

## Reviews

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*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, XXVII: Politik/Politologie – Publizistik/Presse. Edited by Gerhard Müller. Pp. iv + 807 + pull-out map. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997. DM 394. 3 11 015435 8

The longest article here is on *Preaching* (Predigt), a most difficult theme for church historians amid the individualities and intentions and eccentricities of thousands of minds. It does not wholly avoid the fault of becoming a catalogue of names, and does not quite face the amount of unacknowledged borrowing. But it is a valuable article, best of all by its originality on preaching in the Dark Ages; the Lutheran ideals are well described; the most celebrated of all, the French from Fénelon to Massillon, are so well treated in brief that the reader wants much more; it is hard to think that Tillotson is to be put above Andrewes and Donne and Jeremy Taylor. The next long article is on *Predestination* which is powerful in its various sections and bothers the reader's soul (at the end a treatment of Karl Barth's restatement). The third long article is on *Priest* and *Priesthood* but the historical part, so far as it touches Christianity, is good but unreasonably short. Among the Fathers we have *Prudentius* and *Priscillian* and *Prosper*, in the Middle Ages the *Praemonstratensians* (statistics needed) and a very interesting article on *Pseudonymous works*, which rejects Abelard's autobiography and the letters with Heloise. In the Reformation we have *Pomerania* and *Prussia* – this last imagines that Prussia disappeared for ever in 1945, but it was too strong a cultural and religious tradition over four centuries to vanish at the beck of occupying armies. James Cameron gives us *Presbyterianism*. On liturgical practice there is *Procession*. *Protestantism* is here, and difficult, but repays study. *Prostitution* is disappointing to the historian because it mostly avoids the history of the moral problem inside the Churches. There is a beautiful article, with illustrations, on devotion to the Passion. This ought not to be missed and it might be because (as *Passionsfrömmigkeit*) it is out of alphabetical order at the end of the volume.

SELWYN COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

OWEN CHADWICK

*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 39 – 1996. Edited by Ernst Dassman, Klaus Thraede and Josef Engemann. Pp. 301 incl. 1 fig. + 1 colour pull-out plan, 5 colour plates and 15 black-and-white plates. Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1997. DM 132. 3 402 08130 X; 0075 2541

The 1996 issue of the *Jahrbuch* maintains the same high standard of early Christian historical and archaeological research set by its predecessors.

Particularly welcome is Caroline Bammel's final article, which is devoted to the importance attached in the ancient world to astrology as well as the analogy of the endless progress of the seasons, as aids towards penetrating the mystery of human death. While there was no disagreement as to the finality of death contrasting with the annual renewal of nature, Christian apologists, such as Minucius Felix, pointed to the progress of the individual beyond death towards final Judgement, at which Christians would enjoy bliss while damnation awaited their pagan opponents. This is a fitting reminder of the loss sustained by early Christian scholarship with the premature death of a fine scholar.

The core of the publication, however, lies in Gerhard Wirth's long study of the effects of Constantine's conversion and enthusiastic support of the Church on the future history of the empire. The *Homoóusios* formula adopted at Nicaea was unacceptable in the east, except to Athanasius, because of its Sabellian associations. Its adoption contributed to the gradual but irreversible separation of eastern from western Christendom. Constantius strove throughout the twenty-four years of his reign to find a compromise between the rival interpretations of the faith, an attempt wrecked by Julian's openly declared apostasy in 360, at the moment when his efforts were apparently on the brink of success. Dealing with a later period, Ulrike Koenen relates the appearance of the nails of the True Cross in the Byzantine imperial insignia to Ambrose's sermon *De obitu Theodosii*, in which the bishop sought to guarantee possession of these relics to the imperial house. Christianity would thereby be glorified and the emperors themselves protected.

Among archaeological articles Michael Schmauder dismisses St Nostrianus from the cubiculum in the catacomb of St Gaudiosus in Naples and replaces him with a fifth-century haloed figure of Christ. Heinzgard Brahman concludes from an examination of papyrus fragments in Vienna that in the Coptic Church the Anaphora was usually dedicated to Cyril of Alexandria; though the Anaphora of Athanasius found at Qasr Ibrim in 1964 (see *Jahrbuch* xxx [1987], Plate 3d), should also have been mentioned. A similar examination of a fifth-century fresco in a church at Trani representing the homage of the Magi suggests to Dieter Korol that at that time there already existed a fixed cycle of biblical events to be depicted on the walls of basilicas in the west.

Altogether, this is a useful collection of studies, all in some way increasing knowledge of the early Christian Church and its environment. As usual, the scholarly reviews of recent books adds to the *Jahrbuch's* value. Production and illustrations are of the highest quality.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FRENCH

*Noah's flood. The Genesis story in western thought.* By Norman Cohn. Pp. viii + 154 + frontispiece and 13 colour and 25 black-and-white plates. New Haven—London: Yale University Press, 1996. £19.95. 0 300 06823 9

For several thousand years, since the story first appeared in Genesis, the tale of Noah and the Flood has been told and retold to suit the needs of an ever-

changing western society. Norman Cohn has never been intimidated by large themes and he has chosen now to survey the whole long tale in a small but crisply written survey that begins with its origin in Mesopotamian myth and concludes with present-day fundamentalism. (This is the same man who made his reputation some forty years ago with that classic work, *The pursuit of the millennium*.) The book is pleasantly written with some entertaining illustrations and sufficient annotation to help the student who would like to dig further. It is written from an enlightened secular vantage point, but is not without sympathy for the religious views which have usually surrounded the subject.

The longest part of the book is devoted to the challenges to the story that arose in early modern times, when philosophers and geologists began to discover anomalies in the traditional story. This is ground which has been well covered already by such scholars as D. C. Allen, Ernest Tuveson, Paolo Rossi and Martin Rudwick, all of whom are acknowledged here, but it is nice to have their work summarised so concisely and fitted into a large frame. It means necessarily that arguments and contexts are drastically abridged, so that it is sometimes hard to understand how deep and plausible were the commitments then, and how complicated were the contemporary arguments. In particular, the practical progress of geology and palaeontology is skimmed in favour of more general ideological changes and it is not always easy to make out the connection (if there was any) between the two. On the whole this is the story of scientific progress, for which Cohn makes no apologies, and we are happily spared any Kuhnian reflections about shifting paradigms.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

JOSEPH M. LEVINE

*Philippi, I: Die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas.* By Peter Pilhofer. (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 87.) Pp. xxii + 311 incl. 9 maps. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995. DM 168. 3 16 146479 6; 0582 0286

Peter Pilhofer's substantial study of early imperial Philippi focuses on archaeological and inscriptional evidence and complements the now dated standard works of Collart (1937) and Lemerle (1945). A second volume, comprising an up-to-date catalogue of inscriptions, will follow. Pilhofer's first chapter describes the city and its hinterland; the artisan, commercial and agricultural basis of the city's economy, including purple dyeing; the population, consisting of a Thracian labouring mass dominated by a Graeco-Roman elite, amongst whom Greek culture vied with Roman manners; and the religious scene, dominated by the cult of the Thracian Rider or 'Aulanite Hero', Dionysus, and the Roman Silvanus cult. In his subsequent chapters on Paul's letter to the Philippian church, the account of Paul's visit to Philippi in Acts, Polycarp's letters, and the historical development of the Philippian church into the second century, Pilhofer is principally concerned to exploit his thorough knowledge of the inscriptions. His epigraphic illustration is most successful in his exegesis of Philippians, where he emphasises such cultural features as the competition for honour, ancient reciprocity and patronage. On the puzzle of the *episkopoi* (i. 1),

Pilhofer argues that it is no surprise to find that the Philippian Christians found an unusual title for their leaders. Only the Silvanus-worshippers of Philippi have an *aedilus*; *procuratores* are uniquely found amongst Philippian cult-associations of the Thracian Hero. Citizens celebrated with painful exactitude every office, major and minor, in their stone monuments, from the most detailed inscription of a Roman soldier known thus far to lengthy immortalisings of actors and musicians. It is unsurprising too that Paul highlights an 'account of giving and receiving' (iv. 16) in his letter to a city where public and private benefactions seem to have bound toddlers to enslaving norms of reciprocity from their first steps (*Kinderbeine*, 151). Pilhofer demonstrates that Paul has turned the language of worthy citizenship, common in the inscriptions, to Christian application (i. 27). Pilhofer's work is one-sided, since the full range of literary sources is not taken into account and reference to secondary literature often limited to standard commentaries. He seems unaware of the now well-established and highly relevant comparative approaches to New Testament texts from social anthropology (for example Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey), which form a larger context into which his analysis might be set. Pilhofer's preface suggests that he plans to develop his initial exegetical steps, and we look forward to the expansion of his highly promising approach. He convincingly suggests that the Roman authorities could not but be alarmed at the trans-regional organisation of the Christian churches, with which the pagan religious associations had nothing comparable, and writes of the consequent 'explosiveness' of the Christian use of citizenship language (*Brisanz*, p. 137). Had Paul's imprisonment at the hands of Rome disturbed his addressees, loyal to Rome and ever conscious of the obligations of patronage? If they had, in consequence, temporarily interrupted their financial support (cf. iv. 10–20), their actions as good Roman citizens may have provoked Paul's fierce demand for humility and self-sacrifice, the centre-piece of his letter (ii. 1–18).

UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN

BRIAN J. CAPPER

*The Gospel of Thomas*. By Richard Valantasis. (New Testament Readings.) Pp. xvii + 222. London–New York: Routledge, 1997. £12.99 (paper). 0 415 11621 X; 0 415 11622 8

Of all the Nag Hammadi documents the Gospel of Thomas has excited the most interest. Is there really scope for yet another commentary? The author shows that there is. In contrast to most other editors who have concentrated on the relation between Thomas and the synoptic writings, he begins with a careful comparison between the Nag Hammadi text and the fragmentary Greek texts of Thomas preserved in *Pap. Oxy* 1.654 and 655. These date to about AD 200 and show that far from being an obscure Gnostic document there were by that date at least two divergent traditions of the gospel, to which the Nag Hammadi text added a third. In contrast to those who have suggested an east Syrian origin for the Gospel and that its original language was Aramaic, the author proposes in a useful introduction that the gospel should be read with the Fourth Gospel and Letters of Ignatius to form part of a common theological discourse among Greek-speaking Christians at the turn of the first century, perhaps with the oldest core

of sayings originating in about AD 60–70. The absence of a Passion narrative is to be explained by the gospel's editor seeking to relate the words of the 'living Jesus', urging on his followers a self-knowledge that would lead them to revelation and resurrection. Throughout the Sayings the moral stance of the disciples is preferable to pious acts undertaken with secret unwillingness; hence the paradoxical quality of some of these utterances. Finally, those for whom the gospel has been written form a 'Community of solitaries' open to women as well as men (c.f. Logion 114), suggesting the existence of Christian successors to the sectaries at Q'mran, in Syria in the last decade of the first century.

The author has set out a scheme which makes some sense of the otherwise heterogeneous collection of Sayings attributed to Jesus. One can understand the attraction of the gospel to some Egyptian monks in the mid fourth century. It is, however, difficult to fit all the Sayings into a single pattern of instruction by the 'living Jesus'. Some, such as Logion 23, 'I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and they shall stand as a single one' seem to be derived directly from the Gnostic teacher Basilides, if Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* i.24.6) is to be believed. Gnostic influence on Thomas and *vice-versa* cannot be ignored, and could have received fuller treatment in the author's comments on individual *logia*. None the less he has opened up new perspectives regarding the date and purpose of the Gospel, and his short well-constructed work is to be warmly welcomed.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

W. H. C. FRENCH

*Heretics. The other side of early Christianity.* By Gerd Lüdemann (trans. John Bowden). (Trans. of *Ketzer. Die andere Seite des für hen Christentums*, Stuttgart: Radius, 1995). Pp. xiv + 335. London: SCM Press, 1996. £17.50 (paper).  
0 334 02616 4

Gerd Lüdemann, Professor of New Testament at the University of Göttingen, has established himself as one of the most controversial scholars writing on early Christianity today. Following provocative studies on Paul and on the resurrection of Jesus, he has returned to an area of earlier interest, heresy (his first monograph was on Simon Magus, 'the first Christian heretic'). His concern is to highlight 'the other side of early Christianity', that is, the aspects and dimensions of early Christianity which have been lost to sight in the glow of later orthodoxy. He wants to show curious Christians what their Christianity was really like.

In this exercise he has no time for the idea of the New Testament writings as Holy Scripture, but he remains supremely confident in the historical critical method as classically defined: historiography 'grows out of the object itself and constantly checks whether it is doing justice to the object'; 'it is important to begin with completely clear facts'; 'the autonomy of historical consciousness' (pp. 7, 8, 10). His mentor is Walter Bauer whose *Orthodoxy and heresy in earliest Christianity*, provided insights into the diversity of earliest 'Christianities', and claimed that in some areas 'heresy' preceded 'orthodoxy' and that the New Testament is the collection made by the victorious party within early Christianity's factionalism.

The study starts with the first heresiologists, Irenaeus and Tertullian, who established the picture of heresy as always an attack on a preceding orthodoxy. But in fact, Lüdemann argues, the concept of heresy was introduced by the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem in their opposition to Paul. The earliest Jerusalem church spawned two different kinds of Christianity, a conservatively Jewish movement, and a Greek-speaking movement with latent antinomian tendencies. The former transposes into the Jewish Christians of Justin Martyr and the Jewish Christian heretics of Irenaeus. Thus far Bauer.

The newer work begins with Paul, 'the only heretic of the earliest period' (ch. iv). But what follows is a rather tendentious reconstruction of Paul's conversion, which mixes traditional Lutheran presupposition with a highly speculative reading of Romans vii, and ignores alternative recent discussion. The rest of the chapter is an odd collection of themes (for example, on imminent 'second coming', on women, on love, and a cursory review of Romans ix–xi) which does very little to clarify whether 'heretic' as a historical description could or would have been sustainable.

Chapter v, 'Heresies over the legacy of Paul', is more coherent and cohesive. The argument that 2 Thessalonians was written to attack and replace 1 Thessalonians and yet ended up alongside 1 Thessalonians in the New Testament canon strains credulity. The characterisation of Colossians, as 'left wing Paulinism' opposing Gnosticism, again ignores too much recent discussion. And the conclusion ('there can no longer be any doubt that') the pastoral epistles were written around 140 is asserted with extraordinary panache.

A stimulating treatment of Marcion follows, particularly the emphasis on Marcion's experience of grace (p. 162) and the argument that this, not his doctrine of two Gods, was the starting point of Marcion's thought (pp. 165–6). It is presumably this distinction which enables the author to end the chapter with a call for Marcion not only to be listened to afresh, but to be brought 'home to the church' (p. 167).

An anodyne description of the history of the Apostles' Creed ends with a dismissive conclusion of its relevance for today (pp. 190–2), where Lüdemann's confidence as to what his personal integrity demands is matched only by his conviction that Christian identity demands that the gap in the creed (between Jesus' birth and death) must be filled.

A chapter on the origin of the New Testament canon merely warms up well-established views on the development of the canon, apparently on the assumption that the recognition of these writings as canonical was the first time they exercised canonical authority.

In the end Lüdemann stands as an unapologetic liberal of the old school. In a moving personal statement he confesses: 'For me he (Jesus) is not the Son of God to whom I pray, but the Messiah who moves me to do the same sort of thing as he did and who in this way can become the basis for my life' (p. 212). And in his epilogue he asserts that 'as the first Christian, Jesus remains the criterion for what is Christian in the Bible, in history and in the present' (p. 219).

But the opportunity to re-examine the old liberal question as to the essence of Christianity, or to analyse the concept of heresy and its appropriateness (or otherwise) has been lost. And having cut himself off so completely from traditional Christianity, it remains unclear for whom Lüdemann is speaking and

whether this restatement of views so familiar 100 years ago can still speak to modern generations despite all that has happened in the intervening century.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

JAMES D. G. DUNN

*Italia ascetica atque monastica. Das Asketen-und Mönchtum in Italien von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Langobarden (ca. 150/250–604).* 2 vols. By Georg Jenal. (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 39, I, II.) Pp. xxiii + 471; xiii + 472–1026. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1995. DM 198; DM 238; DM 436 (set). 3 7772 9409 8; 3 7772 9410 1; 3 7772 9407 1 (set)

For anyone familiar with Friedrich Prinz's classic *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich*, the appearance of the two volumes of Jenal's *Italia ascetica atque monastica* looks reassuringly familiar – perhaps hardly surprising as Prinz is the general editor of the series in which they appear. Covering the period from the second century to the end of the pontificate of Gregory I (590–604), Jenal attempts not just a topographical and prosopographical study of the foundations and founders involved, but also to analyse the types of community set up, the rules written for or used in these communities and to outline some important developments – to take only a few examples, the appearance of female asceticism, the ramifications of the Origenist controversy, the impact of imperial or conciliar legislation. Furnished with several indices, a lengthy bibliography (though not one always completely up-to-date on relevant items in English) and a number of maps, this is a massive and useful work. While English-speaking readers are hardly likely to turn to it first for its account of the Origenist debate or its sections on Jerome and Melania they would do well to try those on Rufinus and particularly on Gregory I, where Jenal sensibly refuses to exaggerate the extent of Gregory's ambitions for monasticism within the Church at large. Anyone seeking to trace the history of an individual monastery or its founder will also be amply rewarded thanks to Jenal's solid and painstaking scholarship. Similarly, the reader seeking to achieve some understanding of patterns of foundation in the period in question will find much help here, not just from the text but in the maps at the end of the work. One of the most interesting features to emerge from this book is the contrast between the picture of Italian monasticism given in the letters of Gregory I and the very different picture which emerges from the *Dialogues*. Jenal tends towards the opinion that the *Dialogues* give a romanticised view of Italian monasticism in the sixth century, an opinion amply justified by two of his maps. One plots the monastic landscape to emerge from Gregory's correspondence, while the other gives its equivalent drawn from the *Dialogues*. The lack of overlap between the two should make historians sit up and take notice (though those who have attempted to discount Francis Clark's questioning of the *Dialogues*' authenticity will probably not). Here and elsewhere, notably in his sections on monastic rules, one wishes that Jenal had gone even further. It is very difficult, for example, to tell from his treatment of the *Rule of the Master* and the *Rule of Benedict* (where he accepts de Vogüé's conclusions on the order in which they were written without citing any major criticisms of his work) what the real differences between them are. One of the most important of these, the contrast between their attitudes to manual labour, does emerge elsewhere, but Jenal is content to repeat the

statement of the *Rule of the Master* that its monks should avoid agricultural labour as a distraction from prayer. Given that the same *Rule* also appoints a *conductor* to run its monastery's estates, there is more than a suggestion here of the sort of large-scale landed enterprise which Jenal, elsewhere in the work, rightly places in the post-604 period. It is a pity that the scale of his undertaking means that he stops short of making more detailed comparisons between Benedict, the Master and Irish-influenced and Lombard monasticism, comparisons which would not only help trace the trajectory of monastic development more clearly, but also help point up his analysis of Gregory I. Nevertheless, these highly impressive volumes undoubtedly represent a major contribution to the study of ascetic and monastic history and will be much consulted for years to come.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

MARILYN DUNN

*Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie. Bonn 22.–28. September 1991.* 2 vols. Edited by Ernst Dassmann and Josef Engemann. (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 52. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 20, 1 and 20, 2.) Pp. xciii+616 incl. numerous ills+28 plates; 617–1308 incl. numerous ills+96 plates. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto de Archaeologia Cristiana/Münster: Aschendorff, 1995. DM 410. 3 402 08546 1

The international conferences devoted to an aspect of Christian archaeology which now take place every four years demonstrate the vitality of the subject, particularly in continental Europe. The twelfth conference which was held in Bonn in 1991, with pilgrims and pilgrimages as the main theme, was no exception. Considering the organisation needed to assemble and prepare for publication nearly one hundred major and lesser contributions accompanied by some seven hundred illustrations, the four-year interval between conference and publication has been reasonable. The resulting two enormous volumes will remain a monument to scholarship in the field of early Christian studies.

After what must have seemed an endless procession of the great and the good – forty-two out of ninety-three pages of introduction are occupied by their speeches – part 1 of the proceedings contains the main themes relating to pilgrimage in late antiquity. Why did Christians go on pilgrimages, what were the main sites that attracted them, how were they housed when they arrived, what was the liturgy associated with the saint, and how much access did pilgrims have to his or her shrines? Finally, what benefits did they hope to gain, and what gifts did they bring to honour the saint; such were the questions for debate. Jerusalem, as one would expect, was the magnet, but Rome with its catacombs and churches, Cimitile, the shrine of St Felix near Nola, monastic sites in Palestine and Syria and the sanctuary of St Menas near Alexandria were also favoured centres. Recent archaeological work has resulted in new pilgrimage centres being discovered in Greece and the Balkans too.

In the fifth and sixth centuries pilgrimages expressed popular religion in the east Roman empire. It was not always so. As Josef Engemann (president of the conference) pointed out in a scholarly paper on 'Jerusalem of the pilgrim; the discovery of the Cross and pilgrimages', theologians of the standing of Gregory



of Nyssa and John Chrysostom (not to mention Eusebius of Caesarea) deplored pilgrimages, as if God were to be found more active in one place rather than another (Gregory, *ep.* ii). Christian pilgrimages, indeed, were the successors of pagan and Jewish pilgrimages. The momentum was relatively slow.

A similar theme had been taken up by Cyril Mango in an opening address to the conference on the pilgrim's motivation – one of the very few British contributions. It was only after *c.* 350 that Jerusalem was promoted as a pilgrimage-centre by Cyril, its celebrated bishop (349–86), though the great Constantinian basilica on the presumed sites of Golgotha and the Ascension had existed for the previous twenty-five years. In addition, down to the end of the century a pilgrimage to the Holy Places could be undertaken only by the wealthy, such as the two Melanias, while Jerusalem itself enjoyed a mixed reputation where disorder, promiscuity and drunkenness reigned alongside piety and devotion (Jerome, *ep.* lviii.4). The upsurge of popular pilgrimage came with the establishment of famous centres in the fifth century, such as St George at Lydda, St Simeon Stylites, St Thecla and St Theodore of Tarsus, whose shrines took over the healing and problem-solving activities of pagan predecessors.

These opening lectures set the tone for the conference. The healing powers of a bronze statue found at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi) representing in pagan times Aesculapius and in Christian, Christ healing a woman, is the subject of an interesting short paper by Franco Beatrice. Pierre Maraval gives an imaginative description of a pilgrim's long itinerary from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai, and thence north through Egyptian monastic sites back to Jerusalem. For Italy, Gisella Wataghin and Letitia Ermini describe the numerous sites associated with martyrs and attracting pilgrims in Italy, while Pasquale Castellana studies the lodgings provided at these centres, and Werner Eck records graffiti left at them.

Italy, of course, meant Cimitile. Victor Saxer, as usual well-informed and balanced, describes how the Christian monuments at Cimitile emerged from their origins in a second-century pagan cemetery, to a site of pilgrimage visited by Pope Damasus (366–84) in the 370s and enlarged with a new church by Paulinus of Nola during his long stay at the site from 395 until his death in 431. Useful details are added by Dieter Korol and Anna Gattiglia. Considerable though Paulinus' embellishments and additions had been to Felix's shrine, its full development took place in the sixth century when costly new mosaics were added in the apses of the basilicas dedicated to the saint.

These two papers appear in part II of the proceedings. This section, as might be expected, concentrates on new discoveries and local sites. Thus, Gallic pilgrimage sites are described by Elzbieta Dabrowska. Carolyn Snively records some apsidal crypts, possible pilgrimage centres in Macedonia; Varbinka Naydenova and Mitko Madjarov record some new Thracian discoveries, and Asher Ovadiah suggests Deir el-Adra as the resting place of the Holy Family on the Flight to Egypt. Many other worthwhile papers, especially those relating to Syrian sites, cannot be discussed here.

Egypt itself provides material for some important studies, Caecilia Witheger-Fluck traces the development of Saqqara from small community into a great pilgrimage centre, from the reign of Zeno (474–91) onwards, and Elzbieta Markoweicka describes how the monastic hermitages at Kellia in the Wadi Natrun grew progressively into vast clusters of monastic cells with *martyria*, relics

and oratories that attracted hosts of pilgrims. These monasteries have also produced some of the finest examples of Coptic art. The shrine of St Menas at Abu Mina, however, was Egypt's most important centre of international pilgrimage. Excavations carried out there since 1982 enable Jacek Koscink and Peter Grossmann to follow the main phases in the life of a late antique city that became a magnet for pilgrims from every part of the Mediterranean and survived at least to the eleventh century. One landmark in its changing history was what appears to have been the sudden and permanent displacement of Greek by Coptic predominance at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt between 639 and 642. This was indicated to the excavators by the total cessation of Greek ostrakia receipts relating to the wine harvest after the fourteenth Indiction that ended on 1 September 641.

By the end of these two volumes nearly everything connected with pilgrims and pilgrimages in late antiquity is likely to have been said. Even so, there are some significant omissions. A minor lapse is the failure of Charalambos Bakirtzis to refer to the flourishing cult of St Demetrius in Monophysite Nubia in his account of the cult of that saint in the early Middle Ages. More serious is the almost total neglect of North Africa and its important contribution to the pilgrim cult both there and in the western Mediterranean. Jurgen Christern's excavations at Tebessa (Theveste) identified the great basilica complex there as a pilgrimage centre and not a Byzantine monastery as previously thought. The site is mentioned by Beat Brenk in her scholarly account of the means of access available to pilgrims visiting some of the principal shrines of Christendom. This could have provoked comparisons with the contemporary and perhaps rival site of Timgad (Thamugadi) where, Augustine claims (*Contra litteras Petiliani* ii.23.53), that the Donatist bishop Optatus received the plaudits of crowds who visited his cathedral each year in the decade 388–98. The Catholics had their own pilgrim centre in honour of St Salsa at Tipasa on the Algerian coast, but pilgrimage was of the essence of Donatism. Southern Numidia was alive with chapels housing the shrines of martyrs visited, Tyconius states in *c.* 380, by Circumcellions 'for the sake of their souls'. Wealthier members of the Church travelled to bring back 'the wood of the Cross' from the Holy Land, as stated on an inscription dated to 359. Others would worship at the tomb of the martyr-bishop Marculus at Vegesela (Ksar el Kelb) in central Algeria. Nothing illustrates better than the omission of this entire area of study the loss to scholarship of the inaccessibility of large parts of the Algerian countryside to scholarly research since 1940.

Much as this loss may be felt, nothing should diminish the value of these proceedings. They provide not only discussion of practically every aspect of pilgrimage in late antiquity but also accounts of many new excavations, and new sites relative to martyrs and pilgrims explored in the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. An enormous amount is being accomplished, enriching our knowledge of the nature of early Christianity and its mission. Faultless production and the finest presentation of plans and illustrations justify every praise to editors and contributors alike.

*La christianisation des campagnes. Actes du colloque du CIHEC (25–27 août 1994)*. 2 vols.

Edited by J.-P. Massaut and M. E. Henneau. (Institut Historique Belge de Rome, Bibliothèque, 38, 39.) Pp. 340 incl. 10 ills; 341–628. Brussels–Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1996. 90 74461 17 4; 0073 8522

The two editors of the acts of this colloquium, which took place as long ago as August 1994, say at the outset that their topic is difficult, not to say equivocal. It ranges over virtually two millenia; the contributors employ a variety of techniques and exploit varied and numerous sources ranging from archaeological excavation to statistical analysis. It is interesting and stimulating to see the variety of contributors and methods and to review the changing lights thrown on the history of the Church in different periods.

It is customary in such colloquia to ‘set the scene’ by a series of rapports and to follow these up with short accounts of individual pieces of work, and readers will find both types of contribution of value. P. F. Beatrice has a particularly useful study of the progress of research into the countryside in late antiquity, where a number of papers and full-length studies (by William Friend, Peter Brown and Robert Marcus among others) make it clear that at this early stage inter-disciplinary collaboration is essential. Martine de Reu looked with insight at the mechanism of mission, the start of the whole process as it were, by Boniface and Willibald. Similar rapports were read by R. Gibson on the Christianisation of the countryside in western Europe in the nineteenth century, which ranged widely from Ireland to France, while M. Lagrée (*‘La christianisation au temps de déclin’*) concentrated on sociological studies made in the present century in France and Germany.

This is followed by a series of miscellaneous papers. They treat the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic monastic role in evangelisation, the emergence of a peasant religion as distinct from that of the clerics, Polish ecclesiastical historical geography, the role of episcopal visitation and medieval miracle collections in modifying the nature of worship. There are progress reports on the many detailed local studies, especially of the place of religious orders in the medieval Church in central Europe. There is one long and important iconographical study of the fifteenth-century Italian cult of St Bovo and an equally important study evaluating the records of pastoral visitation as evidence of the process of Christianisation in the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries.

The first whispers of Counter-Reformation are dealt with in a valuable and wide-ranging rapport by L. Châtellier (*‘Les campagnes européennes au temps de la réforme catholique’*) which examines visitations, pilgrimages, the role of preaching, rebuilding of churches and the reform of church landholding. There are several detailed studies of Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands and Belgium, together with studies of the place of the educational activity of religious orders and of the devotion of the Rosary. Rodney Ambler and M. F. Snape look at Baptist developments in Lincolnshire in the seventeenth century and the development of an Anglican parish of the northern industrial belt (Whalley), and finally P. Majérus examines the nineteenth-century Protestant missions to the west of Ireland.

In these two volumes much valuable light is shed on the progress and techniques of research, and useful bibliographical studies are provided. One is nevertheless not certain of the purpose of the colloquia. Are they intended to

provide a complete survey of the state of knowledge and research? Do they attempt to cover the whole field? If so, why is the whole of eastern (non-Roman, that is) Europe excluded?

THIMBLEBY

DOROTHY M. OWEN

*Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin.* By Gilbert Dagron. (Bibliothèque des histoires.) Pp. 435 incl. 6 figs. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1996. Fr. 180 2 07 074204 0

Dagron's intellectually lively and readable book confirms his high status among practising Byzantinists. To talk in terms of a dichotomy of 'Church' and 'State' is anachronistic for any part of medieval Christendom – all power needs to be sacralised, above all royal power – but such a model of dichotomy means least in Byzantium, where through to the beginning of the thirteenth century the concept of the priest-emperor was fundamental. The book's main point is that the Byzantine concept was in no way an oriental aberration, as a line of thought with its roots in nineteenth-century polemics still likes to believe, but should count as an entirely normal and orthodox aspect of post-Constantinian Christianity. As an insight into the early medieval world, Dagron's argument ranks with Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds's demonstration in *God's caliph: religious authority in the first centuries of Islam* (Cambridge 1986) that the combination of religious authority and political leadership in caliphal hands was not a Shi'ite deviation, but a concept with which Islam began.

By comparison with the western concept of the 'two powers', especially as formulated by twelfth-century canon lawyers, Byzantine thinking in this field appears distinctly vague, but as Dagron emphasises, this is of the nature of Byzantine intellectual culture which was fundamentally a construct of significant narratives rather than coherent theory. In this case the key narratives are those of Constantine and most importantly those of the Old Testament kings, Saul, David, Solomon and Melchizedek. It is of the essence of such narratives that their implications are frequently imprecise and ambivalent, but Dagron's point is that such lack of resolution was fruitful. The emperor was in some sense a priest, but also a layman. The ambivalence of the emperor's status was acted out when he took up his unique position alongside the patriarch inside the sanctuary. What one made of the symbolism depended upon what story one wished to tell. Thus the emperor could be a priest, but at the same time not a priest; a 'New David' mediating with God for his people, as well as a sinner like any other requiring the mediation of the Church to achieve salvation.

The end for the Byzantine priest-emperor came shortly after the disaster of 1204 when Theodore Laskaris was left with no source of effective legitimacy other than patriarchal anointing. Emperors were from this point on no longer sanctified by their function, but only by means of the patriarch who alone could exercise the power of the Holy Spirit. The emperor's disciplinary authority over the Church had become merely a delegated task.

Dagron sees another caesura in the wake of Iconoclasm, and he reads the *De ceremoniis*'s accounts of imperial coronations and ceremonial processions from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia, not as a crystallisation of traditional practice, but

as the formulation of a new equilibrium. He may well be right, and the substantial section he gives to the reigns of Basil I, Leo VI and Constantine VII is persuasive and important, but as so often at the heart of the problem is the lack of reliable information for the beliefs and practices of the Iconoclast regimes. Were Basil and his heirs building anew, or were they simply continuing the practice of their Iconoclast predecessors now largely hidden to us by veils of Iconodule misinformation?

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MARK WHITTOW

*Das Glaubensbekenntnis von Nizäa–Konstantinopel. Historische und Theologische Grundlagen.* By Reinhard Staats. Pp. xv + 363. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996. DM 78. 3 534 01840 0

The great ecumenical statement of Christian doctrine, commonly called ‘the Nicene creed’, is of course the revision of the original Creed of Nicaea of 325, as authorised and imposed at the Council of Constantinople in 381. Reinhard Staats explores its origin, use and prospects in a study whose rather complex articulation reflects his own wide-ranging interests which extend from the details of doctrinal history to the actualities of Christian worship, mission and ecumenical reunion. Two rather slight introductory chapters relate this Creed, first to its subsequent use in the German Churches, and then more widely to eastern and recent South American formulations. A much more massive chapter iii (pp. 34–120) details the story of the council of 381, with sketches of the fiercely anti-Arian rigorist Emperor Theodosius and five leading theologians whose work contributed to the council. A short chapter iv reviews the place of dogmatic confession in the Church’s earlier life, with a brief sketch of the Arian controversy. Chapter v then takes up the ‘literary history’ of the Constantinople text from the earliest Christian confessions through Nicaea (325), to the debated historical antecedents of the 381 formula. Chapter vi pursues the history down to the Great Schism, showing the disruptive role of the western insertion ‘Filioque’. Chapter vii gives the author’s own assessment of the theological value of the Creed clause by clause; chapter viii describes its use in recent discussion aiming at ecumenical reunion. ‘Ten theses’ are presented as a conclusion, and there is a full bibliography, with indices of persons and of biblical texts.

There is much to applaud in these pages. I myself warmly welcome the declaration (p. 4) that a statement professing to set out divine mysteries should not lay claim to complete accepted rationality. Indeed I could suggest that Cappadocian theology, which contributed so largely to the Council’s formulation, was bedevilled by over-confident rationalistic ambitions; so particularly Gregory of Nyssa, whom Staats sees as the chief intellectual architect of 381. Staats himself admits that the Creed had notable deficiencies (‘Defizite’). But his scholarship is as genuine as his breadth of sympathy. I have noticed only one slip. It is generally thought that Origen was opposed to the doctrine of one single *ousia* in Father and Son, and so to the ‘*homoousion*’, ‘of one substance’, the keyword of 325. I do not myself think that Origen was rigidly consistent; he could, occasionally, declare the term defensible. So I am warmly inclined towards Staats’s opinion (p. 138) that he approximates to the term. Unfortunately the text he quotes, *De oratione*

15.1 [*sic*], points the opposite way. The supposition 'If... the Son is different from the Father in *ousia* and *hypokeimenon*' does not lead to absurd consequences, which Staats would require, but to three alternative suggestions, of which one is recommended.

My own recommendation, none the less, is 'read the book'.

HADDENHAM,  
CAMBRIDGESHIRE

CHRISTOPHER STEAD

*Egeria, Itinerarium, Reisebericht. Mit auszügen aus Petrus Diaconus, De locis sanctis, Die heiligen Stätten.* Edited and translated by George Röwekamp. (Fontes Christiani, 20.) Pp. 406. Freiburg: Herder, 1995. DM 70 (cloth), DM 60 (paper). 0 451 22243 4; 3 451 22143 8

Since its first publication in 1887, the *Itinerarium Egeriae* has generated numerous editions and supporting bibliography. This latest offering provides Latin text and annotated German translation, together with a generous introduction. Besides the surviving portion of Egeria's account of her pilgrimage and the liturgy which she witnessed in Jerusalem, the editor also conveniently includes the relevant sections of the twelfth-century work of Peter the Deacon on the holy places which bear witness to lost parts of Egeria's narrative. Röwekamp's text largely reproduces that already available in the 1965 *Corpus Christianorum* edition of Franchescini and Weber. In his introduction readers will find useful sections providing a compact historical summary of Egeria's journey, background on fourth-century Palestine, discussion of the topography of Jerusalem's holy places and of its liturgy, and (unusually in editions of *It. Eg.*) a succinct characterisation of the 'theology' underpinning her pious travels and the worship in which she participated. There are some refinements to recent *communis opinio*: on the date of the pilgrimage, for example, while not calling into question the now standard acceptance of a late fourth-century setting. Röwekamp pronounces Devos's widely-accepted chronology specifying the years 381–4 as no more than 'nicht unmöglich', having disposed of the precision of some of his arguments; and the *ecclesia elegans* on the Mount of Olives mentioned by Egeria in connection with the liturgy of Maundy Thursday night is convincingly identified as the Constantinian Eleona basilica close by the summit, and not (as commonly held) the lower church of Gethsemane. This new edition will by no means supersede Pierre Maraval's *Sources Chrétiennes* volume of 1982, which, unlike this, records textual variants and acknowledges (besides Franchescini and Weber) the 1960 edition of O. Prinz, a work studiously ignored by Röwekamp. Maraval also has more information to offer on the topographical details of Egeria's journey beyond the immediate environs of Jerusalem, although Röwekamp has the advantage in his fuller coverage of the liturgical chapters. Non-Latinists (and, for that matter, non-Germanists) may still have recourse to the invaluable miscellany of material, including English translation, available in John Wilkinson's *Egeria travels* (rev. edn 1981).

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

E. D. HUNT

*Philosophie im Mittelalter. Entwicklungslinien und Paradigmen.* Edited by Jan. P. Beckmann, Ludger Honnefelder, Gangolf Schrimpf and Georg Wieland. Pp. xi + 476. Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1996. DM 49.80. 3 7873 1295 1

*Medieval foundations of the western intellectual tradition, 400–1400.* By Marcia L. Colish. (The Yale Intellectual History of the West.) Pp. xii + 388 + 21 ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1997. £30. 0 300 07142 6

Although they both have broad titles, these are two books of very different kinds. *Philosophie im Mittelalter* is (the second edition of) a *Festschrift* for Wolfgang Kluxen, and the title is a catch-all for a collection of specialised articles, most of them on twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Latin philosophy, or on the links between the thought of this period and modern philosophy. Especially interesting are Ludwig Hödl's study of the double-truth theory, Lambertus de Rijck on Ockham as an anti-metaphysician and Albert Zimmermann's examination of Leibniz and the ontological argument. There are also three broader discussions of the nature of medieval philosophy: a clear and well-documented discussion of scholasticism by Gangolf Shrimpf, a characteristically argumentative piece by Fernand van Steenberghe, and an article on medieval metaphysics by Ludger Honnefelder which provides an excellent introduction to his important, but difficult, work on this subject.

*Medieval foundations of the western intellectual tradition* is, by contrast, a very broad survey of medieval intellectual history, presumably intended for beginners and general readers. The approach is that of the encyclopaedic dictionary. Each writer or thinker is given a separate treatment, but instead of these discussions being made into discrete dictionary entries and arranged alphabetically, they are linked together and arranged in an order based partly on subject, partly on chronology. Where this book differs from most dictionaries is in being the work of a single author, Marcia Colish. Colish brings a consistency and balance which few multi-authored volumes achieve. She writes with sober fluency, cramming each page with information. Hardly a sentence is unclear, and none is pretentious. More surprisingly for a single author, Colish scores highly for breadth and comprehensiveness. It is hard for her reader not to be struck by the variety and richness of medieval culture, and of Colish's interests in it. She ranges intrepidly from Old Norse sagas to Byzantine epics and Italian *novelle*, from monastic rules and mystical tracts to logical and scientific treatises. No obviously important areas are omitted from her treatment of Latin Christian culture, though grammar and rhetoric are very sketchily treated, and art and architecture are relegated almost entirely from the text to a set of plates. Colish also considers Byzantine, Jewish and Arab civilization, though here there are big gaps: nothing, for instance, on Rashi and Jewish biblical exegesis or on Jewish philosophy after Maimonides. Still, these sections at least make it clear that the western medieval world was wider than Latin Christendom.

Single authorship has, however, its drawbacks. Colish's discussions contain errors which individual specialists would have surely avoided. For example, she presents (p. 73) John Scottus Eriugena as a defender of Gottschalk in the ninth-century controversy on predestination, whereas in fact John's treatise is an outspoken attack on Gottschalk and his views. She misleadingly contrasts (pp. 168, 276) Aristotelian syllogistic with the 'purely formal' logic developed in the Middle Ages (the contrast should be between two types of formal logic – the term

logic of syllogisms, and the propositional logic which medieval logicians also elaborated). And her remarks on Aquinas and the soul are particularly disconcerting. Aquinas is well known for having insisted that human beings each have just one substantial form – the intellective soul; and for having argued that, although this is the form of the body, it is also something in its own right, which survives after death apart from the body. Colish, however, makes Aquinas (p. 297) hold that the soul which is the substantial form of the body ‘dies with the body’ and that personal immortality is assured by a second form ‘integral to human nature’, the ‘active form’. Colish’s weaknesses are even more apparent when she treats literature. She is good at summarising complicated plots (as, for instance, that of the *Roman de la rose*), but seems to have only a sketchy knowledge of important areas such as Middle English poetry. Her account of Chaucer does not even mention *Troilus and Criseyde*, and she seems not to have read *Piers Plowman*, although she devotes two paragraphs to the poem, since she wrongly calls Piers Plowman ‘the speaker’ in the first vision, and goes on to say that the succeeding visions outline ‘progressive moral remedies’ for ‘egotism and disharmony’ (p. 206) – a description belied both by the complex, circular structure of the poem, and its range of theological as well as moral subject-matter.

More disappointing than these occasional slips is Colish’s failure to compensate for them by taking advantage of more of the opportunities which single authorship affords. She does not bring the personal enthusiasms which would show her readers why the intellectual life of the Middle Ages is worth studying. Her workmanlike discussions of *Beowulf* or the *Commedia divina*, for instance, give no idea of why these poems have continued to be regarded as masterpieces of their respective literatures. Her summaries of the ideas of Aquinas or Duns Scotus do nothing to show the power of argument which makes these men great philosophers. Nor does Colish have any larger thesis or overall view of interconnections and continuities which would make her whole discussion more than the sum of its various parts. The bold claim suggested by the book’s title – that the foundations of the western intellectual tradition are indeed medieval – is left unexplored. Colish has provided little more than an inventory – thorough, dry and marred by inaccuracies which, though quite rare, seriously limit the work’s usefulness as a tool for reference.

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CAMBRIDGE

JOHN MARENBN

*Art and AntiChrist in medieval Europe.* By Rosemary Muir Wright. Pp. xii + 256 incl.  
65 figs. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995. £40. 0 7190  
4158 9

This is an exercise in the integration of art history with history in general. Rosemary Wright chooses one specific medieval image – that of AntiChrist represented as a human figure – and seeks to connect this particular way of portraying AntiChrist with the historical circumstances which conditioned it; ‘The imagery has to be seen as a set of visual responses to historical or social pressures’ (p. 2). An introduction provides us with a shortened version of the *Apocalypse* (the chief biblical basis for the image of AntiChrist), and some



indication of the views of major commentators upon this and related books of the Bible, beginning with Ticonius. Six further chapters take us successively through the Spanish 'Beatus' tradition of Apocalypse manuscripts, some of the illustrated encyclopaedias of the twelfth century, the period of the *Bibles moralisées*, the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, and the pictorial accompaniments to later 'adventure narratives' (such as the *Romance of Alexander*). The Whore of Babylon is given a section to herself at the end. There are sixty-five somewhat basic reproductions of manuscript illustrations (none of them, alas, in colour). The whole has been well proof-read, has an adequate bibliography, general index and index of biblical references. One can only applaud the aim behind this enterprise. It is, however, a dreadfully ambitious aim to realise within a single volume, even, or rather especially, when the volume (p. xii) has a student audience principally in mind. It has not been realised here. If it is to interest historians, such an enquiry must penetrate beyond chronology and the linear descent of prototype images, to investigate the spiritual, political and, above all, penitential contexts of specific works, and the composition of the audiences addressed. The range of material surveyed has allowed only superficial, and necessarily fallible, attempts at such investigation. This is a brave effort and contains much of interest (in the pages on Lambert of St Omer, for instance); but it tries to do too much. It bears the marks of today's need to produce a book quickly, and contains many of the defects both of style and of analysis that that need can bring in its train. It thus falls short of making the kind of art-historical contribution to history we so eagerly await.

UNIVERSITY OF HULL

VALERIE I. J. FLINT

*Marie. Le culte de la vierge dans la société médiévale.* Edited by Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo and Daniel Russo (with preface by Georges Duby). Pp. vi + 625 incl. numerous ills. Paris: Beauchesne, 1996. Fr. 520. 2 7010 1338 0

Le recueil de travaux réuni par Dominique Iogna-Prat, Eric Palazzo et Daniel Russo, dont l'acronyme 'Georges Rupalió' signe l'introduction et inscrit ce livre à l'école intellectuelle de Georges Duby, marque une étape fondamentale dans le renouvellement de l'approche historique des études mariales. Pour la première fois depuis 1949 (date de parution de la synthèse *Maria* éditée chez Beauchesne), cet ouvrage magistral et capital fait enfin le point sur la recherche historique en matière de culte marial. Sa réussite résulte autant de la qualité de l'ensemble des contributions que de la volonté des éditeurs du volume de recadrer dans une problématique nouvelle l'histoire du culte marial au Moyen-Age. En dehors de toute apologétique si caractéristique de la production littéraire en ce domaine, ce livre tente en effet de cerner la construction de la figure de la Vierge Marie selon les moments forts qui jalonnent la mise en place du culte marial. Mais il cherche aussi à redonner à cette construction toute la plasticité symbolique qui la caractérise sur le plan historique, iconographique, liturgique, ecclésiologique et dévotionnel. Les sept thématiques choisies comme titre générique pour servir de plan au regroupement des différentes études explicitent clairement le but poursuivi par les auteurs: 'L'émergence de la figure de la Vierge dans l'Occident latin (IXe-XIe siècles)'; 'Marie, figure d'ordre'; 'Marie en représentations';

‘Marie, l’espace ecclésial et l’espace liturgique’; ‘Marie dans le texte’; ‘Marie et les groupes à risque’; ‘Miraculeuse Marie’.

Le phénomène d’individualisation de la figure mariale, dont l’analyse ouvre la première thématique du recueil, épouse les moments forts de la construction du culte marial au cours du haut-Moyen-Age. L’étude stimulante de Eric Palazzo et Anne-Katrin Johansson sur l’histoire des fêtes de la Vierge en Occident entre le ve et le xie siècle montre que cette émergence est liée à l’élaboration cohérente du cycle marial de l’année liturgique puis à son affinement marquant après 850. La fine analyse de Claire Maître dessine la même chronologie en soulignant les relations entre les fêtes mariales et les offices des vierges. Choissant de cerner toute la complexité de ce culte marial sous le règne de Charles le Chauve, Dominique Iogna-Prat démontre l’importance prise par le culte liturgique et la dévotion mariale à l’époque carolingienne. L’affirmation de la royauté de la Vierge sous le règne de Charles le Chauve fonde une théologie du pouvoir royal qui concourt également à inscrire la figure mariale dans le même champ métaphorique que l’Eglise (corps du Christ, Épouse, Mère etc.). Parallèlement, la Vierge devient le pivot d’un système de parenté spirituelle qui ouvre la voie à la constitution de la communauté des fidèles en ‘famille’ dont Marie est désignée comme la ‘Mère’. Cet ordre chrétien de la parenté est traduit dans l’iconographie de l’arbre de Jessé magistralement analysée par Anita Guerreau-Jalabert. Le modèle marial qui a aussi soutenu la définition d’un modèle féminin de souveraineté particulièrement au sein de l’Empire ottonien, ainsi que le décrit Patrick Corbet, participe à l’ordonnancement du pouvoir à la fin du xe siècle. Au terme de cette évolution vers le milieu du xie siècle, la Vierge ‘se spatiale comme patronne d’innombrables lieux de culte et sous la forme d’une iconographie architecturée’ (p. 7). Le rôle de la Vierge dans l’élaboration d’un espace ecclésial au Haut Moyen-Age est subtilement mis en évidence par Christian Sapin et Eric Palazzo dans leurs analyses respectives sur les rotondes mariales et les nouvelles formes architecturales des ix<sup>e</sup>-xi<sup>e</sup>. La synthèse magistrale de plus d’une centaine de pages effectuée par Daniel Russo sur les représentations mariales dans l’art d’Occident vient appuyer leurs conclusions sur un autre plan. Sa relecture magistrale et impressionnante de l’iconographie mariale démontre que le type de la Vierge en buste ou trônant avec son fils (hérités du modèle de l’Hodigitria et de l’Elousea byzantines) se généralise dans l’iconographie chrétienne à partir de la Réforme grégorienne. La figure mariale étroitement subordonnée à la figure du Christ se hisse alors au premier rang du panthéon chrétien tandis que s’institue une norme dans sa représentation iconographique. En même temps qu’elle vient occuper le sommet de la hiérarchie religieuse, la Vierge Marie permet donc aussi le rassemblement des différentes communautés civiques. Elle sert également de norme politique jusqu’au milieu du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle au moment où s’effectue une fracture dans ce système de représentation dominant qui se marque par une fragmentation accrue de l’iconographie. Après 1350, la ‘synthèse mariale’ se défait. Ce point explique encore, selon les éditeurs du volume, que l’utilisation maximale de la Vierge contre les déviances et les hérésies dans les controverses ne s’avère vraiment opératoire qu’entre le xie et le début du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle. L’analyse pénétrante de Hedwig Röckelein sur l’utilisation du culte marial dans le développement de l’antisémitisme en Allemagne en montre cependant encore toute la force opératoire à la fin du Moyen-Age. La mise en oeuvre de la

figure mariale fut aussi déterminante dans la lutte menée contre les cathares par l'Eglise selon l'étude qu'en fait Katharin Utz Tresp d'après le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier. Les analyses qui tendent à présenter le rôle de la Vierge dans différents contextes textuels (récits apocryphes, pièces de théâtre, poèmes mystiques, écrits exégétiques etc.) montrent aussi combien se sont cristallisées sur le personnage de la Vierge nombre de polémiques doctrinales. La mise au point d'Hélène Toubert sur la traduction iconographique des évangiles apocryphes (axée sur l'épisode des sages-femmes) développe cette thématique à travers l'argumentation développée en faveur ou à l'encontre de la virginité de Marie. Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq se place dans la même optique pour effectuer une étude originale de la pièce de Philippe de Mézières sur la Présentation de Marie au Temple présentée à Avignon en 1372. L'analyse de Simon C. Mimouni sur les *Transitus Mariae* participe de la même approche. Le gros dossier réuni par Guy Lobrichon sur les différents commentaires exégétiques mariaux de la Femme de l'Apocalypse xii se suffit à lui-même pour comprendre le part d'élaboration théologique dans les controverses suscitées par l'interprétation du fameux verset. On retiendra enfin de cet éblouissant panorama d'interprétations la magnifique analyse de la *Visio monachi Rotberti* effectuée par Dominique Iogna-Prat et Monique Goulet (qui présente par ailleurs une belle étude et une transcription partielle de l'oeuvre mariale de Hrotsvita de Gandersheim). Les études thématiques rassemblées sous le titre de 'Miraculeuse Marie' concluant ce volume emportent moins l'adhésion, même si elles contiennent plusieurs passages pertinents. A lui seul, ce thème aurait mérité davantage de développements (notamment sur l'utilisation des miracles dans la prédication) et surtout une lecture moins descriptive des récits de miracles dont la typologie nous paraît réellement discutable. Rien ne semble par exemple justifier la catégorie de 'miracles sentimentaux', si ce n'est une lecture réductrice du sens des récits de miracles mariaux. Il manque par ailleurs une bibliographie de synthèse ainsi qu'un index qui aurait rendu la consultation de ce gros livre beaucoup plus aisée au chercheur.

Tel qu'il se présente cependant, cet ouvrage marque une première dans l'historiographie contemporaine donnant enfin à l'historien la place qui lui revient dans l'exploration fascinante du regard porté sur la Vierge Marie par les hommes médiévaux.

PARIS

SYLVIE BARNAY

*Late Merovingian France. History and hagiography, 640–720.* By Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding. (Manchester Medieval Sources.) Pp. 397. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996. £45 (cloth), £17.99 (paper). 0 7 90 4790 0; 0 7 90 4791 9

Unlike the other early medieval volumes in this series, Nelson's *The annals of St Bertin* and Reuter's *The annals of Fulda*, this is not a translation of a single source, but a compendium of translations: selections from the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the *Annales Mettenses Priores*, and complete versions of the *Lives* of the saints Balthild, Audoin, Aunemund, Leudegar, Praejectus and Gertrude, together with the *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*, the supplement to the *Life* of St Fursey

which deals with St Foillan. Although three of these have appeared in translation before (two of them in J. A. McNamara and others (eds), *Sainted women of the dark ages*, 1992), they have not appeared before with such a wealth of commentary, and so usefully juxtaposed with other inter-related works. Those familiar with the names will note the emphasis of the collection. These are not pious hermits or retiring bishops who are described here. Balthild was queen and regent; Audoin 'stood at the centre of a network of aristocratic associates who held some of Neustria's most influential positions' (p. 149); Bishops Aunemund, Leudegar, Praelectus and Foillan were all politicians murdered by their rivals; and Gertrude was daughter of the founder of the Pippinid dynasty, the powerful family who, as the Carolingians, were to rule half of Latin Christendom. In short, this collection of sources brings us to the heart of Frankish politics in the seventh century, and the superb commentary and notes offers us an unrivalled opportunity to understand it. The book not only offers an expected introduction to Merovingian politics, but also original and thought-provoking essays on hagiography and Merovingian Latin, among other delights. Each translation is also preceded by an introduction, discussing the text and its problems, and showing how each text illustrates different aspects of the Frankish world; there is a full bibliography. Every student and teacher of early medieval history is going to find this an extraordinarily useful addition to their library.

UNIVERSITY OF READING

EDWARD JAMES

*The collegiate church of Wimborne Minster.* By P. H. Coulstock. (Studies in The History of Medieval Religions, 5.) Pp. x + 267. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993. £35. 0 85115 339 9; 0955 2480

Wimborne Minster perfectly illustrates one of the least-studied continuities in the English Church, the enduring local importance of unreformed collegiate minsters. Founded (on a Roman villa) in 718 as a double nunnery ruled by a West Saxon princess, it was a royal power-centre in the succession struggle of 900, had evolved into a community of clergy by the 1060s, was an exempt royal chapel through the rest of the Middle Ages, kept its peculiar jurisdiction until 1847, and can still grant marriage licences. The merit of this study is that by following the story of one place through time, it shows how Wimborne's special character in the late Middle Ages was a direct result of its Anglo-Saxon origins. We know rather more about Wimborne than about most early minsters because of the account of it in Rudolf of Fulda's *Vita* of Lioba. This material is set very thoroughly in context, providing a useful general account of how eighth-century nunneries are likely to have operated in the context of royal dynastic politics (though some reference to Dagmar Schneider's comprehensive thesis on the subject would have been useful here). The second half of the book is an extended account of the three late medieval perpetual chantries, including Lady Margaret Beaufort's richly endowed chantry and school (the precursor of the present comprehensive), and the legal aspects of chantry foundation and endowment. There are appendices of selected texts, notably an edition of the cartulary of the Beaufort chantry, and lists of deans, prebendaries and sacrists. This is a very useful volume, to be welcomed all the more because it demonstrates that such non-monastic

ecclesiastical establishments deserve extended study. At times it wanders rather far from Wimborne into lengthy general discussions which try (especially in the earlier sections) to make rather a lot of bricks with rather little straw. The real lost opportunity, given Wimborne's complex mother-parish (pp. 67, 109–11), is its failure to consider how the whole complex worked sacramentally and pastorally: the religious life of the central church, the relations between the Wimborne clergy, the out-chapels and the parishioners, and how these may have differed from normal parish structures. Here perhaps there is room for a second book on Wimborne Minster.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JOHN BLAIR

*Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen.* By Harald Siems. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften, 35.) Pp. cxvi + 915. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992. DM 198. 3 7752 5163 4

It is no excuse for the unpardonable tardiness of this review that Professor Siems's *Handel und Wucher* is a very long book. It is not so long that it takes even a modern university lecturer under the Damoclean threat of RAE five years to read. This reviewer owes humble and sincere apologies to the author of the book and the editors and readers of this JOURNAL alike.

That said, *Handel und Wucher* is a *very* long book. The preliminary bibliography runs to twenty-five pages of 'Quellen' and eighty of 'Literatur' (which in itself is of course extremely useful): to conclude, there are thirty-four pages of (equally useful) 'Stellen-register'; which is not to mention the 865 pages of text and 3,357 footnotes in between. I had not known there was so much to say about the law of trade and interest in the medieval west. I am not even sure that I wanted to know. With all due respect to an immensely learned scholar, one cannot but wonder whether there is not some disproportion between the effort invested by Professor Siems and its dividend in useful knowledge.

Nevertheless, Professor Siems's book is extremely important. Not so much for what it has to say about the law of trade and interest. As he is at such pains to show (and perhaps it is only possible to *prove* negative conclusions, at such cyclopean length), there is very little early medieval law about trade and interest, and what there is tends to the repetitive. Professor Siems's objective, as he says in his introduction (pp. 5–6) is to illustrate the relevance or irrelevance of law texts to the understanding of early medieval society through an exhaustive account of what they say – or do not say – about one particular topic. The key observation comes very early on (p. 16): there can be no question that the Frisians played a leading role in what trade the early medieval west had; but 'only coincidentally, because it said that those who damaged Temples should be sacrificed on the sea-shore, do we even discover from the *Lex Frisionum* that the Frisians lived on the sea' (Professor Siems's first work was a characteristically thorough study of the Frisian *lex*). The *leges* are very largely silent (except about dealing in slaves, and then for other than commercial reasons). South European legal texts were slightly less uninformative, and the Roman materials that were still copied considerably less so. As for the law of the Church, it again and again

rehearsed the prohibition of the earliest councils against clerical engagement in commerce, and the Psalmist's hostility to usurers often prompted an extension of the ban on 'turpe lucrum' to society in general. But only in the Carolingian period did rulers do anything to realise this objective, and then in a significantly piecemeal way: the 806 capitulary of Nymegen, legislation by Charlemagne in Italy, the untypically constructive attitude of Theodulf of Orléans, and Hincmar's campaign in Laon stand out as fundamentally isolated initiatives.

The extent of commercial activity in the early medieval west has been an examiner's staple since the days of Dopsch and Pirenne, and more particularly since Metcalfe's confrontation with Grierson in the sixties. Not even the most unregenerate minimalist has thought that levels were as low as the legal evidence implies. Every now and then, Professor Siems brings in episodes from narrative sources – Gregory of Tours, Agnellus, Ermentarius (and he could have made more of the *Vitae patrum emeritensium*) – which clearly show that economic life was not as moribund as the *leges* suggest and canonists would seemingly have wished. It follows that the content of legal texts was dictated not so much by conditions in the societies for which they ostensibly catered, as by the traditions in which they were written. The tradition of ecclesiastical law was of course biblical. And that of secular law? Evidently not Roman, because even the most vulgarised texts were not so silent as north European *leges*, nor even sub-Roman, because the society described by Gregory of Tours was in this respect not like *Lex Salica*. Could it then actually have been *Germanic*?

What Professor Siems has very valuably offered, therefore, is a study in the primacy of legal *culture* in the early medieval west. It was not because Spain or Italy, let alone Bavaria, were so much more economically developed than societies to their North, that their laws are rather less uninformative about commercial transactions. It was because their legal culture was somehow in more recognisable contact with that of the ancient world. It was the strength and character of the notarial tradition, not the activity of merchants themselves, that determined what we are told or not told about early medieval commercial law. In proving that on so daunting a scale, Professor Siems has put all students of early Europe in his debt.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

PATRICK WORMALD

*Property and power in the early Middle Ages*. Edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. £35. 0 521 43419 X

For several years now, a number of distinguished early medievalists have met together at a cottage in Wales to discuss charters. The first result of their deliberations was *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe* (1986), also edited by Davies and Fouracre, and now, ten years later, comes a collection of essays which strike even closer to the fundamentals of early medieval society. As the introduction says, both books start from the same premisses: that the early medieval period has to be understood in its own terms, and that 'its political and social structures are best appreciated, not through the study of laws and other

normative texts, but through charters' (p. 1). If power comes from landed property, then the charters by which rights over land are exchanged are potentially a better guide to the realities of power than even the most detailed narrative history or set of annals. Inevitably, since most charters that survive from the period have survived in monastic and ecclesiastical archives, this collection has a great deal to offer the ecclesiastical historian: indeed the ecclesiastical immunity and its relationship with public authority is 'the most pervasive theme of this book' (p. 15). The first essay, however, is a more general discussion of the ideology of ecclesiastical landowning, by David Ganz, concentrating in particular on the development of the 'ideology of sharing' by the church reformers of the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. That development was connected with the desire to recover property alienated in the Merovingian period, by the Carolingian mayors among others: the theme of the second essay, by Ian Wood. Other essays include a very useful discussion by Paul Fouracre of the origins of immunities in the Merovingian Church, which includes a fascinating exploration of lighting clauses, relating to the provision of light in churches; an important contribution by Janet L. Nelson on Carolingian widows and their landowning activities; Patrick Wormald and Wendy Davies on property and immunities in eleventh-century England and Wales respectively; and three essays from further afield, with Timothy Reuter on property transactions and social relations in eleventh-century Saxony, Rosemary Morris on monastic exemptions in Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and Chris Wickham discussing twelfth-century Tuscany. The volume ends with two sections that ought to be standard in such collections: a concluding discussion of the main themes by the editors (or perhaps by the collective: it is uncertain), and a glossary of the technical terms used in the book. It is an extremely well-edited and tightly-knit volume, which maintains a very high level of discussion, and it is going to be essential reading for anyone interested in the early medieval Church in its social and political context.

UNIVERSITY OF READING

EDWARD JAMES

*Leo IV. und das Papsttum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit.* By Klaus Herbers. (Päpste und Papsttum, 27.) Pp. xi + 580. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1996. DM 390. 3 7772 9601 5

If anyone is worried about the current state of German erudition, let him read this weighty – in the literal and figurative senses – volume. That its author has a sense of humour is revealed by his admission that readers may be surprised on picking up so massive a book on so short and little known a pontificate. One of Herbers's brief concluding sections asks if Leo was 'An insignificant pope in a significant time?' His answer is that, carefully studied, Leo's pontificate is not only important but also revealing.

As Herbers rightly observes, historians have usually asserted that popes cannot be known as individuals before the eleventh century and they have debated whether one can legitimately talk in detail about the papacy before the high medieval eruption of evidence. He notes, further, that in the Carolingian period,

indeed between Gregory I and Gregory VII, only Nicholas I seems truly significant and intriguing. Yet Nicholas was, in Johannes Haller's formulation, a 'meteor'. Nicholas haunts the pages of Herbers's book. Again and again, Herbers tries to show that Leo IV anticipated the ideas and policies of his seemingly greater successor. I think it is slightly misguided to engage in this kind of scorekeeping. But I am powerfully impressed by how Herbers's meticulous and original assessment of the evidence for Leo's pontificate (847–55) reveals concrete details about both the pope and the papacy, demonstrates the real achievements of a pope known mainly, if he is known at all, for building the 'Leonine' City, and opens up paths for future researchers. This is an impressive book.

The first long section explores the evidence. Leo's pontificate is revealed to us primarily by his *Vita* in the *Liber pontificalis* and by his letters. Building on the work of earlier scholars, Herbers subjects Leo's *Vita* to minute scrutiny. He identifies a break in the text (at p. 127 in Duchesne's edition, or in 852) indicating either a new author or an altered sense of purpose in a later redaction. Basically, the new or altered material is more sensitive to the world outside Rome. The *Vita* has 'fact' sections and 'donation' sections arrayed in a loose chronological order. It is clear that the donations were more important in the immediate Roman context than the facts – details about papal relations with secular powers and the world beyond Rome. Herbers is so explicit about his way of reading Leo's *Vita* that future scholars will be able to take his method – based on grammar, spelling, vocabulary, technical terminology, contents, etc. – to explore other papal *vitae* in the *Liber pontificalis*. Much of the rest of the book then builds on the Roman focus of much of Leo's work and on his donation strategies.

The second important body of evidence is Leo's letters. Some of these had long been known and studied but in the late nineteenth century forty-five additional fragments from the *Collectio Britannica* entered the dossier. Herbers notes that the *Collectio* has never been properly edited and has not been the subject of a full analysis. Thus Leo's portion of the collection's contents is a little hard to assess. Herbers makes two moves in employing this material. First, he carefully compares fragments – even the eight forged or heavily interpolated ones – with other sources so as to expand what we can say about Leo. Second, he incorporates the position of the fragments within the canonistic tradition and the evident tendency of later writers to attribute material to Leo into a fascinating discussion of Leo's reputation in later times. This is, by the way, a theme that recurs often in the book and it is presented by means of a method that future scholars can follow. Put briefly, Herbers insists that musty questions of authenticity and debates attempting to fix the date of forgery and to ascertain the *cui bono* at that date may well be less interesting and important than the kinds of history and memory embedded in the documents.

In Rome, then, Herbers's Leo IV was military protector, builder, judge and ceremonial officiant. His efforts to rally the city after the devastating Saracen raid of 846 and to secure its long-term protection resulted in alliances, a battle near Ostia, the restoration of sections of the Aurelian walls, the rebuilding of some gates, and the construction of the Leonine walls around St Peter's and parts of the Vatican Hill. Herbers's account is thorough and interesting. What is new in it is an interpretation of the historical significance of Leo's personal participation in military activity, his liturgical consecration of that activity, and his assurance



that warriors who died fighting God's enemies would go to Heaven. Here Herbers takes his lead from John Gilchrist in arguing that too many scholars have for too long followed Carl Erdmann in assigning such practices and ideas to the reform popes and to the crusading era.

Herbers argues that no 'constitutional' history of ninth-century Rome can be written but that much can be learned about the quotidian realities of governance. Following Pierre Toubert, he sees the *Constitutio Romana* of 824 as programmatic and largely a fiction. The imperial presence in Rome was exiguous. The pope was the ordinary judge and Leo refined a special judicial precinct, replete with porphyry seats, near the Lateran.

From his review of Leo's massive benefactions – and the no less massive attention paid to them by the *Vita* – Herbers draws a number of interesting conclusions. He uses the notion of gift-exchange to develop arguments about social and political reciprocity. He traces the geographical pattern of the donations – close to Rome yet along the fringes of the city – to deduce things about Leo's relative political support in the city. From the immense number of cloths and silks donated to churches Herbers builds hypotheses about local artisanal capacity. I am sorry that he was not tempted to explore more carefully the structure of the Roman and central Italian economy.

Herbers's conclusions about the pope in Rome are of two kinds. On the one hand, the pope had to have the concurrence of the Roman nobility and this was increasingly hard to attain and maintain. On the other hand, the pope was engaging in a comprehensive programme of *imitatio imperii*. Thus Herbers makes interesting contributions to the history of the papacy in the mid ninth century. But he also works out very carefully the particular contributions of Leo himself. His words on the language of papal documents and on Leo's careful management of papal iconography reveal a pope deeply concerned with his self-representation.

Beyond Rome, Herbers says, 'For Leo, ruling generally meant reacting' (p. 289). From a careful review of the tangled question of the visits made to Rome by Ethelwulf and Alfred, the machinations of the Breton dukes and clergy, one or two slices from Hincmar's huge cake of controversy, several accounts of relic translations, and evidence for frequent visitors to Rome, Herbers is able to show how potent Leo's claims to authority were (not at all inferior to those of Nicholas I!), how prestigious Rome was becoming, and how appeal processes could be used to build up papal prerogatives. He offers some interesting thoughts on why so many people turned so readily to Rome: the squabbles of the 830s and early 840s had damaged kingship, the usual protector of the Church; Verdun had carved up ecclesiastical provinces and had left kings and emperors in awkward relations with one another; and in England, Brittany, Provence, East Francia and elsewhere there were people seeking legitimacy. Herbers also notes how often Leo's responses to the problems brought to his attention were preceded by *si ita est*. The pope was often at the mercy of forces about which he had little knowledge and over which he had little control.

A big book is not always a big evil. This one is packed with useful information (the appendices alone, containing, in one case, new editions of six letters, are extremely valuable), rich with challenging interpretations, ornamented with the best of German *Quellenkritik*, and loaded with suggestions for future research. Every knowledgeable reader will argue with Herbers on specific points, but no

one will put this book down without a profound appreciation of its author's innumerable contributions.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE

*The Utrecht Psalter in medieval art. Picturing the Psalms of David.* Edited by Koert van der Horst, William Noel and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld. Pp. xii + 271 incl. frontispiece, genealogical table, chronological table, map and numerous black-and-white and colour plates. MS't Goy: HES Publishers/London: Harvey Miller, 1996. 1872501 69 9

One of the great treasures of the Middle Ages is the Utrecht Psalter. The lyricism of its drawings and elegance of its script have been the object of much admiration by modern historians. The manuscript is significant for several reasons. It is one of the oldest surviving illustrated psalters in the west. The page layout, script and illustration reflect to a high degree what a late antique psalter might have looked like, hence its textual and visual sources have generated much speculation. Moreover, each of the 150 Psalms, and the sixteen additional canticles (including the apocryphal Psalm *Pusillus eram*) are beautifully illustrated by extraordinary images which attempt to capture the poetic 'sense' of the text.

It is therefore fitting that this manuscript was recently the focus of an exhibition held in the Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht and that a substantial book be published in conjunction with the exhibition. *The Utrecht Psalter in medieval art* is comprised of five essays and a catalogue. The catalogue summarises a great deal of scholarship surrounding the thirty-eight objects which were on display and its thematic divisions supplement those of the preliminary essays. As such it is a valuable adjunct to the essays. The book is a lavish production indeed, and presents some new and exciting material concerning such an enigmatic manuscript. No expense has been spared in providing the viewer with many colour illustrations.

The value of the study is that it provides a glimpse not only into the Utrecht Psalter itself but also into the historical and cultural context in which it was made. Rosamond McKitterick's introduction is extremely useful as it gives a succinct account of the historical and cultural context of the Carolingians. With the exception of chapter ii, which deals exclusively with the manuscript itself, the remaining chapters provide further contexts in which to place the image of Utrecht. The relationship between the Utrecht Psalter and contemporary Byzantine marginal psalters is explored by Kathleen Corrigan in chapter iii. She points to both similarities and differences in approach between Utrecht and the Khludov Psalter and the Paris Psalter (BN, ms gr. 20). Florentine Mutherich attempts to clarify the artistic developments of the Rheims school in chapter iv while in chapter v William Noel concentrates upon Utrecht's legacy in England.

It is in the detailed analysis of the codex and the interpretation of it as a physical object that the book's strength lies. In chapter ii van der Horst presents some truly remarkable evidence regarding the manner in which the first quire was illustrated (pp. 43ff). He points out several faint underdrawings in the illustrations to Psalms 2, 3 and 4 and suggests that a 'mistake' was made by the artist. These underdrawings indicate that the artist placed the illustrations to

Psalms 1, 2 and 3 in the wrong spaces provided by the scribe and had to erase the underdrawings later and place them in their present position. Van der Horst argues that the implications of this 'mistake' are very significant. If the artist was using an exemplar which he had before him, it is extremely unlikely that he would make such a simple error. Moreover, it makes it very unlikely that the artist was being inspired directly by the psalm text alone. He suggests, therefore, that two sources were used, one textual and one visual. The textual source was probably a contemporary book of psalms (as he argues earlier on p. 38) while the visual source could be an earlier illustrated psalter or even loose sheets of drawings. This concern with sources and the implications for the copying process is at the heart of the intellectual arguments put forward in the book.

Van der Horst's dissection of the book is continued by Noel in chapter v. His fascinating account of the way in which Utrecht's imagery was used by later artists in England centres upon detailed analysis of the relationship between Utrecht's images and those in the Harley, Eadwine and Paris Psalters. He is both provocative and enlightening as he makes a considered attempt to reassess the appropriateness of a 'philological' approach to the understanding of manuscript images. The notion of a 'copy' is questioned with Noel's account of precisely how the artists of these three manuscripts appropriated, changed, clarified and updated Utrecht's images.

Based upon a close inspection of the artistic hands, van der Horst proposes that Utrecht may have been incomplete, and that, given the fact that all other Rheims manuscripts are coloured, this manuscript may have been intended to be coloured as well. Intention is often difficult to gauge, and for those of us who have come to appreciate this manuscript in all its monochrome glory we might dismiss such suggestions as mere speculation. However, Noel picks up on this point but subtly changes its focus. He says that whether or not it was intended to be coloured is not the point. He argues that the artists of Harley and Eadwine understood it as a finished product in the late eleventh and mid twelfth centuries, while the artist of Paris, working in the very different artistic milieu of the late twelfth century, understood the Utrecht drawings as incomplete. Hence the full-colour version of Paris. Here we get a sense not only of how iconographic details and motifs can be appropriated but of how these motifs can be transformed through contemporary aesthetic sensibilities.

The editors have admirably linked together a great deal of the material presented by the authors. Occasionally however such links between chapters are not made. A case in point is where van der Horst's important reassessment of the artistic hands is seemingly ignored by Mütterich. Mütterich mentions in passing that eight artists were responsible for the illustrations (Gaehde, 1985). In so doing, she ignores van der Horst's considered argument in chapter ii that we should look for groups of artists, rather than individual hands. Are we to infer that she disagrees with van der Horst on this point? If so, why? One might reasonably assume that van der Horst's suggestion may have implications for the way in which other manuscripts were made in or near Rheims and would therefore be of interest to Mütterich in her chapter on Carolingian manuscript production in Rheims.

*The Utrecht Psalter in medieval art* is a welcome contribution to the literature surrounding this important manuscript. It places the Utrecht Psalter in its

historical, cultural and artistic context and provides the reader with some new and exciting material which helps to clarify its production and use. The book also attempts to rearticulate our understanding of the way in which manuscript images were 'copied' and 'invented' in the Middle Ages.

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA

DOMINIC MARNER

*Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite Grec et Latin.* Edited by Jean-Loup Lemaître, Michel Dmitriev and Pierre Gonneau. (École Pratique des Hautes Études. V. Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 76.) Pp. ix + 506 incl. 3 pull-out maps + 16 colour plates. Geneva: Droz/Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1996. 2 600 00143 3

This collection of twenty-six papers on the social influence of monasteries is the product of a colloquium held at Paris in September 1995. The participants were a group of historians set up by the Russian Academy of Sciences and the École des Hautes Études of the University of Paris to undertake a comparative study of the influence of Greco-Russian Orthodoxy and Latin Christianity upon European societies. Covering a wide diversity of subjects unrelated to one another chronologically and scattered over a vast area, many of these monographs throw fresh light on matters that interest western historians of monasticism and society, but few of them offer much basis for the kind of comparative study envisaged by the project. Apart from the Briggittines, Nordic monasticism has had a thin press, which makes Elizabeth Mornet's study of Scandinavian monastic and Mendicant foundations in the later Middle Ages all the more welcome. For eastern Europe, Marek Derwich provides an illuminating account of new monastic foundations in Poland after the pagan reaction of the 1230s; and D. I. Polyvjannyj writes about the integration of Orthodox monasteries into the economic and social life of the towns in the Balkans in the Middle Ages, while pointing out that the towns of the area enjoyed none of the legal autonomy and privileges that were common in western cities of the period. A highly readable paper by Daniel-Odon Hurel, which uses the *voyage littéraire* of the Maurists in their quest for manuscripts as a source for the state of French monasteries towards the end of the ancien régime, seems unrelated to anything else in the symposium.

The project of cultural comparison comes nearest to realisation in a group of papers, three by Russian and three by French scholars, dealing with the monastery and its social environment. Here, research papers by Bernadette Barrière and Constance Berman provide a classic account of Cistercian estate management in the French Midi in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which offers a striking parallel with Nina Gorskaja's picture of monastic land use and the peasant community in central Russia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. After the mid thirteenth century, as the recruitment of *conversi* dried up, the Cistercian houses imitated the Benedictines in relying upon the labour services of a dependent peasantry to produce corn or wine for the market, as did the monks of central Russia in the great age of monastic endowment that followed the end of Tartar militancy. In both areas, the monks led the way as improving landlords, clearing waste and assarting and instructing peasant society in

improved agricultural techniques, providing drainage, irrigation and mills. The symposium concludes with papers on the relationship of monks with the ecclesiastical hierarchy and secular powers in Byzantium, Russia and France. An obvious, perhaps inevitable, omission from all this is any study of the impact of monastic spirituality upon the religious observance and assumptions of lay people.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

C. H. LAWRENCE

Το Βυζάντιο και οι βόρειοι γείτονες τον 10ο αιώνα (*Byzantium and its northern neighbours during the tenth century*). By Γιασμίνα Μωυσειδου (Jasmine Moysidou). (Historical Monographs, 15.) Pp. 438. Athens: Historical Publications St D. Basilopoulos, 1995. 960 7100 90 5; 1105 0837

*Laonikos Chalkokondyles. A translation and commentary of the Demonstrations of histories (Books I–III)*. By Nicolaos Nicoloudis. (Historical Monographs, 16.) Pp. 391. Athens: Historical Publications St D. Basilopoulos, 1996. 960 7100 97 2; 1105 0837

That the Byzantines entertained the idea of a ‘family of princes’ headed by the emperor was propounded most forcefully and methodically by F. Dölger. His thesis still commands respect, albeit subject to nuancing by such authorities as A. Grabar. The fairly fragmentary nature of the evidence did not prevent Dölger from maintaining that Byzantium possessed ‘ein ganzes System’ which grouped all rulers into ranks in accordance with their degree of notional kinship with the emperor. This view has been refuted by E. Chrysos, so far as the early Byzantine period is concerned. He argues that invocations of kinship ties with the emperor were terms of endearment used in a diplomatic context; they were neither intended by the Byzantines nor understood by the recipients to have any binding force as *Rechtstiteln*. Jasmine Moysidou, a pupil of Professor Chrysos, has pursued this line of enquiry into the middle Byzantine period. She focuses on northern peoples who shared a common frontier with the empire or lived close enough to come within its gravitational field: the Bulgars, the Rus, the Hungarians, the Pechenegs, the Khazars and the Serbs and Croats.

Moysidou’s exhaustive investigations have yielded little evidence that clear-cut, constant ideas of a *Staatshierarchie* prevailed at the courts of the Byzantine emperor or his neighbours. The Bulgars’ ruler was, according to the protocols in the *De cerimoniis*, addressed as ‘our spiritual son’, and he was described in the same terms in the greetings prescribed for the reception of Bulgar envoys. However, as Moysidou notes, no sense of the Bulgar ruler or his people as, respectively, a ‘son’ or ‘sons’ emerges from the contemporaneous *De administrando imperio*. The letters from Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus to Symeon of Bulgaria call the latter a ‘spiritual son’, but as Moysidou points out, these were written by Nicholas in his capacity as Constantinopolitan patriarch and spiritual father of all Christians, and they make very little play of the idea of spiritual fatherhood exercised by the emperor over Symeon. Moysidou argues that ‘if the titles showing spiritual kinship really had legal force and to a great extent determined the relations between the [Byzantine and Bulgar] peoples, they could not have been left out of the official sources’ (p. 101). She further notes that in some of the

letters to Symeon of the 920s drafted by Nicholas Mysticus or by Theodore Daphnopates in the name of Romanus Lecapenus, the emperor is termed simultaneously 'father' and 'son'. This is scarcely compatible with the notion of a 'family of princes', each allotted a precise place in terms of kinship with the emperor. Moysidou argues that this period of Byzantino-Bulgar conflict was the very time when the emperor's status as 'spiritual father' of Symeon would have been invoked, had it meant much to the parties concerned.

Moysidou's survey of Byzantium's relations with the other northern peoples leads to equally negative findings. The title *tsar* does, in fact, seem to have been reserved in Rus narrative sources mainly for the Byzantine emperor among living rulers, although it was also used of Old Testament rulers such as David. But there is no more a sense of Rus membership of a 'family of princes' in the *Primary chronicle* than there is in the sparse references to the Rus of eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine sources. Only in the case of the Serbs does Moysidou discern the rudiments of membership, albeit not of a 'family of princes' at least of a 'Commonwealth'. Byzantine historical myth enshrined in the *De administrando* represented the Serbs as settled on 'Roman soil' by permission of Emperor Heraclius. Thus to Byzantine eyes they were legitimate occupants of their lands, having the status of 'subjects' or 'servants' (*douloi*). However, there is no sense in any of our sources, Byzantine or Dalmatian, that Serb chieftains were notional kinsmen of the emperor. Moysidou justly emphasises the variety in the standing of individual South Slav groupings and indeed the constant fluctuations in the relations between any given people and Byzantium, according to circumstances.

The fluidity and, frequently, looseness or ambiguity in relations between Byzantium and its neighbours is, in fact, one of the recurrent themes in this work. Through her thorough-going trawl of the sources, Moysidou has performed an important service to scholarship: the 'family of princes' can no longer be upheld as a juridical concept, nor was there a clear ranking order such as Dölger supposed. Moysidou introduces a valuable note of pragmatism, emphasising that the emperor's stance was more often reactive than proactive and that bilateral deals were struck between parties in accordance with what they regarded as their interests at a particular time rather in accordance with some overarching ideology. However, this presentation of a negative case has perhaps been at the expense of full consideration of what middle Byzantine ideology actually did amount to. Moysidou does not deny that the Byzantines expressly propounded the concept of the Bulgars as their 'spiritual sons' or that this could have a bearing on political relations. She seeks to distinguish between the religious 'charismatic' links of the two peoples on the one hand and the political realities of their relationship on the other. Such a distinction has its uses for analysis today, but it may have been less meaningful to tenth-century *mentalités*. Clearly, the imperial government sought to propagate the notion of a special relationship with those peoples for whose conversion it claimed credit: the prince of the Alans and the 'king of kings' of Armenia were to be addressed as 'spiritual sons', besides the Bulgar ruler. The fact that the precise obligations were left vague and that the rhetoric fluctuation – switching, for example, to a stress on 'brotherhood' when Symeon appeared to be indomitable in the early 920s – does not mean that this claim to leadership of a personal affinity had no impact or that it was wholly out of key with reality. That many northern, non-Christian potentates craved a

conspicuous affinity with the imperial court is shown by the 'clever pretexts' which the *De administrando*'s ch. xiii regards as necessary to fob them off. The conceit that the emperor was the 'father' of those potentates and notables who found favour, especially those baptised under his auspices, may well have been fostered as a kind of substitute for agreeing to actual marriage-ties. It is probably no accident of source-survival that the rhetoric of 'fatherhood' and 'brotherhood' is best-attested for a period when imperial marriages to foreign houses were virtually unknown, the ninth and tenth centuries. Moreover, individual Armenian princes and the ruler of the Alans did show active goodwill and a readiness to co-operate with the emperor, while even Symeon of Bulgaria proved reluctant to go to war with the empire for a long time after the bout at the beginning of his reign. Of course, it may be argued that such self-restraint was induced by other considerations, which had nothing to do with 'fatherhood', such as strategic calculation or a general disinclination to shed Christian blood. And Symeon himself on occasion mocked the emperor's claims to paternal status and foreknowledge. Yet in so doing he was at least acknowledging the existence and the prominence of these concepts. In laying claim to 'spiritual fatherhood' through the ninth and tenth centuries, Byzantine diplomacy was trying to mould its rhetoric to take advantage of certain undeniable historical facts, and its impact is likelier to have been the stronger because of this. One must agree with Moysidou's overall conclusion that while religious ties supported and influenced political relations, they did not determine them. But in an era when individual rulers (and, no less importantly, their subjects) could be motivated by strong religious convictions, the emperor's insistence on his spiritual fatherhood may well have made him appear the more pious, and so aggression against him would look correspondingly heinous. This in itself was surely of incalculable value to Byzantine diplomacy.

One of the hallmarks of that diplomacy was to put an imperial gloss on the current state of affairs and, through claims to world hegemony concretised and made manifest through extravagance of ceremonial, images and artefacts to heighten the emperor's prestige. It was able thereby to spirit reality closer to the desired state of play, albeit still far short of actual world hegemony. Most extant middle Byzantine writings about the wider world are literary pieces propagating or at least heavily coloured by the notion of an encircling *barbaricum* of ignorant boors, which imperial ideology fostered. But that a different literary genre could revive is shown by the *Demonstrations of histories*, written by Laonikos Chalkokondyles after the fall of Constantinople. As Nicolaos Nicoloudis shows in his authoritative introduction, Laonikos was still working on his history as late as 1490, most probably on Crete. Laonikos reached back to classical historians such as Herodotus and took up their readiness to collect and analyse information about foreigners' ways and beliefs in an attempt to understand them. Laonikos's focus is on the way in which the Ottoman Turks had managed to conquer Byzantium and much of the Balkans. He is well-informed about the Turks, partly thanks to knowledge of their language, and he offers a fairly dispassionate account of their progress, wherein Byzantine emperors play a secondary role. Nicoloudis offers an admirable English translation parallel to the text established by E. Darkó, together with a full commentary. Laonikos's confidence in the superiority of Greek culture is evident, as Nicoloudis stresses in his introduction.

But the inescapable fact of imperial collapse had an intellectually liberating effect on his world-picture and his history contains illuminating material both on the Turks and on the orthodox peoples of the Balkan and Rus lands.

FACULTY OF HISTORY,  
CAMBRIDGE

JONATHAN SHEPARD

*The history of the English organ.* By Stephen Bicknell. Pp. xxii + 407 incl. 78 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. £45. 0 521 55026 2

Every so often, in almost every branch of musicology, a book appears which brings together in logical and chronological order all the elements of research in the field for the past few years. *The history of the English organ* is one such book, but it has the distinction that not only does it present an *omnium gatherum* of all previous research, it is also interlaced with succinct and informed comment which marks its author as a scholar of the first rank.

The work opens with a short description of the organ, which is later complemented by an excellent glossary. Chapters then follow in chronological order starting with the 'Early history c. 900–1500', leading to an examination of some extant organs at the end of the period. There follows a study of 'The English reformation 1536–1600', a period of lamentable decline in the production of new English organs. But all is not gloom and doom, for there are plenty of descriptions of those organs which survived the period or were built during the Reformation.

Chapter iv deals with the influences on English organ-building coming from the continent, while 'The Laudian revival 1590–1642' considers organ-building up to 1640 including descriptions of the well-known organs by the Dallams and later their in-laws, the Harrises. At this point the photographs of surviving organs begin to proliferate (there are seventy-eight in all), and in general they are of a high standard, and many are original.

The chapter on 'The Dallams in France – 1642–1700', forms an interesting bridge to the Restoration period, and then on to 1660–1715 which includes a dispassionate examination of the work of Renatus Harris and Bernard Smith, and the feud which developed between the two men as a result of Smith's success in being chosen to build the new organ in St Paul's Cathedral (1695–7). The chapter ends with a re-examination of the well-known, but anonymous, Adlington Hall organ (sumptuously pictured in colour on the dust jacket).

The work of the major builders of the eighteenth century is covered in the two chapters, headed 'The Georgian organ', the first dealing with the period 1700–65 and the second with 1740–1800. There follows a useful interlude dealing with the chamber organ from 1600 to 1850.

The following chapter, describing organ building from 1800 to 1840 chronicles the 'insularity' and general lack of innovative change on the part of English builders of that time; though the cultural influences of the next twenty-five years brought about 'the need for the organ to grow in size and scope to meet the pretensions of the industrial era'. In a chapter examining 'The German system', the tempo of change begins to increase and from this point onwards the pages are increasingly filled with descriptions and stop lists of instruments many of whose builders are still household names today. This increasing development is



demonstrated more and more in the following chapter on 'The High Victorian organ, 1866–1900' which ends with a description of the monumental Hill organ of 1890 in the Town Hall, Sydney, Australia.

'Progressive trends 1880–1900' continues the theme of adventurous development (with a short sideways glance at the work of Hope-Jones) leading to 'The imperial organ 1900–1939'.

'The classical revival 1939–80' examines, amongst other instruments, the Harrison and Harrison organ of 1954 at the Royal Festival Hall, as well as other well-known bench-marks such as the 1965 Frobenius at The Queen's College, Oxford, and the Grant, Degens and Bradbeer of 1969 at New College, Oxford. The book ends with 'Epilogue – 1980 onwards' which contains in essence a well-argued and welcome defence of the native English builders of today, and this is followed by a seven-page 'Guide to surviving English organs'.

This review can in no sense do justice to the immense amount of work which must have gone into the preparation of this book. Sadly, no descriptive *c.v.* of the author appears on the dust jacket or elsewhere, but it is plain to see that he speaks as a builder and as a connoisseur. Much of the description of the sound and tonal resources of organs described could be obtained only by first-hand experience, and he is to be congratulated on a work which combines scholarship with readability, and detailed reportage with informed comment. There is only one minor quibble in that on occasions, specifications are given as (for example): Great 16, 16, 8, 8, 8, 8, 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ , 4, 4, 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ , 2, 2, V, III, 16, 8, 8, 4. One can have a reasonably good guess at what appeared on the relevant stop knobs, but it is always a guess. This aside, clear photos, the good quality of the paper, the binding, and the overall quality of the production make this book a 'must' for every organ-lover.

ST CROSS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

CHARLES MOULD

*English church dedications. With a survey of Cornwall and Devon.* By Nicholas Orme.

Pp. xv + 248 incl. 2 figs and 8 tables. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996. £9.95 (paper). 0 85989 516 5

Nicholas Orme's stated aim is to provide 'a general history of church dedications in England and a guide to their sources and historiography' as well as to examine in detail 'one English region', the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The result is a useful discussion of church dedications in England with a valuable gazetteer of the pre-Reformation dedications of parish churches, as well as some religious houses and hospitals and a few chapels, in the two counties. The general history of church dedications in England in ch. i will be especially appreciated by the reader who may not be aware of specific effects of the Reformation in England. Orme's caution that one must distinguish between the patronal feast and that of the dedication of the church to a patron is valuable; the lack of such differentiation has, as Orme notes, led to much confusion. The more focused discussion of Devon and Cornwall before 1066 (ch. ii) is helpful in pointing out how very different were Devon and Cornwall – so much so that one might argue that each merits a separate treatment, perhaps in a separate volume. The

question asked, for example, of the many people who appear uniquely as patron saints of Cornish churches, 'were they saints in the usual sense' (p. 13) begs the question: what is a saint in the usual sense in medieval Cornwall? Here is a hint that the Cornish dedications might require investigation in a more detailed Cornish context rather than as an addendum (albeit contrasting) to Devon. For example, the difference in early medieval Cornwall between saints and notable, perhaps founding, locals is arguable. A more useful distinction in Celtic regions, rather than saint versus notable, might be local versus not local (as Julia Smith argued in *Speculum* in 1990). Indeed Orme recognises this, commenting that, 'the choice of saints in [Cornwall] was highly localised and little affected by fashionable cults. This pattern differed from most of England' (p. 15). Ch. iii as well, which treats the period from 1066 to the Reformation, shows how very different were the two counties under consideration, and highlights the significant toponymic differences between the two. Here and in the introduction to the gazetteer one has a brief introduction to the most important source for medieval Cornish ecclesiastical, religious, and perhaps in many ways secular history: place-names. Yet many Cornish sites for which several place-names (and possibly patrons) exist are not as fully documented as they might be. In the gazetteer the author gives eight examples of an alternative patron who can be at least argued from place-names; sixteen additional instances for which one might argue a different patron either from an alternative or the current place name (Cubert, St Erth, Fowey, St Germans, Gulval, St Just in Roseland, Madron, Mawgan in Pyder, Mevagissey, Laneast, Lanlivery, Lanreath, Launcells, Lawhitton, Lezant, Ruan Laniorne) are not similarly treated. The Cornish material is not always as amenable to geographical classification as the gazetteer implies, although this is due to ambiguities inherent in the material itself: the entry entitled 'Bodmin: Augustinian priory', for example, would more accurately (although much more clumsily) be entitled 'Benedictine(?) house dedicated to (and founded by) St Petroc almost certainly initially located at Padstow, moved to Bodmin at some time between the late ninth and early eleventh century, and in the early twelfth century transformed into an Augustinian priory'. One might wish that more chapels had been included (and indeed at times those churches which are or were chapels are not noted as such), but this would have changed the scope of the project considerably. As it is, this volume is easy to use and presents valuable information, much of it, in effect, for the first time. It provides a useful and inexpensive basis for further investigation.

DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

KAREN JANKULAK

*Christendom and its discontents. Exclusion, persecution and rebellion, 1000–1500.* Edited by Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl. Pp. viii + 376 incl. 3 ills and 3 tables + errata. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. £40. 0 521 47183 4

Discontents is a broad concept, derived from Freud's essay *Civilisation and its discontents*. Sixteen articles, fruit of a 1991 conference at the University of California, Los Angeles, are threaded loosely round the discontents under headings – heterodoxy, dissemination and repression, women's religious aspir-

ations, non-Christian minorities and 'rethinking the boundaries'. It is an engaging book: articles, equipped with their own bibliographies, give easy access to research. Some are outstanding, such as Clifford Backman on Arnau de Vilanova, who explains convincingly the bases of Arnau's thought, the reasons for his hold and for his escape from condemnation; or Robert Chazan on the deteriorating image of the Jews, commenting on modern work on antisemitism and clarifying how positive aspects of twelfth-century development, its rationality, its new understanding of intention and stress on the Passion, rebounded against Jews; or Katherine Gill on controversies concerning *clausura* and women's religious communities in late medieval Italy, demolishing the notion of a progressive movement towards enclosure and the decision of *Circa pastoralis* in 1556, explaining from the inside the motivation of women religious, revealing how scholarship has been muddled by misunderstanding of the term *scandalum*. There are effective, scholarly articles: Anne Hudson on Lollard preaching around 1400; Mary and Richard Rouse on Durand of Huesca's revision of Peter of Capua's biblical *distinctiones*, revealing Durand's intellectual calibre and contacts; Olivia Constable on the relationship between the Iberian slave trade and the Christian–Moslem divide; and, lucid and illuminating, Edward Peters on authority and 'impious exegesis', pursuing the handling of Proverbs xxii. 28 across the centuries to show how attitudes to the limits of scholars' enquiries changed. One article, R. I. Moore on heresy, repression and social change in the age of Gregorian reform, had the potential to form a programme for the whole; he conscientiously updates and develops a muscular case for his thesis on the role of the eleventh century in the rise of heresy and its repression, the importance of (often hidden) secular factors, and gives a pungent survey on the lines of his *Formation of a persecuting society* (Oxford 1987); Chazan takes up the challenge *en passant* (pp. 224–5), accepting Moore's emphasis on analysis of the host society taking priority over research into supposed external or internal threats, but expressing disquiet over his assumption that 'anti-outgroup imagery was created by elites to further their power aspirations'. One could do with more debate. The search for secular factors is fruitful but should not obscure the doctrinal. Heresy at Orléans was not a mere pretext for factional politics; the profundity of the heresy is well attested; that, plus the pertinacity of the heretics, explains why it was handled ferociously while heresy in Arras was not (*pace* Moore, *Formation*, 25–7).

EASTCOMBE,  
STROUD

M. D. LAMBERT

*Three eleventh-century Anglo-Latin saints' Lives. Vita S. Birini, Vita et miracula S. Kenelmi and Vita S. Rumwoldi.* Edited and translated by Rosalind C. Love. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Pp. cxc + 149. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. £45. 0 19 820524 4

In post-Conquest England the production of Latin *Vitae* for Anglo-Saxon saints became an industry. Modern scholars, repelled by the genre's spurious character, have tended to avoid it: only a minority of the texts are critically edited, and some have never been printed at all. This edition and extended analysis of three

representative *Vitae*, chosen to illustrate the wide range but all probably written in the second half of the eleventh century, should therefore be warmly welcomed.

After the age of Bede there is a great gulf in Anglo-Latin hagiography until a small group of late tenth-century texts (recently studied to good effect by Michael Lapidge) associated with reformed houses. In the more prolific revival of the 1060s onwards the towering figure is Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, to whom the *Vita S. Kenelmi* is tentatively ascribed. In a long introductory section, which will be the starting-point for future work, Love traces the development of English legends through the first half of the eleventh century, and discusses the liturgical and other evidence for a growing interest in indigenous saints. None the less, and although the hagiographical revival may begin with Edward the Confessor's Lotharingian ecclesiastics, it seems a largely post-Conquest affair, stimulated by an urge (probably felt alike by English and Normans) to promote the sites of relic-cults in changing times.

The *Vita S. Birini*, probably by the author of the *Vita S. Swithini* and in the same pompous Latin, is chiefly remarkable for its vacuity: everything in it of substance comes from Bede, and (in marked contrast to the other two *Vitae*) it reflects no locally-rooted cult. Is this because his relics were translated so early from Dorchester-on-Thames to Winchester, which had bigger fish to fry? If any Birinus legend developed in the upper Thames, there is no trace of it here. The *Vita et miracula S. Kenelmi* could not be more different: a highly-coloured account of the Mercian prince's martyrdom and the retribution visited on his wicked sister, with circumstantial reference to associated sites in the landscape and to the monastic topography of Winchcombe. Its author works into his story the vernacular couplet, 'In Clent cow-valley under a thorn / Lies Kenelm king's-son deprived of his head', which seems to have had a wide and independent currency. The miracle collection is especially interesting for its stories of the shire court (pp. 71-5). The *Vita S. Rumwoldi* tells one of the most bizarre tales in medieval hagiography, of an infant who demands baptism, preaches a sermon, and dies aged three days after requesting successive burial at King's Sutton, Brackley and Buckingham. Compared with the Kenelm text it 'seems only a rather limited, clerically-minded, response to local tradition' (p. clxi), perhaps because its author, however committed to promoting the cult, could not help boggling at the idea of a preaching baby. The perplexing appearances of this cult in Kent are convincingly associated with the great thegn Æthelnoth of Canterbury, who owned the Northamptonshire manor where Rumwold was reputedly born.

The texts are edited to an exemplary standard from all known manuscripts, translated and copiously annotated. The style, latinity and sources of the *Vitae*, and the liturgical cults of the three saints, are fully discussed. The only technical deficiency is the unexpectedly inadequate index. For making this important and under-studied material available, and setting a model for others to follow, we are much in Love's debt.

If there is any sense of disappointment it is in her tendency to evade (even one feels not to acknowledge) the roots of much of the material in folk-culture. Her denial of a vernacular basis for the Kenelm story verges on the perverse (pp. cx, 51n.), and it is revealing that she notes its parallel with Aaron's flowering rod (p. 59n.) but not its link with the European myth of the Juniper Tree (for which see J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social memory*, Oxford 1992, 62-71). The

folkloric character of the material would have been made clearer by bringing in the *Vita* of another supposed Mercian prince, St Freomund: like Rumwold he is buried in three successive places, like Kenelm his grave is marked by a sprouting rod and a column of light, and his story, like Kenelm's, flashes briefly to an exotic location for the miraculous revelation of the relics (the Holy Sepulchre in the one case, the pope's altar in the other). The infant who predicts Freomund's birth (p. clxxi) must in a sense be 'the same person' as Rumwold, but one may guess that the three-day-old prodigy was an established fairy-tale motif in the region of the Oxfordshire/Buckinghamshire border.

Scholars' entirely proper awareness of the literary and formal character of English post-Conquest hagiography is in danger of blinding them to the traditional elements which it does undoubtedly contain: why is it that we now have motif-indexes for Irish, Welsh and Breton saints' *Lives*, but not for English ones? We await more editions of these texts, but also a generation of students who will be trained in the methodologies both of hagiography and of folklore.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JOHN BLAIR

*England and Germany in the high Middle Ages*. Edited by Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath. (Studies of the German Historical Institute London.) Pp. ix + 389. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the German Historical Institute London), 1996. £40. 0 19 920504 3

The sixteen substantial essays contained in this volume – which is dedicated to the memory of Karl Leyser – are the product of a 1987 conference on the history of Germany and England between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Some of the papers concentrate on events within each country, others draw possible points of comparison between the two. The range of themes is impressive, although as the editors acknowledge, by no means exhaustive. The topics discussed fall under the following headings: modes of communication, kingship and peace, kings and armies, the political and social context of the Jews, developments in urban and rural social life and, the subject of most interest to this reviewer, the crusades. Peter Edbury stretches the title of the collection a little by offering a paper on crusade preaching in Wales. Using the *Itinerarium Cambriae* of Gerald of Wales he is able to provide a neat insight into the practicalities of crusade preaching in the late twelfth century. Rudolf Hiestand's paper discusses German kingship and the crusade in the twelfth century. Germany and the crusades is an area of growing interest in crusade studies at present; particularly in the English-speaking world. Hiestand's initial purpose is not to detail what each individual did in the course of any given expedition, but rather to highlight the basic point that German rulers, contrary to popular perception, were extensively involved in the crusades. His point concerning the downplaying of Conrad III's role in the Second Crusade can be bolstered further by reference to contemporary Byzantine sources who regarded Conrad as far more important than his fellow-crusader Louis VII of France (the man who usually holds centre-stage in modern accounts) and portray the German as the commander of a bigger, if less disciplined, force. Hiestand's paper is also concerned to show the

effect of the crusade on the personal, political and constitutional history of Germany. Crusading had a substantial impact on succession issues in Germany: for example, Conrad III's death was probably the result of an illness contracted in the course of his travels, and the demise of Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick of Swabia on the Third Crusade contributed to the subsequent disorder at the start of the thirteenth century. Pogroms against the Jews of the Rhineland challenged public order and represent another effect of the crusade amongst the many mentioned here. Interestingly, however, Hiestand chooses to ignore any connection between kingship and crusading against the pagans to the east. While no reigning monarch led a crusade against the Wends in this period it was such an important element in the history of Germany and the crusades that it is worth some note. This point notwithstanding, this is an interesting and thought-provoking paper which typifies both the high standard and originality of this impressive collection.

ROYAL HOLLOWAY,  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JONATHAN PHILLIPS

*Romanesque manuscripts. The twelfth century, I: Text and illustrations; II: Catalogue.* By Walter Cahn. (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France.) Pp. 48 incl. map and 22 text ills + 374 black-and-white and 16 colour plates; 220 incl. map and 3 ills. London: Harvey Miller, 1996. £125. 1 8725 0160 5 (set)

Harvey Miller Publishers have a reputation for bravely taking on visionary projects which would have daunted even the most passionate of art publishers. Probably their evidently excellent relationship with Jonathan Alexander has something to do with their accepting the challenge, for Professor Alexander was general editor of their first ground-breaking six-part illustrated survey of medieval manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles. The ambitious plan was then to locate and to reassemble into chronological order descriptions and plates of all the most artistically important manuscripts of all periods made in Britain. Those great folio volumes extend from the sixth century to the Renaissance. They are now essential and well-thumbed tools for anyone concerned with any aspect of the cultural life of the English Middle Ages. It is hardly possible to think how manuscript historians ever managed without them. The first volume to appear, covering the twelfth century, was published in 1975. The last, completing the set, covers England in the fifteenth century and finally appeared in 1996.

Jonathan Alexander has come back to Harvey Miller Publishers with an even more ambitious project, and he now shares the general editorship with his old friend, François Avril, at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The idea is to attempt the same formula for all the manuscripts illuminated in France, wherever they may now survive. This time, seven parts are planned, recording and illustrating the greatest or most richly illuminated manuscripts made in what is now France between the seventh century and 1560. Once again, the volume for the twelfth century has appeared first.

What is perhaps most remarkable first of all is that this magnificent project should have been initiated in England and written in English. The French take their manuscripts very seriously indeed, and the recording of texts and

provenances undertaken by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes is unmatched in any other country. France probably leads the world now in the scientific application of codicology and palaeography. It is notable therefore that book-illumination as such has been relatively neglected by the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, and that an English and American team of scholars has been recruited to assemble this series. Walter Cahn, author of the present volume, is Professor of the History of Art at Yale University. He is, however, one of the most widely travelled and Francophile of art historians, as well-known for his work on romanesque architecture and sculpture as on manuscripts. Every page of this elegant book conveys his first-hand familiarity with manuscripts in municipal libraries all across Europe. His descriptions and epithets of colour, technique and style are those of a man who has leafed infinitely carefully through every page of what he describes, and has recorded his impressions and observations on the spot. It would be difficult, in fact, to think of anyone better qualified than Professor Cahn to make the far-reaching stylistic links and parallels which make this volume so fascinating. The absolute work involved in selecting and assembling material for this book, and then making it consistent and surprisingly readable, will command the admiration and gratitude of even the most patriotic Frenchman.

There are two major differences between attempting such a survey for manuscripts made in France and those of the British Isles. First of all, there are far more surviving manuscripts from France. There are certainly very many extant English manuscripts, but the number is ultimately finite. Probably more books survive from the Middle Ages in France, however, than in any other country of Europe, and these include a very large percentage of the greatest manuscripts ever made. As yet, no author has been assigned the volume for the fifteenth century; and the task will be virtually impossible for it is probably too vast. Even Walter Cahn had to select his 152 manuscripts out of thousands he must have seen.

The second difference, especially for romanesque books, is that many manuscripts now belong to municipal libraries quite close to the monasteries where they were made. The English Reformation of the 1530s scattered the manuscripts of the abbeys, but the French Revolution and Napoleonic suppressions mostly brought the residues of the ancient libraries into the care of the local municipalities. Walter Cahn describes four books in Amiens, four in Boulogne-sur-Mer, eight in Dijon (supreme books from Cîteaux Abbey), three in St-Omer, and so on. Part of the delight in working on major French monastic books is the pleasure of sitting in a sleepy reading-room of a country library, among snuffling old men with newspapers and children with *Tintin*. Reference books in such libraries are often in short supply and photographic facilities can be limited. The illustrations in the present book are overall excellent (black-and-white better than colour) and they must have been extremely difficult to obtain with such consistency. Other manuscripts described are in the Bibliothèque Nationale (of course) and as far abroad as Heiligenkreuz, Parma and Baltimore. Professor Cahn allows himself the indulgence of including a part Bible in the Beinecke Library at Yale, his home university. A glossed Genesis cited in volume ii (p. 104), as 'Whereabouts unknown', is in fact now in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California.

Each entry gives a brief physical description of the manuscript, and lists all its principal illuminations or pictures. Then follows a long paragraph on the origin and date of the manuscript, usually with stylistic comparisons with other books (over 500 manuscripts are cited in the index, for 152 entries), and a comprehensive bibliography.

This antiquarian journey around the libraries brings us some of the most beautiful and famous books ever made, such as the marvellous volumes of St Jerome from Cîteaux (Dijon, mss 129, 132), and the great four-volume Capucins Bible (BN, ms lat. 16743–6). It also ushers forwards into the light some of the utterly enchanting little-known local texts of twelfth-century monasteries, like the Cartulary of Mont St-Michel (Avranches, ms 21), the Life of St Quentin (Saint Quentin, Chapter Library, ms 1) and the Life of St Airy (Verdun, ms 8). It begins around 1100, when almost all books were made in monasteries, and it ends with the first books attributable to the workshops around the Schools in Paris and to the initiative of lay aristocratic patrons, like the woman who must have commissioned the lovely Fécamp Psalter (The Hague, ms 76.F.13), which Professor Cahn reassigns to Ham in Vermandois. This is a journey packed with information, leading us from the cloister to the very edge of gothic Europe. It is difficult to hope that subsequent volumes in this series will equal it in elegance and energy.

SOTHEBY'S,  
LONDON

CHRISTOPHER DE HAMEL

*Homéiaires patristiques latins. Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux.* By Raymond Etaix. (Collections des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen-Age et Temps Modernes 29.) Pp. xix+699+frontispiece and 2 plates. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1994. 2 85121 140 4; 1159 4888

This collection of twenty-three articles contains much, but by no means all, of the important work of Raymond Etaix, *savant* and professor at Lyon for many years. Two of the items printed here have not previously been published. The first is a 'Répertoire des homéiaires conservés en France (hors la Bibliothèque Nationale)': a Leroquais-type inventory on a very small scale (and one needs to read pp. 3–4 carefully to understand what is excluded), immensely useful but frustrating in making one long for comparable information about the 130 similar codices in the BN. The second is a study of the great twelfth-century lectionary of Corbie – some 670 items spread out over three large mss in Paris; there is a surprising amount of 'modern' material, including Ralph d'Escures and Geoffrey Babion as well as St Bernard.

The articles are grouped into four sections, dealing with the homiliaries of France, Spain, Italy and Germany (only five, four and two, respectively, in the last three categories). Among the ten articles on French homiliaries are major studies of the homiliaries or office lectionaries of the Carthusians and the Cluniacs, with smaller treatments of those at such places as Mont St-Michel, St-Thierry, and Clermont cathedral (the latter, of the tenth century, is particularly fascinating).

Not surprisingly, given their content, the articles are for the most part building blocks towards the construction of a larger edifice – one that has in a sense to be



imagined. Certainly these pieces will be best used alongside Réginald Grégoire's two standard works, *Les homéliaires du moyen âge* (Rome 1966) and *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (Spoleto 1980), where fuller indices of incipits will also be found. The corresponding index in Etaix's work omits the standard contents of the collections of Alan of Farfa and Paul the Deacon. Moreover, of the roughly 1,300 incipits indexed here, many are not in full enough form to allow for useful cross-reference: 'Dies resurrectionis Domini' or 'Erat mulier quaedam' or 'Quodam loco' could well have been expanded to include the first significant word. The index of MSS cited shows that only seven of the more than 100 libraries represented are in the Anglophone world. There is also a brief index of saints who are the subjects of homilies in these collections studied by Etaix (which, as he makes plain, do not include legendaries). If this lifetime's work could be done afresh, it would doubtless have been feasible to compile a computerised index of all the patristic and medieval authors presented in these collections. But, put another way, it will be possible for such an index to be compiled only because of the massive labours patented in these articles.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
CHAPEL HILL

RICHARD W. PFAFF

Hermann of Tournai, *The restoration of the monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*.

Edited by Lyn H. Nelson. (Medieval Texts in Translation.) Pp. xxix + 248  
incl. 2 maps and 3 charts. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America  
Press, 1996. £27.95 (cloth), £15.95 (paper). 0 8132 0850 5; 0 8132 0851 3

Almost any addition to the repertoire of medieval sources available in translation is a welcome one, but the text translated here is an especially good choice. Like Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon*, or Radulf Glaber's *Histories* or Ordericus Vitalis's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Hermann's text is formally a history, but in fact has much of the character of a personal memoir which ranges over the whole of the author's experience in rich and significant detail. Hermann, who had for a time been abbot of St Martin's and whose family was closely linked with the house, began writing it long after his resignation when he had time on his hands because of waiting for a papal judgement on the dispute between Noyon and Tournai at Rome in 1142, though it is clear that he was still working on it when he departed on the Second Crusade in 1147, never to return. The ostensible subject is the reconversion of St Martin in the 1090s from a house of secular canons back to the monastery it had originally been, and the ostensible time-frame is between about 1090 and 1108. Much of the work is taken up with lengthy digressions, however, which range much more widely in time and space. The history of the counts of Flanders from about 1070 up to and beyond the murder of Charles the Good is to be found in chapters 12–13, 17–36; chapters 14–16 are a brief account of English history from the Norman Conquest to Stephen; chapters 30–6 deal with the later stages of the Investiture Contest; running through much of the remaining chapters are fragmentary histories of the bishoprics of Cambrai–Arras and Noyon–Tournai as well as of the local noble families and of the city of Tournai. The editor has done a very good job. The translation (based essentially on the MGH text with some additional material from a late Tournai ms, now BL,

ms Harleian 4441) reads fluently and, samples suggest, accurately, and much help is given to the reader who embarks on this multi-layered text. The commentary is admirably full on the things it does comment on, but more could perhaps have been done, not least by way of explaining and correcting Hermann's errors (why is Alsace 'near Saxony', for example, in chapter xvii?). Since the text itself is not over-long (only 130 pages) space might also have been found for translations of some associated documentary material, such as the final concord between the monks and the canons negotiated by Everard of Avesnes in 1108. But it is always possible to ask for more from editions and translations; we should be grateful for what we have here, which is a record of an often very personal response to the religious, social and political changes of the late eleventh century which deserves to stand alongside Guibert of Nogent's much better-known text.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

TIMOTHY REUTER

*The boundaries of charity. Cistercian culture and ecclesiastical reform, 1098–1180.* By Martha G. Newman. (*Figurae*, Reading Medieval Culture.) Pp. xx + 387 incl. 6 figs + 1 map. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996. £37.50 (\$49.50). 0 8047 2512 8

This is an original and exciting book which deserves to be widely read. It moves from the culture which the Cistercians created within their own communities to the ways that they interacted with the world around them: their relations with their patrons, with bishops, with the Church at large and with the conflicts and heresies which disturbed it. The thesis advanced here with great clarity and insight is that in every sphere the white monks were inspired by the same ideal, to establish charity, their inspiration within their own face-to-face communities, and for the relationships which they tried to create between those communities. This thesis, once one has heard it, may seem obvious, but, to my knowledge, no one has ever before brought together the basic Cistercian 'constitutional' documents, their writings about love, and their activity beyond their own circles. Seen in this light, when Bernard, for example, complained that his friends were 'always trying to drag me, enmeshed in the nets of obedience, from the cloister to the cities' (*ep.* xxi.1) he was only expressing half the story. What he and other abbots were trying to do was to change the world around them just because of the kind of relationship they were trying to create within their monasteries. Cistercians may have been very clear that their function was not to devote their lives to intercession for others (they spent less time at this than Cluniacs, but more than Carthusians), nor to save others by undertaking pastoral work (that was the task of the secular clergy), but they did respond to every call to try to change the way that the clergy lived, to make peace between disputants, and to combat heresy. But just because love was the motion that inspired them, their effectiveness diminished as the Church became increasingly guided by more abstract, particularly legal, ideas with which they themselves did not often engage: the heyday of their influence was passing around the time Bernard died. Newman's book comes to a dying fall around 1180, after some Cistercians had tried to mediate during two great crises, the Becket controversy and the tensions between Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III, both struggles which divided their own

order. It was then that the 'illusory nature of the Church united by caritas became clear'.

This is a continually stimulating and engaging book, deriving its strength from the wide variety of kinds of evidence reviewed. There are penetrating readings of well-known texts, like Bernard's treatise in praise of the Templars, for example, where Newman draws attention to the fact that Bernard lingered longest over the place where Christ was buried, rather than over the place of his birth or the crucifixion, or any place where he had lived. He felt that his audience, faced as they were by sudden death, would be best encouraged by Christ's resting-place with its promise of new life, rather than being urged to live lives more like Christ's, even though when teaching his own monks the Incarnation and Crucifixion were central themes. I also enjoyed the use of Bernard's *Life of Malachy* and Geoffrey of Auxerre's *Life of Peter of Tarentaise* to bring out just those qualities which Cistercians looked for in a bishop. There are careful and imaginative considerations of ritual behaviour between monks and between them and their abbots which show how the distance between leader and led within a Cistercian community was subtly different from that experienced within the traditional Benedictine house. Such changes were connected with the way that the *Carta caritatis*, and the decisions of successive general chapters, lessened the degree of discretion left to an abbot concerning the day-to-day application of the Rule. Whereas Benedict had left many things, relating to clothing, or food, for example, to his decision, now they were settled by the regular meetings of the abbots in chapter, which subjected every abbot to one interpretation of the Rule.

But beside compelling one's admiration for the clarity, range and power of the argument, this book opens up further issues. I may mention four. To what degree does this thesis depend upon the writings and actions of one extraordinary man, the first abbot of Clairvaux? One has only to notice how many more references there are to him than to any other person, for the question to surface. Again, although it is clear that he and Peter the Venerable had rather different conceptions of the demands of charity when it came to organising a monastery, was the Cistercian emphasis on charity so very different from that found among other sorts of monks? Bernard's charity included a good deal of aggression, reflected in some of his parables in which it becomes a kind of weapon, but was that not fairly close to the way some apologists for crusading wrote about it as a kind of love? Lastly, were the Cistercians the only religious who became bishops and cardinals, and found themselves being called upon to act as peacemakers and negotiators?

So, this is a book which I welcome as warmly as I can. It is well-abreast with recent scholarship, and often takes in its footnotes a charitable but firm way through some recent controversies. Occasionally the text needs correction: the Council of Étampes, for example, has different dates on pp. 195 and 198, but on the whole the book fills one with confidence. There are few books about the order which make such a satisfying attempt to see so many sides of its life as a whole. It is a powerful and provoking argument.

EXETER

CHRISTOPHER HOLDSWORTH

*Mittelalterliche Texte. Überlieferung – Befunde – Deutungen. Kolloquium der Zentraldirektion der Monumenta Germaniae Historica am 28./29. Juni 1996.* Edited by Rudolf Schieffer. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, 42.) Pp. ix + 278. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996. DM 60. 3 7752 5442 0

The papers of a colloquium honouring the seventieth birthday of Horst Fuhrmann appropriately open with A. Borst's study of how birthdays have been recorded and regarded from classical to modern times. J. Fried provides a convincing account of Frederick II's second book on falconry, or rather on falconry and hunting. P. Landau demonstrates that citations of Pope Gregory I's Register in the *Decretum Gratiani* were usually not made directly but mediately through other sources. K. Reindel outlines how Peter Damiani's letters were preserved and gives reasons for thinking that a considerable number may have been lost. K. Elm discusses a hitherto unnoticed *Quaestio disputata de praestantia religionis S. Augustini* of the Augustinian hermit Gerard of Bergamo, debated at Paris in 1333. Reviewing the use of confectionery and spices by the grand masters of the Teutonic knights, H. Boockmann examines their supply, price and consumption. H. Hoffmann appraises the editing of the early volumes of *MGH Scriptores*, balancing serious faults against solid advances by Pertz and Waitz upon prevailing standards and against the enduring usefulness of their work. Kehr long ago described the *Leges nationum Germanicarum* collectively as the problem child of the *Monumenta*; W. Hartmann exposes radical faults in all the volumes and concludes that new editions are required. E. Müller-Mertens recollects how, between 1961 and 1986, work on *MGH Constitutiones et acta publica*, vols ix, x, continued across the frontier in a divided Berlin. *Festiva lanx*: though maybe, like menus, colloquia benefit from overall coherence?

ST EDMUND HALL,  
OXFORD

H. E. J. COWDREY

*Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo und die sächsische Geschichtsschreibung im 12. Jahrhundert.* By Klaus Nass. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, 41.) Pp. lviii + 472 + 16 plates. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996. DM 120. 3 7752 5441 2; 0080 6951

This careful and scholarly study will be indispensable for anyone working on historical writing in Germany, above all in Saxony, up until the mid twelfth century. This is because the annalistic history – in effect the earliest volume of the 'Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte' – written by an anonymous author whom Leibniz christened *Annalista Saxo* consists of a mosaic put together from no less than fifty-two different historical and hagiographical narratives, including ten which are now lost, as well as from thirty-four letters and charters. After fifty pages discussing the manuscript (Paris, BN ms lat. 11851), with twelve plates illustrating the different hands – one of which is probably the author's – and the inadequacies of the existing editions, by Eckhart in 1739 and Waitz in 1844, Nass turns to his main subject, a meticulous analysis in almost 300 pages, of the *Annalist's* sources. He shows that even for his own day he was a compiler rather than an independent historian. But he also shows what a skilful and careful

compiler he was. Most of his annals used material (not always readily datable) from three or four different sources; the annal for 1002 from as many as ten. Although he clearly worked in eastern Saxony, and was familiar with Huysburg, a monastery in the diocese of Halberstadt, Nass convincingly shows that the conventional identification of him as Arnold, abbot of Berge bei Magdeburg and of Nienburg an der Saale, is unsafe – in part because the Annalist takes a more neutral line on Ekkehard of Aura's white-washing of Henry v's capture of Paschal II and the *privilegium* of 1111 than do the Nienburger annals themselves. Despite this he was in general a supporter of the reform papacy and of Gregory VII against Henry IV. Although twenty-seven of his narrative sources were composed in Saxony (including two of his *Leitquellen*, Thietmar of Merseburg and Bruno of Magdeburg), his omission of Widukind's account of the origins of the Saxons suggests that his own perspective was German rather than enthusiastically Saxon. Thus he also used twenty-five non-Saxon narratives (including his two other main sources, Regino of Prüm and Ekkehard of Aura) and he began his history with 741, a year of no particular significance for Saxons but reflecting the twelfth-century perception of a German kingdom developing out of a Carolingian mould. Nass investigates the extant manuscripts of the Annalist's sources with great care, showing for example that he used seven in versions more detailed than any which have come down to us. Hence he throws a flood of light not just on this remarkable compiler but also on such questions as the extent of historical knowledge in Saxony and the reception of fifty-two narratives from the time they were written until his own day. Ironically the Annalist's own work was to be hardly known at all until rescued from obscurity by Mabillon. Textual analysis, including the lack of a dedication, leads Nass to suggest that the history was still unfinished when the author left off work at some date between 1152 and 1154, having taken it as far as 1142 (though it finishes in 1139 as the manuscript stands now). The death of the Annalist with his work incomplete might well explain why it survived, unpublished, in only the one manuscript. By the 1290s this had reached Würzburg where in the 1340s it was quarried by Lupold of Bebenburg for such treatises as the *Libellus de zelo christianae religionis veterum principum Germanorum*. The thoroughness and rigour of Nass's work promises much for the forthcoming MGH edition of the Annalista.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE      JOHN GILLINGHAM

*Die Antoniter, die Chorherren vom Heiligen Grab in Jerusalem und die Hospitaliter vom Heiligen Geist in der Schweiz*. Edited by Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel (with Anne-Marie Courtieu-Capt, Kaspar Elm, Veronika Feller-Vest, Adalbert Mischlewski, Kathrin Utz Tremp and Joseph Zwicker) (*Helvetia Sacra*, IV, 4.) Pp. 333. Basle–Frankfurt: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1996. DM 138.  
3 7190 1512 2

This portion of *Helvetia Sacra* is devoted to religious communities which followed the Augustinian rule. The section being reviewed focuses on the hospitaller orders using that rule. A hospital in the medieval period, as Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel makes clear in the opening essay, might engage in various charitable works. It might give immediate relief, provide long-term residence for the aged and

indigent or some combination of both, while also giving spiritual solace. The records of Swiss houses of the three orders covered by this volume, the Antonites or Antonines (noted for relief of ergotism), the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit, however, give us a clearer idea of their organisation, their leadership and the benefactions which they received than of the work which they did. Furthermore, as the various contributions make clear, there was no specifically Swiss aspect to these international religious communities. None the less, each order is given a general treatment for the Middle Ages and the Reformation period together, preceding historical sketches of their individual houses located in Switzerland. All of the contributions are extensively documented, including information on the location of their surviving archives, which will permit interested scholars to do further research. An alphabetical list of medieval hospitals in Switzerland and an extensive index round out this volume. Like the other portions of *Helvetia Sacra*, this one will be of use to scholars interested in ecclesiastical institutions; and it will be of interest to those who study charitable institutions.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THOMAS M. IZBICKI

*Bartholomaei Exoniensis Contra fatalitatis errorem*. Edited by David N. Bell. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 157.) Pp. xxxvi + 181. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996. B.Fr. 3,250. 2 503 04571 5; 0 503 04572 3; 0 503 03000 9  
*Andreae de Sancto Victore Opera, II: Expositio hystorica in librum regum*. Edited by Franciscus A. van Liere. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 53A.) Pp. cxxxiii + 158. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996. B.Fr. 4,250. 2 503 03433 7; 0 503 03534 5; 0 503 03000 9

Bartholomew of Exeter (d. 1184) is not a widely known thinker. Apart from a monograph by Dom Adrian Morey, published in 1937, little attention has ever been accorded Bartholomew, remembered in the *Metamorphosis Goliae* as 'an orator and dialectician, astute in speech' who taught in Paris c. 1140–2. He subsequently returned to England to serve in the household of the archbishop of Canterbury, alongside John of Salisbury, to become bishop of Exeter in 1160. David Bell has made available for the first time a treatise, written near the end of his life specifically to counter apparently widespread belief in prognostication and astrology and to defend the principle of free will. While Bell provides a full account of the vicissitudes of Bartholomew's career in relation to the Becket controversy, in particular of his capacity to retain the favour of both royal and archiepiscopal parties, the treatise itself is not given prolonged analysis in the introduction. The edition identifies the major sources culled by Bartholomew in its opening section (Basil on the Hexaemeron, Ambrose, Augustine, Anselm and Boethius), but not those early scholastic thinkers by whom Bartholomew may have been influenced. The *Contra fatalitatis errorem* deserves to be more widely studied as a treatise employing the semantic theory of modes of signification to resolve the classic problem of providence and free will. One wonders, for example, whether Robert of Melun, subsequently bishop of Hereford, might have had an influence on Bartholomew. The edition itself is professional, apart from an ungrammatical running-title ('*De fatalitatis errorem*') used throughout the text.

Andrew of St Victor is a more well-known thinker of the twelfth century, not least through the research of Beryl Smalley. The edition by Frans van Liere of Andrew's commentary on Samuel and Kings forms part of a larger series within the *Continuatio Mediaevalis*, complementing the study of Andrew as exegete and theologian by Rainer Berndt, published in the series *Bibliotheca Victorina* (Turnhout–Paris 1991). In a substantial introduction, van Liere presents a succinct account of the relatively limited exegetical tradition on which Andrew could draw. Andrew is most well-known for incorporating Jewish interpretations of Scripture into his own, distinctively literal mode of exegesis. Van Liere identifies within his edition those rabbinical commentators with whom Andrew might have been familiar (Joseph Kara, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, David Kimhi [Radak]), but concludes that no certain source can be found for many of his interpretations *ex Hebraeo*. Andrew's patristic sources are revealed as largely coming from the *Glossa ordinaria*, and following principles established by Hugh of St Victor. Van Liere's discussion of four central elements of Andrew's exegesis (textual, grammatical, literary and historical) provide a helpful introduction into the treatise. The edition itself, based on reconstruction of an archetype from three distinct manuscript groups, is a model of its kind.

MONASH UNIVERSITY

CONSTANT MEWS

*Alberto, patriarca di Gerusalemme. Tempo – vita – opera.* By Vincenzo Mosca, O. CARM. (Institutum Carmelitanum. Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, 20.) Pp. 780 incl. 25 ill. Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996. 88 7288 042 4; 0394 7793

Vincenzo Mosca's book, though written from a Carmelite perspective, treats the subject broadly. Albert is first placed in the context of ecclesiastical reform in the twelfth century. Mosca turns to Albert himself only in chapter ii, where he examines his career as a canon regular and bishop of Bobbio; further chapters recount his period as bishop of Vercelli (1185–1205), with detailed analyses of his relations with ecclesiastical communities and with the Humiliati. Here Mosca takes further the study of L. Minghetti (*Aevum* lix [1985]). The chapter on Albert's patriarchate of Jerusalem (1205–14) is less full, there being less available documentary evidence. Albert's interest to Carmelites lay largely in his role as legislator for the hermits living on Mount Carmel. If there is not much new evidence to produce, Mosca makes the most of the opportunity to examine the *Rule* in the context of existing monastic life in the crusader east and from the standpoint of pastoral theology. There is a fascinating but brief chapter on the development of Carmelite traditions about the origins of the Order. The *Institutum Carmelitanum* series gives authors the opportunity to treat subjects in exhaustive detail and with the support of full appendices. Mosca provides 200 pages of texts, including the *Rule* Albert wrote for the canons of Mortara and, in parallel with the papal confirmation of 1247, the *Rule* for the hermits of Mount Carmel.

UNIVERSITY OF LANCASTER

ANDREW JOTISCHKY

*Beginen im Bodenseeraum*. By Andreas Wilts. (Bodensee-Bibliothek, 37.) Pp. 508 + 1 colour plate. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994. Dm 78. 3 7995 5038 0

Andreas Wilts's dissertation treats Beguine communities around the region of Lake Constance from 1200 into the fifteenth century. This an immensely important contribution to the study of women's religious movements in the high Middle Ages. It goes beyond commonplace generalisations based upon a few extant *Vitae*. At its core, the book is a very successful regional and archival study, focused essentially on the diocese of Constance. In Appendix B Wilts sets out the documentation for 112 known houses of all sizes and longevity. Most of this consists of property and financial documents, with little in the way of statutes or normative materials. Yet the evidence completely alters the known historical data, as well as historians' perceptions of the role of Beguines in high medieval religious and social life. Further, Wilts points to the importance of rural houses of Beguines, a phenomenon hardly studied or even known. The issue then becomes, over time, how such houses must relate to parishes, orders or rural lords. Wilts also posits the simultaneous appearance of Beguines in different parts of the Rhineland and central Europe at nearly the same time, challenging any linear model which would trace the movement back to its origins in the Low Countries. Indeed, houses in the diocese of Constance, present from the 1210s, antedate those known from other parts of Germany (mostly 1230s), and may have owed something to similar impulses coming from Italian cities just over the Alps. The Beguine courts in present-day Belgium, in other words, were a distinct phenomenon, which should also be treated regionally and not as a global model.

At the heart of Wilts's historical argument is a perception of these women as making their own way, not as the failed margins of a broader religious movement. In the early days, that is, before 1250, women of all social groups came together to pursue a religious life, the followership of Christ, and arranged for houses and protection in any way they could – a movement from below and rooted locally. There was no rule, and poverty was secondary to community and devotion. A majority eventually chose to become religious to guarantee services and protection, and here a pattern emerged: the rural houses where a lower nobility predominated tended to become Cistercian, and houses in towns with 'citizen' members tended to become Dominican. Many houses, moreover, were extremely poor, and could barely survive.

Wilts then follows the movement to a further stage, post-1250. Tensions arise with the secular clergy and with magistrates, and the women seek out coalitions with male religious, above all with mendicants. Rural houses, seeking protection from Cistercians and Benedictines, were increasingly required to give up their informal Beguine ways, and either dissolve or become a cloister. But under the care of mendicants, also in those rural towns with mendicant 'stations', urban women found ways, as Beguines, to survive the attacks of suspicious secular clerics. Within these houses, Wilts believes, distinct emphases became manifest: houses under Franciscan care tended toward charitable activities, while those under Dominicans became more contemplative. This entire movement was possible, Wilts concludes, because a new urban social order provided more people and greater mobility, women enjoyed greater freedom of self-determination and action on a public stage, and the more human Christ held out an ideal to which these women could respond outside the cloistered life.



The number of women and houses continued to increase after the year 1300, Wilts demonstrates, but, intriguingly, far more in small rural communities and usually with a greater inclination to the contemplative life. These women still belonged in principle to the parish, though they opted for a lifestyle more Franciscan in its general tone and they refused to take vows. Is it possible to argue that demographic expansion and social mobility affected these rural communities after 1300, as they had small towns after 1200? In any case, despite criticism and local ecclesiastical disputes, these communities of women would persist until the Council of Trent, when the call for order and discipline came down as a demand for vows, cloistered communities and Latin worship.

Wilts's books make an extremely important contribution to the discussion of women's religious movements in the Middle Ages, and its results need to be absorbed by those studying other regions or related phenomena. The scholarship is impeccable and important, with particular houses treated in greater detail as exemplary for those from which little evidence survives. If there is any critique to offer, it is only this: with nearly all the evidence drawn from documentary sources, Wilts inclines towards broad rubrics such as the 'women's religious movement' (Grundmann), a 'discipleship' imagined as Franciscan, and an 'independence' conceived as utterly opposed to claustration. He may be right about all of them. But they are inferences from his evidence; they are not found in the evidence as such. The historians who draw upon his marvellous findings must be careful not to take over his generalisations unexamined as well.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

JOHN VAN ENGEN

*Rewriting Caucasian history. The medieval Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The original Georgian texts and the Armenian adaptation.* Translated with introduction and commentary by Robert W. Thomson. (Oxford Oriental Monographs.) Pp. lv+408 incl. 2 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. £55. 0 19 826373 2

The corpus of writings known as the 'Georgian Chronicles' (*K<sup>c</sup>art<sup>l</sup>is C<sup>c</sup>xovreba*) covers the period from the legendary origins of the Georgian kingdom to the mid fourteenth century. At some point, probably early in the thirteenth century, when the conquests of the Georgian kings had extended their rule over a considerable part of Armenia, an anonymous Armenian scholar composed an abridged version of these chronicles down to the death of King David II ('the Restorer') in 1125. This Armenian adaptation, the earliest manuscript of which dates from between 1274 and 1311, predates in fact the earliest version of the Georgian text that we possess today, belonging to the fifteenth century. The narrative is far more condensed for the latter part of the period. Since the translator's aim was to glorify both his own people and his own Church, he was obliged to engage in a fair amount of reworking, in much the same way as did the near-contemporary Armenian translator of the great history of Michael the Syrian. Thomson is particularly interested in the differences between the Georgian text and its Armenian epitome. But hitherto those (like this reviewer) with no knowledge of Georgian have had access to the whole range of the 'Chronicles' only through the French translation of M. F. Brosset, produced in

the 1850s on the basis of fewer manuscripts than are now available. Thomson's highly readable English translation of the Georgian is therefore doubly welcome, and his introduction provides a lucid survey of the development of the Armenian and Georgian historiographical traditions.

KEELE UNIVERSITY

PETER JACKSON

*Vox mystica. Essays on medieval mysticism in honor of Professor Valerie M. Lagorio.*

Edited by Anne Clark Bartlett (with Thomas H. Bestul, Janet Goebel and William F. Pollard). Pp. xiv + 235. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995. £39.50.

0 85991 439 9

*Vox mystica* is a volume of seventeen essays in honour of Professor Valerie Legorio and it illuminates many of the areas in which her work has been conducted as well as commemorating the enthusiasm and affection she has inspired over many years in her students and colleagues.

The book is divided, somewhat uneasily, into four sections. The first four papers deal with 'methods'. The first discusses the use of all the senses in understanding mystics such as Mechthild and Eckhart, with the mysterious and vaguely alarming statement: 'instead of reading the texts we could be learning to sense them' (p. 14). The second begins a useful discussion of the Gawain poet with a telling reference to Dr Legorio's 'conviction that religious attitudes are amenable to academic discourse' (p. 15). Under the provoking title 'How many children had Julian of Norwich', the next essay gives a slightly outdated account of the relationship between the manuscripts of *Revelations of divine love*, and the fourth contains reflections on the visions of Mechthild von Magdeburg in the light of the writings of Augustine of Hippo.

The six studies in section two are about 'practices', and range from comments on Beatrice of Nazareth, Richard Rolle, Aelred of Rievaulx, Chaucer, Teresa of Avila and the less well known Sor Maria of Santo Domingo who is discussed in relation to modern drama.

A third section, called 'Communities' (for no obvious reason since it is as much about individuals as the previous papers) has a section on 'gender and spiritual friendship' in some Middle English texts, a sobering paper on three recusant sisters in England, and a look at the life of Dominican nuns, which shows that a love of music was not confined to Benedictines, Carmelites and Franciscans. The last section contains three new translations of mystical texts by Mechthild, Birgitta and an unknown Middle English writer.

F. Tobin begins his paper by lamenting the 'indulgent smiles' which he finds greet descriptions of the study of mysticism in academic circles. This, of course, indicates the problems of the use and misuse of the word and concept of mysticism itself beyond any personal reaction of individual colleagues. How far these essays will go to wiping the indulgent smiles off the academic faces remains to be seen. As a volume expressing respect for a most perceptive scholar it is of undoubted value.

OXFORD

BENEDICTA WARD SLG

*The ladies of Zamora.* By Peter Linehan. Pp. xvi + 192 incl. 3 plates and 2 maps. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. £25. 0 7190 5044 8

The convent of Santa María de las Dueñas (whence the 'ladies' of the title) lies across the Duero River from the medieval town of Zamora in western Spain. In 1264 a female religious community was established according to the rule of St Augustine, but its members were to be permitted the habit and order of the considerably more fashionable Dominicans. They promised obedience to the bishop of Zamora and renounced any attempt to secure privileges, immunities or income contravening or infringing on episcopal rights and jurisdiction. Linehan's book is, in the first instance, a brilliantly witty account of how the ladies did not, in fact, respect this agreement. They became full-fledged Dominicans during the 1270s and 1280s and obtained exemptions and revenues despite the dogged resistance of Bishop Suero Pérez. The nuns also managed rather dramatically to evade the regulations concerning silence and isolation and the normal prohibition of intimate relations with male visitors (most of these visitors were themselves Dominican friars). Such scandalous lapses were not sufficient to deflect the papacy from favouring the mendicant orders, here as elsewhere, at the expense of bishops. Linehan's is not the first discussion of the convent's turbulence but is considerably more reliable and intriguing than its predecessors. The history of the ladies of Zamora exemplifies the mendicants' disruption of episcopal administration as well as the decay of the Dominicans' original inclination towards poverty. The jurisdictional squabble in a remote province had wider implications, however. Among the friars mentioned in connection with the convent's moral laxity was a certain Brother Munio who would go on to become prior provincial of Spain and subsequently Master-General of the Dominicans. His abrupt, unexplained dismissal from this latter eminence by Pope Nicholas IV in 1290 has remained a mystery, one that Linehan has gone a long way towards solving. The dismissal at first provoked outrage among the Order's partisans for this insult to their normal autonomy, but the curiously sudden evaporation of opposition argues (albeit from silence) the diffusion and credibility of rumours of sexual licence. Linehan steers his way deftly through shoals of accusation and litigation. He resists the temptation to regard the episode in terms of putative assertiveness or independence among female religious. The ladies were paid-up members of the higher ranks of the Spanish Church of the era: worldly, aristocratic and singularly unreformed. Only outside this world would the conduct of Brother Munio be questioned, let alone punished. The Spanish Church of the high Middle Ages remained largely a tool of secular and royal interests, not so much despite the successful Reconquista but because of it.

YALE UNIVERSITY

PAUL FREEDMAN

*Les statuts synodaux de Jean de Flandre, évêque de Liège (1288). Édition critique précédée d'une étude de leur sources et de leur contenu.* Edited by Joseph Avril. (Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège, 61.) Pp. 229. Liège: Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège, 1996

Following the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, there was widespread production of synodal legislation across Europe, as local ecclesiastical authorities sought to implement the 'pastoral revolution' which was one of that council's main

legacies. Joseph Avril has worked extensively on such synodal legislation in France; here he focuses on the synodal statutes issued by Bishop Jean de Flandre of Liège in 1288. Over half of the volume consists of an edition of the text, based on the sixteen surviving manuscripts of a compilation which remained in force until the mid fifteenth century. The introduction sets the statutes in several contexts, of the pastoral revolution in general, of the sources exploited by the bishop (mainly statutes issued at Cambrai in the 1230s and at Cologne in the 1260s), and of the evolution of synodal structures and legislation in the diocese of Liège in particular (including a re-edition of the surviving fragment of earlier thirteenth-century synodal statutes for the diocese). At the same time, the particular status of the bishop of Liège, as both secular and spiritual ruler, influenced the construction of the legislation, perhaps notably in a widespread appeal to the powers of excommunication and interdict. The bishop clearly believed in the force and utility of such penalties, fulminated with bravado against a whole host of oppressors of ecclesiastical and clerical liberty, although this rigorist stance was moderated in a subsequent ordinance of 1290. The notes to the edition amply draw out the compilation's derivative nature, and establish parallels with the wider range of thirteenth-century synodal statutes which Avril has discussed elsewhere, and others, although the text itself retains its own character as a compilation. There is much here on the reality of ecclesiastical practice and clerical experience towards the end of the thirteenth century. The predictable anxieties about clerical behaviour appear, with regulations (still) against clerical marriage and the presence of women in clerical households (with a precise stipulation that the 'antiquae' whose presence was tolerable should be over sixty years of age). There are a few minor rules about Beguines; the bishop was also trying to deal with the problems posed by the popularity of burial with the mendicants in the days before *Super cathedram* in terms which presage its conditions (but without explicitly mentioning the friars). Notable in terms of contemporary spirituality is the use of indulgences to encourage attendance at processions accompanying the sacrament to the sick (and return journey of container and priest), or for participation in the funerals of paupers. This volume makes available a valuable source for the ecclesiastical history of the medieval prince-bishopric of Liège. It is also a useful contribution to a wider appreciation of the tensions and developments in local churches, in the broad context of the pastoral revolution which derived from Lateran IV, in changing patterns of lay spirituality, and in the continuing jurisdictional and other confrontations between secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

R. N. SWANSON

*Le mal et le diable. Leurs figures à la fin du moyen âge.* Edited by Nathalie Nabert. (Cultures & Christianisme, 4.) Pp. 274 incl. numerous ills. Paris: Beauchesne/Faculté des Lettres, Université Catholique de Paris, 1996. Fr. 156. 2 7010 1346 1

This collection of conference papers reveals the strengths and weaknesses inherent in so general a project. The editor's introduction is written in the spirit of Huizinga, as though almost sixty years of historical scholarship had not posed a fundamental challenge to his view of the decay of medieval civilization. An

excellent article by Jean-Patrice Boudet on the medieval origins of witch-hunting, an intriguing piece on the lost cycle depicting a *danse macabre* at the Cimetière des Innocents in Paris (Alain Boret), and Danièle Sancy's revealing paper on perceptions of Jews and Muslims in the later Middle Ages (French and English writers often confused the two) make up for the volume's shortcomings. Some other essays do not measure up to quite the same standard. A number of short literary pieces require historical context. For readers of this publication, the good articles on misdeeds and sin as seen by medieval canon lawyers (Olivier Échappé) and on the Passion in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century piety and theology (Pierre-Marie Gy) will be of interest. Marie-Françoise Notz's literary analysis of the unsayable and the 'unrepresentable' in preaching *exempla* is a virtuoso piece of technical writing that none the less adds little to one's understanding of how *exempla* functioned in 'real life'. While the overall conception of the volume and the choice of articles leave a good deal to be desired, this is on balance a useful collection. Unfortunately, most contributions lack the historiographical and theoretical sophistication that still passes, in the Anglo-American ecumene, as a distinguishing mark of French scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ANDREW GOW

*Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter. Internationales Round-Table-Gespräch, Krems an der Donau 26. September 1988.* Edited by Harry Kühnel. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 554. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs, 12.) Pp. 271 incl. 31 ill. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990. öS 490 (paper). 3 7001 1728 0

*Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau 18. bis 21. September 1978.* Edited by Harry Kühnel. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophische-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 367. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs, 3.) Pp. 379 incl. 57 ill. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980. öS 700 (paper). 3 7001 0350 6

These two works are unaltered reprints of two conferences, one now twenty, the other ten years old. They were fairly widely and favourably reviewed at the time, though not apparently in England. It would have been good to have seen updated bibliography; for instance Barbara Harvey's *Living and dying* is very germane to pieces in the first book, for example D. Schwarz's article on the week's menu for St Gallen in 1480. All might have benefited from more English contributions. The only one is in the first volume, by James Hogg, on 'Everyday life in the Charterhouse in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', welcome information on an obscure subject. Interesting too from an English perspective is Ingo Herklotz's article in the second volume, on burial practices in late medieval Italy, especially graves as public statements, but also for some remarks on a continuing tradition of insistence on humble burials, or burials at the church door (pp. 251–2). This might prompt new thoughts on 'Lollard' wills.

In such wide-ranging collections a reviewer can most usefully give some indication of general content, without including all that might be of interest to

others. The first volume is essentially dealing with 'everyday life' in the cloister. The definitions are wide and the time span also. A. D'Haenens makes two contributions, one very general about the division of time in monasteries as the practice of utopia, but another about a clock from the monastery of Villiers in 1267, ingeniously devised to use sun and water to measure the hours. R. Schneider is interesting about the Cistercian life in the period, discussing food and washing and the difficulties of reform. Ernest Persoons, on the female houses of the Windesheim Congregation in Belgium and the Netherlands, has much that is very interesting on education (the novices spoke Latin) and on dowry and social class in the cloister. There is a discussion of books (some had large libraries, including the Bible in the vernacular) and of their spinning, weaving and painting of holy pictures. A very few were authoresses. Gerhardt Jaritz discusses life in the cloisters of Austria and concludes from a wide-ranging consideration of the diet, the buying of spices, drink, clothes (including English cloth, p. 159) and even mattresses, that perhaps the standard was a little higher than the norm, though comparisons are difficult to make for that area. Emmanuel von Severus uses the *Rituale hyparchiae* from Bonn University Library ms S 354 by the abbot of Maria Laach (1553–68) to consider similar matters. Ivan Hvlavacek is very interesting on the Bohemian monasteries, especially Augustinian canons, and makes use of necrologies, with all their difficulties of dates and interpretation. Geza Erszegi discusses some Hungarian Benedictines, largely from visitation records of 1508, with all their problems. Floridus Rogrig has investigated his predecessors of Klosterneuberg, who turn out to have had specially excellent wine, which lured in guests, but also very good music and Easter plays. The importance of the library is also discussed. Gerhard Zimmermann discusses one inventory from Bamberg for 1483/6. An intriguing feature here was feasts for locals and school children. Joachim Angerer and Kurt Holter discuss the Melk reform, Angerer with particular regard to music and Holter on how the reform spread, important for libraries, printing and its slowness to reach some places. Finally Horst Appuhn describes some remaining furniture from the nuns at Luneburg, Herbert Hunger talks about baths in Byzantine monasteries and Richard Pittioni describes archaeological finds at Heiligenkreuz bei Baden, which probably included the remains of books burned by the Turks in the excavated oven.

The second volume, much shorter, includes two general pieces by Harry Kuhnel and Gerhard Jaritz on motives for foundations and changes in the kinds of things left. Rolf Kessling discusses Augsburg, to ask whether there was a change in giving, and how the poor were seen as worthy or not. The different kinds of foundations and of material help given are examined to see how they helped and how they changed with time. John Klassen on Bohemia, writing in English, thinks that he can see alienation from the official Church in the pattern of giving in Bohemian wills in areas influenced by the Hussites. Marguerite Gonon (in French) is fascinating on the kinds of food served at funerals in Forez. Ulrich Knefelkamp considers hospital foundations and the way rich families reserved beds for their own patronage. Christine Janotta has examined objects offered at pilgrim shrines, discussing what material they were made of (wax, metal, gold, wood etc), and considers the origin of the little-researched votive tablets, which often seem to be more modern, though from about 1400 in Italy.

Elizabeth Vavra's contribution provides important information about local secular authorities regulating foundations, including their size but also their care when a family died out. Wolfgang Schmid's article on foundations in Cologne is interesting methodologically, for its discussion about what the 'church' in Cologne was, for instance. Artworks given in Cologne turn out often to have been of local manufacture, only a few really grand pieces coming from afar. The piece by Christine Gottler and Peter Jezler about Doctor Thuring Fricker's foundation traces the probable sources in *exempla* of the pictures for his 'Geistermesse' altar piece, which was a cause of scandal at the Reformation, though possibly this was caused by a family feud.

There are thus varied good things in these two volumes. Both are illustrated, though the quality of the pictures could be better.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

MARGARET HARVEY

*Boniface VIII en procès. Articles d'accusation et dépositions des témoins (1303–1311).*

Edited by Jean Coste. (Studi e documenti d'archivio, 5.) Pp lxi + 966.

Rome: École Française de Rome/Fondazione Camillo Caetani/L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1995. 88 7062 914 7

The French Marist Father Pierre Coste (1926–94) was a well-known member of the Roman scholarly community and the author of numerous valuable articles on the historical topography of medieval Latium, now conveniently collected in a respectable volume published by the Istituto Italiano per il medio evo (Jean Coste, *Scritti di topografia medievale: problemi di metodo e ricerche sul Lazio*, Rome 1996). Since 1984 he had also been working, in co-operation with the École française de Rome and the Caetani Foundation, on a modern critical edition of the documents of the trial of Boniface VIII, and had almost finished it when he died prematurely in August 1994. Thanks to his friend Fr Gaston Lessard, it was published only one year later. A theologian and church historian trained at Grenoble and Lyons, he devoted many years of his failing health to replacing Dupuy's incomplete and often erroneous edition of 1655 (*Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel roy de France*) on which scholars hitherto had to rely, although much unpublished additional material had been printed ever since in monographs on Boniface VIII and the Colonna cardinals by Robert Holtzmann, Heinrich Finke and Ludwig Mohler, and all the manuscript sources had been used by Tilman Schmidt in his book on the Boniface trial (*Der Bonifaz-Prozess*, Cologne–Vienna 1989). The present edition is based on all extant manuscripts. It starts with the manifestos of the Colonna cardinals of 1297, then proceeds to Nogaret's articles of 1303, the different exhibits, memoirs, depositions of witnesses etc. from October 1303 until May 1312, adding supplementary documents by Nogaret, James and Peter Colonna and excerpts from chronicles. Each of the seven parts of the edition is preceded by a detailed introduction on the manuscript tradition and the contents of the pieces giving a résumé of the results of earlier research and of the author's investigation. The text is, as far as I was able to check, reliable, and there is a rich commentary in numerous footnotes, although Coste in many cases refrains from quoting and discussing opinions advanced by previous scholars on essential questions. Access to the edited texts is facilitated by an intelligent analytical index of the points of

accusation and by indices of citations, modern authors and names; yet one sometimes deplors the lack of a comprehensive index of words. In a brief final chapter Coste deals with the controversial question of whether Boniface was guilty or innocent (Tilman Schmidt deliberately avoided discussing this problem and limited his investigation to judicial procedure). There has always been a tendency among French historians, starting with Dupuy, to regard their king and his advisors as champions of the law and Pope Boniface as guilty of many crimes. T. S. R. Boase, whose biography of Boniface VIII (London 1933) is still the best (and deserves to be reprinted), followed a middle course: 'The evidence is not unconvincing... Many a worthy soul might have justly been scandalised at Boniface's licence;... but it was too late [at Groseau in 1310], long years after the event, to construct an openly held heresy out of a few chance remarks with some newly-added venom in construing them' (p. 361). Of German historians the Protestant Karl Wenck more-or-less kept the French line, while the Catholic Heinrich Finke, apparently eager not to endanger his high reputation as a scholar in the aftermath of the 'Kulturkampf', also tended to believe some of the accusations brought forward against the pope. Acquittal, curiously enough, came from Protestant scholars such as Robert Holtzmann and Johannes Haller, a severe critic of the papacy (but even more so of French politics), whose brilliant, even if sometimes controversial, history of the medieval papacy escaped Fr Coste's attention. For Haller, Nogaret was 'perhaps the vilest rascal who ever entered the stage of world history representing a major state' (*Das Papsttum*, v, Stuttgart 1953, 138); the trial was in Haller's opinion a political one, the charges of heresy, which alone, if proven, according to canonistic doctrine could have led to the pope's deposition, unjustified and other charges such as corruption, enrichment of his family and sexual misconduct either wrong or grossly exaggerated. The witnesses, according to Haller, were tools of the prosecution and partly hired; Philip IV of France was full of 'bigotry acquired by education or due to innate narrow-mindedness' (*Das Papsttum*, 139). The more one occupies oneself with the question the more one is inclined to believe that Boniface VIII was the victim of what was perhaps one of the most sordid defamation campaigns of medieval times. No one can deny his arrogance, his cynicism, his loose talk and emotional outbursts. He had the mentality of the upstart trying to raise his insignificant family to the level of the great Roman barons, such as the Orsini and the Colonna, with a mixture of readiness to co-operate and unscrupulous action, whatever seemed to him most appropriate, and a highly developed sense of how to make a material profit. The characteristics of a 'strong man' qualified him, in a dangerous situation, to be elected pope almost unanimously on 24 December 1294 with his later arch-enemies, James and Peter Colonna, voting for him. The charges of heresy follow the pattern of a vulgarised version of the psychology of heterodox Aristotelianism, the so-called 'Latin Averroism', especially the doctrine of the unicity of the *intellectus possibilis* which endangered the orthodox faith by denying the individual character of the human soul and thus the moral order on earth by suppressing the fact of life after death and of individual sanctions in the next world. Hence the charges that Boniface denied the immortality of the soul and considered the commission of even the gravest sins on earth as irrelevant. But all that started after his death and was obviously based on inventions and lies, since none of the earlier accusations of the Colonna and



others contained the charge of heresy. Fr Coste is, for example, certainly right in rejecting the gossip of 1310 about the alleged heretical statements of Benedict Caetani at Naples in November 1294, and about Celestine v having been informed by Charles II of Anjou of Benedict's heresy (pp. 19f.), but he is apparently inclined partly to believe in the deposition of 1310 by Prior Vitalis about a meeting at Sismano between Cardinal Benedict and a physician from Paris (where else could a 'Latin Averroist' come from?) in 1293, in which Benedict is said to have agreed that 'moriente corpore, moritur et anima' (p. 494), an obvious invention by the prior who then also testified that Boniface had given orders to kill St Peter-Celestine, a grotesque lie as everyone now admits (p. 495 n. 5). Here, as in other instances, Fr Coste seems to proceed with excessive caution, probably in order not to deviate too far from the opinion held by most of his compatriots and to avoid, as an American reviewer put it, the risk of being suspected of being influenced by the financial support he received from the Fondazione Camillo Caetani. He believes that some truth may lie behind the charge of sodomy, but acquits Boniface of the charge of heresy insofar as he agrees with André Vauchez that, at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, the problem of heresy was virtually outdated and had given way to 'scepticism and empiric materialism', which did not actually end up in atheism proper, but resulted more than once in questioning the Christian faith (p. 907). This is certainly a sophisticated interpretation by a modern scholar, but would hardly have convinced Philip the Fair's prosecutors. 'Semper aliquid haeret'; this proves true of Boniface VIII up to the present day. According to modern standards of law and procedure he would probably have to be acquitted, in some points by clear evidence, in other points in default of evidence. And one has also to ask the question whether the majority of cardinals who elected and later on supported him could have remained faithful to a heretic, and especially how Matthew of Acquasparta, an outspoken enemy not only of heterodox Aristotelianism but of Aristotelianism in general, could have been the friend and confidant of an Averroist who denied the immortality of the individual soul and therefore indulged in sexual excesses. Fr Coste was in full command of the literature on his subject. That he missed the two important books and numerous articles published since 1989 by John Eastman on Giles of Rome, among them the first critical edition of *De renunciatione pape* (1992), may have been due to his failing health when finishing the work. And the name of his friend Michele Maccarrone is, as usual among non-Italian scholars, misspelt with only one 'r'. This book is certainly one of the most important contributions of recent decades to the history of the late medieval papacy.

UNIVERSITY OF WÜRZBURG

PETER HERDE

*Gerlaci Petri opera omnia*. Edited by Mikel M. Kors, translated by Helen Rolfson. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 155.) Pp. 580. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996. B. Fr. 7,500 (paper). 2 503 04551 0; 0 503 04552 9; 2503 03000 9

Among the authors associated with the Netherlandish movement known as the '*Devotio moderna*', Gerlach Peters (1370s–1411) proved the most mystically inclined. Careful reading in other early authors of this movement – Geert Grote,

Florens Radewijns, Gerhard Zerbolt of Zutphen, even Thomas of Kempen (à Kempis) – reveals intense introspection, rigorous asceticism, dedication to work and self-support, and a marked Christocentric piety. But these authors manifest little in the way of mystical teaching or of language straining to capture an ineffable experience of God. The exception here, and an influential one, was Gerlach Peters. Peters was a native of Deventer, the market town on the IJssel where the movement began. He was drawn into the first house of the Brothers of the Common Life under its founder, Florens Radewijns (d. 1400), and before 1403 chose to move into the regular form of this life, taking vows as a canon regular at Windesheim some ten miles downriver. Gerlach Peters's brother joined him there as a lay brother, and his sister Lubbe filled the position of procuratrix at the first house of the Sisters of the Common Life. Peters, though afflicted with poor eyes and kidney stones, left his mark by way of his person, much admired, and by way of four preserved works.

The text of the largest work, the *Soliloquium*, circulated in Counter-Reformation circles in a 'purged' edition, and then within Pietest circles in the eighteenth century in a German translation prepared by Gerhard Tersteegen. Mikel Kors has now completed an extraordinarily impressive edition of Gerlach's complete *opera*, the first true critical edition. By training a scholar of Middle Dutch language and literature, Kors completed his thesis at Nijmegen on the two vernacular letters: (*De Middelnederlandse Brieven van Gerlach Peters* [1411]: *studie en tekstuitgave*, Nijmegen 1991). For this edition in the *Corpus Christianorum* series, he added the two lengthier Latin works, together with an important (234pp.) introduction, translated by John Vriend into English. Helen Rolfsen osf, already known for her translations of Jan Ruusbroec, has rendered Gerlach's two Middle Dutch letters in English (presented on the facing page). The whole makes this volume the standard text of Gerlach Peters, as well as the standard approach to this author on questions of manuscript transmission and even the nature of his *œuvre*. With a reliable edition before us, and the complexities of the manuscript transmission and the parallels among the various works set out, more scholars can join in the task of interpretation. The edition opens up many issues still requiring scholarly debate – such as Peters's exact debt to the mystical teachings of Jan Ruusbroec, or the sources of his language, a Latin that often reads more like, or indeed better in, Dutch. Kors argues that a personal 'scrap-book' or 'commonplace book' (*raparium*), a form cultivated by members of this movement, must have generated, or in some sense lay behind, each of the individual written works.

Gerlach's *Brief word* or *Breviloquium* was written, several of the manuscript incipits suggest, 'to occasion spiritual exercise for a cleric of good will'. Self-designed spiritual exercises characterised this movement, and a 'cleric of good will' was inevitably someone won from the world of the secular Church to participate in the movement. The *Brief word*, in its present form, appears to combine texts of distinct origin. The first sixteen chapters treat how to escape the 'tumults' of this world, how not to focus on the ways and needs of the 'exterior person'. The 'inner person' must submit to the 'sweet yoke' of Christ, to the vile abjection of the Cross, to the way of humility and modesty. The end is 'union to the Lord' in which the soul suffers no 'passability' but only 'enjoys great peace with the Lord' (p. 255). In the second part of this work, Gerlach then offered a

'*propositum*', another genre characteristic of this movement, that is, a daily plan for ordering one's life. This text must represent, as several readers have suggested, a version of Gerlach's own, though he has cast the text into the third person rather than the usual first. This work circulated in twenty-seven known manuscripts, twenty of them complete, the earliest from a nearby Brother's house (Hattem) and dated 1424. Translated into Dutch early, primarily for Sisters of the Common Life, the vernacular text survives in three manuscripts.

Gerlach wrote two letters in the vernacular, the first certainly to comfort his sister Lubbe, charged with the managerial tasks of procuratrix. It reiterates teachings and even whole sentences from the first part of the *Breviloquium*, including the passage about the great peace that comes with divine union, now expressed in Dutch for a woman rather than in Latin for a cleric. The letter is full of personal and practical advice about how to care for the Sisters, including passages plainly aimed at his sister's occasional shortness with her colleagues and daily frustration with her tasks. While this work barely survived (one late manuscript, one lost), a second so-called letter is known from four more-or-less complete copies and seven partial ones. It reads much less like a letter, much more like a personally appropriated summary of Ruusbroec's teaching on the 'communal' or mystic life. It concludes with a remarkable passage on the enjoyment of the Beloved, beyond time and place, beyond pain or difficulty, on the 'little bed of love'.

The *Soliloquium* is Peters's longest work, though it was put together after his death by his intimate friend, Jan Scutken. Where Peters had asked his prior to destroy the scattered quires and manuscript leaves that made up his personal notes, his friend produced instead a remarkable work that survives still in eight early manuscripts and another ten copies or excerpts, with an early Middle Dutch translation known from three manuscripts. This gathering-up of Peters's reflections on the interior life will not yield easily to summarising or sorting out, yet offers an intriguing challenge for the close reader of such a personal commonplace book. Beyond fine passages on the mystical life and the way of the Cross, its tone is best grasped in one lengthy paragraph (designated c. 22) which speaks of overcoming the miserable contingencies and events of this world by 'resigning one's self (De vera resignatione suiipsius) wholly and frequently to the Lord'. Kors's edition, in sum, truly and reliably renders accessible an author worthy of far more serious consideration in the history of fifteenth-century religious life. Gerlach Peters wrote for and about religious life at that troubled borderline where lay people, secular clerics and professed religious might encounter and learn from one another in their pursuit of a satisfying and 'consoling' union with their Lord.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

JOHN VAN ENGEN

*The hidden history of Christianity in Asia. The Churches of the east before the year 1500.*

By John C. England. Pp. xvi + 203 incl. 10 maps + 12 plates. Delhi: ISPCK, 1996. Rs 40. 81 7214 242 0

This book aims at a semi-popular treatment, designed to introduce the reader to the eastward dissemination of the Christian Gospel before the advent of the European colonial powers and to the achievements of the Churches established

in Asia, whether Nestorian, Jacobite, Armenian, Greek Orthodox or the St Thomas Christians of India. The author's eagerness to convey this 'neglected history' and to emphasise the continuity, the vitality and (more contentiously, perhaps) the unity of the eastern Christian tradition is patent throughout. The narrative and descriptive sections are by and large successful; although when confronted by a clutch of factual errors (p. 84) in matters that fall within my own competence (the Mongols' general Chormaghan was not an Armenian but a Mongol, and the Armenian 'Sampad' [read Sempad] was High Constable not to the Mongol Great Khan but to the Armenian king; nor was Rabban Sauma, who visited western Europe as ambassador from Mongol Iran in 1287, ever metropolitan of Peking), I wondered what slips might have escaped detection elsewhere in the book. In the sections devoted to overview, moreover, England sometimes lapses into a brand of ecumenical 'officialese' that risks forfeiting the reader's attention. This is a great pity, given the importance and intrinsic interest of the subject. The book nevertheless furnishes a useful starting-point; and the fairly full bibliography (though unaccountably omitting the work of Anna-Dorothea von den Brincken) includes the scholarly publications available in major western languages.

KEELE UNIVERSITY

PETER JACKSON

*The shadow of Scotus. Philosophy and faith in pre-Reformation Scotland.* By Alexander Broadie. Pp. viii + 112. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995. £16.96 (cloth), £9.95 (paper). 0 567 09734 X; 0 567 29295 9

In earlier publications Professor Broadie has insisted on the importance of taking seriously the philosophy (especially the logical theories) of Scottish scholastics in the early sixteenth century. He has argued persuasively that the work of John Mair and his 'circle' represents a 'tradition of Scottish philosophy' continuous in some sense with the more familiar eighteenth-century 'Scottish Enlightenment'. Now, in his 1994 Gifford Lectures, he has combined these arguments with a close consideration of key elements in the thought of Duns Scotus – here justly described as 'Scotland's greatest philosopher' – 'the presiding genius of Scottish philosophy'. The result is a densely packed and intellectually demanding book. No doubt it is primarily a book for philosophers and theologians rather than historians; and certainly its themes are too complex for discussion in a brief notice. Yet no historian concerned to understand how great issues of reason and faith, freedom and necessity, were discussed as the late medieval world entered the age of the Reformation should decline the challenge of Broadie's analysis. Scotus and Mair, after all, were important figures for Calvin; Luther, even in his later years, still saw merit in Scotus' commentary on the *Sentences*. Broadie's book helps us to recover the intellectual substance that cast its shadow across a period which saw (in his closing words) 'the establishment of a new order', not only in Scotland but in Europe at large.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
LONDON

J. H. BURNS

*Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis. Der Augustinereremit Andreas Proles (1429–1503) und die privilegierte Observanz.* By Ralph Weinbrenner. (Spätmittelalter und Reformation. Neue Reihe, 7.) Pp. xii + 286. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996. DM 128. 3 16 146621 7; 0937 5740

Martin Luther's intellectual and religious roots in the tradition and teaching of the Friar Hermits of St Augustine, and in particular within the strict observant movement among the Augustinians in Saxony, have often attracted the attention of Protestant historians in Germany. However, older studies tended to concentrate on Luther's views on monasticism and on the theology of his older confrères and teachers. Lutheran historiography rarely dealt with the observance, largely because it regarded the reform congregation merely as a form of organisation, as a 'party' within the order, lacking deeper religious inspiration and ideals. A different approach is adopted in the present study, a doctoral thesis presented to the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät in the University of Erlangen (Germany). The author examines the previously neglected function of the return to strict observance as instrument and expression of reform, and illustrates the interaction of the religious content of the movement with practical and organisational elements. The central figure in the Augustinian observance in Germany was unquestionably Andreas Proles, a controversial figure who studied in Leipzig and Perugia, taught in Magdeburg, and acted as prior of his native convent of Himmelsporten, before spending the last thirty years of his life (1473–1503) as vicar general of the Saxon reform congregation. With considerable energy, often high-handed and inconsiderate, he succeeded in expanding the congregation from the original five convents to twenty-seven. Distinguishing clearly between questions pertaining to the order, to the reform, and to Augustinian theology, Weinbrenner examines the principles and practice of the reform with a conceptual precision that is often missing in the internal historiography of religious orders. He identifies four different types of observant reform: that directed by the the masters general of the order, provincial reform initiatives, the newly established reform congregations under the direct control of the master general, and the privileged observance, which depended largely on papal privileges and the support of local lay princes. The latter form was that pursued by Proles, whose reform thinking owed much to the treatise *De reformatione religiosorum* by Johannes Nider OP (c. 1380–1438). Proles's substantial body of writings, works on pastoral theology in the vernacular and a large number of (unedited) sermons, are further discussed. The question – painful for many historians in the order – of the continuity from Luther's reform thought within the Augustinian tradition to his Reformation theology is implicitly raised for readers of this thoroughly researched and impressively argued study.

UNIVERSITY OF SALZBURG

KATHERINE WALSH

*Tra riforma ed eresia. La giovinezza di Martin Borrhaus (1499–1528).* By Lucia Felici. (Studi e Testi per la Storia Religiosa del Cinquecento, 6.) Pp. ix + 326. Florence: Olschki, 1995. L. 75,000. 88 222 4320 X

Down the years many biographies have appeared with titles something like 'Humanism and reform: the early career of [*N* named reformer]'. Such books

usually chart the gradual process by which Renaissance scholars drifted into the Reformation movement. The best, like Maurer's on Melanchthon or Kittelson's on Capito, are classics of their type. One might wonder whether Martin Borrhaus or Cellarius (1499–1564), undoubtedly a minor figure in the reformers' pantheon, deserves to join them. In fact, the book is unexpectedly revealing, because Martin Borrhaus reached his final resting-place in reformed Basel by a route as tortuous as G. K. Chesterton's 'rolling English road'. Within some ten years, he was by turns a humanist with Eck and Reuchlin at Ingolstadt, a follower of Melanchthon and then the Zwickau Prophets at Wittenberg, an associate of Grebel at Zürich, a spiritualist and chiliast in east Prussia, and an ally of the Anabaptists in Strasbourg. There he almost convinced Wolfgang Capito, at least for a while, that some Anabaptist arguments were right. He made the otherwise firm divide between magisterial reformers and Anabaptists appear dangerously permeable, and greatly alarmed Bucer in the process. His early career bears further witness to the disorderly, even chaotic growth of beliefs and teachings in the first Reformation decade. The text is supported by Latin editions of Borrhaus's early works, of Speratus' attack on his millenarian ideas, and Borrhaus's own (highly selective) autobiography (1559). The lessons of the story are therefore accessible even to those who do not read Italian.

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

EUAN CAMERON

*The Oxford encyclopedia of the Reformation.* 4 vols. Edited by Hans J. Hillerbrand. Pp. xiv + 496; iv + 506; iv + 491; iv + 484. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. £295. 0 19 510362 2; 0 19 510363 7; 0 19 510364 5; 0 19 510365 3; 0 19 506493 3 (set).

This is a very useful encyclopedia. It is American in origin, naturally, for since the arrival of so many German immigrants into the United States during the nineteenth century that country has been the head of English-speaking studies in the Reformation, second only to the unceasing work within the faculties of theology or history at German and Swiss universities. The editor-in-chief, Hillerbrand, is the doyen of Reformation studies in America; and the team of other editors, and of advisers, is as strong as it could be (Dickens and Collinson the British representatives). The result is a widening of what readers usually find in such works of reference. In so large a treasury it is hard to select special gems. The covering of the Netherlands, and of the radicals, and of Finland, and of the Slav countries, is unusually full. Ought there not to be Cyril Lucaris of Constantinople, and Moldavia, and Siebenbürgen (for this last see part of the article on Transylvania)? On the main themes there are authors of the first rank – Elton on Thomas Cromwell (though not everyone will agree with the verdict), John Booty on Anglicanism, Greschat on Bucer, Brecht on Luther (and Spitz on Lutheranism), Ganoczy on Calvin, Kingdon on Compagnie des Pasteurs, McConica on Erasmus, MacCulloch on Cranmer, and others of a similar authority. Paolo Simoncelli records without any note of blame the career of the worst treated (by Protestants) of all the eminent Protestant converts, Bernardino Ochino. The Catholic Reformation is rightly given as full treatment as the Protestant. Occasionally the reader is startled by verdicts – for example

that Amsterdam was never in majority a Reformed city, or that Anchoritism (*sic*) disappeared as an alternative religious vocation. The index at the end of vol. iv is valuable for the searcher. There is a longish and thoughtful article on women by Wiesner-Hanke (who also writes on prostitution, celibacy and weddings) and for modern scholarship here the user will do well also to use the index. There are helpful articles on the modern developments of Reformation scholarship. The use of names is not consistent, but this makes no difference when searching: Philip of Spain but Philipp Melanchthon, Augustine but Baronio and Bellarmino, William of Orange but Maurits van Nassau, Rome but Braunschweig. Unusual words come, like insightful or sheerly or hermitical or contrafacta. But the reader will not pause for a moment and will be very grateful for the riches which are met within these volumes. The bibliographies are not overweighted but are valuable for drawing attention to the latest works on the subject. The maps are well done and include the state of the denominations in 1600, the expansion of German Protestantism, the ecclesiastical States of the Holy Roman Empire, the Reformed Churches in France (but this is more difficult to use because of the various dates which the dots represent), Anabaptism in Central Europe, the universities founded in the sixteenth century (Catholic as well as Protestant), Jesuit houses during the first seventy-five years of the Company, and the sees in Spanish America (but not Brazil) for that century.

SELWYN COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

OWEN CHADWICK

*Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation.* Edited by Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner. Pp. x+294. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

£35.05 21 49694 2

*Humanism and the rhetoric of toleration.* By Gary Remer. Pp. x+318. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996. £40.50 (\$45).

0 271 01480 6

Over recent decades scholars have uncovered an ever richer diversity of movements and practices within the overall labels of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, so it is perhaps no surprise that the same should be happening to another once-unified narrative, the history of toleration. Apart from the uneasiness at twentieth-century values being imposed on the past, it has been increasingly difficult to sustain the image of a new wisdom emerging inexorably from the confessional disputes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – an image that dominated the literature half-a-century ago, notably in the monumental researches of W. K. Jordan, Roland Bainton, and Joseph Lecler. The insistence on diverse stories in diverse places is almost the theme of the essays edited by Grell and Scribner. And at the same time, as Remer shows, the concerns of theorists, theologians and philosophers also followed a zigzag path.

The sixteen essays that make up *Tolerance and intolerance* range from Reuchlin to Locke, from Portugal to Poland. They document instances and justification of persecution as well as toleration in all countries and periods, and the overall implication is that there was no general movement in either direction, only local circumstance. If William Monter assembles statistics to demonstrate declining

executions for heresy, Hans Guggisberg, in a striking microstudy, shows Basle moving from openness to intolerance. Again and again, it was social and political pressure that either raised or lowered the barriers. If, by the late seventeenth century, the drift was toward an uneasy coexistence, the driving force was not so much the actions or ideas of influential individuals – though some of these, such as Niklaus Manuel and Thomas Cranmer, receive extended attention here – as the pressures of political or economic circumstance.

For Remer in *Humanism and the rhetoric of toleration* the heart of the issue is the way intellectuals grappled with the problem of confessional diversity, not what happened in courts or on the streets; and, as he demonstrates, this traditional emphasis on ideas still opens a vivid window into a vital chapter in the development of European thought. His story starts with classical theories of rhetoric, especially their emphasis on persuasion and accommodation, and then moves on to the specific recommendations of the powerful minds who applied those theories to painful and immediate concerns. Between Erasmus and Bayle, so Remer argues, there was a steady erosion of the ideal of Christian unity and a growing commitment to peace. Yet each thinker justified his stance in his own way, and thus the narrative eschews the forward movement of the older accounts. Indeed Remer considers Bodin (in the middle of the period) as the most comprehensive advocate of toleration, and Hobbes, half a century later, as one of its most powerful critics.

In both of these books, therefore, the history of toleration gains nuance and depth, even while remaining a central means of understanding the religious, political and social development of early modern Europe.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THEODORE K. RABB

*The Brotherhood of the Common Life and its influence.* By Ross Fuller. (SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions.) Pp. xxi + 353 incl. frontispiece and 3 ills. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. \$16.95. 0 7914 2243 7; 0 7914 2244 5

This book reveals one man's journey toward a form of authentic Christian experience which he describes in his introduction as 'the emergence, amidst the decay of medieval culture, of "the mixed life" – the reconciliation of action and contemplation' (p. xiii). Fuller believes that the Netherlandish movement known as the Brothers of the Common Life first opened this way, and he pursues its teachings and supposed influence into early sixteenth-century England. The book comes closest to historical scholarship when it treats such under-studied devotional authors as Richard Whytford (*fl.* 1525–41) or works like the manual for meditation called the *Glasse of Christes passion* published in 1534. Through most of the book, however, Fuller's exposition proves intriguing and enormously frustrating at the same time. He is right to have perceived a search for forms of life between the lay and the professionally contemplative, often now called 'semi-religious' – not 'mixed', a term reserved for mendicants. He is also right to see patterns of devotional practice and teaching that cut across several major groups in the later Middle Ages, the Modern Devotion, the Observants, the Brigettines, all this best represented in England by the Carthusians and especially Syon



Abbey. But the historical apparatus in his book is entirely impressionistic, and sometimes simply false; he appears to have no personal access to Latin texts; and he cannot in fact demonstrate the direct influence of the Brothers on these wider streams of spiritual devotion. This book is, then, a very personal and sometimes perceptive one, but a historian's nightmare.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

JOHN VAN ENGEN

*Studien zu den katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.*

By Uwe Köster. (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 134.) Pp. xxiii + 483. Münster: Aschendorff, 1995. DM 188 (paper). 3 402 03796 3; 0171 3469

The author has compiled a complete bibliography of printings of the Catholic German-language Bibles produced in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation. These are Emser's New Testament of 1527, Dietenberger's Bible of 1534, Eck's much reviled Bible of 1537, Ulenberg's Bible of 1630, and the 'Mainz Version' of 1662, along with all new editions of these versions in the eighteenth century. Otherwise, the study offers detailed descriptions of the important editions (chapters i–iv) followed by a valuable discussion of sources pertaining to the reception history of the Catholic German Bible (chapter v). Köster cautiously documents the inconsistency between the prohibition of vernacular Bibles in the Index and their explicit and implicit promotion in practice, as indicated by the records of provincial synods and parish visitations in Germany. Strong evidence is mustered for the importance of these Bibles to the clergy, whereas Köster stresses that the records are inconclusive about the degree to which lay ownership of vernacular Bibles was promoted. The otherwise excellent descriptions of the editions would have benefited from a discussion of the illustration programmes of the Bibles and, more importantly, an analysis of the philological bases for the various translations and revisions. Köster does not mention any of the several important passages in the Vulgate, not even the *Comma Johanneum*, that Renaissance philology questioned. As would be the case with the English Catholic Bible (the Douay–Rheims Bible of 1582 and 1609/10), the five major German versions did after all depend on sources in addition to the Vulgate, which Köster acknowledges but does not explore. The few slips I noted – such as the claim on p. 36 that Eck used the Antwerp Polyglot, which would not be published by Plantin until 1569–72 – concerned non-German Bibles. Moreover, one should strive to be as precise as possible about what one means by 'Vulgate', since the printed Vulgate was hardly uniform. The so-called 'ex fontibus graecis' editions had existed since the fifteenth century and, beginning with Robert Estienne's edition of 1528, we have attempts at critical editions of the Vulgate text. The study does not acknowledge the difficult history of the Sixto-Clementine edition of the Vulgate. The reference on p. 63 to a Sixto-Clementine edition of 1590 is a minor infelicity, but one that reminds us of the complexity of the Vulgate's textual history. In 1590, the embarrassingly defective Sixtine edition appeared, the first papally sanctioned edition of the Vulgate. For a variety of reasons, it found a hostile reception among Catholics and a gleefully critical response from Protestants. It is the speedy but thorough revision of 1592

that is commonly called the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. According to Darlow and Moule, the Sixto-Clementine revision resulted in some 5,000 changes as well as the introduction of Estienne's verse divisions from the edition of 1551. I raise this issue of source texts rather reluctantly because Köster's study deserves not only admiration but also profound gratitude. His book, which originated as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Göttingen, is the result of an arduous and most productive research project.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

DAVID PRICE

*Hutterite beginnings. Communitarian experiments during the Reformation.* By Werner O. Packull. Pp. xi + 441. Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. £49.50. 0 8018 5048 7

Werner Packull is one of the eminent scholars of sixteenth-century Anabaptism, whose list of relevant publications is impressive. *Hutterite beginnings* is a mature and insightful study of the theological beginnings of Hutterite Anabaptism in the early years of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The topic is an important one, for the Hutterites represented a forceful experiment in communitarian Christianity in the age of the Reformation which, in complex ways, has survived in North America to this present day. As one will expect from an expert in the field, Packull displays an authoritative command of the sources, both primary and secondary.

The study traces the Hutterite story quite appropriately (in this reviewer's opinion) from the Swiss beginnings of Anabaptism, noting the biblical–theological basis of the Anabaptist dissent, then moves on to the beginning of communitarian thinking, and the eventual formation of Hutterite communities in Moravia. Packull offers a fairly detailed biography of Jakob Hutter, whose leadership meant that the communitarian strand of Anabaptism eventually was known by his name. There is a superb analysis of the debate of the non-communitarian Anabaptist theologian Pilgram Marpeck with Caspar Schwenckfeld, in which the topic of Church and community played an enormous role. Along the way, the book details the severe, almost ruthless persecution of Anabaptist sentiment and activity by King Ferdinand in Austria.

Importantly, Packull uses the three earliest Anabaptist church orders to design the matrix from which Jakob Hutter and the Hutterites derived their communitarian theology. Packull's painstaking and impressive analysis of these texts shows the theological kinship that existed between earlier Anabaptist thought and Hutterite beginnings. This is an important line of inquiry, since recent Anabaptist historiography has tended to emphasise rather the heterogeneous and diverse nature of sixteenth-century Anabaptism and has rejected the notion of a generation ago that what was referred to as 'evangelical' Anabaptism in the Reformation was in fact a single phenomenon. Packull offers a healthy corrective by showing, based on the three texts, how diversity need not negate kinship and common identity.

In a way, Packull's book is a model of scholarship: a specific, actually somewhat narrow topic is analysed, but is put into a broader setting. Thereby, larger questions are raised and discussed – which here have to do with the emergence of Anabaptist theology, the nature of Anabaptist diversity, the role of

governmental interference, to name but a few. Thus, the reader will come away from this book not only informed about specifics, but also on various broader issues of Reformation scholarship that continue to demand attention. The study is a major contribution to Reformation research.

In his introduction Packull asks his (Austrian) readers' and colleagues' forbearance for his treatment of the persecution of the Hutterite Anabaptists by the Austrian government under Ferdinand. In a winsome way Packull's demurrer at once places him in the spectrum of Anabaptist historiography which until not too long ago was marked by sharp and biting denunciations (understandably based on theological premises) of those who either doubted any solid theological substance in the Anabaptists, or, conversely, argued that the Anabaptists were the perfect embodiment of Apostolic Christianity in the Reformation. Packull's sensitive treatment confirms that historiography has moved beyond that.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

HANS J. HILLERBRAND

*Ein Ausblick auf die slawischsprachige Völkerwelt im Südosten.* By Radoslav Katičić. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Schriften der Balkan-Kommission. Philologische Abteilung, 37.) Pp. vi + 130. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996. 3 7001 2595 X

The scope of this slender volume is much narrower than the enigmatic title might suggest. In fact its point of departure could hardly be more specific. It comprises a commentary on the German dedications, especially the extended one to the future Emperor Maximilian II, with which Primus Truber prefaced his translations of parts of the Bible into South Slav languages in the years around 1560. Truber, a Slovene – he would have said 'Wend' – by birth, was an energetic humanist, living in self-imposed exile in Württemberg, who became fired by a Protestant passion to bring the Scriptures to the common people of the Balkans threatened, or already engulfed, by the Ottoman onslaught. He believed that this spiritual ammunition would enable his putative Slav flock to resist the infidels, indeed eventually even to convert them to evangelical Christianity. Katičić does not dwell on that aspect of Truber's activity, with its long subsequent pedigree in attempts at Protestant–Orthodox and even Protestant–Moslem dialogue. Rather his *explication de texte* uses Truber's information about ethnic and ecclesiastical groups to depict aspects of the broader cultural and religious history of the region, drawing with considerable chronological licence on other corroborative or corrective witnesses. Truber had not himself travelled in Turkish lands – his own orientation was westwards – and so his intelligence about Serbs, Bulgarians etc. tended to be scrappy. He is most interesting on the two groups to whom he made a direct appeal, his own *windisch* people and their near-neighbours whom he usually calls 'Crobaten'. Here the irony of Truber's mission appears, for not only did both Slovenes and Croats remain resolutely Catholic; they also drifted further and further apart, thanks not least to Truber's own work, which created a Slovene literary standard but proved fairly unintelligible to the Croats. Little in this book will be unfamiliar to specialists, and the story of Truber has been often enough recounted. But it is a notable

episode in the Reformation's epic vein and deserves to be more widely known. Katičić's sensitive little account provides an attractive introduction, spiced with a few pieces of fascinating oral testimony, like the information from his grandfather and father in Bihać that Catholic Bosnians in the Turkish days, while forced to describe Islam as the true faith (*prava vira*), called their own religion beautiful (*lipa*), that of the Orthodox false (*kriva*), and that of the local Jews simply old (*stara*).

Oriel College,  
Oxford

R. J. W. EVANS

*The sound of virtue. Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan politics.* By Blair Worden.

Pp. xxv + 406 incl. 9 ills. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1996.

£40. 0 300 06693 7

Blair Worden describes Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* as 'the unread classic of English literature'. It is certainly one of the most confusing 'great' works, for it exists in no less than three distinct versions: the original, so-called *Old Arcadia*, completed around 1580; the *New Arcadia*, a substantially revised work which Sidney began several years later but never completed; and the *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, a hybrid version which was concocted after Sidney's death by combining the latter with part of the former to create an uneasy fusion. Worden's subject is Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, the full text of which was only re-discovered in 1907. Many studies have explored the political allegory contained in this work, which can be clearly related to the great political crisis occasioned by Queen Elizabeth's apparent determination to marry the duke of Anjou during 1579–80. Specific episodes, such as the curious beast-fable sung by Philisides on Ister Bank, which seems to incite popular rebellion, have been the subject of very considerable academic debate. Nevertheless, Worden argues that scholars have failed to realise quite how completely political ideas permeate and shape the work. In elegant and sensitive chapters he outlines the political and psychological context for the *Arcadia*. His account of the 'crisis years' of 1577–81 is fuller and more subtle than anything yet published, combining a shrewd synthesis of current historiography with some useful insights of his own. One of the great virtues of this discussion is that it seeks to explain events according to the perceptions of the time, avoiding the rose-tinted image of Elizabeth which became popular under James I and has dominated historical consciousness ever since. This alone might make the book worth the price of admission. Turning to the *Arcadia* itself, Worden offers a rich and compelling analysis of how the personal experiences of Basilius, Pyrocles, Musidorus and the other characters dramatise urgent political issues of Sidney's time, and how the fate of these characters offers counsel to England's real-life political elite: for Sidney, the public is personal and the personal is public. Worden's arguments are too sophisticated to insist upon crude allegories. He does not simply equate Basilius with Elizabeth, for example, yet the resonances which he traces between the queen and the fictional character provide a telling commentary on Elizabeth, on English political culture during her reign, and on Sidney himself. Sensitively, eloquently and convincingly, Worden teases out and exposes some of the contradictions in Sidney's world: the irony that he wrote *Arcadia* because of his despair over Elizabeth's inability to take counsel (or, at

least, counsel with which he and other 'forward Protestants' agreed) and yet his idealised prince (Euarchus) takes no counsel at all; the conflict between his desire for a limited monarchy and his acceptance of the possible need to over-ride all such limitations in the pursuit of a 'virtuous' goal: and the emotional tension inherent in a work which exposes the profound dangers of 'love' and loss of rational control and yet which also dramatises what seem to be Sidney's own real-life yearnings for passion and for release from the insatiable demands of duty. Pursuing these and other ideas through contemporary resistance theory, neo-Stoicism, the stirrings of 'politic' history, and the distinction between 'virtue' and Italianate 'virtù', Worden explores Sidney's mental world with formidable acuteness and learning. However, despite its focus on Sidney and his *Arcadia*, this book has a broader significance. Worden argues that the composition of the *Arcadia* is a crucial 'moment in the development not only of the writing of English poetry and fiction but of English historical thinking'. One might wish to qualify this lofty claim, but there can be little doubt that Sidney's project reflected the concerns of many of his contemporaries. Thanks to the circulation of his writings (studied recently by Henry Woudhuysen) and the deliberate myth-making which followed his early death in 1586, Sidney played a special part in expounding ideas which began to become commonplace, and mutate, in the 1590s and early 1600s. Certainly, the words of the earl of Essex and his friends during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign abounded with ideas and phrases deeply redolent of Sidney. Just as these echoes reverberated within late Tudor political culture, one suspects that the ideas and insights of Worden's elegant book will soon echo through the future work of scholars who read it. Although some of its component parts are familiar, it offers not only a comprehensive – and compelling – new argument about 'how to read' Sidney's *Arcadia*, but a rich and profoundly learned assortment of perspectives on Elizabethan politics and thought, expressed in delicate prose. Beautifully produced (as usual) by Yale University Press, it seems likely that many copies of Worden's book – like that of this reviewer – will soon become covered with the copious notes and markings which reflect a major contribution to scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND,  
AUSTRALIA

PAUL E. J. HAMMER

*Puritanism and historical controversy*. By William Lamont. Pp. viii + 232 incl. 3 ills.  
London: UCL Press, 1996. £38 (cloth), £11.95 (paper). 1 85728 285 X;  
1 85728 286 8

*Puritanism and historical controversy* is a stimulating, erudite, but ultimately somewhat frustrating book. Growing out of a (no doubt highly enjoyable) undergraduate lecture course at the University of Sussex, it attempts to throw fresh light on the complex and vexed question of the nature of early modern Puritanism by analysing the views of three of the movement's most famous adherents: William Prynne, Ludowicke Muggleton and Richard Baxter. After providing brief biographies of these supposedly paradigmatic Puritans, Professor Lamont goes on to show how consideration of their writings and ideas reveals that earlier scholars were unwise to argue that Puritanism was influential in the emergence of a number of important modern phenomena, in particular

revolution, liberty, capitalism and science. Lamont has spent the greater part of his career studying the lives and beliefs of Prynne, Muggleton and Baxter and his knowledge of their lives, work and contemporary and posthumous reputation demands great respect and admiration. His tremendous enthusiasm for his subject and his lively, mischievous wit shine throughout the book, as does his reassuring conviction that early modern religious controversies retain a relevance for the secular late twentieth century. But while the book is a highly enjoyable read, it is not an entirely satisfying one, principally because its underlying premise is rather suspect and its *raison d'être* far from obvious. It is surely dubious to suggest that any three individuals, whatever their significance, can provide the definitive Puritan party-line on such complex issues, especially as they themselves diverged widely in their individual beliefs and these anyway changed markedly over the course of time. Furthermore, while Lamont is undoubtedly correct to emphasise the dangers of drawing straight and over-simplistic causal connections between Puritanism and the intellectual and ideological developments listed above, most historians would surely have accepted this point some time ago. While the book then succeeds admirably in confirming for us what Puritanism was not and in demonstrating once again how difficult it is to reach an adequate definition of the movement, it fails to shed much new light on what it actually was. The present writer remains convinced that early modern Puritanism was in essence a culture and that those wishing to find the key to its nature must immerse themselves in its highly distinctive practical manifestations. In my view, therefore, one of Lamont's most telling observations is the revelation that Richard Baxter thought dinner should never last more than fifteen minutes – thirty minutes at a push if one was entertaining guests!

ST MARY'S UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
SURREY

CHRISTOPHER DURSTON

*Eastern wisdom and learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth-century England.* By G. J. Toomer. Pp. xiii + 381. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. £45. 0 19 820291 1

This erudite and well-written book immediately establishes itself as the authoritative treatment of its subject. Toomer builds successfully on the pioneering foundations laid by the work of P. M. Holt to give an extensive description of the scholarly activities of English Arabists during the seventeenth century, prefacing his work with useful surveys of the literature on medieval and early modern European Arabic scholarship. Toomer's discussion of European Arabists is heavily dependent on Johann Fück's *Die arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig 1955), first composed over fifty years ago, but the main part of his book is largely original, and draws extensively on the evidence presented by the Arabic manuscripts collected by seventeenth-century Englishmen. Toomer is eagle-eyed in the treatment of his sources, and is thus able to correct errors in contemporary writings, such as Leonard Twells's edition of the works of Edward Pococke (published in 1740), which have misled others. In places, however, Toomer seems to have been hampered by a shortage of material to add to earlier lives of some of his subjects. The real novelty of this book lies in its compendiousness, and its mainly biographical structure will make it a ready source of reference for others. Toomer gives succinct accounts of the lives and careers of all the major English

Arabists from William Bedwell to Edward Bernard, placing appropriate weight on the achievements of collectors of Oriental manuscripts, such as William Laud, Robert Huntington or Narcissus Marsh, whose legacies, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, have perhaps had a greater influence on the future development of Arabic studies than the writings of seventeenth-century linguists. He also describes the foundation of chairs of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge, and the attempt, during the 1640s, to establish a London school of Oriental Languages. As might be expected the towering intellectual figure of Edward Pococke (1604–91) looms large in Toomer's accounts of linguists, educators and collectors. Indeed, Pococke is one of the few individuals to emerge from Toomer's assessment with a rounded character, a failing which may be inevitable in a book which tries to cover as much ground as this one does. Toomer's technical accuracy, and care with his sources, are supplemented by useful discussions of the principal reasons given for the growth of interest in Arabic studies in seventeenth-century England, and for the decline of that interest. Arabic provided a means of access to otherwise lost works of ancient natural philosophers, and was the medium through which missionary activity might be carried out in the east. Toomer argues that increasing scientific knowledge in the west made the first of these activities seem irrelevant (one might add, particularly since the necessary skills were rarely to be found combined in one individual, making progress on the editing of Arabic scientific works exceptionally slow), and suggests that the second failed on its own to sustain an interest in Arabic study. Furthermore, the publication of the London Polyglot in the 1650s had effectively exhausted the contribution which Arabic texts might make to contemporary humanist study of the Bible. Few would contest such conclusions, although it is a pity that Toomer ends his account when he does. He makes little mention of the struggles of Oriental scholars in the early eighteenth century, and does not discuss the failure of the SPCK's Arabic New Testament as a missionary text. More might also have been said both about the role of Arabic scholars in the Levant trade, and the broader activities of English chaplains at Aleppo, in particular in fostering an interest in eastern travel by the eighteenth century.

HERTFORD COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

SCOTT MANDELBROTE

*A monarchy transformed. Britain 1603–1714.* By Mark Kishlansky. (The Penguin History of Britain, 6.) Pp. xiii + 386 incl. 6 maps. London: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996. £25. 0 713 99068 6

Kishlansky's aim is to provide a narrative of the high politics of the seventeenth century which captures the drama and excitement of the period whilst avoiding getting bogged down in the historiographical debate. This is entirely sensible. The seventeenth century has become increasingly difficult to teach in undergraduate or A-level survey courses because of the intense controversy and bulk of research in the last thirty years. There is a real need for a stimulating, well-written account which offers a starting point and a base for both the student and the general reader. This Kishlansky provides.

The second half of the book is stronger than the first. The author really gets into his stride with the revolution of 1646–9 and thereafter the pace is maintained

through some excellent chapters on the Restoration, the Popish Plot and the Glorious Revolution. These could hardly be bettered as a concise and vivid account of the central events. The analysis of motives during episodes such as the abortive Presbyterian settlement of 1647 or the Exclusion Crisis is superb. There are also some striking character sketches: Gerrard Winstanley, 'who began his career wholesaling cloth, ended it wholesaling grain, and in between sandwiched a mid-life crisis of epic proportions'; or the earl of Clarendon, 'the acceptable face of "Thorough"', 'frozen in the attitudes of 1641'.

The first half of the book contains perhaps the most stimulating chapter – on the political world and political ideas – but in general the treatment is less convincing. The coverage of crucial episodes is often too compressed and discussion of religion is less assured than that of politics. There are good accounts of episodes such as the Hampton Court Conference or the Restoration church settlement; but the author does not succeed in explaining the crucial role played by religious antagonisms in the side-taking of 1641 and 1642, or why English and Scottish Calvinists felt such fear and loathing of Laudian reform that they could contemplate rebellion. It is also disappointing that he is not able to find more space to pursue his own interpretation of the causes of political breakdown. In a tantalising couple of pages he relates this to the collapse of a consensual system suited to the deference and honour-based politics of the early seventeenth century, but incapable of adapting to a world of broad political participation and ideological division. 'In large part', he argues, 'the English Revolution resulted from the inability of the consensual political system to accommodate principled dissension.' Even after the Restoration, 'it took another 30 years for consensual assumptions to be subsumed by adversarial ones'. This is a theme which Kishlansky has developed in his monographs on *The rise of the New Model Army* and *Parliamentary selection*, but it would have been fascinating to see it integrated more fully into his narrative of high politics.

These reservations aside, this is an enjoyable and stimulating read, providing the best short account of the seventeenth century which is currently available.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

RICHARD CUST

*Protestantism and patriotism. Ideologies and the making of English foreign policy, 1650–1668.* By Steven C. A. Pincus. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Pp. xii + 509. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. £45. 0 521 43487 4

Seventeenth-century English foreign policy has been, Steven Pincus remarks, more readily 'written off than written about'. True, it has recently re-surfaced as a dimension of English Protestant identity during the Thirty Years and Nine Years wars. But the three Anglo-Dutch wars (1652–4, 1664–7, 1672–4), fought against a fortress of Protestantism, remain a puzzle. An obvious explanation is that they were trade wars, but Pincus rejects this. His book is a distinguished debut. It is massively researched: its archival prowess is unremittingly evident. It convincingly integrates government policy and public opinion, interweaving diplomatic dispatches, newspapers, letters and diaries. Popular preoccupation with foreign policy and the susceptibility of governments to public opinion are



abundantly demonstrated. The account unfolds in intricate detail across five hundred pages; it is never dull; it brims with incident and well-chosen quotation. That the scale of the endeavour precluded treatment of the Third Dutch War is, however, a disappointment. Dr Pincus argues that the first two wars had different ideological beginnings and ends. The first started in a fever of millenarian and republican zeal against a backsliding people. The Dutch were to be punished, and perhaps incorporated, as the Scots had been in 1651. The Dutch were convicted of whoring after mammon and monarchy, of cynical seaborne carriage of papist merchandise, of Presbyterian tyranny, of Orangism and covert support for the Stuarts. The war ended with the collapse of the godly Nominated Parliament, the advent of Cromwell's Protectorate, and some satisfaction at the revival of the Dutch anti-Orangist republican party. The second war started amid a Royalist Anglican frenzy of anxiety about conspiracies to destroy the newly restored crown and Church, and was directed against a tolerationist state whose republican party harboured exiled English fanatics. It ended in the humiliating disaster of the Dutch attack on the Medway, and with an emerging sense that the real enemy was France, which now aspired to 'universal monarchy'. Both wars were a disaster for English trade and neither was fought for the sake of trade. A potential weakness in the book lies in its conceptual scaffolding. Pincus generally equates 'ideologies' with 'principles'. This might puzzle political scientists for whom 'ideologies' are ideas that have a functional relationship to interests. Yet Pincus draws a stark contrast between actions that are 'ideological' and those that depend on 'rational calculation of economic self-interest'. Thus, for instance, the English republicans, 'far from being economically motivated' acted 'only upon motives of religion and principle'. The possibility that trade might itself entail 'ideologies' is not considered in analysing the first war, but suddenly appears in treating the second, where mercantile growth is shown to have been perceived as an instrument of 'universal empire'. In fact, abundant evidence is given that contemporaries thought this war was about trade, albeit set within a wider framework of ideas. Sir Henry Bennet said the war was fought 'for the dominion of the seas and the trade that belongs to it'. Yet this does not cause an adjustment to the conclusion that this was 'not a trade war'. The further claim that godly Protestantism abruptly gave way to a secularised 'national interest', is also not entirely convincing. There are of course no easy answers: Steven Pincus has grappled, and has provided a superabundance of material with which to grapple.

CHURCHILL COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

MARK GOLDIE

*British monarchy, English church establishment, and civil liberty.* By John A. Taylor. (Contributions to the Study of World History, 56.) Pp. x + 169. Westport, Conn.—London: Greenwood Press, 1996. £39.95. 0 313 29844 0; 0885 9159  
John Taylor seeks to reform both the monarchy and the Church. Both have been justified on early Anglican notions of civil liberty which are now obsolete. The Puritans, and in particular Jonathan Edwards, invented, Taylor believes, a better theory of civil liberty in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Taylor's actual proposals, however, are rather unclear, and we have to wait until the last

four pages of a book of only 139 pages of text, before we discover what reforms Taylor actually favours. The Puritans in fact twice abolished the monarchy – in Britain in 1649 and in the United States in 1776. Taylor, however, favours the preservation of the monarchy. Indeed the reforms he seeks seem rather un-Puritan. He would like both monarchy and Church to abandon, in Bagehot's terminology, their 'dignified' role. They should not, however, seek to exercise political power, but rather cultural influence, and the monarchy, in particular, should champion the cause of women. The main task of both Church and monarchy, however, should be to 'promote beauty and conserve culture'. Taylor's arguments are sketchy and unconvincing, and not helped by some elementary mistakes. He says, for example, that Bagehot 'had some republican sympathies', that 'The monarch is head of the Church of England' and that 'By the rules of the Church of England, Prince Charles is not free to divorce'. He also believes, mistakenly, that the Prince of Wales favoured disestablishment. Slapdash statements such as 'Locke got most things wrong. He should go first – Hooker should go next', do not inspire much confidence in the author's qualities of scholarship. The three-page 'bibliographic essay' is quite inadequate.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

VERNON BOGDANOR

*Philipp Jakob Spener und seine Pia desideria. Die Weiterführung der Reformvorschläge der Pia desideria in seinem späteren Schrifttum.* By Hyeong-Eun Chi. (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 23, Theologie, 562.) Pp. 208. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997. £27 (DM 65). 3 631 49393 2; 0721 3409

This useful book is a sign of the times. It is the work of a Korean scholar supported by his home church, who took charge of two Korean congregations in Germany, apprenticed himself to Johannes Wallmann, and successfully presented his work for a Bochum doctorate in 1995. He now offers it as (very clear) evidence that the Korean Church is able to do a job for the Churches elsewhere. The book follows closely Wallmann's style, minutely examining the texts, and the only exotic thing about it is some eccentric proof-reading. Beginning by defending Wallmann's conclusion that the distinctive features of Spener's thought were the idea of fellowship and the hope of better times for the Church, and that he represented a new hybrid of Strasbourg Orthodoxy and Labadism, the author inquires how Spener's reform ideas developed. One of the chief conclusions is that Spener rapidly despaired of his *collegia pietatis* and began to look to much broader *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*. Clearly too while Spener deplored the state of the clergy of his day, and thought that even a reformed clerisy would not get far without the support of the whole spiritual priesthood, he saw clerical leadership as crucial. Clerical education on the basis of Scripture and the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit offered a middle way between the Unitarian reading of Scripture in the light of reason and the Quaker understanding of Scripture in the light of inward revelation. The final conclusion is that although Spener's reform programme is not wholly to be found in the *Pia desideria* the essentials were there.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*John Locke and the eighteenth-century divines.* By Alan P. F. Sell. Pp. xi + 444. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997. £40. 0 7083 1409 0

Alan Sell's book is an exploration in Enlightenment theology, a companion to his 1995 *Philosophical idealism and Christian belief* and the prelude to a further volume on modern apologetics. His treatment of the response to Locke is therefore part of this wider scheme, with consequences that are not entirely satisfactory. Professor Sell orders his chapters thematically. In each, he first discusses facets of Locke's theology, from his conception of knowledge and truth through faith and Scripture to the highly contentious areas of toleration and doctrine; he then proceeds to consider the response of eighteenth-century divines, both Anglican and Nonconformist. As one would expect from Sell, the scholarly breadth is impressive, the judgements invariably acute. His reading of Locke is a useful supplement to John Marshall's authoritative 1994 *John Locke: resistance, religion, responsibility*, with Sell arguing effectively that Locke's theology is much closer to his seventeenth-century precursors (especially in his high regard for biblical authority) than those rational Christians of the next century who claimed him as their own. This is a Locke who had a lifelong familiarity with Scripture, who found the best morality proclaimed in the New Testament, and who never doubted the truth of Christ's Messiahship. According to Sell, there is 'no hard evidence he ever repudiated the Holy Trinity' (p. 214). It is a convincing, sympathetic and close reading of his subject. Where Sell disappoints is in the eighteenth-century context. He quotes to good purpose from numerous divines writing at any point from the 1690s through to the 1800s, but with minimal introduction of either author or the work from which Sell is taking his Locke references. The reader has to take it for granted that these divines, often quite minor ones, engage notice simply because they are making some reference to Locke. This leads on to the wider point that Sell hardly confronts: has the importance of Locke in eighteenth-century theological debate (especially in Anglican circles) been significantly exaggerated? Jonathan Clark, among others, has argued to that effect quite persuasively and Brian Young's 1990 Oxford dissertation (publication imminent) could also have been used to good purpose. Alan Sell's preoccupation with Christian apologetics and their current viability closes off this important critical angle. He raises the issue of Locke's influence as early as p. 3, but it is never resumed systematically thereafter. Its omission detracts from what is in most other respects a formidably learned and judicious achievement.

UNIVERSITY OF LUTON

NIGEL ASTON

*God's just vengeance. Crime, violence and the rhetoric of salvation.* By Timothy Gorringe. (Cambridge Studies in Ideology and Religion, 9.) Pp. xiv + 281. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. £35 (cloth), £12.95 (paper). 0 521 55301 6; 0 521 55762 3

Gorringe provides an impressively thorough and at times provocative survey of the history of the interaction between Christian views of the atonement and penal policy in (largely) England. From the time of Anselm, notions of retribution drawn from the Bible were immensely influential in affecting both public

attitudes to offenders and actual legislation. In turn, that reading of the Bible which sees propitiation as central to the atonement was affected by current secular notions of law, honour and proprietary rights. Paradoxically, an emphasis on Christ the innocent victim standing as substitute bearing the punishment merited by the whole human race, far from rendering all other retribution redundant, entrenched even more deeply (if subconsciously) the assumption of retribution as the prime motif in the treatment of offenders. From a Christian perspective, the record of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one of collusion between official church opinion and what often amounted to legally sanctioned public sadism is chilling (with certain notable exceptions mostly from dissenting and theologically unorthodox quarters such as Blake and Priestly). Whether, even today, the restoration of community will prevail over retribution as the ruling motif both in theology and public policy, remains to be seen.

BRISTOL

KEITH CLEMENTS

*Christianity in China. From the eighteenth century to the present.* Edited by Daniel H. Bays. Pp. xxii + 484. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996. £40. 0 8047 2609 4

*L'Église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle.* By Claude Soetens. (L'Histoire dans l'actualité, 6.) Pp. viii + 193 incl. map. Paris: Beauchesne, 1997. Fr. 198. 2 7010 1349 6

The two books under review are of a very different nature. *Christianity in China* is a collection of twenty very specialised contributions dealing with different Christian denominations over the long period of the eighteenth century to the present. The essays are organised into four major sections: Christianity's role in society, including local conflicts during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) (six essays); ethnicity (three essays); women (five essays); and indigenisation of the Christian effort (six essays). It constitutes the largest but by no means the only product of the *History of Christianity in China Project*, which covered the years from 1985 to 1992 and was funded by the Henry Luce Foundation. The project itself was inspired by the famous American sinologist John K. Fairbank, who had long believed that the history of the modern Christian missionary movement in China, documented by voluminous missions records, was understudied. It is fortunate that the editor has included a description of this project in his volume.

*L'Église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle* is meant as a general introduction to Catholicism in the twentieth century, destined for a broad public. It is an excellent synthesis of a very complicated period of church history. The title, though, is somewhat misleading since most of the book is devoted to the Catholic Church in the first fifty years of this century, which is the major research subject of the author, the post-1949 period occupying but twenty pages in the work.

The internal organisation of the two books is also different. In *Christianity in China*, Christianity is interpreted not just as a western religion that imposed itself on China, but one that was becoming a Chinese religion. The work contains articles that focus on subjects that usually are not treated. Whereas other publications frequently highlight the conversion of the elite, in the first historical section on Christianity in the Qing one finds articles about popular Christian

religion and even popular religious millenarianism (for example, 'Catholics and society in eighteenth-century Sichuan' by R. Entenmann and 'Rural religion and village organization in north China: the Catholic challenge in the late nineteenth century' by C. Litzinger). Another theme is that of ethnic minority groups. Anthropologists have observed that in many cultures these may have a tendency to convert to Christianity, sometimes *en masse*. It is not then perhaps surprising that there have been many cases of (non-Han Chinese) minority group or ethnically related conversions in nineteenth- and twentieth-century China, and that ethnic communities of Christians are a feature of Chinese Christianity today, in Taiwan as well as in the People's Republic. Also worth noting is the attention given to women in this volume. The relationship between Chinese women and Christianity has seldom been the subject of serious and detailed scholarly study. The five contributions (especially 'Chinese women and Protestant Christianity at the turn of the twentieth century' by Kwok Pui-lan) included in this volume set an example for further research. Moreover, several of them are a nice combination of gender studies and a 'China-centered' approach. The final section is fully devoted to the rise of an indigenous Chinese Christianity which is illustrated by the efforts of individuals (for example Karl Gützlaff or Y. T. Wu) or larger movements (for example 'Contextualizing Protestant publishing: the Wenshe [1924–28]' by P. Chen-Main Wang or 'Toward independence: Christianity under the Japanese occupation [1937–45]' by T. Brook). These articles are based on a large collection of previously unused or underused sources. The whole volume demonstrates excellent editing, which includes a general bibliography and index. Moreover, the editor has provided sectional introductions which highlight major themes in each section and bring unity to the great variety of subjects treated.

*L'Église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle* is also well founded on historical documentation. C. Soetens successfully situates the evolution of the Catholic Church in China against the background of previous centuries, China's political context and the (theological) changes of the Catholic Church in Europe. The work is not only a historical depiction but also presents a missiological reflection. The combination of both aspects (as clearly illustrated in the chapter on the Shanghai Synod of 1924) is distinctively characteristic of this book. Soetens is clearly interested in the organisation aspects of the Church (including congregations, catechists, associations etc.), but also brings in the mentalities of missionaries and Christians. He pays much attention to the process of sinicisation of the Catholic Church, partly seen through the experience of Vincent Lebbe (1877–1944), whose archival sources he has edited. As such, his work is a good complement to *Christianity in China*, in which the editor, D. Bays, himself regretted the absence of any contribution on the indigenisation movement on the Catholic side. *L'Église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle* is more evaluative and critical with regard to the interpretation of historical events than *Christianity in China*, and the author regularly adds the theological implications. At times, however, one wonders whether the questions raised are the ones raised by the Chinese too. Moreover, more attention could have been devoted to the role of Chinese Catholics themselves. Since the book is meant for a general public, the bibliography has been kept short and there is no index; one can regret that no uniform and common transcription system for Chinese names was used.

The historiography of Christianity is in constant evolution. Both works under review excel in historical scholarship and provide a precious resource for further research.

K. U. LEUVEN

N. STANDAERT

*Magistrates of the sacred. Priests and parishioners in eighteenth-century Mexico.* By William B. Taylor. Pp. xvi+868 incl. 11 figs, 5 maps and 11 tables.

Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1996. £50. 0 8047 2456 3

In this impressive and meticulously researched book, William Taylor attempts an exhaustive study of parish priests and their parishioners in late colonial Mexico. Of particular interest is the author's insistence that priests ought to be placed in the context of a remarkable governmental system which survived for almost three centuries despite great inequalities, little social mobility, and the absence of a standing army; for it is clear that in such a context parish priests were a key element of the local practice of legitimacy and authority in Spanish America. This is especially true of Hapsburg times when, as Taylor reminds us, there was no stress on the division between the secular and the sacred. Hapsburg practice, he continues, was tolerant of ambiguities that did not threaten its legitimacy: it relied on a balance of countervailing forces and the mutual suspicion of local mayors and parish priests as competing yet complementary magistrates and protectors of Indians.

Now the fact that Taylor's archival evidence comes almost exclusively from post-Hapsburg times leads him to concentrate on the effects of the Bourbon reforms upon this delicate Hapsburg balance and the way in which they prepared the ground for an insurgent movement where parish priests were particularly conspicuous. Although Taylor subverts the stale, albeit still prevalent, assumptions first voiced by Bustamante and Alamán, which saw a massive participation of ignorant *curas* leading unruly multitudes against the royalists, his study sheds new and very bright light on the role of priests in the insurgency and its aftermath and, more importantly, on the central place they should be given in any attempt to understand apparently paradoxical developments such as Indians who were at once compliant and aggressively resistant, or the rise of anticlerical movements in deeply Catholic areas.

This, it would seem, is the book's main thread, although it is not always easy to discern amidst the sheer mass of information that Taylor includes on the priests' social background, education, daily activities, finances, career opportunities, methods of advancement and their 'lay network' of *fiscales*, *sacristanes*, and *cantores*. Such meticulous reconstructions are somewhat prolix and often state the obvious; yet it is instructive to learn, for instance, that 'for every notoriously unpriestly *cura*, four or five apparently satisfied their parishioners and superiors' (p. 191), and the many vivid and amply illustrated glimpses into the priests' role in the local community are of great value. In his chapter on 'Sanctions and deference', for instance, Taylor examines the various elements that separated the priest from his parishioners and invested his actions with 'mystery'. Latin, the 'esoteric language of God', and the fine vestments of the officiating priest, enhanced the 'magical' power of the rites of passage and the blessings. But the symbolic authority that separated the priest from his parishioners, thus helping

to confirm other divisions in nature and society, also served as a powerful point of union (p. 222). This mixture of love and fear, natural authority and punishment, persuasion and coercion, was an unmistakable reflection of the Hapsburg theory of government; it was typified by the priest's cane, a clear symbol of the legitimation of privilege in a stratified social order.

One of the effects of Bourbon policy was to upset this balance and to make it more difficult for parish priests to elicit obedience in proportion as the crown moved to replace the pastor's judicial authority with the more imposing town jails and the enforcement of the royal *auxilio*. This was only one of the many ways in which the later Bourbons took the initiative away from priests in order to strengthen royal authority and access to community wealth. Although Taylor is careful not to link these developments too closely to late colonial instances of resistance and rebellion, he argues persuasively that, at this time, resistance had a collective dimension: it 'reaffirmed community membership' and it 'intended to restore a right relationship with colonial authorities in colonial terms' (p. 369).

Another important effect of the reforms was to increase the number of conflicts between district governors and priests. Such conflicts had always existed, but the new balance of judicial authority in the late eighteenth century tended to exacerbate the situation. The judicial responsibility of district governors increased, and the high courts usually failed to support the claims of the parish priests against them. The result was the breakdown of the Hapsburg system of mutual suspicion. Indian villages became increasingly estranged from the state at the district level and made more demands on the *audiencias* and the viceroys. In this context, Taylor explains, Indian litigation stood for a local Christian identity that interpreted and adjusted to the expectations of priests and other colonial officials more than it rejected their authority. Litigious *pueblos*, in other words, were resisting the acts of one kind of royal official while validating colonial authority at a higher level. Indeed, lawsuits were framed as supplications for the king's favour, and their critique of Bourbon initiatives and colonial inequalities was essentially the result of the persistence and vitality of the old ideology that had sustained the Hapsburg order.

In his concluding section, Taylor expands on the way in which the Bourbon reforms attempted to present the clergy as a professional service group within a more absolutist, modernising conception of government. The renewed emphasis on law over custom, standardisation, royal absolutism and the enlargement of royal patrimony invited public conflicts that increasingly centred on the authority of the parish priest in public affairs. Yet it is clear that parish priests continued to be of importance to the legitimacy and bureaucratic operations of the monarchy. The proportion of active insurgent *curas* (9 per cent) is far from the massive participation claimed by Alamán, and the bulk of them seem to have stayed in their parishes and to have been active royalists. Their vocabulary was 'rich in old metaphors and allusions to sentiment' and had nothing to do with the 'new man' that the regalists had in mind (p. 460).

Unfortunately, this promising line of enquiry is not adequately substantiated. There are many generalisations based on one or two archival references which might or might not be representative and which do not deal adequately, if at all, with the wider context. The most glaring omission is a discussion of Jansenism and its impact on spirituality and preaching. Nor is the book without its problems

elsewhere. Issues of local religion and ritual are never fully integrated into the argument and they often read like afterthoughts. More fundamentally, given the book's central interest in the background to the insurgency, which was mostly concentrated in the diocese of Michoacán, Taylor's decision to concentrate on the archdiocese of Mexico and the diocese of Guadalajara, and to leave Michoacán out of the picture, will strike many readers as odd to say the least.

This should not detract from the importance of Taylor's monumental study, with its enormous wealth of material and its many fascinating insights. But there is no denying that it should have been much shorter, by which I mean less prolix and much more focused.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

FERNANDO CERVANTES

*Life and religion at Louisbourg, 1713–1758*. By A. J. B. Johnston. Pp. xxxii + 227 incl. 8 figs, 11 tables and 21 ill. Montreal & Kingston–London–Buffalo: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1996 (first publ. as *Religion in life at Louisbourg, 1713–1758*, 1984). £12.95 (paper). 0 7735 1525 9

A short-lived French garrison town of only a few thousand permanent residents, transplanted onto the rocky coast of Cape Breton Island to safeguard the much larger settlements of New France, the Fortress of Louisbourg is today a superb Canadian historical site thanks to a wealth of material culture. A. J. B. Johnston, a staff historian since 1977, has drawn on a wide array of institutional records, archaeological evidence and comparative European and colonial studies to write a richly textured and comprehensive analysis of the town's religious life. Reissued, in paperback, twelve years after its initial publication, and with a moderately updated bibliography, the book has lost none of its vitality. In separate chapters Johnston examines religion through the three orders brought in under government auspices: the Récollets of Brittany, who served as parish priests and chaplains, the Brothers of Charity of St John of God, who offered medical assistance, and the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame who provided education for girls. While the orders faced formidable challenges in the form of administrative incompetence and neglect, insufficient financing, and conflicts with the royal government, they were, nevertheless, able to impart a distinctively Roman Catholic shape to morals and popular customs. Through graphs, statistical evidence, illustrative accounts and informed analysis, a final chapter reconstructs the extent and nature of this influence upon the daily lives of the inhabitants, from birth and baptism, through confession and communion, marriage and maturity, to death and burial. Though based on an isolated and unusual population, this is truly an exemplary study of how to integrate religion into its social, economic and political context.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
KINGSTON,  
ONTARIO

MARGUERITE VAN DIE

*The Blackwell dictionary of evangelical biography, 1730–1860*. Edited by Donald M. Lewis. 2 vols. I: A–J; II: K–Z. Pp. xxviii + 631; xxviii + 633–1259. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995. £175 (set). 0 631 17384 6



These two massive volumes contain a wealth of expertise on the evangelical movement in Britain and overseas. The editor, Professor Donald M. Lewis of Regent College, Vancouver, assembled a team of twenty-nine specialist editors and nearly 350 contributors from many parts of the world to compose over 3,500 entries. Each refers to a participant (occasionally with a relative thrown in for good measure) in the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century or the expanding tradition it created in the various Protestant churches of the following century. The cut-off point of 1860 is justifiably chosen and sensibly treated: if individuals would have merited inclusion for their achievements before 1860 they have entries, but if not they are left out, however famous they may be. The international dimension of the project is extremely impressive. Although the central focus is on the British Isles (there are far more subjects who were English Baptists than who were American Baptists, even though by 1860 this denomination in the United States was outstripping its English counterpart), there is coverage of the whole English-speaking world. Missionaries to other parts of the globe have entries; a few of their prominent converts also find their way into these pages. There is even a small number of continental figures such as Count Zinzendorf, included because of their close relations with English-speaking evangelicals. Ministers, understandably, tend to predominate, but there has been an effort to insert lay people, whether men or women, acting as patrons, lay preachers and so on. Hence there is evidence here for the enormous significance of the movement in moulding the social life of the various areas where, by 1860, it had gained an ascendancy. The thorny question of the definition of an evangelical is resolved by treating the profession of a combination of conversionism, crucicentrism, biblicism and activism as the criterion – though it has to be said that a handful of others, such as the historian of India, H. M. Elliot, have crept in. Each entry contains bibliographical references, primary or secondary or sometimes both, for the further pursuit of information. At the end of the second volume there is an invaluable list of the subjects by country and, within that, by denomination that also specifies occupation. This publication is not merely a partisan banging of the drum for the contemporary evangelical cause (many of the contributors are not themselves evangelical Christians), but rather it is a compilation of the fruit of much recent scholarship in the field. Sometimes, disappointingly, the source for an entry is no more than the *Dictionary of national biography*, but often there is evidence of original research. The consequence is that these volumes rescue a large number of figures, in many ways typical of their times, from unmerited obscurity. A vast undertaking has produced an essential work of reference for any academic library.

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

D. W. BEBBINGTON

Paul Tiry, Baron d'Holbach, *Ecce homo! An eighteenth-century life of Jesus. Critical edition and revision of George Houston's translation from the French*. Edited by Andrew Hunwick. (History of Religions in Translation, 1.) Pp. xiii + 343. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995. DM 118 (cloth), DM 68 (paper). 3 11 014521 9; 3 11 014520 0

*Ecce homo!* was the title George Houston gave his 1799 English translation of Baron D'Holbach's *Histoire critique de Jésus Christ* (1770), which, according to

Andrew Hunwick (p. 14) was itself based on a clandestine manuscript. D'Holbach's *Critique* is important as the first published *Life* of Jesus, a culmination of the naturalising of the New Testament carried out by freethinkers such as Collins, Woolston and Toland. Hunwick has revised Houston's edition, supplying an introduction, as well as scholarly notes and appendices. The latter contain a good deal of useful information, although some may be criticised for being either unnecessarily heavy or just unnecessary. However, it is Hunwick's picture of D'Holbach in the introduction which is most open to criticism. According to Hunwick, 'D'Holbach's attacks on religion are based on virtually no original thought' (p. 12). Yet given that D'Holbach's *Système de la nature* (1770) was the first work of open speculative atheism, it would have been useful if Hunwick had explained why this does not count as original. Instead, he supports his assertion by a quotation from J. H. Brumfit, that '... men like D'Holbach... do not appear to me to be profoundly original thinkers' (p. 13 n. 69; see also p. 29). For Hunwick, D'Holbach was primarily an anti-clerical polemicist (p. 28), a writer 'concerned not with metaphysics or dogma, but with practical and moral ethics' (p. 11), who 'did not hesitate to distort or misrepresent' (p. 28). But here again one would like some justification, especially since the only piece of evidence Hunwick offers on p. 11 seems to run directly contrary to his thesis; this is D'Holbach's assertion that 'Fellow citizens owe each other nothing less than the truth.'

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
DUBLIN

DAVID BERMAN

*N. F. S. Grundtvig. An introduction to his life and work with an afterword by Nicholas Lossky.* By A. M. Allchin. Pp. 338 incl. 1 plate. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1997. £19.95. 0 232 52260 X

A. M. Allchin has written a very stimulating and knowledgeable book about the Danish theologian N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), and thereby about Denmark. The book is particularly inspiring and different since it is written by someone outside Scandinavia. It is, so far as Allchin knows, 'the first time that someone neither Danish nor Scandinavian has attempted to make an extended presentation of Grundtvig's life and work' (p. 5). The decision to portray Grundtvig's life and work from a British perspective is a very good one.

The book is divided in three parts. The first (pp. 26–100), called *Glimpses of life*, is a description of Grundtvig's life, in which Allchin concentrates on some of the decisive periods in his theological development. The Danish theologian's journeys to England receive special attention.

In the second part (pp. 102–73) Allchin focuses on five major themes in Grundtvig's theology, placing special emphasis on ecclesiology, the Trinity and creation. Chapter viii, which Allchin considers the central chapter of the whole book, discusses the Trinity, understood as a model for human society, for fellowship, because we are created in the image of God. Grundtvig's thought is compared with the Oxford Movement in England, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the early Church, especially Irenaeus. His political involvement (Folk High Schools, freedom of religious beliefs etc.) is seen as an integral part of

his theology. Allchin also shows why Grundtvig's thought can and does have a special relevance in the Third World.

Part three (pp. 176–307), called 'The celebration of faith', focuses on Grundtvig's sermons and hymns as they present his theology in the course of the Church's year. Christmas, Easter, Whitsun etc. are used to give an account of Grundtvig as preacher, hymnwriter and theologian.

The book is a highly successful presentation of Grundtvig as the complicated personality he was, and of his wide-ranging thought. It also manages to pick up specific elements in his work which are representative of his thought as a whole. Allchin considers his book to be only a preliminary study, an introduction for the English-speaking world. But even though he has this humble view, he actually manages to pinpoint the crucial themes in Grundtvig's work: the relation between theology, society and education is stressed. And although his strong nationalism makes Grundtvig seem a very Danish thinker, Allchin is able to show his universality, catholicity and ecumenism too. He demonstrates that even Grundtvig's nationalism can be understood in a larger universal way, through his theology of creation. On a more censorious note, Allchin underplays the fact that Grundtvig was highly critical of the Roman Catholic Church.

All in all a most commendable introduction to this important Danish theologian.

FITZWILLIAM COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JAKOB OLSEN

*The ethics of Catholicism and the consecration of the intellectual.* By André J. Bédangier.

Pp. viii + 242. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997. £25.  
0 85323 981 9

In this book, André J. Bédangier asks why certain countries anoint a few chosen individuals as 'intellectuals' while other countries do not. The answer, Bédangier suggests, lies in countries' different 'religious world views'. Using France as his primary example, Bédangier argues that Catholic countries prize the intellectual (whom he defines as an artist, novelist, philosopher or actor who 'involves him or herself in the political arena to express views on the workings of a specific collectivity'), whereas Protestant countries do not. Catholics are accustomed to entrusting learning and the interpretation of culture to a select group of individuals – priests. In the face of increasing secularisation, Catholic societies are groping for someone to interpret and guide culture: enter the intellectual, exemplified by Sartre. Or, as Bédangier puts it,

The Catholic tradition is receptive to mediation by an elite group which, because of the recognized competence of its members, is authorized to express views on moral matters. Whenever the clergy loses its ascendancy through secularization, a vacuum is created that has to be filled. Intellectuals exist to fulfill this same moral function.

In contrast, Protestant countries reject the tradition of priestly authority, instead relying on Luther's priesthood of believers. Protestants accustomed to exercising religious authority are unlikely to hand over the reigns of cultural and political authority to a select cadre of intellectuals. Bédangier's schema seems straightforward enough; religion permeates society so deeply that even in a 'secular'

moment, religion casts a long shadow. However, we ought to be cautious when considering the assumptions about secularisation that underpin Bélanger's argument. Bélanger does not elaborate what he means by secularisation, and he fails to respond to, or even acknowledge, the growing body of scholarship that questions the long-standing framework of secularisation. Even if we accept Bélanger's premise about secularisation, we may want to question his unsubstantiated assumptions about the role of intellectuals in Protestant societies (read Great Britain and the United States). Here, it is not Bélanger's answer readers ought to approach with care, but his question, for in making his inquiry Bélanger fails to recognise the communities of intellectuals that are very much alive in Protestant countries. The only intellectual he seems able to find in America is Jane Fonda. Furthermore, Bélanger, by implication, exaggerates the democratic aspects of Protestant society: his characterisation that 'Some cultures seem receptive to mediated opinion, while others [Britain and the United States] are hostile to the idea of granting some individuals the exclusive privilege of expressing certain opinions' implies not only that England and America are bereft of intellectuals as Bélanger defines them (artists and so forth engaged in political activism), but also that these countries never grant any select group of people a special forum for expressing their opinions on matters political. In this regard, the argument of *The ethics of Catholicism and the consecration of the intellectual* explains too much.

CLARE COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

LAUREN WINNER

*The Catholic Church and the famine.* By Donal Kerr. Pp. 96. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 1996. £5.99 (paper). 1 85607 175 8

*The historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism.* By Emmet Larkin. Pp. vii + 139. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press/Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997 (first publ. 1976, 1984). £9.95 (paper). 1 8132 0594 8

These two short books, from the hands of accomplished historians, are a welcome contribution to the continuing discussion on the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Emmet Larkin's book reproduces three articles which first appeared in the *American Historical Review* in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and which were reprinted as a book in 1976 and again in 1984 with a new introduction. His discussions of the economic impact of the Church, its political role in shaping the Irish nation and state and the 'devotional revolution' in Ireland from the mid nineteenth century were, in their day, path-breaking. It is to be regretted that Larkin has not taken the opportunity of another reprint to revise and update his general argument. In particular the work of O'Grada and Vaughan, on the economic history of the period and Corish and Macaulay (indeed even Kerr) on the ecclesiastical history of nineteenth-century Ireland find no place in the articles reproduced here. Furthermore, many of Larkin's interpretations are open to serious question. It is inaccurate to say that the Fenians never challenged the nature of the Catholic Church's power and influence in Irish society. Nor does it make much sense to identify being Irish with being Catholic in the way that Larkin argues in these

pages. The Catholic Church historically was far from merely being Irish nationalism at prayer. Larkin does not give sufficient weight to the changes in devotional practice before Cardinal Cullen's arrival in Ireland in 1850. Recitation of the rosary, for example, is hardly a product of the devotional revolution in the way Larkin suggests. Having said this, the reprinting of these articles is timely and welcome, though more care might have been taken to eliminate the many obvious typographical errors.

There is some overlap in the two works under review although in *The Catholic Church and the famine* Kerr has the benefit of writing on a very defined topic, which makes his narrative much more accessible. This is not a book on the Famine *per se*, but on the Church's response to that catastrophe. Kerr's exposition must be set alongside his detailed treatment of the Great Hunger, *A nation of beggars?* (Oxford 1995). Most Catholic churchmen were adverse to the economic liberalism which in the end dictated the government's *laissez-faire* attitude to the distress caused by the Famine. By contrast, Richard Whately, Anglican archbishop of Dublin, saw it as 'essential to the success of commerce that the mercantile interests should not be interfered with'. Kerr wishes to eschew controversy by not directly tackling the problem of 'Souperism' in the later years of the Famine; at the same time he rightly emphasises the quite remarkable ecumenical harmony displayed by Catholics and Protestants in organising relief. With the fall of Peel, the Church became increasingly alarmed at the lack of help emanating from Russell's government. Many priests, whilst continuing to preach resignation to God's will, were convinced that the Famine conditions were brought about more by their uncaring earthly rulers than the divine sovereign. Perhaps it was a loss of nerve which prevented the Church from supporting the 1848 Young Ireland rising, since, in that year of revolution, Archbishop Affre of Paris was killed in the course of the insurgence in France, a death which profoundly shocked Catholic Ireland. Kerr might have expounded at greater length the differing contemporary theological perspectives on the Famine. One element, after all, in determining the actions of the government was the view articulated by, among others, Charles Trevelyan, the assistant secretary of the Treasury, that the Famine was 'the judgement of God on an indolent and unself-reliant people'.

CAMPION HALL,  
OXFORD

OLIVER J. RAFFERTY SJ

*Evangelical Christianity in Australia. Spirit, word and world.* By Stuart Piggin. Pp. xiv + 290. Melbourne–Oxford–Auckland–New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. £16.99 (paper). 0 19 553538 3

Has religion been ignored as much in Australian historical studies over the past twenty-five years as Stuart Piggin implies in this survey of Australian evangelicalism? Perhaps not, but he is certainly correct in pointing to a scholarly neglect of *evangelical* Christianity, despite the fascination of social historians with issues such as censorship, 'wowsersism', prostitution and temperance, all of which have attracted the attention of evangelicals – even if these matters are not central to their message, mission or theology. One problem is that the view most of us

have of evangelicals is dominated by simplistic and negative stereotypes. In this book Stuart Piggin, whose own evangelical faith is always evident without ever being obtrusive, demonstrates convincingly that Australia's evangelical Christians have powerfully influenced secular society, sometimes in surprising ways. The synthesis he presents is of the three elements that comprise the subtitle of the book: the authority which is Scripture; the mandate which is the Holy Spirit; the world which the evangelical, never the cloistered pietist, is obliged to try to convert. This gives his analysis a unity which avoids the trap of artificiality. He deftly demonstrates, possibly to the astonishment of some of his readers, that colonial liberalism and evangelicalism had much in common. The phenomenon of Revivalism is a recurring topic: for example, Piggin draws upon it to explain the success of the Methodists and thus differs from those who have attributed that success to Methodism's superior organisation. Because of the constraints of space, some questions are posed rather than resolved. For example, explaining the missionaries' early neglect of indigenous people, Piggin suggests both the evangelical mindset that aborigines were accursed descendants of Ham, and the alternative rather than the complementary theory that the propinquity of the whites had deleterious effects on native tribes. In the 1930s, the business and political networks that formed the context of the layman E. Lee Neil's missionary activities, and the fact that the politically conservative 1950s crowned the evangelicals' labours with success, suggest a relationship between right-wing politics and mid twentieth-century evangelicalism, a link that a longer book could explore. Sometimes names tumble forth in excessive profusion; for example no fewer than twenty are listed on p. 144. The Upwey Convention makes several visitations in the text; we infer that it was significant in Melbourne's evangelical mission but we are given little idea of its organisation or *modus operandi*. But these are quibbles: whatever value those of the evangelical persuasion place upon it, Stuart Piggin's book meets a genuine scholarly need. His final chapter analyses the impact that the issue of women's ordination has had on Australian evangelicals. By examining the differences among them over scriptural interpretation, the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the way that God works in the world, he skilfully brings his three themes into focus, gives the book an appropriately contemporary reference and incidentally provides a lucid explanation of what has puzzled me for years: what makes a *liberal* evangelical tick?

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

PAUL NICHOLLS

*Reformed confessionalism in nineteenth-century America. Essays on the thought of John Williamson Nevin.* Edited by Sam Hamstra, Jr, and Arie J. Griffioen. (ATLA Monograph Series, 38.) Pp. xxii + 257. American Theological Library Association/Lanham, MD—London: Scarecrow Press, 1995. \$42.50. 0 8108 3058 2

This is a helpful collection of essays setting into historical and theological context the life and work of J. W. Nevin, the founder (along with Philip Schaff) of the Mercersburg Theology. This was a mid nineteenth-century movement of the German Reformed Church in America stressing Christology and sacramental

theology along with a return to High Church liturgy and a broadly ecumenical catholicity, in pointed opposition to the 'new measures' revivalism of the time. The eleven essays are divided into two groups, the first four dealing with the historical and intellectual context of Nevin's thought, and the rest covering Nevin's treatment of particular theological topics such as church, sacraments, regeneration and the pastoral office. The accessibility of the essays varies widely, from William DiPuccio's 'Nevin's idealistic philosophy', which is clearly intended for the technical specialist, to John Payne's 'Nevin on Baptism' which should be approachable by parish pastors and theologically informed laity. There is enough accessible material here, along with a sketch of Nevin's life and substantial primary and secondary bibliographies, to make the volume a useful introduction to the Mercersburg Theology for general readers as well as a resource for academic historians.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBUQUE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

P. MARK ACHTEMEIER

*Newman and conversion*. Edited by Ian Ker. Pp. v + 153. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997. £12.50 (paper). 0 567 08553 8

This symposium contains eight of the papers delivered in August 1995 at Oriel College, Oxford, in the course of an international conference marking the 150th anniversary of Newman's reception into the Roman Church. To avoid too much coverage of well-trodden ground, four of the contributions touch the issue of 'conversion' only rather peripherally, emphasising Newman's influence, especially on the relationship between faith and reason, on other religious thinkers from his own day to the present time. John Macquarrie's paper on Newman and Kierkegaard, while acknowledging that neither was aware of the existence of the other, suggests that, despite the difference of vocabulary, there are profound similarities between them. Cyril Barrett examines the evidence of a certain kinship, in the sphere of the rationality of religious belief, in the later writings of Wittgenstein, notwithstanding Wittgenstein's rejection of Newman's conviction of the cumulative effect of probabilities. Aidan Nicholls offers a highly original paper on the traces of Newman's development theory in the writings of the modern Swiss theologian, Hans Urs von Balthasar; Terrence Merrigan, in a weighty paper on the changed temper of 'postmodernity' theology since Vatican II, suggests that Newman's writings on conversion have a timely relevance in contemporary debates. On the central issue of 'conversion' – the subject of the opening four papers – the Jesuit scholar, Avery Dulles, points out that the events of 1845 constituted a third conversion in Newman's spiritual pilgrimage, via Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism; and Ian Ker suggests a fourth conversion in Newman's discovery, post 1845, of the secret of the 'life' of the communion that he had joined (of which he knew so little at the time of his reception) – a spiritual depth, sense of mystery and extent of popular appeal which constituted a different religion from the 'verbal, cerebral' ethos of the Anglican establishment. Two contributions to this symposium, however, stand in a class of their own. The American classicist, Ronald Begley, offers an ingenious analysis of the sources of the metaphors employed by Newman in a single, celebrated passage in the final chapter of the *Apologia* (on the supposition that infallible authority stifled the 'energy of the Catholic intellect'), tracing the imagery back

to bk viii of Virgil's *Aeneid*, perhaps unconsciously recalled by Newman. Sheridan Gilley's powerful paper on 'Newman and the convert mind' perceptively explains why the Catholic revival has had a greater impact upon literary figures than upon scientists and businessmen, 'who have no such notable Catholic convert model'. These opening papers all tend to treat a historical theme with a touch of apologetic; but perhaps this was what this conference was intended to do. As Avery Dulles puts it, in his conclusion, the circumstances of Newman's conversion 'should offer an occasion for many of our own contemporaries to put themselves in the school of so great a master'.

CUMBRIA

DAVID NEWSOME

*Catholiques entre monarchie et république. Monseigneur Freppel en son temps 1792–1892–1992. Actes du Colloque national de l'Université Catholique de l'Ouest. Angers 23–25 septembre 1992.* Edited by Bernard Plongeron (with Isabelle Émeriau and Jean Riaud). Pp. 238. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1995. Fr. 171. 2 7063 0197 X

This is two *colloques* in one: there is a study of the attitudes of Catholics to the question whether France should be a monarchy or a republic, and there is a study of Mgr Freppel, bishop of Angers from December 1869 to his death in December 1892. The two themes are linked by Freppel's brusque variations of course in politics, all the more significant because he was an intellectual, an academic and a parliamentary deputy as well as a bishop. In the idealistic days of 1848 he was a republican, then a supporter of Napoleon III, then a bitter opponent of the anticlerical Third Republic, adhering to the royalist cause and only reluctantly accepting the Ralliement. Even so, he backed Jules Ferry's colonial policy. He was always an ultramontane, though he flirted with Gallicanism in mid-century, and thought the proclamation of infallibility 'inopportune'. And he was always a fervent patriot. The complexities of his reactions are analysed in essays on his early career (J. O. Boudon), his relations with his native Alsace (C. Muller), his attacks on the French Revolution (J.-C. Martin), his social doctrine (J. Cadot) and his support for colonial expansion (P. Haudrère). The background of the political allegiance of Catholics is explored by articles on the impact of the revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848 (P. Pierrard), the Liberal Catholics (J. L. Ormières), the intransigence of Louis Veuillot (B. Le Roux), the phenomenon of groups of republican Catholics in Brittany (M. Lagrée) and the opposition to the laws against religious schools in Nantes (M. Launay). In a third section on 'théologies politiques', there are studies of the oath of Liberty–Equality in 1792 as an early version of *ralliement* (B. Plongeron), the Legitimists (P. Boutry), episcopal opinion, 1848–92 (J. Gadille), Leo XIII's political theories (L. de Vaucelles) and his concept of international order (C. Prudhomme). There is a concluding discussion, brilliantly led by René Raimond. Some of the contributors cite new and unpublished sources, and the references in the volume provide a guide to recent writing on Church–State relations in nineteenth-century France.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD

JOHN McMANNERS



*Religion in Victorian Britain, V: Culture and empire.* Edited by John Wolffe. Pp. vii + 359 incl. 12 ills. Manchester: Manchester University Press/Milton Keynes: Open University, 1997. £14.99 (paper). 0 7190 5184 3

*Histoire religieuse de la Grande-Bretagne XIXe–XXe siècle.* Edited by Hugh McLeod, Stuart Mews and Christiane d’Haussy. (Histoire religieuse de l’Europe contemporaine, I.) Pp. 384 incl. 4 maps and 3 ills. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997. Fr. 250 (paper). 2 204 05455 0

The existing four volumes of *Religion in Victorian Britain* have for a decade proved their usefulness in courses beyond those of the Open University which originally inspired them. John Wolffe has edited a further collection which combines both original essays and source material, this time in a single volume. Whether further volumes will be produced indefinitely remains to be seen! Certainly, as the editor rightly notes in his introduction, the field remains a lively one. He draws attention to much work that has been done on particular topics since the first volumes were produced. He also notes that the reaction against a narrowly-defined ‘church history’ characteristic of the original volumes has to some extent continued in recent writing, though it has by no means supplanted ‘the older style of approach’ completely. Indeed, insofar as there was methodological controversy it has been largely transcended by a realisation of the need to put specific traditions in the wider context of social and cultural history, as Wolffe puts it. The essays in this new volume reflect that understanding. They are specifically designed to meet the needs and interests of Open University students, but they also have a wider appeal. The authors write as individuals but have shared their drafts with each other and attention has therefore been drawn to appropriate linkages. Three essays (Frances Knight on gender, John Wolffe on church music and Terence Thomas on foreign missions) are designed as introductions to those topics. Drawing upon recent work by others in these areas, they are by no means to be seen as simple summaries of the historical state of play. Knight’s treatment is both nuanced and balanced, accepting that ‘women’ are no more a cohesive social entity than ‘men’. The case for a ‘fundamentally different spiritual experience’ between the sexes, she says, is not proven. Wolffe pulls out the stops in a virtuoso performance which brings together an examination of words and music used in worship. Thomas perhaps concentrates a little too much on missions in India. However, in three case-studies that follow (Gerald Parsons on Colenso, and Gwilym Beckerlegge both on Max Müller and on the presence of Islam and south Asian religions) wider issues are treated. Colenso is taken as the case-study for ‘rethinking the missionary position’. Parsons rescues this ‘instrument of Satan’ from what he considers to be the conventional negative assumptions made by other writers. Why on earth, he asks, should Colenso’s insistence on seeking plain answers to the issues he raised be judged to be a fault? Students will have to come up with an answer, if they dare. Beckerlegge’s essays cover ground not hitherto much touched on in courses on ‘Religion in Victorian Britain’. In short, taken with the supporting material, this volume sits very worthily alongside its predecessors.

The other volume under review is also designed as an introduction – to British religious history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a volume in a series on the religious history of modern Europe. This collection, so the publishers state, invites French readers at a time ‘of the construction of Europe’ to get to

know their neighbours better. Eight out of ten authors, however, are British and so, inevitably, this is British religious history largely as British historians perceive it. If the authors had been largely French, they might have asked different questions and been puzzled about different things. Certainly, however, the extraordinary complexity and diversity of British religious traditions needs certain preliminary deconstruction before this wider European project, mentioned by the publishers, can be properly launched.

The difficulty of the task is therefore not to be underestimated. French readers will undoubtedly gain benefit from it. The individual essays have in most cases been elaborately subdivided for the convenience of readers. There is a glossary to give brief explanations of certain ecclesiastical/political terminology, including, it seems, necessary initiation into what a Regius Professor or a Senior Common Room is. Twenty-nine individuals judged to be prominent are also singled out, perhaps a little idiosyncratically, for short biographical summaries (only three of them being women – Elizabeth Fry, Maud (*sic*) Royden and Margaret Thatcher). There is also a useful guide to further reading. Such a combination of material certainly ensures the compilation utility for the purpose for which it was designed. The individual essays themselves cannot hope to be more than broad brush surveys, though some brushes are broader than others. Bellenger, Royle and d’Haussy cover the decades from 1789 to 1880 and Mews, Green and Dayras move the picture on to the present. Paul Morris gives us a chapter on the Jews, Steven Vertovec on South Asian religions in Britain, John Brooke on religion in a scientific culture, Hugh McLeod on religion in social, ethnic and regional contexts, while Callum Brown returns to the debate on ‘secularisation’. To mention these names indicates that all the authors write with authority on their subjects. However, the editorial content would appear to have been exercised a little too lightly, particularly in the early chronological chapters where there is overlapping material which could with advantage have been cut out. Perhaps inevitably, when so many authors are involved, the result is somewhat ‘bitty’. Might it not have been preferable to get authors to write about the main religious traditions/movements, or take England, Scotland and Wales, over a much longer time span and thus obviate the need to say, chapter after chapter, for example, that the Church of England was different from the Church of Scotland and that England is not Scotland? Of course, there is no perfect solution in such matters but I hope it is not condescending to say that while this volume may well be useful in France, it would not be successful in its present form in English.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES,  
LAMPETER

KEITH ROBBINS

*The conversion of the missionaries. Liberalism in American Protestant missions in China, 1907–1932.* By Lian Xi. Pp. x + 247 incl. map and 7 ills. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997, £34.95. 0 271 01606 X

Dr Lian Xi’s book is to be warmly welcomed. In three well-researched and vivid chapters Lian tells of three Americans, a New England Congregationalist medical doctor, a Southern Baptist preacher and administrator, and a Presbyterian woman educationist. Each of them was ‘converted’ from American ethno-

centrism and traditional Christian formations to become an interpreter of China to the west. Edward Hume returned to the USA in 1927, spending the next thirty years showing how China could 'enlarge and enrich our conceptions' both of Christianity and medicine. Frederick Rawlinson's pilgrimage took him from the theological conservatism of the Southern Baptists to the editorship of the influential *Chinese Recorder* to a position more akin to Buddhism than Christianity. The third member of the trio, Pearl Buck, was to achieve considerable fame as a novelist (*The good earth, All men are brothers*), receiving the Nobel prize in 1938. Lian then puts these individual narratives in a broader context in four chapters focusing on ecumenism, Chinese nationalism, interfaith issues and what the sinologist John K. Fairbank has called the 'backflow of influences'. These carefully argued pages lead to the conclusion that by the early 1930s the liberal movement had brought about an ineradicable self-consciousness about the finiteness of Christianity and of the western culture (p. 228).

BRITE DIVINITY SCHOOL,  
FORTH WORTH,  
TEXAS

KENNETH CRACKNELL

*Brethren in adversity. Bishop George Bell, the Church of England and the crisis of German Protestantism, 1933–1939.* Edited by Andrew Chandler. (Church of England Record Society, 4.) Pp. viii + 188 incl. frontispiece. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Church of England Record Society), 1997. £35. 0 85115 692 4; 1351 3087

Andrew Chandler, Director of the George Bell Institute at Queen's College, Birmingham, has assembled forty-nine documents dealing with the *Kirchenkampf* – memoranda, letters, diary entries, reports for the Church of England's Council on Foreign Relations. The book seeks to show how the leaders of the Church of England, particularly George K. A. Bell, bishop of Chichester from 1929 to 1957, perceived and interpreted the crisis within the German Protestant Churches in Nazi Germany. Bell's views on the Confessing Church and its Barthian theology, expressed on the pages of *The Times* as well as in the house of Convocation, were opposed by some of his Anglican colleagues, notably Arthur Headlam, bishop of Gloucester and chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations, and A. J. Macdonald, rector of St Dunstan-in-the-West and librarian of the Council. Indeed, the German struggle was mirrored by the struggle within the Anglican hierarchy (the very poor response of local congregations as well as the British government to Bell's appeal in 1936 for money to assist Christian refugees from Germany revealed a high degree of apathy outside Anglican palaces) for control of public opinion at home and influence over the growing ecumenical movement abroad. After 1934 Anglican interest in the crisis of German Protestantism waned (thirty of the forty-nine documents cover the period 1933–4). The inability of Anglican leaders to unite around an agreed interpretation of German events or to mobilise the country in a campaign of support for the Confessing Church or for German Jews paralysed the Church of England. In fact the *Kirchenkampf* had no practical or ideological impact on the Established Church in England.

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