

## Reviews

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*Passover and Easter. Origin and history to modern times.* Edited by Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman. (Two Liturgical Traditions, 5.) Pp. vii + 252. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. \$38. 0 268 03859 7

*Passover and Easter. The symbolic structuring of sacred seasons.* Edited by Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman. (Two Liturgical Traditions, 6.) Pp. vii + 224. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. \$38. 0 268 03860

The series in which these two volumes appear is concerned with the liturgical traditions of Judaism and Christianity, as sister (or mother and daughter) religions. Within the two religions, Passover and Easter constitute the most important festivals of the year, and are inextricably linked. The scope which this provides accounts for two volumes – the first concerned with origins and history, and the second with symbolic structuring.

In the first volume, the two series editors both provide introductions. Paul Bradshaw stresses the importance of distinguishing between the unitive, rememorative and representational aspects of the development of Holy Week. Lawrence Hoffman provides an introduction which is concerned with Passover and the place of the Haggadah. The early literature has plenty on meals, but little about public prayer. It has been assumed that the Seder was a symposium meal for which the Haggadah as a liturgical script was developed. In fact, Hoffman notes, the Haggadah was oral in origin, and originally came after the meal as a post-prandial discussion. In the course of time it came to be a canonised text placed before the meal.

The cultural setting of Passover (and for that matter, the Lord's Supper) is set by Blake Leyerle, with an essay on the meal customs of the Greco-Roman world, since meals had encoded social messages about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries. The evidence reveals (as might be expected) a variety of customs between east and west, public and private, and social class. Joseph Tabory investigates the history of the Passover Seder from the Mishnah to the medieval period. It reveals a change from a sacrificial meal, in which the food was the main event of the evening, into a meal with discussion of the symbolism of the meal, to the food being purely symbolic and eaten in symbolic quantities. Paul Bradshaw turns to the origin of Easter, suggesting that the Quartodeciman custom, far from being an aberration, is earlier than the Sunday celebration of the feast. Given his own warnings elsewhere against positing a single origin, the safer ground might be to posit dual origins in different geographical locations from very early days. This essay is an instructive overview, noting the development of a Pascha to Paschein,

and in Egypt and Syria, the beginnings of a Triduum. The content of the Vigil is traced through from *Didascalia* and the Armenian lectionary to the ceremonial of the Paschal candle. Elsewhere Bradshaw has argued that Easter was not always everywhere the preferred season for baptism, and that argument is reiterated here. Israel Yuval turns attention to the Haggadah, and traces its 'dialogue' with the developing Christian Easter, with the Dayenu as a later inspired defence against the *Improperia*. Each religion tells a story negating the other. In a further essay Yuval looks at medieval development of aspects of the Seder celebrations, particularly the 'Great Sabbath', the removal of leaven and the *afikoman*. A very readable essay by Joanne Pierce gives a summary of the development and variations of the Triduum, with its lively mix of the unitive, rememorative and representational, most of which was abolished by Protestant reformers.

Two final essays survey the modern period. Carole B. Balin looks at how various groups within Judaism have attempted to modernise or adapt the Haggadah, and she notes the influence of social and political movements on this liturgical element. John Melloh recounts the restoration of the Holy Week rites – but only in the Roman Catholic Church. This seems a missed opportunity to note the restoration/innovation in contemporary Lutheranism, Anglicanism, American Presbyterianism, and even the Unitarian King's Chapel Boston!

The essays of the second volume have less coherence than the first, though the editors, in the introduction, try hard to weld the material together. The first three essays centre on the origin of Great Sabbath and Lent. Hoffman argues that the three-week preparatory period of Great Sabbath may be one origin of the season of Lent. The following essay by Maxwell Johnson shows that the origins of Lent are various, but the evidence he gives is sufficient to rule Hoffman's argument out of court. Since Hoffman's essay had already appeared in printed form elsewhere, it is difficult to know why it should have been reprinted here, other than to give denominational balance. The result is that a third essay is a dialogue between Hoffman and Johnson on the issue. Johnson concludes this piece by asserting that although the three-week period of preparation in Judaism provides an answer, it does not provide the answer to the origin of Lent. Contributions from Efrat Zarran-Zohar and Martin Connell respectively treat the periods from Passover to Shavuot and Easter to Pentecost. In another essay Hoffman examines a symbol of salvation in the Passover Seder – looking at the *matzot/afikoman*. He argues that it followed from the fact that bread was already a salvation symbol in the common imagination, and that 'Behold the Bread of Affliction' is an obvious Jewish parallel to the institution of the Lord's Supper. Joseph Gutmann presents a survey of Haggadah art in terms of an illustrated book, arguing that it was inspired by Latin liturgical books. A masterly review of Passiontide music is undertaken by Robin Leaver, with illuminating discussion of Lutheran and Anglican developments. In the final essay Frank Senn questions the recent fashion of Christians celebrating a Passover Seder as part of Holy Week celebrations. Senn notes that the present Jewish Seder is not the same as the Passover rite celebrated by Jesus and the disciples; we do not know for sure that the Last Supper was a Passover meal; and the Lord's Supper is a foretaste of things to come rather than a historical commemoration. On these grounds, argues Senn, it is entirely inappropriate for Christians to celebrate the Seder. These are strong arguments, but point to the difference between the Eucharist

and the Seder, rather than absolutely ruling out Christians using the Passover Seder. For example, it would certainly be appropriate for Jewish Christians.

With current interest in feasts and fasts, these two volumes are a welcomed addition, and provide a good resource for the present state of scholarly opinion on these two related festivals. But as always in comparing the liturgical traditions of the two religions, parallels and similarities are often just that, and do not necessarily imply dependence or even common origin.

YALE UNIVERSITY,  
NEW HAVEN

BRYAN D. SPINKS

*Encyclopedia of the Vatican and papacy*. Edited by Frank J. Coppa. Pp. viii + 484.  
London: Aldwych Press, 1999. £75. 0 86172 110 1

The editor, who has already produced a *Dictionary of modern Italian history*, explains that this work 'focuses on the historical, political, diplomatic, social, cultural and religious role of the Vatican and the Papacy in the modern world'. Its main strength lies in its coverage of the interplay of events and movements in Europe and the papacy in modern times, the structures of the Vatican establishment and the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on social and ethical issues. A number of established scholars have produced admirable short articles on core subjects such as canon law and the organisation of the Curia and on more esoteric topics such as the Gold Rose (with an intriguing description of the development of the design). There are, however, two problems. It was decided to include an entry on every pope from Peter to John Paul II; these take up a large proportion of the book, and a good many of them are remarkably like the corresponding articles in Kelly's *Oxford dictionary of popes*, to which frequent reference is made, not always accurately. My other concern is over the way subjects have been divided and the lack of 'sign-post' entries and paucity of cross-references. There is inevitably overlap between such articles as 'Germany, Concordat of 1933'; 'Hitler, Adolf, and Catholic Church'; 'Holocaust and the papacy'; 'Nazi Germany and the Vatican'; 'Nazi racialism and the Vatican'; and 'World War II and the papacy'. Not surprisingly, Italy is particularly well served, but the material is scattered, and there is no heading on Italy (or France or Portugal for that matter) either in the main work or in the index. Without guidance, I wonder if readers will find such articles as those on the 'Miguelite War and papacy', 'Ralliement', or 'Vichy France and the Vatican', or look for information about the Law of Guarantees under 'Papal guarantees, the Law of, 1871'. Apart from entries on every pope, antipope and council regarded by Roman Catholics as oecumenical, the criteria for the selection of articles is unclear. There is nearly two pages on the 'Sword and Hat, Blessed', but nothing on the papal tiara, for instance, and among religious orders only the Congregation of the Mission, the Franciscans, and the Society of Jesus have articles, the last with another entry on its abolition in 1773. Something has gone wrong under Anastasius I; it was Clement X (not Clement IX) who canonised Rose of Lima; the Noble and Palatine Guards (described in the present tense under 'Vatican City') were disbanded in 1970; and it seems more likely that Martin I's life was spared

because of the Patriarch Paul II rather than Pyrrhus I. Names that are misspelt include Steigand (for Stigand, p. 15), Jensen (for Jansen) and Parquier Quesnal (for Pasquier Quesnel, three times on p. 229), Vetri (for Velletri), Ursilines (for Ursulines, p. 317), Sixtius (for Sixtus, p. 371), Marone (for Morone, twice on p. 409) and Theodotius (for Theodotus, p. 439). While there are excellent articles on some patristic and modern subjects (including a number of surprising ones), this is not the 'comprehensive sourcebook' that the publisher claims.

OXFORD

E. A. LIVINGSTONE

*Polycarp and John. The Harris fragments and their challenge to the literary traditions.* By Frederick W. Weidmann. (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 12.) Pp. xvi + 190 incl. 8 plates. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. £27.95. 0 268 03851 1

The Harris Collection is a group of Coptic texts discovered in the nineteenth century in Egypt. Among these are four papyrus leaves, now in the British Library, containing fragments of a Sahidic text about Polycarp (FrgPol). Principally, Weidmann's book is a critical edition of these important unpublished fragments. The first two chapters provide a description of the fragments themselves; a transcription of the Sahidic (together with the photographs); a detailed discussion of the ambiguous parts of this transcription; citations of parallels in other literature; and a conservative translation into English together with a list of possible restorations. Throughout Greek, Latin and Coptic is cited in the original, Syriac and Ethiopic in translation. The meticulous detail and clear and honest presentation in these chapters makes the book an outstanding example of what a critical edition should be. This excellence is continued in its middle section which provides a penetrating introduction to the narrative strategy of FrgPol, and a detailed verse by verse commentary. Central to this is the correlation of the presentation of Polycarp in FrgPol with that in the well-known Martyrdom of Polycarp (in Eusebius and elsewhere). Furthermore, because FrgPol links Polycarp very closely to John, the commentary also discusses the connections between it and other traditions about John. Weidmann's observations and handling of previous scholarship is both balanced and insightful. The book closes with a discussion of the connection between John and Polycarp. It is in this area, and to the whole question of the construction of apostolicity, that FrgPol does indeed have a significant contribution to make. For FrgPol portrays Polycarp as the disciple of John, and as undergoing martyrdom 'on behalf of' John (for John should have been martyred, both because of his apostleship and Jesus' words in Mark x. 39, but instead died of old age). Furthermore, FrgPol appears independent of the Martyrdom of Polycarp and of the discussion of Polycarp by Irenaeus, Tertullian and Clement. Thus FrgPol undermines the modern suspicion that the connection between Polycarp and John was invented by Irenaeus. Similarly, through its attempts to have Polycarp's martyrdom count as John's martyrdom, it strengthens the case that John did indeed live to an old age (as much tradition has suggested, but which has also been doubted). In the final six pages, Weidmann suggests that FrgPol

was a Smyrnaean document exalting Polycarp in relation to John as part of Smyrna's traditional rivalry with Ephesus. However, there is no evidence to support this: it appeared to this reviewer to be a rather unconvincing and unnecessary attempt to set *FrgPol* in a particular social context. Aside from this, however, the whole book is a model of careful scholarship. Furthermore, it demonstrates that *FrgPol* is a text of some real importance for our understanding of early Christianity.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JEREMY DUFF

*Reading renunciation. Asceticism and Scripture in early Christianity.* By Elizabeth A. Clark. Pp. xvi + 420. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999. £13.95 (paper). 0 691 00511 7; 0 691 00512 5

Elizabeth Clark has enjoyed for a number of years a prominence among North American patristic scholars that makes the appearance of another substantial book by her an important study. Her extensive work on female asceticism and her major 1992 study, *The Origenist controversy*, also from Princeton University Press, will have prepared us for this further example of her deep reading of a wide range of texts, and of her principled and revealing attachment to literary and sociological methodology.

A brief description of the book's structure will quickly reveal its important strengths and its potential weaknesses. Clark's introduction establishes her credentials in method. Derrida and Foucault figure as largely as one might expect; and, amidst many other shrewd observations, the author emphasises the way in which 'commentary' (and she takes exegesis as commentary in this sense) adds new meaning to the ancient texts at hand, and does so in the interest of contemporary imperatives. The main argument of the book, therefore, is that at least some Fathers of the Church, by their exegetical strategies, brought new meanings into play, which were designed to support an ascetic practice not envisaged by the original writers of Scripture.

There follow two masterly background chapters on 'Asceticism in late ancient Christianity' and 'Reading in the early Christian world', which provide an exhaustive survey of modern literature, and of the questions that have been raised and the solutions that have been suggested in respect of both. Essays on 'Figurative exegesis', 'Exegetical strategies' and 'Models of reading' provide freshly defined categories of exegesis itself, and illustrate – both generally, and then with specific reference to Origen, Jerome and Chrysostom – how varied and selective were the procedures adopted in the cause of creating new meanings. Allegory was by no means the polemicist's only weapon.

Two significant chapters follow, revealingly entitled 'From reproduction to defamilialization' and 'From ritual to *Askēsis*'. There is a clear implication of change over time, and that indeed is what Clark appears to illustrate; but, as I shall suggest more fully, it remains possible that we are dealing just as much with a running contrast between two sets of emphases.

Finally, after a chapter on 'The exegesis of divorce', there is a close reading of the exegesis of 1 Corinthians vii, over seventy pages long, and a further forty

pages on the Fathers' difficulties in reconciling that endeavour with the interpretation of the Pastorals. It would be unfair to regard those closing essays as an appendix, for they continue to illustrate the theme of the book; but the main argument stands without them.

It soon becomes clear that, in spite of the subtitle 'Asceticism and Scripture', the book treats neither exegesis nor asceticism in full. To do so may be a tall order; but to propose a relationship between the two – entirely sensible – demands that one ask whether all patristic exegesis was ascetic in its concern, and whether the asceticism discussed here – predominantly sexual in reference – exhausted the definition of asceticism itself. It is difficult to suppose that only 'modern biblical criticism' makes it possible to discern 'anti-ascetic as well as ascetic strands in the New Testament' (p. 26); and Clark refers more than once to "'orthodox" Christians of a less rigorous stripe', who were presumably less eager 'to bring the seemingly varied biblical messages into a unified vision of Christianity that was ascetic to its core' (p. 60). 'Asceticism has meaning only in relation to other behaviors in a given culture' (p. 15), and there were 'controversies over asceticism itself, even within the "'orthodox" camp' (p. 53). Yet those alternative 'readers' of the Bible play only a minor role in the book's account.

In deciding the character of that 'core' asceticism (as well as in asserting its existence), the author concentrates overwhelmingly on the fourth and fifth centuries, and on the sexual preoccupations of the writers she attends to most. By that time, it was no longer a question of Judaeo-Christians coming to terms with classical themes and methods, but of commentators deeply imbued with classical values (concerning, for example, sex and the body) trying to read back those values into the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures. Origen, the acknowledged fount of much ascetic theory, is rightly portrayed, nevertheless, as ready to look beyond sexual implications, and to use his exegetical strategies precisely in a broader interest. Clark's solution to such divergence of emphasis is to stress that, even where (as, for example, in the case of Chrysostom) a positive value was placed upon marriage, there was an assertion of hierarchy: 'Chrysostom's more tolerant view of marriage is bought entirely at the price of wifely subservience' (p. 162). In ways the importance of which will appear shortly, 'hierarchy' becomes the *de facto* theme of the book. While much of the exegesis referred to continued to denigrate the body and to exalt virginity, it seems that the primary concern of most of the exegetes discussed was to maintain a scale of moral values, with social and institutional consequences. A campaign in favour of hierarchy can thus be made to explain the increasing (that is to say, gradually developing) 'asceticisation' of the Church. Hence the essay 'From ritual to *Askēsis*': it is ritual (*à la* Durkheim and his followers) that underpins hierarchy; and thus, by asceticising ritual (making, for example, the language of external cult the language of inner moral stringency), the Fathers could asceticise hierarchy itself (pp. 213, 231). This interweaving of themes is dextrous and stimulating; but it may disguise the extent to which two processes were afoot, side by side and throughout the early Christian period: a demand that all Christians should accept the burden of radical (and therefore in some sense 'ascetic') commitment; and a demand that some believers should be accepted as both more authoritative and more admirable (again, on the basis of their – now differentiated –

asceticism). 'Asceticism', however, has several meanings in those different contexts.

A more persistent misgiving is provoked by a relative absence of context. Clark quotes with approval Edward Said's assessment of Foucault, to the effect that the Frenchman 'moves the text out from a consideration of "internal" textuality to its way of inhabiting and remaining in an extratextual reality' (p. 8). In later sections of the book, she emphasises the importance of 'praxis' as a measure of discourse, exegetical or otherwise, and acknowledges the shifting weight placed upon interpretation by 'divergent audiences' (p. 260): 'religious and cultural need required that Scripture be placed in relation to a contemporary Christian ascetic practice' (p. 373). Yet it is difficult to decide, simply from a series of 'readings', whether we are dealing with change over time or competition among rivals. One senses that a privileged importance is being accorded to surviving exegesis, which both demonised and silenced its opponents, and which deceives us in relation to both its own motives and its own effects. Christians bred Christians, and enjoyed themselves in a range of disreputable ways. In other words, surely, the bulk of believers paid the bulk of Clark's material very little attention. As a symptom of achieved power, the exegesis of the Fathers, in the ascetic sphere at least, has to be judged an overwhelming failure. Even in the possibly sad cases where it scored, and continues to score, a success (not least among that handful of scholars who preserved it, and among those of our own contemporaries who take it seriously), it failed to guarantee status and admiration. A student of Foucault is a student of power; and any discussion of power must appeal to theories of resistance and deviance, as well as of interpretation. One hears in these pages the crossfire of such battles, but no one ever seems to be shot.

This scholarly, conscientious and provoking study, therefore, describes in valuable detail one tactic adopted in the culture wars of the early Church, but one only. The 'extratextual reality' is less evident; and therefore we never quite discern the social circumstances, the ostensibly desirable praxis, that made the tactic seem necessary and useful. Nor are we told what other tactics were employed, whether by the heroes (or villains) of the story themselves or by those who refused to accept their viewpoint. Finally, where did the tactic achieve its greatest and most direct effect: among wives and husbands, or among virgins and widows? Perhaps the author's chief point is that we cannot really know; and that wry scepticism is, one has to admit, at once endearingly wicked and scrupulously cautious. Clark is never one to ignore a paradox, nor to pass up the chance of making it tease the reader: a hallmark of honest learning and subtle pedagogy.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

PHILIP ROUSSEAU

Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*. Introduction, translation and commentary by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall. (Clarendon Ancient History Series.) Pp. xvii + 395 incl. 1 map and 11 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £55 (cloth), £19.99 (paper). 0 19 814971 4; 0 19 814924 7  
Until this new addition to the *Clarendon Ancient History Series* Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, despite being by far the most important source for the history of the

first Christian emperor, had not been translated into English since 1890. Scholars of Constantine, to say nothing of early Church and late Roman historians in general, thus have good cause to be grateful to Professor Cameron and Professor Hall for closing this overlong gap. Their collaboration on Eusebius, which goes back to their period as colleagues at King's College London, has resulted in what is sure to become an indispensable companion to Constantinian studies. The translation of Eusebius' complex Greek is painstaking and reliable, securely based on the now definitive edition by Winkelmann (1975, rev. 1992), and includes at the beginning the list of chapter headings added by an early editor or copyist of the text. A compact introduction addresses the major issues which have exercised recent scholarship on the *Life*: its sources, content, structure and literary character (the once fashionable question of the work's authenticity, or at least of post-Eusebian interpolation, is effectively dismissed). The commentary is a mine of information and succinctly distilled learning, drawn from an extensive modern bibliography supplemented by the authors' own combined wisdom. Its richness is especially apparent in the notes on those sections of the *Life* which have generated most of the recent attention, such as the celebrated account of Constantine's vision of the cross of light, or the description of excavation and church-building at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, where the authors have succeeded in condensing a mass of modern scholarship in clarifying the (often obscure) details of Eusebius' text.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

E. D. HUNT

*Patristica. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Alten Kirche.* By Friedrich Loofs, edited by Hanns Christof Brennecke and Jörg Ulrich. (*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, 71.) Pp. xix + 456. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999. DM 258. 3 11 015763 2

Friedrich Loofs died in January 1928, at the age of sixty-seven, after having spent thirty-nine years as Professor of Church History in the University of Halle. Now, the editors of *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* have published a series of thirteen of Loofs's most notable patristic articles, together with a bibliography of his writings and a forty-page autobiographical record. The articles have two main themes; first, the development from New Testament times, and thence through theologians in Asia Minor including Irenaeus and Marcellus of Ancyra, of a doctrine of the Trinity based on the real humanity of Christ. Christ filled by the Holy Spirit became 'the temple of the Logos', the creator of a new humanity capable also of receiving the Spirit and hence of salvation. This contrasted with the Alexandrian understanding of Christ as the Logos itself 'made flesh'. The second theme traces the progress of the Homoiousion cause from the Council of Constantinople in 360 to its final suppression for the benefit of the Homoousion (Nicenes) at the Second Ecumenical Council in 381.

Loofs's ideas contrast with those of his distinguished contemporary, Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930). Harnack interpreted the development of early Christian doctrine in terms of its progressive 'Hellenisation' with prevailing Platonic concepts influencing the Greek Apologists as well as the Gnostics, and thence



Origen and the Alexandrian theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries. Loof starts with the manhood of Christ. His first article discusses the theology of the self-emptying of the Logos (Kenosis) in terms of Paul to the Philippians ii. 7–9, and shows that the resulting Man–God theology was accepted as orthodox through the third century and at Nicaea. Further articles describe how the real conflict with the Alexandrians and their allies came to a head at the Council of Serdica in 343, and the controversy over the theology of Marcellus of Ancyra. Loofs's short book on Nestorius (Cambridge 1914) portrays the latter as the final patristic representative of the Man–God Christology.

Two articles describe the ideas and career of Eustathius of Sebaste (Armenia). While their author does not spare his readers from a plethora of detailed argument based on original texts, his conclusions are straightforward. Eustathius remained true to the Homoiousion creed, but had it not been for the obloquy heaped upon him by Basil of Caesarea his erstwhile friend and until he became a bishop in 370, fellow adherent, he would have gone down in history as one of the great saints of the monastic movement. The Homoiousion is kept in view in articles on the Macedonian dissenters in the 360s and 370s with their acceptance of the creed of Lucian of Antioch, martyred in 312, as one of its early statements.

In general, these are detailed and concentrated articles by a distinguished academic who kept to his role as a scholar without, unlike von Harnack, appearing to seek a public role. His autobiographical account reveals little of his personal and family life and his long period at Halle seems to have been relatively free from controversies. This could have led to staleness, but this did not happen. Loofs's published work shows him, together with von Harnack and Duchesne, as a formative influence in the study of early Church history at the beginning of the twentieth century. A firm Lutheran, he attempted always to balance theology with history in his approach to a given patristic theme. The publishers of Loofs's *Patristica* are to be commended for recalling to the present generation the contribution of a scholar to whom the understanding of early Christian history and doctrine owes so much.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FREND

*Origeniana septima. Origenes in den Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts.* Edited by W. A. Bienert and U. Kühneweg. (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium, 137.) Pp. xxv+855. Louvain: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1999. B. Fr. 3,800 (paper). 90 6186 915 3; 90 429 0680 4; 2 87723 398 7

This volume contains papers delivered at the Seventh International Origen Colloquium held at Hofgeismar and Marburg in August 1997, which focused on Origen's role in the controversies of the fourth century. The articles are grouped into seven chapters: Origen, philosophy and theology; Arianism and Origenism; the Origenist controversies of the fourth century; the Origenist tradition in monasticism; the reception of Origen in the east; the reception of Origen in the west; the reception of Origen in later history. As this outline indicates, the scope

of the book is far wider than its title suggests. It reaches from Origen's own thought to some of its remotest and most unlikely recipients, like SS Ignatius of Loyola and John of the Cross. The – often hidden – influence of Origen's thought on later periods is tremendous. As, for example, Gerald Bostock shows in his piece on 'The influence of Origen on Pelagius and western monasticism', it is the 'vast underground reservoir, not yet fully explored and appreciated' (p. 396), of what is frequently seen as the 'Pelagianism' of early medieval western (i.e. Irish and British) monasticism. Yet Origen's thought always roused controversy, too. It was suspected of leading to heresy. Rowan Williams in his article on 'Origen between orthodoxy and heresy' explains why that may be the case: for Origen orthodoxy did not consist in church authorities agreeing on formulae and enforcing them, it was the end of a spiritual and intellectual search. To demand such luxury for every believer was always looked upon as subversive by the authorities. The only place within orthodoxy where it could be provided was the monastery. Naturally it was in monastic circles where Origenism was mostly popular. Not every article in this volume is entirely innovative, but most are valuable contributions to an on-going discourse. Two reports on the state of research in the field (one exclusively on Italy) are of particular value, as are two indices, one of classical and patristic references and one of modern authors, which enable the reader to make comprehensive use of this collection and its vast range of material.

KING'S COLLEGE,  
LONDON

JOSEF LÖSSL

*Origenes als Exeget.* By Hermann Josef Vogt, edited by Wilhelm Geerlings. Pp. 339. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999. DM 88 (paper). 3 506 79599 0

For the last twenty-eight years, from 1971 to 1999, Professor Vogt has held the Chair of Patrology and Early Church History in the Catholic theology faculty at Tübingen. The title of the present work reveals his, and its, basic interest. Vogt is one of the leading experts on Origen in Germany and, being a Catholic, his primary aim is not to explore, as others have done before him, the extent to which Origen has distorted the message of the Gospel in his efforts to accommodate it to Hellenistic philosophy for the benefit of a sophisticated audience. The book before us contains seventeen largely unconnected pieces. The first, on Origen's life and works, is largely a useful account of the most recent work produced on Origen, divided conveniently into four sections, 'Life,' 'Works', 'Content' and disagreements both ancient and modern which continue to cluster round the name of Origen. The next four pieces are entirely concerned with Origen's lateish commentary on Matthew. It is in these pieces that we find Vogt protesting against the tendency to see in Origen a thinly veiled esoteric philosophy (p. 41). It is here too that we find the startling claim that Matthew was Origen's favourite gospel, and not, as popular prejudice holds, John. Origen's Commentary on the fourth Gospel was largely composed in order to deal with the Gnostic commentary of Heracleon. Not so that of Matthew. Without trying to undervalue the

intellectual content and method of Origen's exegetical practice, Vogt warns the reader of the opposite danger, that of stressing the mental side of Origen too much and failing to give adequate attention to the part to be played by prayer in understanding the message of the gospel (p. 53). Finally there is an illuminating discussion (pp. 207–23) of Origen's Christology and his use in that connexion of 1 Cor vi.17, which he explores in the *De principiis*, the *Commentary on John*, the *Contra Celsum* and, inevitably, the *Commentary on Matthew*. He suggests that Origen used this text in order to avoid the crude proto-Monophysitism implicit in the language of *σύγχυσις*, which he in common with Gregory of Nyssa and the Council of Chalcedon rejects. The book concludes with a useful and full *Forschungsberichte* (pp. 301–30).

LONDON

A. MEREDITH

*The limits of ancient Christianity. Essays on late antique thought and culture in honor of R. A. Markus.* Edited by William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey. (Recentiores. Later Latin Texts and Contexts.) Pp. xxv + 348 incl. frontispiece. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999. £40 (\$54.50).  
0 472 10997 9

This collection of sixteen essays in honour of R. A. Markus sets out to explore cultural and intellectual themes drawn from the honorand's own profound analysis of the use of history in the construction of distinctive Christian identities. It reflects current North American work in the field of late antique studies (Gerald Bonner and Conrad Leyser write from an English setting). The joint editors, William Klingshirn and Mark Vessey, have divided the essays into four sections, each with a brief introduction, to reflect the principal contours of Markus' own work. 'Sacred histories' contains three essays, which examine the way in which Lactantius, Augustine and Cyril of Alexandria shape their various inherited narratives, Jewish, Greek and Roman, into a coherent Christian world view. 'Constructing orthodoxies' examines the efforts of the Church in the fourth century to set limits of true belief and authentic church order, from the Syria of Ephraim to Augustine's own fateful concessions to coercion against the Donatists. 'Ascetic identities' sets out to consider the experimental and multifarious employment of the ascetic inheritance by late antique Christians anxious about the decay of primitive rigour; the topics discussed are the veiling of virgins, the exegesis of divorce in the Latin Fathers, the role of the classics in a Christian society, and the self-promotion of Lerinian monasticism as an episcopal career structure for Gallo-Roman aristocrats. 'From Augustine to Bede' takes up Markus' engagement with the end of late antiquity, and current interest in Gregory the Great and the rise of Christendom in its mediaeval western form. Ambrose and Augustine are contrasted in their treatment of death, and Gregory the Great is seen as transforming the character of the Christian martyr by his emphasis on charity as the motivation of the Christian life. The essays show a more disparate range of interests and approaches than this orderly structure might suggest. Thus Paul Meyvaert's erudite and precise dating of Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings to Nothelm* is included in the same section as James O'Donnell's (somewhat sour) piece on Peter Brown's *Augustine*, which asserts that

electronic texts and post-modern critiques of narrative have rendered any further biography redundant. Brown himself concludes the collection with an essay ‘Gloriosus obitus’, which is both a warm tribute to the work of Markus, and also an illuminating exposition of the end of the ancient other world. The collection includes a *curriculum vitae* and full bibliography of Markus’ work, and a photograph of the honorand as a frontispiece.

SEVENOAKS

ROBIN WARD

*Canonical collections of the early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140). A bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature.* By Lotte Kéry. (History of Medieval Canon Law, 1.) Pp. xxxv + 311. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999. \$54.95. 0 8132 0918 8

The study of collections containing the norms of ecclesiastical government since the nineteenth century has been dominated by a few commanding authorities, Friedrich Maassen for the period until Pseudo-Isidore in the mid-ninth century, Paul Fournier for the period from then until Gratian, Stephan Kuttner for Gratian’s successors. As the relevance of the material to an ever-widening field of enquiries has become more widely understood, there has been a new readiness to consult the texts, but also an increasing recognition of the jungle of manuscripts and secondary studies in which it is to be hunted down. The new *Handbook* under the general editorship of Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington will fill a crying need. In the interim Dr Kéry has produced this invaluable bibliographical guide, listing all the substantial collections before Gratian known to modern scholarship with an indication of the history of their publication (largely lamentable), and of the widely scattered studies in which the essential material for their understanding is to be found. The material excluded is absent for good reason – secular collections with only tangential reference to the Church, Roman law collections, penitentials and bishops’ capitularies, all of which have their own literature and are largely described elsewhere. This is an admirable enterprise, as valuable to the addicts who can now discard file upon file of dog-eared notes, or their tattered and interleaved copies of the classics, as to the newcomer. There are some cautions for the user, applicable only to those unfamiliar with the field. Such a collection depends for its construction on a distinction between genres, canonical sources proper and others, which only becomes convincing towards the end of the period. For the Carolingian compiler of the *Dacheriana*, or Regino of Prüm a little later, canon law collections and penitentials could not be distinguished either by purpose or source. The host of scholars and controversialists forced into reflection by the torments of conscience aroused by church reform from the mid-eleventh century turned from the theological texts of the schools to the law, and back again, without any sense of crossing a boundary – Abelard’s *Sic et non* is wholly representative of this mindset, if legitimately excluded here. Similarly, the relentless progress of publication makes even so copious a work obsolescent even as it is prepared for the press. To take only two examples, the new edition of the so-called *Excerptiones Ecgberti* and Dr Fowler Magerl’s studies on the relation between the Collection in Four Books and the Collection in 74 Titles appeared after Dr Kéry’s work was in the press,

and both will compel major reassessment of the date, textual transmission and significance of those controversial texts. The next generation will have to interleave and annotate its Kéry as their predecessors did their Maassen and Fournier. It is a high commendation that the new catalogue, consciously limited in purpose as it is, can be set beside the work of such masters.

ROBINSON COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

MARTIN BRETT

*Living letters of the law. Ideas of the Jew in medieval Christianity.* By Jeremy Cohen. (The Mark S. Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.) Pp. x + 451. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. \$60 (cloth), \$24.95 (paper).

o 520 21680 6; o 520 21870 1

*Images of intolerance. The representation of Jews and Judaism in the bible moralisée.* By Sara Lipton (The Mark S. Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.) Pp. xvi + 241 incl. 107 ill. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. \$60. o 520 21551 6

These two books have one theme, the hermeneutic Jew, the construction of the Jew in accordance with the needs of medieval Christian theology. Cohen investigates the development of this doctrinally crafted Jew from Augustine of Hippo to Thomas Aquinas, exploring the stages by which the Jew as witness was transformed by the thirteenth century into the Jew as heretic. For Augustine the correspondence between the old and the new covenants, the former hidden in the latter, the latter revealed in the former, was fundamental. The value of a Jewish presence in the Christian world was their continued observance of the old law. The Jew should survive as testimony to the antiquity of the Christian promise; 'Slay them not lest at any time they forget your law, scatter them in your might' (Psalm lix. 12). Their enslavement and dispersal confirmed their displacement by the Church. For Cohen it is the twelfth century, with its identification of the allies and foes of the ideal Christian *res publica*, which proved critical in the development of the Christian idea of the Jew and was to lead to their reclassification with such other enemies of the Church as heretics and Saracens. Yet contemporary rabbinic Judaism was not yet post-biblical heresy. With the thirteenth century there were radical changes in Christian attitudes towards both Talmud and rabbinic Judaism. For the papal legate Odo of Chateauroux in 1244 the Talmud 'turned the Jews away not only from a spiritual but even a literal understanding of the old law' but the trial, condemnation and burning of the Talmud in Paris two years earlier had already proclaimed that rabbinic Judaism was not biblical Judaism. Thus were the theological arguments for Jewish survival in the Christian world demolished.

Lipton examines the image of the hermeneutic Jew as presented in the pictures and words of the two earlier and most luxurious moralised Bibles: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 1179 and 2554. On each page four biblical texts and four commentaries were placed either side of eight richly illustrated pictures in medallions. Extraordinarily expensive to produce, they have been described as 'la plus vaste entreprise du Moyen Age en fait de miniature'. By presenting a vivid critique of early thirteenth-century society, of

heretics and Jews, wicked kings and venal prelates, even students of law, their aim was to promote reform. While there was as yet no clearly defined image of the heretic there were many available images of the Jew: from the past as the torturers and crucifiers of Christ; and the present with the pointed hat (*pileum cornutum*), money bags and as associates of the devil. New images were invented – the raven and the frog. Thus were the Jews linked to the forces held to be threatening contemporary society; not merely heresy, idolatry and usury but dangerous philosophy and secular knowledge. Here these two important books come together.

HEREFORDSHIRE

JOE HILLABY

*Rochester cathedral, 604–1540. An architectural history.* By Philip McAleer. Pp. xxiv + 314 + 108 plates. Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 1999. £48. 0 8020 4222 8

This is a clearly set out investigation of the fabric of the cathedral. At its core lie monographs on the three churches on the site, Saxon, Romanesque and Gothic. The author proposes five major reinterpretations. First, that the Saxon church excavated under the west end was not the cathedral, because it would have been too small and because there is no sign of the porticus mentioned by Bede. McAleer's caution is justified, but, concerning the size, the nave is in fact wider than that of the standing building, while the porticus could have been attached to the western, less well excavated, part of the nave. The author's best argument is the presence of burials, near the chord of the apse, of people without ecclesiastical rank. Second, that the free-standing tower is earlier than Gundulf's church of after 1077, because of its uncomfortable relationship with the latter and its lack of decorative features, while its first-floor entrance indicates that it was intended for defence rather than bells. Third, that Gundulf's crypt did not end in a rectangular form with a rectangular chapel, both because the foundations excavated in the nineteenth century were probably of later work and because all other rectangular east ends in Norman England can be dated to the twelfth century. Against this, the excavated foundations are by no means definitely dated after the eleventh century, and there are Anglo-Saxon buildings of this type as well as eleventh-century examples in the Low Countries. McAleer's best point is the absence of Romanesque abaci on the east faces of the east piers, suggesting that there were no more bays than the two which survive. Fourth, that the second Romanesque nave is unlikely to be the work of Bishop Ernulf (1114–24), and is better dated after the fire of 1137. This is argued on stylistic grounds, but without entirely satisfactorily discounting the relevance of the early twelfth-century piers of Castle Acre Priory. Finally, that the Early Gothic rebuilding of the east end, usually dated between *c.* 1200 and 1280, is more likely to date from shortly after a fire of 1179 and to have been completed by *c.* 1240. The case is convincing and has the advantage of a documented *terminus post quem*. There are two technical problems: fig. 2, the plan with the phases, is too small for the different patterns of hatching to be easily distinguished; and, not so much a problem as an eccentricity, the metric lengths are given to four decimal places, that is, to the nearest tenth of a millimetre. The author ends with a note of what in particular

remains at issue, the areas most in need of excavation, and a list of problems of interpretation: an invitation to continue his work on the building.

COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART

E. C. FERNIE

*Die Patriarchen der ikonoklastischen Zeit – Germanos I. – Methodios I. (715–847)*. Edited by R.-J. Lillie. (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien, 5). Pp. xxxviii + 302. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1999. £33. 3 631 35183 6; 0945 3598

This book takes up after a gap of twenty-seven years the history of the patriarchs of Constantinople, but under new auspices. It is now the work of the Berlin team responsible for *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit (641–867)*, the first volume of which has just appeared (Aaron–Georgios). One of the problems with blanket prosopographies of this kind is the length of individual biographies. Some are inevitably not as long as they might be and give too little space to examination of the sources, while others are there just for the sake of inclusiveness. The Berlin team has hit upon a happy solution – select groups for extended biographies. Patriarchs constitute an obvious category. The approach adopted is rigorously prosopographical. The intention is to establish facts. It is surprising how difficult this is. It becomes clear that almost nothing for certain can be known about Germanos I (715–30); still less about the first iconoclast patriarchs. Not until we reach the first restoration of images in 787 do the sources become that much richer. Most of the volume is taken up by detailed biographies of Tarasius (784–806), Nicephorus I (806–15), John Grammatikos (837–43) and finally Methodius I (843–7). Of these only John Grammatikos was an Iconoclast. He was a convenient hate figure for the triumphant Iconoclasts. This work is a skilfully executed exercise in *Quellenkritik*. This does not mean that it does not provide any new insights into the Iconoclast controversy. Patriarchs might be sacrificed to changes in religious policy initiated by emperors. This is what happened to Germanos I, Nicephorus I and John Grammatikos, but it made little difference to the episcopal bench. At this level, there was almost complete continuity through the iconoclast century. But the disturbed condition of the Byzantine Church at this time is suggested by recruitment to the patriarchal throne. Two – Germanos I and the Iconoclast Antony I (821–37) – were former bishops. Such a promotion was strictly uncanonical. Three – Tarasius, Nicephorus I and the Iconoclast Theodotos I – were recruited from the laity. This was not uncanonical, but had previously been extremely rare. What this all meant is another thing. The purpose of this volume is not to speculate, but to provide a sound basis in fact for a new look at Iconoclasm. A companion volume on abbots of the Iconoclast period would be interesting.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

MICHAEL ANGOLD

*The medieval state. Essays presented to James Campbell*. Edited by J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser. Pp. xlii + 262 incl. 6 ills. London–Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 2000, £35. 1 85285 195 3

James Campbell is here justly described as ‘the most consistently creative influence on the writing of Anglo-Saxon history today’ and these essays are a

tribute to him by students and friends on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. The subject, 'The medieval state', is an entirely appropriate choice, since James Campbell's most well-known or notorious argument is that the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom attained a level of power and sophistication that few previous historians could credit. He has also stressed that this power depended upon relatively wide participation and consultation. This theme is taken up by two of the contributors, John Hudson, in a careful study of 'Henry I and counsel', and D. M. Palliser on towns and the state ('sensible monarchs collaborated with the capital's mayor and aldermen'). After three affectionate appreciations of James Campbell as historian, tutor and colleague, there are fourteen diverse articles, mostly on English or British subjects. Of particular interest to readers of this JOURNAL might be Alan Thacker's wide-ranging discussion of saints as patrons of kingdoms and peoples in the early Middle Ages, Mark Philpott's thoughtful analysis of Eadmer's hagiographical writings and Michael Jones's study of the politics surrounding the attempted canonisation of Charles of Blois, duke of Brittany. James Campbell's historiographical interests are acknowledged by a small gem, Richard Fletcher's deft characterisation of the *Historia Silense*. Other pieces treat the economic resources, taxing powers and documentary practices of various medieval states. A fine collection for a fine scholar.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

ROBERT BARTLETT

*Il 'Liber sanctae crucis' di Rabano Mauro. Testo – immagine – contesto.* By Michele Camillo Ferrari. (Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, 30.) Pp. xix + 519 incl. 14 figs + 5 colour plates. Bern: Peter Lang, 1999. DM 131. 3 906762 17 3; 0170 9089

Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), Alcuin's favourite pupil, became abbot of Fulda in 822 and archbishop of Mainz in 847. A champion of orthodoxy and a relentless foe of Gottschalk's heresies, Hrabanus is best known to medievalists as a compiler of several didactic treatises, such as *De institutione clericorum* or *De rerum naturis*, and as a prolific composer of biblical exegesis. Like many of his contemporary intellectuals, Hrabanus also wrote some poems. Yet he has traditionally been seen as one of the dullest Carolingian poets, his poems simply pastiches of his master's verse, his work static and passionless. However, modern scholarship is increasingly revealing how profoundly sophisticated and influential were Hrabanus' poetic works.

In this book, a revised version of his *Habilitationschrift*, Michele Camillo Ferrari concentrates on a collection of twenty-eight acrostics, composed by Hrabanus in about 814 under the title *De laudibus sanctae crucis*. This collection provides the earliest examples of Hrabanus' poetry, and is transmitted by numerous manuscripts from the Middle Ages. Later in life, Hrabanus presented Louis the Pious with a copy, to which he even prepared a pictorial dedication in the form of an intricate *carmen figuratum*, in which Louis is represented in military costume as a true *miles Christi*. The various ideas introduced in the poems are also clarified in a lengthy prose commentary copied on the facing page, and in a separate set of prose commentaries, appended to the collection as book II. By a careful and thorough examination of the twenty-eight poems, the appended



commentaries, the models used by Hrabanus, the decorations and the manuscript transmission, Ferrari demonstrates the ingenuity and allegorical subtlety of Hrabanus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis*. This, of course, is not a new idea, but Ferrari presents the argument very nicely and very convincingly indeed.

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA,  
ISRAEL

YITZHAK HEN

*Burial in medieval Ireland 900–1500. A review of the written sources.* By Susan Leigh Fry.

Pp 224. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999. 1 85182 309 3

This treatment of an important but neglected subject is very welcome. The author insists it is not an exhaustive study: she reviews the sources rather than explores them thoroughly, and offers 'some preliminary observations'. She does, however, cover a lot of ground and addresses many interesting questions. First there is a detailed discussion of the written sources and the information they can and cannot give about burial. The need for interdisciplinary study is rightly emphasised. The chapter on 'The medieval Irish cemetery' draws on British and French sources as well as Irish material. One thought-provoking point is the persistence of burial in the fields and in non-Christian graveyards until the late Middle Ages. Next comes the evidence for the many uses of graveyards, and for charnel houses, mortuary houses and attitudes to cemeteries and skeletal remains. Much interesting information is reviewed about the rituals surrounding burials, like wakes, games, processions and feasting, as well as arrangements for burials, transport of corpses and the transfer and stealing of bodies and relics. 'Burial artifacts' looks at the evidence for shrouds, coffins, tombs and gravemarkers, and ch. v considers social stratification, including the whereabouts of burials and the importance of burial with a kin-group. Conclusions are summarised in a short final chapter. Although the evidence is limited, it does not suggest that Ireland differed significantly from the rest of western Europe in its burial practices. Changes within the period are detected, including erosion of the power of old territorial churches, linked to political and social developments, especially the rise of merchant classes in the late Middle Ages. I suspect that if the study is taken further, some evidence for regional variations may emerge, for example between towns and areas of dispersed settlement. This book has the strengths and weaknesses of its origins as a thesis. There is a very impressive list of 'Primary Sources' consulted (pp 198–205), and many examples are cited to support the points made. On the other hand the author is sometimes uncertain geographically (Kilmore on p. 69 is in Armagh, not Cavan, for example). There are signs that sources have not always been used with sufficient care, as in identifying Columba on p. 122 with Iona, when he is Columba of Terryglass, and misrepresenting my own published views on p. 176. Too much faith is sometimes placed in late, unreliable sources, such as for the finding of the body of St Patrick's (totally fictitious) 'sister', Lupita, in Armagh in the eighteenth century (pp. 142–3). Despite these reservations, however, I see the book as a valuable exploration of a neglected subject. If it is used with care, it will help others to pursue the area further, preferably on the interdisciplinary basis which is clearly needed.

BELFAST

ANN HAMLIN

*The Golden Minster. The Anglo-Saxon minster and later medieval priory of St Oswald at Gloucester.* By Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant. (CBA Research Report, 117.) Pp. xiv + 267 incl. 202 figs and 38 tables. York: Council for British Archaeology, 1999. £32. 1 872414 94X

This is a very full report on excavations carried out between 1975 and 1983, first as 'rescue' excavations and then as research. Unlike many excavation reports, this volume also contains, at the beginning, a full discussion by Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant of all the documentary and historical evidence, as well as the topographical and archaeological evidence. It is also very well illustrated with carefully drawn plans and a series of ten axonometric drawings that summarise what is now known about the architectural history of the church of St Oswald from the mid-tenth century to the mid-sixteenth. St Oswald's was founded as a minster a year or so after the death of Alfred the Great by his daughter, Aethelflaed, and her husband, Aetheldred ealdorman of Mercia, and the plan of the original church was almost entirely recovered in the excavation. As well as this, an extremely careful 'stone-by-stone' study of the ruined north wall of the church was able to show that it contained large areas of original walling, pierced by an early eleventh-century arch into the north porticus. The recording and analysis of all the standing archaeology by Richard Bryant is a first-rate piece of work, and includes an analysis of all the masonry surviving from the later periods as well. After the Norman conquest, St Oswald's became an Augustinian priory, and then a parish church which was demolished in the seventeenth century.

The volume also contains a full discussion of all the finds, including pottery, stained glass and some interesting medieval floor tiles, but it is the extraordinary collection of sculpture and architectural fragments that make the report of national importance. It comprises reused Roman fragments from altars and a Corinthian temple, and some fine twelfth-century architectural fragments, but pride of place must go to the collection of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. Included are fragments of free-standing crosses that pre-date the first church, grave-covers that were reused in the late Anglo-Saxon church, and a series of architectural fragments reused in the later church.

In the late Anglo-Saxon period, when the church was perhaps called the 'Golden Minister', it contained the relics of St Oswald of Northumbria; the tenth century was clearly his golden age when the adjacent Roman town was refounded as a *burh*. There is also a full discussion of all the burials (over 600 were recorded), including the pathology of the skeletons, and an interesting account of the coffin furniture from eighty Roman, Anglo-Saxon and medieval graves. Post-Reformation coffins, gravestones and epitaphs are also considered.

WILTSHIRE

TIM TATTON-BROWN

*Ademari Cabannensis. Chronicon.* Edited by P. Bourgain with the help of R. Landes and G. Pon. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievals, 129.), Pp. cxvi + 393. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. B.Fr. 7,280 (paper). 2 503 04291 0; 2 503 04292 9; 2 503 03000 9

The publication of a new edition of the *Chronicon* of Adémar de Chabannes can

only be welcomed, especially as it is projected as the first of a series of five of six volumes of all the works of this prolific writer. The edition of the *Chronicon* by J. Chavanon in *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire* (Paris 1897) is now so venerable that it has become a rare book. Moreover, it had many weaknesses, and of recent years a much better understanding of Adémar's writings has been reached, not least as a result of the works of these three editors, and this needed to be incorporated into a new edition. Adémar's project evolved, and the fact that we have no less than three drafts, with a quantity of autograph material, is of enormous value because it provides a unique insight into the mind and methods of the author. The sequence of these is very well set out here, the complexities of the manuscript relationships admirably clarified and the related question of sources carefully explored. The presentation of the text clearly presented very thorny problems, and the solution seems reasonably elegant.  $\alpha$  is the conclusion of Adémar's first recension and is, in part, an autograph: R. Landes describes it in an annexe to the introduction, and his text is printed separately. The main text here is an integration of the texts of  $\beta$  and  $\chi$  by P. Bourgain, with disagreements and suspect passages highlighted in bold and italic bold with reference to the *apparatus criticus*.  $\beta$  is the most widely diffused version, and was adopted by Chavanon, though there is no autograph amongst its manuscripts.  $\chi$  is the last and most extensive recension and for this there are autograph fragments: Chavanon discounted it as the work of later editors. The editors' approach conceals nothing from the reader and for the first time presents us with the full text of  $\chi$ . This full and carefully laid out set of texts is a great boon to the scholarly world because it enormously enhances our understanding of this very important chronicle and its author. The critical notes, for which Pon apparently bears the main responsibility, are very full, as is the index. However, the entire introduction is, in accordance with *CCCM* practice, narrowly textual. To see the *Chronicon* in its full context it is necessary to consult other works, notably Landes's *Relics, apocalypse and the deceits of history* (Cambridge, Mass. 1995). It is to be hoped that now that we have a good text of Adémar's work, an English translation (there is already a French translation) will become available so that this important chronicle can become known to a wider public.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES SWANSEA

JOHN FRANCE

*Westminster Abbey and its people, c. 1050–c. 1216*. By Emma Mason. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 9.) Pp. xii + 395. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996. £60. 0 85115 396 8; 0955 2480

The last 30 per cent of this book comprises studies by the author originally published in a variety of journals between 1987 and 1991. Although these have been reset, thus maintaining aesthetic continuity, no attempt has been made to update the footnotes. Inevitably this has had some unfortunate consequences which may irritate users of this work: thus in appendix III (first published in 1987) Rosser's work on Westminster (Oxford 1989) is, understandably enough, referred to as a PhD thesis and an early article (unlisted in the main bibliography); similarly in appendix IV (first published in 1991) references to episcopal *acta* are

made almost exclusively to the author's London Record Society volume of *Westminster Abbey charters*, rather than to the relevant *EEA* volumes (some of which had appeared as early as 1986). The index may also have suffered in this. I can find no reference to Richard of Ilchester as bishop of Winchester after p. 262 although he is most certainly discussed on p. 314 and, at some length, on p. 341. Conversely references to Osbert of Clare in appendices I–II are indexed. This is regrettable, because the main portion of the work is a well-researched study of the monastic community from the time the Confessor adopted it as his burial church to the end of the reign of John. As Barbara Harvey's more economically-oriented seminal study of the abbey's estates has already made us aware, this was a time when the abbey grew substantially in power and influence. There are interesting accounts of the eleventh- and twelfth-century abbots, in particular Gilbert Crispin, the much-maligned Gervase of Blois, illegitimate son of King Stephen, and Lawrence, as well as the lower officials of the abbey, the scribes, and the rest. Dr Mason then moves on to give us the benefit of her insights into Westminster's place in the wider monastic world as a whole, as well as an all-too-brief analysis of the various saints' cults prevalent in the twelfth-century abbey.

HUGHES HALL,  
CAMBRIDGE

M. J. FRANKLIN

*Henry IV of Germany, 1056–1106.* By I. S. Robinson. Pp. ix + 408 incl. 1 map.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £45. 0 521 65113 1

Henry IV is a figure of central significance to the history of the medieval west in the eleventh century, supremely because of his prolonged combat with the reforming papacy. A full-length biography of him in English is thus greatly to be welcomed, and there is much in this volume to welcome: it is richly detailed and based on extensive reading. None the less an opportunity has been lost here to make Henry IV and his world fully comprehensible to a general or to an undergraduate audience of anglophones (the ones most in need of a biography of Henry IV in English), which is a pity. The work is strictly narrative, apart from a very brief overview of some underlying features of the reign provided in the conclusion, and the narrative mostly operates within the short term, with immediate causes being emphasised at the expense of longer-term trends. Many details about persons and motives are amassed and digested, based on a thorough knowledge of the primary sources and of the secondary literature of the last 120 years. The effect is that of reading a very carefully updated and Englished version of Meyer von Knonau's *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* For the reader who wants to know exactly what Henry was doing in a given month of a given year, and what his contemporaries thought about it, this is the book to turn to. The author's handling of the secondary literature is extremely reserved, not to say distant. Although a wide range of works is consulted they are almost never brought into the foreground of discussion, but only referred to in footnotes, with the minimum of comment. The book would indeed benefit from having a chapter discussing how the whole topic of Henry IV's reign has been treated by German historians over the period from the

mid-nineteenth century to the present, not least to explain to people unused to the topic the extent to which the historical handling of the subject has been influenced by the political trends of the past 150 years, for example Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. The main weakness of the book is the lack of detailed discussion of the underlying social trends of the eleventh century, recently re-evaluated in the literature published in conjunction with the exhibition *Das Reich der Salier* at Speyer in 1992. Only in the conclusion is there any discussion of *ministerials* (and then only briefly); castle-building and changes in urban society are ignored, as also is the use of the written word. Yet all these aspects are vital to an understanding of the problems Henry IV faced and the means which he adopted to deal with them. The framework which ceremonial and ritual provided for Henry IV's rule is given some attention, but only sporadically, when certain aspects are highlighted to provide an explanation for some event. As a result much of the potential usefulness of this work, even to a scholarly audience, but much more to a general one, is lost.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

JULIA BARROW

*Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*. Edited by Alfred Haverkamp. (Vorträge und Forschungen, 47.) Pp. xx + 371. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1999. DM 89.3 7995 6647 3

In his thoughtful study *Perceptions of Jewish history* (Berkeley–Oxford 1993), the late Amos Funkenstein asked, 'How deeply is Christianity implicated in the formation of the preconditions for the genocide of the Jews? Is Christianity at all capable of changing its anti-Judaic attitudes without risking its very foundations?' (p. 312). It is the first of these questions that the authors of the essays in this collection seek to address for the period of the crusade. The collection is the fruit of a symposium at Reichenau held from 26 to 29 March 1996 under the direction of Alfred Haverkamp. The essays are by Bianca Kühnel, Jeremy Cohen, Eva Haverkamp, Avraham Grossman, Israel Yuval, Friedrich Lotter, Rudolf Hiestand, Elchanan Reiner, Robert Stacey, Michael Toch, Gerd Mentgen and Alexander Patschovsky, some of the most prominent scholars working on Jewish–Christian relations in this period. These pieces examine many aspects of the troubled relationship in the period between the eleventh and fourteenth century, especially the horror of the crusader attacks on the Jews, particularly in the Rhineland, and present many new insights drawn from both Latin and Hebrew sources, the latter being particularly valuable because not so familiar or readily available. Most of these scholars are very eminent and have written extensively on the subject of anti-Judaism. What they present in the essays is, thus, often an extension of earlier work. Two of the authors, however, are not so well-known and thus their articles merit special attention. Eva Haverkamp is drawing on the research for her 1999 dissertation for her richly detailed piece on the persecution in Trier during the First Crusade. The other essay that deserves special notice is also based on a recent dissertation, completed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1988. In this excellent article, Elchanan Reiner considers Jewish and Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, especially in the twelfth century and the problems arising from Christian visits to sites sacred

to Judaism. Yet if all the authors of the powerful essays in this collection are addressing in some fashion Funkenstein's first question for this period of history, it is the reader who in response to this deeply disturbing material has to answer the second question by acknowledging that Christianity must change its anti-Judaic attitudes if it is to be true to the teachings of the One who established its foundations.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

DANIEL F. CALLAHAN

*Papacy and law in the Gregorian revolution. The canonistic work of Anselm of Lucca.* By Kathleen G. Cushing. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xi + 246. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. £40. 0 19 820724 7

The interplay of canon law and of measures characterising the ecclesiastical reform of the eleventh century is a well-known fact. Few individuals at the time were more influential than Bishop Anselm of Lucca (1073–86), the contemporary and collaborator of Pope Gregory VII whose policies he strongly supported. By way of Gratian's *Decretum* not a few of the texts of his canonical collection gained widespread legal validity. No wonder, then, that Cushing's study was much anticipated, for despite the somewhat misleading title the study focuses clearly on the writings of Anselm of Lucca including the canonical collection as well as sermons and the *Liber contra Wibertum*. 'Our principal aim is to explore what can be known of Anselm's attitude towards his sources, and whether an agenda was being set' (p. 86). Cushing succeeds very well indeed and concludes from the perspective of Anselm's work that 'canon law did not so much perhaps introduce a new mode of thinking as create a new force by which that thinking could be spread' (p. 143). The chief contribution of Cushing's book is the patient analysis of the features that distinguish Anselm's use of the Ps. Isidorian Decretals from that found in earlier collections, in particular in the Collection in 74 Titles. Following a general introduction to eleventh-century church reform (pt I, pp. 1–39) she discusses the meagre evidence for Anselm's biography and Anselm's works. Four appendices (Ia–Id) present a selection of texts supporting her conclusion (pp. 147–78) that Anselm worked 'creatively' with Ps. Isidorian texts transforming episcopal guarantees into 'universal and all-encompassing stipulations of apostolic powers' (p. 75). A separate appendix II (pp. 179–200) offers an abridged 'edition' of books XII and XIII of Anselm's *Collectio canonum* (rubric, inscription, incipit and explicit as well as identification are given), to some extent filling the gap left by F. Thaner's 1915 edition. As base manuscript, Cushing uses ms BAV lat. 1363. This feature of the book is very welcome even though the transcription is not always entirely accurate.<sup>1</sup> Cushing emphasises modestly that many questions remain open. This is true but I want to stress that the study is a very successful interpretation of Anselm's attitudes towards the Gregorian reform, appropriately highlighting Anselm's agreements and disagreements with the principles of Pope Gregory VII.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

UTA-RENAE BLUMENTHAL

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript reads in 12.2: ...violandam; 12.9: ...plene; 12.22: ...Karalitano; 12.37: ...in secula seculorum; 12.41: ...fit; 12.45: ...nullum; 12.56: ...terram; 12.60: ...ac ad; 12.61: ...secundam...devita; 13.20: ...deseruit.

*The charters of King David I. The written acts of David I king of Scots, 1124–53 and of his son Henry earl of Northumberland, 1139–52.* Edited by G. W. S. Barrow. Pp. xiii + 186 + 20 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999. £75. 0 85115 731 9

Professor Barrow has done more than any living scholar to integrate the history of medieval Scotland into that of the larger world in which it played a striking part. This admirable edition of all the surviving charters of King David is the latest in the long series of his studies and editions, and stands comparison with any. Thanks to his own earlier labours none is altogether unknown, but they are here presented with exemplary clarity and care, and accompanied by a commentary which is as economical as it is informative. The texts are presented by presumed date – presumed since the king's charters are often given a place of issue but virtually never dated. Although in many cases the editor is able to offer good reason for relatively close dates, in others it can be only speculative, and the arrangement makes it difficult to follow through uses distinctive to such beneficiaries as St Andrews, Dunfermline or Kelso, who presumably drafted, and often wrote, the texts, nor is there a specific index of beneficiaries to simplify such comparisons. There are huge gaps in the record; war and the elements may well have destroyed a higher proportion of Scottish charters than they did farther south, though it is difficult to quantify the loss. However it may be an indication of the relatively modest part the Scots charter played in these years and later that forgery appears rare in the north. Lack of demand seems more likely than native virtue to explain this. As things stand now, the south-west, the western seaboard and the lands north of Aberdeen, so important to the descendants of Malcolm III, are barely represented. From the first probable, yet endlessly contested, Scottish royal charters for Durham in the 1090s to the beginning of David's reign, some twenty texts survive in the names of the kings of the Scots. For the forty-odd years covered by this volume, there survive in the name of the king, his son Earl Henry or his queen 201 (and fifteen issued by David before his accession), and traces of another sixty or so. If this compares rather with the surviving output of the lords of a great English honour such as Gloucester than with the two and a half thousand surviving documents in the name of King Henry I of England, King Stephen and his rivals, and their closest kin over the same period, another comparison is more important. Judged against his contemporary princes in Wales or Ireland, David towers above them in the richness of his record, as he did in the scale of his kingdom and in his achievements. Partly this reflects the skill with which he played the part of both Anglo-Norman magnate, as earl of Huntingdon with lands even in Normandy, and prince in his own realm. If one subtracts the charters for English beneficiaries, whether in the greater Scotland south to Tyne or even Tees, David came so near creating under Stephen, or further south beyond the widest extent of his claims, the total shrinks by more than sixty. Indeed, the most obvious feature of these texts is the extent to which they fit into the pattern of Anglo-Norman diplomatic – the Scottish charter as we see it here is a Latin text written mostly in familiar terms by scribes employing an equally familiar cursive script and sealed according to the same methods as were current from the Rhine to the Tweed. If it has its own modest idiosyncracies, it still bears all the marks of an import. To some extent these borrowed forms conceal the distinctive character of the world they treat. Yet much still leaks through. The witness lists reveal a group of great native magnates ever about the

king whose origins have nothing to do with Anglo-Norman adventure or immigrant younger sons on the make; the celebrated 'célidé' of St Andrews are potent in the king's greatest cathedral; fishing rights, turf-cutting, cheese, hides and oats dominate the revenues of David's churches far more than they do on the lands of the English churches under his protection. These are documents of high interest, presented in a manner as helpful as it is precise.

ROBINSON COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

MARTIN BRETT

*Hospitallers. The history of the Order of St John.* By Jonathan Riley-Smith. Pp. vii+152 incl. frontispiece and 100 colour and 75 black-and-white ills. London: Hambledon, 1999. £19.95. 1 85285 196 1; 1 85285 197 X  
*The Hospitaller state on Rhodes and its western provinces, 1306-1462.* By Anthony Luttrell. (Collected Studies, 655.) Pp. x+340. Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1999. £57.50. 0 86078 796 6.

Both of these books are by leading historians of the Hospitallers, but they differ markedly in character and purpose. Jonathan Riley-Smith's work is aimed at a general audience, and provides a good introduction to more than nine hundred years of Hospitaller history, embracing the order's military and hospitaller work in the Holy Land, its periods in Rhodes and Malta, and the more recent reversion of Hospitallers to the care of the sick as their most important activity. Particular attention is paid to developments in the British Isles, both in the medieval period and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The book inevitably merely outlines changes, but it is suggested that involvement in military matters occurred earlier than has sometimes been argued: the militarisation of the Hospital remains, however, an obscure subject. The book is attractively written and is more succinct than the illustrated history of the Hospital published several years ago by H. J. A. Sire. It is, however, most memorable for its numerous illustrations. These include not only photographs of buildings, monuments and coins but also reproductions of illuminated manuscripts, engravings and paintings, both oils and water-colours. Each is provided with an informative caption.

Many areas of Hospitaller history still await detailed research, but for more than forty years Anthony Luttrell has been throwing light on the history of the order in the later Middle Ages. The present volume is the fourth collection of his articles to appear in the *Variorum Collected Studies* series. It contains nineteen papers published mostly in the last decade and, as many first appeared in conference proceedings or collections of essays which are not easily obtainable, it is useful to have them brought together. They include two on the Hospitallers in Cyprus in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and several which focus on aspects of the history of Rhodes. Among studies on the Hospital in the west are three relating to Aragon and Catalonia, and there are also more general articles. Some display faults which suggest over-hasty composition: Hospitaller medical activities are discussed in a rather narrow context, and the paper on Hospitaller spirituality could be more focused and probing. Since a number of articles overlap in subject matter with others published earlier by the author,



recycling of material is also evident. Much use is, however, made of manuscript sources in Malta, Rome, Barcelona and many other places, and the merit of these papers is that they contain a considerable amount of new information: one of the most interesting documents discussed is a record of the deliberations of the Italian *langue* at Rhodes from 1437 to 1462. But what would be welcome now is a comprehensive survey of the Hospitallers in the later Middle Ages.

KIRTLINGTON,  
OXFORD

A. J. FOREY

*The book of the foundation of Walden monastery.* Edited and translated by Diana Greenway and Leslie Watkiss. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Pp. lxxiv + 219 incl. genealogical table. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £45. 0 19 820330 6

Of all the 'local' monastic histories produced during the second half of the twelfth and opening years of the thirteenth century, that of the Augustinian community of Walden has been least known and employed by historians. Its neglect is largely attributable to the fact that it survives only in two late sixteenth-century copies, partially transcribed by Dugdale, while the only translation was hidden in the relative obscurity of the *Essex Review*. Yet of all monastic chronicles of this date that of Walden is perhaps the most informative and lively, and its graphic illustration of monastic life ranks with that of its exact contemporary, Jocelin of Brakelond's chronicle of Bury St Edmunds. None provides a more vivid picture of the relationship of a religious community with its patrons at this period; few can match it in its description of a religious community's physical growth, its buildings and endowments. Its avowed aim is a familiar one, to provide a written record of the house's foundation and development before their memory was lost, as well as to provide material in support of Walden's claim to abbatial status and against its unscrupulous opponent, Geoffrey fitzPeter, earl of Essex, whose acquisition of the Mandeville inheritance had transformed the relationship that had once existed between the community and its patrons. Indeed, it is the violent confrontation between Abbot Reginald and his community and fitzPeter that provides the work's dramatic climax, interweaving a narrative of local thuggery with that of the lengthy ritual play of royal justice. The chronicle is structured on an account of Walden's superiors, William and Reginald. The latter, who oversaw the promotion of Walden from priory to abbey, dominates the work, which devotes four of its five books to his career. Thus, just as the hero of Jocelin's work is Bury's great abbot, Samson, the central figure in the Walden account is Reginald, though it is not uncritical of aspects of his leadership. Professor Greenway – in collaboration with Professor Sayers – has already provided us with an accessible translation of Jocelyn, now she and Watkiss (who has, as always, provided a translation of high quality) have provided the same service, though less affordable, for Walden. Their edition, which includes as appendices the founders' charters and an annotated list of Walden's early endowments, is required reading for all historians of this period as well as providing the most stimulating possible introduction to English monastic history for undergraduates.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

BRIAN GOLDING

*The early Humiliati.* By Frances Andrews. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th Ser.) Pp. xii + 356 incl. map. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £45. 0 521 59189 9

Most English-speaking medievalists know little about the Humiliati beyond the fact that they were condemned as heretics by Pope Lucius III in 1183 and recognised as a religious order by Innocent III in 1201. Frances Andrews has now provided a remedy for that omission, as well as a corrective to the accounts found in standard works dealing with heresy, in this carefully-researched study of the history of the Humiliati down to the mid-thirteenth century. She raises questions about the nature and development of this movement that will profoundly affect the way in which we look at religious movements in this period. She demonstrates clearly that the condemnation of 1183 had little or no impact on the continued spread of the highly decentralised Humiliati in northern Italy. It may, however, have tarnished their reputation in some circles and it was for this reason, apparently, that they sought recognition from Pope Innocent III. Given Andrews's reading of the existing evidence, chiefly from charters, we now know that numerous houses of the Humiliati enjoyed episcopal support prior to 1201. Indeed, it is difficult to determine whether the Humiliati as a whole were ever regarded as heretics as implied in the 1183 condemnation, though Andrews accepts the probability that some were tinged with heresy. On the whole, however, the Humiliati appear to have been not merely orthodox but, on matters regarding the ownership and administration of property, rather conservative. It may well have been a desire to exercise more effective controls over the various houses that led to the petition to Innocent III and his favourable response. Still, as Andrews demonstrates, the process of creating an administration for the new order took almost half a century and was spurred on by internal conflicts and external influences, chiefly the papacy and the Dominicans. Andrews has done an excellent job of reconstructing this obscure period in the history of the Humiliati. As a result, we also will now understand better the rise of the mendicants. This volume is a must-read for medieval research students.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

JAMES M. POWELL

*Richard I.* By John Gillingham. (Yale English Monarchs.) Pp. xi + 378 incl. 5 maps + 18 ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1999. £20. 0 300 07912 5

*Richard I* completes the process of rehabilitation that the reputation of its subject has been undergoing for nearly thirty years in the loving and meticulous care of its author. For a king so acutely aware during his life of the need to manage his image, Richard would, I am sure, by now have rewarded his modern biographer with an heiress at least on a par with Isabel de Clare, William the Marshal's meal-ticket-cum-pension-fund. Not that Richard would have solicited such molycoddling for the sake of his own ego. Neither has Gillingham devoted so much attention to Richard in such a spirit. We must look to historians of the seventeenth century onwards (described in chapter 1) and their spineless refusal to acknowledge one no less than a hero in Gillingham's eyes, in order to account for his cumulative efforts to represent the king. In the hands of a lesser

historian each of these motivating forces, both the readiness to confront and neutralise any manner of criticism levelled at Richard and a romantically conceived, vassalic, affection for him, might have combined to produce a hagiographical and tediously erudite account. Not so with Gillingham. Instead we get a virtuoso performance that seamlessly sustains the narrative momentum required of biography whilst grounding it on a masterly and comprehensive treatment of the (albeit largely chronicle) sources. Some of the text will be familiar to the reader, it having formed part of the architecture of the author's *Richard the Lionheart*. The addition of footnotes, the elaboration and refinement of many of the themes and arguments of that book, as well as the inclusion of further chapters covering new areas of inquiry, all combine, however, to make this work a great advance on its predecessor (although some of the maps have been reduced and that of Richard's passage across the Mediterranean omitted). A new second chapter presents Moslem perspectives of Richard, respectful in tone and untainted by the religious and political affinities of the Christian chroniclers. From the reservoir of interpretations collected in this and the previous chapter Gillingham introduces the cases he feels require most scrutiny and rebuttal. The revisions offered to these judgements fit unobtrusively into groups of chapters each gently suggestive of the phases through which Gillingham would like his readers to make sense of Richard's life. These consist of Richard's political apprenticeship as duke of Aquitaine; his inheritance of the Angevin empire and the prelude to crusade; the events of the Third Crusade framed by his adventures in the Mediterranean and experience as a captive king; and the final five years of his rule, during which his attempts to reconsolidate the empire saw his energies diverted between England, Normandy and the troublesome Aquitanian provinces of Angoumois and Limousin. The Richard we are left with displays the full complement of kingly virtues as defined by his contemporaries (wealth, charisma, military, diplomatic and administrative genius) and only the more forgivable of vices (teller of fibs to foreign kings and gung-ho knight). Some readers may find the colours in which Gillingham's Richard is portrayed too vivid for their liking. It will nevertheless be some time before they are convincingly tempered by another scholar's efforts.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

SIMON YARROW

*Siena and the Virgin. Art and politics in a late medieval city state.* By Diana Norman. Pp. xii + 252 incl. 83 black-and-white and 115 colour plates. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1999. £40. 0 300 08006 9

The centrality of the Marian cult in Siennese life and politics after the battle of Montaperti (1260) is hardly a new subject. As is increasingly common, this book's title gives only a hint of its real theme – which is Siennese trecento painting, specifically in the cathedral, the Palazzo Pubblico and the hospital, Santa Maria della Scala. Sculpture and manuscript painting receive hardly a nod, architecture is ignored, and stained glass is limited to the cathedral's *occhio*, frequently attributed to a painter (Duccio, Cimabue or followers, though the useful discussion by Bianca Soldano Tosatti, *Miniature e vetrate senesi del secolo XIII*

[Genoa 1978], does not appear in the notes or bibliography). The volume is lavishly produced, with plates on almost every page including 115 in colour, in a large format with images often spread to the edges of the page. Their quality is only fair; colour is usually too warm, and unnaturally heightened as in trade or coffee-table books. The author, who teaches at the Open University, has been associated with publications used as textbooks there and has written this volume in the same didactic style. As in a textbook, arguments are smoothed over or relegated to succinct notes at the back of the book, and there are lots of maps, plans, charts and diagrams. The book consists of chapters on the three famous monuments in the city of Siena mentioned above, and on art in three towns of the surrounding region (Massa Marittima, Montalcino, Montepulciano) as well as the hermitage of San Leonardo al Lago. The latter chapters have more to offer the specialist and are not always closely related to the Marian emphasis of the book's title. It should be pointed out that the very textbookish cast of the work may make it all the more useful to non-art historians who might be looking for introductory summaries on the visual aspects of Siense ecclesiastical, political and social history during the fourteenth century. It can be highly recommended for this purpose. For specialists it provides an up-to-date and accessible statement on major works of art and they might be tempted, should a paperback edition appear, to adopt it for teaching.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

MEREDITH PARSONS LILLICH

*Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti. Siense art and the cult of the holy woman in medieval Tuscany.* By Joanna Cannon and André Vauchez. Pp. xiv + 275 incl. 3 maps + 204 black-and-white and 26 colour plates. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999. \$80. 0 271 01756 2

This book offers a powerful and successful cocktail: an interdisciplinary account of a minor Franciscan cult and its art produced by leading authorities on sainthood and the visual culture of central Italy, which offers a kind of parallel text on sainthood and on the work of some of the most important Siense painters of the first half of the fourteenth century, namely Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Together, André Vauchez and Joanna Cannon – the latter known especially for her brilliant work on the art of the mendicants in Italy – have produced an entirely satisfying and deeply researched volume that will be of fundamental value not only to the study of Siense painting but to the increasingly important study area of the minor cult. As Vauchez explains, the cult of Margherita (d. 1297), who only attained sanctity after the Middle Ages and real fame yet later still, is an extraordinary instance of the promotion through art of an uncanonised person as if they were a saint. Art – and the story is not entirely unfamiliar – is thus part of the dossier of sanctity, an element as it were in its construction. How images and the production of supporting texts went together to form this dossier, and how they reflected each other's methods, is thus an important sub-theme running throughout this book. In particular, the panel of the Beata Margherita with eight scenes from her *Life* of c. 1300 in Cortona, the tomb of the saint and the mural decorations of her church are discussed with regard to the varying strategic emphases placed on the cult, civic and thaumaturgical in particular; and the broad conclusion is that, though the cult

remained essentially local, it started to show a more modern civic dimension in keeping with wider trends in central Italy at this time. These arguments about the strategic value of art in propounding a vision of sanctity are carried forward with authority, clarity and conviction, and the dossier of post-medieval copies of the Lorenzetti frescoes – and the arguments for this attribution are also compelling – is illustrated, catalogued and discussed fully. This is an important and well-supported contribution to the study of sanctity in the late Middle Ages.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

PAUL BINSKI

*The most noble Order of the Garter. 650 years.* By Peter J. Begent and Hubert Chesshyre, foreword His Royal Highness, the duke of Edinburgh KG (section on the statutes of the order by Dr Lisa Jefferson). Pp. 469 incl. endpapers and 134 black-and-white and colour plates. London: Spink, 1999. £75. 1 902040 20 1

Published to mark the 650th anniversary of the founding of the Order of the Garter, this is a most handsomely produced and beautifully illustrated volume. The authors have sensibly eschewed any attempt to present a chronological narrative of the order's fortunes, which inevitably would be very diffused, and they do not seek to assess through changing times the shifts in the social and political significance of admission to it. What they offer is a thematic survey of the history of the order, viewed through its institutional life, with individual chapters devoted, for example, to Windsor College and the Garter Chapel buildings, to the statutes and records of the order, to its officers, to Garter ceremonies, robes and regalia, and to the military knights, the Naval Knights of Windsor, and the Ladies of the order. Particularly notable from an historian's point of view is the section on the statutes and their development contributed by Dr Lisa Jefferson, in which she adduces new evidence to corroborate her contention (*EHR* cix [1994], 356–85) that the earliest surviving version of the statutes dates from the reign of Henry V (1415), and skilfully elucidates the complex story of their textual revisions in Henry VIII's reign. Overall, the effect is to present what may best be described as a 'companion to Garter studies', and a very useful one. Through the detail of the footnotes and the admirable appendices (both to individual chapters and to the volume as a whole) a summary of factual information is provided that will be invaluable to scholars whose interests touch on the history of the order, from the widest variety of points of view and period specialisation. Asides and anecdotes ensure that for the more general reader there is fun as well as fact: the complaint of the Naval Knights in 1872, for instance, that theirs was the only institution in the land whose members were subject to compulsory daily church attendance and that they were being treated like 'National School children', or the account of Garter King of Arms' bizarre resistance in 1901 to putting up the stall-plate and banner of Field Marshal Lord Roberts ('our Bobs') on the ground that he had not paid his fees on appointment – notwithstanding the fact that Queen Victoria had personally ordered their remission. The illustrations, which have been chosen with great skill and discernment, are a particular glory of the book, ranging from delightful reproductions of miniatures from the Black Book of the Garter and from Bruges's fifteenth-century Garter Book, through a magnificent photographic record of the

order's regalia and insignia, to the cartoonists' memorable version of the expulsion in 1915 of Kaiser Wilhelm II, 'the Order of the Boot'. Altogether, Peter Begent and Hubert Chesshyre have put together a volume that for its thoroughness, its interest and its physical attraction is a worthy tribute to the longevity of England's highest order of chivalry.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

M. H. KEEN

*Pierpaolo Vergerio the elder and Saint Jerome. An edition and translation of Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo.* By John M. McManamon SJ (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 177.) Pp. xvii + 402 + 5 ills. Tempe, Az: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999. £31 (\$36). 0 86698 2191.

The core of this work is a beautifully produced Latin edition, with clear, simple and readable parallel English translations, of Vergerio's extant sermons on St Jerome. Vergerio was one of the outstanding humanists of the early Renaissance. His place in the *ambienti* of Padua, Florence and Rome, and his relationships with humanistic lights such as Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni, have been the subject of much debate. MacManamon, in introductory chapters which complement his 1996 biography, argues that Vergerio's sermons represent an important stage in the Renaissance integration of ancient pagan and Christian learning, with Jerome standing as a model of the Christian humanist scholar, thereby reversing his medieval reputation as ascetic penitent. Jerome's combination of piety and scholarship was also a stick with which to beat the contemporary Church. Vergerio's sermons were innovative in not being structured as disquisitions on scriptural passages but as panegyric orations. In providing a Christian rationale for the study of classical grammar rhetoric, Vergerio leads to Valla, Erasmus and, given the notable manuscript diffusion of his sermons there, to the humanism of pre-Reformation Germany. This is a superb work of textual scholarship, with descriptions of extant manuscripts and a very good history of textual transmission. But the modest title conceals an enterprise which goes beyond this, including accounts of the diffusion of Vergerio's other works; a finding-list of manuscripts of them; and even an attempted identification of Vergerio's library. This work will not only be the definitive edition of the sermons, but the starting-point for all future studies of Vergerio.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
CHICHESTER

JONATHAN WOOLFSON

*Repertorium poenitentiarie germanicum. Verzeichnis der in den Supplikenregistern der Pönitentiarie vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches, II: Nikolaus' V. 1447-1455.* Edited by Ludwig Schmugge, Krystyna Bukowska and Alessandra Mosciatti. Pp. xxix + 364. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999. DM 112. 3 484 80155 7

This is the second volume of a noteworthy effort to inventory materials in the medieval registers of the papal penitentiary related to Germany, broadly defined.

The registers abstracted are from the reign of Nicholas v (1447–55). The graces recorded in them illustrate the daily business of the penitentiary, enabling clerics to obtain advancement, absolving penitents and granting small favours to laity and clergy alike. Two registers were studied for this phase of the project, the *De diversis formis* and the *De defectu natalium et de uberiori*. The former covers petitions for graces as diverse as permission to attend Sunday mass at a monastery (no. 771) and absolution for wounding a priest in self defence (no. 782). The latter covers dispensation from the effects of illegitimate birth ('de defectu natalium') and concessions subsequent to a first grant ('de uberiori gratia'). The introduction is very brief, and researchers might wish to examine the previous volume for more information on this project. They should bookmark the tables of abbreviations, both that for dioceses and that for common words found truncated in the registers. Without these the often cryptic abstracts will be hard to understand (the records for dispensations for defect of birth are particularly terse). The indexing is exhaustive, covering personal names, indications of place of origin, religious affiliation (for example, 'domus beginarum'), date of register entry and words employed (for example, 'retrotrahere'). Like all such sources, the interested researcher will find this repertorium very valuable for reference purposes once they master its format and usages.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THOMAS M. IZBICKI

*Images and relics. Theological perceptions and visual images in sixteenth-century Europe.* By John Dillenberger. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) Pp. xii + 248 incl. frontispiece and 85 figs. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. £37.50. 0 19 512172 4

Presented as an overall account of imagery through the Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe, this book is centred on seven painters who lived between 1500 and 1570 and whose work was in some way affected by (or related to) the religious upheaval of the time. These individual studies are linked to three phases. Grünewald and the Isenheim altarpiece illustrate late medieval Christocentric piety during the 'initial stirrings of reform'; Dürer is an 'in-between figure' reflecting the confused years 1517 to c. 1530, while the work of the Cranachs and depictions of the Law and the Gospel mark the emergence of Protestant art. The story is carried up to 1570 in a long chapter on Catholic Reformation piety, focused on Michelangelo and the Sistine Chapel, followed by some rather disjointed pages on three northern artists (Holbein, Hans Baldung Grien and Albrecht Altdorfer), who 'represent unique accents' (*sic*). This staged approach does have the advantage of reducing hindsight in estimating the kinds of inhibition and anxiety that were coming to hedge religious image-making (here almost exclusively painting). There are helpful pages on the development of Luther's views of religious imagery and the relationship of the Cranachs' work to Lutheran theology (though more might have been made of the effects of iconoclastic interpretations of the brazen serpent). But it seems perverse to leave the summary survey of iconoclastic reform across Europe until the last twenty pages, given the tremors that were widely felt on this score for fifty of the book's seventy years. The sack of Rome does not feature, despite its relevance for the

main theme. Only ten pages before the end we read that ‘understanding the role of Scripture among the various participants may help focus the issues’. Arguably this should be central from the start, and the book’s premise that ‘the unique conjunction of images and relics led to the Western iconoclastic developments’ blurs more than it clarifies. Perhaps this theologian should have been less chary of what he calls ‘theological overkill’. The eighty-five black-and-white illustrations are not listed and American weighting in the bibliography may have contributed to some questionable remarks about the English scene.

ESSEX

MARGARET ASTON

*Religion and the English people, 1500–1640. New voices. New perspectives.* Edited by Eric Josef Carlson. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 45.) Pp. x + 302. Kirksville, Mo: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998. \$40. 0 943549 62 0; 0 943549 63 9

This collection, mainly written by advanced graduate students or young scholars who have only recently completed their PhDs, brings together a number of essays which illustrate the diversity of approaches to English Reformation studies. After a useful introduction by the editor, there follow four pairs of contributions. In a section entitled ‘Words and Worship’, Sharon L. Arnoult writes on the Book of Common Prayer and the understanding of worship in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England, and Susan Waduba on the influence of Bishop Hugh Latimer in the diocese of Worcester. The problem of the urban Reformation in England is examined in Joseph P. Ward’s essay on diversity and gild unity in early modern London, and by Muriel C. McClendon’s analysis of the interaction of the town magistrates and the clergy in Norwich during the early stages of the Reformation. In a section on parish clergy Janice C. Devereux writes interestingly on Luke Shepherd’s Protestant propaganda piece, *Doctour Dubble Ale*, and Eric Josef Carlson contributes a length essay on the ministry of Richard Greenham. The main body of the collection is completed by two essays on wills and piety, with Christopher Marsh writing on will-making and popular religion in early modern England, and Caroline Litzemberger on how Gloucestershire wills indicated local responses to religious changes. The book ends with ‘critical afterwords’ by Norman Jones, Robert Tittler and Diane Willan, Tittler’s comments being especially cogent. Taken together, this is a collection of mainly narrowly focused and indeed locally-based essays which demonstrate the current diversity of Reformation studies. The essentially local focus of most of these studies is justified, as it is on the grass roots level that the progress of the Reformation must be understood. Carlson’s introduction and the three afterwords help place the essays in context, while all the contributors are alert to how their work fits into the broader field of English, and indeed on occasion European, Reformation studies. The overall drift of this volume would seem to be to stress the slow and partial nature of the Reformation’s progress in England, a situation where, even in the middle years of Elizabeth, over 80 per cent of testators in Gloucestershire could use what Litzemberger describes as ambiguous preambles to their wills. This collection will not revolutionise our understanding of the English Reformation, but it does deepen our knowledge and



help remind us of the need for detailed yet closely contextualised studies in our attempts to comprehend this complex phenomenon.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

J. A. SHARPE

*Gescheiterte Stadt- und Landreformationen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz.* By André Zünd. (Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 170.) Pp. v + 316. Basle: Schwabe, 1999. öS 600 (paper). 3 7965 1126 0.

This Zürich dissertation is a comparative study of the 'failed Reformation' in several Swiss cities and rural areas. The work is synthetic, based on existing local histories and studies of the Reformation rather than on original research. It is organised as a series of case studies examining the background and context of the Reformation, the course of events and the proponents and opponents of evangelical ideas in order to explain why the Reformation failed. The first section covers the four city cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Fribourg and Solothurn. All these cities depended heavily on foreign mercenary pensions. In three of the four cases the guilds had little or no direct political voice, and the government acted early and decisively against the spread of evangelical ideas. Only in Solothurn, where the guilds had some political influence, did the Reformation win significant minority support within the city, but the Catholic victory in the Second Kappel War allowed Solothurn's Catholics to suppress the movement. The author then looks at territories jointly ruled by the Protestant and Catholic cantons. He is forced to rely on general histories of the territories and on case studies of the evangelical movement in the small cities within these territories. This makes it difficult for him to draw any specific conclusions about the spread and suppression of the evangelical movement, other than the obvious one that the treaty following Zürich's defeat at Kappel put an end to the spread of Protestantism in the jointly-governed territories. The last part of the book examines two groups of Protestants who were exiled from Catholic territories (Locarno and Arth), and two prince-bishoprics (Basle and Sitten). While the account of the Locarno exiles might be seen as the result of a 'failed Reformation' attempt in the city, it is stretching the meaning of 'the term' to apply it to the discovery of an extended family of Protestants in a village in Schwyz in the mid-seventeenth century. The section on Basle and Sitten is much too broad to allow any meaningful conclusions about the spread and suppression of Protestantism at the local level. The book is useful for its capsule summaries of the Reformation in a variety of Swiss cities and territories, but it does not break new ground.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA-LINCOLN

AMY BURNETT

*The education of a Christian society. Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the thirteenth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, 1997.* Edited by N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree and Henk Van Nierop. Pp. xiii + 274 incl. 1 map and 23 figs. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. £49.50. 0 7546 0001 7.

Like most collections of published conference papers this set, from the 1997 Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, is light on cohesion but contains essays that

will be of interest to specialists. Andrew Pettegree's piece on 'Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands' is primarily designed to integrate the collection and makes some useful points regarding the connections between the two countries. While Karin Tilman's contribution focuses on political education in the Netherlands, the remaining essays will be of more direct interest to students of religion. In one of the more interesting efforts, Richard Rex re-evaluates 'The role of English humanists in the Reformation up to 1559', and makes the case that 'Humanism did not determine or even direct the course of the English Reformation. But it did dispose its practitioners to accept a greater degree of state intervention in religion' (p. 39). George Bernard advances his previous work on 'The piety of Henry VIII'. Greg Walker also revisits some of his earlier concerns in examining conservative literary responses to the Henrician Reformation. Christopher Bradshaw offers a sophisticated analysis of 'The exile literature of the early Reformation', exploring the dilemma faced by the reformers as to 'how to maintain the outward semblance of association with the Crown, while also advising their co-religionists to withhold their duty of religious obedience from it' (p. 113). Ilja Veldman examines Dutch prints as religious propaganda while Karel Bostoën takes a close look at the *History* of Brothoer Cornelius as a form of literary propaganda. Guido Marnef explores 'The dynamics of Reformed militancy in the Low Countries' in 1566. Jane Dawson's look at 'Clan, kin, and Kirk: the Campbells and the Scottish Reformation' is a test case that sheds important light on the role that kinship played in the shaping of Scottish religion. The collection ends with Wiebe Bergsma suggesting conclusions regarding the Reformation in the Netherlands based on his detailed research into the course of events in Friesland.

MILLERSVILLE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

FRANCIS J. BREMER

*Poor relief and Protestantism. The evolution of social welfare in sixteenth-century Emden.* By Timothy G. Fehler. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xiii + 332 + 8 ills, 5 maps and 3 tables. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. £49.50.  
1 85928 378 0

Timothy Fehler has added a solid item to the stock of monographs which examine the interplay of religious, economic and political forces in shaping systems of institutional charity and public welfare. His presentation lacks artistry and, given the author's laudable determination to extract every ounce of meaning from the surviving material, becomes repetitious. But there is ample compensation for working through the book rather than merely reading the lengthy conclusion. Emden was no provincial backwater but a rapidly growing town which played host to thousands of religious refugees. The presence of so many penniless exiles, of several different faiths, and of a Lutheran ruler contending with powerful Reformed churches, created extraordinary problems; Count Edzard's demand to see the deacons' poor relief accounts helped to spark off the Emden Revolution of 1595. Fehler's work plays proper attention both to continuity and to change. Always close to the archives and frustrated only by tantalising gaps in the evidence, his book concentrates chiefly on the role in poor relief of three different bodies of deacons: firstly, those concerned with the

resident house poor of the town; secondly, those officials who functioned between 1565 and 1578 and provided specifically for Calvinist communicants and their families, in other words for members of the 'household of faith'; thirdly, the deacons concerned with the foreign poor, it being a condition of their entry into Emden that they should not compete for alms with the residents of the town. The work depicts a system which depended heavily on collections and upon 'voluntary' contributions which well-to-do persons agreed to impose upon themselves, rather than on a poor rate. From the late 1570s the distinction between the faithful Calvinist poor and those of the city tended to disappear, since it was the ambition of leading Calvinists to impose a godly discipline upon the whole urban community. Fehler concentrates on the administrative mechanics of poor relief and succeeds in bringing to life a few vivid examples of attempts to give and withhold alms in such a way as to steer unsatisfactory recipients away from adultery, lewdness or idleness and into a more godfearing way of life. He stops short of arguing that there was a specifically Calvinist or Protestant approach to the problems of poverty. He might have made more, perhaps, of the interesting fact that on many occasions recipients were expected to regard the subsidies given to them as loans and not as outright gifts; were such loans ever in practice repaid? Emden's system of relief included a hospital, a surviving confraternity, a number of alms-houses or rather alms-rooms and a grain reserve. But it seems sparer and leaner than its equivalent in a Catholic town. Why, to take just one example, is there seemingly so much less concern with the provision of dowries for young women to enable them to marry?

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

BRIAN PULLAN

*Tudor histories of the English reformations, 1530–83.* By Thomas Betteridge. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. x + 246. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. £49.50. 1 84014 281 2

Ever since the publication of *Lucky Jim* historians have been understandably reluctant to use the phrase 'a strangely neglected topic'. Nevertheless, one of the greatest of the many merits of this book is that it explores a subject of considerable importance – historical writing on the English Reformation, written in the years 1530–83 – which has indeed been neglected. A teleological, indeed Whiggish, view of sixteenth-century English historical writing as a progressive evolution from medieval chronicles to the sophisticated 'politique' histories of Camden and Bacon (a view exemplified in F. J. Levy's influential *Tudor historical thought*) has predominated among scholars. Because this approach dismissed as inconsequential those Tudor texts that did not follow the conventions of modern historical scholarship, and privileged certain textual forms for history-writing to the exclusion of others, such as historical poems or plays, many of the most important Tudor interpretations of the English Reformation have been consigned to the attic of academic consciousness, unexamined and barely remembered. Tom Betteridge's careful and long overdue analysis of Tudor historical writing in its myriad forms not only alters our understanding of important but now under-appreciated works such as Robert Crowley's *Epitome of chronicles* or Thomas Brice's *Compendious register of the martyrs in verse* (usually treated by modern scholars

only as an amusing digression), it also places in new perspective the religious and political culture of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. (Particularly valuable is Betteridge's reappraisal of Marian historical writing on the Reformation, which reveals a great deal of the under-estimated vigour of Catholic propaganda during Mary's reign.) If Betteridge did nothing else in his book beyond drawing attention to these important yet overlooked writings, he would still have made a useful contribution to our understanding of the English Reformation. As it happens, however, he has done much more. Betteridge, a lecturer in English literature, brings the full resources of his discipline to bear on Tudor historical writings. He successfully applies current fashionable concepts, such as the contrast between public and private spheres, to Tudor texts (an especially good example of this occurs in Betteridge's discussion of John Bale's *King Johan*). And throughout the book, Betteridge's subtle, nuanced readings shed new light even on such familiar texts as Foxe's dedication of the first edition of his *Acts and monuments*, with its oft-cited comparison of Elizabeth to Constantine. Yet, unlike many literary scholars, Betteridge is careful to frame his analyses in a solid historical context. In fact, the bibliography for this book, and its notes, demonstrate his thorough mastery of secondary works of both history and literature. Impressive as this book is, it still inevitably contains some flaws, many of which are negative byproducts of its virtues. Occasionally Betteridge overanalyses his texts (for example his discussion of Edward Hall's passages on oblivion which elevate a commonplace into a profound conceptual meditation). He is also overly reliant on academic jargon; perhaps this is a less desirable result of his wide reading in current scholarship. The most serious flaw, however, is Betteridge's failure to supply biographical background on the authors under discussion. It is obviously very relevant that, for example, William Roper, Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, was the patron of More's biographer Nicholas Harpsfield, or that Thomas Brice not only commemorated the Marian martyrs but almost became one. Nevertheless Betteridge has written a stimulating, insightful book and opened up an important aspect of the English Reformation for future study.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

THOMAS S. FREEMAN

*Radical Reformation studies. Essays presented to James M. Stayer.* Edited by Werner O. Packull and Geoffrey L. Dipple. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xii + 201. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. £45. 0 7546 0032 7

For a generation James Stayer has been at the forefront of Anabaptist studies. He has done more than anyone to rescue them from a denominational ghetto and to scotch the view of a normative Anabaptist tradition of pacifism and separation. Here eleven scholars have come together to reflect on his achievement. Highlights of the volume include a sobering investigation by Taira Kuratsuka of the decline of community of goods among the Hutterites (high infant mortality in communal dormitories, whither children were wrenched from their parents aged two; and communally determined marriages, often between ill-assorted couples); a useful discussion of the relationship of Old and New Testaments by John D. Roth (Reformed theologians from Zwingli onwards argued that circumcision among

the Jews prefigured the practice of Christian baptism, but this strained attempt to compensate for the absence of any explicit reference to pedobaptism in the New Testament was derided by Anabaptists who enquired whether women were not also part of God's covenant, a better parallel in any case being the story of Noah's ark); and Hans-Jürgen Goertz's re-examination of the Grebel letters to Müntzer (proto-baptist in cast, seeking clarification from Müntzer, but implicitly excluding not merely from the Last Supper but from the Christian community as a whole those who rejected an understanding of faith which clung not to a spiritualist-free Church but to a communalist one). Several of the essays appear a little strained: Geoffrey Dipple's attempt to demonstrate the influence of Sebastian Franck's *Chronica* on Bernd Rothmann in the Anabaptist kingdom of Zion in Münster; Bill McNiel's insistence on Karlstadt's abiding humanism; or Gary K. Waite's exploration of the tenuous links between Anabaptism as heresy and witchcraft. On the other hand, Michael Driedger makes a good case for adopting a synchronic comparative approach to Anabaptism in early modern Europe, drawing upon parallels with the fate of Dutch Jewry, as described by Jonathan Israel. It is perhaps a pity that more essays did not attempt to relate the Anabaptists to other radical dissident groups (though there is a somewhat bizarre discussion by Clyde R. Forsberg, Jr, entitled 'Are Mormons Anabaptists?' – to which the short answer is, of course, no); a faint air of talking only to one's coreligionists pervades what is otherwise a useful enough collection, even if it fails to offer any startling new insights.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

TOM SCOTT

*Edward VI.* By Jennifer Loach, edited by George Bernard and Penry Williams. (Yale English Monarchs.) Pp. xviii + 210 + 24 plates. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1999. £20. 0 300 07992 3

Because Edward VI (1537–53) lived and reigned briefly, he is an unpromising subject for a true biography. Wisely Jennifer Loach in writing his biography decided not to write simply about his life but also about his times and the adults who ruled for him. As it stands *Edward VI* is a short book for a volume in the venerable *English Monarchs* series. That condition reflects Edward's untimely demise at the age of sixteen but it also reflects the tragic, premature death of the author which left the book very much unfinished. Thanks to the labours of Penry Williams and George Bernard, the surviving researches and writings of Loach have been put into a coherent and publishable form. The result is obviously not the book that Loach would have written herself but it is still a good study that very much reflects Loach's expertise as a leading historian of the mid-Tudor era. The book brims with new insights and interpretations. Loach argues persuasively that the young prince's allegedly Protestant tutors were most likely still reforming Henrician Catholics when Henry VIII appointed them. Religious conflict, according to Loach, played a minor role in the manoeuvrings over Henry VIII's appointments of his executors and his will. Instead, personality conflicts, such as Henry VIII's dislike for Stephen Gardiner, played the major role. These examples are just a sampling. Ultimately, for Loach, Edward VI was a budding Henry VIII, hedonistic and militaristic, not the godly imp of John Foxe. Readable and

authoritative, Loach's *Edward VI* is bound to stimulate further debate among historians of the Tudor age.

LAMAR UNIVERSITY

RONALD FRITZE

*Religious choice in the Dutch Republic. The reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641).*

By Judith Pollmann. (Studies in Early Modern European History.) Pp. xv+288 incl. genealogical table and 5 figs. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 1999. £45. 0 7190 5680 2

The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic was one of the first European societies to allow its citizens a virtually free choice of religious confession. The result was the multi-confessional society contemporaries found so remarkable. For individuals, of course, the novelty of this situation could be as perplexing as it was liberating, and in fact remarkably little scholarly attention has been directed to the question of how individuals arrived at their choice of confessional allegiance. This deficiency is addressed by Judith Pollmann's powerful, evocative study of Arnold Buchelius. Buchelius was an unusual man. His social background, intellectual proclivities and economic situation gave him a degree of freedom unusual even in the Dutch Republic. Most of all he was unusual in the meticulous documentation of his inner emotional processes, in copious surviving letters, his diary and his antiquarian projects. All of these are skilfully employed to chart a spiritual journey that took Buchelius from a family background in the privileged Catholic professional elite, through a period of profound scepticism, to a persuaded Contra-Remonstrant orthodoxy. Born in Utrecht the (inevitably) illegitimate son of one of the powerful cathedral canons, Buchelius was forced to struggle hard for the social and economic security he found in later life. Pollmann brings out skilfully the extent to which Buchelius' reaction to events was conditioned by his own social insecurity, and the insecurity of a society that was continuously at war as Buchelius grew to adulthood. Buchelius' gradual movement towards the official Calvinist Church was in part a search for the true expression of civic unity and public piety that his Catholic upbringing had taught him to value, and which seemed to be the principal victim of the fragmentation of public religion in the revolt. Then an interesting thing happened. Buchelius seems to have been gradually converted to the Church of which he had grudgingly become a member. The tone of his darkening observations – particularly on the competing Protestant sects – is a testimony to the power of Calvinist preaching, which in this multi-confessional society concentrated understandably on heaping abuse on other faiths. Whilst the decision to join the Calvinist Church was largely a resolution on his personal journey, the decision to take the Contra-Remonstrant side in the great conflict of the seventeenth century was a result of family connections and analysis of the local political situation. A Utrecht patriot, he had come to see Maurice and the Contra-Remonstrants as a bulwark of security against the pretensions of Holland, against which he waged constant guerilla warfare in his historical and antiquarian projects. Even in his reluctant conversion to public office in later life – for Buchelius made no secret of his preference for the 'honest leisure' of scholarship over arduous duties at Utrecht's representative on the board of the East India

Company – Buchelius never lost his suspicion of Amsterdam commercialism nor of the self-made men who dominated the company's deliberations. He had much more enthusiasm for his duties as an elder of the Church, duties he performed with a degree of reflective curiosity which make his journal of this period one of the very best sources for the inner workings of the consistory, the archetypal institution of a mature Calvinist society. Pollmann reflects most interestingly on the apparent paradox of Buchelius' total commitment to the Church – so intense that he wanted to investigate the ministers and fellow elders for sharing bawdy jokes at the *classis* – with a frank, easy toleration of religious diversity among his friends. Through Buchelius we can see that both these principles, although apparently contradictory, were in fact part of the essential essence of the new Republic: a product of its historical origins and an honest reaction to its citizens' intense engagement with religion. Buchelius has left Pollmann with a great mass of material, but it is here used with great sensitivity and style. Although hardly a typical figure, Buchelius makes a fine study for an insightful exploration of the spiritual heart of the Dutch Golden Age.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

ANDREW PETTEGREE

*The reformation of community. Social welfare and Calvinist charity in Holland, 1572–1620.*

By Charles H. Parker. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) Pp. xv + 224 incl. 5 ills, 5 tables and 8 appendices. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. £35. 0 521 62305 7

*The reformation of community* is a comparative study of the impact of the Reformation on welfare policy in six Holland towns – Gouda, Leiden, Amsterdam, Delft, Dordrecht and Haarlem. Given the contemporary renown of welfare provisions in the Holland towns of the Golden Age, it is peculiar that no such study has previously existed – in Dutch or English – and this book is therefore likely to find a warm welcome among students of early modern poor relief. Parker uses both his own work in the archives and existing local studies to try to discover a pattern in the very varied picture that these six Holland towns have to offer. In line with current discussions on charity and social disciplining in early modern Europe, Parker examines the conflicts over provisions for the poor between the Reformed consistories and urban authorities in Holland. He argues that these conflicts were rooted in the different concepts of community that the town councils and the churches employed, but concludes that the disagreements did not result in a 'new frontier between private religious charity and public assistance'. In a useful section on the pre-Reformation development of welfare provisions, Parker shows that the towns actually took control of provisions for the poor long before new humanist thinking and the Reformation had begun to penetrate. Despite Parker's awkward translations of some Dutch passages, his efforts do on the whole produce a convincing picture. One of the most interesting features of this book is Parker's stress on negotiation between the Churches and the Holland regents and between the consistories of the Reformed Churches and the recipients of poor relief. Yet the strength of this study lies more in its comparative analysis of familiar material than in its exploration of uncharted territory. The period Parker has chosen to study, for instance, has

recently been covered by half-a-dozen local studies of the Reformation in Dutch cities, most of which discuss Reformed charity. None of these explored the development of charity in the clandestine Mennonite and Catholic communities after the Reformation, and neither does Parker. The pattern of private bequests to the Reformed diaconate, although mentioned, is not discussed at length, whereas it remains unclear whether the standards of morality expected of recipients of Reformed charity really differed from those imposed by urban overseers of the poor, whose work in the post-Reformation period rather disappears from Parker's view. Yet, whilst one could wish for more, this is definitely a useful study, that should give some food for thought to all those, both within and outside the Netherlands, who have an interest in the management of poor relief in early modern Europe.

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JUDITH POLLMANN

*The power of kings. Monarchy and religion in Europe 1589–1715.* By Paul Kléber Monod. Pp. x+417 incl. 35 ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press. 1999. £22.50. 0 300 07810 2.

This is an ambitious book, the subject of which is described better by the subtitle than by the title. It analyses the changing nature and perception of monarchy, as its sacred or quasi-divine attributes were challenged as a result of the Catholic and Protestant Reformations. Kings who claimed that their powers came from God were told, by substantial groups of their subjects, that they should use their powers to implement God's will and to carry through a complete programme of moral and spiritual regeneration and cleansing, eradicating heretics and witches. This is linked to discussions of the person and the self (particularly the Christian self), the significance of the body, the nature of the sacred and the representation of kings and their authority. The discussion ranges from Ireland to Russia, from Sweden to Naples and Portugal. It concludes that by the death of Louis XIV the forces of godly reformation (or confessionalisation) had burned themselves out, but that monarchs had also shed much of their aura of sanctity and now presided over an ordered, 'rational' state, governed by predictable and coherent codes of rules, which enshrined broadly Christian moral principles.

Monod remarks wryly that at times he felt that he was 'obsessed with a massive endeavour that must ultimately prove futile'. The book is not an easy read, even though the author writes well and includes many interesting illustrations and anecdotes. But the interdisciplinary approach, and the constant movement from one country to another, have a disorienting effect. It is also very much a study of ideas rather than institutions, representations rather than *realpolitik*: one feels that he is cherry-picking those parts of the story that fit his thesis, while passing swiftly over the rest. Despite the references to mass culture, his is very much a top-down approach, assuming a need for kings to manifest their authority, as well as making it effective. The capacity for subjects to conduct their own affairs, at a village or town level, in guilds or in universities, is not really considered. Despite occasional disclaimers, Monod also assumes in practice that religious faith and commitment were very widespread, if not universal, whereas it was the constant



complaint of the godly that they were not. Too many people had little understanding of salvation and thought the golden rule a sufficient guide for their daily conduct. Monod likes the big idea, the big picture. He attempts to resuscitate the general crisis of the mid-seventeenth century as a religious crisis and then struggles manfully to construct a religious dimension to the Fronde: but can resentment of financial greed and corruption be seen as evidence of a yearning for godly reform? This is an interesting and important book. If it does not always convince, it should at least stimulate debate and fresh thinking about the religious attributes of monarchy.

QUEEN MARY AND WESTFIELD COLLEGE,  
LONDON

JOHN MILLER

*Writing and society. Literacy, print and politics in Britain, 1590–1660.* By Nigel Wheale. Pp. xiv + 188 incl. 12 figs. London: Routledge, 1999. £55 (cloth), £15.99 (paper). 0 415 08497 0; 0 415 08498 9

The author of this book is a literary scholar who is fully up-to-date in his reading of early modern historical scholarship. Although his central concern is the cultural environment for literary production in the age of Shakespeare and Milton, he frames his discussion by reference to social structure, gender, popular culture and religion. His comments, notes and suggestions for further reading move smoothly from cultural materialism and new historicism to the works of Cambridge-trained historians. The resulting interdisciplinary survey makes an excellent introduction to the period, and a useful overview for those who have tilled these fields. The book is well organised and clearly written, and should find a following among students of both English and History. It begins with a sensible discussion of literacy and the social order, based more on my 1993 essay on the subject than my 1980 book. Wheale prefers the term ‘unliterate’ to the more pejoratively loaded ‘illiterate’, and supplies lively examples of the deployment of texts in various cultural settings. There follows a crisp account of the London book trade and a discussion of censorship and state formation that owes more to studies of Shakespeare and Holinshed than to research on early Stuart politics. Religious dissent posed political problems, as the government shifted its attention from Catholic recusants to Puritan conventiclers. The most novel part of this discussion attends to literary patronage, censorship and persecution in Celtic Ireland. Recent work on the popular press, and on women’s reading and writing, has come from literary scholars as much as from historians, and the author is abreast of both disciplines. He cites more verse than is common in historical arguments, and makes his case with well-chosen illustrations. His conclusion relates literacy to individual self-consciousness, and to participation in the complexities of these ‘over-flowing times’. A further guide to these times is a ‘register of public facts 1589–1662’, a compendious chronology that associates political and religious history with the landmarks of literary production. 1594, for example, was the year of the Tyrone–Tyrconnell rebellion in Ireland and the publication of Nashe’s *Unfortunate traveller* and Shakespeare’s *Rape of Lucrece*, both dedicated to the earl of Southampton. 1639 saw the first Bishops’ War and the Treaty of Berwick, as well as Milton’s ‘Epitaphium Damonis’, his last poem for a number of years. More might be made of the religious and political context of

literary production, but this sprightly book points to ways in which it could be done.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY,  
COLUMBUS,  
OHIO

DAVID CRESSY

*The emergence of tolerance in the Dutch Republic.* Edited by C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, J. Israel and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 76.) Pp. vii + 280. Leiden–New York–Cologne: Brill, 1997. Nlg 173. 90 04 10768 1; 0081 8607

The seventeen papers in this collection were first presented at a conference entitled 'Les Pays-Bas, carrefour de la tolérance aux temps modernes' in 1994, and in some ways this title covers the contents of the book better than the one that was eventually chosen. The present volume is about both the emergence of Dutch toleration and the toleration debates to which the Dutch Republic formed the backdrop – either because the participants lived or published there, or because they looked to the Dutch Republic as an example that was to be emulated elsewhere.

The idealisation of the Republic as a tolerant paradise began in the late seventeenth century. Christine Berkvens-Stevelinck shows how the translations of Gerard Brandt's *History of the Reformation* played an important role in shaping the tolerant reputation of the Dutch Republic, whilst Miriam Yardeni discusses how French thinkers used the history of the Republic and England to develop their ideas on the conditions for toleration. In doing so, they of course also shaped the idea that there is such a thing as a 'history of toleration'.

Traditionally, that history is mainly written through an analysis of the works of the proponents of toleration. This volume has excellent examples of such contributions on offer: Peter Bietenholz, for instance, discusses how Daniel Zwicker's stay in the Republic changed his view of the Church. Mario Turchetti describes how Elie Saurin attempted to find a *via media* between Bayle and Jurieu, and Michael Heyd asks why a deist like the third earl of Shaftesbury was moved to defend the 'enthusiasts' of the early eighteenth century. Although the main emphasis in this volume falls on the seventeenth century, some articles do cover the sixteenth century. An article by the late Hans Guggisberg outlines the difficulties in writing a biography of Castelli, whilst the reception of sixteenth-century irenicists like Cassander is covered by articles from Rob van der Schoor and Hans Posthumus Meyjes. There is also some attention to the way in which the proponents of toleration ultimately won the day. The *Dictionnaires*, as Hans Bots and Rob van der Schoor point out, played a crucial role in spreading the insights that emerged from the toleration debate, even if they also 'neutralised' them. M. van Lieshout shows how Pierre Jurieu became the bogeyman-par-excellence of the early Enlightenment, and Anthony McKenna charts the development of a 'philosophie d'intolérance' by the anti-religious radicals of the early eighteenth century. Although some of these articles work better than others, the overall quality is very good.

Yet the history of the toleration debate, however interesting, does not by itself explain the actual decriminalising of religious dissent. It is the articles in this

volume that explore the link between the ideas and the society in which they were voiced that are most stimulating. The opening papers in this collection explore whether the Dutch considered toleration a matter of principle, or whether it was a matter of practice resulting from the lack of religious consensus in a new nation that could not afford persecution. In a discussion of the sixteenth-century pleas for religious toleration by Erasmus and Dirk Volkerts. Coornhert, James Tracy suggests that rather than being seen as the proponents of new ideas, they should be considered as the eloquent defenders of attitudes that were already common fare. And, as Nicolette Mout explains in her contribution, there was indeed a widespread distaste for religious persecution that was carried over into the Republic's distinction between freedom of conscience, guaranteed in the Union of Utrecht, and freedom of worship – formally denied to all non-Reformed Churches. Yet, as she points out, it was ultimately 'a lack of consensus and tension between the privileged church and the secular authorities' that were responsible for the toleration for which the Republic became famous.

As Jonathan Israel demonstrates in his contribution, this situation was by no means uncontested. Although the Dutch were the first recipients of some of the most radical ideas of their age, they had fixed ideas on the boundaries of legitimate religious and intellectual enquiry. Israel charts the development of the toleration debate that raged in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, and highlights the steps that were taken to suppress radical dissenting ideas. In the anti-Arminian drive of the 1620s and 1630s, hardline Reformed ministers began to formulate theories on the necessity of intolerance. In response, their opponents pushed the demand for toleration to new limits. Some of them, joined by, and often confused with, Socinians and atheists, developed ideas that challenged the a-confessional minimal Christian consensus on which the Dutch multiconfessional society was built. The Dutch judicial system made a total crackdown impossible, but the unlucky few that were caught were treated with a severity that belies the tolerant reputation of the Republic, with consistent drives to ban their books, Spinoza's among them. And what was true in the political domain was also true on a social level. As Willem Frijhoff suggests in a pioneering article on the practice of confessional coexistence, religious debate in the public realm was firmly constrained by unwritten social codes.

In a study of propaganda pamphlets from the Dutch Revolt, Catherine Secretan quite rightly remarks that Dutch toleration was never more than an 'attente de liberté'. But as several articles in this volume remind us, it was because people feared that toleration would spell the end of the social and moral order that even opponents of persecution rarely proposed unqualified toleration. It was precisely because the Dutch had found a way to ensure that toleration would never become real liberty that they could make religious coexistence work.

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JUDITH POLLMANN

*Whores of Babylon. Catholicism, gender and seventeenth-century print culture.* By Frances Dolan. Pp. xii + 231 incl. 10 ills. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1999. \$39.95. 0 8014 3629 X

The revisionists have taught us that Catholicism in England during the late

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a mere leftover after a failed Protestant Reformation. But they have less often explained why, if those who were Catholic in some very self-conscious sense withdrew themselves from their parish communities and became 'recusants', excluding themselves from office and influence, Catholics were an object of fear and loathing? It might have been because these Catholics remained visible symbols of popery, that crucial element of the English Protestant psyche. It might have been because Catholicism, something foreign and other, fuelling the ideological dimension of Protestant England's foreign policy, made English Catholics look like potential or actual fifth columnists. But it is all still rather unclear. The history of post-Reformation Catholicism is still in its infancy, and many years of research will be needed before a serious attempt can be made to answer the question of how politically dangerous the Catholic part of the population really was.

However, in the meantime, cultural historians like Frances Dolan are addressing this issue from the perspective of contemporary literary culture, and specifically, here, why Catholicism was so often associated by contemporaries with disorderly women. Should we take the genderisation of this, as of other topics, seriously? The alarm bells, I have to say, did start to ring on seeing Dolan's announcement in chapter ii that while the Gunpowder Plot (the origins of which cannot, she alleges, be sorted out by empirical enquiry) included almost no women, 'female figures, abstract and particular, crop up frequently in Jacobean discussions of the threat Catholics and Catholicism offer to England'.

On the other hand, I (for what it is worth) have to say that in almost every respect Dolan's 'take' on the political and cultural resonances of Catholicism as a source of conflict in early modern England (though here specifically focused on women) ties in very well with what is known from more empirical readings of the data which forms the bedrock of the topic. Dolan's starting point is that Catholicism was integrated all too well into English society. Many Catholics did not fully separate from the establishment, even the ecclesiastical establishment (witness all the debate about occasional conformity by Catholics). Also, the political contingency of events leading up to the Civil War and then beyond, up to 1688, meant that contemporaries could not view Catholicism with the Whiggish self-satisfied confidence of those who subsequently wrote its obituary, knowing, as it were, that its demise was certain and that Babylon was fallen. She stresses how much she wants to reject the thinking behind terms such as 'winners and losers, centers and margins, progress and regress' (p. 5).

The book then concentrates on three areas – the conflict caused by Catholic women in the household; all the fuss caused by the overt Catholicism of Henrietta Maria, queen consort to Charles I; and finally the Meal-Tub Plot, at the centre of which was Elizabeth Cellier. Of course, this is not in itself a social history of Catholicism, or even a social history of Catholic women. Many did not conform to these stereotypes of popish perversity and disorder. And Dolan herself emphasises that the theme of the book is that 'Catholics were persistently linked to women' (p. 8) rather than that, for example, disorderly women had a tendency to be Catholics, or that Catholic women tended to be disorderly.

Particularly convincing, I think, is the demonstration that, completely aside from whether most people believed or sympathised with patriarchal discourses, anti-popish polemic had a tendency to ape that patriarchalism which warned of

the dangers of women exceeding their scripturally allotted role. Dolan argues that 'by associating the threat of Catholicism with other threats from within or below, the language of gender described the consequences of national conversion' (p. 85). One of the persistent themes in the history of Catholicism of this period is, indeed, the social dislocation introduced into Catholic households by having resident seminary priests and Jesuits as chaplains, whose spiritual authority was not anchored or supported by any kind of actual benefice or social underpinning beyond the goodwill of the patron. In a household where the wife was the principal Catholic (where, for example, the husband was a conformist) the association of the priest with the wife could trigger a whole range of contemporary worries about the proper relationship and distribution of authority between husband and wife, and could be tied in with another well-known source of contemporary criticism of the clergy – namely their moral failings, a discourse of vice which contrasted the reality of their moral failings with the aspirations to purity with which they announced and characterised their ministry.

Chapter iii looks at how opponents of the Caroline regime relied on perceptions that Henrietta Maria corrupted the Protestant culture of the court, part of wider worries about men's attachment to and dependence on women, and suggests that Protestant critiques of Mariolatry provided a language for such attacks. In other words, traditional attacks on the unwarranted influence of a royal favourite, in this case the queen who was corrupting the commonwealth, could be seen as analogous to the effects of foreign Catholicism. In this case it was so suitable because of Henrietta Maria's own Catholicism.

Then we jump forward in time to the popish plot or rather Meal-Tub Plot involving Elizabeth Cellier. (Part of this chapter has appeared in the volume, *Catholicism and anti-Catholicism in early modern English texts*, Basingstoke 1999, edited by Arthur Marotti.) Dolan's point is that Cellier's identity as a woman was linked to the way she was represented, and represented herself, in print. It was not merely her Catholicism (even the peculiarly activist kind in which she indulged, enough one might have thought to account for her trials and tribulations) which brought the kind of public disdain and opprobrium heaped upon her. One of the interesting aspects of this chapter is the way in which it deals with issues of martyr representation, and how the role of martyr/saint, particularly associated with women by Catholics, was inverted by Cellier's opponents and detractors.

There is often a virtually unbridgeable gulf separating how political historians and cultural/new historicist scholars 'do' the history of episodes such as the Gunpowder Plot, the Civil War, the Popish Plot, and so on – the one side despising the other's lack of 'real' research, and the other mystified at the first side's lack of imagination. But here Dolan's conclusion is an eminently sensible strategy of 'challenging the boundaries' between various sorts of history, here primarily 'women's' and 'political'. It certainly helps to rehabilitate and make relevant the curious topic of 'Catholic history' which has languished in relative obscurity now for rather a long time, in a way which would have been inexplicable to contemporaries, sympathetic or otherwise.

ST MARY'S COLLEGE,  
STRAWBERRY HILL

MICHAEL QUESTIER

*Ambition and failure in Stuart England. The career of John, first Viscount Scudamore.* By Ian Atherton. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) Pp. xiii + 322 incl. 3 tables. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 1999. £49. 0 7190 5091 X.

Ian Atherton has produced a judicious and timely biography of the first Viscount Scudamore (1601–71). It is based on his Cambridge PhD thesis and is laid out under themes covering Scudamore's character and religious outlook, his role in local government, later work as an ambassador in France between 1635 and 1639, and rather slight and unfortunate involvement as a royalist commander in Herefordshire during the Civil War. In keeping with modern trends, Ian Atherton devotes space to discussing concepts of honour in the early modern world, revealing both the constraints and opportunities which beset gentlemen concerned to present the correct image at all times. This discussion helps to provide continuity when Atherton reveals how Scudamore's religious outlook could embrace relatively extreme Laudian ceremonialism and yet still leave him 'popular' within his county as a pious gentleman. It also provides an interesting strand to the excellent chapter on Scudamore's role as a foreign ambassador, which illustrates so clearly the problems which beset any ambassador in representing Charles I abroad. In Atherton's hands, Scudamore's life and career provides an excellent case study for a range of issues currently under debate. The chapter on Scudamore's religious outlook provides excellent material on Laudianism in the 1630s, highlights central concerns with sacrilege and ceremony, and firmly rebuts those who underestimate the hand of Laud behind church policies. Yet the limitations of Laud's patronage and court influence are also well caught, particularly when Scudamore felt stranded and isolated in his later years in France. This work complements that of historians like Jackie Eales, Judith Maltby, Richard Cust and Ronald Hutton. Scudamore is seen as a loyal royal servant both at home and abroad, who did his best in accordance with his own abilities. He had clear limitations and was not above county feuding on behalf of his 'honour', which may in turn have hindered the royalist war effort in Herefordshire. More could possibly have been said about the problems of writing a biography, but this is commendably clear and honest about source problems, and the discussion of images does convey many of the points one would want to make about coming to grips with a man's life. Certainly, we are left at the end with a complex picture of the man, one that conveys many jagged edges and contradictions, and one that while not without sympathy, also reveals Scudamore's failings. This is an important biography because it contributes greatly to our knowledge of the period in a manner which should promote the value of sound historical enquiry.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
CHICHESTER

ANDREW FOSTER

*Nachbarschaft und Konkurrenz. Juden und Christen in Dörfern der Markgrafschaft Burgau 1650 bis 1750.* By Sabine Ullmann. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 151.) Pp. 563+4 loose plans and 2 maps. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999. DM 166. 3 525 35466 5

Based on extensive archival research, Ullman reconstructs the political, economic

and social world of rural Jewry in four Swabian villages in the Markgraftschafft Burgau near Augsburg. After an introduction on the historiography and problems of Jewish history in early modern central Europe, she divides her book into five main parts. The major themes cover the political and legal conditions for Jewish settlement in this Habsburg territory that was dotted with local, noble privileges, the internal structure of the Jewish communities, the economic relations between Jews and Christians (the former as mainly horse and cattle traders and as moneylenders), and the social topography of the mixed Jewish-Christian villages. Of particular interest for readers of this JOURNAL is part VI, in which Ullmann discusses relations between Jews and Christians. The potential for conflict arose from two sources: first, purely economic factors, for example, competition over village resources such as the use of the communal pasture; and secondly, religious friction focused on the repression of public Jewish worship by local Catholic pastors. In spite of occasional violence directed at Jewish cemeteries and at Jewish travellers, the economic-religious conflicts were well regulated by channels of reconciliation and legal settlement. Ullmann argues convincingly that the fluid alliance of economic interests between Jews and Christians, and the daily coexistence of neighbourliness often mitigated the structural conflicts between the two communities. The century between 1650 and 1750 was remarkably free of anti-Jewish violence, in spite of the anti-Jewish discourse in Christianity. The two communities remained, however, strictly endogamous and distinct from one another in spite of their geographic intimacy.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

R. PO-CHIA HSIA

*Spinoza. A life.* By Steven Nadler. Pp. xiii + 407 + 11 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £22.95. 0 521 552109

This careful and scholarly work represents a welcome contribution to Spinoza studies. Following hard on the heels of Margaret Gullan-Whur's *Within reason: a life of Spinoza* (London 1998) the author's claim to have written 'the first full-length and complete biography of Spinoza ever to appear in English' is unfortunately untenable. Less discursive than Gullan-Whur's book, it is, apart from cogent summaries of Spinoza's main works, essentially a historical study. Nadler draws upon the major research of the past sixty years and the Amsterdam municipal and Jewish archives, none of it virgin territory, but it is meticulously surveyed and lucidly presented. Nadler sets Spinoza's life (1632–77) firmly within the context of Sephardic Jewish immigrant life in Amsterdam. He shows how the community's Marrano background in the Iberian Peninsula and important mercantile and political role in the newly autonomous Netherlands affected its religious and cultural interaction with Christians during this turbulent period. At the time of Spinoza's excommunication for heresy Jews were wary of trusting the climate of toleration under the republican regime. The use of the *herem* (ban) would have signalled that they were keeping their house in order. For the reasons behind the *herem*, Nadler, like most other writers, has to rely on anecdotal (and sometimes apocryphal) evidence as well as reading back in time the doctrines of Spinoza's writings. He presents quite convincing arguments for Spinoza having begun his theologico-political writing in the late 1650s, and hence for some of his

heterodox views on biblical authorship, textual criticism and his critique of beliefs in the supernatural having been in his mind when he was ostracised. A well-balanced account is given of Spinoza's youthful rootedness in Jewish scholarship, with a recognition of its limitations, in particular the superficiality of his knowledge of Talmud, most probably due to the interruption of his studies upon taking over his father's import and export business. A comprehensive and illuminating *exposé* is provided of Spinoza's non-Jewish associations and influences, including Cartesians, Collegiants, some with Socinian tendencies, Mennonites, possibly Quakers and various Reformed dissenters. The influences of other heterodox ex-Marranos like Prado and the seminal role of Spinoza's Latin teacher, the ex-Jesuit republican van den Enden, are thoroughly examined. The most interesting contribution to the discussion of Spinoza's ostracism in the last five years of his brief life is the strong emphasis given to its place in the conflict between the followers of Voetius and Cocceius, conservative and liberal theologians within the Reformed Church. The Voetians were allied with the Orangists, the Cocceians with the republican and liberal elements within the States of Holland. The issue of the separation of theology and philosophy identified with Cartesianism and espoused by Spinoza was crucial to this conflict. The summaries of his metaphysical, psychological and political philosophy offered by an author who is himself a philosopher, gives this biography a didactic dimension which should make it a spur to the recent revival of interest in Spinoza.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

R. M. SILVERMAN

*Fundamentalism, sectarianism, and revolution. The Jacobin dimension of modernity.* By S. N. Eisenstadt. (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) Pp. xiv + 280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £40 (cloth), £14.95 (paper). 0 521 64184 5; 0 521 64586 7

In this book Eisenstadt deploys vast ranges of material in Weberian mode using a 'systems' approach. He deals with 'fundamentalism' as it has developed over twenty-five years and sets it in the context of as many centuries, relating contemporary differences to differences between eastern and monotheistic traditions of transcendence in what Jaspers called the Axial Period. Thus the so-called 'fundamentalism' emerging in India has a particular and communal character compared to the utopian and universal tensions built into monotheism. In these latter traditions there emerges a persistent attempt to recreate the political centre in ideal terms, which in Christianity finally breaks out of Catholic constraints in the Radical Reformation. It is this sectarian tradition which mutates through the Anglo-American and French Revolutions and produces the all-embracing and violent drive of Jacobinism. Thereafter there develops a tension between the absolutist and liberal versions playing out the central antinomies of equality and hierarchy, universal and particular, constructed and organic, rational and affective (as brilliantly summarised on p. 199). As western modernisation spreads there is a reaction which attempts to outdo the west in its own terms, with the kind of partial convergence this implies. However, from the seventies on there emerges a violent Jacobinism based on a thoroughly modern and essentialist reading of radically different traditions, i.e. fundamentalism.



However, as p. 179 would suggest, there is surely a huge difference between Anglo-American peaceable voluntarism, now represented by global Pentecostalism, and the political messianism of the Franco-Russian traditions. The ambition of the former to take over the centre is quite weak, and reduced by individual conscience, whereas the latter is genuinely Jacobin in its potentials. Maybe the catch-all term fundamentalism has much to answer for.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

DAVID MARTIN

*La Bible dans la correspondance de Voltaire.* By François Bessire. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 367.) Pp. vii + 346. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999. £55 (Fr.550). 0 7294 0549 4

This is a serious treatment of a comic writer. Every running gag is analysed and every example of each listed. By its structure this valuable detailed work sadly makes Voltaire himself appear tediously obsessive. Bessire finds a 'methodical' desacralisation of Scripture rather than merely a consistent one. Compared with other lay writers, Voltaire was indeed a virtuoso citer of the Bible (13 per cent of his letters as against 2.5 per cent of Rousseau's have biblical references). He could quote it in Latin and in French, and even once in English (man goeth 'to his long home'). He was still an amateur: good eighteenth-century preachers can surprise with texts, whereas his surprises are creative misreadings of familiar ones. When he has nothing more exciting to write about than his own health, he spices the letters up with biblical jocularities. When he is talking about the *philosophes* as a movement, he borrows the language of the early Church: they are the 'little flock', the 'disciples', working 'in the Lord's vineyard', and he writes them 'epistles', sometimes ending with 'Ecr. l'inf.' instead of 'Amen'. Bessire perhaps over-stresses the mockery of Christianity involved in all this. What might well set a Christian reader's teeth on edge are the letters to royalty. Bessire has tables of which correspondents get most biblical allusions, and kings come high. Voltaire addresses Frederick II as 'my true king of glory, true creator of my salvation'. This is blasphemy, of course, but it is blasphemy against the rights of man too. Voltaire was presumably testing how far one could go with studied insincerity, rather than revising his Christology. The king who accepts it is mocked. Sometimes in his letters Voltaire discusses the Bible rather than simply making comic allusions to it. He is an eighteenth-century literary critic: there is some sensible distinction of literary genres, but the Psalms are 'bad verse', it is ignoble to talk about putting a light under something as plebian as a bushel, and Ossian is very like Isaiah. There is the occasional rationalist critique: he extracted from the sculptor Pigalle his professional judgement that a golden calf would take more than six month's work, rather than be done overnight. Unsurprisingly, he liked the cynical tone of Ecclesiastes, 'the good Jewish deist who took the name of Solomon'. Some of his references to Jesus are slighting ('the hanged man') but elsewhere he becomes 'the first theist'. Overwhelmingly, however, the Bible for Voltaire is a source of running jokes. I am not as sure as Bessire that laughter is utterly corrosive of the sacred, even if Voltaire thought it was. The evidence is all here, in a very systematic and beautifully produced book, that completely

supplants its predecessors. No-one can quote Besterman's figures again. There are seventy-seven pages of analytical annexes and tables.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

ALISTAIR MASON

*Thomas Gillespie and the origins of the Relief Church in 18th century Scotland.* By Kenneth B. E. Roxburgh. (International Theological Studies, 3.) Pp. xvi + 272. Bern–New York: Peter Lang, 1999. DM 75 (£26) (paper). 3 906762 19 X; 0 8204 4228 3; 0946 1507

Until recently the splits in eighteenth-century Scottish Presbyterianism were widely noted but little studied. In particular the Relief Church, which differed in a number of important ways from the older Seceder movement, suffered from almost total neglect despite its rapid growth. In examining the life and career of Gillespie, this study considers the forces that brought the Presbytery of Relief into being, its ambiguous relationship with the Church of Scotland and the factors which gave it a separate identity and organisational permanence never envisaged by its founder. As a supporter of the Cambuslang and Kilsyth revivals, Gillespie appears as one of a number of evangelical ministers entrusted with editing the written accounts resulting from the examination of converts. His numerous deletions reveal a sensitivity to contemporary criticisms of the revival and anything that tended towards superstition or 'human fancy'. The treatment of his deposition from the ministry of the National Church by the 1752 General Assembly is important, less for its reiteration of the steadfastness with which he opposed the operation of patronage than for what it reveals about the contemporary power struggles within Church and Society. Considerable space is devoted to Gillespie's emphasis upon preaching and the theology that informed it. The book concludes by considering the question why, in the latter years of his life, Gillespie encouraged Relief congregations to seek chapel of ease status within the National Church while his fellow ministers within the Relief gained an increasing sense of denominational separateness.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

DERYCK LOVEGROVE

*The Moravian settlement at Fulneck, 1742–1790.* By Geoffrey Stead. (Publications of the Thoresby Society, 2nd Ser., 9.) Pp. viii + 127 incl. frontispiece, 10 plates and 14 tables. Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1999 (for 1998). £9.50 (paper). 0 900 741 55 4; 0082 4232

The Moravians – or the Renewed Unity of the Brethren, to give them their proper title – exerted an influence upon the eighteenth-century Evangelical revival in England that was wholly disproportionate to their numbers. Geoffrey Stead's study of the Fulneck community in Yorkshire gives us an in-depth analysis of a single branch of this movement. It is a pity that the author's work was completed too soon to make use of Colin Podmore's more detailed examination of the Moravians in England, but he manages to weave into his narrative sufficient wider detail concerning the Moravians to avoid becoming too parochial. His treatment of the organisation of the Fulneck community covers most aspects of their life, with only education and mission receiving comparatively little attention. One interesting aspect of the Moravians was the way in which

they managed to combine religious zeal with an insistence that members conformed to the rules of their communities, all under the watchful eye of Zinzendorf at Herrnhut. The regime at Fulneck, however, whilst demanding strict compliance from members of the community, was not particularly oppressive – though Stead’s research reveals the existence of continual tension between the English Brethren and the steady steam of German elders. Indeed, Zinzendorf’s death in 1760 marked the waning of Moravian fortunes everywhere, including that of the Fulneck community, despite their attempts to evolve. Another tension lay between Fulneck’s economic aspirations and its spiritual principles, although this was not the real reason why this and the other Moravian communities in England never met with the success for which they hoped. There were plenty of alternative, more ‘English’ avenues to which disaffected Anglicans might turn and the rapid growth of Methodism eventually gave the Moravians too strong a competitor.

SURREY

BARRIE TABRAHAM

*A modern persecution. Breton Jesuits under the suppression of 1762–1814.* By D. Gillian Thompson. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 378.) Pp. v + 326 incl. 5 maps. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999. £55. 0 7294 0701 2; 0435 2866

The destruction of the Jesuits was the greatest upheaval in post-Tridentine Catholicism before the French Revolution. Retrospectively, it came to seem like the first triumph of the godlessness that was to mark the 1790s, and only quite recently have historians stopped accepting that the main authors of the destruction were the *philosophes*. But in France at least, the true destroyers of the Society are now seen to be Jansenist-led magistrates; and Professor Thompson’s study illustrates just how determined and vindictive they were. Her focus is narrow: to trace the fate of the 232 Bretons who were members of the Society in the Province of France on the eve of the attack. The Province of France did not cover the whole of Louis xv’s kingdom, and in terms of secular jurisdiction it fell under three separate *parlements*: Paris, Rouen and Rennes. But Jesuits of Breton origin were the largest single contingent in the province’s complement, and were growing even stronger when the blow fell. Their fate may thus be taken to typify what happened to the French Jesuits more broadly, although Thompson is too cautious a historian to make such a claim explicitly. When a *parlement* expelled the Society, its members were required to disperse and live apart from one another. If they wished to teach or undertake cure of souls or other spiritual functions, they were required to swear unequivocal loyalty to the king of France in terms which no fully professed Jesuit could ever accept. Yet refusal opened them in effect to surveillance and harassment so intense that it could only be called persecution. The pattern was uneven. It was harsher, and more sustained, in the jurisdiction of Paris than in that of Rennes, thanks largely to the chequered history of the Breton *parlement* over the 1760s. After initial virulence between 1762 and 1764, there was a period when the king and the bishops were able to mitigate the impact, before the merciless treatment of the Spanish Jesuits in 1767 prompted French emulation. Only Maupeou’s attack on the *parlements* eased the pressure once more, but when the pope dissolved the whole Society in 1773 all grounds for

vestigial protection disappeared. When d'Alembert, in 1765, tried to claim philosophical responsibility for the attack on the Jesuits, his true motive was to deny the credit to 'rude and ignorant' magistrates who 'if they were the masters, would exercise the most violent inquisition'. What they did to their fallen enemies, chronicled so coolly and clinically here, shows how right he was.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

WILLIAM DOYLE

*Nation and word, 1770–1850. Religious and metaphysical languages in European national consciousness.* By Mary Anne Perkins. Pp. xix + 370. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. £49.50 1 85928 286 5

In this wide-ranging and readable study Mary Anne Perkins explores the multifarious interactions between notions of national identity, language and religion in European culture. Although her survey concentrates on views put forward in France, Germany and England in the period from 1770 to 1850, it is by no means wholly confined to these geographical and historical boundaries. Among the topics discussed are views on the relationship between language and national character, theories about the origin of language, the symbols adopted by nations and the power exerted by such symbols, claims to be a 'chosen' nation and to have a divinely ordained mission, notions of sovereignty, ideas about the social and political incarnation of nationhood in law and the moral community, and thought about the relationship between Church and State. At the end there are two appendices, one offering a perspective on current notions of nationalism and the other considering the problem of defining what is meant by 'nation' and 'nationalism'. The discussions throughout are richly illustrated by references to, and citations from, works written in the period being reviewed and more recent discussions. Among the many and varied points that come to light in these illustrations are that in the early 1500s 'the Revolutionary of the Upper Rhine' reported that Germans had been the chosen people since the time of Creation and that before Babel all people had spoken German, while in the following century a Pole affirmed that the original language of humankind had been Polish; according to Barère superstition speaks 'low Breton', hatred of political reform 'German, the counterrevolution speaks Italian, and fanaticism speaks Basque'; and the *English Review* for 1848 argued that the British should not 'seek to isolate our country from the rest of Europe' and so 'leave foreign states without the aid of our sympathy, our earnest counsels, and our warnings; as though we were not well assured of the justice of our own cause, and shrunk from controversy with democratic and infidel licence'. These are but a very small sample of the fascinating kaleidoscope of ideas noticed in this volume. It has, perhaps, two weaknesses. The first is that the extensiveness of the materials mentioned means that the ideas they express tend to be treated only briefly; there is little discussion of their original context and of how they were developed in their authors' works overall. The other is that while the discussion amply supports the conclusions that 'Romanticism and Idealism...provided the "furnace" fuelled by passions, intellect and faith within which the relationship between language, spirit and nation was refined', and that religious convictions about Word and Spirit were intertwined with political convictions and national self-identification, at times the impressive collection of materials used in this study makes it hard to see the

wood for the trees. These, however, are weaknesses that are probably unavoidable in an investigation that seeks to identify the many interacting components in the tangled thicket of ideas that has eventually led to the modern nationalisms with their empowering myths about origins, genuine and invented memories, and numinous symbols.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

DAVID A. PAILIN

*The diocesan revival in the Church of England, c. 1800–1870.* By Arthur Burns. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xiv + 344 incl. 2 figs, 2 maps and 9 tables. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. £48. 0 19 820784 0

*A passionate humility. Frederick Oakeley and the Oxford Movement.* By P. Galloway. Pp. xi + 316 incl. frontispiece. Leominster: Gracewing, 1999. £17.99. 0 85244 506 7

The two works under review provide, in different ways, important additions to our knowledge of the nineteenth-century Church. Arthur Burns offers a major revision of accepted views of the revival of the Church of England in the period from 1800 to 1870; Peter Galloway furthers our understanding of the Oxford Movement. Burns's argument is that there was a diocesan revival of equal importance to more publicised revivals like that brought about by the Oxford Movement, which it pre-dated. It also adopted an alternative, local and non-utilitarian model of reform to that pioneered by the ecclesiastical commissioners and was under way well before Samuel Wilberforce's elevation to the episcopate. The diocesan revival began in earnest in the late 1820s and early 1830s as a response to widespread criticisms of the Church and progressed locally alongside the national reforms introduced by the ecclesiastical commissioners. It legitimated its reforms not only in terms of utility, but with reference to church tradition: High Churchmen, as well as members of other church parties, introduced reforms by appealing to past precedents. The diocesan revival was introduced by more frequent episcopal and archidiaconal visitations and more ambitious charges, as means of promoting reforms and countering criticisms. Later, in the 1840s and 1850s, bishops and archdeacons sought to curb the party conflicts aroused by Tractarians and militant Evangelicals. Their aim was to promote unity, a sense of community and 'diocesan consciousness'. To this end they reanimated the office of rural dean and meetings of ruri-decanal chapters. It was widely accepted that a tightening up of clerical discipline was an urgent necessity, but High Church bishops like Henry Phillpotts resisted central control and sought to strengthen diocesan procedures. An important outcome of the diocesan revival and a means to its further progress, was the revival of diocesan assemblies to facilitate consultation between bishops, clergy and laity. By 1870 a sense of diocesan community had been created, that had hardly existed in 1800. As well as demonstrating the importance of orthodox High Churchmen in reviving the Church in the diocese (as her chief local manifestation) prior to the other more well-known movements of reform, Burns also shows that the diocesan revival was contemporary with a similar emphasis on the reform of local and provincial secular government, in which many of the clergy were also involved, and that both reform movements, ecclesiastical and secular, were similarly legitimated by reference to tradition as well as by utilitarian considerations. Burns's book is

based upon exhaustive research, including a study of 700 visitation charges, and provides a new and significant perspective on the history of the nineteenth-century Church of England, of which all future historians of the period will have to take account.

Peter Galloway's beautifully written study of Frederick Oakeley is the first modern biography of a man otherwise glimpsed only briefly in histories of the Oxford Movement. Born in 1802 into a gentry family, Oakeley went up to Oxford in 1820 and in 1827 was elected Chaplain Fellow of Balliol. His life-long love of liturgy, which began in childhood at services in Lichfield Cathedral, was stimulated by attendance at Robert Lloyd's lectures on the Prayer Book. Between 1830 and 1835 he passed through an Evangelical phase and so did not figure among the pioneer Tractarians. Nevertheless, after 1835 he increasingly identified himself with the Oxford Movement, drew closer to Pusey, attended Newman's sermons, and was particularly influenced by the anti-Reformation sentiments of Froude's *Remains*, published in 1838 and 1839. His closest associate was W. G. Ward, also a Fellow of Balliol, and from 1839 they led the Rome-ward faction of the Oxford Movement, which Newman vainly tried to steady with *Tract 90*. In 1839 Oakeley moved to London as minister of the proprietary Margaret Chapel where his predecessor, William Dodsworth, had already introduced the observance of saints' days and other liturgical innovations. Oakeley turned an unprepossessing chapel into London's pioneer centre of Tractarian liturgical practice, modelled on Littlemore, and centred on the celebration of the eucharist. He wrote a notorious article in the *British Critic* attacking Bishop Jewel and the Reformation; and another praising the Prayer Book seemingly oblivious to Cranmer's Protestant theology. He had a passionate interest in hymnody and church music (his name is remembered as the translator of 'Adeste Fideles'), and introduced both Anglican and Gregorian chant into the worship of the Margaret Chapel. After 1841 he and Ward were set on a Rome-ward path. The crisis came early in 1845 with the condemnation of Ward's *The ideal of a Christian Church*. After a protracted agony Oakeley submitted to Rome in late October, three weeks after Newman. The rest of his life, following ordination as a Roman Catholic priest, was largely spent as the parish priest of an Irish working-class parish in Islington, where he died in 1880. Galloway concedes that he was no theologian or historian, that his views on the Reformation were wildly inaccurate, and endorses R. W. Church's judgement that he was the 'master of a facile and elegant pen without much learning'. Nevertheless, he rescues him from the condescension of Newman (in the *Apologia*) and of Bouyer (a 'colourless person'). His greatest strengths were his pastoral gifts and his feeling for liturgy (as Alf Härdelin notes in *The Tractarian understanding of the eucharist*), which he used to good effect at the Margaret Chapel and at Islington.

CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

PETER DAVIE

*Religion and the American Civil War*. Edited by Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout and Charles Reagan Wilson (afterword James M. McPherson). Pp. xiii + 422. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. £38.50. 0 19 512128 7; 0 19 512129 5

The religious dimension of America's greatest ordeal has been comparatively

neglected, but this new collection should begin to remedy the fault. As the editors note, the United States 'was the world's most Christian nation in 1861 and became even more so by the end of the war' (p. 4). This volume, which is framed by an editors' introduction and an afterword by James M. McPherson, is organised around the themes of ideas, people and places, and includes contributions from both established and younger scholars. Although the sixteen essays diverge considerably in theme and especially in texture, only Randall Miller's valuable discussion of 'Catholic religion, Irish ethnicity, and the Civil War' breaches the solid Protestant ranks. More surprising is the relative lack of attention to the African-American religious experience; the short shrift it receives here scarcely does justice to the Civil War's profound impact on all aspects of black life. Inevitably, many of the contributions confront differences between northerners' and southerners' religious conception of war. In one of the best essays Reid Mitchell reveals how post-war mythology enshrined the belief in the Confederates' superior Christianity, a claim that their northern victors surprisingly showed little inclination to counter. 'Perhaps at some time religion became viewed as something quaint and therefore probably southern', he muses (p. 305). Equally effective is Drew Gilpin Faust's examination of elite women and religion in the wartime South in which she brilliantly encapsulates the price paid as a result of the dual subordination of females – to God and to male authority. Other highlights include a lengthy examination of religious life in the Confederate capital, Richmond, by Harry S. Stout and Christopher Grasso, a fascinating exegesis of the Bible and slavery by Mark Noll that takes as its starting point the 'greatest conundrum of the Civil War', the fact that, as Lincoln noted in his Second Inaugural, both sides 'read the same Bible' (p. 43), and the final essay by Charles Reagan Wilson that usefully sets the American experience in wider comparative context. All of the essays have something valuable to offer, although taken as whole the volume is somewhat unwieldy and occasionally repetitive. Perhaps one of its distinguished contributors will now seize the opportunity to write a more accessible study that ties together the threads of this important topic.

KEELE UNIVERSITY

MARTIN CRAWFORD

*Henry Drummond. A perpetual benediction. Essays to commemorate the centennial of his death.* Edited by Thomas E. Corts. Pp. xxxiii + 141 incl. frontispiece. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999. £18.95. 0 567 08667 4

The centennial in 1997 of the death of Henry Drummond was marked by two conferences; one in Scotland and the other in the United States, and the collected papers from these constitute the substance of this book. Drummond (1851–97) is perhaps best known for the devotional classic *The greatest thing in the world* (1887). However, his principal concern was to formulate a synthesis between Christian thought and science and to communicate it in an age profoundly marked by the influence of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory. Drummond's attempted synthesis did not ultimately commend itself, but his personal impact upon a generation of students in Scotland and beyond was considerable. This collection

includes a portrayal of the religious background against which Drummond formulated his thinking by A. C. Cheyne, and an assessment of the inter-relationship between Drummond's scientific thought and his essentially evangelical theology by D. W. Bebbington. Equally, there is a biographical introduction by the editor and M. H. Corts, as well as several contributions by R. S. Barbour. The material within the book is varied in character, ranging from valuable scholarly analysis to sermons, and to that which tends towards the hagiographical. Several of the contributions would have benefited from closer editing and there is considerable repetition, which reflects, I suspect, the parallel nature of the conferences. Drummond is a difficult figure to place within the history of the development of ideas. Nevertheless, his attempt to communicate Christian thought in culturally relevant terms is worthy of study and this book offers a modest attempt to do so.

EAST KILBRIDE

JOHN MCPAKE

*The power of God against the guns of government. Religious upheaval in Mexico at the turn of the nineteenth century.* By Paul Vanderwood. Pp. xi + 410 incl. frontispiece and 6 maps + 35 plates. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998. £45 (cloth), £16.95 (paper). 0 8047 3038 5; 0 8047 3039 3

Critiqued by some as blurring the line between history and historical fiction, Vanderwood's book does read like a good novel. In short, detailed chapters he skilfully links the narrative of warring factions in Tomochic, Chihuahua, to that of not only Teresa Urrea (the mystic and faith healer from nearby Cabora, Sonora, around whom folk-Catholic and Spiritist cults grew) but also to regional, national and international political leaders and observers. Vanderwood explains key players' roles in such a way that even those unfamiliar with rural, *fin-de-siècle* Mexico will understand the significance of a *jefe político* (local bigwig) or *santo* (living folk saint) just as well as those of president, governor, bishop, priest, army officer or journalist. But Vanderwood's narrative of Tomochic and the larger social phenomena it was connected to is also an extremely well-documented history, and his portrayal makes an important statement. To contemporary observers, the causes of the rebellion may seem to be a muddle of complaints regarding the visiting priest, ignorance of the workings of the institutional Roman Catholic Church, anxiety over increasingly intrusive government land surveys and other interventions, and growing competition among local families and factions. For the rebellious Tomochitecos, all these were rooted in two broad desires: 'to be left alone' (p. 292) and to worship God as they pleased, be it in their local church (protected from urbanites seeking art treasures, as well as unsympathetic priests) or through the intermediaries of their choice (such as Urrea, discredited by ecclesiastical authorities). Vanderwood's sympathy with the Tomochitecos is clear, to the point that some of his conclusions regarding institutionalised religion and government read more like blanket condemnations. Yet he does not refrain from using religious vocabulary; he describes the army's success with nationalistic indoctrination among the rank-and-file by stating '[s]omehow, the litany worked its magic' (p. 246). Nor is he



always hostile; he credits the parish priest of Clinton, Arizona, witness to the revival of interest in Urrea, for answering inquiries and sending soil from her gravesite to petitioners, as it is 'the wise priest who understands that popular religiosity frequently lacks doctrinal purity but can still be honored' (p. 326). Because the rebellion continues to be manipulated to tell various 'histories,' Vanderwood concludes with an important examination of differing interpretations of Urrea's and the Tomochitecos' relationship to the Porfirian regime, the Catholic Church, the Mexican Revolution, conceptualisations of women's roles and post-revolutionary politics. Vanderwood's careful, nuanced portrayal shows that the massacre that ended the rebellion was the result of years of neglect on the part of State and Church, accompanied by poverty, ignorance, crass insensitivity to local events, sentiments and beliefs, and repressive policies. His analysis also serves as an enduring, cautionary tale – people do not necessarily cease to be 'religious' or 'political', nor to be willing to defend their faith or their autonomy at great personal risk, when they reject an institutionalised religion or government for that which holds more meaning for them.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

KRISTINA BOYLAN

*In the shadow of the Mahatma. Bishop V. S. Azariah and the travails of Christianity in British India.* By Susan Billington Harper. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Pp. xxi + 462 incl. 4 maps + 17 ills. Grand Rapids, Mich. – Cambridge: Eerdmans/Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000. £40. 0 8028 3874 X

Two dominant questions emerge for historians and theologians from this masterly piece of ecclesiastical biography which handles its complex material with immense care, meticulous documentation and thorough analysis. They are: can we ever 'de-politicise' Christian conversion? Should we ever – or still – seek to convert? The answer to the first, at least in the Indian context and perhaps also in the Muslim, is 'never'. The answer to the second – in this age of perhaps too languid over-sentimental 'dialogue' – turns on how one possesses one's New Testament and reads 'the mind of Christ'.

Susan Billington Harper has admirably delineated the Indian scene and an outstanding story of Indian Christian leadership, as the tangled *mise-en-scène* of these two issues. Linked with Yale, Harvard, Oxford (as a Rhodes scholar) and *The New York Times*, and versed in Indian Christian 'lore' via the late Bishop Stephen Neill, she brings acumen and love to her task. Whether 'the shadow' of Gandhi is the happiest imagery is the one query a review might raise. For Samuel Azariah, the Mahatma's almost exact contemporary, had powers of mind, spirit, discernment and leadership that even a Gandhi's eminence could not over-awe.

Vedanayagam Azariah, bishop of Dornakal for thirty-two years and builder of its splendid cathedral, was born in 1874 as a Nadar, a member of a Tamil-speaking lower-caste sub-culture, who first learned letters, after the manner also of Gandhi, by scratching with a stick in the sand. He came to Christian maturity by Anglican nurture in Tinnevely, but with well-tuned ecumenical sympathies and organising skills via his role in the Indian YMCA and his initiative in

founding the Indian Missionary Society. His was the voice in the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 that pleaded 'Give us friends!' in wistful rebuke of western pride.

It was through a long and zealously pastoral pursuit of village evangelism in the Dornakal area that he emerged to 'office and ministry' under the perceptive aegis of Bishop Henry Whitehead of Madras. The anomalies – expertly traced by the author – in contriving a 'diocesan bishop' *de facto* as still 'assistant' to that of Madras, stemmed from the problematics of a still 'established' Anglicanism in India. These were heightened by tensions and jealousies around the novelty of an Indian 'Father in God' caring for both government personnel and missionaries of 'self-ordering societies'.

Azariah's qualities of mind and heart enabled him to sustain these trials while his evangelising ministry steadily recruited, educated and served an increasing diocesan community of, mainly, village converts to Christ, among whom he itinerated as closest of all to his heart, beyond all the pressures – ecclesial and political – which his growing personal stature brought.

It was these – the church growth in human numbers and the rise of Indian nationalism by the 1930s – that set the stage for those double questions about 'conversion'. With his unstinted commitment to church growth and nurture, Bishop Azariah came to be, for Gandhi, a symbol of what that supremely Hindu figure most contradicted. The two men met in late 1936 in a private venture towards reconciliation, but the outcome was disputed and became itself, in turn, a theme of controversy.

Gandhi was opposed to conversion to Christian faith on two counts – his philosophy of the equal truth of all faiths making transference of allegiance both futile and foolish, and the Indian nationalist thesis that authentic 'Indianism' meant the caste-abnegating 'Hinduism' he hoped to inspire. The second factor became, for him, urgent when sizeable 'mass' movements of lower-caste Hindus migrated churchwards. For Azariah's evangelism had always sought their social and physical betterment as demonstrating the Gospel's relevance to India's suffering – the very dimension that Gandhi either discounted or welcomed only in social (non-conversionist) terms. For him, Hinduism, via Swaraj and Swadeshi, should be left to achieve its own Hindu/Indian aims.

These tensions became the more acute when 'separate electorates' and 'communal rights' meant that 'making Christians' reduced Hindu numbers as voters and citizens. In this vexing context, conversion could in no way be depoliticised. The centrality which, on every count of loyalty and human 'uplift', the Church traditionally gave to it, could in no way be compatible with, or congenial to, the Gandhian, Indian vision.

Should it, then, have been muted or abandoned, as some Indian city Christians felt, unfamiliar with Azariah's world? Never! was his word and that not only out of his rugged devotion to Christ but out of his vision of Indian nationalism as never Hindu-monolithic, nor hostile to freedom of movement of belief. Moreover, how should the meaning of the cross, in its sign of a costly 'world-embrace' of cruciformed redemption, ever be virtually privatised among an heirloomed 'inner circle'? 'The shadow of the Mahatma' – if with the author we define it so – was akin, for Azariah, to 'the shadow of Gethsemane'. He was not able to assure the Harijan leader, Dr Ambedkar, that the Church had conquered caste.

Yet if one were to carry the reproach of Christ – the heavier the task that told His glory.

An expert biography pilots the reader through a graphic personal saga of ecclesiastical encounter with perplexities for mind and spirit.

OXFORD

KENNETH CRAGG