe (ed.), 'Die Historia apocrypha der Laegenda aurea' (German), in J. Knappe and K. Strobel (eds), *Zur Deutung der Geschichte in Antike und Mittelalter*, Bamberg 1985, 113–72.

*Listen, daughter. The Speculum virginum and the formation of religious women in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Constant J. Mews. Pp. xiii + 306 incl. 6 ills. New York: Palgrave, 2001. £30. 0 312 24008 2

*The concept of woman, II: The early humanist reformation, 1250–1500*. By Prudence Allen. Pp. xxiv + 1161 incl. 33 ills. Cambridge–Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002. £50 (\$70) (paper). 0 8028 4735 8

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In the middle of the twelfth century a German cleric identifying himself only as 'C' composed a manual for the spiritual development of two enclosed women, 'N and N'. While this treatise, known as the *Speculum virginum* or 'Mirror of virgins', reflects contemporary concerns about the regulation of women religious and anxieties surrounding 'double-communities' of monks and nuns, it offers at the same time a unique and largely positive explanation of the physical and spiritual place of women within the medieval Church. The collection of essays on the content, function and context of the *Speculum* contained in *Listen, daughter* makes for fascinating reading, in large part because of the variety of often very different readings of this text offered here by scholars from several disciplines. While there is a general consensus that the *Speculum's* dialogue between the cleric Peregrinus ('Pilgrim') and the nun Theodora reflects a gendered monastic spirituality within which women were symbolically coded as flesh and men as spirit, some contributors interpret this dialogue as a celebration of the mutually beneficial relationship between male and female religious, others see Peregrinus forcing his female interlocutor into a markedly inferior role. Although those interested in the Latin text of the *Speculum* will want to consult Jutta Seyfarth's definitive 1990 edition, selections of the treatise, expertly

translated by Barbara Newman, are included as an appendix to this collection, an addition that will hopefully serve to introduce this important work to a wider readership.

In *The concept of woman: the early humanist reformation*, Prudence Allen builds on her 1985 study on ancient and early medieval theories of sex identity. That this second volume is double the length of the first, which dealt with a much longer historical period, is a testament to the richness and variety of later medieval philosophical writings on women. Allen has set out to write a 'genealogy of gender in western thought' (p. 3) that will not only clarify our present understanding of medieval philosophical discourses on women but help non-medievalists better understand the historical background of contemporary gender roles. She is admirably sensitive to the needs of specialists and non-specialists alike; as well as supplying a concise review of the major arguments presented in her first volume, Allen provides readers with a number of useful tools including dozens of tables, a detailed chronology and summaries following each major section, enabling readers to navigate a potentially overwhelming text with ease. Expertly distilling a multitude of texts to highlight key moments in the evolution of medieval thinking on women, Allen analyses such developments as the growing importance of dialogue – particularly dialogues between men and women – as a medium for debate about the nature of women, and a growing concern on the part of both male and female writers with defining certain qualities as 'masculine' or 'feminine'. Like the essays on the *Speculum virginum*, Allen's analysis is suggestive of a late medieval intellectual milieu in which interaction between literate men and women was ongoing, lively and to a large degree reciprocal.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

KATHERINE ALLEN SMITH

*Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum. Die Auseinandersetzung der katholischen Kirche mit den italienischen Katharem im Spiegel einer kontroverstheologischen Streitschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts.* Edited by Carola Hoécker. (Edizione Nazionale dei testi medio-latini, 4. Ser. 1, 3.) Pp. cxcvii + 125 incl. 6 ill. Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001. €46.48. 88 8450 019 2

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The *Disputatio* is a curiosity. It is an apologetic cast in dialogue form between Catholic and Cathar, written by a layman called George, to give publicity to Cathar errors, especially their dualism, and arm Catholics against them. Implicitly, as Hoécker notes, it is a reproach to the clergy, the expected source for such polemic and a tribute to the calibre of lay education in the thirteenth century. The author may well have been a notary. Biblical texts were the prime arm of attack, heaped up to confound the stage Cathar of the dialogue. One source of Cathar doctrine is likely to have been a treatise of theirs, lost to us. The author's exact provenance is unlikely ever to be ascertained: he clearly came from Lombardy and had experience of the cities' failure to deal adequately with the Cathar threat. Hoécker explains the proliferation of the text – far more widely diffused than that other work of a thirteenth-century layman, the *Liber supra stella*. The *Disputatio* was popular because it was relatively short and gave effective general arguments against the heresy: it was incorporated in collections made by and for inquisitors and had a surprisingly long

life, reappearing in fifteenth-century manuscripts as an arm against the Hussites, part of *compendia* on past heresies from which polemist could draw general arguments. All this adds a dimension to the classic article of Dondaine on inquisitors' manuals. The *Disputatio* was in fact directed primarily against the Church of Bagnolo but its author was largely unaware of the divisions within Italian Catharism. The editor underplays these: they were of early origin and, *pace* the comment on p. lii, not exaggerated by polemist. Hoécker supplies a much needed critical edition of the text, together with the interpolation on the eucharist found in the French manuscript tradition. The editor's dating between 1210 and 1234, the sweeping away of the mistaken attribution to Gregory, bishop of Fano, and the analysis of the relation to Moneta and Peter Martyr command assent. This is an excellent piece of work.

EASTCOMBE,  
STROUD

M. D. LAMBERT

*After Aquinas. Versions of Thomism.* By Fergus Kerr. Pp. viii + 254. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. £50 (cloth), £15.99 (paper). 0 631 21312 0; 0 631 21313 9

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With this book, Fergus Kerr achieves the seemingly impossible: he makes accessible the current state of scholarship and discussion concerning Thomas Aquinas. A fundamental premise of Kerr's approach is that Aquinas was a transitional figure between the mystical theology of monasticism and the more technical theology of later scholasticism, much further removed from monastic and patristic roots. It is partly for this reason, he suggests, that Aquinas generates wildly conflicting interpretations. Refreshingly, Kerr holds that this results to a degree from genuine ambiguity within Thomas himself. In accordance with this perspective, he is throughout the book scrupulously fair, on the one hand, to older neo-Thomist readings, which stress the independence of Aquinas's philosophy and accounts of natural law over against theology and a biblical ethics, and, on the other hand, to more recent views which tend to argue that there is no such clear independence. Nevertheless, Kerr's bias runs gently and persuasively in favour of the latter interpretation, backed up by a wealth of more recent historical scholarship. In similar fashion, he weighs readings of Aquinas as an 'Aristotelian' over against those which point out that he worked with and sustains the neo-Platonised Aristotle of the Arabs. Again, Kerr subtly inclines to the latter view and shows how Aquinas's stress on participation and deification go naturally with his view that human beings are by nature orientated towards the supernatural gift of grace.

In the course of his expositions, Kerr also offers a history of Thomistic interpretation in the twentieth century and its relation to the main currents of theological and philosophical thought during that period. Here there are two running themes: first, the likeness between Aquinas and Barth and yet the clear superiority of the former, often on Barthian grounds themselves; secondly, the contrast between analytic approaches to Aquinas, which try to circumvent the centrality of *esse* in his thought, as against post-Heideggerian approaches which rejoice in it. In his conclusion, Kerr doubts whether the two will ever find common ground. But this seems perhaps too pessimistic, on the evidence of his own sympathy for both approaches. For maybe the most creative achievement of this book is to

show how a post-Wittgensteinian appreciation of Aquinas's theory of knowledge as grounded in the idea that mind is in continuity with the world, can mesh with the post-Heideggerian appreciation of his account of God as act and event who consummates in his eternal bliss an identity of thinking with existence. Indeed, Kerr's account of the centrality of the 'ontological difference' for Aquinas, and the way his treatment of it challenges Heidegger's treatment, is such a model of clarity that it should silence forever those who claim that such considerations are obscure. But again and again, Kerr tames the seemingly untameable and abstruse, ripping away the veil of academic pretension. His book is also replete with recondite learning (as in his mention of a Sufistic dimension to Aquinas's account of beatitude). The beginner will imbibe not just real knowledge of Aquinas from this book, but a vibrant Catholic and Dominican culture. The more advanced reader will find dazzling insight upon which to ponder, as well as intriguing pointers to a richer future synthesis.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

CATHERINE PICKSTOCK

*The prophetic sense of history in medieval and Renaissance Europe.* By Marjorie Reeves. (Collected Studies, 660.) Pp. x + 306 incl. 28 ills. Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1999. £52.50. 0 86078 805 9

*Greater than emperor. Cola di Rienzo (ca. 1313–54) and the world of fourteenth-century Rome.* By Amanda Collins. (Stylus Studies in Medieval Culture.) Pp. xi + 281. incl. 6 figs. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003. £39 (\$55). 0 472 11250 3  
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The history of apocalypticism is flourishing, as these two recent volumes demonstrate. Marjorie Reeves was the acknowledged master of medieval apocalypticism, and the twelve papers collected in *The prophetic sense of history in medieval and Renaissance Europe*, dating from 1977 to 1996, show the range and depth of her scholarship. Many of these essays are expansions on her masterpiece, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages* (2nd edn, Notre Dame 1993), treating Joachim of Fiore and his heritage. These include classic studies, such as 'The originality and influence of Joachim of Fiore', and 'The Abbot Joachim's sense of history'. Two essays are devoted to one of Joachim's most fascinating pupils, the Renaissance cardinal and Christian cabalist, Egidio of Viterbo, including a previously unpublished piece, 'Prophecy and history: Egidio of Viterbo's *Historia viginti saeculorum*'.

The road opened up by Professor Reeves is now being pursued by younger scholars around the world, as Amanda Collins's *Greater than emperor: Cola di Rienzo (ca. 1313–54) and the world of fourteenth-century Rome* demonstrates. This study takes a different tack to Reeves's largely intellectual pursuit of apocalyptic ideas. Its major concern is a social reconstruction of the world of the enigmatic Cola, his location within the changing social realities of the too-often neglected Rome of the fourteenth century. On the basis of massive archival research, Collins shows that Cola was neither an anomaly, nor a proto-Renaissance figure, but a well-connected member of the important notarial class in the midst of serious social change. Collins also strives to illuminate the background to Cola's programme, especially in the classical learning that inspired him to declare himself a new 'tribune' of the Roman people,

and in the broadly Joachite apocalypticism which influenced the imagery he employed to provide his programme with a transcendental flavour. Collins has uncovered considerable new evidence regarding Cola's apocalypticism, but her findings need to be more carefully sorted out. Unfortunately, she weakens her case, not only by a tendency to allow supposition to slip into fact, but by numerous minor errors and doubtful claims. To give but one example of the latter, on p. 121 she says that 'Joachim's imaginative commentary on the Apocalypse had been accepted as canonical in 1215'. No evidence is cited for this unusual claim.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BERNARD MCGINN

*The universities of the Italian Renaissance.* By Paul F. Grendler. Pp. xx + 592 incl. map, 12 figs and 18 tables. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. £34. 0 8018 6631 6  
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In his preface, Paul Grendler modestly reveals that he undertook this study only after the premature death of Charles Schmidt, and at the prompting of Paul Kristeller; his handsomely produced book is dedicated to the memory of them both. In fact, Grendler is highly qualified to undertake the task as he has published specialised and general works on pre-university education in Italy and Europe. Moreover, he brings to the work a wide and up-to-date reading of the secondary and published sources, as well as a knowledge of primary material in archives and libraries in various cities, if none are south of Rome. Part I of the book deals with the foundation of Italian universities and their subsequent histories. It is organised in 'waves': the earliest foundations (for example Bologna and Padua); those founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (for example Pisa and Ferrara); and those dating from the sixteenth century (for example Macerata and Messina). It examines their histories under royal, communal, papal, signorial and Medicean regimes and touches on those institutions that existed only on paper or which did not develop. This section concludes with a chapter on 'the university in action', dealing with such matters as student power and lodgings, methods of teaching, types of degree. This leads to part II where the various university disciplines are examined. As one might expect in a book dealing with Renaissance Italy, pride of place is given to the *studia humanitatis*, the discipline's academic rivals and the influence it began to exercise in other fields, in medicine and law for example. Here, Grendler shows a command of teaching methods and aims – these universities could have taught the current 'outcomes' industry a thing or two – of texts, of individual academic careers. His approach is free of anachronism and demonstrates a positive and thought-provoking attitude towards his subjects, for example in his treatment of the teaching of anatomy. Part III deals with the decline in university education in the early modern period. The reasons why some late medieval and Renaissance universities – like Treviso – failed to survive could have been more fully examined, the conclusions to the sections could have been fuller and readers will search in vain for the goliardic spirit hinted at in the preface. And as is so often the case, northern material appears to have been richer and more accessible than that for the southern universities. However, Grendler still manages to throw his net remarkably wide, and throughout he writes with authority, clarity and an impressive command of detail. Often 'obscure' academic debates – as

between those for and against the Oxford logicians – are calmly explained. Grendler's work is likely to remain for long an indispensable, and interdisciplinary, 'benchmark'.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES,  
SWANSEA

JOHN EASTON LAW

Martín Pérez, *Libro de las confesiones. Una radiografía de la sociedad medieval española*.

Edited by Antonio García y García, Bernardo Alonso Rodríguez and Francisco Cantelar Rodríguez. Pp. xlv + 757. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002. €51.92. 84 7914 609 5

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For students of medieval Spain (and of medieval Europe too for that matter) the publication of the long awaited edition of Martín Pérez's *Libro de las confesiones*, a work previously thought lost in its Castilian original, is an event indeed.

Although there is some reason for associating its vexingly obscure author with Salamanca, nothing is known about him beyond the fact, vouchsafed by himself, that he wrote the second of the three parts of his very long work in the year 1316. But while his account of the mischief that bakers might get up to could as well refer to Southend-on-Sea as to Salamanca, the context is unmistakably Spanish.

In the tradition of the manuals for confessors pioneered by Ramon de Penyaafort, the *Libro* provided both a dictionary of moral theology and an *exposé* of the society whose moral failings it was designed to qualify its readers to counter, readers whom its author characterised as simple clerics ('clerigos menguados de sciencia'). Before the age of degrees in sociology though, how many of that ilk (one may ask) will have had the energy to work their way through a text which occupies 733 pages in the present edition? The failure of the indefatigable Antonio García and his colleagues to identify a single manuscript containing all three of the *Libro*'s parts goes some way towards answering the question.

Those three parts constitute a sort of sandwich, with parts I and III providing the dryish canonical crust, commencing with an account of the fifty-five cases of major and minor excommunication it was possible not only to imagine before breakfast but also to incur almost without blinking (pp. 17–37) and concluding with a routine disquisition on the sacraments which stops short on the subject 'Quales fijos son legitimos'. In part I the author's canonistic authorities positively bristle – or, rather, the editors' identification of them does, 'aunque no las mencione expresamente' (p. xxxi; was Martín Pérez familiar with the Alfonsine law-codes adduced at p. 57 nn. 7–8, for example?). For all its *longueurs*, in part III book-learning is rather less insistent. Though the enveloping crusts are not without nourishment (on the need for the confessor to retain a written record of 'cosas mal ganadas', for example; p. 50), it is part II, it is the filling of the sandwich, and the freshness of that filling, that distinguishes the *Libro* from other run-of-the-mill hand-me-down treatises of the period.

The besetting sins of bakers whose bake-houses were synonymous with bad language (p. 471), skimmers (notorious subversives, p. 475) and the proprietors of little corner-shops (p. 486) are remorselessly catalogued by a kill-joy who suspected the worst after sundown. Carriers incur censure for 'eating at night like beasts and

eating often' (p. 483). Gatherings of spinning women were 'schools of the devil' because young girls were told dirty stories there but above all because they assembled after dark (p. 475). The *Libro* is a Blue Guide to the *demi-monde* of *juglares* and their confederates: a lexicon of luxury and licence (pp. 445–7) that will prove a gold-mine to historians of the language, though, together with other readers, they will regret the absence of indices of any sort. Its author is an anti-urban moralist. It is not the involvement of clerics in the wine trade that he objects to but rather their profiteering in it like 'regateros', because what places the souls of 'regateros' at risk is that they do not 'live by the sweat of the bodies' (pp. 333, 336, 484). On the subject of usury he is as eloquent as he is exhaustive (pp. 86–125).

The whole of society is his parish, from kings and bishops down. As the editors observe, nothing escapes his eagle eye. At times 'a real stylist' (p. xii), he is sometimes capable of prose that is sharp and effective. When shit is what he means shit is what he calls it (p. 301). But only sometimes. For lengthy stretches the *Libro* reads as though written by a committee. And, one wonders, is it complete? Part III, as preserved in the two manuscripts adduced, certainly ends abruptly and without ceremony (p. 735). Could it be that the encyclopedic author died in harness?

Be that as it may, despite the fact that his treatise might have been written, if not anywhere south of Southend, then certainly at any time between IV and V Lateran, the x-ray of Spanish society to which the present volume's subtitle refers reveals its soft as well as its hard tissue. The editors have exploited their source down to its last particular – in their author's own words, 'fasta una aguja o valor de una meaja' (p. 51). Whether they have done him any favours is another matter. For early fourteenth-century Spain was a land more or less without law of any sort whatsoever, and in the year 1316 in particular, in the depths of the chaotic minority of Alfonso XI of Castile, the effectiveness of regulations regarding toreadors and tripe-butchers may easily be guessed at. Much of what Martín Pérez relates (regarding the excesses of shoe-makers for example; p. 451) harks back to the sumptuary legislation of the 1250s. But by 1316 not only were the idyllic 1250s a distant memory, also what little life society still had left in it the manipulators of canon law were conscientiously throttling out. A rigorist and proud of it, Martín Pérez made the constraints of a denying system his own with all the grim relish that has characterised nervous acolytes of such systems down the ages. On the subject of the undeserving poor, for example, he reads like the editor of a modern tabloid newspaper (pp. 455–51–4). His strictures on *cofradías*, those local self-help associations spawned by the anarchy of the age, are particularly revealing (pp. 171–2). From his chapters on the sins of doctors, masters, etc., it is painfully apparent that John Calvin would have found himself very much at home in Martín Pérez's Salamanca. The dons were to be quizzed by their confessor as to whether, in the manner of the subtle natural philosophers, they had disputed curious questions which did not redound to the salvation of souls, 'as some do who desire to learn and know things that others do not know' (p. 440). Had they been reading 'bad and dirty books *de amores*', books forbidden by the saints and the law – Ovid, for example, or Pamphilus?

The fact not remarked upon by the editors, that Martín Pérez and Juan Ruiz were near contemporaries, deserves to be noted, if only because, thanks to García and his colleagues, future students of the author of the *Libro de buen amor*, for whom these bad and dirty books were bread and butter, now have ample material for their purposes

in the work of the other. In hot Castile in 1316, however, the hackles of readers of the former's work must surely have been raised by its intrusive and prurient agenda. Perhaps it is because it was in another hot land that I have been reading him that I think I understand not only why he wrote his *Libro* but also why there were so few manuscripts of it awaiting its learned editors' exquisite attention seven centuries on.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

PETER LINEHAN

*Una città e il suo profeta. Firenze di fronte al Savonarola. Atti del convegno internazionale (Firenze, 10–13 dicembre 1998).* By Gian Carlo Garfagnini. (Savonarola e la Toscana. Atti e Documenti, 15.) Pp. xvi + 580 incl. 4 tables + 75 ills and 58 musical examples. Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001. €62 (paper). 88 8450 027 3

*Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara all'Europa. Atti del convegno internazionale (Ferrara, 30 marzo–3 aprile 1998).* By Gigliola Fragnito and Mario Miegge. (Savonarola e la Toscana. Atti e Documenti, 14.) Pp. xix + 560 incl. 6 tables + 27 ills. Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001. €62 (paper). 88 87027 79 X

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In Italy Savonarola studies have been in significant measure concentrated in two series which are, in fact, related: the periodical *Memorie domenicane*, published in Pistoia, and the series of conference proceedings 'Savonarola e la Toscana' to which the volumes here reviewed belong. The volume *Una città e il suo profeta* is perhaps the most important collection in the series to date. It contains contributions by such internationally renowned scholars as Cesare Vasoli, Roberto Rusconi, Lorenzo Polizzotto, Frank D'Accone, Ian Fenlon, Patrick Macey, Blake Wilson and Donald Weinstein. Among those Italian contributors who are not well-known internationally there is a group of devoted Tuscan specialists who have illuminated the all-too-easily forgotten area of Savonarolian spirituality, notably Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Claudio Leonardi and Armando F. Verde OP. Savonarola's impact on music, both in terms of his promotion of the tradition of the *lauda* (a hymn form particularly associated with confraternities) and of the inspiration of his verses to composers all over western Europe is here given prominence, with contributions by Patrick Macey, who has perhaps done more than any to develop this field, by Frank D'Accone and Blake Wilson, two noted specialists in Florentine Renaissance music, and by Ian Fenlon, among others. The very significant topic of enthusiasm for Savonarola in mid nineteenth-century Italy, particularly among piously Christian liberals who hoped for a reformation of the Catholic Church, an area that was originally opened up by Giovanni Gentile (*Gino Capponi e la cultura toscana del secolo decimonomo*, Florence 1922) and which has a discrete recent Italian historiography, is here represented by the articles of Serena Pini and Christopher Fulton. An important contribution is that of Lorenzo Polizzotto who shows that the major strength of the *piagnone* (Savonarolian) movement lay in the control that it established over the world of confraternities. There are also sundry articles of an antiquarian character on the iconography of Savonarola, on Savonarolian memorabilia and on the priory of San Marco. Cesare Vasoli's introductory contribution on the historiography of Savonarola and Donald Weinstein's conclusion help to give coherence to the collection.

*Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara all'Europa*, while boasting such prestigious contributors as Paolo Prodi, Roberto Rusconi, Gabriella Zarri, Ugo Rozzo, Giorgio Chittolini, Berndt Hamm, Bernard Vogler, Francis Higman and Alain Dufour, and while containing many valuable contributions, is by contrast a somewhat incoherent collection. It is divided into three sections, each with its own editor: one arbitrarily entitled 'The Ferrara of the young Savonarola', edited by Gigliola Fragnito and introduced by Paolo Prodi; one on religious leaders in the free cities of western Europe, edited and introduced by Mario Miegge; and, finally, a round table on urban reform in northern Italy, organised by Giorgio Politi, with highly specialised contributions. The writers of the separate introductions have followed their own agenda and have done little to draw together the threads of the individual sections. The weakness is evident not least in the second section, the one which is probably of most interest to a non-Italian public. On the basis of the existing bibliography there are significant comparisons to be made between the Savonarolan movement in Florence and the urban reformations in Strasbourg, Zurich and Geneva, but neither the individual contributors to this section nor its editor make much effort to explore them, although Miegge does make interesting suggestions as to why it was religious leaders rather than political ones who succeeded in mobilising populations. The most developed comparative approach is provided by the masterly study by Giorgio Chittolini on urban ecclesiastical institutions and civic religion in northern Italy which suggests contrasts with the German situation. There are two illuminating contributions on Zurich. Emidio Campi replaces the conventional image of Zwingli as the 'leader' of the Zurich Reformation with one of him as a pastor who sought to give an authentically evangelical direction to a politico-religious change instituted by the politicians. Fritz Büsser examines the pastoral activity of the relatively neglected figure of Bullinger, focusing on his emphasis on education and poor relief and on his theology of covenant. Francis Higman's brief but deeply considered synthesis on the subject of Calvin and Geneva, taking up questions raised by Miegge, is followed by a valuable study by Alain Dufour on the activities of the Genevan Company of Pastors under the leadership of Beza. Máximo Diago Hernando's study of the composition of the Castilian city clergy and its sympathetic attitude towards the Comuneros movement in some measure parallels that of Chittolini in terms of theme, although its function within the collection as a whole still remains unclear. A major theme of the oddly assorted first section of the volume, alongside sundry Ferrarese topics, is that of Savonarola's inheritance and Savonarolian traces: the female confraternities organised by the friar's followers, the printings of his works, the holdings of these in monastic libraries and the partial but only partial suppression by the censors of the works of this figure about whom Italian churchmen remained deeply divided throughout the sixteenth century. The myth of Savonarola as dictator of Florence has been demolished for some decades, but the richness and durability of his religious and political inheritance has become increasingly evident and is well illustrated by these two collections.

*Tyranny under the mantle of St Peter. Pope Paul II and Bologna.* By Ian Robertson. (Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 5.) Pp. x + 245. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

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This is a densely-argued study of the impact of the seven-year papacy of Paul II on one of the leading cities of the Papal States. Bologna had been a semi-independent commune, though subject to papal overlordship, and was a city of great strategic importance at the junction of the principal east-west and north-south routes across Italy. The fifteenth century saw the commune's gradual submission to the control of a single family, like so many other cities in the Romagna and elsewhere. It is Robertson's argument that, instead of using his authority to impose direct rule on Bologna or to strengthen the city's oligarchy against the Bentivoglio family, Paul II's intervention had the unintended reverse effect of strengthening the Bentivoglio's 'tyranny' at the expense of the rival families who might have helped to limit their power. For those interested in the nitty-gritty of communal politics as city states succumbed to the power of single families or overlords, this offers an almost perfect study of the process in microcosm: four chapters based on new and detailed archival research and a central focus on one man and one city. The book, the author says, was a long time in gestation and production, and in some ways it might seem to look backwards rather than forwards in its apparently heavy debt to the classic 1937 study of the Bentivoglio, *A study in despotism*, by Cecilia Ady, who was the author's teacher in Oxford. One now uses words like 'despotism' and 'tyranny' at one's peril; and from a wider perspective, the rise of the Bentivoglio, like that of the Medici in Florence, was clearly part of a much wider political development that owed little to papal intervention. Robertson is well aware of the danger, however, and takes up the challenge in a valuable chapter (ii: 4) that carefully assesses the extent to which this language comes from the rhetoric and the political pressures of the day (the 'tyranny' in his title is in fact a quotation from a contemporary source), as well as from outdated historiography. And although the Medici model is ever-present, Robertson's exemplary analysis of how the oligarchy of the Sixteen exercised power before Paul II's advent (in chapter ii, which constitutes almost half the book) in fact offers historians a valuable gauge for assessing other incipient 'despotisms', the Medici included. The pope's intervention, when we finally reach it, offers an equally valuable exemplum of what papal sovereignty and plenitude of power entailed for Italian states – as Francesco Guicciardini also reminds us (in his *Dialogue on the government of Florence*, not quoted here). Appointed papal governor of the Romagna in 1524, Guicciardini is an expert guide to these events, both for what he says about tyrants like the Bentivoglio who (then as now) attracted malcontents as well as political opponents, and, more importantly, for what he says about the long-standing power of the Church, which 'enjoys a reverence and authority that never dies'; for even if its ancient rights seem to be forgotten, when times change, 'its right springs up again, fresher and more powerful than ever'. These two themes pinpoint the wider relevance of this scrupulous book about the play of politics in fifteenth-century Bologna.

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ALISON BROWN

*God's two books. Copernican cosmology and biblical interpretation in early modern science.* By Kenneth J. Howell. Pp. viii + 319 incl. 10 ills. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002. \$39.95. 0 268 01045 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904660775

The sixteenth century heralded new interest in the interpretation of Scripture allied with – but not exclusive to – the Reformation. But the same century also saw the publication of Nicolaus Copernicus' *De revolutionibus* with its radical reinterpretation of nature through the proposal of a heliocentric structure for the universe. Rather than a stationary earth circled around by the planets, the sun and the fixed sphere of the stars, Copernicus proposed a model of the universe with the sun at the centre, circled by all the planets, including the earth.

The Copernican hypothesis accounted for all observable celestial phenomena. However, it contradicted both Ptolemaic astronomy and Aristotelian physics, and, more seriously, it also seemed to conflict with the interpretations of theology, for the sixteenth-century scholar the highest of all disciplines. Astronomers who wished to defend the Copernican system needed a biblical hermeneutic which allowed them to reconcile the physical system with the scriptural text. Quarrels between astronomers and churchmen – most famously Galileo's trial – and debates between astronomers could thus hang on points of biblical interpretation, and the astronomical debates of the sixteenth century frequently included serious discussion about how certain passages of the Bible should be read.

Howell's book investigates the different approaches to biblical interpretation revealed by the debates and conflicts which arose in the process of the reception of the Copernican hypothesis. He begins with a discussion of Copernicus's ideas (without, however, offering much detail about his scriptural hermeneutics), before moving to a discussion of the sixteenth-century context, considering both cosmological ideas and questions of biblical interpretation. The following chapter details the hermeneutical issues at stake in the reception of the Copernican hypothesis in Wittenberg, home not only of Luther and Melancthon, but of Georg Joachim Rheticus, who encouraged Copernicus to publish *De revolutionibus* and saw this done in Lutheran Nuremberg. Howell moves on to consider the biblical aspects of Tycho Brahe's justification of geoheliocentrism (in which the earth is central, and orbited by the sun, whilst all other planets orbit the sun) and his correspondence on these matters with Casper Peucer in Wittenberg. Chapter iv discusses Johannes Kepler's hermeneutics, showing his awareness of Scriptural texts as historical documents and consequently his awareness of inner-biblical interpretation. A survey of the reception of Copernicanism in the Netherlands completes Howell's consideration of Protestant areas. He then turns to the case of Galileo before concluding with a discussion of the effect of these questions on disciplinary boundaries.

Howell demonstrates the subtlety of the arguments used by both Protestant and Catholic proponents of heliocentrism in the sixteenth century whilst showing that many of their hermeneutical arguments were rooted in the principle of accommodation. *God's two books* offers a detailed and extremely useful contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the way in which sixteenth-century astronomers read the Book of Nature, and especially the heavens, and their reading of the Book of Scripture.

*Holy Scripture speaks. The production and reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament.* Edited by Hilmar M. Pabel and Mark Vessey. (Erasmus Studies, 14.) Pp. xvi + 400 incl. 2 frontispieces. Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 2002. £48 (\$80). 0 8020 3642 2

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With one exception, the twelve essays gathered in this volume were papers delivered at a symposium on Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament held at Victoria College, University of Toronto, in October 1999. As we know, Erasmus never gave a commentary on a single book of the Bible (though he commented on some Psalms), even if he was the first to edit the New Testament in Greek, but the paraphrases he published between 1517 and 1524 are 'a kinde of exposition' of the second part of the Bible, *vice commentarii* ('in place of a commentary'). In an excellent introduction (a model for a collection of essays), Mark Vessey presents the papers and outlines the pattern of study of the Bible in the sixteenth century as exemplified by the volume by B. Roussel and G. Bedouelle in the series *Bible de tous les temps* (1989) – two of the contributors to this volume together with others closely linked with the new critical Amsterdam edition (ASD) or with the Toronto *Collected works*. The chapters are organised in two sections: the production of the *Paraphrases* and their reception. Vessey's essay considers the relationship between Erasmus' biblical work and that of his model, Jerome. Roussel, with a study of four followers of Erasmus, confirms that for later paraphrasts, as for Erasmus, the adoption of this form of exposition implied a willingness to enlarge upon or restrict the possible meanings of the source text in obedience to other than purely philological criteria. However, Roussel argues that Sixtus of Siena omitted Erasmus from the ten *paraphrastæ* he quoted in his *Bibliotheca sancta* (p. 59). The reason seems evident: for Sixtus, Erasmus belonged to the expositors who need to be censured, 'calumniator ... odiosus ... impius' (see in book vi his *Annotatio CLVI* on Luke xxii.36, 'et qui non habet, vendat tunicam suam, et emat gladium' against Erasmus' annotation in the 1516 *Novum instrumentum*, 347–9). Sixtus did not therefore include him among the good expositors of the Bible nor the paraphrasts. Robert Sider's study of Paul's life and character as they are revealed in the *Paraphrases* demonstrates Erasmus' historical vision of the apostolate: for the humanist 'the nerve centre of Paul's life as a Christian was the proclamation of the Word' (p. 90) until the double imprisonment in Rome (p. 94f.). Other papers, by M. O'Mara, J. Phillips and I. Backus, carry on the study of the Erasmian text, how it brought together the biblical *res* and the parabiblical *verba*, while H. Pabel examines Erasmus' presentation of marriage in the *Paraphrases*. John Batteman begins the section on the reception of the *Paraphrases* with the 'textual travail' of the second volume of the *Paraphrases*, and Erika Rummel explains that it was their great popularity that brought the *Paraphrases* to the attention of Noël Beda, the 'Sorbonnard', and alarmed him. Beda judged Erasmus with the help of grammarians – that one meaning of the word *paraphrastes* is a 'wrong interpreter and corruptor' ('*perversus interpres et depravator*', p. 268 and n. 14, p. 276) – and in 1527 the Parisian Faculty of Theology condemned the *Paraphrases*. It is therefore not astonishing that French translations appeared late (Lyon 1543, but complete and without change in Basle 1563), after the German and English ones (Bedouelle, at pp. 279–90). John Bale's *Image of both churches*, studied by Gretchen Minton, and John Craig's research on Erasmus' *Paraphrases* in English parishes (in relation to Edward VI's injunctions to

furnish an English version of the *Paraphrases on the Gospel*) conclude this excellent *état de la question*.

GENEVA

MAX ENGAMMARE

*The literary culture of the Reformation. Grammar and grace.* By Brian Cummings. Pp. xvii + 470 incl. 6 ills. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £60. 0 19 818735 1  
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This is a fascinating work. Brian Cummings covers an impressive range of material from the early Reformation debate over free will between Erasmus and Luther to the poetry of Robert Southwell and John Donne. Cummings's main theme is the way in which complex Reformation debates over grace are reflected in the sixteenth-century literature. The first section of *The literary culture of the Reformation* discusses in detail the argument between Erasmus and Luther. This section is an impressive piece of scholarship reminding one of what can be achieved by historically informed and theoretically sophisticated literary criticism. Cummings then moves on to discuss the emergence of a Protestant literary tradition during the mid-Tudor period before concluding with an excellent analysis of Southwell's poetry. For this reader the real strength of this book is the way it combines careful readings of complex Reformation texts with a narrative of cultural change that embraces the sixteenth century. Cummings's work on Erasmus and Luther is insightful, detailed and a pleasure to read. In these chapters Cummings guides the reader through the debate between Luther and Erasmus constantly illustrating the interconnection between their understandings of grace and grammar. The section concludes with Cummings arguing that

Far from settling the matter of free will and predestination, the literary quarrel of Erasmus and Luther gave it new urgency and uncertainty. In these violent controversies of meaning, the anxieties of ambiguity are suppressed in prescriptions of terrifying exactitude. ... In a manner that provides a premonition for the coming century, theology seems at once insoluble and in need of immediate solution. (p. 183)

*The literary culture of the Reformation* persuasively argues that the tortuous language and grammar that Erasmus in particular had to resort to in order to defend his position in the debate with Luther created a language of Reformation caught between a requirement to be plain and the complexity of the issues it had to address. Cummings's argument works brilliantly when applied to writers like Sir Thomas Wyatt or Fulke Greville. In particular, the section on Wyatt's *Penitential psalms* explicates these difficult texts with care, placing them within the context of Henry VIII's idiosyncratic Reformation. The final section, on Donne, sums up the book's argument with Cummings commenting that

Donne's writing shows the paradox of religion and literary culture in the wake of Reformation. For a time, a religion founded on writing appeared to offer a unifying power, a religion apparently without limits. Instead, the new literature of religion identified new differences, new contradictions, and new limits. A God that seemed to be immanent in language was just as much occluded in language. (p. 417)

The book concludes by briefly discussing *Paradise lost*. The single criticism one could have of Cummings's study is that it moves rather quickly over the mid-Tudor period.

In the process it fails to address a number of writers, for example Robert Crowley, whose work might not have fitted into its central argument concerning the language of Reformation. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude a review of *The literary culture of the Reformation* on anything other than a positive note. Reading this book taught this reader not only more about Reformation literature than any other recent book on the subject; it also served as reminder of the standards to which one needs to aspire as a literary critic working on complex sixteenth-century texts. Cummings's study is one of a very rare breed – a work of literary criticism that one is not embarrassed to recommend to one's historical colleagues.

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TOM BETTERIDGE

*Infiniti contemplatio. Grundzüge des Scotus- und Scotismusrezeption im Werk Huldrych Zwinglis.*

By Daniel Bolliger. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 107.) Pp. xx + 847 incl. 4 ill. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003. €159. 90 04 12559 9; 0081 8607 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904690774

That Scotus, perhaps more so than any other scholastic, was an important figure for the earliest generation of reformers is not surprising, and maintaining it not now controversial. His was the most prevalent tradition of theology at the time, and his thought set the agenda for Ockham too, and thus for those theologians – pre-eminently Gabriel Biel – who were influenced by Ockham. Bolliger traces the influence of Scotus and the ‘Scotists’ on Zwingli using two sensible and well-defended methodological tools, tracing ‘passive reception’ as evidenced by annotations made by Zwingli on works of Scotus and his followers, and ‘active reception’ by citations, references and allusions, both by name and by doctrine. According to Bolliger, Scotus’ central theological claims – God’s intensive infinity, radical freedom and ‘wholly otherness’ – were enthusiastically embraced by Zwingli, and in terms strongly recalling their Scotist ancestry. Thus, for example, Zwingli makes not infrequent use of Scotus’ so-called ‘formal’ distinction: a clear sign of distinctively Scotist influence. Bolliger traces the passive reception in Scotist works annotated by Zwingli probably between 1506 and 1515, and the active reception in theological works written by Zwingli largely after 1525, and thus centrally in his reformed period. By way of background, Bolliger provides not only over a hundred pages describing the *status quaestionis* on the influence of the schoolmen on Zwingli and on the Reformers more generally, but also a vast discussion of the development of the key aspects of Scotism in the later Middle Ages from Francis of Meyronnes to the Parisian ‘formalizantes’ of the fifteenth century and Stephan Brulefer. The most important part of the book is an extensive discussion of aspects of Zwingli’s later theology in the light of the account of Scotism provided. The final three hundred pages are taken up with an edition of Zwingli’s annotations to Scotus, Brulefer and John of Damascus, *inter alia*. The annotations themselves are generally brief; other than underlinings, they tend to be standard ‘tree’ diagrams of the distinctions so beloved of scholastics – the medieval equivalent of bullet points. The importance of Bolliger’s work lies in establishing the fact and extent of Scotus’s influence. Zwingli’s theological skills were not obviously scholastic, and his use of Scotist formulae was somewhat standardised; his grasp of Scotist theology is best thought of as generally (though not invariably) sound rather than profound. But this is hardly the point; the

genetic claim is well worth making, and serves to stress yet again the radical continuities which exist between medieval and reformation theology, and which are now the subject of intensive study. Bolliger's book is both an important instance of such study, and an exemplary case of the required methodology.

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RICHARD CROSS

*Reformation readings of the Apocalypse. Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenberg.* By Irena Backus. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) Pp. xx + 182. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. £35 (\$52). 0 19 513885 6  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904700779

Irena Backus outlines and contrasts the interpretations of the Apocalypse by a variety of Protestant commentators between 1539 and 1584, with a look back at their predecessors from the earlier years of the Reformation as well as the patristic and medieval roots of their interpretation. The study concentrates especially on chapter xii, because of its ecclesiastical connotations, and chapter xx, because of the variety of interpretations of the millennium. English commentators are excluded, having been studied thoroughly by Richard Bauckham. The first, and longest, chapter of the book is devoted to the question of canonicity, starting with the hesitations of Erasmus and Luther. Zwingli's reservations are mentioned in passing, but disappointingly not spelt out. The progressive rehabilitation of the Apocalypse is described and explained on the grounds that Protestant theologians became more aware of the value of the book. It would be interesting to compare the fate of the Apocalypse with that of James, whose canonicity also came under fierce scrutiny. The second chapter is devoted to the French commentary of Antoine du Pinet in 1539, substantially rewritten in 1543. His approach is compared with that of two of his predecessors, François Lambert and Sebastian Meyer, from the second of whom he borrowed extensively that which fitted into his own scheme of interpretation. Chapter iii is devoted to the Genevan commentators Augustin Marlorat and Nicolas Colladon. Marlorat's *Expositio*, on this book as on others, takes the form of a compilation of extracts from his predecessors, but this does not prevent him from selecting passages in such a way as to present his own interpretation. Colladon's commentary is contrasted with that of the Roman Catholic Jean de Gagny, with which it has much in common, being a blend of traditional exegesis and anti-papal polemic. The fourth chapter is devoted to the Zurich commentators Leo Jud, Theodore Bibliander and Heinrich Bullinger. Apart from their association of the papacy with the AntiChrist (not exclusively so in Jud's case) they did not see the book as written primarily for their times. Chapter v is devoted to two Lutheran commentators, David Chytraeus and Nikolaus Selnecker. They were more willing than the Reformed commentators to see themselves as living in the last time and the Reformation as the decisive blow against the AntiChrist. There is a brief concluding chapter which helpfully summarises the results of the detailed studies and also draws out the similarities and difference between the different commentaries. 'The sole common feature of all the commentaries is their unhesitating identification of the papacy as the apocalyptic adversary.' The work is executed with meticulous scholarship, as one would expect from Irena Backus, and is a very worthy companion

to Richard Bauckham's *Tudor Apocalypse*. The book is well produced, though there are some blemishes in the index – the references to Lambert are incomplete and for the introduction all page numbers are out by two pages. As with other volumes in this series, there are endnotes rather than footnotes. This is an odd choice in that such volumes are hardly likely to appeal to those who are intimidated by footnotes. For the scholar it is a constant irritation as one has to keep one's fingers in two separate pages both to consult references and to see which notes contain digressions.

LONDON BIBLE COLLEGE

ANTHONY N. S. LANE

*Dona Melanchthoniana. Festgabe für Heinz Scheible zum 70. Geburtstag.* Edited by Johanna Loehr. Pp. 590 incl. frontispiece. Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2001. DM 198. 3 7728 2189 8

*Der junge Luther und Aristoteles. Eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Philosophie.* By Theodor Dieter. (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, 105.) Pp. xvi + 687. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001. DM 296. 3 11 016756 5

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*Dona Melanchthoniana* is a weighty *Festschrift* of twenty-five essays marking the seventieth birthday of Heinz Scheible, the editor of the modern edition of Melanchthon's correspondence and the scholar whose dedication and work has contributed much to the modernisation of Melanchthon scholarship, once the poor relation of the Luther industry. Indeed the number of scholars and variety of topics covered in this volume is ample testament to the many facets of Scheible's interests and the inspiration he has provided in the field.

Several of the studies focus on Melanchthon himself: Cornelius Augstijn provides a bibliography of Melanchthon's editions of the acts of Worms and Regensburg (1540 and 1541); Christian Peters takes advantage of Scheible's edition of the correspondence to elucidate the relationship between Melanchthon and Brenz; James Estes gauges to what extent Melanchthon's *De officia principum* followed the Erasmian politics of the *via media*; Irene Dingel the use of history in the Augsburg Confession (and the effect in turn of confessionalisation on the writing of history); Gottfried Seebass analyses the article on the eucharist in the *Variata*; Birgit Stolt questions Melanchthon's authorship of the commentary on Maccabees; Markus Wriedt explains the unity of piety and erudition in Melanchthon. Bibliography, humanism, theology, history and education represent well the areas of interest to Scheible. As Scheible's biography of Melanchthon makes clear, Melanchthon in his teaching of classics never lost sight of the evangelical purpose of education. Thus, as Johanna Loehr shows, Pindar's concept of 'charis' could inform discussions about the true nature of grace, and Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay shows how the study of Greek tragedy could provide a contrast with, and illuminate, Christian concepts such as 'ἐπιείκεια'. These are effective examples of what Günther Frank advocates, that modern scholarship must understand Melanchthon, the universal scholar, through a balanced and comprehensive approach, bringing together his theology, philosophy and the liberal arts, though Ulrich Koepf also reminds the reader of the close connection between humanism and late medieval theology prior to Melanchthon's arrival in Wittenberg. T.J. Wengert continues the work, as Scheible has done, of

correcting the historical image of Melanchthon, by looking at Melanchthon's dealing with Campeggio at the Diet of Augsburg. Melanchthon shows himself not as capitulating, but disentangling Campeggio's own political and rhetorical manipulations from the emperor's and pope's cases.

The uses and receptions of Melanchthon's works are discussed by Hans-Peter Hasse with the case of Paul Franz of Liebenwerda; by Ernst Koch with the case of Philippism in the theology faculty at Jena between 1573 and 1580; by Christoph Strohm with Melanchthon's reception by the early Calvinists; by Beat R. Jenny with the case of printers and reformers in Basle; and by Martin H. Jung, with the uptake by Johann Gerhard and August Hermann Francke of Melanchthon's concept of piety as something to be learned and acquired. A few other studies examine the role of Melanchthon's colleagues: Paul Eber as a song-writer is studied by Martin Roessler; Luther's standing for the Marburger theologian Johannes Drach by Johannes Schilling; and the effect of early Reformation printing in mining areas in the Alps by Helmut Claus.

The historical significance that ordinary contemporaries of Melanchthon and Luther attached to the two reformers is best attested by the many signatures students and visitors to Wittenberg sought for their textbooks, Bibles and notebooks. It has been well-known that the tradition of the *album amicorum* originated in Protestant Germany, but Wolfgang Klose shows that this was a peculiarly German habit, even when the students went abroad.

The historical significance of Melanchthon for the present day is found in the area of theology: Helmar Junghans points to the concept of theology in both Luther and Melanchthon as not a closed system of doctrine, but an active and dynamic process united inextricably with the practice of piety. This could provide a starting point for modern ecumenism. Siegfried Wiedenhover, moreover, argues that an improved historical understanding of the relationship between Luther and Melanchthon, namely Reformers who stood together despite their real differences and engaged in dialogue with others, provides modern theologians with an evangelical identity as one of dialogue, communication and tolerance, which in turn helps contribute to the ecumenical movement today. As Stefan Rhein recalls from the events of the Melanchthon jubilee, by 1997 a more historical and balanced image of Melanchthon, a man constantly engaged in dialogue, had emerged as the modern inspiration for ecumenism. Scheible has, of course, made fundamental contributions to that.

Much has been accomplished in Melanchthon scholarship since the humble beginnings in Heidelberg, in the small rooms with leaky windows, oil stoves and no toilets or photocopying machines (a moving account of the development of the Melanchthon project is given at the end by Walter Thüringer). This volume is a fitting tribute to the scholar the rich fruits of whose determination and efforts we are now in a position to reap.

Theodore Dieter has also embarked on a project to redress the balance of scholarship and image, this time, of Luther. His work is a welcome reassessment of a topic that had not been seriously researched since Friedrich Nitzsch's *Luther und Aristoteles* (Kiel 1883). Dieter discusses in six chapters six themes: goodness, justification, theory of knowledge, theory of motion, logic and soul. Always anchored carefully in the primary text, Dieter uncovers painstakingly the varying referent of what Luther calls or associates with 'Aristotle'. Here Dieter brings to bear recent scholarship of the varied aspects of Aristotelian traditions (and criticisms). The

well-known criticisms of Aristotle by Luther are studied carefully, and Dieter shows how well in fact Luther could quote verbatim from Argyropoulos's text, and was conversant with the views of commentators such as Thomas Aquinas, Jean Buridan, William of Ockham and Bartholomaeus Arnoldi of Usingen. Particularly masterly is the analysis of the Heidelberg Disputation, where Luther's most coherent, sustained and engaging criticism of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mortality of the soul and the unity between matter and form is presented. This sustained attack makes sense in the context of Luther's aim to reform the Wittenberg curricula so as to de-couple Aristotelian philosophy from the theology of the cross. Yet, Luther's attitude towards Aristotelian philosophy was not completely negative – we see the Aristotelian notion of the unity of the knower and the known applied to the believer's hope and the saviour, and an Ockhamist version of motion is applied to explain part of the structure of justification. Most tellingly, Luther accused Oecolampadius of being a poor logician (p. 424). Although Luther was clear that logic does not discover theological truths, because humans have only their language with which to speak of God, rules of logic are required in order to determine the truth of arguments, especially in polemics. It is thus necessary for theologians to know their logic. Dieter thus successfully shows the multi-layered and variegated nature of Luther's engagement with the Aristotelian tradition, which in itself was variegated and multi-layered. Here is a classic case where scholars must not take at face value the more outspoken outbursts of Luther as representative of his position, but must dig deeper into the texts in order to get past the rhetorical effect of such claims. Luther's objections to certain Aristotelian ideas and formulations did not mean that he could altogether do without Aristotelian concepts or logic. He knew his Aristotle and the commentators too well for that.

This is an important contribution to Luther scholarship and to the study of Aristotelian traditions, which encourages us to take Luther's engagement with his philosophical heritage seriously. Any future discussion of the relationship between Luther's philosophy and theology, or between faith and reason, must start here.

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

SACHIKO KUSUKAWA

*Matthias Flacius and the survival of Luther's reform.* By Oliver K. Olson. (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 20.) Pp. 428 incl. numerous ills. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz/Herzog August Bibliothek, 2002. €99. 3 447 04404 7 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904720771

The Croatian Matthias Flacius 'Illyricus' will appear in overall portrayals of the Reformation and the confessional age in Germany: from 1541 in Wittenberg, first studying as a pupil of Melanchthon, then teaching as Professor of Biblical Studies; almost habitually referred to as leader of the 'Gnesiolutherans' who sought to preserve the pure teaching of Luther in conflict with Melanchthon and Wittenberg; in his *Clavis scripturae sacrae*, the founder of a historical approach to interpretation, and above all, the founder of a distinctively Protestant church history (*Catalogus testium veritatis*, the *Magdeburg Centuries*). Nevertheless, specialised research by church historians in the last decades on this gifted agitator and inflexible polemicist has been very meagre, and opinions on him have been to say the least reserved. Olson, after

his long engagement with Flacius, may be credited with having changed the situation on both counts in the first volume of his monograph. On the one hand he provides the reader with extensive knowledge of the life and numerous writings of his hero; on the other, he treats Flacius sympathetically, and works to help us understand his position, while describing Melanchthon and his supporters almost exclusively from the perspective of their opponents. This volume deals with a phase of Flacius' career when he was in the ascendant: the period of his major achievements and success, from the time spent in humanist study in Venice to the religious Colloquy of Worms (1557), a gathering which he successfully sabotaged in the interest of delineating a pure Lutheran identity. The presentation chiefly aims to make Flacius' writings known and to show his part in the 'rescuing' of Luther's own achievement during a time of division and of quarrels about doctrine within Lutheranism. Flacius was indeed indirectly the forerunner of the Formula of Concord of 1577 and of Lutheran orthodoxy. The method of presentation is marked by detailed quotations from the original sources as well as from the secondary literature, so that Flacius and his adversaries speak directly to the reader. The conflicting conclusions reached in researches on Flacius are not passed over in silence, but the author seldom develops his own line of argument. The controversies, whether at the level of propaganda or of theology, are situated within the political realities of the time. But these are hardly explained; it is just assumed that the reader knows about them. The points on which Olson concentrates are Flacius' struggle against the Interim, Melanchthon's propositions about *adiaphora* and the development of Flacius's work on church history. The author succeeds very well in clarifying the theological clashes: both what was at their heart, and what their implications were. For example, the conflict over *adiaphora* raised issues about the Church's self-determination and freedom over against the civil power. It is a pity that Olson does not here connect Flacius' position with the paradigm of 'confessionalisation'. On the other hand, research on confessionalisation has still so far made equally little reference to Flacius or indeed to the general issues at stake in the creation of separate theological identities. With his many quotations and notes, his coverage of the huge number of Flacius' writings in print and other printed works as well as the large body of research literature and finally with his exhaustive index of names, the author certainly succeeds in his intention of achieving a readable and stimulating portrayal, and of prompting deeper and further research on Flacius.

LEIPZIG

WINFRIED EBERHARD

*Rebellion, community and custom in early modern Germany.* By Norbert Schindler. (Past and Present Publications.) Pp. xiv + 314 incl. 10 ills and 2 figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £55. 0 521 65010 0

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Norbert Schindler, who had provided a German edition of Natalie Zemon Davis's essays, is introduced in a benevolent foreword by this eminent scholar (pp. ix–xiv). As Davis rightly suggests, Schindler was a pioneer of the 'creative rapprochement between history and anthropology' in Germany, guided by beacons from abroad, including E. P. Thompson, Pierre Bourdieu, Mikhail Bakhtin and – we should add – Natalie Davis herself. This book is basically a translation of Schindler's most

original essays, first published together in 1992. However, the autobiographical introduction on 'revisiting popular culture in early modern Germany' (pp. 1–18) and the afterword (pp. 293–302) were written especially for the English edition. The volume contains six studies: (1) the *habitus* of an early sixteenth century lord, who had to compete with his peasants in order to legitimise his rule by means of cultural hegemony; (2) the world of nicknames; (3) the function of laughter in popular culture; (4) popular customs of punishing 'marriage-weariness'; (5) nocturnal disturbances as a contribution to a social history of the night; and (6) an essay on a large-scale witch-trial against young beggars in late seventeenth-century Salzburg, here enigmatically fashioned as 'The origins of heartlessness'. However, Schindler's attempt at explaining religion and fears of witchcraft exclusively in terms of social relations remains as unconvincing as twenty years ago. Despite such shortcomings the collection is stimulating and worth reading.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

WOLFGANG BEHRINGER

*Religion and superstition in Reformation Europe*. Edited by Helen Parish and William G. Naphy. (Studies in Early Modern European History.) Pp. x + 239 incl. 5 ills. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2002. £49.99 (cloth), £14.99 (paper). 0 7190 6157 1; 0 7190 6158 X  
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To talk of, still more to distinguish, religion and superstition in the pre-industrial age is to raise many difficult questions of which the authors of this volume are well aware. According to context the term superstition might designate controversial beliefs, the practice of confessional opponents or the beliefs of the ignorant masses. But all such practices were in other contexts a valued, cherished part of religious life. This volume explores these tensions in a thoughtful and well-constructed collection. As so often its main value is to introduce the work of younger scholars who, on the evidence of the work presented here, will certainly have a great deal to offer. Contemporaries, of course, were also not unaware of these complexities. It was widely recognised that reform could be achieved more effectively by working with the grain of popular belief than attacking it head on, as Bridget Heal reveals in her analysis of the successful strategy of Nuremberg's ministers and council for confronting the city's deeply held reverence for the Virgin. The feasts in her honour were preserved as holidays, and multiple images in the church retained, but sermons and tracts offered a new interpretation of Mary not as a divine intercessor, but as an example of womanly devotion and humility to God's purpose. Some Catholic cultures were unapologetic in their defence of popular religious practice. Jason Nye presents an interesting case study of a rare German imperial city (Rottweil) that resisted the evangelical message from the first decades of the Reformation. Sermons and catechisms played a crucial role in building lay support for institutions and practices criticised by Protestants: in this case the charge of superstition was confronted head on. In Transylvania, where the Reformation had been strongly supported both by town magistrates and the powerful local nobility, Catholic practice had not only to be reinforced, but reintroduced. In her study of the short-lived Jesuit mission Maria Craiun shows how the fathers gave attention equally to providing the traditional sacraments, which seem to have been continued in pockets of Catholic devotion, and

to reviving Catholic feasts as a touchstone of Catholic identity. Jesuits always provoked strong reactions. Eric Nelson demonstrates that for Protestant and Catholics alike the Jesuits became an extremely popular and enduring symbol of duplicity and sinister intrigue, either in their own affairs, or in support of the pope and the king of Spain. Thus the Reformation world created new demons of its own. But overall this volume warns against too easy a dichotomy between Protestant modernity and Catholic traditionalism. Luc Racaut demonstrates persuasively that there was no clear fault line between Catholic and Protestant commentators on the merits of judicial astronomy after the publication of Nostradamus' hugely popular prophecies. Critics from both confessions condemned the attempt to divine a certain future and attempted to draw a clear distinction between natural, diabolical and divine signs. A careful consideration of a variety of contemporary texts allows Racaut to mount a sustained criticism of Denis Crouzet's presentation of the French Wars of Religion as a period of exceptional eschatological anguish. In an equally fascinating paper Peter Marshall demonstrates that in Elizabethan England ghosts offered one of the most testing challenges to Anglican triumphalism. The inclination of early Elizabethan authors was to congratulate themselves that walking spirits had been as firmly buried as the doctrine of purgatory that sustained them, but they were gradually beaten back by a tidal wave of sightings and visitations. These ghostly apparitions, by no means confined to the uneducated lower orders, required a fundamental readjustment. In the end, Marshall suggests, in the field of ghost lore it may be said that the reformers' writings not only engaged with popular belief, but were substantially shaped by it. Most difficult of all for Protestants was when it was claimed by or on behalf of their own leaders that they possessed supernatural powers. The late Robert Scribner's enumeration of marvels associated with Luther now provides the normative account of this phenomenon. But it was no less troubling when reformers themselves assumed the power of foretelling, as in the striking case of John Knox. As Dale Johnston makes clear, this clearly went against the Protestant teaching that prophetic gifts ended with the close of Scripture. Yet Knox came increasingly to insist on this gift as his life's work: witness the insistent citation of his prophecies, and their triumphant fulfilment, in his own *History*. In the case of Archbishop Usher the claim to prophetic powers came not from Usher himself, but his first biographer, Nicolas Bernard. Ute Lotz-Heumann argues that Bernard's portrayal of Usher needs to be placed in the particular context of Civil War and Interregnum popular prophecy. Usher's prophecies then returned to vogue, in the form of separate pamphlets, at moments when the Protestant succession seemed to be in danger, in the aftermath of the Popish Plot and at the time of the Glorious Revolution. Finally, Peter Maxwell-Stuart offers arresting examples of the survival of superstition in parts of Protestant Europe deep into the nineteenth century. In this respect, the march of Providence, which Protestant divines intruded into so many areas previously the domain of the miraculous, had clearly not succeeded in achieving the desired clarity between true belief and condemned practice. Nor could it, when learned divines on both sides continued to promote belief in demons. This is a further arresting contribution to a volume that offers much fresh thinking and windows into a number of outstanding research projects.

*Male witches in early modern Europe.* By Lara Apps and Andrew Gow. Pp. ix + 190 incl. 10 figs. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. £42.50 (cloth), £12.99 (paper). 0 7190 5708 6; 0 7190 5709 4

*Die Verfolgung von Zauberei und Hexerei in den fränkischen Markgraftümern im 16. Jahrhundert.* By Susanne Kleinöder-Strobel. (Spätmittelalter und Reformation. New Ser., 20.) Pp. xv + 336 incl. 16 tables and 1 pull-out colour map. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002. €69. 3 16 147863 0; 0937 5740  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904750770

These two books represent two ends of the spectrum of current witchcraft research. One is a very focused German doctoral dissertation exploring slightly more than a hundred cases of witchcraft and sorcery during the sixteenth century in the duchies of Kulmbach/Bayreuth and Ansbach. The other is a broad consideration of male witches, based on a variety of types of sources. As I set out to read these, I was looking forward to the second much more than the first, as I have already read many local studies of witchcraft in Germany, and I have been waiting for someone to pull together the rather scattered information on male witches. When I finished, I realised that I had learned much more from the first than the second, and am still waiting for someone to write a comparative study of male witches.

To turn first to the study by Apps and Gow, which is a series of loosely related considerations of some of the issues involving male witches. The introductory chapters argue that male witches are ‘invisible’ in many recent studies of witchcraft, or that these studies assert that men accused of witchcraft were often related to women accused, accused only in the context of larger hunts, or accused of different forms of magic than female witches. The authors argue that this ‘conventional wisdom ... fails utterly to account for the complexity of the witchcraft cases involving men’ (p. 44). They then provide a chart – drawn from recent published studies – of variations in the percentage of male witches (which range from 5 per cent in the bishopric of Basle to 92 per cent in Iceland), and analyse exactly two cases, one from England and one from Germany. The problem with the chart is that many of the same figures show up on a similar chart first published in Brain Levack’s *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe* (London 1987), which is the best-selling undergraduate textbook in the United States on the witch hunt. (Apps and Gow do not mention the similarities, though Levack’s book is in their bibliography.) Many of the other figures, especially those for areas that have a relatively high percentage of male witches, come from the article collection edited by Gustav Henningsen and Benkt Ankarloo, *Early modern European witchcraft: centers and peripheries* (Oxford 1990), which has been required reading for anyone interested in witchcraft since it appeared. So this chart provides not much that is new, and the authors do not analyse its data. The two more detailed cases look at men who were accused of witchcraft in situations that do not quite fit the ‘conventional wisdom’, except that in the German case the accused man’s by then deceased mother was accused of teaching him what he knew, so this does not break completely with the idea that accusations of witchcraft tended to run in families. (The German case has been analysed in greater detail in a book-length study, recently translated into English: Wolfgang Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf: Chonrad Stoecklin and the phantoms of the night*, trans. H. C. Erik Midelfort, Charlottesville, VA 1998.)

Unfortunately the remaining chapters go off in other directions and do not provide the type of comparative analysis that the statistics on the chart seem to beg. One

chapter looks at the ways in which several recent witchcraft studies have addressed issues of agency and selfhood, and another counts masculine and feminine usages in references to witchcraft in demonological texts, finding (no surprise here) that the *Malleus maleficarum* used feminine forms significantly more than most other treatises. The concluding chapter makes an interesting suggestion about male witches – that at least in demonological theory, they were ‘feminised’ – but a different book will be needed to test that suggestion or others that might ‘account for the complexity of the witchcraft cases involving men’.

In the area that is the focus of Kleinöder-Strobel’s monograph, the percentage of men accused of witchcraft is relatively low (8 out of the 102 cases in which the sex of the accused can be identified) and most of these come from families in which women are also accused. She analyses the accused by class, age and type of accusation as well as gender, and the situation in the two duchies does not differ much from what readers familiar with south German witchcraft would expect: most hunts involved only one or a few accused; most accusations arose from *maleficia*, with a slow increase in the presence of diabolical components; both religious and secular authorities were involved.

What is novel in Kleinöder-Strobel’s study, and will be of particular interest to readers of this JOURNAL, is her thorough examination of the specific theological context of witchcraft in the two duchies, and also of the ways in which the handling of witchcraft cases fit with efforts at achieving religious discipline in these areas. She provides a general background for both of these issues from the writings of Luther and Protestant church ordinances, and then uses the writings of Adam Francisci, a prominent pastor and school official in Ansbach in the late sixteenth century, and visitation records from the two duchies, to examine the local situation. These sources allow her to deepen the religious context of witchcraft cases, and to assess the ways in which the Protestant Reformation and Protestant confessionalisation shaped the understanding and handling of witchcraft. Her book helps readers understand how standard Protestant theological *topoi* such as the ‘two kingdoms’ shaped ideas about witchcraft, and rightly calls for further local research using church records other than those from witchcraft trials themselves. Her book reminds one that not only are we still waiting for a thorough study of male witches, but also for a study of the ‘long’ Reformation that fully takes into account – from the perspective of intellectual as well as social history – its concurrence with the era of the witch hunts.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MILWAUKEE

MERRY WIESNER-HANKS

*The beginnings of English Protestantism*. Edited by Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie. Pp. xi + 242 incl. 6 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £40 (cloth), £14.95 (paper). 0 521 80274 1; 0 521 00324 5  
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In this stimulating set of essays two of the most effective of the younger generation of early modern historians have brought together contributions designed to evaluate the ‘making of a minority’. This involved the construction of committed evangelicals and Protestants in mid sixteenth-century England. Revisionist writers have spent two decades telling us that Henry’s break with Rome was unwanted by most of the

English people. The contributors to this volume rarely dissent directly from this proposition, but they rightly argue that we have to understand the power of new ideologies for the minority that embraced them. In one of the most stimulating essays Peter Marshall examines the process of conversion under Henry VIII and concludes that it was consistently described as intense and dramatically experienced, a revolution against the old and a complete turning to the new. There is, of course, a conversion *topos* at work here, but Marshall is surely correct to argue that the existence of such a model influenced the way in which religious change was experienced. The same clarity of response seems to characterise many of the friars who are the subject of Richard Rex's essay. These men, all too often neglected by historians, had the theological training to respond rapidly to the challenges of the 1530s, and often did so with a sharp commitment to a reformed doctrine or an equally passionate defence of Catholic tradition. Other essays develop our understanding of the 'noisy' (Ryrie's language) minority who drove change. There are the clerics from Latimer downwards who moved conversion out into the localities in the 1530s and 1540s; the radical laymen who emerge most clearly under Edward VI, some of them becoming the 'free-will men' who are studied in Tom Freeman's essay; and the printers, like John Day, who, somewhat belatedly, provided England with a full Protestant print culture. In all cases the surviving evidence suggests a strong conviction in the righteousness of their cause, which gave the evangelicals an influence disproportionate to their absolute numbers.

Not all of the noisy were fully identified with orthodox forms of 'magisterial' Protestantism. This volume does justice to the rest in its attention to the free-will men, and in the splendidly suggestive contribution from Patrick Collinson on the nature of Lollard and radical attitudes to separation. It also acquaints us with one remarkably unorthodox figure. Clement Armstrong, the subject of Ethan Shagan's essay, was a man on the fringe of Thomas Cromwell's circle whose doctrinal proposals were absorbed into the latter's papers. Shagan shows that new ideas can produce a very strange amalgam in an autodidact. Like the Italian miller, Mennochio, studied by Carlo Ginsburg, Armstrong seems to have fetched his views from a very eclectic set of places – in this case from Luther, Lollardy and possibly continental Anabaptism and spiritualism. All this led, most remarkably, to his conclusion that the godly prince should control the spirit, soul and body of the nation. Shagan argues that Armstrong's extraordinary views force us to rethink our views on the royal supremacy and its possibilities; but at the moment this appears to be more interesting as evidence of the impact of the ideas in circulation in the 1530s on a febrile imagination.

Some of the later essays point the reader forward into a world made relatively safe for Elizabethan Protestantism. Freeman's analysis of the conflicts between the free-will men and the predestinarians in the prisons of Marian England shows both the bitterness of doctrinal conflicts fought out in the shadow of the stake, and the notable success achieved by defenders of 'Protestant' orthodoxy. Although Henry Hart and his radical followers did not experience the levels of martyrdom of their opponents, they were comprehensively defeated in ideological debate. They represented no challenge to the Established Church as it emerged after 1558. Collinson essentially concurs, adding that we need to see Marian dissidents like the London underground congregation as committed to mainstream Protestant belief. Had Mary not died, they could, he suggests, have formed the backbone of a Huguenot-type Church. As it

was, they became upholders of a national Protestant establishment, albeit not precisely the one that Elizabeth defined.

There are, as always, things that a reviewer might have wished done differently. The one essay here on women, by Susan Wabuda, is too prone to reiterate existing arguments, and John King's study of the printer John Day would have benefited from a more comparative approach. Alec Ryrie, in his excellent study of the problem of religious allegiance under Henry and Edward, is the only contributor who moves far beyond the noisy to look at the parameters of reformed identity. But these are minor cavils: we have here a volume that will be of immense value to historians seeking to understand both the nature of religious change and, above all, the mentality of those who ensured that the English Reformation was no mere act of state.

JESUS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

FELICITY HEAL

*Reforming the Scottish Church. John Winram (c. 1492–1582) and the example of Fife.* By Linda J. Dunbar. Pp. xviii + 239 incl. 6 tables, 4 figs and 4 maps. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £49.50. 0 7546 0343 1  
JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904770773

This is a useful study with a misleading subtitle. Winram, subprior of St Andrews Augustinian priory from before the Reformation, superintendent of Fife afterwards, would seem a fine choice for a biography. An account of his life might open a window on the personal as well as institutional aspects of the transition from Old Religion to New in Scotland. The difficulty is that too little survives of his own writing to make biography possible. The evidence for Winram's thought and actions here is for the most part indirect – synod records, prescriptive literature, priory financial documents, visitation books: all reveal more about the structures and prescription within which Winram worked than about the man himself. We know nothing about even so important an event as his conversion to Protestantism: one minute he was a reforming Catholic, the next he had come over to the Protestant side. There is a late visitation book and recorded charges brought against him to the General Assembly – for failure to visit and preach, and for being 'rash in excommunication' (p. 127), but the language is formulaic. Little individual detail emerges, even in his very minimal self-defence, despite Dunbar's earnest efforts to exonerate him from accusations that she insists emerged from personal animosity rather than actual failure. The author's use of the passive voice is telling: we know what 'was done' during Winram's tenure as superintendent, but very little about how he personally acted, or what he thought about it all. Winram the man we see through a very dark glass.

That said, this is none the less a very good study of the administrative machinery of which Winram happened to be in charge, and so of the institutional structures that the first generation of Scots Protestants used to achieve Reformation. Dunbar does a fine job of explaining how the superintendency was supposed to work and what serious problems it faced. She illumines how synods were comprised and functioned, and describes helpfully the financial and personnel implications for the Kirk of the priory's continued post-Reformation existence. If her account of the

superintendent's court is not particularly surprising, it is clear, efficient and comprehensive. And she presents persuasively the important argument that the demands on the superintendents were unreasonable, citing the overdue 1576 reorganisation from ten to twenty districts, and noting the multiple attempts by all but one of the superintendents to resign (in Winram's case, for age and poverty). If chapters on friends and family say little about personal relationships, they tell us a great deal about patronage and nepotism. If the book strikes one as unabashed 'contribution history' from an author who sees Protestantism as a step in the right direction, it still sheds very welcome light on the movement from Catholic reform to Protestant Reformation in the university town that proved such a hotbed of Scottish Protestantism, and on the structures that kept the momentum going against all odds in the first generation following official Reformation.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

MARGO TODD

*Popular politics and the English Reformation.* By Ethan H. Shagan. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British Studies.) Pp. xiii + 346. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £50 (cloth), £18.95 (paper). 0 521 80846 4; 0 521 52555 1

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This is an important book: ambitious, provocative and flawed. It attempts what is sometimes, rather vacuously, called a 'post-revisionist' interpretation of the early English Reformation: that is, it tries to break away from the partisan business of confessional head-counting in order to understand the process of religious change. It is not entirely successful. In some ways the argument that emerges has traces of 'pre-revisionism' to it, not least because Shagan is unable to resist seizing some of Christopher Haigh's rhetorical hostages to fortune. But he restates truisms in such a way as to make us see them afresh, and blends in some important newer ideas as well. The result is not as novel or as revolutionary as it claims, but it is consistently intriguing.

The book's structure is loose, even episodic, following that of the doctoral thesis on which it is based. Six chapters give case studies of selected themes or episodes in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, such as the Maid of Kent affair, the dissolution of the chantries and the disputed phenomenon of anticlericalism. In many cases Shagan is following his uncanny archival instincts: he has a remarkable nose for documents, and most of the chapters are spiced with unfamiliar morsels which he has found in the darker recesses of the Public Record Office. These chapters are topped and tailed with broader thematic discussions of the conservative responses to the break with Rome, and the range of popular responses to Edward VI's Reformation; and these provide the book's two major, interlocking themes.

The first of these is resistance and its failure. Shagan considers how conservative opposition to the early Reformation was defeated, focusing particularly on the Maid of Kent affair and the Pilgrimage of Grace. His argument boils down to a familiar truth: that the Tudor state was very powerful. One useful recent categorisation distinguishes between 'hard' and 'soft' power: coercive versus persuasive power, the power of armies and judges versus the power of propaganda and bribery. The Henrician and Edwardian regimes divided, isolated and discredited their

opponents principally through a masterful exercise of 'soft' power. The forces of legitimacy and of propaganda which they could deploy were daunting. When judiciously reinforced with a little 'hard' power – the torture of the Maid and her supporters, the executions of the post-pardon rebels in 1537 – the result was a formidable political juggernaut. This is not news, but the case is made here with force and clarity.

Shagan's main interest, however, lies not with those who resisted the Reformation but with those who acquiesced in it. The problem of why so many otherwise conservative people did so has long been uncomfortably obvious; Christopher Marsh has dubbed it the 'compliance conundrum'. Shagan argues that we should not think of compliance so much as of collaboration. Collaborators, in his terms, were those who were not convinced Protestants but who, for a range of reasons and with varying degrees of self-awareness, allowed themselves to become implicated in the process of religious change. Wittingly or unwittingly, such people 'partook of heresy', and one result was the 'seepage of ideas' across religious boundaries. So anticlericalism, in Shagan's hands, is no longer a putative 'cause' of the Reformation but a divisive phenomenon which a regime could exploit, and which could bleed into heresy. Likewise, the Edwardian regime's evangelical rhetoric encouraged the cynical use of reformist jargon by those seeking favour, a phenomenon which reinforced the innovations. But Shagan devotes most space to those who joined the regime in plundering the old Church, examining the pillage of Hailes Abbey and the asset-stripping of chantries and parish churches under Edward VI. To participate in such activities was enormously tempting, but it was not religiously neutral. It reinforced and made permanent the destruction on which the regime was engaged. Moreover – a point which could be made more forcefully – the very act of such collaboration sold a part of one's soul to the religion which justified and defended one's actions. English people did not collaborate with the Reformation because they were Protestants. Some of them did become Protestants because they had collaborated.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

ALEC RYRIE

*The eagle and the cross. Jesuits in late Baroque Prague.* By Paul Shore. (Original Studies Composed in English. Ser. 3, 16.) Pp. xiii + 267. Saint Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2002. \$22.95 (paper). 1 880810 46 8

*War, religion and court patronage in Habsburg Austria. The social and cultural dimensions of political interaction, 1521–1622.* By Karin J. MacHardy. (Studies in Modern History.) Pp. xiii + 331 incl. 20 tables and 16 figs. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. £50. 0 333 57241 6

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The fate of the Bohemian Jesuits and their educational mission in the eighteenth century is the subject of Paul Shore's book on the Society in late Baroque Prague. In eight chapters, Shore discusses the Jesuits' contribution in the field of primary and university education, their activities as field chaplains, rural missionaries, scientists, writers and as moderately successful proselytisers among the Jewish minority. Individual cases such as the mathematician and astronomer Josef Stepling, the geologist Franciscus Zeno, or the writer Ignaz Cornova illustrate the fate of Jesuit

intellectuals after the Society's dissolution in 1773. Shore stresses the lasting impact of the Jesuits' educational contribution and the pervasive influence that the Catholic University of Prague exerted on Bohemia's intellectual climate in the second half of the century. However, more could have been said about the intellectual context in which the Society operated both within the province and in the rest of the Monarchy to give a clearer idea of the nature of the challenges posed by the Catholic Enlightenment and its freethinking rivals. The subject of Bohemian crypto-Protestantism and its links with literacy could have been expanded on and placed in the wider context of heresy in other parts of the hereditary lands. Shore's assessment of the impact of education, missionary revival and the stirrings of a national movement in particular would have benefited from a comparison with parallel developments in Hungary, for which István Tóth's study of literacy levels, for example, would have provided useful points of comparison. The activities of competing religious orders such as the Piarists likewise would have helped put the author's findings in perspective, especially as the absence of balancing documentation means that Shore had to base his analysis mainly on the Jesuits' annual reports. A few minor errors have crept into the account of events in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (for example, the circumstances of Ferdinand I's accession in Bohemia, p. 15, references to centuries pp. 16 and 18, the date of Maximilian II's death, p. 17). The author's evidence for the key role of Belgian Jesuits in the early stages of the Bohemian Counter-Reformation is fascinating, and parallels could be pointed out for the Austrian lands, suggesting a close link between the Counter-Reformation in the south Netherlands and the Habsburg heartland. Shore's study helps to further fill in the picture for the last phase of the Counter-Reformation in the Monarchy.

The rise of Protestantism and the Catholic reconquest in Austria form the background to Karin MacHardy's study of war, religion and patronage as political and cultural determinants in the Monarchy between 1521 and 1622. The geographical and chronological focus of her own research is on the duchy of Lower Austria during the crucial years of the Counter-Reformation, *c.* 1580–1620. The first part of her study is subdivided into three chapters and begins by acquainting the reader with the author's analytical tools from current historical and sociological theory. MacHardy enlists confessionalisation theory and the concept of the 'co-ordinating state' (p. 6) for her analysis of the origins of the crisis and revolt which culminated in the seventeenth-century 'civil war' (p. 1) in the Austrian Habsburgs' Monarchy. Prior to this breakdown of relations, a system of power brokerage between prince and estates had existed but had come under pressure in the second half of the sixteenth century as a result of the Habsburg rulers' efforts to enhance their 'infrastructural power' (p. 6 and *passim*). Chapters ii and iii give a brief and rather impressionistic sketch of the impact of the Protestant Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, and a similar outline of the rise of the Protestant estates' opposition in Bohemia and the hereditary lands. The established nobility's opposition in Lower Austria, which culminated in their joining the Bohemian revolt, is explained as the result of cultural estrangement and impending or even actual social and economic decline through loss of princely patronage.

A number of problems beset this first half of MacHardy's study, which suffers from the absence of a clearly structured argument and a concomitant lack of coherence among the different parts. Considerable space is given to the preliminary discussion and critique of sociological, Marxist and liberal theories of state

formation, the concepts of the 'Estates' state' (*Ständestaat*), power brokerage, the court as civilising agent, and related issues whose relevance to the subsequent argument is not always made clear. Though war features programmatically in the book's title, it remains in fact a side issue. The author's argument regarding the impact of warfare at home and at the frontiers of the Monarchy on the power contest between the prince and the nobility remains inconclusive. However, the military exigency of the Turkish war at the turn of the sixteenth century, for example, was crucial in determining the conciliatory attitude of the Protestant Estates of Inner Austria, whom the future Emperor Ferdinand II and his predecessor had similarly excluded from patronage and office: unlike their coreligionists in Upper and Lower Austria, the majority of them nevertheless remained in loyal throughout the 'domestic crisis' of 1606–12 and the Bohemian revolt. Religion as the second factor in MacHardy's analysis likewise gets insufficient coverage: the process of Protestantisation and the nobility's reasons for converting almost collectively are alluded to rather than investigated. However, given the chronology of events, it is hard to see how one could prove that exclusion and estrangement rather than the fusion of confessional and constitutional conflict triggered open revolt without prior assessment of the processes of Lutheran and Calvinist Protestantisation and the growth of Estate opposition in the sixteenth century. MacHardy's emphasis on the importance of established rituals of negotiation and structures of power brokerage underplays the fact that the dynasty's relations with their subjects, both in their capacity as Holy Roman Emperors and as rulers of their various territories, had been punctuated by acrimonious arguments and even military clashes in the sixteenth century. Few of these could plausibly be argued to have constituted 'an integral part of state-building' (p. 44). The quest for imperial reform and unification, on the other hand, was hardly a notable Habsburg concern (p. 28).

The author's tendency to generalise from her Lower Austrian findings poses problems for her account of the dynasty's position in other parts of the Monarchy and the Empire, which was largely determined by its elective or hereditary nature. A more differentiated picture should have been drawn for the prince's political and ecclesiastical prerogatives and the constitutional and religious situation in the different parts of the Monarchy. The author's analysis of the Bohemian example is further restricted by the chronological framework of the study which terminates in 1622: as a result, the 'Amended Constitution' of 1627 which entailed profound constitutional, social and cultural changes is covered in half a page, while Ferdinand II's most spectacular feats of patronage and social manipulation through large-scale property transfer in the wake of the mass eviction of nobles in the 1620s – so important for the future of the Monarchy and the composition of its governing elites – are not taken into account. The author is curiously selective in her use of available research: except for references to H. Louthan's study of Vienna and a conference volume on Inner Austria, no use is made of any of the English and German-language studies of the Austrian Counter-Reformation that have been published over the past decade. The same applies to existing research on court elites and relations between the prince and the Estates in the Austrian lands, such as the studies by Günter Burkert-Dottolo, Gerhard Scholz, Berthold Sutter, Hans Noflatscher and Christopher Laferl. Robert Bireley's important work on Ferdinand II's clerical advisers and Counter-Reformation political theory is likewise not taken into account. These would have filled in a number of *lacunae*, prevented a few errors (for example, about the scope

of the Munich conference in 1579, p. 184) and would arguably have necessitated some modification of the central argument in favour of established orthodoxies.

The strength of MacHardy's book lies in its second part, in which she provides a case study from her Lower Austrian findings of the political uses of court patronage and elite strategies of reproduction and advancement. The author argues that in the second half of the sixteenth century, education for the lower nobility lost its practical utility as a means of advancement through service when the Habsburgs began to make confessional allegiance the sole criterion of eligibility, thus affecting the elites 'social capital' and by consequence diminishing their economic resources for reproduction. A series of tables presents striking statistical material to illustrate the fundamental changes in the composition and distribution of resources among the nobility's Estates of knights and barons (Ritter- und Herrenstand) in 1580–1620 which heavily tilted the balance in favour of the Catholic nobility. The prince's direct and by no means uncontroversial intervention was the manifest cause of a transformation in the higher nobility since the late sixteenth century, while changes in the Estate of knights were part of a process of controlled Estate reproduction in response to a halving of their number in the fifty years up to 1574, followed by a further loss of ninety-two members in the next fifty years – a striking fact in itself which would merit further inquiry. Some doubts arise from the definition of the new Catholic nobility: one may question the applicability of this label to the Catholic Trautsons and Harrachs, both of whom were made barons and invested with high and effectively hereditary court offices between 1531 and 1552, i.e. well before Protestantism obtained official sanction in 1568. It seems doubtful whether the Protestant Estates perceived these families in the same way as they must have the Catholic fast-risers from Bavaria, Tyrol and Inner Austria who immigrated between 1580 and 1620.

Such reservations notwithstanding, MacHardy is presenting compelling evidence for her thesis that Lower Austria's nobility underwent profound changes in composition, distribution of resources and confessional orientation as a result of a deliberate 'confessionalising' use of patronage rights by the Habsburg princes. Her stimulating and original inquiry supplements her previous authoritative work. It is to be hoped that it will encourage further research on this important subject.

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*The Cambridge history of the book in Britain, IV: 1557–1695.* Edited by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (with the assistance of Maureen Bell). Pp. xxvii + 891 incl. frontispiece and 11 figs + 31 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £95. 0 521 66182 X

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The *Cambridge History of the Book*, planned in seven volumes, is attempting nothing less than 'the first comprehensive account of the book in Britain over one and a half millenia'. This instalment covers the central years between the incorporation of the Stationers Company in London in 1557, and the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695 with the effective breaking of the Stationers' monopoly. With thirty-eight chapters from forty-four contributors, discussing not only England but also Scotland, Ireland,

Wales, British books on the continent and in the American colonies, together with three appendices full of statistical information, the volume's range of scholarship is impressive. A rich group of illustrations – of frontispieces, title pages, dedications, music for part-songs, typographic variations and bindings – add to the reader's understanding of the texts themselves.

A valuable introduction by John Barnard outlines the key developments. He notes that the cultural impact of printing and the trade in books was out of all proportion to its economic significance. The London book market was well established by 1557 with most of the important vernacular genres (law books, primers, Psalms, sermons, school books, ballads and almanacs) already present. Although insular and parochial when compared with the continent, by way of compensation the British book trade offered a relatively closed market, so a higher proportion of works in the vernacular were published than was the case abroad. This in turn privileged the development of an independent British tradition, across national, cultural and class boundaries. Print, politics and religion were inextricably linked, while competing groups made opportunistic use of the book trade. Continuing attempts at control were only intermittently successful: censorship was *ad hoc*, inconsistent and usually ineffective. New reading publics steadily developed, for example books for (and increasingly by) women. Copperplate engraving for illustrations became common in the seventeenth century; roman type steadily replaced black letter; sales of English maps, prints and atlases grew, all 'directed at a new middling public'. Even so, as late as 1700, books in English or printed in Britain could provide only a limited proportion of those needed for the library of a serious reader such as John Locke or William Congreve.

The first chapter (Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham) covers religious publishing in England between 1557 and 1640. It points to the problem of demarcation, of exactly what constituted religious publishing – the single most important component of the publishing trade – in an age 'saturated with pious vocabulary'. The definition of 'book' must also include the whole range, from folios and bound hardback volumes to the 'little books' of catechisms, printed ballads and ephemera such as woodcut pictures (the illustrations from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* were also sold as separates). Protestant polemics are analysed: Foxe's text was re-shaped to answer his Catholic critics, there were two decades of press warfare between Puritans and bishops which accompanied – and reinforced? – agitation for further reformation, while the emerging genre of 'practical divinity', mostly aimed at individuals and small groups, gradually became the central feature of evangelical publishing. On the other side of the divide, 'Tridentine Catholicism, too, was a religion of the printed book', although it may be that English Counter-Reformation literary culture relied almost as much on a still-vibrant tradition of scribal dissemination as on print. The authors also tackle the complex question of readership. No single mode of reading can be described as typical, but they suggest that two 'textual communities' were emerging, of Protestants and Catholics, while also noting that many other members of the population – perhaps the majority – probably belonged to no textual community at all.

The years 1640 to 1695 are covered by Ian Green and Kate Peters, who discuss the massive changes of the 1640s and 1650s. By way of example they point to the extraordinary success of the Quakers, even in the more repressive atmosphere of the Restoration. Between 1660 and 1699 nearly 3,000 new Quaker titles were published

by over 600 different authors, mainly short and cheap works ‘but representing an unswerving faith in the power of print to spread the gospel of the light within’. In addition, there were longer-term developments that reached their peak post-1660. Techniques of design and presentation – the use of ever-smaller formats of the Bible, and of eye-catching pamphlet titles – led to larger print runs. The urge to be brief and simple, to reach ‘the plain man’ with little formal education, were the vital stimuli, but the trend can be seen as the successful culmination of a process going back to the earliest stages of the Reformation.

These two magisterial chapters, which somehow retain their lucidity amidst so much detailed information, must immediately become required reading for any student of early modern religion. Many other contributors – Nigel Smith on Nonconformist voices and books, B. J. McMullin on the bible trade, R. C. Simmons on the small productions of popular godliness – also greatly enrich our knowledge. Nicolas Barker on ‘The polyglot Bible’ succinctly outlines the four multi-language editions, starting with Cardinal Ximenes’s Complutensian Polyglot of 1517–22 and culminating in the 1653–7 London Polyglot, which provided scholars with the full range of the original texts of the Old and New Testaments. Dr Brian Walton’s six volumes of Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean, Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan and Persian, as well as Greek and Latin, were hailed as one of the greatest triumphs of seventeenth-century English scholarship and remained in print for over fifty years. In October 1660 he was modestly rewarded for his Herculean labours with the bishopric of Chester, but enjoyed his see for only a year before his death.

All the contributors, as well as Cambridge University Press, must be congratulated on this splendidly comprehensive volume. Its price probably limits it to library purchases, but it is a pleasure to read as well as an invaluable reference work.

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PAULINE CROFT

*Hatred in print. Catholic propaganda and Protestant identity during the French wars of religion.*

By Luc Racaut. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xiv + 161.

Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £42.50. 0 7546 0284 2

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Luc Racaut’s monograph aims to redress some of the imbalance in the historiography of the French religious wars by means of a close analysis of Catholic propaganda designed to denigrate the Huguenot cause. The German paradigm of associating Protestantism with the medium of print, it is argued, has skewed our view of the situation in France where, instead, it was conservative Catholics, opposed to the crown policy of conciliation, who harnessed the press most effectively. In contrast, the Protestant response was limited and ultimately overwhelmed. Although Racaut confirms the established view that the Catholic reaction to the Reformation in France was largely negative in tone, he argues that it was nevertheless more rich and popular than previously acknowledged. In particular, it was devastating in its use of the traditional stereotypes of immorality and subversion associated with medieval heretics. The first three chapters explore the historiographical context, including the extensive debate about the role of religious violence, in which Racaut sides himself

with the cultural interpretation of scholars such as Natalie Davis, rather than the 'selective' eschatology of Denis Crouzet (on whose work he provides an effective critique). He also looks at the contribution of both written and oral polemic to the formation and development of public opinion, acknowledging that it involved a two-way process with the intended audience. The specific themes which emerge repeatedly in the Catholic literature form the basis of the subsequent chapters: the blood libel and accusations of infanticide, the association of heresy with conspiracy and inversion, and parallels between French Protestantism and Albigenism. Racaut is particularly successful in establishing the medieval origins of the rhetorical conventions and the repertoire of images from which Catholic writers and preachers drew. He demonstrates how both faiths used the same set of stereotypes to attack the other, and how Catholic propaganda actually contributed to the forging of Huguenot identity in placing Protestantism on the defensive. Early on, this worked to the Huguenots' advantage as they sought comparison with the martyrs of the early Church, but later, as the situation became more politicised, their response proved less effective and this contributed to their eventual decline. Most strikingly, Racaut establishes that these were 'competing narratives ... talking past each other ... there is no real dialogue' between the faiths (pp. 131–2). There is much in this short book which is suggestive, and interesting themes which deserve to be more fully explored to reinforce their importance for the unfolding of the religious wars. It explains one of the ways in which French Catholicism was able successfully to combat the Reform movement, and highlights the importance of the role of print in the confessional conflict in France.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

PENNY ROBERTS

*Propaganda and the Tudor state. Political culture in the westcountry.* By J. P. D. Cooper. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xii + 283. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003. £50. 0 19 926387 6

*Mercy and authority in the Tudor state.* By K. J. Kesselring. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Pp. ix + 238. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £40. 0 521 81948 2

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Both of these perceptive and well-written books have valuable things to say about the effectiveness of Tudor governance, employing distinctly 'post-Eltonian' perspectives. In an engaging study of the political culture of sixteenth-century Devon and Cornwall, John Cooper's themes are that propaganda and persuasion were essential tools of Tudor politics resonating far beyond the world of the court, and that existing local power structures could advance the cause of effective royal rule: there was 'intensification' rather than 'centralisation' of governance. He is impatient with a Cornish nationalist historiography emphasising ethnic distinctiveness and Celtic resistance, and rejects (p. 9) the equation 'borderland, *ergo* rebellious'. Instead Cooper argues for a mutually beneficial relationship between the crown and the south-west. The disproportionate number of Star Chamber cases generated from the region reflects not rampant lawlessness but a 'special relationship with the crown as dispenser of justice' (p. 136). The duchy of Cornwall provided patronage for local elites, and, based on the belief that their privileges devolved directly from the crown,

popular royalism flourished among the tin miners of the stannaries, who provided engineers for Henry VIII's army and fought heroically for Charles I. Cooper finds much evidence of the internalisation of obedience. Churchwardens paid for bell-ringing to mark the monarch's passing; royal arms and devices proliferated in churches and in secular architecture. At the same time successive books of homilies exposed parishioners to regular pep-talks on the theme of obedience, and Cooper rightly draws attention to an important piece of evidence under the noses of ecclesiastical historians: the ubiquity of prayers for the monarch in the English prayer books. Though the region erupted in 1497 and 1549, Cooper rejects the idea of its being inveterately rebellious, locating these outbreaks within short-term political crises. He insists upon the 'petitionary' character of the 1549 rebels, who 'marched as a grand religious procession' behind a Five Wounds banner conveying 'a visual language suggestive of intercession' (pp. 68, 66). Arguably, this is to take the loyalist platitudes of Tudor rebels too much at face value. Moreover, contemporaries remarked the peremptory tone of the rebels' articles ('Item, we will have ...'), and after 1536 the banner of the Five Wounds had become a notorious symbol of rebellion. Yet overall Cooper provides a convincing and compelling account of the ways in which the exercise of 'soft' power strengthened the sinews of the Tudor polity, as well as a necessary corrective to a social history so often obsessed with protest and resistance.

Krista Kesselring's book shares a central preoccupation with Cooper's, that of how the growth of Tudor state power 'became legitimized as authority' (p. 15). Its compass is more restricted, though at the same time more tightly focused: the exercise of the royal pardon, and the role that 'mercy' played in processes of state formation. This is a theme that has been extensively explored in an eighteenth-century context, and Kesselring broadly endorses the view of Douglas Hay that selective suspension of a punitive penal code mediated power relations to the benefit of the elite. Yet the approach is carefully nuanced, recognising the co-dependence of coercion and consent, and scope for agency from below. Tudor monarchs aspired to a monopoly of mercy, eroding and secularising traditional forms of mitigation such as sanctuary and benefit of clergy. The general pardons which invariably accompanied royal successions underscored mercy as a prerogative of power. Yet at the same time a rising number of capital statutes necessitated an expansion of pardons to prevent communal notions of guilt clashing too violently with legal definitions. Those who stole from necessity or killed under provocation were regularly granted pardons, and in the second half of the century, with the institution of 'circuit pardons', the crown was encouraging the judges to recommend such cases to its attention. Other cases came to the crown's notice through networks of patronage, which reinforced hierarchy and deference at every level. There is pleasing attention to cultural and performative aspects, the requesting and granting of pardons as a form of royal theatre. Among several vivid case studies, the story of Thomas Appletree stands out – a young man who in 1579 ill-advisedly tested his new gun while rowing on the Thames and narrowly missed Elizabeth in the royal barge. The queen's magnanimity in this case evoked popular acclaim, but Kesselring rightly warns us that the act of pardon in itself had no fixed meaning, requiring a plausible display of deep repentance to work as a sign of royal strength. Henry VIII barely retained a fig-leaf of honour from the pardons he was forced to grant to the Pilgrims in 1536, and pardons offered to Irish rebels were frequently face-saving

exercises which did little to foster meaningful obedience or the interests of the state. Both these excellent books leave sixteenth-century monarchical authority (in England, at least) looking in remarkably good health, further begging the question of what happened to it in the seventeenth century. This it is not the authors' responsibility to explain, though there are hints: Kesselring recognises that religious offenders of all types represented the great exception in a judicial system that expected criminals humbly to defer to the authorities that convicted them. The crown was not in fact the only source of ideological legitimation, and these books remind us how hard its wearers needed to work to persuade their subjects that it was.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

PETER MARSHALL

*Shakespeare's tribe. Church, nation, and theater in Renaissance England.* By Jeffrey Knapp. Pp. xviii + 277 incl. 2 frontispieces. Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2002. £25. 0 226 44569 0

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In his first letter to the Corinthians, St Paul sets out his aim to be 'all things to all men, that I might by all means save some'. Jeffrey Knapp argues in *Shakespeare's tribe* that playwrights in Renaissance England had a similar missionary aim. Countering the fears of religious commentators who believed acting to be nothing more than hypocrisy, this approach admitted the element of deception in theatre but saw dramatic entertainment as a way of cozening the viewer into religion and morality. It went hand-in-hand with the idea that communal festivity was beneficial to society, and the tendency – inspired by a selective reading of Erasmus and other eirenic-minded theologians – to play down contentious points in religion. Knapp's argument draws on the ideal of literature as pleasurably didactic, one of the commonplaces of classical and Renaissance literary theory; and the book takes seriously the contemporary claims from dramatists and others that plays could fulfil a religious and ethical function in an entertaining manner. When addressing the Renaissance, present-day critics have a tendency to explain religious language and themes entirely in terms of politics, or to assume that a sophisticated deployment of moral commonplaces should be read as concealing subversion; by arguing that dramatic subversiveness can be a cover for religion, Knapp manages to have his sugared pill and eat it. This is a marvellously stimulating book from a subtle critic; in his ability to go back to source and say radical things in a friendly spirit, Knapp is rather Erasmian himself.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

ALISON SHELL

*The myth of Elizabeth.* Edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman. Pp. ix + 269 incl. 10 plates. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. £15.99 (paper). 0 333 93083 5; 0 333 93084 3

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This collection of essays is in large part devoted to a study of the major contemporary – Elizabethan and Jacobean – sources for the myth of Elizabeth, works conventionally accounted celebrations of the queen's fame. These essayists seek,

however, to investigate the counter-currents of criticism or even outright disapproval which they find discreetly embedded in the texts they examine.

Three major Elizabethan writers are the subjects of the first cluster of essays – Foxe, Spenser and Camden. Thomas Freeman's skilful study illuminates Foxe's progressive disillusionment with his sovereign. Called to the throne, not by her own merits or mere good fortune but by God's explicit providence, she ungratefully set aside her assigned mission and pursued her own petty ends. A would-be Marian martyr in the 1563 Book of Martyrs, she has become by the 1570 edition an unwilling reader of an hitherto unpublished 1559 sermon, sternly summoning her to furthering the unfinished task of reform. Foxe's ultimate view of Elizabeth is one of saddened disillusionment with a queen who has failed to fulfil her divinely decreed commission – and betrayed the people committed to her charge.

In the *Faerie queene*, Andrew Hadfield finds, hidden in its allegories, a rebuke to the queen. Spenser, sympathetic to the reformers, had already excited royal disapproval in his *Shepherd's calendar* where he defended Archbishop Grindal (Algrind). In the *Faerie queene*, purportedly a hymn of praise, Hadfield finds rebuke for Elizabeth in the poet's condemnation of Mercilla's pity for Duessa (Elizabeth's for Mary) – implicitly feminine unfitness to rule. In Spenser's late work Hadfield finds Spenser's ultimate bitter judgement on a ruler whose determined virginity leaves the fatal inheritance of an unsettled succession.

Patrick Collinson in his discussion of Camden rightly emphasises that the *Annales* were a self-conscious work of Tacitean history, written in Latin for an international audience, and converted from *Annalium rerum anglicarum et hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha* to *The historie of the most renowned and victorious Princess Elizabeth* at the hands of an incompetent and unauthorised translator. But Collinson goes on to propose that 'it is not Elizabeth but Mary Queen of Scots who is eulogized' by Camden. The latter part of the *Annales* was of course written at King James's request, as a vindication of his mother's character, traduced by the Scot, Buchanan – Camden examines with special care the account of Mary's execution and Elizabeth's role; as between the two queens it is Mary who commands his praise. He points out in addition the entirely disproportionate treatment given to Mary's career. He makes a convincing case.

Alexandra Walsham pursues the Foxeian theme – the contrast between the providentially appointed sovereign, charged with a sacred mission, and the pragmatic ruler, juggling worldly compromises. Walsham illustrates the skills with which flattering comparisons of Elizabeth and such Old Testament heroines as Deborah, Judith or the hero kings, Josiah, Solomon and Hezekiah are used to remind her that she has a similar role to play, as an instrument of divine will. Praise could be linked with admonitions to duty. Further, the succession of events in the course of the reign – the suppression of the 1570 rising, the queen's recovery from the dreaded smallpox, particularly her escape from Catholic assassination plots, and above all the Armada victory could be cited as evidence of divine approval, indeed, of specific divine intervention in her behalf. By the conclusion of the reign memories such as these outbalanced those of disapproval or doubt.

A second group of articles looks at several Jacobean authors. These, unlike the former group, have for the most part no reservations about royal achievements, and are among the conscious founders of the myth. Lisa Richardson considers the work of Fulke Greville and John Hayward. She reads both as a response to Philip Sidney's

*Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* in which Elizabeth figures allegorically as the incompetent king of Arcadia whose kingdom has to be rescued from invaders by his neighbour, the model king of Macedonia, Eubolus, resolute, determined and decisive. It is the latter who is the model for Greville and Hayward. The former's work, part of a tribute to Sidney, is an appreciation of the queen which sees her as defender of international Protestantism. Hayward's account of the first four years of the reign, written on a Tacitean model, presents a more pragmatic ruler, who places England ahead of the reformed faith.

Teresa Grant looks at Thomas Heywood's oft-printed two-part play, *If you know not me, you know nobody*, which picks up Foxe's story of the queen's trials in her sister's reign, sharply contrasting the two rulers – the cold withdrawn Mary, the warm outgoing Elizabeth. In the second part of the play, devoted to the career of Sir Thomas Gresham, Elizabeth figures in the famous Tilbury scene.

A third writer, whose work spans the reigns of both Elizabeth and James, John Harington, is dealt with by Jason Scott-Warren. Harington, a royal godson and court familiar, sought by the use of his pen to win preferment first from Elizabeth and then from James – sought and failed. This early-day spin-doctor has left behind gossipy vignettes of the queen's private life and particularly a much-quoted appreciation of the queen written in 1606. Scott-Warren finds, however, in his epigrams a strong strain of misogyny, directed at women in general, but at the queen in particular. He reflects again the profound doubts aroused by the fact of female rule.

The remainder of the collection deals with specific features of the myth. Susan Doran attacks the twentieth-century art historians' assertion that the queen deliberately cultivated a cult of the virgin in her portraiture. Doran shows that the symbols favoured by the queen, such as the pelican or the phoenix, had diverse significances of which the virginity theme was only one. The essay gives a very satisfactory survey of Elizabeth's iconography. Brett Usher treats a specific myth attached to Elizabeth – that her distaste for clerical marriage led her to limit episcopal appointments to celibates. He shows statistically that this is not so since out of seventy-five men appointed to sees only twenty were celibate and among these few received appointment to the prize sees, those worth £800 or more *per annum*.

The last essay in the collection leaps from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, to the new medium of the film. Elizabeth has been the subject of an array of film productions, going back to 1912. The question of gender arises here again but in a new form. It is not scepticism as to female rule but rather the incompatibility of the respective claims of womanhood and those of rulership. Thomas Betteridge examines three films – *Fire over England* (1937), *The private lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1959) and *Elizabeth* (1998). The first gives clear priority to the superior claims of the public role, the second emphasises the total destruction of the person which the enforced choice entails, while the third again insists upon the impossibility of combining the two roles. Betteridge concludes that twentieth-century film-makers have been no more successful than their predecessors in penetrating the mystery of the 'real' Elizabeth.

These essays provide a critical examination of the sources, contemporary and near-contemporary, of the Elizabethan myth. In so doing they force us to refocus our own perspective on Elizabeth and her world. We are cursed with fore-knowledge. We know Elizabeth was not assassinated, that James succeeded peacefully. Unconsciously we discount the doubts and fears of contemporaries and thus skew our own

understanding of the age. These essays serve to reorient our vision, to see the sixteenth-century world as the men and women of that time saw it.

CAMBRIDGE

WALLACE MACCAFFREY

*The politics of religion in the age of Mary, queen of Scots. The earl of Argyll and the struggle for Britain and Ireland.* By Jane E. A. Dawson. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Pp. xvii + 251 incl. 6 figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45. 0 521 80996 7

*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904850772

The political career of the fifth earl of Argyll (1558–73) here provides an illuminating case study of mid sixteenth-century British politics from the diplomatic *volte-face* to the end of the Scottish civil wars. The two opening, chiefly analytical, chapters probe Argyll's ambiguous position as chief of Clan Campbell and leading Lowland aristocrat, a semi-sovereign prince who was both king of the Gael and the most powerful British magnate of his day. Tudor specialists will read this with much profit: Dawson's portrayal of a marcher lord and Gaelic chief combined contests central assumptions in Tudor historiography about the relationship between aristocratic power and royal government. Each of the following four, broadly chronological, chapters is divided into parallel sections focusing on events in one of Argyll's political worlds: Scottish national affairs; the triangular relationships of the English, Irish and Scottish kingdoms; and the pan-Gaelic world of the North Channel region. These sections discuss from different angles the three British crises of the period. That of 1559–60 produced an Anglo-Scottish alliance between two Protestant regimes, and Argyll's further offer of support for the Tudors in Ulster in a triangular British policy. 1565 saw Argyll's abandonment of an integrated British policy, following disillusionment about English behaviour over the Chase-about Raid and the defeat of his Ulster dependants. And the years from Mary's abdication to the final collapse of the Queen's Party saw the reduction of Scotland from equal British partner to Tudor satellite state, with Argyll vainly offering to deploy his reconstructed Ulster affinity in return for English support for Mary's restoration. 1559–60 had briefly held out the vision of a united and Protestant British Isles to be achieved through partnership between Argyll and like-minded Englishmen, such as Cecil. What finally emerged was a Protestant mainland, but with Scottish politics manipulated to preserve English security and Argyll, in response, reshaping the Gaelic world to keep Ulster independent. In consequence, the Gaelic Reformation was crippled in Ireland and Ulster preserved as a base for Tyrone in the Nine Years War which almost cost Elizabeth the kingdom of Ireland. In a wide-ranging conclusion, Dawson deftly outlines the conflicting English, Scottish and Irish assumptions which underpinned these developments. This is a fine book, clearly written and well structured, which ably explores both the possibilities and limitations of the new British perspective in the period before the establishment of the British multiple monarchy.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND,  
GALWAY

STEVEN G. ELLIS

*Anglicans and Orthodox. Unity and subversion, 1559–1725.* By Judith Pinnington. Pp. xxx + 260. Leominster: Gracewing, 2003. £14.99 (paper). o 85244 577 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904860779

The author self-deprecatingly suggests that this may be ‘a strange or unusual book’, and she has a point. The core of the work, at least from the viewpoint of historians, is an historical account consisting of non-events – attempts at understanding or even *rapprochement* between Anglicans and various Orthodox Churches during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This tale is embedded in theological reflection and comment from a scholar who makes no bones about her passionate commitment to Orthodox Christianity, and who rather less prominently reveals an interesting preoccupation with that Victorian phenomenon marrying ritualism and pentecostalism, the Catholic Apostolics (known to their detractors as the Irvingites). The whole comes garlanded with praise from Bishop Kallistos Ware and Archbishop Rowan Williams. The framework of interpretation which this produces makes for some trenchant judgements. The Church of England has apparently lacked ‘an integral tradition of life and worship’, and even the poor little Scottish Episcopal Church does not escape whipping for its alleged contemporary misdeeds. That stalwart and imaginative seventeenth-century defender of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, Metropolitan Peter Mohyla of Kiev, is trounced for his ‘covert Romanism’, a charge which would have caused wry smiles among his Uniate opponents. Pinnington presents some eccentric perspectives on the English Reformation, harking back to the polemical rewriting of its history by High Churchmen, with recourse to some thoroughly unreliable guides like the late editor of this *JOURNAL* Clifford Dugmore. But once all that is passed, Pinnington has a useful narrative of the first encounters of Anglicanism and Orthodoxy, as seen particularly in the writings of successive English commentators who sought to introduce the English to an alien culture. Most of them rode on the back of England’s early overseas expansion, as English monarchs and merchants sought to find footholds in the Ottoman Empire, so a good proportion of those involved are diplomats or official chaplains at Constantinople, taking an interest in the oddly different species of Christians whom they observed around them. A freelance adventurer was Isaac Basire, the splendidly forthright and enterprising French Huguenot gentleman turned English High Churchmen turned adviser to the Reformed Protestant prince of Transylvania; Basire’s quixotic ecclesiastical exploits in the east before his last tranquil berth in the close at Durham might have borne further exposition. Overall the story is of occasional conjunctions marred by misunderstandings and hidden agendas on either side. The Orthodox were generally preoccupied by shortage of funds and their need to survive as a tolerated minority in the Ottoman Empire: any port in a storm might be better than the Sublime Porte, and was worth some discreet probing, as long as the Ottoman authorities did not get to hear too much about it. The Russians, in a greatly more favourable political position, followed their monarchs’ efforts to find allies in the west against aggressive Roman Catholic and Lutheran neighbours. After the Church of England had developed a High Church wing unique among Protestant Churches, those involved were interested in finding a respectably ancient alibi for their sacramentalist and sacerdotalist views which saved them from being accused of papist subversion, so Orthodoxy looked like a promising milieu to explore. The Orthodox institution of autonomous patriarchies seemed to offer possibilities of finding a coherent way of redefining the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and

York: perhaps too those of Scotland and Ireland, although one suspects that, as ever, English churchmen had little enthusiasm for autonomy in the other kingdoms of these islands. Additionally the sufferings of the first self-conscious Anglicans in Britain during the 1640s and 1650s gave them a fellow-feeling for the oppression suffered by Eastern Christians under the Ottomans. Hence the moves from the 1680s to bring Greek students to Oxford, and the officially-approved foundation of a Greek Church in Soho in 1677 (Pinnington illustrates its still-surviving commemorative plaque). Alas, English preoccupations scuppered such initiatives: first, during the seventeenth century the Protestant suspicion of images, which even English High Churchmen shared, and which persistently recurred amid the generally fairly cool observations of Orthodox practice made by English observers in the East. Unbelievably, the London diocesan authorities did not allow the Greek worshippers in Soho any icons, and it is not surprising that St Mary's Soho was soon redundant. The Greek students in Oxford had a festive time within their miserably limited budgets, hated the cold, got into trouble and went home. In the eighteenth century, a new issue replaced images, souring long-drawn-out negotiations with a view to reunion between Anglican non-jurors in England and Scotland on the one hand, and a variety of Orthodox churchmen on the other. The non-jurors had just discovered the joys of disestablishment, at first through circumstance, but then through theological conviction. The Orthodox found their proclamation of the Church's autonomy baffling, and the eastern bishops involved were then disconcerted to be told by the English Anglican establishment that the non-jurors were Jacobite irredentists, to be considered beyond the pale. Hence perhaps the 'subversion' of Pinnington's title, though there seems to be subversion in plenty lurking elsewhere.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

*Κυπριακή λογιосύνη 1571–1878. Προσωπογραφική θεώρηση.* By Paschalis M. Kitromilides. (Κέντρο Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν, Πηγές καὶ Μελέτες τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας XLIII.) Pp. 321 incl. frontispiece and 3 colour and 11 black-and-white plates. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2002. 9963 0 8067 7 JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904870775

With a few notable exceptions, Cypriot intellectual life during Ottoman rule has generally been studied by means of an antiquarian amassing of 'facts' about individuals and their works, rather than with the tools of systematic scholarly investigation. The existing bibliography is riddled with inaccuracies, confusions, unchecked assertions and self-contradictory claims, repeated in successive works. Kitromilides's aim is to clear away past errors, by returning to primary sources and accepting only what is reliably attested, to prepare the way for future synthetic and evaluative research. The prosopographical approach enables him to present the basic facts clearly and concisely, although he frankly admits the many gaps in our knowledge. The *logiosyni* of the title has two meanings: (1) the body of learned people, born in Cyprus or belonging to the Cypriot diaspora, or who spent some part of their career in Cyprus, who left written evidence of their activities; (2) in the abstract sense, the scholarship, educational work and creativity of those who contributed to Cypriot

intellectual life. After explaining the term, Kitromilides's introduction (pp. 25–62) gives an overview of the period, from the termination of Venetian rule in 1571 to the transfer to British administration in 1878. Noting that many primary sources remain unpublished or unedited, he evaluates what has been achieved, while drawing attention to the shortcomings of many 'standard works'. He offers a useful five-fold periodisation, which begins with 'the lost Renaissance' (cut short by the Ottoman capture), stresses the important role of the Cypriot diasporas that took refuge in the west and the Near East and maintained a Cypriot consciousness in the seventeenth century, discusses contacts with the Enlightenment and the educational role of the Church in the eighteenth century, and ends with the island's isolation after 1821, when Athens became the 'national centre' and focus of intellectual activity. The prosopography (pp. 85–273) has 161 entries, of whom only two are women. The largest group are clerics (monks, priests, prelates); the rest are mostly scribes or scholars, historians, teachers or philosophers. Each entry gives biographical information, and lists each individual's known works (manuscripts, printed editions) and relevant bibliography. Among areas of potential confusion now clarified, we note the entries for three people called Kyprianos: the Archimandrite Kyprianos Koukouriotis (c. 1735–45 – c. 1802–5), the well-known archbishop of Cyprus (1756–1821), and the patriarch of Alexandria (first quarter of the eighteenth century–1783). An admirably concise English summary of the introduction (pp. 277–80), index of manuscripts (pp. 283–6) and general index (pp. 287–315) complete the volume. Kitromilides, a distinguished historian of political thought and author of works on the Greek Enlightenment, has provided an invaluable *instrumentum studiorum* for Cypriot intellectual life of the period, including much material of interest to the ecclesiastical historian. This is only a preliminary, as he concedes: many primary texts still await scholarly study, more archival work is needed, further names (for example of artists and musicians) need to be added. Only then can a comprehensive intellectual history of the period be undertaken. But this is a good start.

SELWYN COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

DAVID HOLTON

*Les Huguenots et le roi. Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572–1600).* By Hugues Daussy. Pp. 694 incl. frontispiece. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002. €135.40. 2 600 00667 2; 0082 6081  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904880771

The life of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623), as Hugues Daussy reminds us, has always been inextricably linked with the Huguenot cause in France. As adviser to Henry of Navarre, later Henry IV, as well as a scholar and theologian, he was clearly one of the most influential figures in the French Reform. Daussy's study concentrates on Mornay's political career, spanning nearly three decades, from his brief position as writer for the ill-fated Admiral Coligny in 1572 to his disgrace at the court of Henry IV in 1600. Mornay's central role in the major events and political developments of his time is carefully delineated, principally as the ideological architect of the triumph of Henry IV. As a survivor of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, as a politician and a soldier, he both promoted armed resistance by his coreligionists and the benefits of peaceful coexistence between the faiths. In Henry of

Navarre he found a prince who shared his vision, and in whom he would invest all the hopes of the Huguenot cause. Henry's accession to the French throne in 1589 marked the culmination of Mornay's efforts to mould the model Protestant king. Consequently, more than most other Reformed leaders, he had to deal with the ramifications of Henry's conversion to Catholicism in 1593 both for his coreligionists and for his own position at court. Whilst distancing himself from the centre of affairs, Mornay used his influence to act as an effective negotiator between the king and the Huguenots; the Edict of Nantes represented the highpoint of this strategy. Daussy argues convincingly that the settlement, so often credited to Henry IV, was largely forced on a reluctant monarch. This is a thorough and meticulous study, which provides a fascinating account of how a deeply religious man was able to reconcile his faith with the promotion of an essentially political solution to the civil wars in France. It provides persuasive explanations for Mornay's actions and the apparent inconsistencies in his writings, demonstrating the difficult choices that had to be made between the dictates of conscience and political realities. It explores the important influence of Mornay's experience abroad, which provided him with an international perspective on Huguenot interests, and the dream of forging a European Protestant alliance against the papacy. Furthermore, Daussy presents the case for Mornay's authorship of some of the most powerful political literature of the period, including the *Vindicae contra tyrannos* of 1579, often in the guise of a moderate Catholic. He makes Mornay an accessible and sympathetic figure, establishing what will surely become the definitive life of a remarkable man who was at the centre of a turbulent period of French history, and who shaped an important part of that history. This study represents an impressive achievement of both scholarship and biography, and a significant counterweight to the dominance hitherto enjoyed by Henry IV as the progenitor of a new style of monarchy.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

PENNY ROBERTS

*Toleration and religious identity. The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland.* Edited by Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter. Pp. 304 incl. frontispiece and 5 ills. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. €50. 1 85182 481 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904890778

This volume is based upon fourteen papers given at a conference in 1998 to commemorate the quatercentenary of the Edict of Nantes. The contributions – composed by an international range of scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds – is impressive for its comparative approach and chronological reach. The volume studies the political and religious culture from which the Edict of Nantes issued and addresses the way in which the edict's provisions shaped religious identity. The edict then provides the means from which to explore the development of the concept of toleration, extending through the Enlightenment period to the present day, with particular reference to the ongoing peace process in Northern Ireland.

Ambitious in scope, the editors have nevertheless done a fine job in bringing the breadth of subjects addressed into a coherent whole with a thought-provoking introductory chapter, the translation of French articles into English, the cross-referencing of contributions in the footnotes and the provision of a comprehensive bibliography and index. There are one or two well-meaning but somewhat insipid contributions

but these are more than offset by strong articles in particular from Denis Crouzet on fratricide, Olivier Christin on fraternity, Mark Greengrass on the political culture surrounding the Edict of Nantes, Olivier Millet on Balzac and his Huguenot correspondents, Ruth Whelan on Dublin's Huguenot diaspora and Cecelia Clegg and Joseph Liechty on the ways in which sectarianism might be overcome in contemporary Northern Ireland.

Light is shed upon the way in which today's politically correct understanding of 'tolerance' and 'toleration' is not always helpful in understanding what these terms signified in the past, an important point if we are to avoid reading into the past a mentality that did not exist. This leads on to some profound reflection upon the interface between history and evolving cultural identities. There are some fascinating observations on the way in which the Edict of Nantes was commemorated in 1998 by French Protestant communities and by the French state and the way in which the history of the Edict of Nantes was manipulated to meet contemporary concerns. Reflecting upon our liberal consciousness, Greengrass, for example, notes that the commemoration of the Edict of Nantes was about toleration, liberty and conscience, all words notably absent in the original text of the edict (p. 129). This volume exposes the disjunction that can appear between the complex manner in which historical events unfold and the attempt by some modern commentators to impose their own meaning on those events. Far from rendering a conventional reading of the Edict of Nantes and its aftermath, this collection of essays provides a case study of the way in which history continues to provide a 'laboratory of memory' (p. 25), bringing past and present into a dynamic dialogue with one another.

USHAW COLLEGE,  
DURHAM

PHILIP CONNER

*Writing the Reformation. Actes and monuments and the Jacobean history play.* By Marsha S. Robinson. Pp. xxiii + 192 incl. 8 figs. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. £40.  
0 7546 0614 7

JEH (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904900772

Marsha Robinson's *Writing the Reformation: Actes and monuments and the Jacobean history play* is a detailed study of the influence of John Foxe's seminal work, *Acts and monuments*, on Jacobean history plays. Its focus is in places productive. In particular, Robinson illustrates with skill the ways in which playwrights working during the reign of James I turned to Foxe as a source not only of themes and topics but also as an authoritative starting-point from which to address contentious issues within Jacobean society. For example, one of the most successful parts of *Writing the Reformation* is the chapter dealing with the relationship between Foxe's portrayal of female martyrs and the way in which these potentially problematic figures for magisterial English Protestants were presented on the Jacobean stage. Unfortunately there are a number of serious problems with Robinson's work which combine partly to undermine its insightful readings of Jacobean plays. The major problem is that the model of Foxian history that Robinson deploys is too simplistic. Indeed given the work of the John Foxe project on the profound changes between the various editions of *Actes and monuments* that Foxe published during his lifetime it is debatable if categories like Foxian history have any useful meaning; it might be more accurate to

speak of Foxian history in the 1560s, '70s or '80s since in each of these decades new editions of *Actes and monuments* were published that articulated quite different models of history. A further problem with *Writing the Reformation* is that the plays being discussed are limited in terms of number and scope. This means that the chapters tend to feel rather repetitive as the same plays are used to illustrate different aspects of Foxe's influence. Having read *Writing the Reformation*, the main impression that one is left with is of a missed opportunity. While Robinson's study will be of interest to those studying Jacobean history plays, if its use of Foxe had been more nuanced and its scope wider it could have made a greater contribution to the study of early modern English historiography and Jacobean culture.

KINGSTON UNIVERSITY

TOM BETTERIDGE

Augustine Baker OSB, *The life and death of Dame Gertrude More*. Edited from all the known manuscripts by Ben Wekking. (Analecta Cartusiana, 119:19.) Pp. xc+424 incl. frontispiece. Pp. 124 incl. 10 plates. Salzburg: Universität Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2002. 3 901995 39 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904910779

Ben Wekking has performed a most useful service in bringing together this collection of manuscripts (representing a considerable advance on previous editions) which constitute Augustine Baker's drafts for a life of the nun Helen (Gertrude) More. He has also assisted the reader by prefacing them with a lengthy and authoritative introduction. Early modern English nuns are almost certainly going to become an important topic in the wider field of early modern ecclesiastical history, following the recent publication of the research of Clare Walker and the (forthcoming) research of Caroline Bowden. Indeed, on the evidence presented here, it is hard to see why such feisty independent females have not been studied a good deal more by modern scholars, particularly feminist ones. What emerges clearly from Wekking's introduction is how factionally divided the English houses of religion on the continent were (Augustine Baker went to the house at Cambrai in 1624, and it was not a happy or a peaceful place), and how their quarrels were in some sense a continuation of politico-religious divisions which were embedded in the families from which they came. Certainly Baker's difficulties with his own order were not unique in this period, or since. One can see, in some ways, why the more disciplined Jesuits were more successful in England than the Benedictines were. The rest of the introduction deals mainly with Baker's discourse on prayer, and outlines the differences between himself and his antagonist Francis Hull. The real value of this edition, however, is that it provides an almost unique insight into the spiritual and ideological underpinnings of the quarrels which otherwise tend to be interpreted rather one-dimensionally, usually as the result simply of factional ambition.

QUEEN MARY COLLEGE,  
 LONDON

MICHAEL QUESTIER

*Nice and hot disputes. The doctrine of the Trinity in the seventeenth century.* By Philip Dixon. Pp. xiv + 236. London–New York: T & T Clark, 2003. £40. 0 5670 8816 2

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This book is based on a Cambridge PhD thesis, and is a valuable and readable account of its topic. The author explains that he comes to his subject as a Catholic theologian for whom the mystery of the Trinity is the heart of the Christian faith. His particular approach ensures that it is the theological issues that are given central attention and that the author has a feel for the issues involved; moreover his strong sympathy for the path of orthodoxy has done nothing to impair the fairness with which he presents all sides of the controversy. He deals with the subject chronologically, with ample citation from the many contributors to the long drawn out debate. A brief but perceptive ‘conclusion’ reviews the main trends in the detailed historical exchanges. All in all this is a good and attractive piece of historical writing. There is scope here only to note a few dominant emphases: (1) Whereas the last decade of the century is usually seen as the crucial period of the debate, Dixon demonstrates clearly the vigour of the debate as early as the time of the Civil War; (2) Dixon’s particular concern is with the understanding of the word ‘person’ in the controversy. This is well brought out, though inevitably the chronological format leads to some repetition of the same point as the different contributions of many authors are summarised, and does not provide scope for as comprehensive a discussion of the variety of understandings offered as one might have liked to see; (3) Dixon sees the most important difference between the two sides as an emphasis on univocity on the one hand over against a more analogical view of language (appropriate to the expression of mystery) on the other. The ultimate victory of the Trinitarian cause he sees as a somewhat Pyrrhic victory, because the outcome of the long process of argumentation was to turn the general perception of the doctrine from a rich, religious mystery into an arid, intellectual problem – from which, in his view, it has taken the Church and theology two centuries to recover. It is sad to have to add that such a worthwhile and well-executed book is marred by a number of small, surface errors, of which I note a few examples: the only word to appear in Greek script is misspelt on both its appearances (pp. 112, 201); ‘principle’ and ‘principal’ both appear in the wrong sense (pp. 42, 185); Samuel Clarke was ‘delated’ not ‘deleted’ to the bishopric of Ely (p. 182); Richard Allestree was Regius Professor of ‘Divinity’ at Oxford not of ‘History’ (p. 9).

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

MAURICE WILES

*Reformation des Lebens. Die Reformen Herzog Ernsts des Frommen von Sachsen-Gotha und ihre Auswirkungen auf Frömmigkeit, Schule und Alltag im ländlichen Raum (1640–1675).* By Veronika Albrecht-Birkner. (Leucorea-Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Lutherischen Orthodoxie, 1.) Pp. 603. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002. €64. 3 374 01919 6

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This book is the author’s ‘slightly revised’ doctoral dissertation, submitted in summer 1998 to the theology faculty of Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, and now published as the first volume in the Leucorea Studies monograph series

devoted to Reformation history and Lutheran Orthodoxy. The book examines the church reforms implemented between 1640 and 1675 in the region of Saxon-Gotha by Herzog (duke) Ernst the Pious (1601–75). Albrecht-Birkner investigates both the intentions and especially the outworkings of the duke's reforms upon the general populace of Gotha. Her special focus is the first thirteen years of the duke's rule, up to 1652, and the rural impact of the duke's reforms in three villages neighbouring the residence city of Gotha, Fröttstadt, Mühlberg and Molschleben. This study has a two-fold aim: first to offer a reassessment of Duke Ernst's historical role and achievement in the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism, and second, to determine the shape of Lutheran confessional culture in Saxon-Gotha at the end of the Thirty Years War and thereby contribute to Gotha's regional history. While the author's painstaking research is impressive, the end result is mixed due to problems in organisation and in the presentation of results.

Albrecht-Birkner in the end rejects the portrait, and self-image, of the duke as the leader and saviour of his people. The duke was overly optimistic in his expectation of what two-day visitations could achieve in terms of solving conflicts or influencing lifestyles:

As much as one should appreciate Duke Ernst's desire ... to improve the life of all inhabitants of his lands, one must regard critically both his conception and also its practical consequences in terms of their whole development. Above all [one must critically examine] the praise attributed to the Duke as leader and saviour of his people, who took them from a wild, brutalized and godless condition to the best life in every respect ... This study has shown that neither in regard to the people's original condition, nor in regard to the actual consequences of the reforms, is this a correct characterization of developments ... This means that the measures were in many respects unsuccessful. Many remained ineffective and had to be continually resurrected. Others, because of their criminalising of people who evaded the reforms, had consequences for individuals and the whole population which are not consistent with the idea of progress. (p. 526)

An example of this last point is the duke's vigorous prosecution of marginal groups, including the witch trials from the 1650s to the 1670s. Albrecht-Birkner also shows that Lutheran confessionalism after the Thirty Years' War was marked by rote learning of the small catechism and living by the Ten Commandments. She concludes that 'The liberating potential of Lutheran doctrine, in contrast to the law, is not evident' (p. 528). The author grants that Ernst the Pious did contribute to the process of modernisation in his territory through compulsory education and the effort to train his people in the social virtues.

The first chapter of the book considers the state of research on Ernst the Pious, and offers a brief overview of his life and times. Well into the twentieth century, portraits of the duke were a song of praise in honour of an outstanding man, ruler, Christian and German, who by God's providence brought great blessings to his once impoverished people: 'His weaknesses were buried in the grave with him, and forgotten' (pp. 20, 24). The duke saw himself as a king or prophet in the biblical sense, as God's instrument for mediating a proper relation between God and his people, with authority over both secular and spiritual affairs in his lands. In chapter ii the author argues that to understand the duke's rule and its impact, the general church and school visitations of 1641–5 in Saxon-Gotha are foundational because they reveal his programmatic intentions, and the daily life of the people. A key source is the *Fragenkataloge* consisting of questions on faith and life posed by official

visitors to pastors, legal authorities, church elders and schoolmasters. Magistrates were asked about the conduct of the pastors, and the pastor's reading and preaching practice; pastors provided information on the people; and the people were invited to inform on their pastors and neighbours. Of special concern was the people's knowledge of the creed and catechism, and their church attendance. The author links Ernst's reform concerns to those of Johann Arndt, A. H. Francke and Johann Amos Comenius.

Chapters iv and v address the educational methods and reform initiatives promoted by the visitors. The 1642 *Gotha Schulordnung* (Gotha school order) indicates that a primary concern was the education of rural children of the lower class in the catechism, reading, writing, singing and calculating. The duke's reforms were marked by confidence that socially acceptable behaviour was the simple result of right belief, and that education would prepare the foundation for a renewal of society. The visitors recommended that 'Corporal punishment should be preceded by two or three warnings, and should not be administered to the head, nor the face, nor with books or fists, but only with the rod with fatherly moderation' (p. 431). In later years the duke's measures aimed at 'increased control and discipline of the populace as well as the marginalising of people who did not fit his reforming ideals' (p. 502). The author speculates that melancholy and obsession with death increased in the Gotha court as the result of the duke's oppressive reform measures. The author finds seventy-nine confirmed cases of witch trials during the rule of Duke Ernst, most ending in death by burning. The widespread post-1648 belief that illness was caused by the devil, combined with the duke's loss of seven children between 1657 and 1663, might account for his increasing persecution of witches.

At almost 300 pages, chapter iii is the longest chapter by far, and the most disappointing. In part I Albrecht-Birkner investigates Fröttstädt (seventy inhabitants), Mühlberg (700) and Molschleben (400) because of the rich source materials available for these towns, their varying populations, differing governing structures and geographical distribution, confident that this diversity will lend the greatest possible evidential authority (*Aussagekraft*) to her results. In part II Albrecht-Birkner examines 200 extant *Seelenregister* from eighty-five different localities to determine when people most frequently attended communion, and which hymns, psalms and Scriptures were most popular. (Most popular hymns were 'Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort', and 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott'; most popular Psalms were Psalms vi and xxiii; most popular biblical texts were John iii.16 and 1 John i.7.) Surprisingly, the author is unable to draw any relevant implications from these discoveries, nor able to relate them to reform of popular piety: 'It still remains to investigate how the practice of piety in private homes changed under the influence of the reforms' (p. 366).

One must question Albrecht-Birkner's methods and organisation in this central chapter. The exhaustive recounting of various source investigations makes for tedious reading, much repetition and offers little synthesis of her research findings; one looks for the gold amidst the chaff. An arrangement according to topic would have avoided repetition and would have indicated more directly what the sources reveal about the duke's measures and their implications for reform. Also problematic is the author's attempt to draw conclusions from exceedingly small numbers in these towns; combining numbers for the whole territory would make a larger sample and add evidential authority. The author speculates on reasons for the increased number

of girls attending school in Fröttstädt in 1651 (fifteen) compared to the number of young boys attending (five); in 1646 the number of boys (six) had been almost equal to girls (seven). But these numbers are so small that it is fruitless to calculate percentages or to try to identify trends. The author observes that 'about 50 % of all recorded youth in Molschleben who served outside the town (nine boys and three girls), did so in Braunschweig ... 'On the basis of these numbers it is clear that there existed a special relation to the Braunschweig region' (p. 267). Again, one wonders that so much can be made of so little.

The author could do more to clarify her assumptions in determining what might count for successful reform of social life, and what not. When she says that the impact of the duke's reforms is 'not consistent with the idea of progress', this begs for clarification of what does count for progress in the author's estimation. And finally, with the exception of Bob Scribner's work, no recent scholarship in English on German Protestantism is cited; one would have expected some reference to Gerald Strauss's *Luther's house of learning: indoctrination of the young in the German Reformation* (Johns Hopkins University, 1978).

There is much to commend here. One of the most impressive features of this study is the archival source material on which it is based. Besides materials in the Thuringian state archives in Gotha, Altenburg and Weimar, and the Saxon state archive in Dresden, Albrecht-Birkner has availed herself of sources located in small church archives in the Gotha region in Fröttstädt, Waltershausen, Warza and Molschleben. The interdisciplinary starting point of the work is commendable. The author works from the insight that 'neither theological developments nor developments in the history of piety can be explained by themselves; their varying interaction with contemporary relevant factors must be assumed and introduced to explain events in church history' (p. 13). There is a good comparative element to the study, as reform practices in Saxon-Gotha are compared with church life in Weimar and Halle. The book is enhanced by end page maps, appendices of questions posed to pastors and a listing of *Seelenregister*, as well as a bibliography and person and place index.

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*Malebranche e Roma. Documenti dell'archivio della Congregazione per la dottrina della fede.* By Gustavo Costa. (Le Corrispondenze Letterarie, Scientifiche ed Erudite dal Rinascimento all'età moderna. Subsidia, 3.) Pp. 263. Florence: Olschki, 2003. 88 222 5185 7

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L'ouverture des archives de la Congrégation pour la doctrine de la foi (ACDF) est en train de renouveler la perception des milieux intellectuels catholiques, en particulier aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles. Un filon particulièrement original est celui des enquêtes et condamnations touchant des philosophes comme Bacon, Descartes ou Spinoza. Les travaux d'André Robinet avaient retracé les rapports tourmentés de Malebranche avec les autorités romaines. Les recherches effectuées par Gustavo Costa complètent le tableau en donnant les pièces manquantes, en particulier les censures. Le premier dossier, déjà bien documenté chez Robinet, est très riche, et montre comment la condamnation du *Traité de la nature et de la grâce* fut retardée et

contrariée par la crainte de sembler approuver le jansénisme d'Arnauld. Costa apporte de nouvelles datations (janvier 1690 pour la lettre de Malebranche au cardinal de Bouillon) et montre la défaite des jésuites, qui voyaient en Malebranche à la fois un allié pour la *scientia media* et un adversaire d'Arnauld. Le second dossier, sur la condamnation de la *Recherche de la vérité* dans sa traduction latine (Genève 1691) est plus décevant, la raison principale de la censure étant le lieu d'édition et la religion réformée du traducteur. Le troisième dossier est le plus original, car la condamnation, en 1714, des *Entretiens sur la métaphysique et la religion* et du *Traité de morale*, n'avait jamais été étudiée. Les quatre censeurs (deux pour chaque œuvre) relèvent les rapprochements avec Platon pour la théorie de la connaissance et le caractère novateur de plusieurs affirmations. Au total, la condamnation des livres est proposée en termes d'erreur et de témérité, autrement dit par une 'note' assez mineure. Les *Méditations chrétiennes*, enfin, dénoncées en 1710–11, ont aussi fait l'objet d'un rapport de censure, apparemment laissé sans suite. Les textes originaux et inédits reproduits dans les soixante-dix pages de l'appendice documentent en première main les procédures du Saint-Office et élargissent l'intérêt de ce livre à toute l'histoire religieuse du dix-septième siècle.

ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES,  
PARIS

JEAN-ROBERT ARMOGATHE

*Republican learning. John Toland and the crisis of Christian culture, 1696–1722.* By Justin Champion. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) Pp. viii + 264. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. £49.99. 0 7190 5714 0

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Where and how modernity began are disputed questions. In an earlier book, *The pillars of priesthood shaken* (Cambridge 1992), Justin Champion effectively challenged the prevailing opinion that modernity was launched by eighteenth-century French *philosophes* by discovering its origins in the words and deeds of seventeenth-century English freethinking radicals, who endeavoured to de-Christianise the Gospel and desacralise the Church and to replace it with a civic religion founded on reason and republican principles. The present work continues the same theme, focusing now on the misunderstood and often undervalued achievement of John Toland (1670–1722). In the time between the publication of these two books, Jonathan Israel's monumental *Radical Enlightenment* (Oxford 2001) appeared, in which the origins of modernity were once more discovered in Europe, but this time in Holland, among Spinoza and his circle. In *Republican learning*, Champion argues convincingly that both traditions, English Radicalism and its European counterpart converged in the life and work of John Toland, an Irishman by birth, educated in Leiden, well-known to Leibniz and Locke, an intimate of princely families on the continent and among the Whig nobility in England, a scholar of no mean competence, who used his extensive learning and familiarity with books to confound his clerical adversaries and to promote radical causes. Champion has written what will surely become the standard intellectual biography of John Toland for a long time to come. But one finds here much more than what one might hope for in even the finest intellectual biography. Champion takes us into Toland's mind as an author. There we are made

familiar with his character and become party to his intentions and the literary techniques by which his many writings (books, pamphlets, scholarly editions, critical bibliographies) were fashioned to achieve political results. He likens Toland's writings to speech-acts, performative utterances, instruments of purpose. In the course of doing this, Champion manages to provide us with a detailed history of Toland's time and, hence, a view of the beginning of the Enlightenment in England. However, what is lacking in this very fine book is a sense of what Toland really thought. So skillfully did he fashion his writings, and, we are led to believe, his conversation, to fit his mainly political purposes, that, unlike the writings of Spinoza, one can never be sure what Toland truly thought about things. He must have had some beliefs, in equality, in the law of nature, in the nature of true virtue. Champion's restraint in answering this question is a measure of his mastery as a historian. It would be a singular irony should it turn out that the great enemy of priestcraft practiced his own secularising art according to the principle *ex opere operato*.

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VICTOR NUOVO

*Christianity and revolutionary Europe, c. 1750–1830*. By Nigel Aston. (New Approaches to European History, 25.) Pp. xiii + 382 incl. 7 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £47.50 (cloth), £17.95 (paper). 0 521 46027 1; 0 521 46592 3 *JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046904960770

In *Christianity and revolutionary Europe, c. 1750–1830* Nigel Aston set out to answer the question 'What, apart from the name of Christian, linked the churches and churchgoers of 1750 with their great grandchildren three generations on in 1830?' In answering the question he has examined how far Europe's religious culture was changed immediately before and during the period *c.* 1790 to 1815, and what stayed the same. He provides a synthesis and an overview of the scholarly work produced during the past thirty years on the different Churches of Europe across the revolutionary 'divide'. By going forward to 1830 he explores the effects of the Revolution era, both in the limited term and by noting indications for the long term. The period 1750–90 is covered by four chapters introducing the reader to the ordained ministries of the Churches and the structures within which they worked; the nature and variety of Christian beliefs and forms of worship; religion and the intellectual concerns of the Europe *des lumières*; and the relationship of confessions to states and to each other. He shows that although during the period the political and intellectual challenges to Christianity were as acute as any since its adoption as the principal religion of the Roman empire, the Churches were able to regroup and reclaim an organisational and credal strength that endured into the twentieth century. He seeks to show how this survival was achieved, despite institutional upheaval and the widespread questioning of dogma and tradition. Using the extensive revisionist research of the past thirty years, which suggests that the high point of orthodoxy was reached in the western Churches in the first half of the eighteenth century, he suggests that still, in 1830, revolutionaries had not dislodged the culturally dominant Christianity but that Europe continued a thoroughly Christianised society and people. Across Europe, the average person had not relinquished a belief system that conferred meaning on their lives in this world and

conditionally assured them of a better one in the next. In identifying general trends across Europe, this book illustrates the energy put into deepening Christian commitment by Jesuits, Passionists, Methodists, Pietists and Evangelicals, and that attempts by agents of the French Revolution singularly failed to dent this, but turned Christianity into the motor of the counter-revolution, which forced even Napoleon to come to terms with the Church. This is an excellent survey of the religious scene from Portugal and Ireland in the west to Russia in the east and from Scandinavia in the north to Greece in the south, noting the broader political, doctrinal and artistic issues, as well as the responses and reactions of laypeople in parishes, women as well as men, Protestant as well as Catholic and Orthodox. Nigel Aston's confident command of his material makes the book accessible for the student and general reader, for whom a useful glossary of technical terms is provided. An admirable bibliography of recent publications is provided for the anglophone reader. This is an outstandingly useful book for students and anyone wanting a broad account of Christianity in Europe c. 1750–1830.

LONDON

W. M. JACOB

*Separation of Church and State.* By Philip Hamburger. Pp. xiii + 514. Cambridge, Mass–London: Harvard University Press, 2002. £33.50. 0 674 00734 4

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Before two things can be separated they must in some sense be joined. Philip Hamburger's basic aim is to unravel the meaning of the First Amendment ban on 'an establishment of religion', which was never intended in the absolute sense attributed to it by Jefferson's famous metaphor. Yet the metaphor, rather than the original meaning of the Amendment, has dominated the interpretation of the subject. The many and muddled ways in which religion and civil society overlapped and got mixed up in early American jurisprudence were always incompatible with the principle of complete separation of Church (or religion) and politics in the sense in which the prohibition has been commonly understood. But this was far from obvious. Many Americans, including judges of the Supreme Court, have assumed that a politically anti-establishment principle necessarily required commitment to complete separation in every walk of life.

American experience of religious establishment was rooted in the colonies. And in the many colonies where a Church was already settled by law the establishment was a grievance, causing hardship and a sense of injustice amongst such minorities as the Baptists or the Quakers. In Virginia only the Anglican clergy could perform legally valid sacramental ceremonies; unlicensed itinerant preachers could be and were thrown into prison. In New England (except Rhode Island), refusal by Baptists to pay taxes to support Congregational clergy could also lead to imprisonment. (One Connecticut town extended its gaol to accommodate the expected intake.) When a New England Baptist delegation turned up in Philadelphia in 1774 to present a petition of grievances to the Continental Congress, an infuriated John Adams dismissed their complaints and accused them of disloyalty. Baptists ironically observed that the fee imposed on them was the same as the tax on tea that had precipitated the famous tea party! Jefferson's struggle for religious toleration in the House of Burgesses brought on 'the severest contests I have known'. Opponents of establishment believed themselves to be true standard-bearers of American freedom.

Jefferson drafted his celebrated Bill for Religious Freedom in Virginia (where English recusancy laws remained in force until repealed in 1785), but when he was posted to Paris it fell to Madison to take charge of the campaign. Both were men of the Enlightenment, but many seekers after disestablishment lacked their unifying clarity of principle; Patrick Henry had many supporters for his bill to impose a general assessment to give equal state support to all Protestant sects. The distinction may not have much mattered to many sectarians but to Jefferson and Madison it was vital. They wanted nothing less than complete freedom for the individual conscience. In his cogently argued *Memorial and response* Madison replied by warning fellow Virginians that Henry would not give them real religious freedom:

Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion to all other religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians in exclusion to all other sects? that the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property, may force him to conform to any ... establishments in all cases whatsoever?

It was Madison, of course, who went on to write the First Amendment's prohibition against laws 'affecting an establishment of religion'; and one feels that Hamburger, who cites Madison's pamphlet only once and then in another connection, might have made better use of the Virginia background to explain that somewhat arcane language. Certainly Hamburger is right to insist that this language did not authorise Jefferson's metaphor of a 'wall of separation' between Church and State. But the principle has often been taken literally, as illustrated by the case of *Watson v. Jones* affecting Presbyterian property divided by the Civil War. Here the court refused to enter into the theological arguments presented in court, and determined the issue on the basis of property law. 'The law knows no heresy, is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect'. By contrast, in England, Lord Eldon had employed his knowledge of theological principles to settle an ecclesiastical dispute. The constitutional principle, however, could stand without support from the metaphysical wall, and before Justice Black famously invoked it in *Everson v. Board of Education* in 1947, the metaphor played little part in constitutional argument; in fact it had been cited only once in a Supreme Court opinion – by Chief Justice Waite in 1878. But in the late eighteenth century, American public theology was grounded on a pervasive, non-dogmatic Protestant ethos, which permitted free competition among sects. Both John Jay in *The Federalist No. 2* and George Washington in his *Farewell address* felt free to congratulate their fellow countrymen on the unifying influence of their similarities in religion – an indulgence, however, that did not in general extend to Catholics. What this ethos amounted to was the existence of a prevalent though completely informal Protestant establishment, which was left undisturbed by the adoption of the First Amendment's formal ban on 'an establishment of religion'.

One merit of this deeply researched book is to enhance the prominence of the religious element in public life. Federalists and Republicans hurled charges of heresy at each other; but Hamburger could have done much more to emphasise the commitment to religion in the common law. In 1811, for example, Chief Justice Kent of New York punished a man for blasphemy on the ground that 'the case assumes we are a Christian people'; in 1844 the Supreme Court made a similar pronouncement; and in 1892 it declared the Americans to be 'a religious people'. And

in 1947 Justice Douglas virtually makes religious faith a sustaining principle of the constitution – a dictum, however, which has been called ‘without constitutional interest’ and was soon over-ridden. The First Amendment effectively tolerates a good deal of sympathetic collusion between the secular state and many of the institutions and practices of religion. Hamburger’s book, learned as a study of the politics of religion, leaves such legalistic implications open to further research.

Hamburger turns to his central thesis ‘respecting’ an establishment. For Irish and Catholic German immigration, gaining political force under Archbishop Hughes’s dynamic leadership in the 1840s, presented the Protestant aegis with a new challenge. The story may be familiar to students of American religious history but Hamburger’s analysis exposes a critical paradox in the Catholic position. Where the Catholic Church is interlocked with the secular power, as (until recently) in most of Europe, ‘separation’ and ‘anti-establishment’ would convey broadly similar meaning; and both would be anathema; but in the United States, where the Church lacked any officially sanctioned foothold in government and establishment was *unconstitutional*, it was the Church that needed to acquire civil power. To Protestants the *status quo* could be satisfactory because the *status quo* was based on unspoken Protestant assumptions; Catholics rejected these assumptions. To them such invisibly Protestant traditions as reading the King James Bible in school were intolerable. Education was bound to become a battle ground. Hamburger tends to attribute Protestant resistance to an intolerant nativism (of which, indeed, he cites ample examples); but the Catholic Church was often reluctant to make accommodating concessions to the principles of republican government; Pope Gregory XVI’s violent denunciation of liberty of conscience in 1832 as an ‘absurd and erroneous doctrine flowing from the polluted fountain of indifference’ did not make it easier for his American disciples to convince fellow-Americans that they were faithful adherents of the American creed.

After the Second World War, in a population now more heavily weighted by Catholic voters, matters came to a head in New Jersey, whose legislature had begun to fund school bus rides for Catholic children attending parochial schools. An array of Protestant organisations took them to court, alleging that this use of taxpayer’s money violated the separation of Church and State. Writing for the court, Justice Douglas swathed himself in contradictions, resurrecting Jefferson’s wall to affirm the principle of separation while incomprehensibly concluding that the principle was not breached by New Jersey’s policy. Since then, the history of the struggle has been cast in the shadow of Jefferson’s mythical wall. Hamburger’s treatise should clear much of the rubble.

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J. R. POLE

*Evangelicalism, penal theory and the politics of criminal law reform in England, 1808–30.* By Richard R. Follett. (Studies in Modern History.) Pp. xi + 231. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. £42.50. 0 333 80388 4  
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This monograph provides a careful and thoroughly researched analysis of the parliamentary campaign for reform of the capital statutes, under which in 1819 there

were no less than 223 crimes that could in theory be punished by execution. By 1839 there were only nine. The book is particularly noteworthy in showing the importance of Evangelicalism in motivating and driving forward a process hitherto primarily associated with Benthamite utilitarianism. Although the key promoters of reform, Samuel Romilly, James Mackintosh and, eventually, Robert Peel, were not themselves Evangelicals, it is Follett's contention that their achievement was crucially dependent on Evangelical support. Not only was there the parliamentary assistance of men such as William Wilberforce and Thomas Fowell Buxton, but also Evangelical networks and publications were important in mobilising public opinion. Moreover, Evangelical theology was a major ideological force leading to demands for the limitation of capital punishment. Although, at first sight, belief in human depravity and eternal punishment might be used to justify capital punishment, in reality, Follett argues, the weight of Evangelical influence was very much in the other direction. From an Evangelical perspective it was important both to maintain the biblical principle that punishment should be proportionate to the offence, and to provide the offender with an opportunity before death for amendment of life and conversion to Christ. Follett's ambitious intellectual agenda at times gives the book a somewhat disjointed texture, as he moves between his specific concern with Evangelicals and his wider narrative of the penal reform campaigns. There would be scope for discussion of a broader spectrum of religious opinion: William Paley features as a prominent theological defender of the conservative doctrine of maximum deterrence, but it is not clear how far he was representative of non-Evangelical Anglican views. There are intriguing incidental references to Dissenting support for criminal law reform, which would have merited more purposeful development. Nevertheless, while a book that pursued such lines of enquiry in more depth might have been more immediately satisfying for ecclesiastical historians, the great merit of Follett's study is as a very worthwhile addition to the growing body of literature that effectively explores the rich interconnectedness of the religious and the political worlds in this period.

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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*Kierkegaard. A biography.* By Alastair Hannay. Pp. xvi + 496 + 8 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. £30. 0 521 56077 2

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Kierkegaard has attracted the interest of biographers since the time when books began to be written about him. Indeed, the first monograph, by the secularist critic George Brandes, took an explicitly biographical form, in keeping with Brandes's opinion that literature is to be understood in terms of its psychological and social context and that these also had to be seen in developmental terms. As Brandes himself concludes, Kierkegaard

can only be understood when one attempts to make clear the history of his genius in terms of the formation of his character and his productivity from their very earliest seeds, and, as well as one can, follows the criss-crossing lines of his development from their first beginnings through to their final results, without leaping over a single starting-point or intermediary position, yet without trying to be more consistent and linear than nature herself is.