

## Reviews

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*A history of terror. Fear and dread through the ages.* By Paul Newman. Pp. xviii + 236  
incl. frontispiece + 25 plates. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000. £20. 0 7509

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*The devil in early modern England.* By Darren Oldridge. Pp. viii + 216 incl. 27  
figs + 18 plates. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000. £20. 0 7509 2092 0

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The very noticeable current interest in the supernatural has the potential to build a bridge between the concerns of academic historians and the predilections of a broader reading public. These two books illustrate both the possibilities for meaningful exchanges and the considerable width of the gulf. Though appearing in identical format from the same publisher, and with similarly lurid dustjacket illustrations, a trained eye can identify differences of genus even in advance of reading the texts. The presence of endnotes is one indicator, and the phraseology of the titles another (contrast the technical epithet ‘early modern’ with the more easy-listening ‘through the ages’). None the less, the Newman book is not bereft of ideas. Almost in the manner of Philippe Ariès, Newman identifies a series of overlapping historical stages in mankind’s fear of the supernatural: ‘primal response’, ‘superstition’, ‘frisson’, ‘satire or comedy’ (roughly corresponding to prehistory, Middle Ages, romantic period, modern age). But his implicit understanding of fear as a protean cultural construction is undercut both by a recurrent functionalism (the Church frightens people into orthodoxy and obedience), and a conviction that irrational fear is a biological constant which will always express itself in moral panics of one kind or another. In practice, the conceptual framework gives way to a succession of picaresque sketches of such fearmeisters as the earl of Rochester, the marquis de Sade, Aleister Crowley, Joseph Stalin, Joe McCarthy and David Koresh, and to descriptions of the undoubted horrors of the Albigensian Crusade, the ‘witch craze’ and Anabaptist rule at Münster (the Spanish Inquisition is a surprising absence). I enjoyed reading the book, and learned some interesting things (such as that ‘panic’ derives from the God Pan, and that ‘gala day’ was originally ‘gallows day’), but otherwise did not feel much enlightened. The evident existence of a considerable audience for books of this sort, should, however, give professional historians pause for thought.

Newman’s claim that ‘after the Reformation, there was a detectable lessening of superstition and a tendency for the Devil to be internalised’ (p. 12) is very effectively questioned in the rather more nuanced and scholarly offering from Darren Oldridge. His central thesis is that an essentially ‘medieval’ conception

of Satan and his activities, as a dangerously material force in the world, survived through the seventeenth century remarkably unscathed. The logic of Calvinist theology (and the practice of some of the more introspective among the godly) was to imagine Satan primarily as a source of immanent psychological and spiritual temptation, but a range of 'social and political' factors (including the imperatives of anti-popery and the need to assert clerical authority) encouraged a more atavistic approach. Through practices such as exorcism and the persecution of witches, there was a considerable degree of cross-fertilisation between elite and popular perceptions of the devil, and in consequence the cultural landscape of post-Reformation England was a more complex and ambivalent one than it would otherwise have been.

This is effectively done, though it throws up a number of questions and problems in the mind of the reader. The pre-Reformation picture is rather inadequately drawn, making it difficult to get a clear sense of how radically distinct the ideas of Protestant divines were from those of medieval scholastics (or indeed, those of their Counter-Reformation contemporaries). There is a tendency also to conflate the outlook and objectives of 'the godly' with that of English Protestantism as a whole, thus effectively prejudging answers to questions about the Reformation's ability to transform popular attitudes. In places one feels that Oldridge is too concerned to offer reductionist explanations for why people thought they had seen the devil, rather than to elucidate the cultural meanings of such occurrences. On a more specific point, his suggestion that exorcism and possession belong typologically to a Puritan milieu ignores the vitally important Catholic context. There is no mention in the book of the activities of William Weston, or other notorious Catholic exorcists, and as a result the discussion of the conformist attacks (by Samuel Harsnet and others) on the Puritan exorcist John Darrell is somewhat unbalanced. While *The devil in early modern England* has many original things to say (for example on 'witchbottles' and other forms of popular counter-magic), specialists may feel that some of its more important conclusions and lines of argument have been anticipated in recent historical writing. Oldridge's account of the intellectual framework looks distinctly jejune in the light of the formidable scholarship of Stuart Clark's *Thinking with demons* (mis-cited in the bibliography here), and his perception that the godly were prepared to use the forms and imagery of popular culture in an attempt to get their message across has been thoroughly rehearsed in work by, among others, Peter Lake and Tessa Watt. The sections on witchcraft prosecutions, suggesting the elites' willingness to accommodate folkloristic beliefs (for example, about familiars), clearly owes a debt to the important recent book by Jim Sharpe. On the other hand, Oldridge's treatment of providentialist anecdote (called here 'judgement tales') as a form particularly inimical to the internalisation of the Protestant message would have benefited from acquaintance with the work of Alexandra Walsham. None the less, this book skilfully synthesises a good deal of recent research, and its overall conclusions are well-presented and in the main persuasive. It desensationalises its subject matter without desiccating it, and, encouragingly, it fulfils a promise to be 'accessible to general readers as well as academic historians'.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

PETER MARSHALL

*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 43–2000. Edited by Ernst Dassman and others.

Pp. 253 + 4 colour plates. Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2000. DM 118.

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The present volume of the *Jahrbuch* is as usual faultlessly produced and contains the fill of informative essays and scholarly reviews that readers have come to expect. It opens, however, not too happily with Alfons Fürst's attempt to analyse the influence of Christianity on the cultural identity of Europe. The intolerance of the patristic era towards dissent had cast its shadow through the whole of European history. Only a combination of a willingness to work with others holding different opinions shown (at times) by Basil of Caesarea, coupled with the New Testament injunction to 'love one's neighbour as oneself' would provide an effective counterbalance to longstanding tendencies towards intolerance in European society. More valuable is Franz Dünzl's detailed discussion of the possible reasons behind the deposition of Meletius of Antioch by an homoean council presided over by Acacius of Caesarea in December 360. Meletius' homily on the key text of Proverbs viii.22 ('The Lord created me (Wisdom) in the beginning of his ways for his works', septuagint version), preached before Constantianus II in 359, showed him to be a homoean at heart though using phrases that could be interpreted in a Nicene sense. He did not, however, satisfy either the more extreme homoean supporters in Antioch or their Nicene opponents. In addition, personal as well as doctrinal differences may have contributed to his fall. Elsewhere, Josef Vilapella attempts an overview of the life of Paulus Orosius without finding evidence for his career after February 418. Thomas Gärtner contributes a long analytical discussion of the versification of salient episodes in Genesis and Exodus, by the early sixth-century poet, Alcimus Auitus, borrowing mainly from Dracontius, Sedulius, Claudius Marius Victorius and Prudentius to embellish his text. Josef Engemann describes how the widespread choice of patterns on mosaics, and amulets designed to ward off disease, refutes the assertions by Basil and Jerome that magic in Christian times was simply old wives' superstition. Engemann regrets the neglect of archaeological evidence by students of the subject, and the absence of major archaeological articles in this issue is to be regretted. The lack is, however, to some extent made good by a series of excellent reviews, which guarantee the continuing exceptional value of this publication.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FRENCH

*Christianity. A global history.* By David Chidester. Pp. xii + 689 incl. 16 ills.

Harmondsworth: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 2000. £25. 0 713 99433 9

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This is a clearly-written and fairly undemanding narrative account that will doubtless do well when the paperback edition is available. Given the breadth of the subject, it is of course possible to point to aspects of Christianity that arguably receive insufficient attention. These range from the Coptic Church to comparative religion or church architecture. Yet what is more impressive is the

breadth of reference and the global span. The latter may owe much to David Chidester's background. An American, educated at Santa Barbara, he has taught in Cape Town since 1984. As a consequence, Christianity outside Europe is given due weight. This is not simply a matter of discussing Africa. There is also, for example, a chapter on Hindu Christians that looks not just at original conversion but also at subsequent history, including theological divisions. Chidester suggests that the religious leaders of the nineteenth-century Hindu renaissance created what might be called a 'Protestant Hinduism'. Similarly, there is a section on missionary work in the Pacific and its consequences. This, though, reflects Chidester's slant. There is much discussion of Protestant activity, but not of Catholic counterparts, for example the Spaniards in the western Pacific or the French from the nineteenth century. However, it would be inappropriate to end on a critical note. There is much here of interest.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

JEREMY BLACK

*A history of the Church in Africa.* By Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed. Pp. xix + 1232 incl. frontispiece and 8 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £85. 0 521 58342 X

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C. P. Groves's four-volume work *The planting of Christianity in Africa* was a monumental recording of the work of Christian missions in Africa from the time of the Apostles. Even as the last volume of Groves's work was published in 1958 Shepperson and Price were publishing *Independent African*. This masterly study of Pastor John Chilembwe of Malawi was the beginning of the movement to establish African church history as a serious academic subject, in which foreign missionaries have their place but where the African Church is the focus of the study.

When this reviewer first got to know Professor Sundkler he was already talking of the need to establish African church history as an academic subject in its own right. As the first serious investigator of African Independent Churches he well knew that African Christianity had a life of its own related to but different from Christianity elsewhere. Other scholars have since then produced both local and general histories of the Church in Africa. The need for work in this field however is still with us since church history continues to be taught in far too many institutions in North America and Europe as if African Christianity was a marginal or peripheral matter. Tragically this attitude has been transferred into seminaries and universities in Africa itself despite the availability of the works of scholars like Elizabeth Isichei and Adrian Hastings.

Christopher Steed has elegantly shaped the mass of material left by Sundkler at his death into this large, one-volume history published by the Cambridge University Press. The material is presented in five parts each covering a chronological period: the first fourteen hundred years; the Middle Ages; the long nineteenth century; the colonial experience; independent Africa. These parts are subdivided. The first is simply into chapters on Egypt, north Africa, Nubia and Aksum. In contrast part five has seven large chapters each of which, other than two overview chapters, covers a region. In turn each of these chapters is

subdivided into substantial segments covering individual nations so that almost every country on the continent is dealt with. There then follows a very thorough bibliography which will be of great value to students, as well as two indices, one of subjects and one of names.

In a history of Christianity in Africa as opposed to a history of missions in Africa part one ought to have had more space. The longevity of the Church in Africa and its continuities need to be made very clear since they have been so long obscured and indeed the African Church's early history has too often been treated as if it was not African. This period is most readily and effectively covered by Hastings in his *The Church in Africa 1450–1950* although it technically lay outside the chronological parameters in the book's title.

Where this volume by Sundkler and Steed comes into its own is as a reference book. There are individual chapters that can be read as stimulating essays but that is not where the real strength of the book lies. Its strength is that if you want to know how the Churches and Zambian nationalism are related, who the early African Christian leaders in Malawi were, who was Prophet Harris and exactly where and when did he work and how these and other African Christian leaders related to the ongoing history of their territory, then this is your book.

Because this is such an important reference book it is a pity that the index of names has so many flaws that could so easily have been corrected. Under the letter 'K' alone there are the following errors. There are two separate references to a David Kaunda, one as the father of President Kenneth Kaunda that credits him with a doctorate he did not have, the other to 'David Kaunda, a Tonga evangelist', but they are the same person. Again there is terrible confusion created by treating Kgama and Khama as different names when they are the same. In addition Khama was the name of successive leaders of the Bamangwato, so numbering is necessary to make clear who was who. Also the failure to understand that Ngwato and Bamangwato are the same people leads to two insertions in the index, one for 'Kgama of Bamangwato' and the other for 'Kgama, Ruler of the Ngwato'. There is an entry in the index for a Mzee Kanyatta when this is clearly Mzee Jommo Kenyatta who has a separate insertion.

Nevertheless this is an important work and ought to be in every library where ecclesiastical history and Africa history are taught. Unfortunately the price will make this difficult for many seminary and even some university libraries in Africa.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

ANDREW C. ROSS

*Die Engel und ihr Bild im Mittelalter.* By Yves Cattin and Philippe Faure. (Zodiaque-Reihe. Visages du Moyen Âge, 2.) Pp. 295 incl. 177 black-and-white and colour plates. Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2000. DM 98.

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Cattin's and Faure's book about the image of angels in the Middle Ages is two books in one. The first part, by Yves Cattin, is a philosophical essay about the nature of angels according to the writings of medieval theologians. The author's

knowledge and understanding of the original sources is admirable but his efforts to give the reader an insight into medieval thinking are unfortunately not always successful. Cattlin tries to portray angels from a 'medieval' point of view, and accordingly leaves no doubt that angels do exist for him, but he tries to be both inside and outside the medieval mind at once. Angels are treated accordingly as both real beings and as a construct of the human mind. This becomes most apparent in the chapters about the history of angels when what he is in fact describing is the history of human writing about angels. It seems also unlikely that a medieval theologian would have seen the winged lions of Assur as the predecessors of God's messengers. The passion of Cattin's essay stands in significant contrast to the description of the photographic section by the historian Philippe Faure which is clear and precise. The use of the splendid photos allows us to see even the most familiar images in a new light. The two sections of the book are unfortunately without cross references so that each author seems to be ignorant of the other's work. Cattlin claims from the first pages that he did not intend to produce a coffee table book; the result, however, is a missed opportunity to combine the very different virtues of two authors.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

DIRK OLLMANN

*Learning institutionalized. Teaching in the medieval university.* Edited by John Van Engen. (Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies, 9.) Pp. viii + 279. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000. \$40. 0 268 01328 4 *JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902262569

This volume contains twelve essays that were first delivered as papers at a conference held in 1992 to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University of Notre Dame. A central theme coursing through the collection is the extent to which the learning of the pre-university schools was reshaped by the need to organise it into disciplines that were suitable for measured university instruction. While this process led to a more professional and systematic presentation of knowledge, there was a loss in that the spontaneous enthusiasms of the era of the schools were somewhat constrained through the institutionalisation of higher learning. Moreover, some subjects, such as classical and contemporary literature, history and customary law, failed to secure the status of disciplines in their own right. Consequently, it could be maintained that learning in the university age became more utilitarian in emphasis and, in some ways, narrower in focus. The authors of these essays have grappled with issues of this kind in relation to a range of university subjects embracing, among others, theology, philosophy, Roman and canon law, medicine, astrology and Ciceronian rhetoric. In addition, Jacques Verger examines the development of the faculties, curricula and degree procedures in the early French universities, and Olga Weijers argues convincingly that the disputation led to a transformation in the character of the disciplines taught, illustrating this with reference to three thirteenth-century commentaries on Aristotle's *Topics*. Lesley Smith stresses the blurring of the distinction between monastic and scholastic theology and

contends that the exegesis of Scripture continued to occupy a prominent place in the faculty of theology at Paris in the thirteenth century. In an illuminating essay William J. Courtenay compares theological training in the twelfth century with that conducted in a university context and evaluates the role of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard for the aspiring theologian in the fourteenth century at Paris and Oxford. Given that political theorists were drawn in the Middle Ages from the ranks of the theologians, canonists and Roman lawyers, Jürgen Miethke makes the interesting point that because political theory was not confined to one university discipline it was free to expand in ways that might otherwise have been constricting. Throughout the volume the occasional statement is found that is rather misleading. For instance, Jacques Verger asserts that the Church was ‘respectful’ of the autonomy of French universities in the thirteenth century (p. 13), whereas, in reality, it did much to impede the movement towards independence from ecclesiastical control in several of the universities in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Moreover, it might fairly be claimed that in his essay on the teaching of Roman law André Gouron has consistently underestimated the contribution to political ideas of the Post-Glossators of the Roman law. This volume raises pertinent questions and is a useful addition to the history of learning at Europe’s early universities.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ALAN B. COBBAN

*Der paradox Eine. Antignostischer Monarchianismus im zweiten Jahrhundert.* By Reinhard M. Hübner (with Markus Vinzent). (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language, 50.) Pp. xviii + 334. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 1999. Nlg 191, 72. 90 04 11576 5  
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Hübner argues for the re-dating of Ignatius’ letters to the late second century. Their theology reflects a Monarchianism derived from Noetus of Smyrna. His method consists entirely of literary analysis by means of which he claims to show which text was prior and which posterior. Thus he reconstructs two Noetian Creeds from Hippolytus *Ref.* ix.10.10–12 and x.27.2 The latter text he claims to be the Creed of Cleomenses, Noetus’ successor after Epigonos, and the former is a text of Noetus’ disciples. Both versions of these Creeds were written independently of one another (pp. 48–51ff.), and consist of a string of antitheses with which Hübner compares those of the Paschal Homily of Melito of Sardis (pp. 16–17ff., 20–5ff.). Hübner concludes that the agreements between these antitheses indicate that Melito must have been dependent on a Monarchian circle on the grounds of his enlarged number of anti-synthetical epithets in comparison with his Noetian archetype (pp. 28, 58–60).

Monarchian theology developed from AD 160 to the time of Zephyrinus and Callistus (AD 217), through a confrontation with Gnosticism that contributed critically to its adaptation. Irenaeus in *Adv. Haer.* iii.16.6 repeats some of the antitheses of Melito and Noetus (invisibilis/ἀόρατος; visibilis/ὄρατος; incomprehensibilis/ἀκράτητος; comprehensibilis/κρατητός; impassibilis/ἀπαθήs; passibilis/παθήτος etc.) (pp. 78–87). Hübner specifically turns to the conflict with Ptolemy’s followers in order to bring out the polemical use to which Noetus’

theology of antitheses was put (105ff.). We can make this identification by comparing Irenaeus' citation with Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 59, and again with *Adv. Haer* i.7.1–2. The paradoxical antitheses were used to deny the Gnostic claim that there was an earthly Jesus and a heavenly and spiritual redeemer both of whom were separate from the one Father: the redeemer was a unity (pp. 124–5).

Hübner expounds the Ignatian correspondence against this late second-century backcloth by taking the Ignatian antitheses, and interpreting them as a developed response to the kind of Docetism developed by Ptolemy, Marcion and, ultimately, Valentinus. From *Ephes.* 7.2 and *Pol.* 3.2 we can extract a list of antithetical terms such as ἄχρους, ἄόρατος, ἀψηλάφατος, and ἀπαθής (pp. 132–3, 158–9). In *Magnes.* 6.1 Ignatius affirms that Jesus Christ existed 'before the aeons (πρὸ αἰώνων)'. In *Magnes.* 8.2 the one God manifested himself through the eternal logos who did not proceed from Sige (or Silence). Thus he claims here a reference to aeon speculation, and a denial that λόγος or νοῦς had a beginning, and could proceed from any principle such as σιγή other than from the one God (pp. 192–3ff.). Thus the Ignatian letters are not simply in a Monarchian tradition that began around AD 160 with Noetus and Melito but are parasitic also upon a defence developed from that tradition against Valentinus. Add to this the developed, monarchical episcopacy to which the letters allegedly testify, and he arrives at a late second-century date (pp. 203–5).

Hübner's conclusions will not I believe be found valid in the light of a careful analysis of each stage of his argument.

Hübner needs to demonstrate that, in a chain of development that ended with Callistus and the Hippolytan school, the Ignatian link did not stand at the beginning but rather towards the end. His thesis rests on the reconstruction of Noetius' teaching as characterised by an antithetical credal formulary. In order to produce such a picture of which he can claim that Ignatius is so unambiguous a reflection, he has to follow Frickel's third and most recent position on the pseudonymity of the *Contra Noetum*. My own work on this topic is superficially dismissed on pp. 33–4, without a reference in his bibliography (p. 322), and my relevant publications on Ignatius are also excluded. The integrity of *CN* is guaranteed by its clear relations with the theology of *De Antichristo*, which no one doubts to be genuinely Hippolytan. Those relations, I have demonstrated, are closer than with the fourth-century formulations of Marcellus of Ancyra. I did not succeed in establishing a second-century background for the interpolated *CN* 17.2. But on that ground he cannot dismiss my whole case, nor that of Simonetti, in a way that is symptomatic of a rather blinkered obsession with his own point of view. He fails furthermore to make any reference to Trevett, Chadwick, Padberg or Hammond Bammel, each of whom pose questions that he needs at various points to answer if he is to make his case.

The Noetus of *CN* is a genuine historical figure to whose theology more than simply a list of antithetical Christological concepts applies, with which those in Ignatius can then be compared and thus an easy dependence established. Furthermore, Melito of Sardis produced his Christological concepts from a general exegetical method of contrasting antitype with Old Testament type, which plausibly was more indicative of a general, Asian theological culture than a specific dependence on Noetus. Moreover, the Docetism which Ignatius attacks



is the oldest Christian heresy, and witnessed in the Johannine writings (1 John iv.3) and, indeed in Matthew's Antiochene Gospel itself as the addition of Peter walking on the sea is arguably an anti-docetic construct (Matt. xiv. 28–31).  $\psi\eta\lambda\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and its cognate verb is a New Testament concept (Luke xxiv. 39; Acts xvii. 27; 1 Jn 1.1), as Hübner himself is aware (pp. 159–60). Furthermore,  $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  does occur in the New Testament in 1 Timothy 1.17, and the Pastoral Epistles further witness references to heresies that indulge both in genealogies and antitheses (1 Tim. vi.20; Titus iii. 9), as well as subscribing to antithetical credal formularies (1 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 11–13). Here we do find traces of the world of Ignatius. Hübner's thesis carries too great a weight for it to bear plausibly if he has in consequence to require us to date the Pastorals after AD 160, let alone the Acts with which they share a similar milieu, in order to substantiate the assumption that there could be no embryonic Marcionism or Valentinianism before Marcion and Valentinus for an early second century Ignatius to attack.

I have frequently pointed out that Ignatius does not have a concept of monarchical episcopacy, nor did later writers understand his theology of church order. Priests and deacons are not ordered to obey their bishop, but it is the threefold order, like the later Trinity, who mutually regard and co-operate with one another in a godlike harmony, and to which the laity are to make their submission. Against Irenaeus or even Clement of Rome, a bishop is not a successor of the apostles, but a  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  of God the Father, as is the deacon of Jesus Christ and the presbyteral circle at the eucharist of the Spirit-filled apostles (*Magn.* 6,1; *Trall.* 3,1). These concepts are related to those in inscriptions of pagan religious terms, some of them addressed specifically to the imperial cult. Similarly Elze has derived Ignatius' antithetical epithets from predicates of pagan, Hellenistic philosophical theology, as Hübner admits (p. 133). It is no wonder therefore that Irenaeus and his contemporaries fail to mention the name of the martyr who wrote *Rom.* 4.1 (p. 143 and *Adv. Haer.* v.28.4; Eusebius *HE* iii.36.12). Ignatius' theology of church order was as alien and incomprehensible to Irenaeus as it was to the third century Didascaliast. *Didasc.* 8–9 (= *CA.* II. 25.7–26.8) reinterprets Ignatian typology in terms of a type/antitype Old Testament exegesis. His theology of church order was equally incomprehensible to both Clement and late, second-century, writers. It is for such reasons as these that Hübner cannot find multiple quotations with the authority of the named martyr as the bridge that he requires between an Ignatius writing in AD 112, and Irenaeus and his contemporaries and immediate predecessors in AD 182 (p. 149).

Had the Ignatian letters emanated from the last quarter of the second century, they would have looked far more like the Longer Recension, minus, granted, the Trinitarian emendations. We should also have expected quotations, like those of Justin Martyr, from the canonical gospels, the Epistles, the Old Testament etc. Thus Hübner is deeply indebted to Vinzent's discourse on *Smyr.* 3.2 (p. 241). Vinzent is right to identify here a reference to *Evangelium Petri* that is anti-docetic, on the grounds of his analysis of the fragments in Clement and in Origen (pp. 243–4ff.). He is, I believe, wrong to see that Gospel as a developed response to Marcion's exegesis of Luke xxiv.37–9 (pp. 258–61). If so, why does not Ignatius quote from that canonical source along with a non-canonical one? Ignatius contains some very oblique references to the Johannine tradition (*Ephesians* xiv.2; xvii.1), which Caroline Bammel perceptively used in her account of Ignatius as

leader of a Johannine group who was unable to refer directly to a work that was very much in the Gnostic shadows, for reasons that both Bultmann and Koester have drawn out. The use of that Gospel by a Cerinthian splinter group would explain both the suspect character of Ignatius' theology and his reluctance to claim direct association, as well as his reference to the relation of Christ to the heavenly aeons that Hübner believes to be post-Valentinus. Ignatius reflects a period when apocalyptic concerns regarding the conquest of the heavenly powers are still prominent, albeit yielding to an interest in the furniture of heaven in its own right (*Ephes.* xi.1; xiii.1; xix.1–3). It was Irenaeus who rescued the Johannine writings from the Gnostic shadows, and who also rescued Ignatius too, though reluctant to mention the name of the latter directly.

The absence of any trace of Ignatius' martyrdom in the Pastoral Epistles may be due to the conditions imposed by their pseudonymity, or indeed to their composition by a group outside the Gnostic shadows (p. 136). Furthermore, Ignatius is not a witness to the traditions of the Churches of Asia Minor as Hübner asserts, but to those of Antioch in Syria. The redaction criticism of Matthew's Syrian gospel, for which Brown and Meier were dependent on the work of Trevett, revealed a Church divided into competing groups; for this Ignatius' creation of episcopacy (but not monarchical episcopacy) was the remedy.

Hübner has produced an interesting study of Monarchianism, which is clearly marred by an extremely partial bibliography that has not taken sufficiently into account the broad range of recent discussion on the Ignatian correspondence.

ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

ALLEN BRENT

*Subterranean Rome. In search of the roots of Christianity in the catacombs of the Eternal City.*

By L. V. Rutgers. Pp. 164 incl. 50 figs. Leuven: Peeters, 2000. B.Fr. 565 (paper). 90 429 0857 2

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Leonard Rutgers, currently perhaps the major authority on Jews and Jewish catacombs in Rome, has written a highly accessible introduction for the general reader on the catacombs of Rome. The text is lively and up-to-date, and despite the book's non-academic presentation (no academic references, for instance), it is actually a rather useful tool for the expert as well as the layman. The book is divided into five chapters. Of these the first three are broadly historical, with ch. i addressing the discovery of the catacombs and their historiographic and archaeological emergence as part of the Counter-Reformation's apology for Roman Catholicism against the Protestant onslaught of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second, entitled 'The archaeology of the catacombs', examines issues of chronology, function and history. The third chapter explores the place of catacomb art (both sculpture and murals) within early Christian art. Ch. iv is a useful guide to those catacombs open to the public, with opening hours, telephone numbers and addresses. I fear such things (especially opening hours) change rather frequently in Rome, so this section will need constant updating and may already be out-dated, as far as its practical information is concerned, by the time this review appears. The fifth chapter consists of two

appendices – one on Jewish catacombs (the author's prime area of expertise, but not normally open to the public) and a second on Christian inscriptions, which is a significant theme and one to which a visitor using the book as a tour guide is likely to turn, given the numerous surviving inscriptions. All in all a very welcome product.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JAS' ELSNER

*Women officeholders in early Christianity. Epigraphical and literary studies.* By Ute E. Eisen (preface Gary Macy). (Trans. by Linda M. Maloney of *Amtsträgerinnen im frühen Christentum. Epigraphische und literarische Studien*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.) Pp. viii+322. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press–Michael Glazier, 2000. \$49.95 (paper). o 8146 5950 o  
'*Begotten, not made*'. *Conceiving manhood in late antiquity.* By Virginia Burrus. (Figurae. Reading Medieval Culture.) Pp. xvi+240 incl. 2 figs. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. £30 (cloth), £12.95 (paper). o 8047 3706 1; o 8047 3973 o  
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Ute Eisen's study of women office-holders in early Christianity – a translation of a 1996 German monograph – documents the roles played and offices held by women in the early Christian era. Especially valuable is Eisen's careful attention to epigraphic and papyrological sources, in addition to writings of the church Fathers and canons of church councils. Eisen argues against the position that the women named in such sources were either wives of church officials, belonged to heretical, not orthodox, communities, bore 'honorary' titles or perhaps held offices of a highly restricted nature. In the author's words, the book presents 'the first extensive documentation of selected Greek and Latin inscriptions, plus a few documentary papyri, that witness to the existence of Christian women officeholders' (p. 21). The author adopts the now-familiar principle that literary materials produced by patristic authors and canons of church councils should not be read as descriptions of, but prescriptions for, women's roles in the Church. Eisen demonstrates that titles for women office-holders appear in different geographical areas, both east and west. None the less, she appears slightly behind the times when she writes that the 'ideological character' of 'patristic constructions of femininity' have 'received little attention or appropriate critical analysis' (p. 2) – although perhaps the time-lag between the publication of the German original and the English translation accounts for this perception. Also resting lightly on the surface is the author's desire that the book jar Churches of the present into more egalitarian practices regarding women. Although Eisen is straightforward in admitting (for example) the difficulty of distinguishing 'enrolled widows' who served the Church from those who simply were receiving church assistance, the tendency throughout is to press for the 'strongest' interpretation of the evidence. The scholarship is impressive: twenty-five pages of footnotes accompany the not-too-lengthy introduction, and the bibliography extends to sixty-eight pages.

Eisen divides her book into chapters on women apostles, prophets, teachers of theology, presbyters, enrolled widows, deacons, bishops and stewards. Some of

her material is by now familiar (for example, that Junia of Romans xvi is an apostle), but much will be new to many readers. Also useful is Eisen's inclusion of traditions beyond the Greek and Latin: thus Nino, apostle to the Georgians, receives helpful treatment. In the chapter on prophets, Eisen dispels notions that, in the second and third centuries, 'only Montanists' allowed women prophets. In the chapter on women as teachers of theology, she includes papyrological and epigraphical materials pertaining to women, east and west. The chapter on women presbyters includes inscriptions from Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Italy, and Dalmatia that are then read over against Epiphanius' claim that women are most emphatically not priests, and canon xi of the Synod of Laodicea that forbids 'so-called *presbytides*' to be installed in churches. (This discussion in particular illustrates what Eisen calls her 'archaeological' method of brushing against the grain of the 'literary heritage of the church' to reveal 'the submerged heritage of women' [p. 223].) The further up the ecclesiastical hierarchy Eisen ascends, the more her interpretations will find critics: for instance, that the *Theodora episcopa* – the mother of Pope Paschal I honored in a mosaic in St Prassede – will not be accepted as a 'bishop' by all readers is predictable.

Eisen's chapter on deacons may well excite the most attention. Acknowledging the work of previous scholars such as Martimort and Aubert on the literary sources attesting deaconesses in early Christianity, she turns quickly to inscriptional material and lists numerous epigraphs from Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Dalmatia and Gaul for women named as *diakonos* or *diakonissa*. Several features of these inscriptions are striking: the dedicators themselves are often women; frequently the dedicatees are identified as wives and mothers, sometimes in the company of close relatives named as priests, monks and nuns. All is all, Eisen's book contains much useful material.

Virginia Burrus's '*Begotten, not made*': *conceiving manhood in late antiquity* provides a striking contrast to Eisen's volume. Burrus reads the most holy of Christian doctrines, the doctrine of the Trinity, as formulated by Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa and Ambrose, through the lens of French feminist theory.

Burrus posits that the fourth-century discussion of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit provides 'one of the most potent and therefore revealing sites for the reimagining and reproduction of manhood in the late Roman Empire' (p. 7). She argues that 'when the confession of the full and equal divinity of Father, Son, and Spirit became for the first time the *sine qua non* of doctrinal orthodoxy, masculinity ... was conceived anew, in terms that heightened claims of patriarchal authority while also cutting manhood loose from its traditional fleshly and familial moorings' (p. 3). Becoming a spiritual father who fights for truth now trumps the exercise of civic leadership and the domination of a family as manifestations of 'maleness'. And yet, paradoxically, this 'hypertranscendent masculinity' managed to incorporate characteristics that late ancient thinkers would have deemed 'feminine': the encouragement among men of a 'virginal modesty, retirement from the public sphere', and a maternal nurturance (pp. 5–6) – while excluding the female totally from rational discourse. Luce Irigaray's subversive reading of Jacques Lacan informs Burrus's discussion of how human generativity is translated 'upward' from the body to language, *logos*, and how this realm is identified with power, creativity, knowledge and masculinity itself (p. 14).

With Athanasius, Burrus argues, the human subject has been ‘transcendentalized’ to the limit. Who is a true father and who a true son is argued not just on the level of theology; Arius and Athanasius are locked in a struggle over the legitimate or illegitimate theological/ecclesiastical patrimony from which each has sprung. The suppression of maternal materiality from these accounts, Burrus argues, ‘is accompanied by an explicit masculinization of the constructed “self”’ (p. 57). ‘Fathers’ now beget by the book, and fertility is aligned with writing (pp. 78–9).

These themes of sonship and legitimacy/illegitimacy are continued in the chapter on Gregory of Nyssa: who is the ‘legitimate’ theological heir of Basil? Eunomius’ Son is proclaimed by Gregory to be a bastard. Yet Gregory himself does not erase hierarchy between Father and Son, Burrus argues, exploring the *Life of Macrina* and *On virginity*; rather, a standard is set for ‘an intergenerational and successional manly love. At the same time, the divinity’s sharply asserted unity of essence restructures the society of virginal men according to a counterlogic of equality and mutuality’ (p. 132). Another paradox emerges: Gregory, by imitating women (for example, Macrina) makes himself, in his literary self-presentation, more of a man. Gregory’s insistence upon Trinitarian nomenclature, however well it fits with his ‘preoccupation with male generativity and relationality’, rests less comfortably with his emphasis on the ‘unknowability of God and the limits of language’ (p. 108). Perhaps, Burrus hypothesises, Gregory continues to privilege the ‘names’ of Father, Son and Spirit because he believes that ‘they uniquely contain language’s uncontainability, by enfolding, womblike, the abysmal depths and infinitely receding heights of the very God’ (p. 109). And with Ambrose, the role of Spirit is raised up, although its very ‘impersonality’, Burrus argues, serves ‘both to enhance and to complicate the personhood of Father and Son’ (p. 162). The chapter on Ambrose, in particular, emphasises other, non-theological, ways in which he contributes to a refashioning of a modest Christian manhood (for example, in his treatise *De officiis*).

One feature of Burrus’s book that will delight, confuse or irritate readers (depending on their theological sympathies, their willingness to analyse theological doctrines as cultural artifacts, and their ability to digest feminist, literary and psychoanalytical theory simultaneously with theology), is the style which the author adopts: Burrus not only analyses the material she considers, she performs it, thus duplicating in her style her theme of gender performativity, the theatricality of the self-fashioning of the late antique male. This is writing with verve and humour. Burrus’s claims will be argued for years to come, I predict, and will open new avenues of exploration for the next generation of scholars.

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ELIZABETH A. CLARK

*The apocryphal Acts of Andrew*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer. (Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 5.) Pp. xiv + 200. Louvain: Peeters, 2000. B.Fr. 1,270 (paper). 90 429 823 8  
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This volume is the fifth of a series of six scheduled in the series, *Studies on the*

*Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, the Acts of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew and Thomas (vol. vi, on the Acts of Thomas, will appear soon). They represent the proceedings of interdisciplinary symposia held alternately at the University of Groningen and at the University of Budapest by the professors (theologians and classicists) of these institutions. Since the team of scholars remained essentially the same throughout the years of common research, the volumes are homogeneous and allow the reader to follow the impressive progress of the results and insights on this always surprising field of apocryphal literature. The bibliographies and index given at the end of each volume are excellent tools for further research.

All the contributions to vol. v refer with gratitude to the edition and translations furnished by J.-M. Prieur (*Acts of Andrew* [CC.SA, iv-5, 1989]). The volume opens with a discussion, by A. Hilhorst and P. J. Lalleman, of the thesis advanced by D. R. MacDonald that the *Acts of Andrew* originally included both the *Acts of Andrew* and the *Acts of Matthias*. The conclusion is negative, confirming the position already adopted by Prieur. J. N. Bremmer asks whether the *Acts of Andrew* could not have been written in a region of Asia Minor, even in Pontus. As to date, he suggests, with Hornschuh and against Prieur, the beginning of the third century. The next study, by T. Adamik, is on the *Liber de miraculis beati Andrea apostoli* of Gregory of Tours. Five contributions then deal with some aspects of the theology of the *Acts of Andrew*: 'Aegeates, the devil in person' (M. Pesthy); 'Whatever goes into the mouth...' (I. Czachesz); 'Triangles and what is beyond them' (J. Bolyki); 'The words of life in the *Acts of Andrew*' (F. Bovon); 'The religious message of Andrew's speeches' (G. Luttikhuisen). The four subsequent studies concentrate on possible relationships: 'Poimandres and the *Acts of Andrew*' (J. Bollók); *Acts of Andrew* and the Greek novel and platonic philosophy' (C. T. Schroeder); 'The *Acts of Andrew* and Alexandrian Christianity' (A. Jakab); 'The *Acts of Andrew* and the *Acts of John*' (P. J. Lalleman). The final contribution is by V. Calzolari, a specialist in the Armenian tradition of the *Acts of Andrew*.

PESEUX,  
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WILLY RORDORF

*Portraits of spiritual authority. Religious power in early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian orient.* Edited by Jan Willem Drijvers and John W. Watt. (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 137.) Pp. xiii + 230. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 1999, Nlg 130.02. 90 04 11459 9; 0927 7633  
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The ten papers included in this volume were originally delivered at a workshop at the University of Wales Cardiff, in May 1998. A wide variety of examples of 'spiritual authority' is represented, ranging in date from the first to the eighth centuries AD, and geographically from the Latin west to Asia Minor, the near east and the Persian empire, embracing on the way holy women, Gnostic visionaries, powerful bishops and monastic saints. 'All the contributors', according to the editors, 'consider themselves in a broad sense to be historians', but their pieces reflect a diverse mixture of approaches to the central theme. The chapters on Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem's deployment of the relics and symbolism of the True

Cross (Jan Willem Drijvers) and on the strong episcopate of Rabbula of Edessa (Han Drijvers) both well exemplify traditional methods in expounding the historical content of texts; while three further contributions, on Bishop Firmilian of Caesarea's account of an unnamed 'heretical' woman (Christine Trevett), on the growth of the legends of Gregory Thaumaturgus (Stephen Mitchell), and on Babai the Great's Syriac life of George, martyred under Chosroes II (Gerrit Reinink), all focus more on the historical circumstances surrounding the composition of the texts in question. Others analyse their material in terms of 'models' which determine its form and content: so an introductory chapter (Elizabeth Clark) on Augustine's portrayal of his mother Monica, configured according to a pattern of theological wisdom; Gnostic worthies understood in terms of modern socio-scientific analysis of cults and their leaders (Alastair Logan); and a Syriac life of Abbot John bar Aphtonia shown to reflect structure and themes inherited from the classical Greek rhetoric of the *basilikos logos* ('royal portrait') (John Watt). Two of the essays use isolated anecdotal survivals to provide the starting-point for more thematic theological and historical studies: on the saint's body as a repository of holiness (Rowan Williams), and on the decline of old-style, late antique monastic leadership and authority in eighth-century Constantinople (Peter Hatlie). In an age when historians of the ancient world are more than ever conscious of their texts as literary 'portraits', and of the distance separating representation from reality (if indeed there is any such reality beyond the text itself), this volume offers an interesting and informative glimpse of a range of interpretational method. It also, as some of the authors explicitly acknowledge, makes its own contribution to the current reassessment of the seminal influence of Peter Brown on the study of religious power and authority in late antiquity (on which see also James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward, *The cult of saints in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, Oxford 1999).

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

E. D. HUNT

*Constantine and the bishops. The politics of intolerance.* By H. A. Drake. (Ancient Society of History.) Pp. xx+612. Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. £25.50. 0 8018 6218 3  
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The general thrust of this book is to portray Constantine as a consensus politician, seeking to unite Christians and pagans in favour of a religiously neutral public space, and to explain why it was an intolerant type of Christianity that won out at the end of the fourth century. Constantine's 'conversion' followed upon the creation of a political situation which demanded different treatment of Christians from that meted out by the persecuting tetrarchs, and was itself a political event. In his treatment of the Donatists Constantine was guided by bishops who had long since become political players. His legislation showed him striving for harmony between liberal pagans and inclusionist Christians. Constantine and the Arians is a subject repeatedly approached as Drake, with disquieting reliance on Constantine's third letter to the bishops at Tyre, seeks a political explanation for the exiling of Athanasius in 335. Since we all act from mixed motives, we should be grateful for Drake's stress on the politics. But we should not make Soper's

mistake of thinking too much of Constantine's accommodating behaviour: he was trying to Christianise the empire, not to make it safe for pagans whose worship could not profit it. If he had been a thoroughly political animal, would he have been a Christian at all, would he have entered the Donatist controversy as a committed Catholic, would he have backed Athanasius for six years against a council of eastern bishops?

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN MISSISSAUGA

TOM ELLIOTT

*The memory of the eyes. Pilgrims to living saints in Christian late antiquity.* By Georgia Frank. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 30.) Pp. xiii + 220. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2000.

£24.95. 0 520 22205 9

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Georgia Frank's book is well summarised by her own quotation from the *Historia monachorum*: 'the memory of what we have seen is not easily erased, but remains imprinted on our minds like a picture [*historia*]'. She builds her argument around vision and memory. The *Historia monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius are her key texts: collective portrait galleries that united 'exoticism', 'sensory engagement' and 'biblical realism'. Textuality is therefore an immediate issue. The work is pleasingly free from jargon and from a laborious obeisance to dead Frenchmen, but shows a sound grasp of the modern literature on travel writing. Frank's chief point is that 'pilgrim literature' was not descriptive, but formative. The question arises, was it reflective of experience, or was it a conceit based upon literary antecedents? The author discovers within the texts 'the presence of a traveler'; and she suggests that the *Historia monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca* were handbooks on how to look. But how many did so? Whose 'memory' was being represented – the author's, based on experience, or the reader's, based on literary types? 'Travel writing both represents what has been seen and creates what can be seen'; but there was also what Frank calls 'displacement', which helped the reader 'to pause, reflect, and enter another time *while remaining in the same place*' (my italics). Again, 'travelers use the language they already know to describe what they struggle to know'; but do they wish to know it as a literal destination? What, in other words, is the relation between the 'armchair pilgrim' and the 'actual pilgrim', between the reader and the traveller? Frank seems to believe that actual pilgrims always started life as armchair pilgrims. Here is a great issue raised, and raised very well, with scrupulous detail and astute judgement; but never thoroughly pursued. What takes its place, as the book proceeds, is the process of imaging; above all, the process of recasting in biblical forms the faces of ascetics, creating (for the one who gazed upon them) a new relationship to the past. 'The Bible was the touchstone against which the holiness of people or places was measured.' To read the texts was 'to gaze on figures from the sacred past', 'to look the past in the eye'. This shift in the focus of the argument, however, makes it unclear what is being 'seen'. The transference made possible by a text – recasting recollection in visionary form – occurs *in* the reading rather than *after* it. Towards the end of the book, we are invited to view matters even more broadly, raising the question of what distinguishes seeing the



past in a holy person from seeing it in a holy place. Frank provides a splendid discussion of ancient physiognomy. She wants to demonstrate ‘the way physiognomic description could still [a] face long enough to allow the perception of biblical realities’. But the discussion actually carries us away from faces, and invites reflection on texts as icons, and indeed on the status of any representation. The angelic face of the literary hero immediately calls to mind the angelic face of the saint in a mosaic, in which there is a similar ‘collapsing of time’. Were the motives and techniques involved in literary invitations to pilgrimage (even if only a pilgrimage of the mind) exclusively or especially characteristic of literature? What we have here, in sum, is an elegantly written book, inspired by urgent questions central to the study of late antique texts; slightly repetitive, but never impenetrable; and helpful in its mistrust of expendable dichotomies – above all, between record and reality. Not all the questions are answered; but the attempt carries us forward. Certainly, after reading this book, we shall have to be more careful about spinning a sociology out of written attempts to describe what is ‘not of this earth’. Frank’s effort displays courage and clarity; and its methods hint at fruitful inquiries to come.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

PHILIP ROUSSEAU

*The early history of greed. The sin of avarice in early medieval thought and culture.* By Richard Newhauser. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 41.) Pp. xiv + 248. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £40. 0 521 38522 9  
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In five thorough chapters Professor Newhauser traces the development of Christian theories about the sin of avarice to around the year 1000. Christians had never been unqualifiedly enthusiastic about acquiring wealth, as Jesus’ story of the rich fool shows (p. 3), though to double one’s capital seems appropriate in the parable of the Talents. One could have cited James 4–5 criticising a trader, for Cicero denounced such a retailer as compared with wholesalers (*De officiis* 1. 15of.; cf. Gregory Nazianzen, cited at p. 160 n. 43). The early communist, Epiphanes, usually called a Gnostic, was exceptional, and like Plato was attacked for espousing not only free money and land but also free love. Clement (*Who is the rich man who is being saved?*) aimed for a more balanced position, while the perfectionist Origen insisted that most poor people ‘have very bad characters’ (*Contra Celsum* 6.16). General denunciation of private property came only with the rise of the monastic-ascetic ideal, while strenuous criticism of greed flourished in northern Italy as barbarians approached in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Could one make more of institutional greed? Newhauser notes that the fact that ‘the Church possessed vast wealth was generally not problematic for early Christian thinkers’ (p. 147 n. 22), even though clergy were regularly denounced and Nazianzen knew bishops who in his belief hungered ‘for the goods of the poor in order to acquire superfluities for the church’. By 1000 or so ‘the greed of Rome and of the papacy itself was expressed in the proverbial wisdom that “Roma” was an acronym for *radix omnium malorum avaritia*’ (p. 127). Only Rome? Alexandrians might have raised questions toward the end of the

third century, when successive bishops were bankers and the pagan prefect of Egypt urged Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, not to be a martyr because his wealth was sufficient to feed the whole city of Alexandria (for later Christian use of this theme see pp. 32–3) – not that he disposed of it thus. Perhaps avarice is chiefly in the eye, or the rhetoric, of the beholder and Alcuin's claim that 'avarice disregards moderation' (p. 121) is easier to make than to apply. And what of the problems that arose as the Church served as conduit for imperial charitable funds? Who was being avaricious then? Indeed, who was being charitable? Newhauser has created a thought-provoking study that points beyond moralism to economic theory.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Episcopus et plebs. L'évêque et la communauté ecclésiale dans les conciles africains (345–525).*

By Jean-Anatole Sabw Kanyang. (Publications Universitaires Européennes. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Sér. 23, Théologie, 701.) Pp. xiv + 396 + 2 pull-out maps. Bern: Peter Lang, 1999. £36 (paper). 3 906758 34 6; 0721 3409

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This is a scholarly but narrowly focused study of the North African Catholic hierarchy, its internal administration, its overseas contacts and its relations with the communities it served mainly between 393 and 426. Its author is a Congolese priest, lecturer and researcher in patristic studies successively in Katanga (Congo), Fribourg and at the Istituto Pontificio Patristico Augustinianum. He has drawn most of his material from the North African church councils of this period, supplemented by Augustine's letters and sermons. Underlying the five long chapters of this work is the issue of 'lack of clergy' which beset the Church even in its days of triumph after the suppression of the Donatist Church by imperial edict in 412, as it had in the two previous decades. The author shows how recruitment of educated clergy was hindered by legislation hampering the curial class from relinquishing their obligations to their cities (though a reading of Augustine's *Confessions* would hardly suggest that this applied in practice). Further chapters deal with the procedure for electing bishops, clerical celibacy which extended to the diaconate, and the important role of the *defensores ecclesiae* in upholding the rights of the Church in its relations with the secular authorities.

The author follows Jane Merdinger (*Rome and the African Church in the time of Augustine*, 1997) in maintaining that the North Africans, while at all times conceding to Rome the title of Apostolic See, regarded its bishops as 'colleagues', and prohibited appeals by clergy to Rome when these, like that of the presbyter, Apiarius of Sicca, in 425, had become abusive.

Throughout the study one detects the all-pervasive influence of Augustine. His monastery at Hippo provided some of the star bishops of the North African Church. No other bishop could have ignored the strict rules governing the canonical age of clergy, to consecrate Antoninus as bishop of Fussala in 415. He saw this young monk, however, as a Punic-speaker having overriding advantages for the conversion of the strongly Donatist countryside round Hippo. His judgement proved disastrously at fault.

This is a useful study, particularly of the conciliar material relating to the Catholic Church in North Africa during Augustine's lifetime. It would have benefited from the inclusion of material evidence in discussing the cult of martyrs in the liturgy and the role of the Church in local communities. There is no mention either of the contribution of the Donatist Church to the life and worship of Christian North Africa in the fourth and early fifth century. It is noticeable that while English-speaking works are listed in the author's bibliography very few are referred to in the footnotes. On this model, European theological students, for whom the author writes, may expect well-researched and documented but also francophone and somewhat one-sided studies of the early history of the Christian Church.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
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W. H. C. FRENCH

*Gregory of Nyssa. Homilies on the Beatitudes. An English version with commentary and supporting studies. Proceedings of the eighth international colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa (Paderborn, 14–18 September 1998).* Edited by Hubertus R. Drobner and Albert Viciano. (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language*, 52.) Pp. xxviii + 683. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2000. Nlg 290,89. 90 04 11621 4; 0920 623 X

*Human nature in Gregory of Nyssa. Philosophical background and theological significance.* By Johannes Zachhuber. (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language*, 46.) Pp. xii + 275. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2000. Nlg 152,06. 90 04 11530 7; 0920 623 X

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Gregory of Nyssa's eight sermons on the Beatitudes are probably the first of their kind: although some previous authors dealt with these famous verses from the Sermon on the Mount, none that we know of dedicated a series of sermons to their systematic treatment. Besides their importance for the development of Christian exegesis, these sermons are also of great interest for an understanding of Gregory's works in particular: they seem to belong to an early or possibly a transitional period of his output (in the mid or late 370s), allowing us to examine his development with regard to both theology and exegesis.

Stuart Hall's translation is typically precise and elegant, and benefits from J. F. Callahan's scholarly edition of the Greek text (published in the Brill series *Gregory Nysseni opera* vii/2 in 1992). It is followed by eight commentaries by different scholars – one on each homily. The diverse approaches taken by the writers are both an attraction of this collection and a potential drawback. Current scholarly consensus tends to emphasise the integration of both 'philosophical' and 'spiritual' aspects of Gregory's thought; however, most scholars' interests inevitably veer towards one aspect or the other and it is fascinating to compare different perspectives (not least because this is a thoroughly international and multi-lingual volume). The danger of this approach might be a lack of an overall view of the sermons – a particularly problematic flaw given that Gregory

specifically states that he is treating the verses as an ordered sequence, a kind of Jacob's ladder, so that 'the elevation of the Beatitudes, one above another, prepares us to approach God himself' (Homily 5, at p. 57). However, several commentators deal with this issue. In particular, Robert Wilken's thoughtful interpretation of Homily 8 reviews the structure of the series as a whole and goes a long way towards providing a convincing answer to the vexed question, raised by Meredith in his comments on Homily 1, of whether Gregory's exegesis does in fact live up to its promise of an ascending sequence. Wilken's solution rests on taking with equal seriousness both the ethical and the theological dimensions of Gregory's interpretation (thus implicitly disagreeing with Claudio Moreschini's commentary on Homily 7, which overemphasises the moral aspect). For, in Gregory's appropriation of Aristotle's virtue ethic and Plato's metaphysics, to be truly virtuous is to be truly happy, and true happiness lies in participating in the good. Thus, obedience to Christ's teaching in the Beatitudes entails not only imitation of Christ, but also participation in Christ: furthermore, this participation must be viewed eschatologically, since true virtue – the absolute love of God – is impossible in humanity's sinful state. As Wilken correctly states and Monique Alexandre reiterates in her excellent article, this *eschatological* participation in the good is the theme of Homily 8: while 'the Kingdom of the heavens' is the promised reward of both Beatitudes 1 and 8, the final Homily points to the fulfilment at an eschatological level of what is primarily a promise and a hope in the first. The Beatitudes are then a good example of the inaugurated eschatology which pervades all of Gregory's writings (see Alexandre at p. 291) and recall the reader to a re-examination of the concepts of obedience and promise (see Judith Kovacs at p. 329).

The volume also contains seven studies on the series of homilies as a whole. Again, the juxtaposition of different interpretations and approaches is very stimulating: for example, two detailed articles by Monique Alexandre and Alden Mosshammer respectively rest on very different understandings of Gregory's spiritual interpretation of the Beatitudes. The collection concludes with a series of general studies on Gregory's theology: Scott Douglas's analysis of Gregory's philosophy of language and Theo Kobusch's paper on 'Metaphysik als Lebensform' are particularly interesting.

From the evidence of this volume, current research on Gregory of Nyssa is in a very healthy state; this impression is confirmed by Johannes Zachhuber's insightful study of Gregory's notion of universal human nature. Although the concept is found across the full range of his theological writings, previous research has been sharply divided over the question of whether Gregory employed it systematically. Zachhuber maintains that Gregory's use is consistent (in the sense that he 'normally strives to stick to one model of universal nature', p. 242), but that the usual account of Gregory's systematic use of the concept must be modified.

The difficulty is that 'Gregory's understanding of universal human nature does not lend itself to a systematic exposition of ... the classical framework of salvation history' (p. 242). That is, whereas it functions very well in Gregory's account of creation and the eschatological restoration of all things in God (the *apokatastasis*), it is difficult to incorporate into his understanding of the Fall and soteriology: Gregory is happy to affirm that human nature was created and will be

consummated 'as a whole', but emphasised that human individuals lapsed at the Fall and that each must turn again to God. Indeed, Gregory's spirituality of the imitation of Christ and the progress of the soul to God depends on this understanding.

These issues surrounding the divine economy take up the second part of Zachhuber's study; in the first part he deals with the Cappadocians' use of the concept of universal human nature as a model for the divine essence, arguing that it arose from a desire to avoid any subordinationist theories of the Trinity, in response to Eunomius. It was not an attempt to placate the homoiousian party as many have claimed, nor was it derived directly from Athanasius or Apollinarius. Zachhuber's analysis of immensely complex issues here is sophisticated but always lucid, and his is a fresh and stimulating visit to ground which is already well-trodden. Throughout the book he wisely avoids the temptation to over-systematise Gregory's thought and is fair in his judgement on his subject's achievements. The work makes a valuable contribution to scholarship on Gregory and on early understandings of the nature and operations of God.

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OXFORD

MORWENNA LUDLOW

*A history of the liturgy of St John Chrysostom, V: The precommunion rites.* By Robert F. Taft SJ. (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 261.) Pp. 573. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000. 88 7210 326 6

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902372567

This latest instalment of Taft's study of the Byzantine liturgy is a piece of meticulous scholarship akin to a complex detective novel. After a timely defence of historical and comparative liturgical studies, Taft outlines the early development of these rites in Antioch. The first chapter covers the Greeting, Litany and prayer that follow the anaphora. That on the Lord's Prayer (which is included for its requesting forgiveness rather than daily bread) is rich in comparative detail from beyond the Byzantine tradition. The Prayer of Inclination after this appears to have been a dismissal prayer over non-communicants. Chapter v, on the Elevation and '*Sancta Sanctis*', leads to a chapter on the communion psalmody. The chapter on the Fraction is again rich in comparative material, and discusses the symbolism of the one bread and one cup. The commixture, a field that has been a happy hunting ground for allegorical interpretations, is shown to be an entirely symbolic practice emphasising the union of Christ's death and resurrection and the communicants' share in that union. The last chapter deals with the unique Byzantine addition of hot water to the chalice. The ancients customarily drank wine cut with water, and this water was often warm. The desire to keep the chalice warm so as to better symbolise the living and life-giving Christ leads to the hot water being added just before communion, while simple cold water is added before the liturgy begins. One looks forward eagerly to the next volumes of this series.

OXFORD

GRAHAM WOOLFENDEN

*Entmachtung der Zeichen? Augustin über Sprache.* By Klaus Kahnert. (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie, 29.) Pp. ix + 274. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: Grüner, 1999. Hfl 158 (\$79). 90 6032 356 4  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902382563

This doctoral dissertation traces the sources and the development of Augustine's views on language. It shows – not for the first time – the importance of Stoic theory of knowledge and of language as mediated especially by Cicero, and suggests that Augustine may have had some direct acquaintance with Aristotle's *De interpretatione*. The principal novelty of the book lies in the running commentary on Augustine's views from a Wittgensteinian point of view, and the comparisons made between Augustine's and some later theories of language, notably those of the late medieval thinkers Gregory of Rimini and Nicholas of Cusa, and in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century the theories of language and epistemology of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Wilhelm von Humboldt.

NOTTINGHAM

R. A. MARKUS

*Augustine and his critics. Essays in honour of Gerald Bonner.* Edited by Robert Dodaro and George Lawless. Pp. xiii + 274. London–New York: Routledge, 2000. £55. 0 415 20062 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690239256X

This volume is dedicated to a fine scholar of Augustine, Gerald Bonner. Daniel Hardy introduces it with an appreciation of Bonner's work – first in the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum, and from 1964–89 at Durham University – and a select bibliography, amounting to sixty-three items, mostly on Augustine, Bede or Cuthbert. It is not always easy to focus a *Festschrift*, and the critics addressed in these papers are both ancient and modern, both sympathetic and hostile, both experts and amateurs in Augustinian scholarship, both narrowly academic and populist. Nearly all the contributors are concerned to defend Augustine against his critics. I was sometimes left wondering: why exactly is this an important thing to do? Is its purpose to defend the personal reasonableness of an historical figure by explaining how in the context of his own times his views were fair-minded? Or is it to show how Augustine's ideas are still defensible, and indeed theologically fruitful? At any rate, the volume provides a useful way of finding out what specialists are currently saying on a range of central issues in Augustine's writing. Hubertus Drobner provides a helpful overview of recent scholarship to facilitate this. The most thought-provoking chapters maintain the contemporary importance of Augustine's arguments. Rowan Williams tackles the question of evil, in reply to John Hick and Kathleen Sands. He argues that Augustine's account of evil as privation is a necessary corollary of his understanding that God is not an object in the universe whose goods are in competition with ours, but the ground of all goodness and being. Lewis Ayres shows how Augustine uses the Platonist idea of 'divine simplicity' precisely in order to develop a fully Nicene Trinitarianism. Modern theologians who see his theology as insufficiently Trinitarian miss the subtlety and exactness of his thought. Robert Dodaro responds to William Connolly's claim that

Augustine's confession of God and sin as objectively existing leads to political authoritarianism. Christian confession, Dodaro argues, by contrast with Roman civic ideals, in fact makes possible both reconciliation and an alertness to one's own dangerous prejudices. Lucid and scholarly accounts of Augustine's moderate views on asceticism and on pagan and Christian rhetoric are provided by George Lawless and Carol Harrison respectively. Mathijs Lamberigts offers clearly argued support for Julian of Eclanum's criticisms of Augustine on sexuality, while Ann Matter surveys the debate about Augustine's view of women. James Wetzel mounts a moderate defence of elements of Augustine's predestinarianism. Robert Markus updates the discussion about 'Christian times' arising from his classic volume, *Saeculum*. Robert Crouse provides a guide to the complex literature on Augustine's Platonism. Finally, a curious piece by John Milbank locates the *De trinitate* in relation to Dumézil's theories about the tripartite pattern of the 'Indo-European soul'.

TRINITY AND ALL SAINTS,  
LEEDS

MARGARET ATKINS

*Anglo-Saxon myths. State and Church, 400–1066*. By Nicholas Brooks. Pp. xvi + 308 incl. 33 ills. London–Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 2000. £40. 1 85285 154 6

*Communities and warfare, 700–1400*. By Nicholas Brooks. Pp. xv + 298 incl. 64 ills. London–Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 2000. £40. 1 85285 155 4  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902402564

*Anglo-Saxon myths* concludes with a reprint of 'Romney Marsh in the early Middle Ages' where historical evidence is seen as complementing the work of geologists and archaeologists in a study which embraces the evidence of charters, parish boundaries, Domesday Book and narrative materials. The collected papers in both these volumes are a vivid demonstration of Professor Brooks's wide-ranging interests and the vigour and clarity of his scholarship. He brings together his principal studies on early medieval English history over the last thirty or more years and explores in each preface the unifying themes of the twenty-one essays (some with postscripts) here reprinted – in *Anglo-Saxon myths* the nature and reliability as historical sources of early medieval materials, the bias and manipulation to which they have been subject and the role of myth 'in defining core beliefs about national and ethnic origins'; in *Communities and warfare* the problems of how societies and communities organised themselves for defence and for communication. Not that Professor Brooks's interests can be circumscribed as simply English or early medieval. A paper on 'Medieval European bridges' ranges widely both chronologically and geographically, 'Rochester Bridge, AD 43–1381' constituting a remarkable local study set within this vaster canvas. Professor Brooks explores the dynamics of insurgency in 'The organisation and achievement of the peasants of Kent and Essex in 1381', convinced that 'our understanding of particular historical events can be transformed by an appreciation of local topography' (*Communities and warfare*, 267).

The well-known papers at the heart of *Communities and warfare* deal with aspects of the military and defensive history of England from military obligations

imposed by eighth-century kings, through the failure of most of the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to withstand the Danes, 'England in the ninth century', to the Burghal Hidage and studies of arms and warfare in later Anglo-Saxon England and the Bayeux Tapestry as 'a major authority for the events of the Norman Conquest'. All these papers are informed with insight into the realities of warfare and fighting in this period.

In his inaugural lecture, 'History and myth, forgery and truth', Professor Brooks stresses how powerful a mythic image can be if contemporaries are disposed to believe it – and here he reprints his papers 'Introduction to "The making of England"' and those on early Kent (with its closely argued study of the early Oscingas) and the formation of the Mercian kingdom (with its detailed examination of the evidence relating to Eowa as well as Penda), which allowed him to explore the nature of evidence in which myth or the perceptions of others play a part. The sense the Anglo-Saxons had 'that they were one people' (*Anglo-Saxon myths*, 21) may, of course, be one of the most successful of English myths. In a new study included in *Anglo-Saxon myths* Professor Brooks examines further 'the English origin myth' and suggests that behind the version of the Hengist story in the *Historia Brittonum* (in which Octha, not Oisc, is Hengist's son and successor who goes from North Britain to Kent on Hengist's death) 'we may glimpse something of late eighth-century Northumbrian interests in promoting a sense of English (or Anglian) unity' (*Anglo-Saxon myths*, 89). Certainly, if we ask to what extent an Anglo-Saxon court-poet may have 'exercised a freedom to invent (or to adapt) his stories', the answer must be to a very considerable extent indeed in view of the substitution of Octha for Oisc which must, as I indicated over thirty years ago, have necessitated a complete reconstruction of Kentish dynastic history.

Central to *Anglo-Saxon myths* – and this will be especially valued by all who appreciate Professor Brooks's monumental contribution to the history of the Church of Canterbury in the Anglo-Saxon period – is a collection of three Canterbury studies of the topography of the early medieval city, the cathedral community from 597 to 1070 and the career of Dunstan. Not only does he show how successfully successive Anglo-Saxon archbishops of Canterbury (Stigand excepted) established the metropolitan Church 'with a monastic constitution and a landed endowment that were to be its twin foundations throughout the Middle Ages' (p. 149), but also uses charter evidence to good effect to control a reconstruction of Dunstan's career, rehabilitating a charter of King Eadred's which claims to have been composed and written by Dunstan as an authentic original (p. 174). Well aware of how effectively medieval forgers could deploy their talents to protect and advance their own interests, Professor Brooks reprints two studies here of specific charters and their boundary clauses, 'A new charter of King Edgar' (which only came to light in 1983 and which is genuine) and 'The Micheldever forgery', together with 'Anglo-Saxon charters: a review of work 1953–73' which stressed the need for collaboration between scholars in many different disciplines and the importance of investigating individual cartularies 'in their own right'. To this paper Professor Brooks adds as an extended postscript a review of a further quarter of a century (1973–98) of charter studies, concluding very reasonably on the vexed question of a separate royal secretariat in a judgement surely shared with others that 'Both a royal



secretariat of “king’s priests” and the followings of leading ecclesiastics may have been more fluid and less formal bodies than the historians of governmental institutions have tended to assume’ (p. 209).

Reading these papers so conveniently brought together in such attractively produced volumes is to encounter again with profit some of the major essay contributions to Anglo-Saxon historical studies of the last decades of the twentieth century.

SNAPE

D. P. KIRBY

*The bishop’s palace. Architecture and authority in medieval Italy.* By Maureen C. Miller. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Pp. xvii + 307 incl. 98 figs. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 2000. \$49.95. 0 8014 3535 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902412560

‘Episcopal residences were about power, about governance and about a certain vision of order’, Maureen Miller tells us in the introduction to this book. Already well known for her study of the Church in Verona before 1150, Miller has here extended her attention both chronologically and geographically. The book has two parts. The first presents the material and archaeological evidence for episcopal residences in north and central Italy from the late antique to the high Middle Ages. The second is interpretative, asking what architectural history can tell us about the spiritual and secular authority of the bishop-builders and how it was related to the governance and public life of their cities. Miller delineates a succession of three distinct forms of episcopal residence. In the earliest period, that of the *episcopium* (c. 300–750), the bishop’s residence preserved the architectural vocabulary of antiquity with its melding of private and public space. The bishops constructed residences analogous to those of the political and social aristocracy. Their religious role was emphasised by the interpenetration of the *episcopium* and the ritual space of the cathedral complex. In the period from 750 to 1050 the residence came to be called the *domus ecclesie*, the ‘house of the church’. The ‘house’ became a ‘fortified sanctuary’, consisting of a two-storey dwelling and a tower, spatially distinct from the cathedral, in no way remarkably ecclesiastical. In the last period, 1050–1300, the bishop’s residence becomes a ‘palace’ or *palatio* – the *palazzo* of modern Italy. Now, Miller tells us, the bishop’s residence becomes his own space, distinct from the cathedral complex, which he abandoned to the canons. This first part of her book is foundational and impressive. Lavishly illustrated with photographs and diagrams, Miller’s narrative is vigorous and convincing. The second half of the book, interpretative as it is, is both more suggestive and more speculative. Miller’s attention is limited to the age of the ‘palace’. She links the appearance of the palace to the politics of the early communes and the bishop’s central, although not uncontested, leadership in them. In most Italian cities the erection of a new circle of walls in the 1100s had the effect of repositioning the episcopal complex in the centre of the city; no longer was it on the periphery, tucked against the older walls. As the communes develop independent mechanisms of

government in the thirteenth century, the bishops, in Miller's view, waged an architectural struggle to preserve and project their power. This was expressed in two ways. Bishops renovated their palaces to creative imposing halls – proportioned after their cathedrals – where the bishop would be encountered in a radically hierarchical space. Likewise, they built chapels within their palaces, thereby appropriating a personal sacred space to replace that lost to the canons in the cathedral. Miller presents us with a striking, perhaps tidy, parallelism between architecture and episcopal power. One might wonder whether, besides imaging power, religious sensibilities, budgetary considerations, and even accident, might also have guided architectural projects, but to this reader Miller's parallels are generally convincing.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

AUGUSTINE THOMPSON

*Muhammad in Europe*. By Minou Reeves, biographical contribution P. J. Stewart.

Pp. xii + 307. Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2000. £25. 1 85964 123 7

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*Muhammad in Europe* surveys the perception of, and reaction to, Islam in Europe. It begins with the life of the Prophet Muhammad, examines views about Islam in medieval, Renaissance and modern imagination, and concludes with the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the conflict in Palestine, the Iranian Revolution and the reaction to Salman Rushdie. In this respect, the book achieves an important goal in presenting between the covers of a single work the history of Islam through western eyes. Unfortunately, the author, a journalist, approached the topic through a limited number of sources without conducting the extensive research which such a range requires. The first three chapters, on the life of Muhammad, do not include a single footnote: the author wanted to humanise the Prophet (if confused between 'humanism' and 'humanity'), and may therefore have deliberately excluded references, but in the bibliography there is not a single allusion to any original Arabic document on the Prophet's life. The chapters on medieval and Renaissance Islam, 'Muhammad as Mahound' and 'The Turkish threat' are predominantly based on Byron Porter Smith's *Islam in English literature* (1937 and many reprints), R. W. Southern's *Western views of Islam* (1962 and many reprints), and some encyclopedia entries, with no use of the vast number of publications that has appeared in the past quarter of a century. As the author moves into the modern period, there is an alarming failure to credit some of the most important historians and theoreticians who have brought Islam into contemporary discourse: Said, Grosrichard and others. The chapters on twentieth-century developments in the colonial and post-colonial Islamic world superficially summarise the ideologies and activities of modern Islamic movements, describe scholars who have engaged with Islam and outline the plot of *The satanic verses*. There is an inexplicable omission of all developments in Islamic countries that are outside the Near East – even though most Muslims in the world live outside north Africa, the Arab Middle East and Iran. The bibliography leaves much to be desired: exactly why Shakespeare's *King Henry V* (which has a few lines about the crusades) should be included, but not the much more

‘Islamic’ plays of Peele, Greene, Massinger, Cervantes, de Vega or the epics of Tasso and Camoes is not clear. This book could have filled an important niche in contemporary Islamic scholarship had its method been rigorous and its research adequate.

FLORIDA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

NABIL MATAR

*Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, I: A–K; II: L–Z. Edited by André Vauchez (with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge), English translation by Adrian Walford. Pp. xviii + 809 incl. numerous ills and 8 maps + 19 colour plates; iv + 811–1624 incl. numerous ills and 5 maps + 12 colour plates. Cambridge: James Clarke/Paris: Éditions du Cerf/Rome: Città Nuova, 2000 (French edn 1997, Italian edn 1998–9). £195. 0 227 67931 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902432563

This attractive, handsomely produced and useful work reflects an attempt to offer a middle way between comprehensiveness and usefulness, an attempt whose success should commend it to many institutional and possibly some individual purchasers. There are two more comprehensive collections: the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, edited by G. Avella-Widhalm and others (9 vols in 17, Munich–Zurich, 1977–99), and the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by J. R. Strayer (12 vols, New York 1982–9). Each is impressive, but also expensive. As a consequence, three publishers combined to produce a less expensive work and one that would also include the illustrations the two longer works lacked. The end result contains 3,200 articles by about 600 scholars, figures that vary because there are differences between the three editions. The first, the *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du moyen âge* (2 vols, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997), lacks entry bibliographies and is heavily Francocentric. The second, the *Dizionario enciclopedico del medioevo* (3 vols, Rome: Città Nuova, 1998–9) contains more articles. The English edition is based on a translation of these works, but, in addition, individual articles are provided with bibliographies and there are more articles relevant to England.

Leaving aside the obvious lessons about the difficulty of producing works of this type through international collaboration, there is the more specific question of what to include. Space (and, possibly, knowledge) have led to a Eurocentricity that is justified by the nature of the European readership:

our centre of interest has been medieval Christendom – or rather Christendoms ... Articles devoted to other continents or civilisations appear only to the extent that Western Christians were aware of them and took an interest in them. However, the fact that the *Encyclopedia* is centred on the Christian world has led us to give plenty of space to those peoples and religions that were in contact with it over those thousand years ... Jews ... Muslims ... [and] ‘pagan’ peoples whom the Christians ... sought to draw into their orbit.

There is little point regretting the absence of any greater engagement with east and south Asia or Africa, let alone the ‘New World’; but the possibility for cross-cultural comparisons rests with a future work.

More pertinently for readers of this JOURNAL, particular emphasis has been placed on discussing those aspects of medieval civilisation that are hardest for modern readers to grasp. This has led to a stress on philosophy, theology, spirituality, liturgy and iconography, rather than socio-economic factors; and the latter are often approached from a religious, intellectual or moral perspective. Thus there is a determined effort to engage with the period on its own terms rather than with reference to modern ‘structuralist’ assessments. This adds great interest to the encyclopedia.

The range is truly impressive. Clearly, it is possible to ask questions about emphases. Why, for example, devote less to Armenian Literature than to Arnold of Villanova? The imprint of the Francocentric *Dictionnaire* can still be seen. Yet, throughout, what is remarkable is the alert concision of the entries, the reaching out for artistic examples and cultural resonances, and the presentation of the period as dynamic, rather than static. This is not an account that focuses on the ‘high’ Middle Ages to the detriment of earlier and later periods. It is an encyclopedia that lives up to the claim to provide plentiful material on intellectual and religious topics. Entries on thinkers are supported by comments on their character. Hugh of Saint-Victor, for example, had a modest and attractive personality. Appropriately for this JOURNAL, ‘he put his students on guard against the seduction of Abelard’s positions, against theories of pure love and against the “doctors of allegory” and their speculations with no foundation in history’.

EXETER

JEREMY BLACK

*Mariage et sexualité au moyen âge. Accord ou crises?* Edited by Michel Rouche. (Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales, 21.) Pp. 367 incl. 24 figs. + 18 colour plates. Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000. Fr. 200. 2 84050 136 8; 0760 7113

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690244256X

In this volume twenty-one studies of a variety of aspects of the themes of marriage and sexuality in the Middle Ages are gathered – the fruit of a colloquium at Conques under the direction of Professor Michel Rouche. They range very widely from pagan elements in early Germanic law, Salic and Icelandic, to late medieval literature and society – with an epilogue, as it were, in a medical tract on love and marriage of the seventeenth century by Nicolas Venette. These papers are very varied in theme, from polygamy and incest to marriage as sacrament and the educational manual of Vincent de Beauvais. They illuminate a great variety of sources, from law canon and secular to late medieval French literature and art history: the drunkenness of Noah and Mary Magdalene as penitent are most beautifully illustrated for articles by Jean-Paul Deremble and Dany Sandron. Familiar themes have their place, such as marriage strategies among the French aristocracy and marriage practice in fifteenth-century Florence. Thus the book demonstrates once again, and most effectively, the great variety of approaches which can be used to illustrate the central themes of human and social history – though M. Rouche’s explanation of the role of the

drunkenness of Noah in the book is as obscure as the passage in Genesis itself. Yet it is clear that a common theme underlies the choice of subject and participants, though it is not altogether clear what it is. The blurb (accompanying pornographic scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry) describes how between the fourth and sixteenth centuries, sexuality in the medieval west passed from the outside to the inside of marriage, polygamy to monogamy, subversive love to love in marriage – and elsewhere. M. Rouché's introduction is much more *nuancée* and more obscure; none the less it makes a very interesting attempt to generalise the very scattered themes of the book. In the end it is the variety which justifies it, especially when it illuminates well-documented case histories which cut through the generalised themes of social history – such as the arresting study by Elisabeth Carpentier of the tempestuous marriage in tenth century Poitou of William of Poitiers – William IV, duke of Aquitaine – and Emma, daughter of the count of Blois, with the revelation of how a strong-minded woman could resist the policies and infidelities of a powerful husband in a relationship finally resolved by his retreat into a monastery; and John Baldwin's searching study of the painful and puzzling story of Philip II's efforts to repudiate Ingeborg of Denmark immediately after their marriage. In sum, this is a collection of studies well worth reading and pondering, so long as one does not look for too clear a thread linking them together.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

CHRISTOPHER N. L. BROOKE

*Celtic theology, Humanity, world and God in early Irish writings.* By Thomas O'Loughlin.

Pp. xvii + 235 incl. 9 maps and 4 ills. London–New York: Continuum, 2000.  
£45 (cloth), £16.99 (paper). 0 8264 4870 4; 0 8264 4871 2

*Journeys on the edges. The Celtic tradition.* By Thomas O'Loughlin. (Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series.) Pp. 172 incl. frontispiece and map. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2000. £8.95 (paper). 0 232 52314 2

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902452566

There is a certain confusion in both these books by one of the leading practitioners in the burgeoning new discipline of Celtic Christian studies as to whether their subject matter is the phenomenon of Celtic Christianity as it has been understood in modern times or the objective study of early Irish texts. O'Loughlin, who lectures in theology at the University of Wales Lampeter, is probably at his best and most illuminating when he expounds and contextualises early Irish hagiographies, penitentials and liturgies. Yet he cannot resist having frequent swipes at those who chase the chimera of a distinctive 'Celtic' Christianity, not least ecclesiastical historians whose lectures illustrated by slides of early Irish art he describes as 'pathetic' and 'an intellectual scandal' (*Celtic theology*, p. 11). His tendency to denounce virtually all recent treatments of his theme leads to some serious distortions. He writes, for example, that 'almost universally the penitentials in early Irish Christianity have received a bad press' (*ibid.* p. 48), wholly ignoring the important and sympathetic treatments in J. T. McNeill's classic study, *A history of the cure of souls*, and Hugh Connolly's more recent *The Irish penitentials*. He is also inclined to over-state the extent to which

the notion of a distinct ‘Celtic Church’ is an essentially Protestant and English construct. He makes no allusion to pre-Reformation authors, beginning with Bede, who idealise Irish monks and identify a special asceticism and purity in the Celtic realms, nor does he acknowledge the Scottish and Welsh contribution to what was not simply an English, or Anglican, project to create a distinct and idealised Celtic Christianity. Both these books are, indeed, mistitled. No doubt the publishers insisted that the magic word ‘Celtic’ should appear prominently on the cover but in reality they deal exclusively with early Irish theology. O’Loughlin is at pains to point out that what he is dealing with is a legitimate and neglected local theology and here he takes issue as much with academic theologians who have dismissed the Irish tradition as eccentric and anti-intellectual as with modern enthusiasts for some kind of pan-Celtic spirituality. What emerges from these studies, and especially from *Celtic theology*, which is the more substantial and academic of the two, is a branch of early medieval Latin theology which was perhaps distinctive in its austerity, its attachment to the doctrine of the communion of saints and its penitential system. What it was emphatically not, in O’Loughlin’s judgement, was creation-centred, female-friendly or ‘an Augustine-free zone’.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

IAN BRADLEY

*Nordic religions in the Viking age.* By Thomas A. DuBois. (The Middle Ages Series.)

Pp. x + 271 incl. 5 figs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

£33.50 (cloth), £15 (paper). 0 8122 3511 8; 0 8122 1714 4

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902462562

This is a sophisticated, well-written and convincing re-conception of the nature of religious change in the early medieval world. Based on a close examination of the sagas, it shows how previous treatments of the pagan–Christian interface in the Viking world have wrongly peeled off the Christian layer in attempts to reveal the pagan precursor – when, in point of fact, it is the usage made of ‘the pagan’ within the Christian narrative that is the most instructive element. In other words, Christianity was previously taken as a fixed end-product of ‘the’ conversion when, in reality, Christianity was just as changing and unfixed as the pagan ‘other’. More than this, DuBois shows how the pagan religions of the Nordic world were not divided into monolithic, centralised and ethnic-defined religions (of Sámi, Balto-Finnic and Norse), but operated in a constant ‘religious economy’ (paralleling the North Atlantic barter economy) in which cult narratives, symbols and rituals were exchanged, merged, advanced or retreated in a complex chronology. In doing this, the author shifts the methodological approach from archaeological examination of the sagas to a narrative analysis, thus undermining traditional ethno-archaeological structures. This post-structuralism is evident first in his examination of gods and deities, where DuBois shows that the different traditions within the Nordic region were probably familiar to most Nordic peoples. It is next evident in the analysis of death rituals (into which archaeological evidence is drawn), and then moves on to rituals of health and healing (including sauna, childbirth and disease). From looking at the ethnographic interchange under thematic headings, DuBois moves on to an

examination of a single ritual, the Seiðr, which demonstrates the dynamic process of religious exchange. The last two chapters look at the completion of the Christianisation process in symbolic terms (the cross as both piety and power) and by looking at how sagas in the round (rather than as texts atomised and archaeologically plundered) show how paganism became an absorbed religious 'other' in medieval Christian narrative. It is in method as much as in argument that this book is a telling work of scholarship. It is rich in categories of analysis, including gender which perhaps deserved an additional chapter to tell its own narrative coherently. But this book is an achievement that deserves consultation beyond the confines of Viking religious ethnography. So many of the questions, categories of analysis and methodologies used in religious, cultural and gender history of different eras are now common, and deserve to instigate proper interdisciplinary and inter-age scholarship exchange. For example, DuBois would have benefited from exploiting Terry Gunnell's work on *The origins of drama in Scandinavia* (Cambridge 1995), whilst those studying later religious changes (including de-Christianisation in the twentieth century) would learn a lot from both the story and the method deployed in this fascinating volume.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

CALLUM G. BROWN

*Monasticism in north-western Europe, 800–1200.* by Tore Nyberg. Pp. xi + 295 incl. 4 maps and 12 figs. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. £49.50. 1 85928 212 1  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902472569

Expectant students of monasticism should be warned of what this book does not contain. The reader will find nothing here about the internal life of monasteries, monastic spirituality and culture, varieties of observance or the controversies that surrounded monastic reform. The author's concern is with monasteries as socio-political units imported into Scandinavia by bishops and kings in the endeavour to strengthen their power bases and to convert their peoples from paganism. Much attention is given to the creation of bishoprics and their missionary role, and to the dynastic wars that formed the constant background to the foundation of monasteries; but the actual contribution of monks to the work of evangelisation is not examined. By the year 1020 the three Scandinavian kingdoms were ruled by kings who were baptised Christians, but whose population was still largely pagan. In the course of the following century, a few Benedictine abbeys were sponsored by bishops in their episcopal cities. Here a minor but interesting theme is the influence of English practice in using monks to provide cathedral chapters, as was done at Odense and Uppsala, the former of which was peopled by monks sent from Evesham in 1095. A new wave of monastic foundation began in the 1140s with the advent of the Cistercians sponsored by Archbishop Eskil of Lund, who brought monks from Cîteaux to occupy Herrevad and others from Clairvaux to people Esrum. With the victory of the Valdemarian dynasty in 1157 and the foundation of the royal abbey of Vitskøl, the Cistercians gained new patrons in the Danish kings. An unusual feature of Cistercian expansion in this area was a take-over by white monks of numbers of existing Benedictine abbeys, as happened at Esrum, Herrevad and Veng, a process not fully explained by the author. In the middle decades of the twelfth century, houses of canons regular

made their first appearance in Norway and Denmark, including a number of Premonstratensian foundations. Professor Nyberg suggests (though he does not document) that Victorine observance was introduced by members of the higher Norwegian clergy who had made their acquaintance with the Victorines while studying at Paris. The first nunneries appeared at Lund, Oslo and Bergen in the 1140s, but the nature of their observance is uncertain. The emphasis throughout this learned but rather austere book is upon the political background to monastic foundation, in which an important place is assigned to the persistence and resistance of paganism in Sweden outside the more populous Christianised areas of east and west Gotland. Its chief merit lies in the author's careful investigation of the chronology of monastic settlement and of the role of bishops in promoting it in the three Scandinavian kingdoms and Iceland.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

C. H. LAWRENCE

*Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865–1459*. By Gerhard Podskalsky. Pp. x + 578. Munich: Beck, 2000. DM 198. 3 406 45024 5  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902482565

In the old East European academies, the production of comprehensive, systematic works of reference was a task for teams of dedicated scholars toiling for decades. Alternatively, there is Gerhard Podskalsky, indefatigable producer of single-author *Handbücher* in the grand tradition of Krumbacher, Beck and Hunger. After *Philosophie und Theologie in Byzanz* (1977) came *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (1982, with an updated edition in Russian in 1996), then *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821)* (1988); and now this, perhaps the most ambitious of the lot. Nobody has hitherto attempted such a full and integrated guide to the South Slav literatures of the Middle Ages. After an introductory 'historical overview' – a book-within-a-book, at 150 pages – Podskalsky follows his earlier practice of surveying the material chronologically by genre, with chapters of homiletics, ascetic writings, exegesis, dogmatic and apologetic writings, hagiography (by far the longest section), liturgical poetry, historiography, works on canon law and travel writings. Bibliographies of editions are provided as part of the running text, while studies are listed and copiously cross-referenced in over 2,300 bibliographical footnotes. Podskalsky is well aware of the potential disadvantages of such an arrangement: the difficulty, in some cases, of generic definition; the splitting of authors between chapters; the lack of a sense of interconnected changes in literature as a whole over time. These are unavoidable compromises, comfortably outweighed by the advantages of the generic arrangement. A more serious regret (which Podskalsky also acknowledges) is the somewhat sketchy – and not entirely consistent – treatment of works translated from Greek, which constitute the majority of texts in Slavonic throughout the Middle Ages. And in these days of updateable on-line bibliographies one feels more acutely than in the past the limitations of the fixed fat tome: anything which appears after the *Handbuch* goes to press (such as William Veder's important edition of Khrabr's treatise *On letters*) is doomed to permanent exclusion from the definitive reference work. But such trivial *caveats* take nothing away from Podskalsky's achievement. His book is a fundamental



contribution to the study of medieval Orthodox culture. It will have an essential place on library shelves for years to come.

CLARE COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

SIMON FRANKLIN

*Byzantium's Balkan frontier. A political study of the northern Balkans, 900–1204.* By Paul Stephenson. Pp. xii + 353 incl. 21 maps and figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £45. 0521 77017 3  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902492561

This is an important and innovative study of the northern frontier of the Byzantine empire which deals with a period during which the empire re-established itself as the paramount political power in the eastern mediterranean basin, before succumbing to internal as well as external pressures in the later twelfth century. The main thrust of the book is that Byzantine policy in the Balkans has generally been misunderstood, represented as concentrated on territorial conquest and administrative and political integration, whereas in reality the empire pursued, with some short-lived exceptions, much more limited but just as effective aims. Byzantine rulers played a refined game of reward and punishment with the different Balkan polities and more particularly with the various factions and elites which dominated them at different times. Stephenson shows, for example, that Basil II – in spite of his reputation and epithet of ‘Bulgar-slayer’ (the origins of which he has examined in a separate article) – was primarily interested in asserting his authority over the provincial elites of the region and establishing himself and his court as the prime source of patronage and influence, while at the same time working hard to prevent the emergence of alternative sources of power, authority and legitimation. Stephenson’s treatment puts the Balkan ‘frontier’ – which is, in effect, the whole Balkan region – firmly on a par with the eastern frontier, often taken uncritically to have always been far more important. He also shows how remarkably exposed the situation of Constantinople was, and the extent to which imperial policy represented a response to this and the dangers it brought. The northern frontier, in this interpretation, was thus more than just a frontier. Imperial policy in the Balkans represented not only military, political and economic interests, but cultural and ideological concerns, too. Yet the resolution of each set of problems, as the author shows very clearly, brought with it a whole host of new problems, so that there was never a ‘stable’ situation for very long – the events following the death of Basil II, and the struggle to establish a consistent policy during the middle years of the twelfth century, are ably employed to demonstrate this. One of the critical developments in the period in question, and one which Stephenson rightly places centre stage, was the rise of western political and cultural power and influence, with its concomitant potential to intervene militarily and directly, on various occasions, in affairs which had hitherto been a purely Byzantine area of influence. The crusades represent a key moment in this development, and indeed Stephenson stresses that it was precisely the policies and politics of Alexios I which brought about the First Crusade and led to the first serious military confrontation with the west. Alexios is traditionally given credit – partly because historians

have relied so heavily on the opinions of his daughter Anna – for his able handling of the threat, but here we are reminded that he was himself largely to blame for its realisation in the first place.

Various aspects of imperial policy-making in the Balkans deserve more treatment than the author can give them – military structures and the role of the army, for example – but this does not detract from his achievement in producing an excellent, clear and critical study of a subject for which no broader synthesis has hitherto appeared in English.

CENTRE FOR BYZANTINE, OTTOMAN  
AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES,  
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

JOHN HALDON

*A history of Polish Christianity.* By Jerzy Kłoczowski. (Trans. of *Dzieje Chrześcijaństwa Polskiego*, 2 vols, Paris: Éditions du Dialogue, 1987, 1991.) Pp. xxxviii + 385 incl. 10 ills and 15 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £45. 0 521 36429 9  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902502566

Although it is over twenty years since the election of a Polish pope, English-language publishers have shown remarkably little interest in exploring the religious background from which Karol Wojtyła sprang so sensationally onto the world stage in 1979. There are, it is true, a number of studies available on the Catholic Church under Communism, but little worthwhile on the long history of the Polish Church, and the particular – some might say peculiar – nature of modern Polish Catholicism cannot be understood without an appreciation of the tangled history of Christianity in Poland before 1945. Cambridge University Press are therefore to be congratulated for publishing this comprehensive yet accessible account by Poland's most distinguished living Church historian. Jerzy Kłoczowski is by training a medievalist, but in many respects the most impressive parts of this panoramic account deal with the post-Reformation period. For, although Kłoczowski is himself a committed Catholic and a friend of the pope, he has deliberately written a history of Polish Christianity, and not a narrow study of Polish Catholicism. Considerable space is devoted to the non-Catholic churches of the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania, until the eighteenth century perhaps the most successful religiously plural state in Europe. After the institution of legal toleration after 1573, Orthodox, Uniates, Armenians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Arians, Mennonites, Quakers, among others – not to mention Jews and Muslims – were permitted (more or less) to worship God in their own way, and Catholicism – not without much difficulty – was forced to find a *modus vivendi* with other faiths. Kłoczowski quite properly keeps Catholicism at the centre of the picture throughout, but this is a work written in the fine Polish liberal Catholic intellectual tradition: the author is not afraid to probe the darker corners of Poland's Catholic past; in particular he deals judiciously with the complex and controversial topic of Catholic–Jewish relations. Along the way he provides a wealth of information and statistics which will enable non-Polish-speaking researchers to integrate Poland more fully into general works on the history of the Church. He is particularly good on the complex history of the religious orders, who played such a notable role in a

massive and relatively sparsely-populated state where the network of dioceses and parishes was thinly-spread. The translation creaks a little at times, and despite Christopher Brooke's valiant efforts, it does not always read as well as it might: those who know Polish will be annoyed by the complete failure to use the Polish alphabet, and there are irritating errors which any Polish-speaking proof-reader could easily have eliminated – most seriously mistaking Augustus III for his father (p. 134) and most hilariously when the Commonwealth at its greatest extent is claimed to have reached one million square metres (p. 90). It was a thousand times bigger than that. Finally, 'yeoman' is a misleading term when applied in the Polish context. Nevertheless, these are minor annoyances. This is an excellent book by the master of his field.

KING'S COLLEGE,  
LONDON

ROBERT I. FROST

*The intellectual foundations of the English Benedictine reform.* By Mechthild Gretsch. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 25.) Pp. xii + 471. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £50. 0 521 581559

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902512562

This book is a wholly remarkable study of two great series of Old English glosses, of their cultural background and of their influence. Its title may thus raise eyebrows. What have these to do with the (so-called) 'tenth-century reformation' – the imposition of a uniform Benedictine observance on a selection of abbeys in Wessex, Kent, the West Midlands and the Fenland? But there should be no suspicion of authorial hype. Gretsch triumphantly establishes that the author of these glosses was the movement's true architect, the great Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester. Because these were his earliest works (evidently composed when he was still at Glastonbury), and beyond question the most substantial of them, they can surely be envisaged as the groundwork of the movement to which he lent such characteristic impetus.

The first half of the book provides a lucid introduction to the history of psalter-glossing by the Anglo-Saxons, while showing that there was something altogether distinctive and impressive about the gloss in BL, ms Royal 2. B. v ('D'). It then goes on to make an as good as unanswerable case that its author also wrote the Old English translation of the Benedictine *Rule*, and the core stratum of the several thousand glosses to the Brussels Aldhelm (Bib. Roy. ms 1650). Among this author's intellectual habits were an almost Aldhelmian interest in new verbal coinages designed at once to lend precision and often almost poetic resonance to the translation, a certain interest in loan-words that may well have come from Old Saxon or Old High German and early French, and a particular interest in crowns, musical instruments and 'courtly speech (*burhsþæc, urbanitas*)'. Gretsch then goes on to strengthen the well-known arguments for regarding Æthelwold (that high-born Winchester man) as author of the OE *Rule*, and to give good historical reasons, over and above their common vocabulary, to think him responsible for the Psalter and Aldhelm too. It is not easy to overstate the clarity and sheer intellectual verve with which these theses are advanced; and there is certainly little that this mere historian is inclined to dispute (other than the high

probability, established by Dr Rohini Jayatilaka, that Æthelwold's 'uncyrrred woroldman' (p. 279) was a 'swa gecyrrred woroldman', that is to say a secular *conversus* – reformed nobleman/'clerk'? – for whom a vernacularised *Rule* would have come in particularly handy). What Gretsch's case amounts to is the historically seminal proposition that the genesis of the 'reform' lay in the near-imperial and quasi-Carolingian court culture of King Æthelstan – an argument that can only gain weight from Michael Wood's forthcoming demonstration that William of Malmesbury did have a lost poetic source for the king's reign, which may well have been written by Æthelwold himself or a close disciple.

Which brings us back to her title. There was more at stake in all this than the Benedictinisation of the English monasteries. To do that was itself a Carolingian imperial policy. But this new English empire, with its august intellectual progenitor in Aldhelm (a prince of the West Saxon blood in King Alfred's view, by the way), was also to have a vocabulary that could bring its laws as well as charters up to the truly Roman standards to which Bede, its other founding father, had once pointed in his account of King Æthelberht; and one to set beside that of King David himself.

FACULTY OF MODERN HISTORY,  
OXFORD

PATRICK WORMALD

*De l'Érémisme rural au monachisme urbain. Les Camaldules en Italie à la fin du moyen âge.*

By Cécile Caby. (Bibliothèques des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 350.) Pp vi+887 incl. 10 maps and 8 plates. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1999. Fr. 600. 2 7283 0581 1

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As this volume demonstrates, a *longue durée* approach to monastic historiography is both attractive and daunting. The Camaldolese hermits and monks of central and north-east Italy are exceptionally well-documented and Caby has obviously spent many long but fruitful months sifting through their dispersed archives, following in the footsteps of Mittarelli and Costadoni's *Annales camaldulenses* (Venice 1755–62), but adding vastly to their already monumental undertaking. The result, stemming from a *thèse* under the direction of André Vauchez, stretches across five centuries, from the life of Romuald of Ravenna (c. 952–1027), whom the Camaldolese claimed as their founder, to the Observant movement of the Catholic Reformation. No traditional historiographical theme is omitted: foundation stories, topography and relic-cults feature as prominently as the institutional and administrative evolution of the order, its relations with papacy, prelates, patrons and secular elites or the educational and artistic aspirations of the brethren. The heterogeneous and paradoxical nature of a movement comprising both hermits and coenobites is constantly in view, but Caby's main concern is the process of *inurbamento* and the relations between monk-hermits and urban secular and religious life. She illustrates, for example, the involvement of brethren in city administration and politics, but also reflects on the urban acculturation of the hermit ideal in ways which complement recent studies of city ascetics and *pinzochere*. The letter-collections and other writings of fifteenth-century humanist brethren (Ambrogio Traversari, Pietro Dolfino) and friends or

observers of the order (including Coluccio Salutati) are used sympathetically to evoke both disputes and friendship or reform networks and to demonstrate the dominance of urban houses such as San Michele di Murano (Venice) or Santa Maria degli Angeli (Florence). Camaldoli itself, while remaining an important symbol, appears rarely if ever as a vector of reform or leadership within the order. Previous writers have focused on the early centuries of the Camaldolese and Caby is right to emphasise the need for studies of the later evolution of such orders to stand alongside those of the mendicants. However, one drawback of the comprehensive approach is the impulse to incorporate previous scholarship and this makes her study of the early period the least engaging. By the same token, few readers will be surprised by her conclusions concerning the later Middle Ages, while some may be disconcerted by a tendency to lose sight of chronological specificity engendered by the thematic approach. The strengths of this study none the less remain its extensive contextualisation and the rejection of simple frameworks of explanation for highly complex phenomena. As well as the traditional subdivisions into books (each with six to nine chapters and further subsections), an inventory and guide to archives consulted, abundant footnotes and an index of proper names will facilitate its use as a reference volume. Caby was clearly undaunted by the great scope of her project and this volume should stand as a starting point for comparative thematic or regional studies for many years to come.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

FRANCES ANDREWS

*Medieval marriage. Literary approaches, 1100–1300.* By Neil Cartlidge. Pp. xii + 250.

Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997. £45. 0 85991 512 3

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902532565

The merit of this book is the literary critical sensibility it brings to bear on an essentially historical topic. It begins with an inevitably selective survey of some medieval attitudes to marriage, and some modern interpretations of them. Cartlidge has reservations about theories which explain 'literary idealisations of human relationships ... in terms of escapism, conflict, radical change and narrow oppositions between different classes, genders and institutions'. *Ruodlieb* 'underlines the affectivity of the conjugal bond'. The *Mystère d'Adam* presents marriage as 'a mechanism fundamental to the universe'. He continues through territory more familiar to students of medieval marriage: Chrétien de Troyes and the letters of Abelard and Heloise. One conclusion of this preliminary section is that marriage was 'a field of emotive ideals' rather than a purely utilitarian institution. Further, more detailed analyses follow. Cartlidge argues that the *Chanson de St Alexis* creates an interesting tension between Alexis's asceticism and his romantic relation with his wife. The renunciation of marriage by Guy of Warwick in the romance of that name involves no genuine sense of contempt for marriage as such. There is also a section on Christina of Markyate. Its relevance to the general line of argument is perhaps a little forced, though it is interesting in itself. A whole chapter is then devoted to texts in two manuscripts (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402 and Bodley 34). These analyses show marriage

treated 'both as a symbol and as a representation of female experience in the world'. For example, Cartlidge compares the relation between Christ and anchoresses in the *Ancrene Wisse* to that of the saint and his bride in the St Alexis poem: marital perfection will be in the other world. Even in the process of exalting virginity over marriage the texts in these manuscripts present marriage as a 'true drama of feeling' and a 'paradigm of emotional commitment'. The last chapter puts texts from two more manuscripts under the spotlight. The most famous of the texts in question is the *Owl and the nightingale*, which, Cartlidge argues, is 'less revealing about marriage than the avowedly ascetic material' addressed to celibates which he has discussed in previous chapters. A principal achievement of the book is to show the relevance of this ascetic material to this-worldly marriage as conceived in the Middle Ages. The book still looks very much like a doctoral thesis, but historians need to read it because the author has two advantages that they often lack: a training in comparative medieval literature with a firm base in cultural history (the book is very school-of-Dronke), and a well developed sensitivity to literary texts.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
LONDON

D. L. D'AVRAY

*Medieval church councils in Scotland.* By D. E. R. Watt. Pp. xvii + 185. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000. £34.95. 0 567 08731 X  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902542561

The medieval Scottish Church was unusual in that it had no archbishopric until 1472, even though, with the exception of Galloway, Sodor and Orkney, its bishops had secured freedom from the jurisdiction of foreign metropolitans before the end of the twelfth century. Provincial synods on the lines envisaged by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had therefore to be held under special arrangements as authorised by Pope Honorius III in 1225. This scholarly volume presents a broadly chronological analysis of the working of Scottish provincial councils both as agents of ecclesiastical reform and as institutions firmly embedded within the political structure of the realm and subject to at least a measure of royal control. In making a contribution to a major international series, Watt has had to grapple with the notorious deficiencies of the Scottish source material and the problems of its interpretation, and is understandably cautious about using fifteenth-century evidence, which for instance shows that the council met annually at Perth in July, to speculate on arrangements two hundred years previously. The reforming zeal of the thirteenth century was apparently not continued into the later Middle Ages, at least at provincial level, although even in the immediate aftermath of the Lateran Council there were marked liturgical differences between individual dioceses which demonstrate the continuing strength of local customs. Nor did the Scottish provincial council develop a role in granting taxation akin to that of the English convocations, since from David II's reign onwards this business, for laity and clergy alike, was dealt with in parliaments and general councils of the three estates. In view of the scrappiness of material relating to the provincial council's functions, its history

and development are here woven into a broader discussion of Scoto-papal relations. Understandably the primary focus is on the visits of twelfth- and thirteenth-century papal legates who sometimes held councils, and on the activities of tax collectors, who frequently provoked resistance from both local prelates and the king and encouraged them to act together against attempts to levy taxation in Scotland for the benefit of the English crown. There is, however, also a fresh analysis, with numerous valuable insights, of the reasons for the realm's dogged adherence to the Avignon cause during the Great Schism, as well as a range of observations on the under-researched question of relations with Rome in the fifteenth century. While some of the discussion, for example on the origins and dates of thirteenth-century statutes, is necessarily detailed and technical, and a broad-ranging synthesis is precluded by the deficiencies of the evidence, Watt is to be congratulated on presenting the first full analysis of an organ of the Scottish Church which certainly functioned more smoothly without an archbishop than it was ever able to do after 1472.

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST

A. D. M. BARRELL

*Gothic tombs of kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England.* By Anne McGee Morganstern (with an appendix on the heraldry of the Crouchback tomb in Westminster Abbey by John A. Goodall). Pp. xix + 252 incl. 106 ills and 4 colour plates. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. \$60. 0 271 01859 3

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Professor Morganstern's book discusses a series of well-known effigial tombs made for highly-placed patrons in France and England, in order to restore to their understanding some sense of the dynastic concerns that lay beneath the religious piety that they evince. This is an unusual book. Its concentration on one type of tomb, of a sort preserving extensive heraldic evidence ordered in such a way as to demonstrate the kin or allegiance of the deceased, represents a narrowing of perspective, since while Morganstern in no sense neglects the wider art-historical aspects of these tombs, these are kept firmly subsidiary to her main purposes of dating and establishing genealogies, indeed seeing the tombs in question as a kind of genealogy. A full account of the tombs in question is not her purpose. Indeed tombs of many types of patron are omitted from this account, including those of clerics, who themselves occasionally had 'tombs of kinship' (one such was Bishop Louis de Beaumont's tomb at Durham Cathedral). Yet the work entailed in this exercise has been thorough and will be welcomed by those interested in the medieval 'ideology of filiation', as Duby called it. Historians may nevertheless be concerned at the lack of any general discussion by Morganstern of the notion of kinship itself. The idea that there was a pure genre called a tomb of kinship is perhaps misleading; some distinction needs to be made at least some of the time between obviously dynastic memorials like those at Westminster, and those like Sir Hugh Hasting's at Elsing in Norfolk which looks like a kinship tomb but, in celebrating military allegiance, is in fact close to the establishment of the Order of the Garter – more kith than kin, club than family, one suspects. So tombs of

adherence or allegiance need to be distinguished more clearly, if distinguished they can be. The author also suggests that tombs of this type acted as mnemonic prompts to chantry priests, though it is clear that such tombs did not begin in chantry contexts at all, and it is not quite clear how useful they would have been as prompts anyway. The text of the book consists of a series of monographic studies of tombs, starting in France and giving great emphasis to English royal monuments. Generally, though not always, original, these accounts are well illustrated and documented, notwithstanding the author's tendency to seek complexity or depth where there is none (would any visitor to Edward II's tomb at Gloucester at any time in the Middle Ages have thought of him as Christ-like simply in virtue of his holding an orb?), or sometimes to fall into curious error, as when referring to the 'crypt' at Westminster Abbey (p. 121) when there is no crypt. This is a book which raises more questions than it answers but which furnishes much useful documentation, supplied in part by J. A. Goodall.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

PAUL BINSKI

*The tombs of the doges of Venice.* By Debra Pincus. Pp. xvii + 257 incl. frontispiece and 126 figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, £50. 0 521 59354 9  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902562564

Venice is currently fashionable, and the history of tombs and the culture of commemoration equally so. In this study, Debra Pincus brings the two together in a thoughtful, clear and well-researched account of the development of the tombs of doges in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which provides an extremely useful introduction to the visual politics of Venice and the Veneto in this period. Recent years have seen the appearance of studies of tombs erected for certain classes of patron in both northern and southern Europe or, in the case of Julian Gardner's work on papal tombs (1992), both. Like Gardner, Pincus performs the valuable service of tracing developments through to the fourteenth century. She extends the literature by placing the ducal tomb in the context of the politics of the Venetian state. A succession of tombs, located principally in Venetian mendicant churches or San Marco's, form the basis for a series of short monographic studies, each of which offers the opportunity to rehearse wider issues of meaning. Inevitably, then, the ducal tomb is seen as embodying meanings beyond the funerary. Context is obviously vital; Pincus takes into account the sculptural art of the Veneto, but she is more preoccupied with the decorum and ideology of the specific places in which the tombs were to be pondered. She observes, for example, that the Dominican and Franciscan churches saw, at least before the fourteenth century, the erection of tombs of greater aesthetic complexity than those in San Marco, where a quasi-imperial sense of decorum prevailed. Her text falls into place alongside recent studies of the issue of decorum in medieval art, and of aesthetic multiplicity. The ducal tombs are thus variations on a theme which, through their eclecticism, demonstrate what a Venetian political consciousness was like in its complexity. Only by the fourteenth century do they take on the more modern devotional trends towards



personalised display associated with funerary art in Europe as a whole. Usefully, the text has an epigraphic appendix of the sort which all books on tombs should have. This is a lucid and well-reasoned reference point for studies of Italian art and politics.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

PAUL BINSKI

*Salisbury. 1217–1228.* Edited by B. R. Kemp. (English Episcopal Acta, 19.) Pp. xxvii + 215–490. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 2000. £45. 0 19 726199 X

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902572560

This, following his previous volume in the series, completes Dr Kemp's edition of the *acta* of the bishops of Salisbury from 1078 to 1228. This volume is devoted entirely to the acts of Bishop Richard Poore, whereas the one before sufficed to contain the acts of all five of his predecessors, a fact that reflects both the increased number of documents surviving from an age more given to systematic record-keeping and also the remarkable wealth of the muniments of Salisbury Cathedral. Interestingly, although no bishop's register survives for Salisbury earlier than that of Simon of Ghent (1297–1315), an *inspeximus* of 1220 for Abingdon (no. 255 in Kemp's edition) refers to the existence of a register in Poore's time. It should occasion no surprise that the practice of registration began as early as this in a see formerly occupied by Hubert Walter.

This excellent edition maintains the high level of scholarship we have come to expect from this series sponsored by the British Academy. Kemp has cast his net widely in the search for *acta*. For many of the documents he has had the help of the collection of Sarum charters and the Register of St Osmund published by Jones and Macray in the nineteenth century, but for many of them he has traced other copies, has improved upon the dating and has meticulously annotated minor variants in alternative texts. His careful study of the witness lists preserved in many of the charters has enabled him to provide an appendix containing a number of corrections to the modern edition of Le Neve; another appendix furnishes an itinerary of all six of the bishops surveyed in the two volumes.

Much in this volume could be paralleled from the contents of the register of any conscientious bishop of the thirteenth century; and Richard Poore was a highly conscientious schoolman-bishop, who surrounded himself with a chapter of learned schoolmen, and whose synodal statutes provided a model for the ordinances of reforming prelates in several other dioceses. Here his pastoral concern is manifested in many *acta* recording the creation of vicarages in appropriated churches, which include detailed and generous provisions to ensure the vicars an adequate living. In several cases Poore reserved the patronage of the vicarage to himself and his successors, thus extending episcopal supervision of the parish clergy. Other items of particular interest are twenty-four *acta* relating to the properties and organisation of Salisbury Cathedral, including the resolution of the bishop and chapter to remove the see from the site of Old Sarum, and ratification of the claim, settled before judges-delegate, of Malmesbury Abbey to

exemption from the bishop's jurisdiction, a case that had been in process for nearly fifty years.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

C. H. LAWRENCE

*Inquisition and medieval society. Power, discipline, and resistance in Languedoc.* By James B. Given. Pp. xvi+256 incl. 1 map, 6 figs, 3 tables and 2 plates. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1997. £31.50 (\$39.95). 0 8014 3358 4  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902582567

Invocation of Michel Foucault on the dynamics of power is rarely more appropriate than in study of inquisitorial repression. Inquisitors were meant to exercise power in the control of knowledge, and James Given studies painstakingly how they did so. Less obviously, the heretics inquisitors prosecuted also had opportunities for exercise of power, and Given is attentive to these as well.

More than previous historians of inquisition, Given shows in detail how the apparatus of inquisitorial record-keeping worked: how the use of meticulously formed records made it possible for Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre at Toulouse to interrogate 758 individuals in the 1240s who had already appeared before other inquisitors, and whose earlier interrogation was documented and known. Preservation of archives could also help inquisitors 'spot weak points in a mendacious confession' (p. 144). Inquisitorial use of torture has been much studied; Given shows in some detail (with statistics, for example, on the length of Jacques Fournier's proceedings) how inquisitors in Languedoc more often extracted confessions through the slower torture of lengthy imprisonment.

That inquisitors had a wide range of punishments short of execution is well known; Given gives the statistics from Bernard Gui's extensive listing, and suggests the impact that wearing a penitential cross might have by noting that in the 1320s the archbishop of Narbonne and others had to forbid people from harassing cross-wearers. Given further brings statistical as well as anecdotal evidence to bear in his analysis of individual and collective resistance, and details the conditions in which it became possible for the local to manipulate inquisitions through false accusation. He quotes one Aycred Boret, who had made an apparently false accusation to avenge himself in a quarrel over taxation: 'Sometimes the devil is more powerful than God. And I must help myself out with either God or the devil' (p. 187). Given notes structural constraints in the office of inquisition: the distraction of inquisitors with other duties, the absence of effective supervision, the dependence on external funding. While he delineates the roles of royal and seignorial agents, of kings and popes, it is the parish priests who turn out to have the most interesting role, as middlemen between the village and the broader world, in identifying heretics.

The book concludes on a note that might be taken as apologetic: 'we are left with an impression that may seem rather ambiguous, if not outright contradictory', that being the contrast between the draconian exercise of inquisitorial power and the limits to which this power remained subject. But

Given has no reason for apology. The tension between these two factors, power and the limits of power, leads back to the opening invocation of Foucault, and to a nuanced sense of how power functions within a social network. And in documenting both sides of the mechanisms of power with this kind of nuance Given has provided a useful corrective to long prevailing simplifications.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

RICHARD KIECKHEFER

*Crusade propaganda and ideology. Model sermons for the preaching of the cross.* By Christoph T. Maier. Pp. viii + 280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £37.50. 0 521 59061 2  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902592563

*Crusade propaganda and ideology* is a study of the model sermons composed in the thirteenth century by James of Vitry, Eudes of Châteauroux, Gilbert of Tournai, Humbert of Roman and Bertrand de la Tour to assist churchmen mandated to preach crusades against heretics and Muslims. Within the broad field of medieval sermon studies, model sermons and the *ad status* collections in which they appear present special critical problems, and it is to Maier's considerable credit that he takes a bold approach. He identifies clearly the central problem of discerning the relationship between the 'live' sermon and the sermon in its manuscript form. Related to this, and of crucial importance, is how preachers might have used these manuscript model sermons, and other preaching aids, in preparing their own sermons for actual delivery. With respect to model sermons for the crusades, Maier observes that their authors took a strongly practical line, limiting their contents to apposite biblical texts, to useful, sometimes strikingly distinctive comparisons, and to core theological concepts. Moreover, these materials, Maier's analysis reveals, were structured in ways calculated to aid the memory of any preacher using them. Generally these models do not preserve historical particularity. In his live sermon, the preacher, according to Maier, developed the materials of the models to suit the particular crusade and the audience. What we have in the model sermons, therefore, are skeletons, 'the sober products of scholarly work aimed at giving an idea about the themes and arguments that might be employed in the preaching of the cross' (p. 31). Assuming, rather than demonstrating, that models were used widely by crusade preachers, Maier then asserts that they can be taken as reliable sources 'for establishing the framework of ideas within which crusade propagandists worked' (p. 51). What emerges from his examination of the ideas and language of the models is a picture of crusade and crusader which is deeply spiritual. The crusade, whether against heretics or against Muslims, was a devotional war bringing its participants, those signed with the cross of Christ's passion, indulgences and ultimately salvation. By contrast, as one of Gilbert of Tournai's sermons indicates, those opposed to crusading, the 'anti-crusaders' were branded as 'morally destitute and evil' (p. 65). Maier provides critical transcriptions of the Latin texts and English translations of all the model sermons discussed. The critical principles of transcription are sound and for the most part the texts are intelligible, although surely *quaod* (p. 222) should be emended to *quoad*. The translations read well, but readers may well ask why *largitas indulgentiarum* is translated within the same

sermon as ‘the generosity of the indulgences’ (p. 217) and ‘the greatness of the indulgences’ (p. 221). But this is to quibble. Maier’s work is a valuable and significant contribution to the study of medieval sermons and the crusades.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

PENNY J. COLE

*The register of Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter, 1258–1280. Vol. I.* Edited by O. F. Robinson. (Canterbury and York Society, 82.) Pp. xlv + 161. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Canterbury & York Society), 1995. £25. 0 907239 51 X; 0262 995X

*The register of Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter, 1258–1280. Vol. II.* Edited by O. F. Robinson. (Canterbury and York Society, 87.) Pp. viii + 138. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Canterbury & York Society), 1999. £25. 0 907239 57 9; 0262 995X  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902602568

Exeter diocese possesses an excellent series of bishops’ registers, starting with that of Walter Bronescombe in 1258, many of which were edited by F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, a late-Victorian Devon clergyman. The project to edit them all has as yet only reached 1455, leaving a good deal still to be done even before the Reformation, so that in one sense it is odd to re-edit the earliest register while later ones have yet to appear in print. Hingeston-Randolph, however, was a pioneer of editing registers who rearranged the contents into an alphabetical ‘index’ of topics, and since he did not provide a thorough modern index, one often needs to read through the whole of his volumes to establish whether or not an item is present. Robinson’s edition is therefore welcome, in that it presents the register in its original order. Volume i provides a complete Latin transcript of the first twenty-five folios of the register, as far as 1263, with an English translation on the facing page. Volume ii covers the rest of the register, but gives only an English calendar of the material. Volume iii, which is yet to appear, will contain Latin texts of entries of special interest in volume ii, together with some early deeds which are stitched into the register, and an index. Volume i also includes an introduction, giving an account of the bishop’s career, his diocesan administration and some aspects of the diocese in his time, as well as a description of the register as a manuscript.

This new edition, once it is complete, will make the register much more accessible to readers (especially those who do not read Latin), but a number of *caveats* must be recorded. The introduction scarcely draws on studies of Bronescombe during the last twenty years, such as Mrs Erskine’s edition of *The accounts of the fabric of Exeter cathedral* (1981–3) and Professor J. H. Denton’s entry in *The dictionary of national biography: missing persons* (1993), and falls short of completeness. A few placename identifications could be improved. Editorially there are several anomalies. Volume i is not a wholly faithful transcript of the Latin, since the editor tells us that she has standardised spellings of Latin words (p. xiii); oddly, she has standardised them with a classical t- before i-, rather than the c- used by Bronescombe’s clerks. Volume ii, which lacks a complete Latin text and where the reader is dependent on English calendar entries, does not render all Latin placenames and personal names in their original forms. Placenames are

usually given in modern forms with the originals bracketed in italics, but the originals are not always given for Cornwall, for example, although there Latin forms of saintly placenames are often of linguistic interest as well as indicating the genders ascribed to saints. Forenames are completely modernised, which causes less problem, except that someone encountering (say) 'Payne' will not realise that the register says *Paganus*. Surnames are usually given in the original spelling, but if they are familiar placenames they too are modernised without warning, so that *Leskaret* becomes 'Liskeard', *Swansey* 'Swansea' and *Norhamtone* 'Northampton'. This robs the book of useful evidence for placenames and is inconsistent. Future readers, especially casual ones, may therefore fail to appreciate that placenames, surnames and Latin words are not always in their original forms; those who suspect the fact will have to go back to Hingeston-Randolph or to the original register to check them. Nobody therefore should throw Hingeston-Randolph away. He was usually a careful and faithful transcriber (except for sometimes expanding incomplete name-forms without warrant), and his edition remains a valuable resource to use in tandem with this one.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

NICHOLAS ORME

*Food and the body. Some peculiar questions in high medieval theology.* By Philip Lyndon Reynolds. (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 69.) Pp. xv + 461. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Nlg 231.39. 90 04 11532 3; 0169 8125 *JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902612564

In what sense does the food we eat become part of us? Or, in more technical theological vocabulary, does it become part of the 'truth' of our human nature (*veritas humanae naturae*)? The question had a bearing in medieval thought on several important issues: our personal identity, the nature of sexual intercourse and procreation, the transmission of original sin, the nature of bodily growth and human development, our body at the resurrection. Reynolds sees a fundamental change in the answer to the question, from a negative response given by theologians before and including Peter Lombard, to a positive one by those following him, chiefly Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. While the former saw food as only nourishing the flesh and therefore as extrinsic to human identity, bodily growth and our bodies at the resurrection, the latter, under the influence especially of Aristotle and on certain points of Galen, saw it as being incorporated into the body and therefore as having an intrinsic role in our identity, growth and eternal life. Many conundrums were thought through in the course of this investigation. How will our bodies be reassembled at the resurrection; will sweat, saliva and semen rise again; what about the man eaten by a wolf, or the results of cannibalism; will our physical deficiencies be rectified at the resurrection? All the theologians assumed that the human person is a microcosm of the universe: only after Aquinas, with the more imaginative Giles of Rome and Durandus, who are treated briefly in the epilogue to this book, did theologians move beyond a largely physical concept of bodily resurrection to a more cosmic one. Throughout one notices the acknowledged dependence of medieval scholasticism upon both the ancients, notably Aristotle and Galen, and

the Arabs, notably Avicenna and Averroes; also the curiosity of medievals, their willingness to probe all questions. Reynolds has provided a treatment that is strictly theological and limited to particular questions and to the ‘high medieval’ period, as the book’s subtitle indicates. There is almost no attempt to set this theology within the context of popular perceptions of food and the body or to discuss these perceptions in their own right; no discussion of recent feminist interest in the attitudes of medieval women to food and the body, as instanced by Caroline Bynum and others, or whether these attitudes in any way connected with those of male theologians. The reader may feel the book could be shorter, less traversing of the same material from slightly different angles. Within these limitations, however, it represents a seminal discussion of a debate that certainly excited medieval minds and still today, after the radical developments of medical science, has surprising relevance.

CAMPION HALL,  
OXFORD

NORMAN TANNER

*Words of the living God. Place and function of holy Scripture in the theology of St Thomas Aquinas.* By Wilhelmus G. B. M. Valkenberg. (Publications of the Thomas Instituut te Utrecht, New Ser. 6.) Pp. viii + 253. Leuven: Peeters, 2000. B.Fr. 1,200 (paper). 90 429 0818 1  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902622560

This book tends to confirm the impression formed by a theologically attentive reader of Aquinas: namely, the centrality of Scripture in Aquinas’s theological method and its increasing functional importance in his later works. Valkenberg shows how Aquinas is noticeably more rooted in the Bible than most of his theological contemporaries. (If Valkenberg had continued the analysis into the fourteenth century, he could have found some even more startling contrasts.) The analysis is two-fold: quantitative and qualitative, centring on Christological texts, and in particular on Aquinas’s various treatments of the resurrection. The quantitative analysis is simply a tabulation of the proportion of scriptural quotations, and its contrast with the proportion of patristic, scholastic and philosophical citations. The book is an abbreviated reworking of the author’s 1990 Utrecht doctoral thesis, wherein most of the detailed statistical analysis can be found. Although this sort of material is dry, it is a shame that more of the evidence was not reprinted here. The qualitative analysis is altogether more interesting, for it shows how different Aquinas’s use of the Scriptures frequently is from the ‘proof-texting’ common amongst his more recent followers. Scripture, for Aquinas, provides the sole informational and structural source for theology, and theology is the systematised reading of the Scriptures, making full use of the best theological and philosophical resources available. We should not overstate Valkenberg’s conclusion, however: Aquinas is no Calvin, and his exegetical tools are in any case less nuanced.

ORIEL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

RICHARD CROSS

*New trends in feminine spirituality. The holy women of Liège and their impact.* Edited by Juliette Dor, Lesley Johnson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne. (Medieval Women. Texts and Contexts, 2.) Pp. xiii + 350 incl. 2 maps and 7 plates. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. B.Fr. 2017. 02 503 50768 9  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902632567

The twenty essays in this collection are varied in length and in quality; taken together they provide an interesting snap-shot of the state of scholarship at the end of the twentieth century in the area of feminine spirituality. The subject matter ranges from an analysis of the family backgrounds of certain holy women as portrayed by their hagiographers, to a survey of the late twentieth-century commercial exploitation of medieval women. The essays are not limited to the environs of Liège. There is, for example, an essay on the Brigittine order and one on literacy among devout women in late medieval England. The essays include a welcome updating by Brenda Bolton of her 1981 article, in which she expands her argument that the religious women of the Low Countries are a special case, to include a consideration of the beguine-like communities in medieval Norwich and the religious women addressed in the *Ancrene Wisse*. Another excellent article analyses the various contemporary satirical views of the beguine, offering a most useful overview of texts that are frequently read. There is also an important essay on the little known Flemish nun, Beatrijs of Nazareth, which draws attention to the way in which a male hagiographer has introduced physical elements into the holy woman's purely spiritual experience of mystic love. I recall being impressed by this comparison of the different versions of Beatrijs' text, 'Seven manners of holy love', when I heard it given as a paper in Kalamazoo; to have it in print here is a useful caution to those tempted to take male accounts of female spirituality at face value. Another article of interest in this regard is that by Luce Irigaray. This English translation of an article that appeared in French in 1994 examines some paintings, almost certainly by male painters, from convents and beguinages depicting nuns and beguines. She asks why it was that the women commissioned these works and displayed them in their personal spaces, and comments particularly on the reserved serenity of the women, on the way in which they appear to stand outside the scene depicted – most often the crucifixion – not venerating it or even looking at it, their eyes fixed on something/nothing in the middle distance. The imagery of such paintings speaks, she suggests, both of the spirituality of the beguines which teaches that to achieve spiritual awakening the internal gaze should be fixed on the nothing that is God, and of the possibility of some hidden knowledge. It is impossible to do justice to such a varied collection of essays in this brief notice – I can only hope to have said enough to whet the appetite of potential readers.

ROBINSON COLLEGE,  
 CAMBRIDGE

SASKIA MURK JANSEN

*Authority and community in the Middle Ages.* Edited by Donald Mowbray, Rhiannon Purdie and Ian Wei. Pp. xviii + 187 incl. 6 figs. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. £55. 0 7509 1867 5.  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902642563

This is a diverse collection of papers which grew out of two postgraduate

conferences. It contains useful information and insights. The themes of the title are approached in varied ways: authority is vested in people, institutions, texts; communities range from villages to Christendom itself. Some of the best contributions approach these themes in oblique ways. Donald Mowbray supplies an excellent discussion of the evolution of limbo. Thirteenth-century masters reinterpreted Augustine's hard-line prescription of hell for unbaptised infants, redefining their *mitissima poena* as deprivation of the vision of God rather than physical suffering. Aquinas rationalised this: unbaptised children were tainted by original sin and hence participated in communal guilt, but they carried no burden of voluntary sin and so avoided hell fire. Limbo could now emerge in more neutral hues as the receptacle of unbaptised infants. Conor McCarthy takes a radically different subject and explores the status of fourteenth-century widows by examining the *Wife of Bath's prologue*. He shows how the Wife of Bath tries to put a 'feminist' gloss on 'antifeminist' authorities and, while this is allowed by Chaucer to stand in her prologue, he undermines it elsewhere through further 'antifeminist' glosses on the Wife of Bath's words (an explanation of how we should understand 'feminist' in a medieval context could perhaps have helped the uninitiated here). Jewish-Christian relations in thirteenth-century England are examined by Haidee Lorrey. She suggests that elites were often keener to mark out the boundaries between the two communities than those of lower social status. Alison Renshaw looks at how ideas of 'authoritative conscience' were reconstructed in three fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuals for the laity. Marleen Cré focuses on fifteenth-century Westminster Cathedral ms 4, portraying it as an attempt to evade Archbishop Arundel's measures to control vernacular religious writings. She takes this view because the author compiled the manuscript from existing sources rather than composing his own material. Yet given the impeccable orthodoxy of the copied texts and that compilation was common practice, might this be willing conformity rather than evasion? Some contributions would have benefited from a more sustained comparative dimension. Michelle Roper discusses the *Visio Baronti* as a response to external and internal pressures on the monks of Longorety, arguing that the vision is 'unique in its emphasis on community'. This interesting idea could have been pushed further if other visions had been discussed more fully. Richard Lambert's examination of the *exempla* of Stephen of Bourbon would have profited from a narrower analytical focus and more primary material. In trying to show both how Stephen claimed authority for his stories and how he tried to impose ecclesiastical authority on communities he encountered, Lambert gives both issues too slight a treatment. In particular, consideration of other *exempla*-writers might have shed light on why Stephen was unusually preoccupied with the authenticity of his tales. Some contributions do not quite convince. Nick Stoodley compares fifth/sixth- and seventh/eighth-century cemeteries to explore 'perceived social structure'. Mortuary remains suggest that gender and age were important structuring principles in the earlier communities while variations between communities indicate high levels of local autonomy. Such distinctions have been largely erased by the seventh/eighth centuries and Stoodley links this to growing political centralisation. This looks a bit questionable. Is a relationship likely between the size of the polity and mortuary practice? Might larger and more complex polities generate further forms of social differentiation rather than



simply replacing one form with another? One also wonders why Christianity figures so little in the discussion. Different problems emerge in Graham Jones's discussion of three Gloucestershire saints' cults. He unearths interesting material, but in assembling chronologically scattered fragments of evidence, is too keen to see continuities.

QUEENS' COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

C. S. WATKINS

*Art, politics, and civic religion in central Italy, 1261–1352. Essays by postgraduate students at the Courtauld Institute of Art.* Edited by Joanna Cannon and Beth Williamson. (Courtauld Research Papers, 1.) Pp. ix + 317. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. £49.50. 1 84014 635 4  
JEH (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690265256X

This volume contains six essays by postgraduate students along with an introductory piece by their supervisor. As such, it represents something of a commercial risk for its publisher. Cannon states, however, that the 'sheer originality' of the pieces argues for their publication. Certainly the contributors' accessibility of style and clarity of argument make for a stimulating volume, with a central aim of relating the form of individual artworks to their religious, political and social function within the city. Thomas de Wesselow's chapter on the decoration of the west wall of the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, perhaps most successfully achieves this aim. He argues convincingly for a logical sequence of adjustments and additions to the wall, each accommodating Ambrogio Lorenzetti's now lost circular map, particularly the fresco of Guidoriccio da Foligno above the map site. De Wesselow is also able to propose a new dating of this fresco. Georgina Pelham discusses the tomb of Guido Tarlati, lord-bishop of Arezzo, urging the modern reader not to ignore its religious function in favour of a secular, propagandist interpretation. In her reading, Pelham proposes that an equestrian figure of Guido filled the arch at the top (neatly illustrated in the photomontage on the book's cover), which would have been destroyed in the unrest of 1341 in Arezzo. The reliquary of the Holy Corporal in Orvieto, discussed by Giovanni Freni, is also linked to the rulers of that city, but he stresses its religious importance as an expression of Orvieto's early adoption of the feast of Corpus Christi, which became a central focus of the liturgical year there. A useful appendix of documents relating to the work is included. Lily Richards traces the cult of San Ranieri at Pisa, moving from the twelfth-century saint's life to his early tomb and then to the extant fourteenth-century tomb altar in Pisa cathedral and the fresco cycle of the life in the Camposanto. She illustrates how the saint exemplified a type of spirituality more commonly associated with later centuries, accounting for the continued popularity and patronage of his cult. Gianna Mina returns to Siena, and the Madonna del Bordone of Coppo di Marcovaldo. Again, emphasis is placed on the religious significance of the work and its role in Servite liturgy. Mina rejects a political interpretation, which relates the work to Siena's victory at Montaperti, and her view is echoed in Bridget Heal's shorter piece on the development of

Marian imagery in the city. The essays have been largely published as they were written; some judicious revision might have avoided the odd repetition, as well as picking up omissions in bibliography (Richards, for example, does not list Colin Morris's 1987 article on her saint). It would arguably have benefited the contributors, with career aspirations in academe, to submit their work to the scrutiny of journal publication. However, this handsome volume has sufficient coherence and freshness to appeal to researcher and general reader alike; it is also a powerful advertisement for the Courtauld Institute's postgraduate programme.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

PATRICIA SKINNER

*Faith, ethics and Church. Writing in England, 1360–1409.* By David Aers. Pp. xii + 153.

Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000. £40. 0 85991 561 1

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902662566

The six essays in this volume – for it is more a collection of essays than a single work – address the understanding and role of Christianity suggested in selected writings produced in late fourteenth-century England. The first five focus on literary products; the last on Wyclif. Some of the pieces rework material which has appeared elsewhere, some as recently as 1999. Only chapter vi (on Wyclif) appears to be completely new; as is a large chunk of chapter iv. The first two chapters work as a pair: in the first Aers firmly slaps the wrists of critics who have misunderstood Chaucer's depiction of Christianity in the *Canterbury tales*, notably in the Clerk's Tale of patient Griselda. In the second chapter he offers his own reading of that Tale. He points to what appear to be notable omissions in Chaucer's depiction of the necessary components of a Christian life, to hint at possible Wycliffite leanings. Not all will be convinced by his argument by insinuation, but the case is well put. The third chapter turns to Langland and *Piers Plowman*, providing a masterly and effective discussion of the poem's treatment of the economic and social tensions in English society resulting from the Black Death. Perhaps less successful is chapter iv, 'Christianity for courtly subjects: or Pelagius redivivus. Reflections on the *Gawain*-poet', which turns to the depictions of Christianity in *Gawain and the green knight*, *Pearl*, *Cleanness* and *Patience*. Chapter v looks at Gower and his ethics, stressing the disjunction between his criticism of the Church and defence of its status. Finally, chapter vi turns to Wyclif and his criticisms. Changing track from the chapters focused on literary works, here the tone and concern are very different. In a closely-argued essay, in which the influence of Michael Wilks is fully acknowledged, Aers examines the contradictions in Wyclif's approach to discipleship, centred in his attack on what Aers calls 'Constantinianized Christianity' (p. 130): the church's integration with lay political and economic structures, and the concomitant subversion of Christ's proclaimed ideals, which can ultimately be considered the outcome of the (alleged) Donation of Constantine. Here Aers particularly emphasises the discongruity between Wyclif's criticism of the institutional Church and its clergy for following that path, and his advocacy of precisely such 'Constantinianisation' to ensure lay (and particularly princely) control over the Church and its personnel. This collection offers an impressive series of scholarly

discussions, over a wide range of material. Most of its contents are addressed to literary specialists, often presupposing close knowledge of the texts, and close knowledge of recent criticism (Aers's own works figure prominently among the citations). Yet ecclesiastical historians should also benefit from these analyses, perhaps especially that in chapter vi. If the reconstruction of the Church's history demands examination of how Christianity was lived and thought beyond its institutionalised confines, the texts discussed here certainly cannot be ignored.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

R. N. SWANSON

*Piety, fraternity and power. Religious guilds in late medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547.* By David J. F. Crouch. Pp. xi + 331 incl. 3 maps and 35 figs. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000. £55. 0 9529734 4 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902672562

There is the kernel of a decent book here. Crouch is particularly convincing when discussing the local social, economic and political factors which encouraged gild foundation in medieval Yorkshire. There are also good discussions of the practicalities of the 1389 survey of guilds, the dissolution of fraternities in 1548 and the Corpus Christi gild in York. The book is much more ambitious than this, however. Crouch presents the broader argument that Yorkshire guilds were successful because they were supported by the Lancastrian monarchy as part of its drive against heresy. The main piece of evidence for this is a statute of 1436 requiring all guilds to register their ordinances with local authorities. However, this act seems to have been ineffectual, suggesting something of what the guilds themselves thought of the idea. Its tone fits in much more easily with the generally hostile attitude displayed by the crown towards the guilds as evidenced by the 1389 survey and the 1548 dissolution. In its details, this book is often frustrating. There are errors in one half of the tables containing calculations, as well as one of the appendices. There are also dating errors in the text (Henry VIII apparently pardoned the Pilgrims of Grace in 1436), and the way in which some statistics are expressed is confusing. The text is cluttered with unnecessary commas. There are a number of problems with Crouch's use of the returns to the 1389 survey of guilds. An extensive discussion of the content of these returns relies too heavily on Toulmin Smith's transcripts of the English returns (numbering around one-tenth of the extant total) and Westlake's unreliable summaries. Why were other published returns for London, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Essex ignored? It is not clear why figures for the overall number of returns were taken from Westlake's incomplete gazetteer, when a full listing is available on-line from the Public Record Office. Crouch's use of the English 1389 returns from Lynn to explore the functions of parish guilds in York, on the grounds that like York, Lynn was 'an urban area divided into a large number of parishes', is bizarre. Lynn contained only two parishes, even if the semi-rural parish of South Lynn is included. A much more satisfactory comparator would be the returns from Norwich, a town which at least bears some comparison with York. All Norwich's returns, both in English and Latin, are also in print: why were they not used instead? Crouch rarely engages with recent work on gild-parish relations by

Duffy, Scarisbrick or Kümin, and Rosser's views on the topic are completely misunderstood by Crouch throughout this book. Despite these problems, a study of fraternities in the north of England is long overdue, and this often interesting book provides a welcome relief from the near exclusive focus of much recent work on southern and eastern England.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

KEN FARNHILL

*The Reformation of the dead. Death and ritual in early modern Germany, 1450–1700.* By Craig M. Koslofsky. (Early Modern History, Society and Culture.) Pp. xiii + 223 incl. 6 figs. Basingstoke: Macmillan/New York: St Martin's, 2000. £42.50. 0 333 66685 2; 0 312 229100  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902682569

This is a book about the cultural impact of the Lutheran Reformation, specifically how it transformed funeral ritual in early modern Germany. For his study Koslofsky has relied heavily on insights gleaned from recent anthropological interpretations of the death ritual, in particular the work of Robert Hertz; he bases his conclusions on published and unpublished source materials from Saxon and Brandenburg archives.

By repudiating purgatory, intercessory prayers and masses for the dead Protestant reformers separated the dead spiritually from the living. This religious innovation, the author contends, was paralleled by the physical separation of the living and the dead that occurred in the sixteenth century as princes and urban magistrates, generally in response to severe epidemics, moved the burial of the dead from centre-city churchyards to cemeteries located safely beyond the city walls. 'For Luther and the supporters of church reform, the local separation of the living and the dead inherent in extramural burial meshed perfectly with the theological separation of the living and the dead at the heart of Lutheran doctrine' (p. 76). It had profound implications for the Lutheran funeral ritual which became established around 1550: 'Centred on the funeral sermon, the ritual was defined by the participation of the clergy and the community in the funeral procession' (p. 133). By comparing the stately and formal funeral of Lampert Distelmeier (1588), Brandenburg's Lutheran chancellor, with the rather dishevelled burial of Christian Schütz (1592), Saxony's disgraced crypto-Calvinist court preacher, Koslofsky shows how the Lutheran funeral ritual was used both to honour and dishonour the dead. Rioters who 'saw in the Calvinists a source of intense pollution' (p. 131) prevented Schütz from receiving a proper funeral; their violence 'ruled out any sort of funeral sermon' (p. 121). Paradoxically, the principal mark of a disgraceful funeral, *Beisetzung* (nocturnal burial) was by the end of the seventeenth century being transformed 'from a ritual of disgrace to a sign of social distinction' (p. 133). The rise of *Beisetzung*, around 1670, especially in German court society, was reinforced by German Pietism's emphasis on the inner devotion of the more exclusive private ceremonies. Koslofsky claims that, 'The *Beisetzung* enabled court nobles and townspeople to escape the rituals of the Lutheran clergy and stage their funerals as they saw fit: burial at night could display pomp or privacy, luxury or austerity' (p. 152). The

tensions between Christian worship and the display of social status always inherent in the Lutheran funeral ritual had thus shifted decisively in favour of the latter.

Koslofsky has written a fascinating book on an important subject. He has made able use of anthropological insight and arrived at conclusions that students of early modern German history, especially anyone interested in the role of ritual in post-Reformation Germany, cannot ignore. But his study is not without problems. In his eagerness to apply anthropological theory the author at times overstates his case or, in what is actually a rather modest 159-page text, does not always develop his arguments as completely and thoroughly as he might. This problem becomes especially evident in chapter v on 'Funerals in the confessional age' where Koslofsky compares the honourable burial of a major Brandenburg chancellor with the confusion and mayhem that accompanied the funeral of a relatively unimportant Saxon court preacher. A much more convincing case could have been developed had he compared the funerals of Distelmeier and Nicolaus Krell, Saxony's disgraced crypto-Calvinist chancellor who was executed for treason in 1601. Interestingly enough, this arch-villain whom the Lutherans blamed for practically all that went wrong with Christian 1's second reformation, evidently received a proper Christian funeral with a Lutheran funeral sermon by Nicolaus Blum of Dresden. Blum used the occasion to warn his listeners about the pernicious influence of 'sacramentarians' and to tell them that 'there is a great difference between Calvinists and Lutherans' (*Leichpredigt/Uber den Custodierten D. Nicolaum Krell, Welcher den Neundten Octobris/wegen seiner verbrechung... öffentlich in Dressden enthauptet worden*, Leipzig 1602, 12f.). Social status certainly played a role in Lutheran funerals but hardly displaced the religious message that remained the core of the funeral sermon in this age of confessionalism.

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY

BODO NISCHAN

*Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*. Edited by Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann. (Frühe Neuzeit, 54.) Pp. vi+451 incl. 12 ills. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000. DM 288. 3 484 36554 4; 0934 5531  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902692565

This wide-ranging collection of articles in German and English from a 1997 conference highlights the role of the Turks in European politics, society, literature and religion during the Renaissance. From the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the presence of a Turkish threat pushing ever further into central Europe profoundly impacted upon European identity. The idea of the Turks as instruments of divine punishment circulated widely, particularly among Protestants, and especially in Hungary. As Martin Brecht's article suggests, Martin Luther developed notions that the Turks were agents of God's wrath who could not be resisted and that the emperor's efforts to co-ordinate opposition to the Ottomans would therefore be in vain. Contributions by historians working on Hungary, József Jankovics, András Szabó, Ferenc Szakály, János Varga, Pál Ács and Hermann Wiegand, highlight the experience of living in a land bordering on the Ottoman world. Szabó reflects on the prominence of apocalyptic ideas about the Turks in early sixteenth-century Hungarian Protestant literature, bolstered by connections with

German evangelicals. Ideas of the Turks and the papacy as twin enemies of the Gospel informed a Hungarian Protestant narrative on the need for religious and social reform, although this perspective was soon challenged as reform failed to bring the expected reversal in Hungarian fortunes. Ács also identifies points of immediate contact between Hungarians and the Turks, focusing on the careers of two captured Christians who were educated as Muslims and later provided faithful diplomatic service to the Porte. Margaret Meserve details the development of theories about the origins of the Turks as Scythian barbarians, again informed by prophetic literature and apocalyptic reasoning. Ironically this placed Scythians on both sides of the frontier of Christian Europe, although Hungarians had emerged in the new mental map of Europe as Scythians brought by God to Pannonia to act as a bastion of Christianity. Klaus Malettke reviews Franco-Ottoman co-operation as one aspect of the anti-Habsburg policies of the French monarchy, discussing in particular French reaction to the presence of the Ottoman fleet at Toulon in 1543. Johannes Helmrath considers the role of Pius II in attempting to galvanise rulers into action against the Turks in the mid-fifteenth century. Matthias Thumser examines plans from the end of the fifteenth century to relocate the German orders on the Baltic coast to south-eastern Poland and a new station in their war against paganism. A number of articles concentrate on responses to the Turks in German, Polish, Italian and English literature. Constructions of Turkish identity in travel books, political tracts, poetry and prose works mostly centred on their exoticism and religious differences. This varied collection of articles addresses a core theme of Renaissance politics and literature, and includes a particularly valuable treatment of Hungarian literature and religious history.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

GRAEME MURDOCK

*Tra religione e magia. Storia del prete modenese Guglielmo Campana (1460?–1541)*. By Matteo Duni. Pp. xi + 352. Florence: Olschki, 1999. L. 72,000 (paper). 88

222 4825 2

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690270256X

It has been a while since I saw a book with uncut pages but the distinctive physical appearance of this monograph is a ‘clue’ (as Carlo Ginzburg would put it) to its origins in a specifically Italian intellectual culture. It focuses on a trial from the late 1510s and is written with typical in-depth local archival research and an impressive display of what I am tempted to call antiquarian erudition. Both are symbolised by the painstaking transcription in an appendix of a large part of the inquisition trial on which the book is based. Those of us who did not have the benefit of an education in a classical *liceo* might find the fact that the Latin quotations are not translated rather trying, but Duni’s mastery of his source material is not in doubt, even if his handling of it is rather dry. It is apparently beneath the true historian’s dignity to dwell on ‘picturesque’ details like Campana’s sexual misbehaviour. I am not sure if Duni would describe himself as a ‘microhistorian’. The term does not appear in his book and, while Ginzburg’s name appears frequently in the notes, this is only because he too has worked on Modenese inquisition records. However, the strengths of this book undoubtedly

recall the ability of microhistory to transcend the limitations of local history. Duni uses Campana's career as serial seducer, necromancer and exorcist as a lens through which to view wider cultural, social and political trends in early sixteenth-century Italy. Besides the complex connections between religion and magic mentioned in the book's title, the analysis touches on conflicts between different institutions within the Church, on the relations between priests and laity and, more generally, on exchanges between high and low culture. Last but not least, Campana's trial provides detailed descriptions of specific magical practices, which draw on a wide variety of popular folklore, printed literature and ecclesiastical rituals. Duni's discussion here is similar to David Gentilcore's *From bishop to witch* (1992) which he cites frequently. He argues that there was a unified 'system of the sacred', within which many people did not clearly distinguish between ritual and magic, or even between God and the Devil (insofar as both were able to provide solutions to problems). Circulation and eclecticism are the dominant themes, although obviously the dialogue between priest and inquisitor does uncover differing and conflicting assumptions on what was acceptable. It is unfortunate that Francesco Guicciardini, who was papal governor of Modena at the time, did not play a greater role in Campana's downfall. His voice would have further enriched Duni's nuanced and thorough analysis.

WOLFSON COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JONATHAN WALKER

*Church and society in county Kildare, c. 1470–1547.* By Mary Ann Lyons. (Maynooth Historical Studies.) Pp. 208 incl. 2 maps. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.

£39.50. 1 85182 459 6

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902712566

Dr Lyons is to be warmly complimented on this very fine book which is focused on a county which straddled the Pale around Dublin and extended west- and southwards towards a series of Gaelic lordships. Lyons carefully dissects Kildare's society during the ascendancy of Garret Mór Fitzgerald and his son, the eighth and ninth earls of Kildare, and dispels the misapprehension that there was an exclusive dichotomy between the Irish and English elements of that society. She highlights the 'hybrid' nature of the familial, social, cultural, economic, legal, ecclesiastical and military spheres of life in Kildare, and provides much evidence of 'spontaneous reform and rejuvenation' in the Church in pre-Reformation Kildare, with a reformer as bishop and impressive levels of lay benefactions to parish churches, chapels and religious houses. Yet she is loth to forego the conventional image of a Church beset by 'disorder and dilapidation' and accept the implications of her own evidence. She reiterates the conventional 'pathetic portrayal' of the monasteries, for example, despite finding that those in Kildare were generally in a sound physical state and continued to attract young recruits to the eve of their dissolution. She cites, unconvincingly, the pre-emptive measures taken by religious heads to circumvent the wholesale confiscation of monastic estates by Henry VIII as evidence of their 'worldliness'. She also cites the pension of Ir£13 (Stg£8 12s. 8d.) given to the last prior of Connall as evidence

of the 'comfortable standard of living to which he was accustomed'. Lyons reveals that the diocesan clergy of Kildare were predominantly Irish, and poorly remunerated. Their educational attainments were less than impressive. There is, unfortunately, little information on which to base an assessment of their pastoral ministries, though instances of clerical concubinage and licensed absence from a benefice ought not to be taken as indications of pastoral neglect. Indeed, one is struck by the fact that Irish historians still tend to be very critical of late medieval clergy who had intimate relations with women. Surprisingly, this book does not deal with the very significant clerical participation in the Kildare rebellion of 1534/5, an avowed 'crusade' against the heretical Henry VIII. Many clergy in Kildare paid a high price for their part in the crusade, and many parishes were devastated, which may account for some of the subsequent 'absenteeism' among the beneficed clergy in the diocese. Lyons claims that the Tudor reformations had 'little impact throughout the whole of the sixteenth century' – apart from the dissolution of the religious houses. She shows that Kildare's lesser aristocracy and gentry were the main beneficiaries of both the dissolution, and the concurrent suppression of the earldom of Kildare. Though the eleventh earl was later restored to most of his late father's estates he found that it was no longer possible to restore the Kildare ascendancy. In sum, this book is a revelation.

THORNHILL COLLEGE,  
DERRY

HENRY A. JEFFERIES

*Rendre ses vœux. Les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle).*

Edited by Phillippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Dominique Julia.  
(Civilisations et Sociétés, 100.) Pp. 590 incl. 23 figs. Paris: École des Hautes  
Études en Sciences Sociales, 2000. Fr. 350 (paper). 2 7132 1337 1; 0069 4290  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902722562

This is one of two major collective works on pilgrimages in the modern age published in the year 2000. The other, also edited by Boutry and Julia, is derived from papers presented at a conference in Rome in 1993, and specialises in the evolution of pilgrim shrines, the numbers of pilgrims and their social standing and national origins. This one represents the deliberations of seminars at the *Centre d'anthropologie religieuse européenne* in the EHESS from 1994 to 1996, and concerns principally the mentality and motivation of pilgrims and the views taken of them by State, Church and society generally. The numerous footnotes guide the reader to many out-of-the-way sources, and there is a selective bibliography of about 250 titles (thirty-three general works, and an equal number of accounts of pilgrimages by those who made them, then individual pilgrimages, with Rome having a hundred, Compostella thirty-three, others forty-two. Then, finally, Benedict Labre as an individual with sixteen titles). There are twenty-one contributors: fourteen from French universities and research institutions, three from Italy, two from Portugal and one each from Germany and Holland. In a brief review it seems unrealistic to give all the names and it would be invidious to mention only a few; all that will be done is to indicate the richness of the contents of the volume. In addition to journals kept by individuals and works of piety, the police records and, more especially, those



of the hospices at the shrines and on the routes provide evidence of the diverse motivation of pilgrims. They were not always distinguishable from vagabonds and ordinary travellers. There were those who made the continual round of the shrines their life-style; there were professionals who were paid by other people to do the journey for them. Some had been sent, especially to Rome, to confirm their conversion; similarly, to cross the frontier out of Holland, where the exercise of Roman Catholic ceremonies was forbidden, was an affirmation of allegiance. A Jesuit might be found on the roads fulfilling one of the tests of his noviciate. Some pilgrims went in a collective tour organised by a confraternity, while the eighteenth-century registers of the hospice at Nuremberg show numerous families, children included. There were provinces of France where young people took up the staff in a sort of coming-of-age ceremony. Still-born infants were brought to shrines for baptism – it seems that the ‘miracle’ of resuscitation was not necessary. Nobles, especially in Portugal, went in splendour to parade their greatness, so did kings – and to affirm the unity of their kingdoms. In France royal pilgrimages died away when the frontiers became secure – ‘la ceinture de fer de Vauban remplacerait ainsi le chapelet des sanctuaires de pèlerinage’. There are some fascinating narratives here. We learn of the dangers of army deserters, bandits and loose women, of the importance of obtaining papers of attestation at every step, and how to adopt various disguises to get better treatment or avoid victimisation. All the while, the secular authorities, acting on Enlightenment principles, were introducing regulations calculated to reduce pilgrimages to one-day picnics, and infrequent at that.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JOHN McMANNERS

*The Reformation world*. Edited by Andrew Pettegree. Pp. xvi + 576 incl. 69 ills. London–New York: Routledge, 2000. £120. 0 415 16357 9

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902732569

Although the 1990s produced a wave of good textbooks on the European Reformation, this large and ambitious volume justifies its existence. Students in search of brief sensible accounts of the careers of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin will not be disappointed, and there are good surveys of later confessional development in England, Germany, the Netherlands and elsewhere. Hungary, Bohemia and the Scandinavian kingdoms take their rightful place in the European mainstream. Where the book will be particularly useful to teachers and students, however, is in its range of thematic chapters. Richard Rex (humanism) and Trevor Johnson (popular culture) provide masterly summaries on notoriously intractable topics, and there is a helpfully integrative approach in chapters on music, art, architecture and science. Despite this compendiousness, the volume has some gaps. It is a shame that a planned chapter on Poland could not in the end be included, and equally that there is no space (not even an index entry) for Ireland. (The volume eschews trendy interest in ‘British Reformations’, and treats England and Scotland entirely separately.) It is also rather traditional in its conceptualisation. The Reformation world surveyed here (with the exception of a fine piece by David Bagchi on Luther’s early opponents) is emphatically the

Protestant world, the interesting chapters on Spain and Italy telling a story of oppression and missed opportunity. To make the point is not just to assert 'parity of esteem'. By the exclusion of the Catholic Reformation contributors are allowed little scope to consider the important thesis (advanced by John Bossy and Jean Delumeau among others) that the Catholic and Protestant Reformations were in many respects parallel processes of spiritual renewal linked to state formation and social discipline, or indeed to make the counter-case. Yet one's overall instinct is to admire rather than to carp. For such a large collaborative project (twenty-seven contributors, based in half-a-dozen countries), the uniformly high quality of the essays is notable, and the annotated bibliographies which follow each of the thirty chapters are exceptionally useful. Indeed, the only really unwelcome thing about this volume is the price, at £120 likely to deter some libraries, let alone impecunious scholars.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

PETER MARSHALL

*The Trinity in German thought.* By Samuel M. Powell. Pp. vii + 280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001 (2000). £37.50. 0 521 78196 5

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902742565

After a brief introductory chapter covering the understanding of the Trinity in Luther and Melancthon (which it must be admitted is relatively marginal to their theology as a whole), Powell, a professor at the Point Loma Nazarene University, discusses the development of the doctrine from the Pietists, especially Zinzendorf, through to Jürgen Moltmann and Wolfhart Pannenberg in the present day. In so doing he makes extensive and judicious use of both primary and secondary literature, especially German-language works. Powell's judgements are accurate, and unlike many who write on the Trinity he seems to have no particular axe to grind. His three interpretative categories of revelation, self-reflection and history are used to explain the different emphasis placed on the doctrine by the various theologians chosen. Although these often constrict the discussion and can seem rather forced, Powell offers a workmanlike treatment which contains few surprises. His lengthy section on Schleiermacher, however, is particularly useful in rehabilitating the master of modern theology as a Trinitarian theologian: indeed, according to Powell, his whole theology was centred on the relations of Father, Son and Spirit, despite his lack of an explicit extended treatment of the doctrine. The chapter on Hegel provides an accessible and comprehensive account which will prove useful for anybody wishing to gain an insight into his profoundly Trinitarian thought. There are, however, less useful chapters, especially the over-long sections on liberal theology which function chiefly to show why there was little interest in the Trinity from those who fully exploited the historical method. Although Powell offers a reasonably unbiased account of the history of theology at the turn of the twentieth century, the story is almost too well-known to be worth the effort. Powell concludes that the liberal theologians 'had no need of the idea of the Trinity, for it solved none of the problems they found pressing' (p. 171), which might have been a good reason for not including the section at all. The final chapter is a clear account of Tillich and Bultmann as well as Barth and some of his successors. It is, however, too

constrained by the interpretative structure, and each theologian is subjected to three separate sections, which serve to divide up their theology into somewhat forced and artificial themes. Although this book will be a useful textbook for those studying modern doctrine, it contains notable omissions. Its title, moreover, is inaccurate, since it fails to discuss German-language Roman Catholic theology. It also ignores several important figures in contemporary Protestant theology including Jüngel and Ebeling. And by starting at the Reformation the author fails to address adequately the continuities with the broader western tradition. After all, Augustine was as important a figure in German thought as in any other part of western Christendom.

RIPON COLLEGE CUDDSDON,  
OXFORD

MARK D. CHAPMAN

*Travesties and transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England. Tales of discord and dissension.*

By David Cressy. Pp. xi + 351 incl. 18 ills. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. £25. 0 19 820781 6

*Radical religion from Shakespeare to Milton. Figures of nonconformity in early modern England.* By Kristen Poole. Pp. xiii + 272 incl. 11 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £37.50. 0 521 64104 7

*The Hell-Fire Clubs. A history of anti-morality.* Revised edn. By Geoffrey Ashe. Pp. vi + 250. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000 (first publ. W. H. Allen, 1974). £12.99 (paper). 0 7509 2402 0

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David Cressy's subtitle sums up much of the theme of this group of books – English contrariness, 'discord and dissension'. For post-Reformation England was, surely, the least consensual society in the Europe of its age: not accepting pluralism as the United Provinces largely did; nor marching relentlessly towards Catholic conformity, as Bourbon France increasingly was in the years down to 1685; but rather a noisy, tetchy, angry, opinionated land, 'a Babel, a Confusion of men and manners' (Poole, 'Feasting, fasting and the puritan bellygod at "Bartholomew Fair"'). If neighbourliness was a national preoccupation, that may have been because it was more honoured in the aspiration than in the realisation. For the English quarrelled chronically because they could not agree.

Much of the problem in this nation of physical and verbal brawlers lay in the Reformation, for the English did not, as did the Dutch, extensively agree to differ over religion, or, like the Scandinavians, accept religious change in a virtually unanimous fashion. Rather, within a system that continued to admit of but one Church, a contra-flow of discord was set up from Elizabeth's reign onwards in which the forces of change ran constantly into the resistance of conservatives attempting to reimpose older religious beliefs and rituals: take the single, but typifying, case of the Nottinghamshire minor gentleman delivering in 1590 a sermon in praise of saints' days, his message culled out of medieval sources of the *Golden legend* type, in a stubborn attachment to ancestral approaches (Cressy, 'The atheist's sermon: belief, unbelief and traditionalism in the Elizabethan north').

Elizabeth's government certainly had to be on its guard against the far-from-

inert force of conservatism: a complex case of an alleged freak birth in the late 1570s required state intervention in view of fears of Catholic-inspired destabilisation fomented by expected popular antipathy towards a Protestant settlement that might be represented in media propaganda as, like the birth in question, monstrous (Cressy, 'Agnes Bowker's cat'). And as far as the press was concerned, the agencies of transformation, whose adroitness in the Marprelate campaign of the late 1580s has always been celebrated, were far from dominating the field, for 'Anglican' conservatives fought back in an 'anti-Martinist' press crusade, culminating, argues Kristen Poole, in Shakespeare's representation of Falstaff as both the Lollard Oldcastle and a Puritan hypocrite. ('The puritan in the alehouse: Falstaff and the drama of Martin Marprelate'.)

Published satire, a key expression of that discordant society, readily seized on depicted disparities between Puritan claims for asceticism and the hypocrisies of gluttony. However, and even when the claims of the godly to fast and abstain were accepted at face value, these activities could be portrayed essentially in terms of divisiveness and separation, as if for their performers there was no such thing as society: the fasting of the Separatists was thus vilified as part of their sustained rejection of national and communal observances and as being undertaken in a posture of disobedient severance, 'whereunto the authorization of the Prince was not had' (ibid.). More generally, separatism might be seen as the epitome of social dissolution, conflict and breakdown, the repudiation of the principle of a society that aimed to be both holistic and holy, religious and social secession being emblematised in physical withdrawal to Holland and America: no longer the Foxean dream of a covenanted English community but, as Poole puts it, 'covenanted communities', the creation of separate identities within a polarised society.

Polarisation did not, of course, diminish, but rather increased, as the divided society sped towards its own fulfilment in civil war. Arminian sacramentalism made way for a return of transubstantiationist eucharistic belief, says Cressy ('The battle of the altars and breaking the rails'), but one faction's bread of heaven might be another's demonised idolatry, so that the London parish of St Thomas, with its fisticuffs around the communion table in 1641, was only one of hundreds in England where the issue of the rite of union awoke the powerful capacity for conflict in a society with a vigorous appetite for verbal and physical violence, as well as a strong inclination to the use of a magnificent English language for purposes of assault – not least by clerics who gave more than as good as they got in oral raillery against parishioners: 'sowded pigs, bursten rams and speckled frogs ... Jack Straw' (Cressy, 'Mocking the clergy').

Inevitably, the polarised society would evolve almost as many moralities and lifestyles as it came to possess the vast multiplicity of creeds listed or imagined by the taxonomists of heresy, Ephraim Pagitt and Thomas Edwards (Poole, 'Swarms, forms and Thomas Edward's "Gangraena"'). Alleged alternative moralities included the attributed eroticism of the Familists (Poole, 'The perversions of the Family of Love') and the heady mix of nudity and sex in the Adamites ('Not so much as fig leaves': ibid.). In the eighteenth century a consciously audacious alternative sexual morality was on offer in the hell fire clubs, described in the re-issue of Geoffrey Ashe's 1974 classic. By the Georgian age, though, the Catholic traditions that had spiked a Protestant consensus under

Elizabeth were likely to be deployed by the likes of Sir Francis Dashwood in the forms of fantasy apparatus for a mannered sexual decadence.

UNIVERSITY OF LANCASTER

MICHAEL MULLETT

*Parliament and the Church, 1529–1960*. Edited by J. P. Parry and Stephen Taylor.

Pp. viii + 193. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (for the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust), 2000. £14.95 (paper). 0 7486 1445 1  
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Occasionally conference proceedings examine real, specific, themes. This one starts promisingly with the constitutional relationship between the Church of England and parliament. Conrad Russell sets the scene with a subtle and lucid account of the unresolved ambiguities of the Henrician Reformation; whether the monarch had immediate oversight of the Church, with the convocations corresponding to parliament in the secular sphere; or whether the crown acted, even in church affairs, in accordance with statute and common law, in effect subordinating the Church to parliament. His discussion centres on the 1604 canons, approved by James I and fiercely if ineffectively attacked in parliament and by the judges, and their successors, the ill-fated canons of 1640. Patrick Carter complements Russell with his account of the grant of clerical subsidies by the convocations up to 1664, with clerical exemption from some, but not all, parliamentary taxes. Archbishop Sheldon's agreement to end separate taxation meant, in effect, and after an interval, the end of the convocations. By the time of the Prayer Book crisis of 1927–8, examined by G. T. Machin, a good deal had changed. MPs for Scotland, Wales and northern Ireland were entitled to vote on the ordering of public worship in a Church in which they had no concern, as indeed were non-Anglican MPs for England. The measure, even with substantial concessions to Protestant opinion, was voted down in the Commons, but the Church none the less sanctioned the 'optional' use of the book. *De facto* independence seems to be now the situation. Oddly, however, there is nothing which tackles directly the important controversies of the nineteenth century. Arthur Burns examines the difficulties of getting parliamentary legislation to tighten clerical discipline in the years 1830–70 as the background to the 1874 Public Worship Regulation Act, but stops short of discussing the act itself and the controversies around it. For the rest, miscellany is the order of the day. David Smith looks at the reluctance of the 1654 Parliament to go along with Cromwell's toleration policy. By contrast, Colin Haydon sees eighteenth-century parliaments as ready to quietly ameliorate the legal position of Roman Catholics. G. M. Ditchfield argues that the Younger Pitt was by no means the hard-line champion of the establishment so often depicted. Allen Warren charts the successive attitudes of Disraeli to church affairs. Matthew Cragoe restates the case for the 1868 election producing a distinctively Welsh attitude to ecclesiastical and national issues among the principality's MPs. S. J. D. Green looks at Rab Butler's extraordinary achievement in the 1944 Education Act in both protecting church schools and in demanding an act of worship and agreed religious education in state schools generally. Butler's guile was, he argues, here deployed in the service of his Christian principles. Finally Clyde Binfield marries the picture of provincial

middle-class nonconformity in John le Carré's novel *The perfect spy* with an examination of le Carré's own background, sensitively and eruditely explored. One of the protagonists is a pillar-of-the-chapel Liberal MP, and the theme appears to be the decline of political nonconformity into hypocrisy and ineffectiveness. The editors in their introduction try heroically to pull the miscellany together, and do provide something of the general overview conspicuously absent from the collection as a whole.

WADHAM COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

C. S. L. DAVIES

*Sciences et religions de Copernic à Galilée (1540–1610). Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome, en collaboration avec l'École nationale des chartes et l'Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, avec la participation de l'Università di Napoli 'Federico II'. Rome 12–14 décembre 1996.* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 260.) Pp. iv + 550 + 4 plates. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999. Fr. 490. 2 7283 0545 5; 0223 5099

*La Contre-Réforme mathématique. Constitution et diffusion d'une culture mathématique Jésuite à la Renaissance (1540–1640).* By Antonella Romano. (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 306.) Pp. xii + 692 incl. 19 ills + 20 plates. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999. Fr. 530. 2 7283 0568 4  
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The geographical sweep of the international conference in Rome on sciences and religions was to include France, Italy, Germany and Spain, while not excluding the responses of Europeans to what they had read about or experienced of South America. By far the fullest coverage goes to Italy, partly no doubt because of the venue, but also because of the great quantity and impressive quality of Italian research on the topic in recent years. France is notably under-represented; Luce Giard (pp. 499–508) suggests that this may reflect a long-term effect on French historiography of the separation of Church and State, an effect she clearly deplors. The period chosen has the advantage that disproportionate attention is not paid either to Galileo's troubles with the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church or to the, admittedly crucial, role of astronomy and mathematics in shaking up long-accepted ideas.

The 'religions' of the title turn out to be Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism. The 'sciences' include what Aristotle would have considered mere arts, unworthy of the honorific title of a demonstrative science. Indeed, a recurring theme is how, in a variety of subjects, the restrictive practices inherent in the accepted Aristotelian framework were gradually subverted.

The contributions are in French, Italian and English, with generous space allowed for quotations in Latin. Charles H. Lohr sets the scene with a succinct 'Aristotelian theories of science in the Renaissance'. This and the following eight essays show 'the beginning of the trouble'. The eurocentrism of the conference is open enough to include Anthony Pagden on America and the competing discourses of European universalism, as well as Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile on Jesuit missionaries in Brazil. Despite Andrew Cunningham's 'Protestant anatomy', the preponderance of Jesuit-related sources is already noticeable in

this first main section of the book. The balance between Catholicism and Protestantism is more evenly held in the next section, which includes Charlotte Methuen on Kepler's teachers and Saverio Ricci on the Lyncean Academy, as well as a comparative study by Antonella Romano of Protestant and Catholic educational aims in mathematics, where she takes as her points of reference Clavius and the Roman College and Johann Sturm and the Strasbourg Academy.

The third principal section presents studies of individual thinkers, institutions or schools: it avoids the most famous scientists or deals with them in connection with the relations of science and theology. An instance is Massimo Bucciantini's excellent discussion of Galileo, Federico Cesi and Giovambattista Agucchi on the fluidity and corruptibility of the heavens: this includes the first publication of a manuscript essay by Agucchi. The natural philosophy of Melanchthon and his followers is dealt with by Sachiko Kusukawa, while Rosario Moscheo takes Maurolycus as the chief figure in a lengthy and detailed study of religious and scientific preoccupations in sixteenth-century Messina.

After a section entitled 'contributions of historians', Luce Giard provides not only a very able summary of the work of the conference (including many contributions not mentioned in this review), but also makes fascinating suggestions on what are the most pressing questions needing further work.

Although the essays are all scholarly and move confidently in the awkward territory where specialists in the history of science or of theology or of philosophy pass each other occasionally, a great strength of the papers is that they are aimed at readers who are at ease with interdisciplinary studies.

Antonella Romano's monograph, likewise, is not intended as an internalist account of the development of mathematics. It shows, rather, the role allotted to mathematical teaching and research in the educational policy of the Society of Jesus. It builds not only on the splendid volumes of the *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* edited by Lukács and the publications of scholars such as Baldini, but also on widespread and sustained archival research of her own, as is evident throughout the work and in the invaluable annexes (pp. 533ff.) which give dates and names and schematic biographies for all the Jesuits who come into her study. The bibliography includes a list of unpublished courses in manuscript, a list which opens up to further study a series of persons who might otherwise escape attention.

The first section of the book deals at satisfying length with the elaboration of the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* and with the central role of Clavius: although the edition of 1599 did not include all he had hoped to achieve, it did secure a modest place for mathematics in the Jesuit syllabus and official support for the small group of gifted mathematicians trained by Clavius himself.

A very welcome addition to the topic is provided by the second section, which examines Jesuit colleges in France and shows that their implementation of the *Ratio* could not be merely a matter of conforming to its requirements. Availability of competent teachers was one constraint. The particular needs of a locality sometimes provided another. The Jesuits, after all, had not been founded as a teaching order: their schools, colleges and universities were their response to the challenges presented by rival institutions, particularly Protestant ones. For most readers this will be unfamiliar territory, with the exception of the college at la

Flèche made famous by Descartes. One may label Romano's work 'history of education', but it is exactly the sort of detailed study which is needed to fill out the background of such subjects as the reception of heliocentrism in the seventeenth century.

The third section, covering the first half of the seventeenth century, examines the French institutions in which the Jesuits were able to implement the *Ratio* by having a professor of mathematics (as distinct from being content with the professor of philosophy teaching some elementary mathematics as a minor course). It includes the biographical and bibliographical details needed to assess the distinctive contribution of Jesuits in France to mathematical research and to the provision of textbooks and popularisations of the subject.

USHAW COLLEGE,  
DURHAM

MICHAEL SHARRATT

*The ideological origins of the British empire.* By David Armitage (Ideas in Context, 59.) Pp. xi + 245. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £35 (cloth). 0 521 59081 7; 0 521 78978 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902782560

In 1881 the historian J. R. Seeley, commenting on the separation between domestic political history and imperial history, famously quipped that the British empire had seemingly been formed 'in a fit of absence of mind'. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth and Seeley was trying to make a historiographical point rather than stating a fact. David Armitage has taken as his task to show how various imperial ideologies arose during the formative years of the British empire from *c.* 1550 until the eve of the American Revolution. Armitage defines ideology in two ways: (1) as a systematic approach or policy that is based on a world-view of how society functions, and (2) 'a world-view which is perceived as contestable by those who do not share it'. In the mid-eighteenth century a unifying, imperial ideology emerged that was a culmination of two centuries of British thinking about empire. This put forward the image of a British empire that was Protestant, commercial, maritime and free. All of these elements supposedly supported each other and made the British empire a unique phenomenon in world history. But, as Armitage shows in chapters that focus upon each of these individual traits of the British empire, myth and conflict abounded. Protestantism played a surprisingly insignificant role in the ideological formation of the British empire and certainly did not unite it. Maritime supremacy before the nineteenth century was more a hope than a solid reality. Meanwhile, during the late seventeenth century, various political thinkers came to link the conduct of successful trade with the maintenance of political and civil liberties. It was an equation of political economy that other writers hotly contested and that the commercial success of eighteenth-century France tended to belie. Still, in the decades following the trauma of the American Revolution, this eighteenth-century ideology of a Protestant, commercial, maritime and free empire transformed itself into the identity of the revived nineteenth-century British empire, despite how much that identity diverged from imperial reality.

LAMAR UNIVERSITY

RONALD H. FRITZE



*Der Passauer Vertrag (1552). Einleitung und Edition.* By Volker Henning Drecoll. (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 79.) Pp. xii + 382. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000. DM 198. 3 11 016697 6  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902792567

The Treaty of Passau (2 August 1552) marked a crucial stage in the German Reformation. Charles v's attempt to impose a political settlement with the 1548 Augsburg Interim following his victory in the War of Schmalkalden (1546–7) had broken down when his principal ally, Maurice of Saxony, abandoned him to lead a revolt of Protestant princes in 1551–2, heavily subsidised by Henry II of France. The Passau Treaty, negotiated by Charles's brother Ferdinand, brought an uneasy peace and formed the basis of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg which removed the spectre of religious war from the empire for a generation. The importance of the treaty has long been recognised, since from 1555 to 1648 Catholics regarded all secularisation of church land after August 1552 as illegal. This is the first full, scholarly edition of a document which, despite its importance, has never received the detailed attention it deserves: as recently as 1994 Ruth Kastner published the wrong document in her *Quellen zur Reformation 1517–1555*. This edition contains a clear and helpful introduction, the full text of the treaty based on the four surviving copies, and several important documents connected with it, including Maurice's demands to Ferdinand of April 1552, the Linz Recess of May 1552, Charles v's ratification, and detailed protocols kept by various delegates. The edition is produced with exemplary scholarship and will be of great value to all those interested in how consensual political systems coped with religious diversity in the early modern period.

KING'S COLLEGE,  
LONDON

ROBERT FROST

*Martín del Río. Investigations into magic.* Edited and translated by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart. (Social and Cultural Values in Early Modern Europe.) Pp. xi + 290. Manchester–New York: Manchester University Press, 2000. £45. 0 7190 4976 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902802561

This volume represents an alliance between two meticulous bibliophiles, the demonologist del Río and his editor Maxwell-Stuart, who has patiently identified most of the ancient, medieval and early modern texts upon which he relied for most of his source material. Del Río was one of his century's most prominent Jesuit scholars, who studied and taught at universities in the Netherlands, France, Germany, Spain and Austria, and combined – as he was proud to point out – the professional skills of a lawyer, philosopher and theologian. This book was his contribution to the contemporary debate over the nature and legal treatment of witchcraft and made him into the main Catholic authority on the subject. To contemporaries, it impressed mainly because of the forensic skill, experience and common sense which he brought to questions such as the theological status of magic and the manner in which the trials of accused witches should be conducted. To modern readers, it does not merely open a window onto the thought of a remarkable scholar, but upon the controversy in which he had intervened and the many authors with whom he engaged. Furthermore, del Río

was canny, and racy enough to spice up his text constantly with anecdotes drawn from the world of popular lore and gossip which vividly reveal the beliefs of ordinary people. This translation makes accessible a major trove of source material as well as a famous polemical work.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

RONALD HUTTON

*Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588–1638. Between Renaissance, Reformation, and universal reform.* By Howard Hotson. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xiv + 271 incl. 5 ills. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000. £45. 0 19 820828 6  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902812568

While the name Johann Heinrich Alsted and the title of his most famous work (the 1630 *Encyclopaedia*) are familiar to intellectual historians, the generic contexts and the actual contents of his writings have remained largely unknown territory, partly because of their intimidating volume: ‘Alsted ... is a man eclipsed by the sheer mass of his own work’ (p. 8). However, that territory has now been heroically charted by Howard Hotson in a trilogy of books of which the centre-piece is this excellent, erudite and lucid intellectual biography. Hotson presents Alsted ‘not as an isolated and independent thinker, but as the last main figure of a pedagogical tradition of sixty years’ duration’ (p. 13). Ironically, this pedagogical tradition – that of the central European Reformed community – is better known through its subsequent impact on England (via Hartlib, Dury and Comenius) than in its original setting. One of the tradition’s most representative and influential institutions was the Calvinist academy of Herborn, where Alsted spent most of his career as professor of philosophy and theology. From Herborn Alsted derived a model of a Calvinist ‘second reformation’ of Church, State and society, grounded in Ramist pedagogy, Reformed theology and ecclesiastical discipline. However, from his early student days, especially those spent at Marburg, he was also exposed to – and seduced by – another kind of ‘general reformation’, a hermetic one, grounded in Lull, Paracelsus, alchemy and other occult disciplines. Alsted struggled to reconcile these two models, but the unresolved tension between them is used by Hotson as one *leitmotif* with which to narrate key problems and crises in Alsted’s career. For example, Alsted’s project of using philosophy to restore the image of God in man conflicted with Calvin’s view of human nature as enslaved to sin. Alsted, by including possible panaceas such as alchemy in his attempt to restore primordial human perfection, took this attempt in more eclectic directions than had, say, Keckermann (his immediate encyclopaedic forerunner) or even Lull. Alsted’s dreams of general reformation thus bordered uneasily on those of the notorious Rosicrucians, whose emergence from 1612 onwards therefore seems to have been one factor compelling him to pursue his occult interests more in private than in public. A final image, both moving and grotesque, of Alsted’s desire to resolve the tension between these diverging models of reformation is his deathbed attempt – chronicled by one contemporary – to consign to the oblivion of a latrine his unpublished manuscripts and the hermetic philosophy which they contained (p. 179). Ranging from Alsted’s millenarianism to his participation in the Synod of Dort as his prince’s ecclesiastical ambassador, Hotson has provided a richly contextualised and nuanced study of the possibilities of belief which were

available to Alsted and of the social, political, institutional, practical, theological and philosophical pressures which affected his utterances at every turn. Hotson's Alsted, with his conflicting impulses towards orthodoxy and eclecticism, is a case study in the contradictory complexity not only of central European 'Reformed' beliefs in this period but also, perhaps, of belief in general.

CHURCHILL COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

NEIL KENNY

*The English sermon revised. Religion, literature and history 1600–1750.* Edited by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) Pp. x + 270. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000. £48. 0 7190 5449 4

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902822564

This strong collection of essays by scholars of history and literature aspires to 'a distinctive, unforced interdisciplinarity' (p. 17) according to its editors. The individual contributions are never less than workmanlike, all drawing on significant fresh research and critical reflection on stale orthodoxies, some emerging from recently completed doctoral dissertations and others the work of leading scholars in the field. The essays have been arranged under three headings. Under 'The rhetoric of preaching' are pieces by Fitzmaurice on the humanism of sermons propagandising for the Virginia Company, by Morrissey on the prophetic sermons at Paul's Cross and by Crockett on the preaching of Thomas Playfere (1561–1609). The heading 'Sermons on emergent political occasions' covers Hunt's essay on the preaching and publicity surrounding the Essex plot, Lake's close analysis of how both Robert Skinner and Joseph Hall used the claim of 'moderation' in the 1620s and 1630s and a contrasting pair of essays on Donne, one on his 'absolutist theology' by Shuger, already in print elsewhere, and the other by Shami on his 'anti-catholicism': as the introduction stresses, there are significant methodological differences between these two advocates of historically-informed literary analysis. Finally, essays by Rigney on sermons and print in the 1640s, Claydon on preaching and the political culture of the later seventeenth century and Caudle on sermons preached before the eighteenth-century House of Commons, fall under the rubric 'Sermons and the modern "public sphere"'. The whole is introduced by an exuberant defence of sermons as suitable for literary study and of their 'centrality ... to the period' (p. 10). This introduction gives a pretty thin existing literature on preaching more than its due and works hard to associate the volume with the 'revisionism' of early Stuart history. It makes fashionable claims about the 'theatricality' of preaching and about the 'nuanced' readings on offer in subsequent essays. Yet it has to be said that the contributions often measure up to these claims: I was struck by Crockett's attempt to plumb Playfere's use of imagery and by Morrissey's plain but powerful analysis of the rhetoric in Jacobean sermons – an analysis which allows her to issue a significant warning to those who rashly build historical interpretations upon supposed typologies. Claydon's questioning of the idea of a new 'public sphere' and his attempt to broaden out the debate, like Hunt's demonstration that 'tuning the pulpits' was no easy task, invite us to take a more subtle view of both preaching and its historical context. Other scholars – and this

is a collection which will appeal to scholars rather than students or the general public – will be more drawn to other essays. All of them are well worth reading and it is to be hoped that they represent the beginning of a new wave of scholarly interest in the preaching of early modern England.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES SWANSEA

JOHN SPURR

*Heart-work. George Herbert and the Protestant ethic.* By Christina Malcolmson. Pp. xi + 298 incl. frontispiece and five ills. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999. £27.50. 0 8047 2988 3  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902832560

The concern of this book is social history rather than theology as the dominant context for Herbert's poetry. In her introduction Malcolmson sketches a compelling history of a poet whose secular career was hindered by his links with William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. She attests little known contemporary evidence to reinterpret the familiar Waltonian narrative of Herbert's renunciation of secular preferment. Much of the rest of the book, however, demonstrates the problem for new historicist – or as she would prefer to be called, cultural materialist – readers of poetry: how to make satisfactory connections between a literary text and a painstakingly researched context. Thus a fascinating final chapter on Herbert family gardens is linked rather tenuously to only one poem in 'The Church'. It is stimulating, however, to consider Herbert's lyrics as answer-poetry in the style of Donne or Rudyerd, as Malcolmson does, even if in the end this does not significantly affect her reading of *The temple*. Malcolmson sometimes seems to have difficulty in finding enough evidence from the texts themselves to demonstrate aspects of her thesis decisively. Much of the book is devoted to demonstrating that the 'revisions' to *The temple* – the differences between W and B manuscripts – indicate a growing aversion to the 'achieved gentility' of 'upper-class works', an argument which this reader did not find convincing. At its best this book blends social history with theology, in a chapter which conflates Calvinism with landlord-tenant relations to produce nuanced readings of well-known poems.

NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY

ELIZABETH CLARKE

*England's troubles. Seventeenth-century English political instability in European context.* By Jonathan Scott. Pp. xii + 546. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £45 (cloth), £17.95 (paper). 0 521 41192 0; 0 521 42334 1  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902842567

This is a work of enormous intellectual ambition. Dr Scott, after rebuking the sterile pointillism of recent 'revisionist' scholarship, attempts nothing less than a holistic analytical account of the seventeenth century in England, which locates national experience decisively within a European framework. The traditional, artificial, chronology that emphasises the 1660 watershed is dismissed. A key *leitmotiv* gives the century its essential coherence as a unit of historical study: the attempt to reorganise the resources of the English state to enable it to participate as a major military force in the confessional politics of Europe. This endeavour was initially vitiated by practical problems that swiftly engendered periods of

embittered political strife, fierce ideological dispute and institutional instability. These periods – 1618–48, 1678–83 and 1688–97 – constitute ‘England’s troubles’. These must be viewed, argues Scott, as phases of a single crisis, not as discrete entities. The three phases were not only united by a common spring; they interwove, as the memory of the first, most cataclysmic of the Troubles shaped the subsequent manifestations of the phenomenon.

The concept of the Troubles is a key tool in Scott’s analysis. The idea works in conjunction with two others, both of which entail a bold appropriation of traditional historiographical vocabulary. First, Scott re-defines the English Revolution. This is seen as essentially intellectual, the lava of radical ideas fired out in the course of the first phase of the Troubles, but with profound consequences, both positive and negative, for the shaping of the later debates. Second, Scott deploys a re-worked concept of Restoration: again, this is a process, not an event that occurred in 1660, a process that reaches something approaching resolution in the last decade of the century. Then, after a Dutch invasion and with Dutch inspiration, the tensions that had festered since 1618 were damped down domestically, turned outwards against the leviathan of France. In this new environment the previously attenuated construction of the English fiscal-military state developed rapidly.

Scott’s reading, concentrating on his trinity of processes – Troubles, Revolution, Restoration – deserves careful attention. His overarching argument, forcefully and uncompromisingly presented, is original, challenging, invigorating. But does it command assent?

The work certainly crackles with illuminating ideas and insights in detail. So chapter xviii, the ‘First restoration’ of 1660–78 is a *tour-de-force* of analytical narrative; equally, the discussion of the Levellers in chapter xii displays an intelligence at once sharply critical and deeply sensitive to the nuance of contemporary rhetoric. But the overall thesis is less compelling. In part, this is a matter of presentation and style, in part one of substantive emphasis.

The design of the book is not easy on the reader. The three parts, each concentrating on a single aspect of his interpretative trinity, pose major organisational problems: repetition is hard to avoid, as is a measure of apparent internal contradiction. Loose ends abound. If Scott’s command of his structure is insufficiently taut, he compounds the problem by his delight in the powerful cadences of contemporary language, and by an insistence on conducting, in footnote and text, a series of local scholarly skirmishes on marginal points. Key argument gets lost in this profusion of quotation and historiographic sniping. The coherence of the work is also eroded by Scott’s recourse to a fuzzy prose at points where the complexity of the argument demands clarity and precision, and by his readiness to employ ‘thus/it has been shown’ formulae when the intended argument required recapitulation – sometimes even preliminary statement. The intuitive leaps, plus some delightfully contorted metaphors, remind us too much of this work’s genesis in a course of lectures.

But the problem is not simply one of rhetoric and presentation. There are significant substantive problems with the argument. Scott harshly lectures those pre-revisionist historians who constructed earlier totalising interpretations of the seventeenth century as a key moment in the development of certain favoured political rights, or, alternatively, of bourgeois values. But this didactic

grandstanding, for all the rhetorical flights, fails to conceal the susceptibility of his overarching conceptualisation to a similar charge of essentialism and teleological selectivity, and he is equally guilty of a similar obsessive ‘need to categorise and subdivide’ (p. 290). We could pursue this in relation to a number of subjects. For example, the highly attenuated view of the state and its ‘institutional fragility’ to which Scott subscribes; the procrustean insistence that all English seventeenth-century overseas wars ‘were ideological ... against popery and arbitrary government’ (p. 400); the consistent neglect of the diurnal world of politics. But let us concentrate on the role that Scott attributes to religion as a dynamic in his analysis.

Religion is handled in two major respects in *England's troubles*. The first, the potency of anti-popery as a dominant discourse throughout the century, is an unexceptional, indeed, a brilliant, discussion. The wide focus of the analysis, and Scott's imaginative sensitivity to the nuances of language, create a subtle articulation of the variations of emphasis, contingent on particular circumstances, around the ground-bass of prejudice and fear. But the second examination of religious development in the book, in the section on the English Revolution, while intriguing as a reading of a small group of writers, displays the weaknesses of Scott's method. The Revolution is defined as the outpouring of radical ideas in the first phase of the Troubles. For Scott religious radicalism has but two dimensions: anti-formalism and practical Christianity. Now this is to define a very narrow radical canon: Walwyn, Winstanley, Coppe. Scott revels in their language, quoting chunks with all the enthusiasm of Christopher Hill. But he does not explain why we should privilege these ideas as against, say, millenarianism, or why he can so airily dismiss the Baptists from serious consideration. Later in the book Scott argues that these constituent elements of the religious dimension of the Revolution re-emerged in the reformation of manners projects after 1689. What would Coppe or Walwyn have made of the insipid schemes and pharisaic self-righteousness of the Societies?

One senses – it is not formally argued – that Scott's narrow view of religious radicalism is developed because it enables him to develop a categorical link between the religious and political dimensions of his English Revolution. Walwyn and Overton create a politics of anti-formalism and practical Christianity in the Leveller movement. The republican theorists, Milton, Sidney and Vane, were to follow their inspiration in defence of the Rump or assault on the Protectorate. But this is to provide a limited account of both movements, and again, to narrow the focus of radicalism and thus the Revolution unduly. Scott does well to remind us that the Levellers were not obsessively concerned with the franchise, but their constitutional and legal concerns cannot be dismissed by simply asserting that they were uninterested in ‘mechanisms of government’ (p. 273). No doubt many of the defenders of the Rump were stronger on moral and educational imperatives than on constitutional detail: the hacks of an arbitrary regime were not likely to be fecund in the provision of programmes of governmental reform. But Republicanism, as Scott's painful and tendentious endeavour to rubbish the significance of *Oceana* ultimately suggests, had many facets – some extremely formalist.

Jonathan Scott has produced a stimulating work, often brilliant in detail and argued powerfully. His European perspective is valuable and his novel analytical

categories have much to recommend them as corrosives of tired and unreflecting acceptance of traditional explanatory accounts – or the absence of them in revisionism. But, like many holistic thinkers, he is seduced into concretising his own analytical categories. Choices are asserted, rather than argued. Why, we may ask, is Baptist ecclesiology less significant than Coppe's fantasies? Why are Nedham's brazen defences of his paymasters of more interest than the constitutional provisions of the *Instrument of government*, and the series of reflections upon it in the 1654–5 parliament? Because Scott says so is not a good answer.

LADY MARGARET HALL,  
OXFORD

CLIVE HOLMES

*A revolutionary rogue. Henry Marten and the English republic.* By Sarah Barber. Pp. xi + 228. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000. £25. 0 7509 2304 0  
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This is a solid reappraisal of a figure too often banished to the wings of the English Revolution. Henry Marten was often remembered for three things – his libertinism, atheism and republicanism – traits not associated often with a revolution made by godly Christian monarchists. Barber puts these traits in perspective. The libertinism, which allegedly made Charles I wish to ban him from the Hyde Park racecourse, turns out to be rather conjugal fidelity to a lady who happened not to be his wife (another royal Charles would sympathise). Nor was he any more an atheist than Thomas Hobbes was. And his republicanism is now seen less as a maverick affectation than as an expression of instincts which drew upon much wider general acceptance. Barber benefits here from David Norbrook's recent striking revisionism (*Writing the English republic*, Cambridge 1999, 93–101). We needed a book which brought these threads together, and Barber largely achieves this. A considerable amount of hard work in the archives underpins her researches. Marten was not wholly neglected previously: C. M. Williams's doctoral dissertation at Oxford in 1954 is one of the best postgraduate theses which never became a book. But now the general public can have a rounded picture (caricatures removed) of an MP who was expelled the Commons in 1643 for declaring that the death of the royal family was of less import than the destruction of the kingdom; who designed the Great Seal for the republic of 1649 with the inscription 'In the First Yeare of Freedom by God's Blessing restored'; who went to gaol for his debts and returned there, after the Restoration, for his regicide views; and who died (surprisingly) not on the gallows, but choking in prison on a piece of meat in 1680. There are two reservations to qualify a general welcome to what is a promising first study. Barber's presentation of her material is not as good as her recovery of it. There are problems with syntax: it is the Commons, not Lilburne, who set up 'captious oaths' (p. 73); Deane, not 'the following day', who is unconvinced (p. 41); Lilburne surrenders his lieutenant-colonelcy, but not at the same time, 'the centre of a meeting' (p. 74). There are problems with transitive and intransitive verbs: Marten could chide the English, but not 'chide that' (p. 76); he could be cowed by pressure, but not 'cowed from pressing' (p. 76). Metaphors are mixed: Cromwell is both 'mailed fist' and the 'loosest cannon' (p. 61); an edifice is

deflated by ‘flattering’ in a ‘collusion’ (p. 157). There are archaisms: allegories are ‘essayed’ (p. 26); ‘sojourns’ are for exile or prison (p. 41). These are minor irritants, but there is a more fundamental reservation about the way that the whole book is structured. She calls it not a biography but ‘an evaluative account’ (p. ix), but biography was perhaps what was needed. She gives two chapters of dense political narrative, and thereafter dips into aspects of Marten’s life (political thought, religion, estates, finances, his relation with Mary Ward – much of interest in all of these chapters). In a biography proper, however, all these aspects would have been woven together in a chronological development. This would have been very difficult to write, but it would have been easier to read. In its absence, Marten never quite comes to life, any more than Sir Henry Vane the Younger did in Violet Rowe’s equally solid 1970 study of her hero. We have here two fascinating figures, whose great time was serving the Rump, and one of whom undeservedly met the ultimate regicide punishment that the other had merited. Their paths converged on one memorable occasion: ‘Marten making an invective speech one time against old Sir Henry Vane; when he had don with him, he said, “But for young Sir Henry Vane”; and so sate him downe. Severall cryed out, “What have you to say to young Sir Henry?” He rises up: “Why! if young Sir Henry lives to be old, he will be old Sir Henry” and so sate downe, and set the House a-laughing, as he offentimes did.’ The source is Aubrey, not Barber or Rowe – that same Aubrey whose exaggerations are so well redressed by Barber. But it has to be said that Marten lives in Aubrey’s few pages, as in this exchange, in a way that eludes the later historian.

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

WILLIAM LAMONT

*Restoration, Reformation and reform, 1660–1828. Archbishops of Canterbury and their diocese.* By Jeremy Gregory. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xiii + 355 incl. 5 maps and 4 tables. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000. £45. 0 19 820830 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690286256X

This monograph belongs to a species in danger of extinction. The author has selected a clear and coherent topic – a major diocese and its clergy – opted for an ambitious but manageable timespan of nearly 170 years, scoured the full range of possible manuscript and printed primary sources, and thought long and hard before committing his conclusions to print. While recognisably Anglo-Saxon in its thoroughness and reluctance to theorise, it is, compared to many recent monographs in the English-speaking world, almost continental in its breadth and depth. Moreover, it offers the most comprehensive corrective yet to the bad press given to the eighteenth-century Church, both by nineteenth-century critics from various ecclesiastical and political quarters, and by twentieth-century historians who in praising the ‘godly’ clergy of 1540–1640 and the zealots of the nineteenth century have tended to dismiss the Church of the intervening era as lukewarm and secular.

The book is divided into three sections: personnel (archbishops, deans and chapters, and parish clergy); finance (income and expenditure, from land and urban property, tithes, and other sources); and relations with Nonconformists and conformists. But within each section, three issues are painstakingly pursued:



the character of the Restoration ecclesiastical regime, the nature and extent of reform by 1828, and the quality of the church's pastoral work; and on each of these a large number of correctives and new suggestions are offered. Even while it was picking up the reins of the pre-war establishment, the Restored Church in Canterbury diocese was developing a new self-image and determination that owed much to the traumas of 1640–60. Archbishops were chosen not for their birth – nearly all were non-aristocratic – but for their proven administrative ability and track record of defending the Church. The cathedral was used to bring into the diocese outsiders who were closely allied to the universities and ready to help define and defend the position of the Church in the post-1660 state against all opponents. The proportion of parish clergy drawn from the lower ranks declined, while the number of sons of the clergy increased dramatically and that of sons of the gentry modestly. There was a greater sense of group identity among the clergy and better relations with the laity than in hierarchical Churches abroad. Political tensions did exist from the 1690s to the 1720s, but did not over-ride shared pastoral concerns, and the growth of Whig Anglicanism and influx of High-Church Whigs into the diocese saw such tensions fade by the 1730s.

Far from being greedy cormorants exploiting the tenants on their extensive estates, the upper clergy worked with the grain of local opinion, especially among the landed elite. The beneficed parish clergy did become wealthier between 1660 and 1828, but parish finances were characterised on the whole by consensus with the laity, and in some areas, such as new fittings and buildings, active co-operation. Relations with Nonconformity were also characterised for much of the period by moderation and *de facto* toleration rather than aggression, even with the Roman Catholics of the diocese, who were few in number and confined to a few rural fastnesses. As Protestant dissent lost much of its gentry support and some of its clerical leadership, the distinction between conformity and dissent became blurred for a while. Dissent became increasingly urban, but both Anglicanism and dissent managed to thrive in the towns, at least until the lack of church seating became obvious and the more aggressive second wave of Methodism arrived. In both town and country the clergy exhibited a higher standard of pastoral care than has usually been suggested, for example in catechising and increasing frequency of services, including holy communion; and the clergy shared with the laity a cross-party enthusiasm for setting up more primary schools and Sunday schools, and supporting other charitable and reforming schemes. A case for gradualist reform beginning long before the 1820s and 1830s is thus made, and it is suggested that Canterbury diocese experienced a regime of 'comparatively successful conservatism' (p. 294) that ensured the spreading of the Word in a stable political and social context.

Despite offering such rich fare, this book does leave the reader hungry for more. Except in the introduction, there is a tendency to say more about the work of historians with whom the author disagrees than to key into the findings of those who have reached similar conclusions on Canterbury diocese or other contemporary dioceses. Some of the harder questions might have been pursued a little further. Was Canterbury diocese treated as a showcase that other diocesans should imitate? Did the relative wealth of the diocese and the high proportion of patronage in ecclesiastical hands make the aims of archbishops and

chapter easier to achieve than where lay patronage dominated and clerical incomes were much lower? How did the clergy decide where the line should be drawn between the expenditure needed to maintain a strong national Church and that needed to support charitable causes? How important was the role of assistant curates about whom the records show so little? How many communicants were there in different areas, and from what social backgrounds were they drawn; and how far did the theological understanding of the laity correspond to that of the clerical elite? However, this review must end with congratulations, and an insistence that all serious students of ecclesiastical history from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries take this striking and important new contribution on board.

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST

IAN GREEN

*Le Catholicisme classique et les pères de l'église. Un retour aux sources (1669–1713)*. By Jean-Louis Quantin. (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Moyen-Âge et Temps modernes, 33.) Pp. 680. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1999. Fr. 170 (paper). 2 85121 170 6; 1159 4888  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902872566

My only complaint against this magisterial volume lies with the title. On the one hand the scope is narrower than indicated – the role of the Fathers in Gallican Catholicism. I am not sure that classical Catholicism was confined to France. On the other hand the scope is also wider than indicated. The focus is, indeed, on the years between 1669 (the date of the first volume of Arnauld and Nicole's *Perpétuité défendue*; just two years after Mabillon's edition of Bernard) and 1713 (the date of the infamous bull *Unigenitus*). But the book contains no little material on the previous period – both the sixteenth century and the earlier portion of the seventeenth. Again, while the focus is on Gallican Catholicism, the Protestant use of the Fathers is by no means ignored, especially in the context of inter-confessional polemics. Leaving aside the title, this is a very thorough study of the topic, comparable for its chosen field with that of Pontien Polman for the sixteenth century, as can be seen from a quick perusal of the thirty-page bibliography of primary sources (arranged topically). The first part of the volume focuses on the Fathers in theology and scholarship. Here, the controversies with Protestantism and with Jansenism loom large as do the scholarly achievements of the Maurists. The second part focuses on the application of patristic teaching to the life of the Church. Here again the controversies with Protestantism and with Jansenism are prominent, together with practical applications of patristic teaching. This a masterly study that will serve as a valuable resource for many years to come.

LONDON BIBLE COLLEGE

ANTHONY N. S. LANE

*French Huguenots in English-speaking lands*. By Horton Davies and Marie-Hélène Davies. (Studies in Church History, 11.) Pp. x + 147 incl. frontispiece. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. £15 (paper). 0 8204 4542 8  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902882562

Within a hundred pages of text, this book provides an overview of the Huguenot

diaspora to Britain, Ireland and North America from just prior to the Edict of Nantes in 1685 until the Edict of Toleration in 1787. The authors discuss the early growth of the Reformed movement in France, the persecution of the Huguenots and their flight, and the contribution that they made in the English-speaking lands. Although the authors draw upon the works published in connection with the Tercentenary of the Revocation (Gwynn, Murdoch, Scouloudi), the research of current historians such as Grell, Labrousse, Pettegree and Yardeni does not feature in the bibliography. This may in part explain, for example, the confusion over the establishment of the exile churches in the sixteenth century. There is also an occasional tendency to describe rather than analyse the contribution of individual Huguenots (which does lead to some repetition), reflecting the older historiography. The book is also the victim of various typographical errors. For example, Robin D. Gwynn also appears as 'Robert D. Gwynn' and 'Robin Gwynne'; John à Lasco becomes 'John A. Lasco', and the Huguenot artist Abraham Bosse is cited as 'Abraham Brosse'. The scope of this book is really too broad to be adequately examined in so few pages but the volume does serve as a general introduction for someone new to the subject.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

ANDREW SPICER

*Ulster-American religion. Episodes in the history of a cultural connection.* By David N. Livingstone and Ronald A. Wells. (The Irish in America.) Pp. x+201. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. \$30 (cloth), \$15 (paper). o 268 04303 5; o 268 04304 3

*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902892569

David Livingstone, Professor of Geography and Intellectual History at Queen's University, Belfast, and Ronald Wells, Professor of Social History at Calvin College in Michigan, are the authors of this study in comparative transatlantic religious and cultural history. They explore the well-known connection between Irish and American Presbyterianism, examining the similarities and dissimilarities in their responses to common challenges faced on both sides of the Atlantic in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Ulster–American connection goes back to the seventeenth century when Francis Makemie, the 'father of American Presbyterianism', was ordained in Ulster for ministry in colonial America. Ulster-Scot or Scotch-Irish immigration in the eighteenth century contributed significantly to Presbyterian growth, while Ulster Presbyterian moral philosopher, Francis Hutcheson, was an important influence on the 1776 American revolutionaries.

Revivalism, which became a feature of American religious life from the eighteenth century, had appeared on the colonial frontier in Ulster a century before and is a recurrent subject of discussion by Livingstone and Wells. The great Ulster Revival of 1859 followed the American Revival of 1857–8 which was observed for the Irish Presbyterian Church by Professor William Gibson, historian and defender of the Ulster Revival in his *Year of grace*. While in America Gibson visited Princeton Theological Seminary where his son was a student and was so impressed by the American college that he determined that the Belfast Presbyterian College in which he taught Christian ethics should become another

Princeton. Before Gibson died in 1867 an Ulster-born alumnus of Princeton, Robert Watts, had come to the chair of theology in Belfast to propagate the pure Calvinism of his Princeton mentor, Charles Hodge. Watts and James Gibson were only two of more than 350 Irish-born students attending Princeton between 1812 and 1930, though only 117 of them returned to minister in Ireland.

Prominent among the common challenges being faced by Presbyterians in Ulster and America were Darwinism and biblical criticism. Watts followed Princeton's Hodge in denouncing Darwinism but James McCosh, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Queen's College, Belfast, appointed president of Princeton University in 1868, combined enthusiastic support for revivalism in Ulster and America with an equally positive acceptance of Darwinism, as did B. B. Warfield, upon whom Hodge's mantle had descended in Princeton. Livingstone and Wells comment that 'the dominant voices by the last decade of the nineteenth century in both places [Belfast and Princeton] were calling on the same theology to support different evaluations of evolution' (p. 49).

At first responses to biblical criticism were equally negative in Belfast and Princeton but after Watt's death in 1895, division appeared in Belfast with Matthew Leitch, the college president, condemning 'the new critical theories' which his Old Testament professor, Thomas Walker, was tentatively advancing in his classes. As 'modernism' became increasingly influential conservatives fought back, publishing a series of essays, *The fundamentals*, in America between 1910 and 1915, expounding what they believed to be vital Christian doctrines, earning them the name fundamentalists.

Early concern in Ulster and America focused on the theology of foreign missionaries who were accused of preaching 'another gospel' to the Chinese. Modernist scholars came under attack and in Ulster a campaign was launched against allegedly heretical teaching in the Belfast college, which was popularised by the Revd W. P. Nicholson, an Ulster-born American fundamentalist evangelist, whose hell-fire preaching and denunciations of Modernism attracted large crowds of working men. The campaign led to the trial for heresy by the Irish Presbyterian General Assembly of a young professor in the Belfast college, Ernest Davey. When he was acquitted by an overwhelming majority, his chief accuser, the Revd James Hunter, led a small secession from the Irish Presbyterian Church, forming the Irish Evangelical Church.

Princeton had continued to stand firm in the conservative tradition and it was a former Princeton student, W. J. Grier, completing his studies in the Belfast college, who had provided evidence of Professor Davey's teaching for his accusers. But Princeton could not escape the conflict between fundamentalism and modernity which, as in Ireland, led to schism. There J. G. Machen, like Davey, a brilliant scholar, but conservative rather than liberal, who had taught W. J. Grier that Modernism was apostasy, found his position increasingly untenable and withdrew in 1929 to found Westminster College in Philadelphia to continue the conservative Princeton tradition, a step which led to the formation of the fundamentalist Orthodox Presbyterian Church. American and Irish Presbyterianism had both rejected fundamentalism and opted for an inclusivist Church embracing conservatives and liberals.

Of particular interest to students of religion and politics in Northern Ireland is the authors' final chapter, 'Populist ideology and revivalism: W. P. Nicholson

and the forging of a Unionist identity'. Nicholson's enormously successful evangelistic missions in Ulster, between 1921 and 1923, have traditionally been credited with saving Northern Ireland from all-out civil war by converting Protestant gunmen, but Livingstone and Wells suggest that Nicholson's preaching reinforced the Unionism of the Ulster Protestant working class by proclaiming uncompromisingly the exclusivist Protestant evangelicalism which legitimated Ulster particularism and resistance to Catholic nationalism in the context of the political instability of the infant Northern Irish state. They explain that the relative ineffectiveness of Nicholson's later campaigns was a result of changed political circumstances: Northern Ireland had achieved a measure of political stability. Half a century later, when Northern Ireland was again destabilised politically, another fundamentalist preacher, the Revd Ian Paisley, with the blessing of the elderly Nicholson, became enormously influential, restating vociferously the religious legitimation of Protestant Unionism.

There is much of interest in this work, not least the beginnings of an overdue scholarly evaluation of the ministry of the Revd W. P. Nicholson. The authors' hope that 'these essays will further contribute to the growing awareness of the value of comparative work in understanding the historically negotiated character of evangelical Protestantism' (p. 139) deserves to be realised.

BELFAST

FINLAY HOLMES

*Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, 1700–2000.* By Dietrich Meyer. (Kleine Reihe V&R, 4019.) Pp. 176. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000. DM 21.80 (paper). 3 525 34019 2  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902902563

This book surveys the three-hundred-year history of the Herrnhuter community, also known as the Moravian Church. Meyer's insightful study is one of many tributes and events which took place in the year 2000 in honour of the birth of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60), founder of the Herrnhut community, near Dresden, as a place of refuge for various persecuted religious minorities in eighteenth-century Europe. The year's events included no fewer than three Zinzendorf exhibitions in Germany: one in the Museum of Ethnology in Herrnhut, another in the Museum of Local History in Herrnhut and one in the State Museum for Ethnology in Dresden. A commemorative volume was published with the fitting title, *Count without boundaries*.<sup>1</sup> This alludes to Zinzendorf's many voyages on behalf of his vision of renewed Christendom, taking him to north America and the Caribbean, Great Britain and the Baltic countries, Sweden and Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland and France. Meyer's story of how Zinzendorf's movement has survived tumultuous times to endure into the third millennium may perform the greatest service of all, in introducing this remarkable Pietist to a modern audience. Chief archivist of the Evangelical Church in the Rhineland and affiliated with the Herrnhuters, Meyer is eminently qualified to write this book. He is the author of numerous studies on

<sup>1</sup> *Graf ohne Grenzen: Leben und Werk von Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (Count without boundaries: the life and work of Nikolaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf)*, Herrnhut 2000. This includes an account of the objects from the three exhibitions, as well as articles by leading scholars.

Zinzendorf as well as editor of the authoritative scholarly resource, *Bibliographisches Handbuch zur Zinzendorf-Forschung* (Düsseldorf 1987).

The book's five chapters treat Zinzendorf's early life and the founding of Herrnhut, the beginning of the worldwide Herrnhuter brotherhood, eighteenth-century developments and changes after Zinzendorf's death, nineteenth-century endeavours in both foreign and home missions, and finally the Herrnhuter experience in Germany in the twentieth century before, during and after the Nazi period. Human interest figures prominently. We learn that after student travels to France and the Netherlands Zinzendorf determined 'to discover the best in all religions, for I know that the Lord has his own among all the various kinds of people' (p. 15). We see the attraction that various enlightenment figures felt toward the Herrnhuters. This is illustrated by Johann Bernhard Basedow, who gladly would have 'entrusted his children to the education of the brotherhood even though he knew they did not consider him a child of God'. The German poet Goethe likewise had great sympathy for the Herrnhuters, characterising them as 'beautiful souls' (pp. 86f.). Also of interest is the development of ties between the Herrnhuters and Karl Barth in the 1960s. Barth was attracted to their Christocentric faith and remarked that 'Zinzendorf and I stand and fall together' (p. 155).

This study offers significant insights into Zinzendorf and his movement. Meyer nicely captures the two-fold genius of Zinzendorf's enduring vision: a childlike Christocentric piety focused on the wounds of Jesus; and a diverse community that provided a model to the world of Christian co-operation and ecumenism. Meyer skilfully traces the impact of social, economic and political forces and events upon the life of the Herrnhuters and suggests that 'the history of the Herrnhuters reads like a dialectic between financial crisis and spiritual renewal' (p. 158). Another theme that arises repeatedly is the readiness of the Herrnhuters to change with the times. Matters of organisation and even emphases of faith changed significantly under the impact of Zinzendorf's death, under the influence of Enlightenment and Awakening, and especially as the centre of gravity shifted decisively to provinces outside Germany. Meyer sees the Herrnhuters as a movement ahead of their time, and deserving of credit for inspiring twentieth-century ecumenism and inter-faith dialogue.

The book is complemented by six appendices: a list of the years when general synods took place; the chairmen and issues addressed; a separate list of early Herrnhut presidents, and chairpersons in Germany; inspectors of the theological seminary from 1754 to 1818, and after 1818; businesses and property owned by the Brotherhood in 1900; and a statistical chart, divided into continents, German cities and mission churches, indicating community membership as it stood in 1761, 1857, 1900, 1950 and 1998. A map would have been a useful addition.

Meyer's scholarship in this study is impressive as he draws upon a rich legacy of Herrnhut archival material including Zinzendorf's own writings, synod minutes, mission diaries, as well as consulting early published histories. He has also made good use of recent research, including Colin Podmore's *The Moravian Church in England* (Oxford 1998). Meyer's narrative style, free of scholarly notation, and his use of subtitles to indicate thematic divisions within chapters, should appeal to a popular audience. One could wish that he had added an introduction and conclusion to this study, providing some statement of the

significance of his book in relation to recent Zinzendorf research, and suggesting tasks for future researchers. An index would also have been welcome. But the last word must be one of commendation to Meyer for a fine tribute to the boundless legacy of a remarkable German count.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

DOUGLAS H. SHANTZ

*Howell Harris. From conversion to separation, 1735–1750.* By Geraint Tudur. Pp. xiv + 314 incl. frontispiece and map. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000. £25. 0 7083 1618 2  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690291256X

This revised Oxford doctoral thesis offers a dispassionate portrayal of the early career of one of the eighteenth century's most passionate Methodists. By 1737 Howell Harris was noted throughout south Wales as a field-preacher and by 1739 had established relationships with leading Methodists in England, where for several years he frequently itinerated and ministered. Deeply influenced by the Moravians, he came to use their 'Blood' terminology extensively in his preaching. George Whitefield gave Harris responsibility for the Tabernacle Chapel in London during the mid-1740s. However, by 1750 all had turned against him: Whitefield, the majority of Welsh Methodists and his own family in Wales, at Trevecka. Why this occurred beats at the heart of Tudur's book. In 1748 Harris and a married woman, Sidney Griffith, fell deeply in love, and he installed her as travelling companion on his itinerant preaching rounds. With his encouragement, she began to claim prophetic powers (one of her predictions was that her husband and his wife soon would die, freeing her and Harris to marry, thereby consolidating the leadership of God's work in Wales). Harris wrote: 'God is on my side, and all the opposition against me is against the Lord' (p. 229). The thematic organisation of the book's eight chapters, while offering useful focuses on aspects of Harris's career, produces repetitive overlap, hindering the story's forward thrust. While Tudur has made himself master of his subject's diaries, which are exceptionally difficult to read, more use of his correspondence would have provided added perspective. The publisher has made ready-reference to the copious end-notes difficult; moreover, none of the, sometimes important, narrative material in these citations is included in the index. However, with this important book, Howell Harris has taken clearer shape than ever before: whatever the merits of Harris's religious leadership, Tudur does not find him a stable or attractive personality.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES ABERYSTWYTH

BOYD STANLEY SCHLENTHER

*Piety and power in Ireland, 1760–1960. Essays in honour of Emmet Larkin.* Edited by Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller. Pp. x + 304 incl. frontispiece and 6 figs. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast/Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000. £25. 0 85389 743 3; 0 268 03863 5  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902922566

This is a standard *Festschrift* in honour of an out-of-the-ordinary historian of Ireland and of the Catholic Church in Ireland. Emmet Larkin's monumental

series of archive-based volumes on the doings of the Irish hierarchy in the nineteenth century constitute a major landmark but, specialists apart, much more attention is now directed to his path-breaking conceptual formulations launched in *American Historical Review* articles in the 1970s. In particular the ‘devotional revolution’ described by Larkin in post-famine Ireland has become, next only to the postmodernists’ ‘colonialism’, the great cliché of nineteenth-century Irish studies. The appraisal of the ‘devotional revolution’ in the editors’ introduction would on its own make this volume worthy of attention. J. J. Lee’s contribution tackles in incisive but appreciative fashion another of Larkin’s distinctive formulations – that Parnell created ‘the modern Irish state’ in the period 1879–86. Lawrence J. McCaffrey’s memoir of Larkin is an important piece of primary documentation; Helen Mulvey’s list of his publications comes down to 1998; the other contributions are research articles, several of them showing signs of having been written some years before 1998. Donal A. Kerr surveys attitudes of the Catholic Church to rebellion; George L. Bernstein explores the problems created for the Liberals at Westminster by the failure of Irish Catholic leadership between the death of O’Connell and the emergence of the National Association; Hugh F. Kearney examines the conflict surrounding the celebration in August 1875 of the centenary of O’Connell’s death, seeing it in terms of conflicting ideologies rather than competing elites; Lawrence W. McBride adds to the growing body of research on popular literature with his ‘Imagining the nation in Irish historical fiction, c. 1870–c. 1925’. Lack of popular readership together with episcopal antagonism were the undoing of the *Irish Peasant* (1903–10): its fate is related by Frank A. Biletz, with particular emphasis on two talented editors and trenchant critics of clericalism, Patrick Kenny and W. P. Ryan. An important article by David W. Miller, illustrated with impressive computer-generated maps, announces his return to the debate on levels of mass attendance in the nineteenth century. The remarkable sense of a world (or at least a country) ready for refashioning that was abroad in the early nineteenth century is brought home by Stewart J. Brown’s ‘The new reformation movement in the Church of Ireland, 1801–29’. Fortunately the editors took a sufficiently flexible interpretation of ‘Ireland’ to admit Joseph L. Altholz’s study of the nineteenth-century English version of social Catholicism, immigrants from Ireland being its main beneficiaries. Somewhat out of line with the other contributions in terms of subject matter, but none the less valuable for that, is Thomas William Heyck’s analysis of the modernist credentials of William Butler Yeats. ‘The peak of Marianism in Ireland, 1930–60’, by James S. Donnelly, Jr, offers rather more than the title suggests, being in fact an important excursion into popular culture based on extensive use of the weekly *Irish Catholic*.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND,  
MAYNOOTH

R. V. COMERFORD

*A dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*. Edited by John A. Vickers. Pp. x + 338. Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2000. £30. 0 7162 0534 3  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902932562

This book contains so much useful information that one wonders why such a volume has not appeared in print before. The fact that the word ‘Methodism’ is



itself, in John Vickers's words, 'an elastic term which has suffered changes of meaning over the years' and could apply to many non-Wesleyan groups, would be enough to daunt any prospective editor, quite apart from the awesome prospect of having to decide what to insert and what to leave out. As one would expect of an editor with John Vickers's wide knowledge of Methodism, this compilation of articles from a huge number of contributors is extremely comprehensive. Inevitably there is unevenness in places – Samuel Wesley, Jr, is given less space than some of the more peripheral figures, and the Wesley sisters are hardly mentioned – but it could be argued that plentiful material relating to them exists elsewhere. Indeed, those who are dissatisfied with the (understandable) brevity of some of the entries will find the excellent bibliography a useful update to that contained in the fourth volume of the *History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*. Apart from the biographical pieces, the entries include material on Methodist history, doctrine, worship, polity, mission (though not a great deal on ecumenism) and innumerable other topics. With a paperback price of £20.00 this book is affordable as well as essential, and deserves a place on the bookshelf of anyone who wishes to know more about Methodism, as well as of every Methodist preacher and student.

SURREY

BARRIE TABRAHAM

*Perceptions of St Patrick in eighteenth-century Ireland*. By Bridget McCormack. Pp. 119 + 12 plates. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000. £39.50. 1 85182 457 X  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902942569

Bridget McCormack has trawled through a wide and eclectic range of materials in the hunt for eighteenth-century images of, and attitudes towards, St Patrick. During that century scholars added little new detail to his life. Neither the Protestant nor Catholic Church actively promoted his cult. Yet its popularity was evident. From newspapers, political pamphlets, published sermons, church-wardens' accounts and even artefacts, there emerges abundant testimony to the saint's following. Patrick, the most adaptable of saints, continued to be invoked as the protector of Ireland against a variety of vermin. He mutated from ardent Tridentine evangelist into suave enlightenment politician. One admirer, not noted by McCormack, described him as 'a private gentleman'. Notions of an Irish civilisation anterior to the coming of Christianity, formulated by antiquarians, depressed but did not destroy Patrick's special role. How his feast was celebrated varied: between Protestant and Catholics, the elites and hoi-polloi, and those in and absent from Ireland. McCormack is at her best when tracing the popular celebrations, recovered from Irish folklore and travellers' tales. In analysing the more obviously political uses, with Patrick as champion of Ireland against England, she generally follows the analysis of Irish patriotism developed by Hayton, Hill and Leighton. Topics that might have revealed more about devotion to the saint, such as the use of Patrick as a Christian name, are not considered. Inevitably, too, sources which tell something of local observation of his day, notably account books (for example, those of the Edgeworths in County Longford), are missed. She hints at, but fails to pursue, the transformation of the lofty Patrick into the demotic Paddy. Yet, if others may

add to what she has found, this careful study provides fresh detail on both patrician and popular culture in eighteenth-century Ireland. In particular, it offers refreshing insights into how notions of Irishness were constructed under the Hanoverians. As such, both it and the series of monographs on Irish history which it inaugurates are to be welcomed warmly.

HERTFORD COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

T. C. BARNARD

*Messianic Judaism*. By Dan Cohn-Sherbok. Pp. xii + 234. London–New York: Cassell, 2000. £45 (cloth), £17.99 (paper). 0 304 70132 7; 0 304 70730 9  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902952565

I undertook a review of this historical and descriptive survey of messianic Judaism and its rites in the hope that it would be illuminating for me as a university teacher of Judaism in the contemporary world with an interest in Jewish–Christian relations. This hope has been partly fulfilled, but there are some disappointments. The section on the emergence of Hebrew Christianity through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is too long and dreary: messianic Judaism essentially emerges in 1960s America as part of the youth culture of the Jesus Movement. The book is clearly aimed at the American market; though the author is indebted to an unpublished Birmingham, England, PhD thesis, British messianic Jews are largely ignored. Similarly, Israeli messianic Jewish congregations are virtually a blank, even though chapter xvi deals with the key issue of conversion to Christianity and Israeli law (the Dahaf opinion poll suggested that most Israelis were prepared to accept those who convert as part of the Jewish community; the fact that this poll was commissioned by messianic Jews themselves is not, however, divulged by Cohn-Sherbok). I am not sure about how useful this book ultimately is, given its lack of analysis: for example, the preface states that ‘Messianic Jews regard Christmas and Easter as pagan festivals, so they are not observed’, but this point is nowhere discussed in the main text of the work.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

ELIZABETH M. JOHNSTONE

‘*Eine fröhliche Zeit der Erweckung für viele*’. *Quellenstudien zur Erweckungsbewegung in Bern 1818–1831*. By Christine Stuber. (Basler und Berner Studien zur historischen und systematischen Theologie, 69.) Bern: Peter Lang, 2000. £36 (paper). 3 906765 03 2; 0171 6840  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902962561

Christine Stuber, an ordained minister of the Bern Reformed Church, has written a study of the character and development of the revival movement in Bern between the year 1818, when the increasing numbers of worshippers at churches in the town could no longer be overlooked, and 1831, when not only was the Evangelische Gesellschaft founded as a revivalist resource centre within the Reformed Church but the decree banishing Karl von Rodt from the area was lifted by the government in tandem with its introduction of a constitution

guaranteeing freedom of belief and conscience. The central period of revival, however, was 1820 to 1823. In this revamped doctoral dissertation Stuber has analysed much new archival material to disclose the religious and theological background to that awakening of souls under the pastoral guidance of men – the focus stays on Antoine Jean-Louis Galland, Auguste Schaffter and Jeremias Lorsa – to the biblical message. Stuber describes the usual expressions of revival spirituality found throughout Europe, namely involvement in tract, Bible and missionary societies. About a quarter of her work is devoted to the person and theology of Galland, a man who more than most can claim to have been the initiator of the revival. The content of a number of sermons is thoroughly analysed, but in isolation from the revival culture which spawned them. This section amounts to little more than a simple restatement of orthodox biblical Christianity with a particular emphasis placed by Galland on the message of God's righteousness and the coming judgement of sinful man. Stuber very briefly mentions that the message preached actually had a mixed response from his congregation. Some parishioners denied themselves the sinful pleasures associated in evangelical minds with, for example, the theatre but others did not. One is left wondering whether Galland's views were in fact representative of those held by other leaders and sympathisers of the revival in Bern. And did Galland differ in any respects from preachers heading revival movements in other parts of Switzerland? Only his ecclesiological position is contrasted with those of Ami Bost and Karl von Rodt. The various revivalist responses to the established Reformed Church, which ranged from critical solidarity to downright opposition and separation, are discussed, as is the position taken up by the religious establishment itself. Included is a rather short section on the ecumenical aspects of the revival. Some revivalists regularly enjoyed fellowship with Catholics; others (Beat von Lorber) remained obstinately anti-Catholic. A few lines on international links are added. The study is rounded off with biographical notes on the major actors in the drama and an appendix incorporating a number of contemporary letters highlighting some of the issues dealt with by Stuber in this useful contribution to the literature on revival.

UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

NICHOLAS RAILTON

*Lord Acton*. By Roland Hill (foreword Owen Chadwick). Pp. xxiv + 548 + 57 ills.  
 New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2000. £25. 0 300 07956 7  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902972568

It must be counted a misfortune for an historian to have more written about him than he himself has written. That has long been the fate of John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, the first Lord Acton. Acton's importance has long laid in what he was, rather than in what he wrote. It cannot be said, however, that writing about Acton is itself an easy task. To make an adequate attempt at a *Life*, the intending biographer must have something approaching the cosmopolitan nature that Acton himself possessed. Roland Hill is, as Owen Chadwick notes in his foreword, eminently suited to write Acton's biography. A journalist in various European cities, Hill possesses the necessary language skills to write about the formidably multi-lingual Acton. He also evidently possessed the patience to confront the

voluminous Acton papers held in the Cambridge University Library, papers which were not fully available until the 1970s.

The Cambridge papers form the heart of Hill's work. Acton was a compulsive note-taker, and most if not all of his notes are preserved in Cambridge. These are not an easy source from which to work, as they are often undated, in various languages, and the product of Acton's vast reading. Hill has clearly come to grips with the collection, and his mastery of it shines through *Lord Acton*. The book is particularly good on the private Acton, and if he comes across as something of a prig he is nevertheless a fascinating one. Hill also treats sympathetically Acton's 'Madonnas of the future' – the most famous books that were never written. The section on Acton and the Vatican Council is the strongest in the book.

The work is not, however, without its flaws. Its organisation is a compromise between chronology and theme that is never entirely successful; a reader not totally familiar with the period could easily lose track of exactly what year, or even decade, was being discussed. Hill is also worryingly vague on the historical context surrounding Acton's life. It is one thing to claim that T. B. Macaulay was G. M. Trevelyan's uncle (p. 372); it is quite another to assert that, in 1861, 'new players' such as Cavour and Napoleon III were 'about to dominate world politics' (p. 93). Nor is it comforting to read that Acton's relative, Sir John Throckmorton (1753–1819), 'played a leading role in the Catholic Committee of the 1790s when, under the French revolutionary storm blowing across the English Channel, the campaign for Catholic Emancipation became an irresistible political force under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell' (p. 198). As Acton himself remarked in a letter to Mary Drew, such mistakes in a book 'destroy confidence in the writer's carefulness or knowledge, gives a tone of unreality, and makes one feel that the rest is out of keeping'. It is unfair to criticise an author for not writing a different book, but it is perhaps unfortunate that Hill did not pay more attention to Acton's intellectual development and ideas. If it can be said of anybody, it must surely be admitted that Acton led a life of the mind. Acton fascinates because of how much he read, how much he knew, and what conclusions he drew from his vast knowledge. Nevertheless, Roland Hill's work will rightly be welcomed as the best biography yet to appear on Lord Acton.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND,  
MAYNOOTH

COLIN BARR

*The missionary outreach of the West Indian Church. Jamaican Baptist missions to West Africa in the nineteenth century.* By Horace O. Russell. (Research in Religion and Family. Black Perspectives, 3.) Pp. xx + 323 incl. 7 ills. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. £25 (paper). 0 8204 3063 3; 1055 1158  
*JEH* (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902982564

To the Anglican missionary strategist Henry Venn the object of mission was the creation of indigenous churches that were self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending and, to aid this process in West Africa, he was able to make use of liberated slaves to evangelise in their ancestral home, Yorubaland. Though not sharing Venn's ecclesiology the Jamaican Baptists of the post-emancipation era also sought to take Christianity to the African lands whence their forebears had

been enslaved. An outcome of the wave of interest in West Africa that captured the public imagination in the early 1840s, the Jamaican Baptist mission to Fernando Po was a comparatively short-lived affair, surviving less than twenty years until its expulsion by the new colonial power, Spain, in 1858. Offshoots on the mainland met with varying degrees of success. The embryonic mission in Calabar withdrew in favour of the Scottish Presbyterians under Hope Waddell. But a branch in the Cameroons proved more long-lasting, surviving the advent of German colonialism. Based on extensive documentary evidence Russell chronicles and analyses this uneasy experiment in partnership between the Jamaican Baptists and the Baptist Missionary Society. Curiously, despite being published in a series on black perspectives in history, there is little discussion of the effectiveness of, or African attitudes to, black West Indian missionaries. The book contains a number of minor errors. The maps are of very poor quality and are extremely difficult to read – the ‘Nineteenth-century map of Africa’ displays the political boundaries of the late 1970s!

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‘*Good and proper men*’. *Lord Palmerston and the bench of bishops*. By Nigel Scotland. Pp. 272 incl. 8 ills. Cambridge: James Clarke, 2000. £40 (cloth). 0 227 67946 6; 0 227 67947 4  
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In his years as prime minister, Lord Palmerston appointed fourteen men to the bench of bishops. He was also able to translate a number of these men to more important sees as they became available (including two to York). Under the influence of his stepson-in-law, the seventh Earl Shaftesbury, Palmerston's episcopal appointees were largely Evangelical and Low Church. By force of numbers, if nothing else, his bishops changed the face of the English episcopate. It was largely Palmerston's bench that would face the difficulties raised by the higher biblical criticism and the *Essays and Reviews* on the one hand and the ritualist revival on the other.

Nigel Scotland's book traces the careers of each of the bishops appointed by Lord Palmerston under the influence of Shaftesbury. In places, *Good and proper men* seems rather like a series of *DNB* entries read back-to-back: the bishops on the importance of more regular confirmations, or on the need to raise clerical stipends; the educational attainments of each appointee, his family background and so on. This concern to describe the activities and merits of each bishop does not allow for any deeper consideration of the issues facing the Established Church at this time. For example, Scotland alludes to the surprisingly sympathetic approach a number of evangelical prelates took to the new female orders (pp. 72–3) and the revival of the office of rural dean and its effect on the rural Church. Both of these topics, and a number of others, could have done with more attention. Instead, they are hurried past on the way to the author's next short subject.

There are a number of flaws in the work. At times Scotland seems unclear on the history of the period outside his own area of interest. It is ludicrous, for

example, to claim that John Henry Newman's 'Second Spring' sermon, delivered in 1852, was the beginning of the so-called Papal Aggression (p. 157). Nor is it entirely fair to claim that the Tractarian view on the doctrine of justification was somehow a return to a 'medieval notion' (p. 120). Twice Scotland quotes a speech of Francis Jeune (later bishop of Peterborough) written in April 1845 with 'Newman's departure to the Church of Rome still fresh in everyone's minds' (pp. 124, 142). Newman did not convert until October of that year. Nor has Scotland been well served by his publisher. The book has been poorly edited, and is unattractive and badly designed. In places, the text comes to within one-eighth of an inch of the bottom of the page and the margins are uniformly narrow. It is also surely not too much to ask that a Cambridge publisher be able to spell the names of colleges in that town correctly. At £40 there can be no excuse for such a sloppy production.

This book will prove useful to any one interested in the character of those bishops appointed during Palmerston's administrations. Scholars seeking fresh arguments or material will have to look elsewhere.

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*Red-hot and righteous. The urban religion of the Salvation Army.* By Diane Winston. Pp. ix + 290 incl. 44 ills. Cambridge, Mass.–London: Harvard University Press, 2000 (first publ. 1999). £11.50 (paper). o 674 86706 8; o 674 00396 9  
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In this book, historian Diane Winston uses the lens of commercial culture to trace the development of the Salvation Army in New York City between 1880 and 1950. Unlike other scholars, who often place the Army at the margins of urban life, Winston portrays a religious movement attuned to its surroundings. Infused with a pragmatic spirit and a postmillennial desire to saturate the secular with the sacred, Salvationists employed aspects of the emerging commercialised metropolis – including slick advertising, parades and theatre – to attract the unsaved. Although such strategies were calculated to win the secular world for Christ, they lost their sectarian edge as the Army courted a wider audience. Respectable outsiders embraced the movement's social work but increasingly rejected its evangelical message. Winston contends that Salvationist leaders, with their need for external funding, responded to these public sentiments by promoting humanitarianism over militant theology. She believes that in the end this kind of cultural accommodation transformed the Salvation Army from sectarian 'evangelical outsider' into quasi-denominational body and 'philanthropic insider' (pp. 193, 249). While the historical argument outlined by Winston has merit, it would have benefited from a broader range of Salvationist primary sources. Winston makes good use of archival material and popular periodicals like *The War Cry*, but she refers only briefly to published Army books (theological, instructional) designed solely for internal consumption. This latter material was often quite sectarian in tone throughout the period in question, and would serve to qualify Winston's overall conclusions.

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