Reviews


This volume contains ten papers, originally presented in 1996 and 1997, that deal with many aspects of British and European pilgrimage from the prehistoric era to the present. Simon Barton explores patronage and saints' cults in medieval Leon, while Debra J. Birch analyses two pilgrim sermons by Jacques de Vitry. An important chapter by Wendy R. Childs on maritime pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella during the fifteenth century addresses broader issues of communication and economic life, as well as the experiences of Spain-bound passengers. Ben Nilson's contribution, ‘The medieval experience at the shrine’, covers much holy ground in a few pages. It is a welcome survey of research (mainly English) into many issues, including *inter alia* the physical arrangements, and pilgrims' behaviour, at shrines, and their miracles and votives. A. M. Koldeweij's outstanding paper on pilgrim badges and their secular cousins such as winged phallics offers much interesting speculation about the role of these objects in medieval society. Other chapters investigate prehistoric pilgrimage in Britain (Richard Bradley), pre-Constantinian pilgrims (E. D. Hunt), women pilgrims in the fourth and eighth centuries (Julie Ann Smith) and the cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in England (Katherine J. Lewis). Simon Coleman and John Elsner combined their expertise (social anthropology and art history, respectively) to examine modern pilgrimage to Walsingham. Their acute observations round out the satisfyingly diverse contents of the volume. This Boydell/York Medieval Press publication is an admirable example of very high quality book production: the plates, maps and graphs are clear and pertinent, and the footnotes are real footnotes, more than sufficient compensation for the lack of an index and general bibliography.

**Oakland University**, R. C. Finugane
**Rochester, Mi**


studies in early Christian archaeology. The main feature of the new method, which distinguishes this study from most others since 1849, is that its point of departure is a minute study of the surviving tomb aedicule itself, standing in the centre of the rotunda of Jerusalem’s Church of the Resurrection (or Holy Sepulchre). In its present form the tomb dates from 1810, and it is usually assumed that it incorporates little or nothing of the first-century tomb chamber or of the first aedicule in which Constantine’s builders encased it when they constructed the Martyrion church in 325/6. This assumption is now shown to be false by the project that the author has been conducting since 1990, with the collaboration of the Christian communities which manage the church. In this volume, a preliminary report on the archaeological examination of the building, as yet incomplete, is accompanied by a re-examination of the rich and varied sources – documentary, art-historical and artefactual – that contribute to an understanding of the development of the aedicule. Among the new conclusions reached is the realisation that, although the Constantinian aedicule was destroyed by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009, parts of it and of the rock-cut tomb within it may still survive to a height of some 2 m (4 cubits) in places. It also now appears that the rebuilding of the aedicule and church was not carried out by Constantine IX Monomachus, as William of Tyre implies, but was begun by local Christians between 1012 and 1023 and completed by Michael IV Paphlagon between 1037/8 and 1041. In the twelfth century the Latins therefore contributed little to the aedicule, apart from reworking the cupola and decorating the new eastern compartment with mosaics; and the choir of their new Romanesque church was consecrated not on 15 July 1149, as is usually claimed, but sometime between 1163 and 1167/9. The aedicule rebuilt by the Latin custos, Boniface of Ragusa, in 1555, was therefore the eleventh-century Byzantine one, which when taken apart was found still to contain much of the original rock-cut tomb. Finally, far from representing a completely new structure, the aedicule of 1810 appears to encapsulate much of the preceding Renaissance one and some elements from earlier aedicules. Although this book is in effect only a report of work in progress, it thus contributes considerably to our understanding of the aedicule and of the church containing it. If, as Biddle’s research shows, the present aedicule is like an onion, with several skins, we may hope that when the next reconstruction takes place (as soon it must, given the precarious state of the 1810 structure) and the various skins are peeled away, the same kind of detailed archaeological recording may be applied to its interior as has already been applied to its exterior.

University of Cardiff

Denys Pringle
speaking, a Baptist by upbringing but a Roman Catholic by conviction, and a man extensively travelled and even more widely read. So he brings an unusual and refreshingly composite equipment to the task of examining his ‘sacred place and chosen people’. Against a rather sketchy background of earlier history he outlines that sense of nationhood and of belonging to a land which finds expression in many Welsh people. The concept of the interpenetration of language with land is largely derived from the writings of the philosopher J. R. Jones (1911–70), and I confess to have always found it a somewhat nebulous article of faith rather than a carefully reasoned thesis. It springs ultimately from the Old Testament notion of the Hebrew nation as an elect people, chosen by God to execute His own providential designs. Inevitably, in a Christian Europe, it was an idea that appealed to many nations, was adopted by them and adapted to meet their own distinctive circumstances.

Llywelyn seems to me to be very selective in his choice of earlier prophets of the theme – I hope that such a judgement does not spring from my bias as an historian! For all practical purposes he cannot be said to venture far beyond Gildas (sixth century) and Charles Edwards (seventeenth century), with a quick glance at Richard Davies (sixteenth century), Emrys ap Iwan and O. M. Edwards (both nineteenth century) and Saunders Lewis (twentieth century). Yet a distinctive sense of Welsh religio-national identity runs all the way through the Catholic Middle Ages, to be dramatically re-cast in the Protestant Reformation in a form common to many Protestant countries, i.e. as the return to the original Christian Church founded by the Apostles resulting from the stripping away of the accretions of abuse and superstition introduced by the medieval papacy. In the process there was naturally heavy emphasis on the vernacular languages as the response to rejection of Latin worship and insistence on the importance of the universal intelligibility of the Word of God.

There are also, however, two very interesting and closely argued chapters concerned with the elucidation of the work of two twentieth-century Welsh poets: D. J. Jones (Gwenallt) and Waldo Williams. Both were strikingly gifted poets, deeply imbued with an awareness of religious belief as the essential core of Welsh life and culture in earlier generations, though how much of that survives in today’s secularised society is distinctly debatable. Llywelyn’s analysis of the poetry is perceptive and compelling. His translation into English from the original Welsh texts is assured and moving, thus making available to non-Welsh readers verse that would otherwise have been inaccessible to them. His approach to this subject would not be my own, but I nevertheless found it highly stimulating.

John Harvey’s book is as uncommon as it is welcome: a study of religious art in Wales, a land usually, and rightly, thought of as having been as prolific of preachers as it has been somewhat destitute of artists. Its author is Professor of Art at the University of Wales Aberystwyth, and has already published a thoughtful study of The visual culture of Welsh Nonconformity. The title of his new volume is derived from verse 15 of the first chapter of Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians, which speaks of Jesus as the ‘image of the Invisible God’. The book is handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated.

Harvey establishes the rejection by Protestant reformers of visual representations as aids to worship on the grounds, not so much of idolatry (a view from
which this reviewer would demur), as because God is a spirit and as such invisible. He traces, however, the reappearance of art in a modified and limited fashion among Welsh Nonconformists in the later nineteenth century, partly through the medium of pictures, emblems and allegories and partly in the more decorative features of their chapel designs. The study is focused primarily on the Welsh religious revival of 1904–5, which the author regards as one of the two or three outstanding movements of its kind in the history of Wales, and its aftermath. Curiously enough, he includes among the Nonconformists, the Methodist leader, Daniel Rowland (1713–90), who lived and died a priest of the Church of England. The revival of 1904–5 is presented as a casting-off of the formal conventions of Nonconformity in favour of spontaneous demonstrations of religious fervour. Its leader, Evan Roberts, was a man of sweeping eloquence, powerfully moved by music and by paranormal experiences, especially visions.

The revival appealed to the coalminers, who dominated south Wales society at the time. The individual who most memorably captured its essence in paint was Nicholas Evans, although he was not born until 1907, some years after the revival had ended. A self-taught artist, who worked in a colliery for only a short period, his experiences there were seared indelibly on his memory. It was he who embodied most completely the impact of the fervent Nonconformity of the Apostolic Church to which he belonged. Harvey is eminently successful in his attempts to set forth the general character of Evans’s visualisation of the Word. Evans regarded painting as an act of worship intended to please God to the best of the artist’s ability and envisaged inspiration as a force which came to him in the act of painting just as it worked through preachers in their delivery of the spoken word. Most of his paintings depict scenes from colliery life with moving, often brutal, realism. Overwhelmingly the most powerful of them, and one much discussed by Harvey, is his ‘Entombed – Jesus in the Midst’ (1974), a work which concentrates with stark unforgettability all of Evans’s most salient characteristics as an artist. It portrays Jesus entombed in the midst of a group of miners as a result of a pit disaster. Although grim and uncompromising, and highly stylised in keeping with Evans’s conception of the nature of art, it is also suffused with a mystic light of hope which shines from the lamp in the miner’s helmet, which Christ is wearing like a halo. The book offers not only a penetrating analysis of the inspiration drawn by Nicholas Evans from the revival of 1904–5 but also a memorable exposition of the place of art in Nonconformist instruction generally.

Swansea

Glanmor Williams


This distinguished study of the Church in ancient society is very welcome, and John Bowden’s decision to make it available for Anglophone readers is fully justified. The book concentrates on forms of life for the early Christians and the institutions which they developed to meet their situation. The treatment is fresh,
and reflects an intimate knowledge not only of the usual texts but also of inscriptions and papyri. A good little section discusses the position of women in the Church, frankly conceding that it was not always the kind of thing that modern feminists would wish. At least men had to be reminded rather sharply that women were ‘also inheritors of grace’. It is correctly observed that in ancient society concubines were often not extra to the married state but adopted monogamously by men who wanted to avoid the legal entanglements of marriage under Roman law. The monastic movement is not here regarded as any kind of protest against the infiltration of secularity into the urban churches, but rather as a method of following Cassian’s advice to ‘avoid women and bishops’. It is justly remarked that there was a lot of pagan asceticism, as one can immediately deduce from the discourses of Epictetus or from Iamblichus’ little treatise ‘On the Pythagorean life’. Although at p. 159 there is a wholly correct observation that in the fifth century the bishop of the highly educated city of Gadara was illiterate and at the Council of Ephesus had to have his name signed for him by his archdeacon, it could be added that the number of such episcopal signatures in the records of fifth century councils is not very large. When in reaction to Justinian’s blandishments, the Monophysites led by Jacob Baradai began to create a clandestine episcopate based on monasteries, it was soon observed by Mark of Ephesus that it was unwise to have too many who could not sign their name. At p. 45 a slip in translation has put Origen into the wrong century.

Christ Church, Oxford

Henry Chadwick

*Nova doctrina vetusque. Essays on early Christianity in honor of Fredric W. Schlatter, S. J.*


Like many *Festschriften*, this volume is something of a miscellany, though a number of the contributions – and certainly several of the most interesting – do relate to the honorand’s own main research interests, Augustine and Jerome. Among these, Douglas Kries’s essay examines the importance of the solitary quotation from Virgil in Augustine’s *De magistro* for understanding the purpose of the dialogue, while his fellow editor Catherine Tkacz discusses appropriate methods of detecting classical allusions in the Vulgate. The disagreement between Augustine and Jerome over the interpretation of Galatians ii. 11–14, which has attracted the attention of so many scholars over the years, features again in a paper by Anne P. Carriker which stresses Augustine’s high regard for frankness in human relationships and rebuts the criticism that his tone when writing to Jerome was disrespectful. Edward A. Synan’s ‘The vulgarity of the Vulgate’, which also mentions the two Fathers’ disagreement, is a more personal and literary essay full of engaging historical commonplaces and points of contemporary relevance, rather than a research article. Another new look at a well-worn theme is Roland J. Teske’s paper on Augustine’s theology of sacrifice in *De cивitate dei*. Showing clear signs of its origins in a lecture to a non-specialist audience, but worthy of serious attention none the less, is Katherin A. Rogers’s
careful exposure of the false assumptions which lie behind calling Augustine a misogynist. Moving away from Augustine, not all of the remaining ten papers can be commented on, though all are readable. Good original research (as far as this reviewer is able to judge) is represented by Anthony P. Via’s discussion of Byzantine monasticism in south Italy, and by a paper on the archaeology of fourth-century (AD) Athens. The Greek Fathers are, it has to be said, less well served, though Andrew J. Carriker’s discussion of passages in the Church history in which Eusebius of Caesarea mentions sources without naming them is useful. The longest essay, by Robert F. Taft, deals with the origins of the late antique liturgical practice of commixture, i.e. symbolically uniting the consecrated bread and wine at the eucharist by placing a fragment of bread into the chalice. In this volume, it is the old and new doctrines of the title – classical learning and Christian (largely Catholic) scholarship – which are united in an acceptable and, in places, fragrant offering.

King’s College, London

Graham Gould


For several decades the recipient of this Festschrift, Professor Han Drijvers of the University of Groningen, has been a leading scholar of the religion and culture of Aramaic-speaking communities in the late antique Near East. His own work (usefully summarised in the short biographical note and full bibliography prefixed to this volume) has focused particularly on the creative dynamic generated by the interplay of Hellenistic and Semitic cultures, whether in the cults and iconography of the city states of Hatra and Palmyra, or (beginning with his ground-breaking work on the second-century philosopher Bardaisan of Edessa) in Syriac Christianity and its early heretical rivals. The twenty-five contributors to this volume, as the title suggests, have mostly addressed Christian materials, ranging in date from the first to the thirteenth century (although one paper publishes fragments of Greek philosophical works in Syriac translation, another re-examines the third-century Syriac legal documents from Mesopotamia, and a third surveys secular culture in post-conquest Syrian Christian communities). There are several editions of short Syriac texts (including a letter of Basil of Caesarea that has not survived in Greek); a couple of papers reassessing the sources for the early history of Edessa (one of which recounts a colourful apocryphal tale of Helena, the mother of Constantine, growing up in that city before being sealed in a chest by a jealous husband and cast into the Mediterranean, only to drift to Provence where she was rescued by the Emperor Constantius, her future husband!), and a number dealing with other historical texts, including Christian responses to early Islam. Four papers relate to Ephrem (one identifies apparent anti-Bardaisanite polemic in the commentary on 3 Corinthians), and several link to Jacob of Edessa (another of Drijvers’s interests).
There are some rich papers on early Syrian asceticism (including an elegant piece on the role of smell in the *Vita* of Simeon Stylites), and several which focus on East Syrian texts and theologians—particularly fascinating is an account of a resurgence of interest in Origenism and pantheism in thirteenth-century north Iraq. As can be seen, the subject matter of these papers varies quite considerably, and so too, to be honest (and seeking to avoid Ephrem's accusation against his contemporaries [p. 235] that: "where we should reprove, / we have lost our tongues, / neglecting our duty / through sycophancy") does the quality of the scholarship, but the best of these papers (which are in the great majority) are truly excellent and the worst merely dull. There is much in this volume that will prove to be of great interest to scholars of both Syriac Christianity and Middle-Eastern history.

**University of Birmingham**

David G. K. Taylor


Elizabeth Digeser has not really composed ‘a book about how Rome became a Christian empire’ as her preface claims (p. ix). Rather, she situates Lactantius’ *Divine institutes* in what she takes to be its proper historical and intellectual milieu. She has much of value to say about the *Divine institutes*, whose several hundred pages she has read with greater patience and understanding than most who have written on Constantine. Yet Digeser seems to me seriously to misrepresent both the specific intellectual and the general historical context in which she locates the work. Lactantius was inspired to write by two literary attacks on Christianity which he heard recited in Nicomedia in 303. One of the polemicists was Hierocles Sossianus, a former *vicarius* who later executed Christians as prefect of Egypt. The other was a philosopher. Digeser follows Henry Chadwick, Robert Wilken and Michael Simmons in identifying him as Porphyry, and the polemic in three books which Lactantius heard as Porphyry’s *Philosophy from oracles*. But Lactantius not only ridicules the philosopher whom he heard as avaricious, lustful, rich and corrupt, a *bon vivant* who kept a better table than the emperors; he presents him as an intellectually shallow sycophant and time-server—who was also blind. This last detail in particular excludes Porphyry: if he had gone blind in old age, his blindness would surely have been recorded by someone who wished to score a debating point. This highly relevant detail is usually overlooked, as is my argument for a date of c. 300 for Porphyry’s famous polemic in fifteen books in ‘Scholarship or propaganda? Porphyry, *Against the Christians* and its historical setting,’ *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* xxxvii (1994), 53–65—an article to which Digeser nowhere refers. At the general level, Digeser loyally repeats the views of her doctoral supervisor Harold Drake. Hence she presents both the author of *On the deaths of the persecutors* and the emperor Constantine as apostles of religious toleration: ‘a close comparison of [their] writings suggests that a Christian doctrine of concord, one that grew out of a theory of toleration invented to stem violence against Christians, became imperial policy in an effort to control Christian aggression’ (p. 138). In order to sustain this interpretation of
Constantine,Digeser must perforce deny that the emperor ever issued a law prohibiting the traditional practice of sacrificing animals to pagan gods, and in doing so she employs some strange arguments. She complains that among the ‘key issues’ sometimes overlooked is the fact that ‘there is no physical evidence of such a law’ (p. 169). But both Eusebius of Caesarea, writing no later than 339 (VC 2. 45. 1), and the Emperor Constans in 341 (CTh 16. 10. 2) refer to a law of Constantine forbidding sacrifice. Digeser appears to refuse to believe that Constantine issued such a law until the original text turns up on stone or papyrus. Is that a reasonable standard of proof for a historian of the Roman empire to require?

University of Toronto

T. D. Barnes


This substantial and well-produced volume contains twenty papers devoted to the study of Origen of Alexandria’s highly influential third-century work of Old Testament textual criticism known as the Hexapla. (Biblical handbooks would say that it was so named because of its six constituent columns containing the Hebrew text of the Bible, its transcription into Greek, and a series of Greek translations – Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, Theodotion and others – but, as rapidly becomes clear from this volume, few of these details are universally accepted by specialists.) Since the Hexapla, and particularly its revised Septuagint column, contaminated the subsequent textual tradition of the Greek Bible, many scholars have attempted to recover the pre-Hexaplaric biblical text by first reconstructing the Hexapla from surviving fragments and citations – a labour that reached its apogee in Frederick Field’s magisterial Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt (1875). Scholarship has not stood still, and so as preparation for the production of ‘A New “Field” for the Twenty-First Century’ (the conference title) leading Hexaplaric specialists, and a group of advanced research students, were invited to Oxford to discuss developments in textual evidence and methodology in clearly focused areas. This not only produced papers of the very highest standard (with only a couple falling below par), but also gave the volume an exemplary structure. The first section addresses overarching questions such as Origen’s text-critical methodology and purpose (which, it is argued, was both philological and polemical), and the controversial issue of whether a Tetrapla (omitting the Hebrew columns and with a distinct Septuagint text) was produced in addition to the Hexapla – here the specialists still differ, although the ‘pro-Tetrapla’ arguments of Jenkins are rather persuasive. The second section reassesses both the circumstantial evidence for the existence of the Hebrew columns and the significance of the fragmentary manuscript remains, and concludes that not only did the Hexapla contain these columns, but that they acted as the matrix for the layout of the whole work. (The extant fragments also allowed one contributor to calculate that the volume containing the edition of the
Psalms would alone have run to some 2,476 pages.) The third section examines the evidence for, and significance of, the contents of the remaining Hexaplaric columns. These papers are impressive for the originality of their research and for the significant new data that they contain. The final papers examine the relationship of the Hexapla with Hebrew and Latin witnesses, and offer practical suggestions for the publication of the new ‘Field’ in electronic format — and it is much to be hoped that such publication will actually be realised. This volume is one of the most important contributions to Hexaplaric studies in recent decades and will become essential reading for all scholars interested in the history of the Greek Bible.

University of Birmingham  
David G. K. Taylor


This is an erudite, elegant and exhaustive portrait of a man too often taken lightly in broader treatments of late antique religion. His links with early western monasticism and l'amitié chrétienne have seemed at once precious and half-hearted, in spite of the familiar and detailed scholarship of Fabre and Lienhard. Now we have a rounded portrait that will hold its own alongside the biographies of more famous and better-documented bishops. A major merit of the book is that Paulinus is not allowed to disappear behind a cloud of other witnesses, such as Jerome, Sulpicius or Augustine. His own attitudes and ambitions are kept steadily in view. Yet Trout, while entirely familiar with scholars like Fontaine and Lizzi, works visibly within the historical tradition created by Syme and his Oxford pupils: circles of patrons and colleagues are picked out in their various colours with illuminating patience. And it is striking how the evidence thus appealed to is as densely packed around the bishop of later years as it is around the well-placed political star of the 360s, 370s and 380s — the pupil of Ausonius, the consul suffectus, the governor of Campania. We are never allowed to forget Paulinus’ engagement with the dramas of his time — the traumatic transition of the Gallic nobility from their heady prominence under Gratian to their enforced collaboration with barbarian kings; the gradual eclipse of pagan fortunes in the west; the turmoil of religious conflict over the teachings of Priscillian, Origen and Pelagius. Jerome and Augustine, gigantic in our libraries and our imaginations, were driven at the time to the margins of church politics. Paulinus, by contrast, after judicious withdrawal to Gaul and Spain, could return to the hub of affairs in Italy, and could play upon new religious friendships as well as upon the old habits and connections of the political elite. Trout’s book makes more intelligible the continuities inherent in the Christianisation of the Roman aristocracy; continuities of pretension and taste, as well as of personnel. The work is well structured. After an assessment of scholarship to date, four chapters provide a chronology of Paulinus’ life. Recurring dependence on a small number of autobiographical poems and letters makes for some repetition; but the sense of development is maintained. Three chapters then focus on Paulinus’ attitude to
wealth, on his contribution to the cult of the saints, and on his significance as a creator of a specifically Christian culture. The last is disappointing: Paulinus’ claims as a theologian are not strengthened, and his quality as a poet is not fully explored. The chapters on wealth and cult, however, are full of interest. In the redeployment of his property and resources, Paulinus represented not compromise but prudent foresight – shared with more peers than would have followed Jerome. As the enthusiastic devotee of Felix’s shrine at Nola, Paulinus emerges as the brilliant impresario of architecture and ceremony, which embodied strategies of conversion as crucial as Christian rhetoric. A final chapter reinforces the impression already gained, that this confident and skilful leader was a perfect model for, and harbinger of, many an ‘early medieval’ bishop in Italy and Gaul, and had indeed befriended the first examples of the type in both provinces. This is an admirable addition to the growing portraiture of late Roman churchmen.


Jörg Ulrich begins this monograph, originally presented as his Habilitationschrift at the University of Erlangen, by noting that most scholars who have commented upon Eusebius’ attitude to the Jews have accused him of strong anti-Jewish prejudices (in this respect he cites, amongst others, de Lange, Gödecke and Schreckenberg). And yet, notes Ulrich, in spite of the prevalence of this view, there has been no detailed study examining the place of the Jews in Eusebius’ writings. It is his intention to fill this gap in the scholarly literature and in so doing to look again at the appropriateness of the description of Eusebius as ‘anti-Jewish’.

Ulrich notes that in undertaking the task that he has set himself, he must take seriously the Caesarean context in which Eusebius lived and worked. Accordingly, after a brief introductory chapter, he provides a helpful sketch of the cultural and social character of fourth-century Caesarea. He highlights the mixed character of the population. This was a city inhabited by Jews, Samaritans, pagans and Christians and for each group the city had a particular importance. Ulrich stresses that Jews and Christians, as had been the case when Origen had lived in the city, did interact, particularly over questions of exegesis, and that such interaction was on occasion of a hostile character. But he argues for the generally cosmopolitan character of the city, and the prevalence of ‘eine Atmosphärelative Toleranz’ (p. 27).

Chapter iii consists of a brief review of the Eusebian œuvres. In this context particular importance is attached to his apologetic writings, the so-called Praeparatio evangelica and Demonstratio evangelica, two volumes of what was originally conceived as one work. These writings are particularly relevant to Ulrich’s chosen subject for they attempt to discuss the place of the Jews in God’s perceived salvation-historical schema. Ulrich argues for the genuinely original character of these works, here noting in particular Eusebius’ own statement at...
In relation to the question of the audience to which the works were addressed, Ulrich notes that there are passages which support the idea of a pagan and Jewish audience and those which sit more easily with the idea of an internal, Christian audience. In the end Ulrich appears to favour the latter position, seeing the work as in essence an exposition of the character of Christianity from a salvation-historical perspective. But while adopting this position, he denies that the comments made by Eusebius about pagans and Jews, so central to the work, should, as Ferrar believed, be seen as reflecting the atmosphere of the lecture hall and the pulpit, possessing, as it were, a purely theoretical character. The issues referred to in the work reflect genuine points of controversy between Jews, Christians and pagans. Ulrich then proceeds to discuss Eusebius’ other works in the context of Praep. and Dem.

The fourth chapter examines the terminological dimension of Eusebius’ discussion of Jews and Judaism. Ulrich draws attention to Eusebius’ use of the term ‘Hebrew’ to describe those individuals who lived before the Mosaic law according to a natural, universal moral standard and who in essence are the real ancestors of the Christian faith, a point that is helpful to Eusebius not least because it is one means by which he can prove the antiquity of the Christian faith. Jews are those who come into existence after the giving of the Mosaic law and whose religion is accordingly marked by a commitment to observing that law (Ulrich argues that there are some Hebrews who live in a post-Hebrew time, such as the martyrs mentioned in 4 Macc., Philo and Josephus). However, Ulrich notes that they are not in themselves the subject of criticism because in many ways they are seen to carry forward the Hebrew tradition, at least until the coming of Christ, and they are to be favourably compared to polytheistic pagans. It is only their adherence to the law after the coming of Christ when salvation is extended to the whole world which makes them the subject of censure. Ulrich concludes the chapter with a brief discussion of the origins of Eusebius’ terminology, noting its proximity to descriptions found in particular in Aristides, but attributing in the end a degree of originality to Eusebius.

The fifth chapter looks at the theological dimension of Eusebius’ discussion of the Jews. Ulrich notes three areas in particular in which Eusebius’ polemic against the Jews manifests itself, the salvation-historical, the Christological and the exegetical. The discussion here is marked by the adoption of a tone of balance. So, for instance, while Ulrich notes that Eusebius is quick to exploit the fact of the destruction of Jerusalem as a sign of divine punishment for the Jews’ treatment of Christ and their ongoing unbelief, he does not make such a point with ‘Schadenfreude’ (as Chrysostom does), but with ‘Mitleid und Trauer’. Moreover, divine punishment is not restricted to the Jews for Eusebius sees the persecution of Diocletian as deserved by Christians. While Eusebius speaks of divine rejection of the Jews, he can at the same time indicate the ongoing offer to them of salvation in Christ. Jews and Christians may be distinguished by their different attitudes to Christ, but what binds them together is also stressed (Christian salvation is in a sense an extension of Jewish privilege to the wider Gentile world). The chapter contains an interesting discussion of Eusebius’ exegetical debate with the Jews, stressing in particular his interest in text-critical questions (interestingly, Ulrich wants to attribute to Eusebius a greater knowledge of Hebrew than most scholars have been willing to allow), and a
greater commitment to a more literal interpretation of the text than Origen. Ulrich seems to accept the presence in Eusebius of a supercessionist theology even if he sees it tempered by Eusebius’ willingness to criticise the Church. He concludes this chapter by commenting upon the tone Eusebius adopts in talking about the Jews. This can on occasions be very harsh, but Eusebius’ polemic very rarely relates to the moral character of the Jews, and appears at many points to contrast favourably with what other Christians from the same period were saying about the Jews. This comparison and other considerations lead to the conclusion: ‘Von einer Feindschaft Eusebs gegen die Juden kann nicht die Rede sein’ (p. 237).

A short chapter follows on Eusebius and Constantine in which Ulrich argues robustly for the view that Eusebius was not responsible for the harsh statement about the Jews found in De vita Constantini iii. 18f., or in any obvious way for the anti-Jewish legislation of the period, legislation which was in any case less harsh than what was to follow.

The final substantive chapter compares Eusebius’ thinking about the Jews with that found in such writers as Barnabas, Aristides, Justin and Origen. Ulrich argues strongly for the influence of the last two of these figures, in particular Origen. What is distinctive about Eusebius lies perhaps in his terminological distinction between Jews and Hebrews, and in the case of Origen, in his conviction that only Jews who had become Christians would be saved. Origen, it should be recalled, seems at points to hold out the possibility of some eschatological reunification of Jew and Christian.

The book ends with a brief summary of its findings and some concluding reflections. While Ulrich admits that his findings show up the somewhat ambivalent attitude of Eusebius to the Jews (on the one hand positive, and on the other hand strongly negative), he reiterates his strong opposition to seeing Eusebius as an unreconstructed anti-Jewish writer.

This is a well-researched, clearly written piece of work. Ulrich has succeeded in laying before the reader much of the material relevant to his proposed subject and drawing attention to passages, in particular from Praep. and Dem. which have perhaps been overlooked. The book contains many useful discussions of subjects not always directly connected with its theme (Eusebius’ attitude to Plato, Philo and Josephus; his knowledge of Hebrew etc.), and its treatment of the primary sources seems fair. Ulrich is surely right to insist that Eusebius did in fact have contact with Jews and that some of his exegetical observations arise precisely from such contact, although I felt that this point could have been made at greater length. If I have a criticism of the book it lies in its authors’ concern with arguing the toss over the so-called anti-Jewish tendencies of Eusebius. Not only is Ulrich unwilling to define what he means by ‘anti-Jewish’, but it seems to me that he has become overly interested in what is in essence a modern debate. The subject of Eusebius’ relationship with the Jews is in and of itself an interesting one, but it is of less importance to determine whether he should by our standards be classed as anti-Jewish. It seems to me that by our standards Eusebius is anti-Jewish if by this we mean that he sees little or no point in the ongoing existence of Judaism in a Christian world. For Eusebius Judaism has a role as a temporary bridge between Hebraism and Christianity but it ceases to have a role after this. Positive statements about Judaism as we find in the Praep. have specific apologetic
functions, just as his negative comments in the *Dem.* have the same role. Ulrich may be able to show that the negative things Eusebius has to say about Judaism do not often possess a gratuitously polemical character as they perhaps do in a writer like Chrysostom. But that proves nothing except that Eusebius is less anti-Jewish than other Christian writers. The implications of Eusebius’ salvation-historical schema are surely anti-Jewish by our standards, but in the end is such a judgement of real significance? What is surely of greater significance, and this for a variety of reasons, is seeing how Christians like Eusebius sought to give Christianity a legitimate place and position in the ideological world in which they lived and how this inevitably involved a diminution, to varying degrees, of the ongoing significance of Judaism. In the end Jörg Ulrich’s book contributes more usefully to the discussion of this subject than to a discussion of what I take in the end to be a somewhat dry, moralising and anachronistic debate.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

James Carleton Paget

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In January 1964, whilst working on the cathedral site at Qasr Ibrim for the Egypt Exploration Society, this reviewer found the remains of six pages of a Greek text of the Martyrdom of St George, together with six small fragments in either Greek or Nubian probably belonging to the same Martyrdom, though in a different handwriting. Now, Dr Gerald Browne publishes two further texts in Nubian interspersed with passages of Greek from different pages of the same Martyrdom. They had been found in 1969 during the University of Kentucky’s excavations of buildings on the island of Kulubnarti some 120 miles south of Qasr Ibrim. These fragments were recovered (concealed?) from a gap in the ceiling vaults of rooms 1-1 and 1-2 in a house built in the early thirteenth century and remaining in use until c. 1500. The more complete group consists of several contiguous fragments of the same page, the smaller consists of two fragments from another page. They describe different incidents from those recorded in the Qasr Ibrim manuscripts, but are written in a similar large Nubian-type script. The saint, having proclaimed his Christianity before ‘King Dadianus’ (probably Diocletian), is forced to endure three series of tortures. The page from Kulubnarti has the saint thrown into a boiling cauldron after being sawn asunder. Christ intervenes and commands an angel to reassemble George’s body, and he now emerges from the cauldron unharmed. The second pair of small fragments preserves the last part of George’s prayer before he is finally executed.

The cult of St George was very popular in Nubia and the Greek east generally. Apart from the Nubian discoveries, the editor lists no less than thirteen versions of the Martyrdom, including four Greek, an Ethiopian, an Armenian and a Georgian text. He threads his way expertly through these and reconstructs what he believes to have been the original Greek text of both passages. The result is a very valuable addition to our knowledge both of the texts of the Martyrdom, and
of the religious outlook of the Nubians in the late Christian period. It is clear that in that period Greek and Nubian were still being used simultaneously in the liturgy and that the cult of martyrs maintained its fervour. Regarding the appendix, this reviewer accepts the editor’s amendments to the small fragments from Qasr Ibrim (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum xxxii [1989], Tafel 2, f–j) but considers that these also come from a Nubian version of the Martyrdom.

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The Armenian history attributed to Sebeos, I: Translation and notes; II: Historical commentary. Translation and notes by R. W. Thompson, historical commentary by James Howard-Johnson, with assistance from Tim Greenwood. (Translated Texts for Historians, 31.) Pp. lxxix+154; 156–357+5 maps. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999. £15.95 (paper). 0 85323 564 3

These two volumes dedicated to the seventh-century Armenian ‘History of Heraclius’ are a welcome addition to this important series of translated texts, not only because they offer for the first time a modern and easily-accessible translation into a western European language of a historical source which is central to the political history of the seventh-century east Roman and early Islamic world, but because they incorporate also a detailed and insightful critical commentary on the information offered by ‘Sebeos’ about that world in this transformative period. Thomson’s careful English translation, based on the modern critical edition of the Armenian text published by G. V. Abgaryan in 1979 (Patmut’iwn Sebeosi, Erevan 1979), now provides a fluent and readable text which those who have no familiarity with Armenian will find of inestimable value, and it marks a clear advance on the often problematic French translation by Macler, and other earlier partial translations, with which most of us have had to be content until now. The translation is prefaced by a detailed analysis of the structure, date of composition and chronological framework of the History, a discussion about the identity of the author, the manuscript tradition, and the place of the text in the Armenian historiographical tradition (by Thomson), and two chapters dealing with the historical background – Armenia in late antiquity, the great powers and the early Islamic conquests, with sensible conclusions about the sources (postulating a number of lost sources which served the historian), as well as the value of the History for the study of the period (by Howard-Johnston). The second volume, the commentary, offers an invaluable guide to the historical background and the problems that accompany the sources, whether Greek, Armenian, Syriac or Arabic. In many respects the commentary also offers a partial history of Armenia in the seventh century, bringing the work of earlier generations of historians up to date and offering important new insights into relations within the Armenian nobility, for example, and between Armenians on the one hand and the Persians, Byzantines and Arabs on the other. While it is possible to disagree with particular interpretations of particular events, or institutions, this is nevertheless a major contribution to understanding the role played by Armenia in this period, with the added benefit of greatly widening
access to the debate and bringing Armenia more clearly into the mainstream of Byzantine and early Islamic history. The authors show throughout an admirable awareness of the most recent literature on a wide range of themes upon which the commentary and translation touch, making the two volumes essential reading for anyone working in the period. This is an outstanding addition to an excellent series.

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John Haldon


This expensive volume contains contributions by an assortment of scholars, both established and yet to make a significant mark, working in the United States, Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom. A careful editorial hand might be thought a self-evident necessity. Regrettably, it is totally lacking; indeed, I cannot recall ever encountering a book so marred by solecisms. The tone is set in Alberto Ferreiro’s opening words: ‘Visigothic studies in like manner as those of late Antiquity has experienced…significant scholarly attention’ and confirmed later on the same page: ‘Specialists have in hand here plenty of material in these essays to challenge long held perspectives that incorporates new interpretations’. Misspellings (‘misterious’, ‘congugal’ and ‘difussion’ among many others), ‘sentences’ without verbs or subjects, instances of faulty punctuation and other such ‘technical’ failings are bad enough, but it is the infelicities and inaccuracies in the translated contributions that are most deplorable. Sometimes the sense is simply unknowable, as in ‘After the promulgation of Breviarium and the end of the Arian era, the situation does not seem to have changed [for the Jews], since at this time no previous law existed that mentioned the Jews.’ No reader should have to put up with such woeful shoddiness. Does the volume satisfy in other respects? Its targets are both Visigothic specialists and ‘generalists of Late Antiquity [who] will find herein essays which introduces [sic] them to the wider context and issues surrounding the topic’. But surely only of value for specialists are Jeremy du Quesnay Adams’s ‘The political grammar of Idefonsus of Toledo’ (with graphs charting Idefonsus’ usage of gens, regnum and other nouns) and D. M. Metcalf’s reflections on Crusafont’s monograph on Visigothic copper coinage and the chemical and metrological studies of Visigothic gold coins by M. Gomes Marques and others. By contrast, other essays – by Ralph Mathisen and Hagith Sivan on the kingdom of Toulouse, by Raúl González-Salmero on anti-Judaism and by Pablo C. Díaz on monasticism and liturgy (with little on the latter, in fact) – are essentially useful summaries of current understanding. Neither specialists nor generalists will profit much, I suspect, from Ana Maria Jorge’s bitty ‘Church and culture in Lusitania in the V–VIII centuries’, where ‘culture’ is unhelpfully defined as ‘a specific human reality’, or the portentous ‘Transformation and process of acculturation in late antique Hispania’, by Gisela Ripoll López, where
we encounter the startling insight that ‘During late antiquity two consecutive processes became evident which modified the social reality: they were specifically transformation and innovation.’ The contributors who come closest to engaging both the book’s declared targets are Luis García Moreno in his valuable pioneering piece on Gothic consciousness among the Mozarabs in Al-Andalus (but ‘Late Antiquity’?), Maria Joao Violante Branco, writing on Martin of Braga, the Sueves and Galicia, and Karen Carr, whose lively essay on the importance of finds of African Red Slip (which are catalogued and illustrated) for understanding economic and political change in Roman and Visigothic Baetica is, if sometimes over the top, a piece to enjoy, not least for its brisk enthusiasm.


Édouard Jeaineau’s edition of the Periphyseon, of which the first three books are now available, is a milestone in the study of Eriugena’s masterpiece, a work that is becoming recognised more and more as one of the summits of medieval thought. For the first time it has been possible to present the Periphyseon – whose composition is usually assigned to the years 864–6 – in a way that accurately charts the complex genesis and development of the text. Already the two earliest manuscripts, those of Reims (R) and Bamberg (B), show extensive additions and corrections, especially by two ninth-century Irish hands, which older scholars could not always distinguish. Since the Laon congress of 1975, published as Jean Scot Eriège et l’histoire de la philosophie (Paris 1977), the distinctions have been carefully drawn, and it has become virtually certain that one of these Irish hands (i³), found among Periphyseon manuscripts only in R, is Eriugena’s own, whilst the other (i²), found throughout both R and B, must be that of a disciple, who often worked as a copyist under his master’s instructions, and who will have copied certain substantial marginal additions which the master had drafted, but who also – probably after Eriugena’s death, and particularly in B – ventured to edit and change the text, sometimes quite wrongheadedly, and to add lengthy notes and explications of his own. In short, he came to see himself as the appointed heir, became too zealous, and at times betrayed Eriugena’s style and
thought. Worse still, at the Bamberg stage of transmission, all the supplementary material added in R by both i and i (and occasionally by a third hand, writing in caroline minuscule), which had been in the form of marginal notes, became incorporated into the main text, often wrecking the beautifully shaped sentences and the clean line of argument. It was such a palimpsestuous text – on which other alien modifications, addenda and corrigenda were inflicted, still in the late ninth century, in a Paris manuscript (P) – which formed the basis of the older editions.

This is the picture that is advanced by Jeauneau's penetrating evaluation of the manuscript evidence. On the basis of this he is able to give us, as the title page proudly proclaims, an edition 'a suppositiciis additamentis purgatam'. The critical text is followed in each volume by a quasi-diplomatic synoptic text, which enables the reader, helped by an admirable range of typographic devices, to follow the stages of development of this 'texte en perpétuel devenir'. Since it is often impossible to read the erased original wording of R before the interventions of i and i, the first column gives 'Versiones 1–Π', distinguishing these as far as is feasible with the help of the apparatus criticus. 'Versio Π' gives the text of B, with all its additions and corrections by i, and 'Versio IV' that of P, with its many further alterations that go back neither to the master nor to the disciple. At the far right of each double page Jeauneau prints the critical text ('Versio Σ'), so that it can be readily compared with the other versions.

Books Π and Πι brought further editorial problems, especially in R. In these books not only the author, but even more the Irish disciple, added extensive marginal notes, supplementing the original dialogue with further comments and explications. Some of the disciple's notes may have been sanctioned by Eriugena, others plainly contradict the course of his argument. Nearly all of them must have been intended, from the outset, only as scholia: they should never have been inserted into the dialogue itself, as they were in all subsequent manuscripts and in the printed editions. Jeauneau resolves the difficulty by placing substantial explanatory addenda as 'footnotes' to the critical text, and, with briefer ones, exercising his judgement and eliminating those that are palpably inauthentic. Thus Eriugena's train of thought emerges with incomparably greater clarity than before.

In the third volume Jeauneau begins by signalling some of the most original motifs in book Πι, including Eriugena's 'heliocentric' view, that Venus, Mercury, Mars and Jupiter all revolve round the Sun, not round the Earth. There is also a detailed account of the picture of Eriugena's cosmos (here beautifully reproduced) in Paris, BN lat. 6734, which contains the Clavis physicae, Honorius' adaptation of the Periphyseon. Throughout the critical text we find particularly helpful and thoughtful punctuation, which guides us through the often labyrinthine periods, and a superbly rich apparatus of parallels and sources. In this it would perhaps be good (in vols IV and V) to distinguish by some sign such as 'cf.' those texts cited – for instance Plato's Cratylus and Laws, Philo, or Iamblichus – which Eriugena could not have known directly, reserving the use of the reference alone for the texts that formed a part of his immense reading.

Two further minor criticisms. Where the original reading below an erasure in R can still be read or conjectured, Jeauneau normally sets it in his apparatus with the sign R*. But on rare occasions, he says (vol. i, p. lxxiii) that he restores the
original reading to the quasi-diplomatic text. The example he gives is the expression ‘artifex scriptura’: Eriugena personified Scripture as an artifex, just as elsewhere he personified Theology as a poetess (poetria). In R, the disciple changed the striking artifex to the more conventional artificiosa. Yet (felix culpa!) Jeanneau does not in fact do what he claimed he would: on p. 412, line 5116, he remains perfectly consistent with his practice elsewhere: the correction, italicised in bold type, is in the text, the original reading (artifex R*) in the apparatus. Such consistency seems to me the better solution.

Jeanneau also gives one example (p. lxxxvi) of the rare occasions where he has introduced a conjecture into the critical text against the unanimous testimony of the manuscripts. The context (vol. i. 31) is the affirmative and negative ways of speaking about the divine. In the case of an attribute such as Wisdom, the way of affirmation says ‘the divine nature can be called this’, but not ‘it actually is this’; the way of negation (in Jeanneau’s text) ‘dicit “hoc non est”’, quamuis et hoc appellari potest’. I think it possible to retain ‘ex hoc’ from the manuscripts without changing to ‘et hoc’, and to close the quote at ‘potest’: negation says: ‘it is not this, though it can be named after this’. That is, a name such as Wisdom is valid inasmuch as the divine nature, though beyond Wisdom, is the source of this attribute. Here Eriugena’s usage is a little like Cicero’s: ‘appellata est enim ex uiro uirtus’ (cf. Oxford Latin dictionary, s.v. ex, 14 d).

None the less I would add a further observation. Honorius, in his adaptation in the Clavis (Lucentini, 18), reads simply: ‘Hoc non est, quamuis hoc appellari potest’ (‘It is not this, though it can be called this’). Is it possible that he has here preserved the best, original reading? He was using a copy of R: could this have contained certain other readings too that deserve serious consideration for a place in the critical text? It is a question that I can only signal here. At all events, it seems appropriate that, just as the text Jeanneau has been able to reveal to us was an evolving, not a static, one, so his edition will, by its high accomplishment, lead to further discoveries.

Cambridge

Peter Dronke


Except for occasional asides in general surveys of Byzantine literature, the subject of Byzantine autobiography has traditionally attracted little substantial scholarship. Recently Michael Angold has inaugurated discussion of Byzantine autobiography in the so-called ‘Middle Period’ with his identification of an autobiographical impulse in a variety of tenth- to thirteenth-century literary genres. However, it is only with Hinterberger’s comprehensive and exceptionally detailed study that the topic receives full and authoritative treatment. This study has two inter-related ambitions: to produce a corpus of Byzantine autobiographical texts, and to provide a useable definition of the term ‘autobiography’ in the Byzantine context. The introductory chapter is dedicated to general epistemological problems: what is the difference between autobiography and autobiographical? Is an autobiography necessarily a rep-
resentative of a particular genre, or merely a text that displays self-awareness? What is to be made of the fact that the Byzantines themselves did not identify a specific genre of autobiography? From the outset Hinterberger dismisses the utility of modern autobiographical criteria as analytical tools. No Byzantine text can be expected to display the directness, intimacy and self-examination characteristic of the modern genre. Instead, Hinterberger adopts a relatively loose working definition, that a text may be considered autobiographical if at some level it consciously articulates the life history of its author. Thus, in chapter iii, he includes from autobiography letters, diaries, speeches and first-person novels, texts which may refer to the self but which fail to amount to a retrospective life history. In the rest of the book Hinterberger explores those texts he designates as autobiographical at two different levels, looking first for general conventions which determine how authors represent themselves (chapter iv), and second for connections between those texts which belong to the same literary genre, for example historiography or hagiography. Therefore, rather than analysing single texts, authors and historical contexts, his approach is encyclopaedic, comparative and diachronic. He also discusses documentary texts normally considered outside the high-style literary canon, such as the introductions (prooimia) to monastic foundation documents (typika). In addition he highlights several little-known texts, such as the tenth-century will of St Nikon Metanoeite. In concluding his massive work Hinterberger points out the importance of narrative and rhetoric to many autobiographical texts, including those usually treated as archive documents. He also argues that the autobiographical element of a text is profoundly shaped by its relation to the overriding genre of that text. Some genres clearly demand the personal intervention of the author: reliable eyewitness testimony, for instance, is considered by contemporaries a vital component of historiography and hagiography. The argument that long-standing genres such as hagiography by their very nature demand an autobiographical dimension underpins Hinterberger’s most significant conclusion: that autobiographical writing did not suddenly disappear in the fifth century and reappear in either the eleventh or thirteenth centuries as is so often argued. Instead, it was a constant of Byzantine literature. While one would not wish to detract from what is clearly a groundbreaking work, one could perhaps take issue with this final point. The useful table of autobiographical authors listed at the back of Hinterberger’s volume indicates that more than 80 per cent wrote their texts after the middle of the tenth century. Without arguing that this incidence necessarily amounts to the emergence of the individual in the Middle Byzantine period, one wonders whether a specific historical context may explain the growth in autobiographical writing after 950, a context which Hinterberger’s strictly textual methods cannot explore fully. Caroline Bynum has argued that a greater interest in the self in western Europe in the twelfth century can be linked to a growth in competing groups. Is it possible that competition between groups such as monasteries and aristocratic families, above all for imperial favour, could explain the apparent growth in autobiographical texts in Byzantium as well? For example, as Hinterberger himself points out, autobiographical passages in many Byzantine monastic typika of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries record in narrative form the processes by which lands and privileges, often granted by emperors, were acquired by their founders. In this
case one could certainly suggest that the autobiographical element of the text serves to establish the vital defences which the founder’s monastery might require in the future in order to survive competition over its resources with other interested parties: rival monasteries, other local landowners and even representatives of the imperial fisc itself.

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Recently two substantial biographies have been published, H. E. J. Cowdrey’s Pope Gregory VII (Oxford 1998) and I. S. Robinson’s Henry IV of Germany (Cambridge 1999), which help us with one of the revolutionary epochs in Europe’s medieval history. So Barbara Bowlus’s translation of Stefan Weinfurter’s Herrschaft und Reich der Salier, published in 1992, comes at the right moment for reassessing the German imperial dynasty which reigned from 1024 until 1125. Weinfurter rightly makes the four rulers sound just as formidable a lot as in the polemics of their friends and critics at the time. A central event, the fraught meeting of Gregory VII and Henry IV at Canossa castle in January 1077 still resounds in the German consciousness, ‘Der Gang nach Canossa’, when conflicts of interest between the state and religion arise. One virtue of Weinfurter’s treatment of the Salians is that he avoids the false political caesura quite common in nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography, where the disastrous minority of Henry IV somehow divided the two ‘successful’ reigns of Conrad II (1024–39) and Henry III (1039–56) from the two ‘failed’ reigns, of Henry IV (1056–1106) and Henry V (1106–25). Instead, the author convincingly makes much of the over-extended ambition of all four rulers to enforce the ideological and practical superiority of their house in the face of powerful and traditional interests rooted in the provinces, in the Church and in the rights and privileges of the aristocracy. In this sense Weinfurter sees the Salians over-playing their hand, and although the crown emerged in quite good shape after decades of civil conflict (1073–1122), he gives the impression that articulate Germans were glad to see the last of the dynasty. For an age of Christ-centred kingship Weinfurter devotes considerable space to Conrad II’s designation of Speyer cathedral as the new dynastic fulcrum of connection with the kingdom of heaven through the patronage of the Virgin Mary, and as the family mausoleum. Such propaganda was significant at the time, since papal reform would soon be trying to damage regal imagery. Another striking feature of Weinfurter’s investigation is that he points out the collective nature of the magnates’ sense of political responsibility in opposing excessive action or policy of the court. He regards Henry V’s coup in taking over the empire in 1105 and 1106 as partly inspired by such ideas. But to be fair to the old emperor, he had successfully reconciled the south German dukes in the 1090s; he had proclaimed the imperial Landfriede of 1103 with considerable
Reed Historical Society, Studies in History, New Ser.) Pp. x + 262 incl. 3 maps and 4 tables. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for The Royal Historical Society), 1998. £35. 0 86193 232 3; 0269 2244

This survey of the patronage of religious houses in the Anglo-Norman realm deals with the subject from many angles and with a wide perspective. It is based on extensive research on primary (mostly printed) sources, and on secondary ones, correlating the conclusions of many recent studies. An introductory chapter sketches the history of Benedictine monasticism before the Conquest, and also emphasises the importance at that time of the secular minsters (some of which, notably St Cuthbert's, Durham, were rich and powerful). The rest of the book is divided into two parts. Part I starts by discussing in turn the patronage of five great abbeys, all founded under the Anglo-Saxons – St Mary's Abingdon, St Peter’s Gloucester, Bury St Edmunds, St Albans and St Augustine’s Canterbury, tracing their fortunes under the Anglo-Norman kings. Then the Fenland pre-Conquest houses are considered, grouped together because of the similarity of their problems. Part II ends with a chapter on other monasteries founded before the Conquest. Nunneries are not included. Part II deals with topics across the spectrum. It discusses why men, and some women, made gifts of land, rights of jurisdiction and precious objects to religious houses; and how patronage of houses in Britain compared with that of houses in the Anglo-Norman realm on the continent. Some interesting general conclusions emerge from this ambitious study. For instance, it demonstrates the key role played by exceptionally able abbots in the fortunes of their houses, especially if they ruled for a long time. For example, Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds (1065–97), managed to retain the abbey’s extensive pre-Conquest estates and high privileges intact under the Anglo-Normans. He was exceptional in that he was a Frenchman appointed by Edward the Confessor, and a famous physician. The fact that, having been Edward the Confessor’s physician, he was the physician successively to William I and William II, as well as to a number of secular and ecclesiastical magnates, undoubtedly contributed to his close and harmonious relations with the Anglo-Norman establishment. Baldwin’s success was also due to St Edmund’s strategic position as a loyal bloc near Ely and the Fens, centres of English rebellion. Another outstanding abbot was Faritius at St Mary’s Abingdon (1100–17). He, like Baldwin, was a physician high in royal favour. St Mary’s had suffered badly from despoliation by Anglo-Norman magnates in the aftermath of the Conquest, and its remarkable recovery was largely owing to royal favour and Faritius’ ability to attract gifts. St Peter’s Gloucester likewise prospered under the Anglo-Normans. Indeed, having been an obscure, poverty-stricken house before the Conquest, it rose under Abbot Serlo (1072–1104) to become rich and important.
This was mainly because of royal favour, and that was the result of Gloucester’s strategic position – its proximity to the Welsh border and the crossing-point of the Severn. Cownie emphasises that the possession of sacred relics by a religious house helped it to attract gifts. Piety was the principal motive for giving: donors wished to secure prayers for their souls and for the souls of, for instance, their parents, ancestors, relatives, their lord and perhaps of the king and members of the royal family. A donor might also acquire confraternity and the right to be buried in the church, while the founder of a new monastery gained renown. Cownie’s study also reveals that in the course of the Anglo-Norman period the number of donations to monasteries in Normandy and the number of new alien priories founded in Britain markedly declined. Increasingly, patronage centred on monasteries in Britain and new foundations were mostly independent of continental houses. This trend, Cownie argues, was not the result of a growing sense of Britishness, but because family and feudal ties now bound most Anglo-Normans to this country.

These are some of the issues addressed by Cownie, and her book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to Anglo-Norman studies. Nevertheless, it has errors and shortcomings, some of which will be mentioned here. A Benedictine monk did not take ‘vows of enclosure, silence, stability and obedience’ (p. 11, misinterpreting Knowles, Monastic order, p. 12); in accordance with the rule (cap. 58), he vowed ‘stability, conversio morum, and obedience’. Nor was Walter Espec’s foundation of Rievaulx dedicated to ten individuals or groups of people (p. 157). The book is poorly organised and written. The structure entails much overlap and repetition, and the prose tends to be imprecise and careless, and occasionally lapsing into colloquialism (for example, ‘legions of historians’ (p. viii), ‘1066 and all that’ (p. 8), ‘the likes of’ (p. 76). The noun ‘experience’ is overused and in a confusing variety of contexts (for example on pp. 3, 4, and four times on p. 9). Much of the book is heavy reading, especially those passages which virtually catalogue donations to some religious house. Finally, the picture reproduced on the jacket of two benefactors of St Albans is not of appropriate date: though this is not revealed in the caption, it is from the Liber benefactorum composed at St Albans by Thomas Walsingham over two centuries after the end of the Anglo-Norman period.

Clare Hall, Antonia Gransden
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begun the division of estates into individual prebends. New prebends were created over the years until in 1294 the final number of thirty-six was reached. Diana Greenway provides us in this volume with up-to-date lists of all the dignitaries and prebendaries of the premier northern cathedral, and in so doing sheds light on the development of the church and the nature of patronage within the chapter. The transformation in the fortunes of York in the post-Conquest era was remarkable, and by the thirteenth century its offices and prebends were among the richest in the cathedrals of England, and as such a prize for royal, and increasingly for papal, nominees. Thus the number of papal appointments among the chapter rose: from three in the first decade of the thirteenth century, to six in the 1220s, and eight in 1250. There is much of interest in this latest Fasti volume, and it is a welcome addition to the series.

University of Wales, Lampeter

Janet Burton


This collection of twenty-one essays originating in various American conferences on medieval sermons is the third such miscellany to appear in recent years. Of the three sub-sections designated in the title, ‘University’ is the most coherent. P. Roberts begins by showing how public preaching was mandated in the statutes of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, etc. One of these provisions, that new masters preach at their inception ceremony, supplies a subject for N. Spatz who examines such sermons by Stephen Langton, Thomas of Chobham and Eudes of Châteauroux. Another type of public speaking, this time at the University of Naples, is considered by D. Pyrds in the ongoing serialisation of her PhD thesis on Robert of Anjou. She suggests that King Robert’s adoption of a preacher/scholar persona to increase Angevin prestige can be observed most clearly in his sermons to Neapolitan scholars. Returning to Oxford, E. Dolnikowski argues for a link between Thomas Bradwardine’s recherche academic theology and his preaching: his predestinarianism may actually have been a consolation to an audience of combatants in the Hundred Years War. This novel take on Bradwardine makes him seem a much more sympathetic character. If a second article by Dolnikowski on Wyclif does not achieve the same result, it none the less demonstrates how the Evangelical Doctor’s Latin sermons were the outworking of a conception of preaching theorised in his academic works. A final piece by H. Schiewer examines the relationship between vernacular and university preaching at central European universities.

Three articles about late medieval German preaching to female religious form the heart of the ‘Cloister’: R. Hale notices Eckhart’s and Tauler’s rhetorical variations on a conventional Marian theme of the ‘silent Virgin’; D. Stoudt suggests that the edificatory letters of Henry Seuse constitute a clue as to what his preaching must have been like; A. Syring examines the rearrangement of well-known material in the production of new sermon texts tailor-made for nuns. The
‘City’ has an even smaller centre: Paul’s Cross in London is the focus of an article by P. Horner and the Florence of Antoninus occupies P. Howard who looks at the saint’s surprisingly neglected and humanist-influenced sermons. The reactionary Cistercian Hélinand of Froidmont is one of two figures in both ‘City’ and ‘Cloister’: B. Kienzle relates his dim view of city life, while A. Thayer looks at his Marian piety (and his dim view of city life). More positive Cistercian influences are detected in Jacques de Vitry by C. Müssig in a piece that anticipates her critical edition of his sermons; C. Ho inspects ‘the body’ in this preacher’s exempla and speculates about the implications of such imagery for urban female listeners. Filling out the volume are some precise studies of individual texts whose virtue is unrelated to the volume’s organising themes. J. Blaettler probes conceptions of preaching and penance in an Apocalypse commentary known as the Silos beatus. L. Martin reveals an Irish connection in the Verona homily collection. Z. Izydorczyk explains how the Apocryphal Gospel of Nichodemus became a standard reference work to those curious for extra details about the Passion. J. Dahmus shows how the Conlations of Cassian were used by the fifteenth-century Dominican preacher Johannes Nieder. Finally, L. Carruthers contributes an admirable analysis of the fifteenth-century vernacular tract Jacob’s well and its possible audiences. Although this high-quality volume will be most appreciated by aficionados of medieval sermons, there is something here for every medievalist.

Oriel College, 

Patrick Nold 

OXFORD


This distinguished volume which originated as a 1994 Heidelberg dissertation under the guidance of H. Jakobs does not have the word ‘biography’ in its title, but it comes as close as possible to an analysis of the background and personality of Guido of Vienne who as Pope Calixtus II (1119–24) managed to gain acceptance for the Concordat of Worms at the Lateran Council of 1123. It also provides a well-documented narrative of his pontificate. All in all the book is a remarkable achievement, clearing away many of the historiographical myths surrounding this overweeningly ambitious prelate. It essentially consists of three parts, dealing, first, with Guido as archbishop of Vienne (pp. 1–389), second, with his papacy (pp. 390–614), and concluding with seven extensive and carefully detailed appendices, among them an itinerary and a calendar for Guido-Calixtus’ entire career as well as documents (pp. 617–717). The excellent indices follows the pattern customary for the series.

Schilling never shirks her duties as a scholar. Hardly anything is known regarding Guido’s upbringing – no record mentions his name before his election to the archbishopric of Vienne in the summer of 1088, at any rate prior to 30 May 1090 (p. 39) – but his genealogy and the history of his family, the counts of Burgundy, fill the lacuna to some extent; likewise the succinct summary of the complicated history of the county. The history of the see of Vienne from its earliest days to Guido’s election in particular provides a measure of understanding
for the deceit and at times violence that marked the activities of some of the archbishops of Vienne even prior to Guido’s episcopate. Guido himself had no qualms whatsoever in using forgery as a means to secure his far-reaching secular and ecclesiastical claims. Even as pope he confirmed the most overblown forgeries, despite the fact that Pope Paschal II had settled the quarrel between Grenoble and Vienne over the archdiaconate of Sermorens in 1107 and that the primacy over seven ecclesiastical provinces was an honour in name only and never realised. ‘Once he became pope it was simply impossible that Guido could adopt any position that he had not already taken as archbishop of Vienne’ Schilling concludes (p. 143).

The forgeries are well-known, but Schilling is the first to analyse and reconstruct in detail the entire complex of forgeries, both those contained in the cartulary of Saint-Barnard-de-Romans and those found among the items known since their publication by W. Gundlach as the ‘Epistolae Viennenses spuriae’. She can pinpoint chronological sequence and purpose, separating the authentic from the false or the interpolated, a task greatly facilitated by the recent discovery and publication by A. Becker and D. Lohrmann of the interpolated privilege surreptitiously obtained by Guido with the help of Gottfried of Vendôme from the chancery of Pope Urban II in 1094. Gundlach’s conclusions are thoroughly revised. The cartulary of the collegiate abbey of Saint-Barnard-de-Romans, located just outside Vienne, also bristles with difficulties and forgeries. The canons attempted to assert the abbey’s independence from the archdiocese, relying on a word-play on Romans that found its way into a letter-privilege of Pope Gregory VII (JL 5068). The letter is fortunately preserved in his register and thus beyond suspicion. Usually it has been considered the first privilege granting the libertas romana, but Schilling rightly argues that the interpretation of its terms corresponding to this historical concept dates only to the pontificate of Urban II with the forgery of the privilege JL 5374 of 1095 (pp. 623, 625). Her valuable Anhang III (pp. 622–9) lists all papal documents found in the Saint-Barnard cartulary and indicates their authenticity and/or forgery–interpolation as far as she could determine.

The chapters addressing the election and the pontificate of Guido as Calixtus II focus more prominently on historiographical issues. Schilling is convinced that Guido was elected at Cluny in 1119 primarily on account of his attacks of 1112 on Henry V. In her interpretation this indicates a desire of the Curia to persevere in unmitigated opposition to any kind of compromise regarding lay investiture with either temporalities or spiritualities (pp. 400, 428, 557). The united front she supposes is not altogether convincing, for she relies in this context too exclusively on the Historia Compostellana, a very partisan source as she shows elsewhere (for example pp. 400, 403, 445ff.). She is perfectly right, of course, when she points out that the enterprises of Guido of Vienne against Paschal II after the events of Ponte Mammolo in 1111 were very effectively set up by Guido as self-promotion, but this is hardly the same as implying that Guido was elected for this reason alone. Opposition to his election, after all, was anything but rare although Guido at no time doubted its legitimacy (pp. 396ff.). Historians probably just have to accept the fact that policies were quite unsettled allowing for many and various influences. Schilling presents a very convincing and from this reviewer’s perspective perfectly accurate picture of the pontificate itself. She shows clearly
in a detailed prosopography of the cardinalate from the time of Pope Paschal II to Calixtus’ own creations that only hindsight could find a connection of any kind between the double election of 1130 and the pontificate of Calixtus II, thus pulling the rug out from under the theses of Klewitz–Schmale–Chodorow (pp. 546–62). She emphasises instead the personal rivalries among the cardinals, noting that it actually seems surprising that it took until 1130 for a schism to develop (p. 563). Thus Schilling shows persuasively that Calixtus II continued the ecclesiastical policies of his predecessors in every respect, whether one considers privileges for abbeys (largely including even Cluny, cf. p. 576) or dioceses (pp. 565, 577) or with regard to the Roman nobility or Norman Italy where failures were the result of personal flaws rather than conscious policy decisions. ’The period of the “reforming” papacy was certainly nor over by 1122/3’ (p. 587). Since the pontificate was characterised by failures rather than successes, it seems almost an irony of history that the Lateran Council of 1123 eventually accepted the compromises of Worms under Calixtus’ eye, thus enabling him to enforce them politically. This well-documented thesis is fascinating and convincing.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Uta-Renate Blumenthal


In seven out of eight chapters in the book edited by Catherine Mooney, the focus is on the writings of a female saint and her male interpreter and collaborator between 1140 and c. 1400; in the eighth, the role is reversed in a discussion of a holy man and his female collaborator. Gender and voice remain centre stage throughout. Inequalities and differences between idealisations and portrayals highlight the divergent emphases in male and female accounts of female sanctity. All the contributors, whether writing of Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel or of Christine of Stommeln and Friar Peter of Dacia, have managed to devise ways of distinguishing gender differences in female and male accounts, and of discerning the differing voices of the female and male in collaborative texts. Catherine Mooney’s volume is a success at all sorts of levels. Not only has she chosen a topic of great interest and importance but one of sensible dimensions. In addition, she has managed to achieve an unusually high degree of coherence and consensus from her contributors, so that the book makes sense as a whole, not just in its parts. The imprint of the editor is obvious everywhere, light but firm. And finally, the volume, by its conclusions, is persuasive in challenging readers to change how they read and interpret both the texts under scrutiny, and others of a similar ilk. Rosalynn Voaden’s book shares a concern for the correct and precise interpretation of texts, but here the focus is on two late medieval female visionaries, Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe. Spiritual visions were considered an inferior form of transcendental experience, mainly limited to women, while mystical experiences were reserved for men; female spiritual
visions therefore had to be constantly patrolled and controlled by male ecclesiastics. Voaden is primarily concerned with the effects that the enforcement of the ecclesiastical doctrine of discretio spirituum (‘discerning of spirits’) had upon the contemporary reception of the works of these two women, and upon their subsequent reputation. Bridget of Sweden both portrays herself and is portrayed by Alfonso of Jaén, her spiritual director and editor, as an exemplary visionary, aware of all the rules attached to discretio spirituum and well able to manipulate them to her own advantage. Margery Kempe, on the other hand, appears ignorant of or unwilling to comply with these rules – for example, she constantly calls attention to her own behaviour and wants to cause comment – and is made to suffer for this. Overall, the book succeeds in inserting a concern about the constraints of discretio spirituum into the mainstream of literature on visionaries. It also usefully contains an appendix of the Middle English Epistola solitarii ad reges of Alfonso of Jaén.

Goldsmiths’ College, London

Kate Lowe


This is a thorough, detailed and critical examination of the image of Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century historical writing. Sommerlechner is well aware of the methodological pitfalls such a project could entail, and she avoids any attempt to recreate the emperor’s character and personality from many divergent, and often contradictory, fragments. Rather, the information about Frederick II is catalogued according to geographical provenance, as well as type of historical writing, and institutional and personal background of its authors. Sections on propaganda and historical writings, the exercise of royal lordship and Frederick’s crusading plans complement this. The work as a whole is thus as much concerned with Frederick II himself, as with the nature and production of historical writing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It provides an excellent outline of how the perception of the emperor could change according to region or institution, and of the uses to which contemporary and later observers put the phenomenon of Frederick II. This study is based on a truly exhaustive reading of the sources, as exemplified by a catalogue, running to nearly 100 pages, of the historical writings available to Sommerlechner, dealing with over 200 chronicles and annals, each complete with a short, but critical and up-to-date bibliography. This is not the least reason why this almost definitive catalogue of references will make Sommerlechner’s study a standard work for future generations of scholars. There are, of course, some shortcomings, unavoidably perhaps in a work of this range and scope. Much of the coverage (pp. 140–7) of Matthew Paris’s use of Frederick’s propaganda, for instance, does not always do justice to this complex and difficult author, and this may be indicative of a more general problem with aiming to give such a broad and comparative analytical survey. Similarly, it
seems that occasionally Sommerlechner has fallen victim to her own high standards. Very little use is made of Byzantine and Arabic materials, largely, one may presume, because of the linguistic challenges involved. Use of some of the available English, German or French translations would have unearthed sometimes very different traditions, and could have been used profitably to paint a more complex picture. In addition, surprisingly little use has been made of chronicles and annals from Poland or Hungary. None the less, none of these objections can seriously detract from the many great merits of Sommerlechner’s study. *Stupor mundi?* will be essential reading for anyone interested in Frederick II, or the structures, conventions and methods of medieval historians. Sommerlechner is to be congratulated on a most thorough and illuminating work of historical scholarship, of which every university library worth its name should own a copy.

University of Wales, Swansea

Björn Weiler


This collection of essays in honour of Gordon Leff derives its unity from a concentration upon the areas of research that have made Leff’s reputation as a distinguished scholar. Of the essays on heresy that by B. Hamilton not only challenges the idea that suicide was generally promoted in the Cathar Church but also claims that it was unique among medieval Churches in not producing a literature for training in the spiritual life. On another aspect of Cathar history P. Biller, in a necessarily speculative essay, argues for the early primacy of Catharism in northern Europe and further tries to show that Cathar learning in the schools of north-western Europe, especially in Paris, made a significant contribution to shaping the intellectual content of Catharism in southern France and Italy. The three essays on Wycliffism and Lollardy by J. Catto, M. Aston and A. Hudson reflect some of the recent findings and scholarly refinements in this field. Of particular interest are Catto’s suggestions as to why several of the prominent followers of Wyclif deflected from their central beliefs at a relatively early stage. Equally intriguing are the doubts that Catto casts upon the cohesiveness of the so-called ‘Lollard knights’ who were famously profiled by K. B. McFarlane. In a speculative discussion, that is at times rather opaque, A. S. McGrade wrestles with the evolving concept of heresy from the early Christian centuries to the late medieval period while J. Bossy meditates on Leff’s changing views on Ockham. The University of Paris is central to the essays by J. A. Watt and W. J. Courtenay. The former analyses teaching at Paris in the second half of the twelfth century on Judaism and the relations between Christians and Jews and the latter asserts that the mendicants at Paris pursued, in parallel, two quite distinct educational programmes. In a well-researched essay, R. N. Swanson examines the relations between the secular clergy and the friars in the aftermath of the papal settlement, *Super cathedram*, of 1300. Swanson has unearthed illuminating case studies that demonstrate the complexities of the working out of
that settlement through to the sixteenth century. Another substantial and sophisticated essay is provided by B. Dobson who analyses the strength and influence of the monastic orders in Cambridge, especially in the century or so before the Reformation. Indeed, this is one of the most valuable contributions in the volume. Essays by C. Cross, C. Tyerman and D. Luscombe complete the varied and instructional contents of this fitting tribute to an outstanding scholar of medieval intellectual history.

University of Liverpool

Alan B. Cobban

*The Cambridge companion to Ockham.* Edited by Paul Vincent Spade. (Cambridge Companions to Philosophy.) Pp. xvii+420. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £37.50 (cloth), £13.95 (paper). 0 521 58244 X; 0 521 58790 5

This volume is a collection of fifteen essays on a range of aspects of the philosophical, political and theological thought of the Franciscan William of Ockham (c. 1288–1347), one of the most prominent figures in the philosophy of the late Middle Ages. The philosophical importance of Ockham emerges clearly from these essays. The contributors aim successfully at making accessible to students and non-specialists the salient ideas of Ockham’s philosophy, presenting at the same time the relevant aspects of the current scholarly debate. A comprehensive bibliography makes this volume a most useful reference work. In chapter i, W. Courtenay traces the major phases of Ockham’s academic and political career. Chapters ii–iv are devoted to logic. In chapter ii, C. Normore gives an account of Ockham’s theories of signification, supposition, truth conditions and consequences. In chapter iii, C. Panaccio discusses further Ockham’s semantics and its application to the case of universals. In chapter iv, D. Chalmers argues for the possibility of mental synonymy in Ockham’s logical system. In chapter v, P. V. Spade presents two main themes of Ockham’s so-called nominalism: (i) the reduction of all entities to individual substances and individual qualities, and (ii) the rejection of universals. In chapter vi, G. Klima investigates Ockham’s analysis of the relation between semantics and ontological commitments concerning Aristotle’s categories. In chapter vii, A. Goddu gives a survey of some major topics from Ockham’s natural philosophy. In chapter viii, E. Stump analyses Ockham’s account of cognition and his rejection of intelligible and sensible species, which were instead admitted by Aquinas. In chapter ix, E. Karger criticises a widespread interpretation of Ockham’s theory of intuitive and abstractive cognition. In chapter x, P. King presents the main features of Ockham’s ethical theory. In chapter xi, M. McCord Adams gives a detailed examination of Ockham’s notorious doctrine of the liberty of indifference, i.e. the power of the created will to do an action, not to do it or to do the opposite action. In chapter xii, A. S. McGrade investigates the problem of reconciling the emphasis on the obedience to God in Ockham’s philosophical and theological writings with the appeal to natural law in his political writings. In chapter xiii, J. Kilcullen explains the motivation of Ockham’s political writings and in particular the controversial issue of Franciscan poverty. In chapter xiv, A. J. Freddoso examines Ockham’s view on the relation between faith and reason, comparing it with Aquinas’s position. In chapter xv, R. Wood argues against the
common claim that Ockham was a Pelagian. This volume provides an excellent introduction to Ockham’s thought and can be profitably read by anyone interested in Ockham and/or medieval thought.

All Souls College, Oxford

Cecilia Trifogli


Bruno Galland introduces this study with an apology for writing a work of pure history. By focusing on the county of Savoy, he hopes to evaluate the impact which the shift of the papal residence to Avignon had upon the states which now became the pope’s neighbours and also to test the weight which the popes were able to exert in fourteenth-century diplomacy. The apology may be considered accepted, but another may be needed. This is a solid and complex narrative, in itself lucidly and even elegantly written, but the reader lacks some essential aids. There is no genealogical table of the house of Savoy and the solitary map is a joke. This is subject grounded in detailed territorial realities; Galland several times points out that the historic fortunes of Savoy owed much to command of the westerly alpine passes. The map, however, not merely fails to show the Alpine passes; it does not show the Alps. The whereabouts of Avignon itself or of the Dauphiné, Montferrat or Milan are not indicated and, apart from diocesan boundaries, no pertinent information about the Savoyard territories themselves is given. Serious political history requires better support than this.

The interests of the counts of Savoy and of their close kin, notably the princes of Achaia, who exercised quasi-independent lordships in the region, were principally concentrated on Piedmont, whence they looked west and also cast into Italy. For their part, the popes pursued an agenda which aimed at stabilising the Italian situation and preparing for a return to Rome. Like other Italian powers the counts of Savoy had little specific interest in forwarding this project, although they were unwilling to be identified as anything but friends of the papacy. They and their kin visited the Curia at Avignon more frequently, and for longer periods, than they had ever visited it at Rome. They were left largely undisturbed in their efforts to control the Church in their dominions, and they received a stream of minor personal favours (choice of confessors and so forth). Other European rulers both near and far of course received such privileges and Galland is probably right to suggest that it would have been more significant if they had been refused. As he observes, unlike England, which has also been seen as building a ‘national Church’ in this period, Savoy was potentially involved in all the papacy’s major areas of concern. The counts mattered to the popes largely because they could assist or endanger the desired equilibrium, for example by pursuing quarrels in Piedmont with the pope’s Angevin ally or by becoming too friendly with the Visconti who threatened papal control of Bologna.

Galland writes with a certain terse wit, often at the expense of unavailing papal efforts to exercise any effective control over other powers. The view presented here, hardly novel in itself, is that the popes could not, and did not, punch above their real weight. Attempts to use strictly ecclesiastical sanctions (notably the accusations of heresy against successive Visconti princes) appear as of marginal
significance and indeed usefulness. The counts of Savoy too, condemned to live in the shadow of the Angevins or the Visconti, had to bargain and accommodate in order to preserve their vital interests, and they were as likely to be found urging the popes to forget and forgive (or at least, to negotiate) as they were to be exhorited by the popes to do likewise. There were moments when pope and count presented a common front against the Visconti, but outright confrontation, for any length of time, was unthinkable for both. The Green Count, Amedeo VI, was arguably able to achieve the summit of what was possible to a ruler in his situation: at home, effectively limiting the independent power of his kin within Piedmont; abroad, playing a decisive role in the marriage of Giangaleazzo Visconti to Isabella of France (not, at the time, welcome news to the pope); leading the crusade which temporarily seized Gallipoli in 1366 and dreaming of another; arbitrating between Genoa and Venice in 1380.

It is Galland’s view that Amedeo’s rapid adhesion to the cause of Clement VII in 1378–9 is to be explained not by any immediate expectation that the pope was going to return to Avignon, which was by no means certain, but by his previous connections with him as Cardinal Robert of Geneva. Thereafter both he and his successor Amedeo VII saw in the Avignonese obedience the best prospects for forwarding Savoyard interests in Piedmont and also in Provence. The Savoyards maintained a noticeable if hardly overwhelming presence at the court of Avignon; Galland’s researches however show that the clergy of the region benefited only modestly in terms of promotions from this ‘special relationship’. The two popes did nothing to impede the counts’ control of their Churches and assigned to them a substantial proportion of the tax revenue to be gleaned from them, on the strength of their various expenditures on behalf of the Church, real or alleged, past and present. From 1382, these subventions were collected by a specially appointed receiver and in 1399 Benedict XIII in effect created a separate collectory for the Savoyard dominions. The young Amedeo VII maintained his support of Benedict XII after the French withdrawal of obedience in 1398, principally, it is argued, in order to assert his and Savoy’s independence of the French tutelage in which he had passed the years of his minority. In 1404 he permitted Benedict to take refuge in Nice (which papal complaisance had enabled him virtually to appropriate), but personally kept his distance from him, and by 1409 there was nothing to deter him from switching his support to the Council of Pisa. His own election as pope, thirty years later, by the rump of the Council of Basle, wrote a curious (but in Galland’s view in some ways characteristic) footnote to the history of a dynasty which had always seen the papacy as a friend to be used for its own purposes.

King’s College, London

Diana Webb

The cartulary of Chatteris Abbey. Edited by Claire Breay. Pp. xiii+479 incl. 8 ills.
Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999. £50. 0 85115 7595
This is a welcome addition to the list of recent publications devoted to medieval women religious, the more so as only nineteen cartularies survive from their houses. Chatteris was one of a handful of Anglo-Saxon nunneries and by far the poorest. It was also overshadowed by the nearby tenth-century fenland
monasteries, which were hugely wealthy and which have been so well served by monographs, but not editions of their voluminous cartularies. Chatteris was not in the same league, but despite its relatively modest origins, it achieved reasonable prosperity by the standards of later nunneries and there is a good deal of interesting material in its more limited records. There were once two or possibly three cartularies. Breay has given us far more than an edition of the only survivor, compiled for the nuns in the fifteenth century, probably by Henry de Buckworth, the local parish priest. The lengthy introduction amounts to a history of the abbey. It covers its foundation, site and endowment, the management of its estates and the background of the nuns, before turning to the usual description of the manuscript and editorial method. There is nothing very startling here, but it provides useful confirmation of the pattern emerging from other studies; most of the abbey’s benefactors were from local families, a few expressly connected with nuns, and most of their gifts were small. As in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the nuns themselves were also overwhelmingly drawn from the neighbourhood. Economic historians, who depend so heavily on ecclesiastical records for their sources, will find interesting information relating to villeins: the abbey grants a free man a virgate of customary land for life and he becomes a villein (nos 75, 137); the abess and nuns undertake that they will not make any claim on the land their villein holds freely of another lord in Barrington (nos 100, 123). Both deeds belong to the thirteenth century, although the copyist’s failure to transcribe witness lists makes it impossible to date them closely. In another economic context, one might wonder whether the grant of a 40s. rent by Adam son of Robert of Cockfield (nos 73, 188) had anything to do with the abbey’s confirmation to him of the manor of Kersey at fee farm (no. 186), especially in view of his battles over tenure with Bury St Edmund’s. Like a number of other documents, most of these were copied more than once, indicating perhaps that the abbey’s archives were in some disarray. By contrast, great care has been taken in the editing of its cartulary and the publishers are also to be congratulated on making the resulting volume so pleasing to handle.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

Sandra Raban


The seventh and concluding volume (though the third to be published) of the New Cambridge Medieval History of Europe has as its frontispiece a colour reproduction (here unaccountably reversed) of the famous portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, and his young son, Guidobaldo, posing in the duke’s studiolo in the palazzo ducale at Urbino. It is well chosen to illustrate several of the secular, cultural and aristocratic themes of this volume on fifteenth-century Europe. The duke, clad in a suit of elaborate armour, is reading a book from his well-stocked library; he wears the garter presented to him by Edward IV of England and yet exudes pride in his own sumptuous and humanistic court; his son represents the hereditary power of the ducal family; and perched on a shelf
in a corner of the picture is an episcopal mitre suggesting the subordination of ecclesiastical authority. The twenty-four black-and-white pictures are also well chosen and are usually linked to commentary in the wide-ranging text.

This volume, like the series as a whole, is conceived as a work of reference, as was the earlier *Cambridge Medieval History*, whose final volume viii appeared in 1936. Sixty years on, the basic pattern of the earlier volume has been followed in the new one, whose chapters inevitably invite comparison with volume viii’s often classic historical statements by eminent writers. The structures of the two volumes are similar: a minority of thematic chapters, and a majority charting the development of individual European states. Yet there are differences too. As the editor of the new volume, Christopher Allmand, notes in a brief and understated introduction, the emphasis has shifted towards thematic chapters, which are gathered in three sections on ‘Government’ (with essays by J.-Ph.Genet, W. Blockmans and A. Black on political ideas and discourse, ideas and institutions of representation, and papal and conciliar theories and discussions that accompanied the changing relationship between Rome and European Churches and States); ‘Economic and Social Developments’ (where briefer chapters by P. Contamine, C. Dyer and R. B. Dobson provide comparative assessment of the complexities and fortunes of social classes, followed by more descriptive chapters by W. Childs and C. Allmand on trade and war); and ‘Spiritual, Cultural and Artistic Life’ (in which half-a-dozen writers together provide a wide-ranging review that emphasises religious as well as secular inspiration in education and book production, and in most of the arts – including a welcome chapter on music though at the expense of sculpture – and notes the significance of a widening readership). One group of subjects to which the earlier volume assigned a chapter, ‘Magic, Witchcraft, Astrology and Alchemy’, hardly finds a niche in the new volume: this is a pity in view of current interest in pre-Reformation witchcraft, and in the later medieval nobility’s fascination with astrology.

It might be claimed that the shift towards thematic treatment should have gone further, for compared with 1936 there are now a number of books available charting the evolution of states. On the other hand, the new volume takes a broader geographical remit: it includes valuable chapters on European exploration and discovery to the west and south (by F. Fernandez-Armesto), the surviving European settlements in the eastern Mediterranean (A. Luttrell), and – especially welcome – on the rising state of Muscovy (N. S. Kollman) and the threatened Byzantine state (A. Bryer) before and after the final fall in 1453 of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks, who also gain a chapter of their own (E. Zachariadou). Together, these inclusions enable a rounded view of relations between Christian European civilisation and the other cultures with which it interacted in this century.

As a reference book, the volume’s usefulness rests in part on the quality of the bibliographies provided by acknowledged experts to accompany their respective chapters. More than a third of the authors are drawn from beyond the British Isles, and European scholarship of recent decades is well represented in the bibliographical sections gathered at the end of the volume. Compared with volume viii in 1936, however, their quality is variable; those attached to political chapters lack consistency of approach, and do not always offer guidance to original sources. Most of the maps, so essential in such a volume, are
disappointing, not least because they fail to indicate physical features. And whilst
the six selected genealogical tables of ruling houses are a gain over volume viii,
their usefulness would have been enhanced if a consolidated chronology had also
been included.

That said, a number of individual chapters are fine surveys of the state of our
understanding of an exceptionally turbulent and creative century. Thus, R. B.
Dobson on towns and townsfolk: ‘If not a paradigm for the future, what the
fifteenth-century town does provide is the first serious opportunity in European
History to probe the depths of urban society itself’ (p. 139). And F. Rapp on
religion and the faithful: ‘The religious education of the laity had never occupied
so high a place among the priorities of those clergy who took their duties
seriously’ (p. 205), and ‘... the rites performed and the words spoken by clerics
and faithful, because they were a reflection of their feelings, conferred on the
religious life of the period its particular flavour’ (p. 213). To this J. Klassen
identifies a challenge in Jan Hus, who ‘gave the laity the choice whether or not
to obey priests, saying that they should acknowledge only those priests who lived
holy lives’ (p. 374). R. Black and others identify the achievements and limitations
of humanism and its permeation of large segments of contemporary life and
attitudes – but not everywhere. On the lengthy and debilitating internal and
external conflicts affecting France and England, B. Chevalier and R. Horrox,
respectively, provide thoughtful analyses of how two monarchies were able to
recover, restore and develop their powers towards the end of the century; on
France, ‘History and tradition, much of it myth, were to be transformed into
political assets helping to create a sense of national identity in the present’ (p.
408). On the other hand, opines an engaged R. Sablonier, the beginnings of
statehood in the Swiss Confederation owed much to ‘the often aimless and sadly
discontinuous policy of the Habsburg monarchy’ (p. 670). More positively,
N. S. Kollmann sees the century as critical to Moscow’s dominance east of
Lithuania, a dominance hard won by ‘means, both institutional and symbolic,
that it devised to consolidate its authority and to exploit and mobilise social
resources’ (p. 748).

The fifteenth century emerges as exciting and fascinating, and much of the
excitement and fascination is captured in this large volume. For all the laudable
attempts at comparative history to chart the ‘development’ of states, authors are
too good historians not to note the varieties of experience, the differences in
development, the disasters as well as the achievements. No longer is it appropriate
to refer to the century as ‘the Close of the Middle Ages’, as in 1936, and the
publishers have recoiled from imposing a subtitle on this new volume. It begins
with war – the invasion of France by Henry v of England. The editor ends it
more than half-convinced that contemporaries’ yearning for peace ‘[was] simply
the lull preceding the return to years of division which would shape the Christian
Europe of the future’ (p. 840). If that were so, then it would be little different
from any other century. Other features of fifteenth-century Europe highlighted
in this volume argue otherwise, and might enable thoughtful readers to attempt
their own characterisations.

University of Wales, Swansea

Ralph A. Griffiths

Mario Sughi and the Irish Manuscripts Commission are to be congratulated on the publication of this monumental work. The register attributed to Primate Octavian de Palatio is the largest of the Armagh ‘registers’ – a series of episcopal records which are unique for late medieval Ireland. Of this register 60 per cent relates to the administration of de Palatio, while the remaining documents date mainly from earlier in the fifteenth century. Sughi’s edition of the register is comprised of two volumes, the second of which has a complete transcript of the original manuscript, together with comprehensive indices. Volume i presents a synopsis of the register. It also places the publication of Octavian’s register in its historiographical context. My book on the Priests and prelates of Armagh in the age of reformation is referred to, but in a completely unrecognisable guise. Sughi presents a biographical sketch of Octavian de Palatio. He was the scion of a noble Florentine family who worked as a canon lawyer in the Apostolic Chamber in Rome until frustrated ambition drove him to seek the primacy of the Irish Church, a position of high honour but of low income (assessed at only Stg£123 4s. 9d. in the Irish equivalent of the Valor ecclesiasticus). Sughi reveals that the archbishop fathered at least one son in Ireland, John de Palatio, whom he preferred to a canonry in Armagh diocese. One might well speculate as to the parentage of Alexander de Palatio, a contemporary of John who also enjoyed preference in Armagh diocese. In his discussion of Octavian’s register Sughi fails strikingly to engage with the analyses of F. D. Roberts and G. Quigley. He states that, to create Octavian’s register, Archbishop James Ussher ‘bound together documents apparently belonging to the same primate without taking particular care to preserve any other order and creating numerous gaps in the process’ (p. xli). That view was effectively disproved by Roberts and Quigley who showed that Ussher initially came across twelve, and subsequently five more, ready-formed books which he bound to form seven so-called ‘registers’. They showed that Octavian’s register was made up of part of a book designated ‘K’ by Ussher (the remainder was incorporated into Prene’s register), together with a smaller book (‘Beta’) which makes up the first sixty-one folios of the register bound for Ussher. Indeed, there were far more books in the late medieval Armagh registry than Sughi allows, with evidence for the existence of rental books, visitation books, act books and more amorphous compilations like those which made up most of the seventeen books rescued by Ussher. None the less, Sughi’s edition of Octavian’s register is a most important book. It makes a tremendous and lasting contribution to Irish ecclesiastical and social history.

Thornhill College, Derry

Henry A. Jefferies

This is a very painstaking study of questions which have had a lot of superficial treatment as well as detailed attention from scholars and synthesists in several countries. Thomas Kock not only surveys the range of relevant modern literature but also re-examines the evidence it cites, with ample quotation from the original sources, and adduces fresh material. The chronicles, obituaries and financial accounts of a number of houses of the Brethren of the Common Life and of those Augustinian canons eventually affiliated to the Windesheim Congregation demonstrate their outstanding emphasis (for the later Middle Ages) on books and especially in-house manufacture. The author divides the latter activity into writing for individual use, for the convent, and for money, with categories within each. He shows that while the first two were traditional aspects of the ascetic renewal of religious life initiated by Geert Grote and Florens Radewijns, the third and most distinctively expressed, pro pretio, was mostly done, particularly in the early days of the Brethren, out of financial necessity, and for a limited number of ecclesiastical clients; he argues that it was not an effort of lay evangelisation, as has been often assumed. While the positive instances of such commissions are clear, his case that the receipts from such copying, decoration and binding were too little to matter much in conventual economy is based on rather late accounts; and he does not undertake here to compare in detail the identifiable products of such scribes with the number of extant anonymous manuscripts of appropriate contents for lay users which have been or may be so attributed. Although rightly dismissive of presumptions of involvement in any commercial book market, his footnote references to the latter are uncritical, and he is perhaps too indulgent to one hypothesis about books of hours. His account of modes of acquisition for conventual churches, refectories and libraries is developed in full discussions of six houses in the northern and southern Low Countries and Germany from the late fourteenth until the mid-sixteenth century, supported by reading-lists, from two of which a large part of each collection has been reconstructed. Some vernacular translations and copies of texts can be well supposed to have been made and listed for the lay brethren. Kock ends with a consideration of the regional union catalogues of 1487 and 1532, the subsequent suppression-inventories, and an alphabetical digest of the evidence for the seventy-two houses of the two orders. Twenty-six plates of fair quality are somewhat disappointing, in that, although they do illustrate some of the types of evidence employed, six are devoted to one piece, four to another, and two each to four others, while there is no explanatory list or commentary captioning for any of them.

DURHAM

A. I. DOYLE
Collected works of Erasmus, LXIX: Spiritualia and pastoralia. Precatio ad Virginis Filium Iesum; Paean Virgini Matris; Obsecratio ad Virginem Marian; Precatio Dominica; Liturgia Virginis Matris; Precatio pro pace ecclesiae; Precationes aliquot novae; Virginis et martyris comparatio; Epistola consolatoria; Institutio christiani matrimonii. Edited by John W. O’Malley and Louis A. Perraud. Pp. xxxi + 458 incl. frontispiece. Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 1999. £93. o 8020 4382 8


Volume lxix of the Toronto series is the fourth in a five-volume series covering Erasmus’ writings which, according to his own designation, pertain to pietas. It includes a wide selection, ranging from Erasmus’ early years to the last years of his life. As John O’Malley’s introduction emphasises, the works in this volume are among the most neglected by scholars. This is indeed a pity, as they are revealing of an Erasmus unfamiliar to those who associate him mainly with bonae litterae, the Novum instrumentum and the controversies. The volume could be considered to fall into two sections, with the final selection, the Institutio christiani matrimonii, encompassing one part on its own. In the writings of the first section, translated and annotated by Stephen Ryle, John N. Grant, the late James J. Sheridan, Christopher J. McDonough and Louis A. Perraud, we find a large assortment of prayers and two works written for orders of nuns with whom Erasmus had friendly connections. A theme that stands out in the collection is devotion to the Virgin, a subject with which Erasmus is not normally associated. Indeed, Erasmus himself expressed reservations about the two earliest prayers, the Paean in honour of the Virgin and the Prayer of supplication to Mary (written for the son of Erasmus’ patron Anna von Borsele), claiming that they went ‘against the grain’. Yet themes of these works, most notably Erasmus’ praise of virginity, recur in many of the other prayers. The Institution of Christian matrimony returns the reader to the more familiar Erasmus of the humanist tradition, and yet readers can recognise the common ground underlying his treatment of both virginity and marriage, in his recognition of both conditions as ways of living out one’s devotion to God. Volume lxvi, together with a forthcoming volume that will include Hyperaspistes, bk II, covers Erasmus’ debate with Luther on freedom of the will. The present volume offers its readers an extensive discussion of the background to the debate in Charles Trinkaus’ introduction, as well as a rendition of Luther’s Assertio in response to Pope Leo x’s condemnation of his position in article 36 of the bull Exsurge Domine. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this debate for an understanding of the early stages of the Reformation; likewise, it would be difficult to exaggerate the value of this volume’s presentation of complete, annotated versions of these works in English. The Hyperaspistes in particular, all too easily dismissed as long-winded and repetitive, offers readers valuable insights into Erasmus’ approach to scriptural interpretation. Three tables at the end of the volume provide a helpful guide to
the arguments as they unfold through the two adversaries' contributions to the debate.

St Olaf College, Northfield, MS


Maria Dowling offers us an economical and elegant new account of the life of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester (c. 1469–1535). Like all his biographers, she is deeply indebted to the ‘early life’ compiled by English Catholics in Elizabeth's reign – and one is inclined here to observe how welcome a new edition of that Life would be, not because the critical edition published over a century ago by F. Van Ortroy in Analecta Bollandiana x (1890) and xii (1892), is in any way deficient, but simply because it is now relatively inaccessible. However, Dowling is no slave to the early Life, with its overwhelming emphasis on Fisher's last years, the years of conflict with Henry VIII over the divorce and the royal supremacy. Nor does she essay the sort of purely chronological treatment which, owing to the limitations of the strictly biographical data, would have given a very patchy feel to the narrative. Instead, she adopts a satisfying thematic approach, with chapters covering Fisher's association with the University of Cambridge, his career as humanist scholar, bishop and preacher, his confrontation with heresy, his devotional writings, his opposition to Henry and his eventual trial and execution.

Although she relates what is in great part a relatively familiar story, she not only does so in an original and helpful way, but also manages to add at a good many points to our knowledge of the man and his work. Her chapter on Cambridge gives a fuller account than has hitherto been available of Fisher's trials and tribulations in implementing Lady Margaret Beaufort's desire to found St John's College. Her chapter on his episcopate, based on a thorough acquaintance with both the original records and the secondary literature, is easily the most comprehensive and illuminating to date. In her discussions of Fisher's sermons and devotional writings, she shows us a man who was no mean artist in prose, and reminds us at every turn of how good he was at making (or refining) his points with telling and accessible images – a mark of true intellectual distinction. And as she claims, she has, by a close reading of his vernacular writings, discerned traces of that elusive beast, Fisher's sense of humour. His tongue-in-cheek comparison of the religious life with the life of a fox-hunting man has a certain wry panache. This is a convincing and therefore valuable modification of the more familiar picture of Fisher as an evangelist of penance, suspicious of the joys of life. There clearly was a sunnier and less solemn side to his character, which has tended to lie concealed behind the icon of episcopal propriety so well suited to Cardinal Borromeo's reading-desk.

Only at one or two points can the scholarship of the book be faulted. The copy of Erasmus's Epistles which G. Marc'hadour took for Fisher's own (p. 44) probably belonged to another man of the same name (by no means an uncommon one), as by 1529 (when the book was printed) the bishop had long...
been accustomed to signing his name ‘Roffensis’ or ‘Roffs’ rather than ‘Fisher’. And Fisher held at least one benefice in the 1490s. In 1499 he was presented to Lythe (near Whitby) by a member of Lady Margaret’s household, Sir Ralph Bigod (presumably vacating the benefice on his promotion to the episcopate), while Cooper claims that he had also been vicar of Northallerton, 1491–4. Dowling makes more than adequate compensation, though, in the many insights she gives us into Fisher’s character, which emerges as that of a rather canny Yorkshireman. She shows us the sincerity of his prayers and the strengths of his prose; his patronage of high-quality clergy; his reformist critiques of Cardinal Wolsey and Bishop Fox; his shrewd assessment of Henry VIII’s conscience, his courage in standing up to the king, and the risks he took in his dealings with the imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys; Henry’s fierce desire to win him over or destroy him; and the sensible way in which he disposed of much of his property before the inevitable blows of arrest and attainder fell in 1534. In addition, she provides a new, well-researched and entirely convincing account of Pope Paul III’s moves and intentions in elevating Fisher to the college of cardinals in 1535.

At the interpretative level, one might wish to take issue with the author on the question of hagiography, which she broaches in her preface. Dowling sets out to distinguish her contribution from the predominantly hagiographical tradition of writing on Fisher, and there is certainly no need to question her intentions or her success in doing so. However, in criticising the hagiographical tradition for its concentration upon Fisher’s final years, she perhaps does it less than total justice. After all, had Fisher submitted to Henry’s will along with his fellow bishops, his life would have been emptied of meaning, and we might say of Fisher as we would of Henry VIII, ‘corruptio optimi pessima’. That said, we might also question Dowling’s assertion that Fisher would never have been canonised but for his martyrdom. Her own evidence shows that Fisher’s life set him in that tradition of saintly bishops and pastors several of whom enjoyed popular veneration on the eve of the Reformation. If John Alcock was venerated at Ely, there is every reason to expect that Fisher might have been venerated in the chapel of St John’s College, Cambridge, where he had built for himself the tomb he was destined never to fill. Yet none of this should be taken as a criticism of the book. *Fisher of men* remains a fine achievement, a readable, scholarly and insightful life of an uncommonly brave, holy and intelligent man.

Queens’ College, Cambridge

Richard Rex


The major part of Hauke’s study discusses the Nuremberg reformer Andreas Osiander’s doctrine of justification. After Luther’s death Osiander’s understanding of justification as the indwelling of the *iustitia essentialis* of God and as *theosis* caused a bitter intra-Lutheran controversy. According to Hauke Osiander distinguishes himself not only from his opponents with whom he explicitly
disputes (Brenz, Mörlin, Melanchthon), but also from Martin Luther. Hauke confirms the conclusions drawn from earlier research – that Osiander’s understanding of *iustitia essentialis* is based on his Christological presuppositions. Osiander manages theoretically to protect the union of God and man in Christ. However, Hauke also concludes that for Osiander Jesus Christ’s human nature is attributed the role of an instrument. This provides a very theocentric understanding of justification but distinguishes Osiander from the Christology of Martin Luther. Hauke concludes: ‘What LUTHER still holds together finds solutions at opposite ends of the spectrum in OSIANDER and MELANCHTHON.’ Thus, Osiander represents an alternative reformed understanding of justification and *theosis*.

In the second part of his study Hauke discusses *theosis* as a problem of Christian theology in general. He shows on one hand that *theosis* is a genuine part of the Christian heritage, if deification is understood from the perspective of theocentrically conceived justification. Otherwise a human being in his/her sins tends to consider himself/herself God. On the other hand Hauke analyses the postmodern ‘Zeitgeist’ as a phenomenon comparable to *theosis*. He comes to the conclusion that a forensically-understood soteriology threatens to fail before the demands of the postmodern seeker of God.

The third part of this book deals with the recent ecumenical discussion on justification. Hauke sees Osiander’s concept as an alternative and ecumenically useful way to understand justification. ‘It is not identical to the Roman Catholic or the Lutheran, nor to the Finnish interpretation of Luther as the theologian of *theosis*’, he points out. In spite of these conclusions – with which I agree – Hauke finds an Osiandrian perspective in the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, too, when the ecumenical document states that Christ himself is our righteousness. So far as I know the editorial work and content of the declaration, Hauke fails with his last claim. When emphasising that Christ is our righteousness (Joint Declaration 15, 22, 23), the declaration refers to the classic Trinitarian dogma and to Luther’s theology of justification (in *Antilatomus*).

*University of Helsinki*  
Simo Peura


This is the magisterial life of Katharina Schütz Zell that we who have been waiting for it were confident it would be. The author’s mastery of the sources, meticulous attention to detail, and critical and intuitive if rapt scrutiny of the extraordinary woman who is her subject inform every page. Close behind in importance, this study provides, in the second volume, the German texts of those of Katharina Zell’s works that had not been published in the twentieth century if at all. This part rounds out the body of Zell’s works that are available outside the archive to those who would encounter for themselves the mind and personality of this citizen of sixteenth-century Strasbourg.
McKee notes that no other laywoman connected to the Reformation movement left behind as large a volume of writings as Katharina Zell, nor did any others extend their productivity over so long a period. Her first publication, a defence of her own marriage to the priest and reformer Matthew Zell, appeared in 1524; and her last, meditations on certain Psalms featuring God’s mercy and on the Lord’s Prayer, was printed in 1558. By her own testimony Schütz underwent conversion at the age of ten, in 1508. When the Reformation began, she was attracted to Luther’s teaching concerning justification by faith and felt the burdensome need to perform works lifted from her. She listened to the varied preachers who came through Strasbourg, read the Bible and enthusiastically demonstrated the social compassion to which the Gospel moved her. She married Zell in 1523, and their partnership determined the course of the remainder of her life. She later testified that Matthew commissioned her to be a ‘mother to the poor and refugees’, and they opened their home to guests of varied religious persuasions.

The most striking feature of Katharina’s existence, seen against the background of deepening militancy, is her insistence that all who confess Christ should be loved as fellow Christians; and that in no case should faith be compelled. She corresponded with or consoled people ranging from Caspar Schwenkfeld to Felix Armbruster, a patrician who was banned after contracting leprosy. She even defended the Anabaptists. At the end of her life, she boldly took it upon herself to preach at the funerals of Felicitas Scher Andernach and her sister Elisabeth Scher Hecklin, whom the pertinent clergy accused of being Schwenkfelders.

Zell’s tolerance became unpopular in official circles as the shadow of orthodoxy lengthened. Her intrepid debate with Ludwig Rahus, a Gnesio-Lutheran, which is printed in volume ii, must be seen in this context. At issue was above all the second generation’s abandonment of the early Reformation preachers’ respect for each other as brethren in a grander enterprise, regardless of their theological differences: ‘The contrast between the two sets of clergy, her contemporaries and their successors, is the motive force behind almost all of Schütz Zell’s autobiographical writing’ (i. 429).

McKee is not the first scholar to call Katharina Zell a theologian. The reader should be aware, however, that Zell did not know Latin and was not apprised of the technical disputes that consumed learned men; she was a ‘practical theologian’. She derived her stance from an intimate knowledge of the Bible and her devotion to the principle of sola scriptura, combined with her daily ministry to the poor and sick. She compiled her hymnal and wrote other devotional treatises out of a sense of duty to teach her faith to children and other ordinary people. She lived out Erasmus’ ‘philosophia Christi’. Some might dispute her being called a theologian, a reformer or a minister, but McKee makes a case for these as being central to Zell’s self-understanding. Clearly, the society around her could hardly accord such titles to a woman, although it did think it suitable for widows to tend the disadvantaged. Katharina seized this permissible space and expanded it at least to the boundaries of her contemporaries’ endurance.

For those colleagues too burdened to read all 900 pages of this work, I heartily

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recommend chapter xii, ‘Telling stories and writing books: Katharina Schütz Zell as author and historian’; and chapter xiii, ‘Women, laity, and language in Katharina Schütz Zell’s thought’. In the former, McKee analyses Zell’s motives for writing, her style and her claim to authority as one who had herself experienced religious reform and even known Luther personally. In the latter, we are led through the biblical passages that Zell appropriates in justifying her speaking out. Her favoured models are not Deborah, but Judith, Esther, Mary Magdalene, the ‘old Anna’ of the Presentation in the Temple (especially as Zell aged) and Martha, whose rebuke by Jesus Katharina seems not to have noticed. The Virgin Mary and saints suffer in her thought the same eclipse that they underwent in the Reformation in general: their qualities were seen to be exclusively gifts from God. Zell’s self-deprecation is minimal.

Of the documents, perhaps the fullest summation of her convictions may be found in her meditations on Psalms and the Lord’s Prayer. Here we meet Katharina Zell, woman of faith, biblical scholar, teacher and comforter. One of the questions that McKee asks of her sources is what a sixteenth-century person who was not formally trained in theology might know (vol. i, p. xiii; ii, p. xii). The answer is: an astonishing amount.

This work is a monument to the author’s care and hard work – as well as to Zell herself. Although in some respects we may use Katharina as a window onto her age, the danger must be avoided of generalising too widely from her singular case to early modern womanhood. By the time of her death in 1562, nonconforming women, even deeply pious women, could attract the scorching gaze of the witch-hunters. Nevertheless, Zell and, elsewhere in Germany, certain female imitators of the Jesuits impress us by their fearless pursuit, in the face of powerful opposition, of the active Christian life.


In this recent volume in the series Adiaphora: Schriften zur Kunst und Kultur im Protestantismus, Reimar Zeller has assembled nearly 300 portraits and depictions of preachers and related subjects dating from the sixteenth through the twentieth century: the resulting virtual ‘mirror of art’ traces this unusual genre from the leaders of the Reformation (Martin Luther and Calvin) to their spiritual heirs (Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Luther King), thereby demonstrating the richness and iconographic diversity of clerical imagery. Although the focus of Zeller’s inquiry is European, many of these works celebrate preachers active in the mission field – in early North America, Africa and Asia. Likewise, the scope of his research is demonstrated by his inclusion of subjects such as Peter Canisius, the first German Jesuit, Cornelis Claesz Anslo, a Dutch Mennonite minister portrayed in several works by Rembrandt, and the Englishmen William Laud and (the Catholic) John Henry Newman, all of whom provide a contrast to his more numerous German Protestant subjects. In addition to formal portraits, the works that Zeller has so thoughtfully assembled from major and minor collections located throughout the world also include representation of preachers in church
interiors; altarpieces, with depictions of church reformers; allegorical subjects; epitaphs and memorials; and scenes of various sects participating in religious services. The illustrations, some ninety of which are reproduced in colour, represent works in all media: paintings, graphics (propagandistic prints, caricatures and cartoons), sculpture (monuments and memorials), photographs, decorative art, folk art, numismatics and philately. Artists represented include well-known figures like Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, Anthony van Dyck, Vincent van Gogh, Ferdinand Hodler, William Hogarth, Alfred Hrdlicka and Max Libermann, as well as those who are anonymous. The illustrations, which are identified by a caption and helpful explanation, form a catalogue which follows a series of brief but informative essays. While most of the essays contribute to a historical overview of preachers and proselytisers, two of them deserve special note because of their originality and the contributions they make to their respective fields. One surveys the different typologies represented in sixteenth-century works, which in turn provides the basis for later iconographic categories; another considers the role of these images in the ‘culture of remembrance’ and in religious folklore. This unusual and beautifully produced book will be of interest to scholars as well as to the general reader; if it is a potentially invaluable resource for the iconography of the preacher or theologian, it is also a useful source for a broader range of topics – including, most notably, costume history. Zeller has included an index as well as a bibliography (which would appear to reflect the subjects of particular illustrations, rather than the topic[s] suggested by the essays).

Temple University, Philadelphia

Cynthia Lawrence


I must begin by declaring that I had been misled by the title when I agreed to review the book. To my mind it creates quite the wrong impression. As a historian of the history of universities who tends to regret the prevalent neglect of the role of the university in general histories of an epoch, especially in early modern Europe, I expected to find, at last, a rewarding examination of an intriguing inter-relationship, which had never been handled like this before. However, this Festschrift for G. H. Williams, of unrivalled Radical Reformation fame, merely indicates the three concerns of the honorand’s own activities in its title.

The collection of papers is subdivided into several coherent smaller sections, starting and concluding with evaluations of G. H. Williams’s wide-ranging contributions as a church historian. Church history, ‘as a theological discipline’ is vigorously defended against ecclesiastical history.

To readers of this Journal the most valuable section is the central one which combines consideration of ‘Reform, renewal and religious ferment in early modern Europe’. The papers that make up this section range from microhistory
to longue durée treatment of institutions like marriage and issues such as codes. Two contributions stand out, each in their own way.

Werner O. Packull is the author of one of these (pp. 175–88). It is closest to G. H. Williams’s own magisterial work, for which Reformation historians owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. In a painstaking reconstruction Packull has traced the contacts between Anabaptists in Hesse and Moravia. They were almost uninterrupted from 1528 onwards. Moravia provided a potential refuge, a model of ‘true Christian life’, with Hesse as a recruiting ground. An evaluation of the devastating quarrels between the leaders is also not overlooked.

The most distinguished in terms of probing historical scholarship is the contribution by Heiko A. Oberman on Hus and Luther (pp. 135–66). Rather startlingly, but convincingly, the link between them is represented as their appreciation of the AntiChrist at work in this world. Oberman argues that Hus decided to appear before the Council of Constance, because his presence there would serve to uncover the cunning wiles of the AntiChrist (pp. 144–5). For Luther Hus was the ‘first martyr of Antichrist’. Luther’s conviction that the end of time – the time of the AntiChrist – had come, because of the persecution of the Word (pp. 160–1) is described as his ‘second Reformation discovery’ (‘the first’ being ‘justification by faith alone’). The author points out that talk of the AntiChrist is no longer ‘politically correct’ in an ecumenical age, and he suggests that accurate historical assessment is the loser.

Trinity College, Dublin

Helga Robinson-Hammerstein


This volume contains twelve essays which explore the contributions made by the confraternities to Catholic reform in roughly the period between 1500 and 1650. Because Italy, Spain and France were the regions of Europe where confraternities flourished, the editors have sought out contributors working particularly in these areas in order to explore the different ways in which the confraternities participated in the spiritual life of their parish, provided charitable support for those neighbours in need and rallied to the physical defence of their faith in times of conflict. The essays contained in this volume reveal many aspects of Catholic reform before and after the Council of Trent and especially the fact that the contributions to dynamic change made by the various confraternities depended largely upon local circumstances and priorities.

The volume begins with a stimulating general essay by Christopher F. Black which shows how disorganised the medieval Christian Church was in Italy at the parish level at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The variety of parish structures made it difficult for the hierarchy to implement reforms in the face of resistance from both recalcitrant clergy and powerful lay patrons. But numerous confraternities of concerned Catholics did much to raise the tone of spiritual life and contributed in practical ways to alleviating poverty and distress at least
among their own poor brothers and their families. This essay is an important introduction and sets an excellent standard for what follows.

Of the remaining eleven essays, five focus on Italy, four on France and two on Spain. They investigate either a particular problem or type of confraternity within a local context. Konrad Eisenbichler argues that the youth confraternities raised the level of religious life among young men of Florence and then shows how successive archbishops of Florence worked to bring them under their control while sustaining their spiritual contributions to the youth of the city; in the later seventeenth century, these confraternities lost their raison d'être when the state passed the responsibility for educating young men in Christian doctrine to their parish or to a school of Christian doctrine. Paul Murphy’s investigation of lay piety in sixteenth-century Mantua shows how the Gonzaga dynasty used the Tridentine reforms promulgated by Gonzaga archbishops to undermine independent spiritual activity by the laity and to enhance the dynasty’s power within the city. Michelle Fontaine’s study of a flagellant confraternity, the Compagnia de’ Batuti, in crisis-torn Modena at the beginning of the sixteenth century depicts an institution riven by division between brothers practising either a strict or a relaxed pattern of piety, which in turn interfered with their administration of the small hospital which attempted to help the increasing numbers of needy in the city; by the mid sixteenth century, the city government excluded this confraternity from the administration of their hospital as a good work so the brothers turned instead to educating needy children and adopted the Catholic Reform spirituality focused on the Blessed Sacrament. In Rome and elsewhere, as Michael Maher argues, the Jesuits followed Loyola’s example by encouraging both the laity and particularly the clergy enrolled in various Roman confraternities to make frequent confession and to take frequent communion as well as to continue their practical charity of helping the needy of the city; the Jesuits continued this work well into the seventeenth century in order to improve the quality of the parish priests who were the infantry pushing forward the post-Tridentine Church. Nicholas Terpstra contributes a general survey focusing on the confraternities’ charitable work within Italy during the early modern period. Analysing the great variety of forms of charity and ways in which the Christian brothers delivered them, he notes that the delivery of charity was effectively a ‘political economy of makeshifts’.

The next four contributions deal with confraternities in France. During the vicious upheavals of the religious civil wars, as Ann Ramsay discovers, the Holy Sacrament confraternities of Paris were closely linked with the Catholic League in defence of the faith against Calvinism and against the growth of royal absolutism. They remained popular because their activities focused upon an intense Christocentric piety which appealed to many in those troubled times. On a similar vein, Christopher W. Stocker analyses two printed pamphlets to explore the connections between the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus and the militants of the Catholic League during the 1590s. The documents reveal a profound dissatisfaction with the prospect of a Protestant in the person of Henry IV inheriting the French throne. In an important shift of gender focus, Susan Dinan discovers that only during the early seventeenth century did women begin to find their own distinctive piety, beginning when Vincent de Paul established a woman’s Confraternity of Charity devoted to helping the poor. She argues that
these women were working to define a new religious identity in between the traditional male-oriented confraternities and the subordinate tertiaries. Finally, Andrew E. Barnes indicates that lay confraternities did not decline in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but rather continued to draw recruits as they redefined their priorities. For instance, many confraternities ceased to be bastions of ‘superorthodoxy’ in defence of Catholicism and became focused on the gentler themes of lay piety and charity in the locality, sometimes using charity as a means of evangelising the ignorant lower classes.

Turning to Spain, the two final contributions uncover roughly similar developments. Investigating the activities of the confraternities of Ourense during the seventeenth century, Allyson Poska notes that the Church’s claim to control the activities of the laity brought it into conflict with the town council of Ourense, which had regulated these organisations during the later medieval period; the extension of sober ecclesiastical norms channelled an exuberant lay spirituality into a restrained religious programme of activities. In contrast, Maureen Flynn’s final essay presents an overview of Spanish confraternal activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She argues that the first response of the Church to the threat of Protestantism was to reaffirm the traditional forms of piety including lively public ceremonies and multi-faceted charity delivered by confraternities, but later the Church aimed to include these institutions in its own increasingly sober orthodoxy by making them subject to clerical control. Confraternities continued to exist in Baroque Spain, but they had ceased to be organisations of autonomous lay spirituality and had moved into the orbit of the institutional Church.

These contributions all show that lay confraternities continued to attract male and, latterly, female recruits because of the diversity of their activities. Both intensive personal worship and charitable help to the local poor remained powerful stimuli toward participation in this activity. But evidence from all three regions of Catholic Europe showed that the Tridentine reforms did eventually penetrate into local areas as bishops and other clerical authorities worked to bring lay confraternities under their jurisdiction in order to raise the standards of behaviour and spirituality. As a result, the confraternities lost much of their exuberant diversity and became offshoots of the institutional Church in the seventeenth century.

University of Strathclyde

William B. Wurthmann


‘Historians of philosophy’, we are reminded in the introduction to this volume, ‘have often shied away from issues of religion because of its apologetics.’ Here such reluctance has been overcome sufficiently to ensure that the book will be of some interest to ecclesiastical historians (and to intellectual historians who face the risk of infection in a less valetudinarian spirit). Much of the book, to be sure, is for the specialist: these ‘conversations’ began at a 1993 conference under the auspices of the British Society for the History of Philosophy, and a good deal of what is said may be opaque to those outside that field. Yet readers of this
JOURNAL will certainly be interested in Charles H. Lohr’s account of Catholic and Protestant views of the status of metaphysics and natural philosophy and in Ugo Baldini’s substantial essay on ‘The development of Jesuit “physics” in Italy, 1550–1700’. Earlier, again, Sachiko Kusukawa discusses ‘Lutheran uses of Aristotle’, while Annabel Brett renews her insistence on the importance of the ‘second scholastic’ in her essay on subjective rights in Soto and Suárez. Those searching for material relevant to specific interests are not, it must be said, altogether well served by either the table of contents or the index. Thus the final essay, Tom Sorell’s ‘Hobbes and Aristotle’, is indexed, under ‘political philosophy’, as ‘361–75’ (rectius 364–79); and in any case the first six pages are concerned with Descartes. That part of the discussion, as it happens, is of particular interest here, dealing as it does, in part, with Descartes’s hope ‘that his metaphysics would make Cartesianism look a better ally of the Catholic Church than Aristotelianism’. The book’s wider ‘case for re-evaluating the philosophical activities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in tandem’ and the resulting challenge to the notion of a radical discontinuity in the intellectual history of early modern Europe lie beyond the scope of a short review; but the importance of the issues cannot be questioned.

University College, London


This lucid and consistently interesting book has at once a scholarly and an argumentative purpose. The scholarly one is to recover the prominence of the poetry and pastoral of the Italian Renaissance as an influence on, and as a source for, Tudor and especially Elizabethan literature. That impact, while obvious enough from editorial commentaries on English Renaissance texts, remains strangely under-acknowledged in broader interpretative accounts. The argumentative purpose (which a brief summary will necessarily simplify) is to show that Italian literature appealed to great Elizabethan writers because it gave them a distinctive way of approaching the great religious issues of the age. It enabled them to endorse or accommodate themselves to the doctrinal and ethical teachings of the Calvinism favoured by the Elizabethan establishment while distancing themselves from the anti-Italianate austerities of Puritanism. Fox attributes the enduring quality and appeal of Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare ‘mostly’ to their engagement with the moral and theological challenges of Protestantism.

That contention seems unlikely to persuade readers or playgoers who manage to respond to the pleasures of Elizabethan literature without a knowledge of the theological background. A recurrent difficulty lies in Fox’s failure to give a clear definition to Calvinism and in his readiness to assume that a variety of ethical and theological positions, which might be traced to any number of sources, can helpfully be described as Calvinist. For example Shakespeare is said to have ‘invested’ Iago ‘with a psychological complexity that shows just how deeply the dramatist had assimilated Calvinist discourse concerning the power of tainted
desires to corrupt the will’. (Fox does not help his case by implying that the humanist educationalist Roger Ascham, who decried the Italianate literary influence, can somehow be regarded as a spokesman for a Puritan position.) There was indeed a Protestant literature under Elizabeth, even if Shakespeare is surely a contentious candidate for inclusion in it. Sidney and Spenser tried to create an art free of, even in opposition to, Catholic idolatry and superstition. But did the Calvinist doctrine of predestination really appeal to those writers? Fox’s attempt to explain the decline of Italianate literary imitation after the accession of James I in terms of Jacobean religious developments also seems to beg more questions than it answers.

However, the virtues of a book do not always lie in its central argument. Fox sees how much students of the values of a society can learn from its adaptations of, and its translations from, the literature of another culture. At the heart of the book is an able series of close readings of such exercises, which consistently reveal the instinct of English adapters to inject moralising themes. Again, that impulse hardly seems distinctively Calvinist. Ben Jonson, no Calvinist, added moralising dimensions in adapting Tacitus. None the less, Fox’s brave and accomplished study performs a real service in raising large issues on the artificial frontier between literary and historical studies. Even readers unconvinced by his analysis of the relationship between Protestantism and literature will be persuaded of the importance and richness of that subject.

University of Sussex

Blair Worden


Michael Mullett offers a thematic survey of Catholic reform from the mid fifteenth to the mid seventeenth centuries. His title is to be taken literally. Inquisition and Index make rare appearances, the tribulations of Galileo are excluded. That is fine: the transformation of Catholicism and the renovation of the Catholic Church need to be put before students in sharper focus. The first strength of this book is the way reform is presented (chapter i) as a continuum, unifying the pre- and post-Tridentine worlds. The impact of Savonarola on St Philip Neri, the influence of St Thomas of Villanueva in shaping the universal pattern of episcopal reforms at Trent (as well as their subsequent implementation back home in Spain), the timidity of Trent on the Immaculate Conception when set against the assertiveness of the Council of Basle – such nuggets create in the reader’s mind a fruitful context within which to absorb the rest of the book. Mullett’s second strength is to present the complexities of Trent (chapter ii) with an elegant clarity and immediate utility for sixth-formers and undergraduates (for example, pp. 56–9 on the vexed issue of lay reception of the chalice are invaluable). The Jesuits similarly receive exemplary attention, but the real value of chapter iii is the attention paid to fifteen other orders and congregations founded during the sixteenth century. The third strength of this book is chapter v, which offers a finely drawn survey of reformed post-Tridentine episcopates at work in the dioceses of Italy, France and the Spanish Netherlands. In short, Mullett offers much of direct value to students of sixteenth- and seventeenth-
century religion. Naturally, there are points of interpretation open to dispute; the author is unduly harsh on the Colloquy of Regensburg and seems decidedly over-generous to Paul IV. Yet his book does not satisfy as a comprehensive, single-volume survey. The focus is set firmly on Europe and, within that, the range is admirable – for example the attention paid to the stream of publications in Welsh and the ‘new-made’ Catholicism of seventeenth-century Scotland. By contrast, overseas mission receives scant attention, even in the Portuguese and Spanish empires. The chronological scope is far less satisfactory than the geographical. With rare forays beyond c. 1640, the author’s theme of the flowering of reform is cut unnaturally short. Against the usefulness of chapters on the new orders has to be set the lack of concern with revival among the old religious orders. Equally, this avoidance of the long view prevents any true assessment of the impact of reform at parish level. Mullett’s concern is with the official Church and its personnel, not with the people. Catholic Reformation pieties are as out of focus here as attempts to reorder moralities. One dimension of the Catholic Reformation is missing. This is frustrating. While Mullett’s book has its strengths, a better single-volume alternative is Po-Chia Hsia’s The world of Catholic renewal 1540–1770 (Cambridge 1998).

Martin D. W. Jones


The Campion affair was the occasion for one of the most significant public debates in England during the sixteenth century. It was the central point of a Catholic campaign to question the basis of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, and it was timed either by accident or design to coincide with the crisis of the Anjou match as the queen presided over a seriously divided council. And yet the debates between Campion and his adversaries are, as James Holleran points out, comparatively little known.

Campion was, it is generally acknowledged, reluctant to take part in a Jesuit mission to England. But soon after he arrived in England in June 1580 a series of publicity stunts, notably the leaking of his carefully worded apologia (his ‘brag’) and the printing and distribution in June 1581 of his Rationes decem (a series of polemical propositions about true religion and the true Church), turned the Jesuit mission into a confrontation with the regime, one of the results of which was, following his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower in July 1581, the series of disputations there (on 31 August and 18, 23 and 27 September 1581) with batteries of Protestant divines. These debates Holleran has printed here, along with, in appendices, the ‘brag’, an account of the trial at which Campion was condemned, and other accounts of the Tower disputations.

It is extremely helpful to have these debates in an accessible modern edition. They will be an essential tool, both for research on the actual Campion interlude in mid-Elizabethan politics and for discussions of censorship and circulation and reception of news and narratives, and of the relationship between manuscript and print.
Holleran’s principal concern is the continuing relevance of the debates for theology and law. Perhaps Holleran, until his death a professor of English at the University of Missouri, has tried too hard to pitch his introduction at the level of the general reader, though it makes a nice change in these days of highly specialised research monographs to be reminded that little-known manuscripts can be thought to have a wide general relevance. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that Holleran could have been even more ambitious with the introduction. He claims that the wider issues of the religious conflict of the period, mainly whether the Catholics prosecuted by the Elizabethan regime were dealt with for their political views or their religion, were ‘beyond the scope of this study’. But in many respects that is exactly what the Campion episode was about.

However, Holleran’s account, beginning on p. 33, of Campion’s arrest and the preparation for and conduct of the debates is extremely vivid. It brings out the rhetoric and drama of the spoken confrontation, even in apparently rather petty matters of, for example, patristic interpretation. It does in fact point to how the conduct of the debates became a major political issue, and remained so for some time after Campion’s execution. The texts themselves are, comparisons with the originals show, accurately transcribed, and this is a considerable achievement considering that some of the manuscript accounts are not in good condition.

Horley,
Surrey


In this interesting and widely-researched book, Annette Finley-Croswhite focuses on selected examples: faction battles in Picardy in 1594, the king’s ceremonial entry into Abbeville in 1594, three central comparative chapters on urban privileges, once again drawing heavily on Amiens, the pancarte riots at Poitiers and Limoges and finally urban debt at Lyon. The linking theme is that of the royal policy of remodelling city and town corporations. Henri IV, the author argues, aimed at this through the assertion of his legitimacy and the use of clientage. She concludes that, since the League had ended by threatening urban stability, Henri IV could readily be seen as a guarantor of order. His installation of dependable men in city governments was informed by the existence of clientage relations and, though there was some emasculation of urban autonomy in his reign, there is, she thinks, no reason to suppose that the king had a plan to do this. This naturally raises the vexed question of absolute monarchy; the author rejects the ‘anti-absolutist’ arguments of Roger Mettam and Nicholas Henshall, pointing out that there was much talk of absolute power in the period and suggests that Henri would probably have wanted as absolute a position as possible. The process by which he established his rule achieved for him a ‘potential to create change’ and a ‘stronger monarchy was the result’. Did Henri IV’s rule add to his predecessors’ scope of authority? Firstly it is to be regretted that Finley-Croswhite seems, perhaps through dictates of space, to have excised from this book the material contained in her thesis on the sixteenth-century
background to royal–city relations. This makes it much more difficult to judge how far the texture of those relations differed from that under the later Valois kings, when many of the same issues were being dealt with. It is clear from the author’s research on Picardy, firstly that the re-establishment of legitimacy necessarily had to take place in the highly unusual context of political and social breakdown; and secondly, that the techniques of clientage selection and ritual were part of the long-established repertoire of monarchical power. The pro- and anti-Bourbon factions at Amiens are fascinatingly analysed but few clues given for the reasons why figures such as Louvencourt were ‘Bourbon’ clients before this time. It has become customary to suppose that the remodelling of corporations in the 1590s constituted a decisive step towards royal tutelage. The author here shows convincingly that such steps were taken on an ad hoc basis, directed by such specific problems as the 1597 Spanish capture of Amiens or the fear of a resurgence of League activity as Nantes. The well-known tendency to reduce the size of councils stemmed from the view that large city councils stimulated disorder, and their remodelling gave the crown the opportunity to insist that urban privileges depended on royal confirmation. Once security was restored, traditional (if Leaguer) families could re-emerge. That there was no systematic plan to reduce urban autonomy is demonstrated, for the author, by the fact that royalist towns were subjected to few innovations (though she readily admits that most of the towns in this category had already lost substantial self-government). In Protestant towns the crown even increased the size of corporations, motivated in this case by the need to reintroduce Catholics under the terms of the Edict of Nantes, a process which in turn made them much more dependent in the long run. Elsewhere, curtailment of magistratures took place, as at Poitiers and Limoges, in the aftermath of the pancarte riots, or at Lyon, as part of the project to liquidate enormous city debts. There are a few misprints, though mostly insignificant. A list of abbreviations would have helped and occasionally notes do not seem to relate to the points being made in the text (p. 23). There are no ‘Archives municipales’ at Abbeville (they were destroyed in 1940) and the manuscripts referred to are in the Bibliothèque municipale. There was no cathedral at Abbeville (p. 54). Louis, prince of Condé, was not governor of Picardy during the 1570s and the name of the duc de Longueville in the 1590s was not ‘Henri de Bourbon’ (p. 25). These points do not detract from the fact that this book is a very useful contribution to the discussion of the significance of Henri IV’s reign in the development of the monarchy and establishes that the settlement of urban conflict is an important key to our understanding of the achievement of stability.

University of Kent at Canterbury

David Potter


Spinks’s study is very much directed at redefining the concept of Anglicanism, both with respect to the present and to the Elizabethan past. Hooker and Perkins are for him both Anglicans by definition, in that they are both theologians of the
Church of England, and it is thus not surprising that he condemns the identification of Hooker with the notion of an Anglican via media which excludes the Reformed tradition and writers like Perkins. In order to prove his case he compares Hooker and Perkins on several important topics with what he takes to be normative examples of official (or quasi-official) Elizabethan theology, The Thirty-Nine Articles and Alexander Nowell’s Catechism. The areas of comparison are primarily the sacraments, predestination and justification, although it is questionable whether these topics go to the core of the theological differences between the two men. Spinks skilfully demonstrates how Hooker and Perkins diverge in these areas, but argues that although Perkins is more representative of the Elizabethan Calvinist/Reformed consensus, Hooker’s work represents a more individual and eclectic, but no less genuine strand of this tradition. Hooker is thus found to be a representative of Reformed theology, and, Spinks rather suggests, Anglicans (however defined) should view their theological tradition accordingly. This is not the first time such arguments have been made (see, for example, W. J. Torrance Kirby’s Richard Hooker’s doctrine of the royal supremacy, Leiden 1990), but although Spinks quite openly shows considerable reliance on previous secondary criticism, he includes little by such writers. He also includes little in the way of recent literature that would be critical to his approach, for instance citing Peter Lake’s Anglicans and Puritans? (London 1988) on several occasions to support his own arguments, while curiously not acknowledging that Lake’s study takes a stance in many ways antithetical to his own. His analysis of the views of Perkins and Hooker on the sacraments is, however, quite sound, and the excellent introductory material makes the study accessible to the non-specialist, while the discussions of the sacraments and predestination will be of interest to the specialist reader as well.

London

Nigel Voak


Studies of the pastoral ministry of individual early modern clerics are, regrettably, thin on the ground. So it is all the more surprising that two substantial accounts of the same man should appear in print simultaneously. Richard Greenham, as these works are careful to remind us, was, however, no ordinary parish priest. From 1570 until his death in 1594, Greenham established a reputation as an exemplary reformed pastor, first as rector of Dry Drayton in Cambridgeshire until 1591 and then, briefly, as lecturer at Christ Church, Newgate, in the City of London. Greenham’s contemporary and later fame rested on, as Parker and Carlson explain, ‘his exceptional work as a parish minister, teacher and comforter of afflicted consciences’. He was an innovator in providing ministerial training in his household seminary at Dry Drayton. Moreover, Greenham was
acknowledged as a leading exponent of ‘practical’ or ‘experimental’ divinity, including the cure of the spiritually afflicted which, according to his posthumous editor, was a previously ‘unknowne facultie’. He also trained some of the foremost younger practitioners of this skill, such as Arthur Hildersham, Richard Rogers and Henry Smith. Only one book by Greenham was published during his lifetime, but after his death his devotees collected a variety of materials, including letters, sermon notes, meditations and aphorisms, which were edited initially by Henry Holland. So popular did Greenham’s printed advice prove to be that five editions of his *Works* appeared between 1599 and 1612. These publications provided the basis for an enduring legacy.

Both of the books reviewed here provide clear biographical accounts of their subject, although Professor Primus’s description of Cambridge students discussing national and ecclesiastical politics in the 1560s during their ‘tea breaks’ does strike an alarmingly anachronistic note. Both studies follow Greenham from his childhood in Mary’s reign to his education in early Elizabethan Cambridge at Pembroke Hall, where he became a Fellow in 1567. At Cambridge he was influenced by various reformed theologians, and Parker and Carlson show how Bucer was particularly influential in framing Greenham’s pastoral ministry. Primus argues that Zanchius was also an important source for Greenham’s concept of sabbath doctrine as set out in his *Treatise of the sabbath*, written c. 1580, and presumed to be the first of a host of tracts on the subject by various authors. At Dry Drayton Greenham was faced with the practical problems associated with translating his moderate godly views from the scholarly atmosphere of the university to the active pastoral care of a country parish. Despite his concern for the peace and unity of the Church, it was not long before Greenham was forced into a non-conformist position. In 1571 he refused to subscribe to a statement endorsing the Prayer Book, clerical vestments and the Thirty-Nine Articles. In 1573 he faced suspension, but Bishop Richard Cox of Ely took no action, preferring instead to make use of Greenham’s persuasive powers to combat the twin threats of Catholicism and the Family of Love, whose adherents were active in the diocese.

Beyond this, Parker and Carlson provide a superbly nuanced and subtle reading of Greenham’s writings set within the context of his pastoral concerns. In addition, they provide extracts from his writing, including the hitherto unpublished manuscript of Greenham’s ‘sayings’ (John Rylands Library, English ms 524) collected between 1581 and 1584 by one of his acolytes, possibly Hildersham or John Hopkins. The authors of *Practical divinity* demonstrate how Greenham’s views on certain subjects, such as the churching of women, witchcraft and stained glass, set out in the manuscript ‘sayings’, were modified in subsequent printed editions by Henry Holland, and others, in order to control and update their relevance. They also remind us that Greenham prepared almost none of his work for the press and that his printed *Works* have survived because they were selectively preserved by his followers. In contrast, Professor Primus is content to analyse the ‘sayings’ and the printed *Works* as a reflection of Greenham’s pastoral concerns, and renders a straightforward account of his ministry and theology on this basis. The limitations of such an approach are illustrated by the fact that, although Greenham reputedly regularly preached six times a week, only seventeen of his sermons have survived in print. Thus Primus’s
assessments of these sermons as representative of Greenham's thought and methods should be modified by an awareness that much has not survived. Furthermore, the author's confession that he found these sermons 'wordy, repetitive and dull' does not inspire the reader's confidence. Parker and Carlson are altogether more persuasive in offering an interpretation of Greenham's writings as a collaborative effort, which reflected the changing concerns of the wider godly community in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Both sets of authors are equally disconcerted, however, by the question of whether Greenham was a Puritan or not. Parker and Carlson awkwardly eschew the label 'Puritan' altogether, arguing that Greenham emerges from their account as both an 'Anglican' and a 'Puritan', depending on what criteria are being followed. On the one hand, they suggest, Greenham fits Paul Christianson's description of those Anglicans who accepted the prayer book and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but also wanted some changes, and who regarded arguments about adiaphora as minor. On the other hand, they continue, Greenham also fits Peter Lake's definition of Puritans as those whose faith was underpinned by the doctrines of predestination, perseverance and election, and who displayed a keen sense of the division between the godly and the ungodly. For Parker and Carlson, Greenham was crucially concerned with the practical problems of his day-to-day ministry, rather than issues of church ceremony and government, to such an extent that for them the term 'parish minister' transcends other party labels.

Primus reaches more or less the same conclusions, but is willing to describe Greenham as a 'moderate puritan', or rather a 'co-operative puritan', who showed no signs of Presbyterianism, and who held the peace of the Church as more important than disputes about adiaphora. In attempting to indicate the difficulties inherent in labelling an individual's religious position in the Elizabethan Church, Primus takes refuge in unnecessary caution and here Greenham also becomes 'a puritan anglican' and 'a sort of conforming non-conformist'.

Such contortions are superfluous. Each of these books provide sufficient evidence to suggest that Greenham was a Puritan, whose moderation was grounded on the willingness of the church authorities to accommodate him. In the diocese of Ely, Bishop Cox deliberately chose not to make an example of Greenham's non-conformity and to use his talents as a preacher. In the diocese of London, Bishop Aylmer was similarly willing to compromise with radical preachers. As Patrick Collinson has pointed out, Puritanism was 'not a thing definable in itself, but one half of a stressful relationship'. Greenham's position was thus facilitated by the influence of his patrons and the flexibility of his superiors, but we cannot assume that he would have remained moderate in the face of more determined obstruction.

Together, these books re-establish Greenham as a major figure in the Elizabethan pastorate. Both have important things to say about Greenham and his legacy, but Parker and Carlson provide the more rounded study. Practical divinity is a model account, not just of Greenham's pastoral role, but also of the influence and concerns of the godly in the aftermath of the Elizabethan Settlement.

Canterbury Christ Church University College Jacqueline Eales

The Body broken wraps an important thesis about a central problem in the religious and political history of sixteenth-century France around an analysis of the eucharistic theology of the leading francophone Protestants and of their chief Catholic opponents in the years up to 1570. The big question highlighted in the introductory and concluding chapters is that of determining what precipitated the radical polarisation of sensibilities and values that split Frenchmen into mutually hostile religious camps in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Where Denis Crouzet answered this question by emphasising the importance of Catholic apocalyptic anxieties and the antidote to such fears provided by Calvin’s doctrine of predestination, and where Carlos Eire foregrounded the Reformed ‘war against idolatry’, Elwood argues that the issue that polarised the country like no other was that of the eucharist. In challenging the doctrine of the real presence, Calvin dramatically reinterpreted a sacrament that was at once the foundation of social unity and a fundamental prop of French royal religion. Unfortunately, Elwood attempts no systematic content analysis of the polemics of the era in order to determine how frequently the eucharistic issue was addressed as opposed to these other issues, nor does he examine a large sample of incidents of Protestant crowd violence to determine how often their flash-point was the consecrated host, as opposed to other targets such as holy images or Catholic priests. Instead, the path he follows is that of the history of theology. The central chapters of the book provide an admirably clear exposition of the nuances of Reformed eucharistic teachings from Farel to Beza, as well as of central themes in the Catholic riposte made by authors such as Gentian Hervet and René Benoist. Readers will learn here that Farel, Viret and Beza all stuck close to the formulae of the Consensus Tigurinus that represented the points of agreement between Calvin and Bullinger, rather than following Calvin in those distinctive features of his eucharistic theology that insisted that believers received the substance of Christ’s body in the Lord’s Supper. The book is thus a valuable addition to the history of sixteenth-century eucharistic theology. But the big thesis that it advances in its first and last chapters remains unproven, both because the author focuses too narrowly on Dogmengeschichte, and because he fails to confront the alternative hypotheses advanced by other historians of his subject and to demonstrate why his interpretation is more persuasive than theirs.

Brown University, Providence, RI

Philip Benedict


Jeffrey Johnson complains of ‘a disproportionate attention to [the] political dimensions’ of the Sermons, and it is typical of his treatment that in one sermon for which he does supply a political context, the Fast sermon for 5 April 1628, Donne is described as engaging in ‘theological fine-tuning for his royal auditor’
Much of this study is clearly meant to fulfill the same function for Johnson’s readers, who have to work rather hard, as the book proceeds by means of summary and long quotation, and chapters end inconsequentially. Moreover, the focus on Donne’s *Sermons* excludes other contemporary preaching: Johnson criticizes twentieth-century readings of churching sermons as ‘out of context’ yet does not reconstruct that context by offering other attempts at the same genre. Peter McCullough’s masterly study of the court sermon was probably published too late for consideration by the author, but this book could have benefited from the same kind of historical research and contextual detail. The best chapter tackles an apparent contradiction between Donne’s expressed hostility to visual images, and his obsessive use of rhetorical imagery. However, Johnson’s project, ‘to describe the distinguishing features of Donne’s theology’, lacks urgency, as is shown in comments such as ‘Donne does not trouble himself in the *Sermons* to locate the presence of Christ with any more precision than necessary (*sic*) for the purpose of demonstrating his moderate conformity’ (p. 140). The discussion of the Synod of Dort, for which Johnson relies heavily on Peter White, declares that Donne is not interested in ‘theological nit-picking’: its conclusions are of the blandest kind. An impatience with heresy-hunters is understandable, but Johnson tries to remove all ambiguity, as in his rather flat reading of ‘A Hymn to Christ, at the Author’s last going into Germany’, which triumphantly pronounces the poem ‘doctrinally orthodox’ (p. 114). This reader’s frustration was increased by the quotations from Donne’s own rhetoric which head every chapter: ‘So steepy a place’, ‘Through his own red glasse’, ‘O taste and see’, all of which are suggestive of the creative possibilities of metaphor for theology. Johnson is not interested, however, in poetry, and he offers no textual sources or contemporary parallels for Donne’s choice of preaching metaphor, nor detailed readings of Donne’s poems. Characteristically, he ignores the many instances of Donne’s audacious wordplay in the *Sermons* which in themselves would seem to challenge orthodoxy. Any reader with interests beyond theology, whether in seventeenth-century politics, church history or poetry, is going to be disappointed in this book.

*Nottingham Trent University*  
*Elizabeth Clarke*

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When in 1651 the Anglican theologian Henry Hammond denounced the theological doctrines of Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* as ‘Christian atheism’ and ‘a farrago of all the maddest divinity that ever was read’ he expressed a view that was shared by a large number of his contemporaries and that became almost commonplace in the ensuing centuries. Today there are still scholars who have real reservations about Hobbes’s religious ideas, but more and more historians and theologians are now prepared to subscribe to Karl Barth’s considered opinion that ‘the praise Hobbes deserves for not being blind and stupid in this matter but for his vision and knowledge’ is greater ‘than the horror his strange kerygma arouses’. Thus any good book designed to lay bare the fact that Hobbes’s intentions were not just philosophical or political, and that religion mattered to him for its own sake, ought to be welcomed by both theologians and
historians of religious and political thought. Aloysius P. Martinich’s witty and spirited account of Hobbes’s life, writings and the cultural context within which they were produced is just that kind of book.

Martinich is a prolific author who is well versed in the writings of Hobbes. Of his earlier books the best-known study is The two gods of Leviathan, an elaborate account of Hobbes’s views on religion and politics. With his new biography, Martinich attempts something bigger, trying to do justice to virtually all the facets of Hobbes’s diverse interests and intellectual pursuits, taking full account of the historical context in which he lived. He has chosen to tell the story of the formation and evolution of Hobbes’s ideas in a strictly chronological order. However, an examination of all the various topics Hobbes dealt with throughout his extraordinarily long career is entailed in the narration of their historical development. Martinich not only demonstrates when and where Hobbes first came up with certain ideas and how they relate to his other ideas; he also commendably assembles and discusses all the fascinating new findings resulting from the unprecedented explosion of writings on Hobbes during the past decade. Thus he discusses in some detail newly identified work of the young Hobbes, the so-called humanist Discourses ‘Of Tacitus’ and ‘Of laws’, and he shows how Hobbes actively promoted the policy of raising extra-parliamentary revenues when he helped his employer William Cavendish to collect the forced loan in Derbyshire in 1627. He also persuasively argues that Hobbes’s debates with his critics on such issues as literary criticism, arithmetic and algebra were often inextricably intertwined with his heated disputes on politics, religion and education.

Arguably the most important aspect of Martinich’s new study is that he has convincingly shown how concerned Hobbes was about the religious and theological dimensions of his philosophical and political treatises, especially of Leviathan. He points out that some of the most vehemently contested views of the English philosopher were, in fact, identical with the views of Martin Luther and John Calvin. Hobbes’s theological doctrines of the unfreedom of the will, predestination and necessity not only repeated in detail what the reformers had already stated a century before him, he also explicitly appealed to Luther and Calvin as the greatest authorities of the Protestant Churches. It is illuminating to see that a considerable number of Hobbes’s contemporaries were willing to accept his theological doctrines as orthodox Protestant tenets – in spite of the fact that the greater part of his commentators remained critical or even hostile to Leviathan. Martinich therefore rightly emphasises that it is important not to oversimplify the manifold reactions to Leviathan.

What flaws Martinich’s respectable argument in a number of places is his proneness to overstate his case. To reveal the closeness of Hobbes’s thought to some of the core doctrines of orthodox Protestantism does not automatically mean that all his theological tenets were sincere utterances of the belief of a ‘good English Calvinist’. When Martinich admits that Hobbes’s heterodox treatment of the Trinity in Leviathan was ‘unsatisfactory’ he does not even think of the possibility that Hobbes wanted to reject this doctrine as an entirely irrational dogma. Instead he suggests that Hobbes did his best to give a good explanation of the Trinity but failed because of the many inconsistencies inherent in that doctrine. Yet the fact that Hobbes clad his harsh criticism of the doctrine of the
Trinity in 1668 in the garment of a theological defence of the Trinity shows how capable he was of using the rhetorical technique of constructive subversion. Hobbes was clearly inclined to use irony and ridicule to make his readers aware that this traditionally-received doctrine ought to be subjected to rational assessment. Such an inclination might have made Martinich a little more sceptical of claims concerning Hobbes's ingenuousness as defender of the Trinity.

Still, it must not be overlooked that Hobbes's theological doctrines were more often conformable to or even identical with orthodox Protestant theology than has been thought. It is Martinich's original and important contribution to Hobbes scholarship to have pointed that out with admirable sagacity. No historian of ideas, and certainly no ecclesiastical historian of the seventeenth century, can afford to ignore Martinich's insights.

Richard Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, certainly ought to be numbered among the most original and interesting political philosophers of the seventeenth century, yet his magnum opus, the De legibus naturae of 1672, has rarely attracted much attention from historians or political theorists. In a response to this undeserved neglect Jon Parkin has written a very readable and highly instructive account of both the ideas of Cumberland's philosophical masterpiece and the political and intellectual context within which they were produced. Parkin argues that the De legibus naturae was very much designed as a reaction to fears about Thomas Hobbes and his best-selling writings in Restoration England. Hobbes's intriguing insights into ethics and natural philosophy had set an agenda that it was impossible to ignore, but in many instances his rhetoric bordered so dangerously on impious irreverence that an increasing number of authors set themselves the task of neutralising his doctrines, thereby 'taming' the Leviathan. Parkin suggests that Cumberland 'domesticated' Hobbes's Leviathan so thoroughly and also so much more effectively than anybody else, that even Samuel Pufendorf and John Locke would later have recourse to the De legibus naturae when they were accused of Hobbism in the 1670s and 1680s. What rendered Cumberland's arguments so attractive for political theorists who struggled with the ambiguities of Hobbes's philosophy was the fact that the bishop successfully incorporated many typically Hobbesian ideas, while at the same time distancing himself from the unacceptably blasphemous and antisocial implications of the Leviathan. Like Hobbes, Cumberland sought to build upon the modern natural law theories of Grotius and Selden, and with Hobbes he tried to demonstrate that mechanical principles, or the science of matter in motion, could support a new scientia moralis. But whereas Hobbes had used his insights to cut back the basis of political theory to the principle of self-preservation, leaving no room for any real or significant function of a divine legislator, Cumberland's moral philosophy sought to prove that moral obligation was divinely ordained and that it went much further than self-interest alone. A scientific observation of
the regularities in nature, Cumberland held, would reveal that God, the first cause of the universe, had so planned and arranged all parts of his creation, that the whole of mankind ought to be considered as one system of interdependent bodies. Nothing of any moment could be done by any man that might not in some way affect those things which concerned the life and well-being of others. Consequently, all humans were perpetually obliged to place the common good and the pursuit of benevolence higher than their individual interests. By thus proving that natural law possessed both a divine legislator and sanctions attached to its observance, Cumberland managed to refute Hobbes, recovering both natural jurisprudence and the principles of modern science for Protestant political theory. Accordingly, his *De legibus naturae* soon acquired the status of one of the founding, and possibly most enduring texts of Anglican rationalism, and it is for this reason above all, as Parkin has valuably pointed out, that Cumberland's masterpiece deserves to be rescued from oblivion.

Universität Potsdam

Jürgen Overhoff


John Toland’s *Nazarenus*, published in 1718, emerges from Justin Champion’s edition as one of his most interesting works. Toland made ingenious use of the spurious ‘Gospel of St Barnabas’, which he was shown in Amsterdam in 1709, not only to challenge canonical accounts of the origins of Christianity but to build the claim that Christianity, Judaism and Islam were complementary parts of a single religious system. After a long, learned and subtle introduction Champion prints the published *Nazarenus* together with a more daringly and bluntly unorthodox manuscript version which Toland wrote in French in 1710. For Champion the work is a return to those early preoccupations of Toland which in the 1690s had produced his *Christianity not mysterious* and his contributions to the controversy over the authorship of *Eikon Basilike*. Now as then Toland saw in the questioning of the authenticity of revered texts the essential means of undermining priestcraft and tyranny. Champion is impatient with two approaches to Toland, though the occasional haziness of his own prose can impair his criticisms of them. First there is the ‘Whiggish’ approach which wishes ‘to plot Toland on some larger projectory of the rise of rationalism’. Teleological inquiry has no doubt produced its distortions, but it would be an infertile historiographical landscape which allowed no place to it. Secondly there is the argument that Toland’s own position, which censorship and convention impelled him to conceal, was more radical than his published work lets on. Here Champion appears to waver between two positions, the first that Toland had no convictions, the second that his convictions, whatever they were, matter less than the literary devices through which he undermined other people’s. Champion’s is none the less a powerful and important study which significantly advances our knowledge both of Toland and of the methods and substance of the philosophical and theological controversies of his time.

University of Sussex

Blair Worden
An ecumenical theology of the heart. The theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf.


This is a difficult book to categorise. As Bishop Freeman explains, he had three goals: ‘to bring to the English-speaking reader resources ordinarily available only in German regarding...Zinzendorf, to discuss Zinzendorf’s theology not only for the Moravian reader but an ecumenical audience, and to integrate his insights with the voices of Scripture and spirituality’ (p. iv). While Freeman seeks to treat Zinzendorf with ‘historical respect’, the theological thrust is clearly dominant. And because he is concerned to reintegrate Zinzendorf into Moravian spirituality, the extensive block quotations are much longer than would be necessary in a work of pure history. There is also much repetition. Freeman’s decision to retain the texts’ non-German (primarily Latin and French) words and phrases is a distraction. One does wonder why Zinzendorf felt compelled to sprinkle them liberally in all his writings. Despite the fact that Freeman provides outlines of Moravian history and of Zinzendorf’s biography, he sometimes seems to presume prior knowledge on the part of the reader. For example, although Zinzendorf’s exile from Saxony was a crucial event in both his life and the spread of the far-flung Moravian Church, the cause or occasion of that exile are never explained. His exact relationship to the Moravian Church remains a puzzle, though that may accurately reflect the reality. As a person, Zinzendorf appears rather high-handed, if well-intentioned. For example, upon his return from America in 1743, he summarily dismissed the bishops and general conference that had been established in his absence and assumed absolute power as ‘Advocatus et Ordinarius Fratrum’. The count’s essentially feudal position is reflected in the ‘manorial prohibitions and injunctions’ that governed the inhabitants of Herrnhut. He also felt free to experiment with the Church’s structure, liturgy and spirituality. Zinzendorf’s ‘theology of the heart’ lacks sharp contours, though he claimed to have departed from the rigorous moralism of Halle in order to embrace Luther’s theology of grace. Some of his more distinctive teachings include a denial of the Virgin Birth and Immaculate Conception, an emphasis upon the Holy Spirit as mother, the teaching that Christ’s death has abolished Original Sin for all humanity, and a resulting acceptance of women as priests. Most striking is Zinzendorf’s belief that God’s Word adapts itself to every context, and that none of the adaptations (including the biblical) enjoys final authority. Freeman is at some pains to deflect the charges of mysticism and spiritualism from Zinzendorf, and it does seem that Zinzendorf lacks the transcendence of the former and the theological clarity of the latter. Instead he seems to represent a less intense devotionalism centered on the suffering Christ, similar to some forms of late medieval piety. Freeman’s book is a labour of love and the product of a forty-year meditation upon Zinzendorf. I do not feel qualified to judge its merits as theology or spirituality. However, as history it has severe limitations. Historians should look elsewhere for an introduction to Zinzendorf.

VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY

R. Emmet McLaughlin
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, £55 (boxed set). 0 521 63345 1;
0 521 64002 4; 0 521 77921 9
In these two handsomely produced volumes, Professor Pocock provides the first fruits (for he hopes to produce more) of a prolonged, erudite and wide-ranging study of the background to and possible influences upon Gibbon’s *Decline and fall of the Roman empire*. By investigating the circumstances of Gibbon’s work, including the intellectual movements of European culture in the eighteenth century and, especially, the ways in which history was understood and historical studies written, he seeks to illuminate the situation in which ‘Gibbon’s history and his life as a historian’ occurred and which shows his *Decline and fall* to be an ‘artefact of its age and culture’ (i. 2).

The premise of Pocock’s study (i. 288f.) is that Gibbon’s monumental work developed from an initial curiosity about the reasons for the collapse of the city and empire of Rome into a concern to understand what led to ‘the triumph of barbarism and religion’ – where the former embraces the Germanic peoples, the ‘orientals’ from the Middle East, and the nomadic peoples of central Asia, and the latter focuses increasingly on the disputes and struggles in Orthodoxy rather than on the growth of papal power. In the first volume Pocock seeks to identify the settings in which Gibbon’s ecclesiastical history may be placed, considering both Gibbon’s personal history (at Stourhead, Oxford, Lausanne, Paris and Rome as well as his experience in the Hampshire militia) and the multi-faceted character of the ‘Enlightenment’ (including the struggle between the *philosophes* and the *erudits*) to which he may properly be held to belong. At the same time, it also has to be appreciated that attempts to apprehend the origin and purpose of Gibbon’s work suffer from a dearth of reliable evidence. Since his journal breaks off on his arrival in Rome in 1764, statements about these matters that he later made in his *Memoirs* are deemed ‘hard to document, validate or interpret’. Pocock attempts to overcome the resulting problem by ‘focusing on texts written by Gibbon, and situating them in various contexts, immediate and remote (or deeper in the background) and possessing diverse kinds of explanatory value’ (i. 275), taking into account both the illocutionary reading of what the texts say and their perlocutionary impact upon their contemporary readers. The result is a series of ‘frameworks of interpretation’ (i. 261) that are developed with impressive knowledge of the period but may leave a suspicious reader both aware that other frameworks have been offered and wondering whether yet further frameworks might be conceived. A further complication is that Gibbon’s own understanding of what he was seeking to accomplish developed as the writing of the *Decline and fall* proceeded. Pocock applauds P. R. Ghosh’s ‘observations that “the writing of his History was a voyage of discovery for Gibbon, and that, from volume to volume, he was never quite sure how it would turn out”’ (i. 289 n. 42).

It is an observation that agrees with the apparent uncertainty in Gibbon’s own comments in the 1776 preface (or was he hiding unpalatable intentions?) and the later remark, in his *Memoirs*, that when he began his ‘historical work’ he had ‘a very inadequate notion’ of its ‘limits and extent’.

In the second volume Pocock takes up the formidable task of considering the nature of, and significance of, Gibbon’s historiography by comparing the *Decline
and fall with works by a selection of major historians at this time ‘who were his equals, whom he recognised as such, and with whom he aspired to equality’ (ii. 369). To do this Pocock examines the different ways in which Pietro Giannone, François Arouet de Voltaire, David Hume, William Robertson, Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson sought to construct ‘a grand narrative’ that makes sense of what happened in the events they are treating and throws light on the situation in which they found themselves. The result is a fascinating and scholarly ‘history of narratives, each pursued in its individual complexity and allowed to stand by itself and its own right’. At times they seem to take on a life of their own rather than to have manifest relevance to Gibbon’s work, but Pocock points out that he discusses these histories, with their balance between narrative, erudition and philosophical history, in order to establish ‘the historiographical universe in which Gibbon began shaping the Decline and fall, and with an eye to the possible relations between each narrative and that which he constructed’ (ii. 364). Pocock’s studies are the result of extensive scholarship and make considerable demands upon their readers. A competent knowledge of the primary histories being discussed and of Gibbon’s own work is, for example, an important asset in appreciating the significance and relevance of Pocock’s second-order discussion of the constructions of the ‘Enlightened’ macronarratives that he has selected. Those, however, who find difficulty in fully appreciating his discussions may take some comfort in Pocock’s conclusion that Gibbon’s Decline and fall is not another instance of an ‘Enlightened narrative’ composed by a ‘neo-classical olympian’ but a work whose shape emerged ‘slowly and uncertainly’ (ii. 382).

Pocock’s own work on Gibbon and his intellectual context combines the widely researched story, imposing erudition and philosophical reflection of an Enlightened history. It presents a powerful macronarrative for understanding Gibbon’s classic study. In so doing, however, it raises a basic question provoked by all such studies. How is a macronarrative to be judged if it determines how its components are to be understood – or, alternatively, how are the materials from which a macronarrative emerges to be understood without assuming it? The more understanding moves into the second- and third-order abstractions presented in this work, the more the problems of the hermeneutical circle become apparent. This is an important work that makes a major contribution to thought about historiography as well as to the study of Gibbon.

University of Manchester

David A. Pailin


Northern College is an interesting subject for study, incorporating Western College Bristol, Yorkshire United Independent College Bradford, Lancashire Independent College Blackburn and Paton College Nottingham. The telling of this story takes the author back to the early days of organised dissent at the beginning of the early eighteenth century and into the history of institutions in a wide geographical area, including not only much of England but linking with Wales and Scotland too. The colleges are presented as more than just a few,
small, scattered institutions, which struggled with tiny staffs, often poorly
p repare d students and meagre funds. Kaye indicates the role of these institutions
as focuses of their communities, which contributed to the development of
education and to the wider life of the profoundly important force of
Nonconformity. Part of that contribution came from the activities of lecturers,
including distinguished people such as Robert Vaughan, A. M. Fairbairn, D. W.
Simon, Edward Williams and J. B. Paton. Kaye does an important service by
uncovering much useful information and considering many significant issues.

There is room, however, for a more sustained and critical evaluation of the
impact of the colleges on the students and how well they prepared future
ministers. For example, K. D. Brown considered the principals of the Non-
conformist colleges in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and he found
that they were not well qualified to help the students deal with the intellectual
and social problems of their congregations in a more urban and industrial
society. The author apparently believes that a case could be made for the
relevance of the training given by the colleges, particularly Paton (p. 165). There
is some coverage of practical training, especially at Paton and during the later
period, but the point could have been discussed more thoroughly. Several of
the foundations boasted grandiose, gothic or classical buildings, such as Lancashire
Independent College, with its ninety-foot high gothic tower. Yet there is little
reflection on what effect these expensive buildings had on the training of the
students. I found, when writing about non-graduate theological colleges in the
Church of England, that the mock gothic buildings which many of them acquired
expressed a sometimes wistful intention of turning ‘lower middle class’ students
into pale versions of ‘gentlemen’ from Oxford and Cambridge. Did the splendid
homes of the congregational foundations support or hinder the training of
ministers who had to relate to the needs of the developing middle and working
classes? Such questions could have been pursued more systematically as themes
of the book. I wondered as well about the attitudes towards the colleges of people
from outside the congregational or the ecclesiastical world. Perhaps more could
have been revealed through a greater examination of ‘secular’ sources.

This book is, nevertheless, a timely memorial to the tradition of the
congregational colleges and I particularly appreciated the respectful and
affectionate tone with which it is written by one who herself has roots in that
tradition.

Havant

David Dowland

Religion and the rise of historicism. W. M. L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the
theological origins of nineteenth-century historical consciousness. By Thomas Albert
£30. 0 521 65022 4

‘Historicism’ is a term with differing connotations, but the most generally
accepted of them is that associated with the names in particular of Dilthey and
Troeltsch and fastens on the relativity of all historical perspectives, thus

1 K. D. Brown ‘College principals: a cause of Nonconformist decay’, this Journal xxxviii
(1987), 296–53, and A social history of the Nonconformist ministry in England and Wales 1800–1930,
precipitating what the latter called ‘the crisis of historicism’. It was a situation in which Christianity, as a religion claiming historical verification, became inevitably involved, for history, unlike religion, knows no absolutes. Howard’s thesis is that the historicist ‘secularisation’ of historical inquiry, a development first occurring in German academic circles, had in fact a theological background and origin and retained significant marks or continuity with it. The key factor was the historical criticism of the Bible, which began with Semler and acquired the status of a scientific enterprise in the work of M. M. L. de Wette (1784–1849), professor successively at the universities of Berlin and Basle. A specialist in the Old Testament, he was also a theologian of radical views. Although the nineteenth-century biblical scholars in Germany were by no means intent on undermining the religious tradition, the thrust of their research seemed bound to question, in the light of historical understanding, the very basis on which Protestant faith and theology rested; willy-nilly, the way was open to the prospect of history as a purely ‘natural’ process, with its appropriate criteria of assessment. This outcome, Howard believes, is impressively exemplified by the relationship between de Wette and the eminent Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt, and the careers and achievement of the two scholars provide the subject-matter of his monograph. De Wette’s work, exegetical and theological, evoked such a storm of opposition that he was deprived of his Berlin post and obliged to assume another at the much less prestigious Basle. It was here that Burckhardt, whose aim was to enter the church’s ministry, became his pupil, but the young man’s encounter with his master’s ideas resulted in a decision to give up theology and prepare himself for a career in historical scholarship: whence the growth of his conviction that the secular approach to history will alone suffice for intellectual integrity. Nevertheless it is Howard’s opinion that the ethos of the theological faculty continued to pervade German historical study. (Did not Nietzsche complain that the Idealist philosophers were all of them concealed theologians? And assuredly Burckhardt’s notorious pessimism reflects a de-theologised belief in Original Sin.) This book is useful for the detailed and copiously documented research which it embodies. It demands close reading, but is largely free of the jargon by which, unfortunately, academic scholarship is nowadays too often marred.

University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Bernard M. G. Reardon


Progress on this monumental edition which began in 1961 has been slow in recent years, but the series is now nearing completion, with only three volumes still to appear. This volume covers the momentous months when Newman took to what he was later to call his ‘death-bed’ as an Anglican. The doubts he had had in the summer of 1839 about the Tractarian via media he had tried to put to one side, but the three ‘blows’ he suffered in 1841 proved to be mortal. Neither he nor Keble surprisingly foresaw the row over Tract 90, although W. G. Ward had no doubt, and indeed ignited what was to become a veritable blaze of indignation
by provocatively giving a copy to his fellow tutor at Balliol, the strongly Protestant A. C. Tait, who later as archbishop of Canterbury was to play a prominent part in the disciplining of ritualist clergy. It was not the last time Newman was to bemoan the actions of the enfant terrible of the Tractarians, who proved to be an Ultramontane thorn in his side as a Roman Catholic. The letters also cover the writing of the brilliant letters to The Times which comprise the Tamworth reading room. The volume ends with Newman retiring to the seclusion of Littlemore to consider his future and to have his first taste of ‘religious’ life. It has been carefully edited, with detailed and extensive annotation, with one inexplicable but fortunately not serious exception. Mysteriously, the first published text (the manuscript no longer being extant) of the Letter to R. W. Jelf in defence of Tract 90 is reprinted here with the omission of nearly two pages (the text of the Letter to the Bishop of Oxford has, less mysteriously, the omission of one line).

Campion Hall, Oxford

Ian Ker


Petar Vrankić’s compendious work, based on his 1995 Habilitation, deals with State–Church relations during the formative Austro-Hungarian administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, taking in turn Orthodox and Catholics. The introduction promises a further volume on Austria-Hungary’s policies towards Moslems, Jews and Protestants. A detailed account of the political–constitutional background is followed by six chapters each on the two confessions, covering pre-1878 history, the establishment of new hierarchies, church reorganisation, confessional education and the Church and school autonomy issue (Orthodox) and religious orders and State–Church tensions (Catholics). Much of the ground Vrankić covers is enmeshed in controversy, not only as regards inter-confessional relations and judgements of Austria-Hungary, but also the Franciscan/non-Franciscan divisions on the Catholic side, in which last connection he notes the ‘typical distrust’ in Bosnia against ‘all those whom an incomprehensible logic of interests and counter-interests’ puts in the camp of those at any given time judged other (p. 605). Vrankić himself avoids a polemical tone and his voluminous sources, including, besides Austrian and Vatican records, those of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian episcopates, the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Franciscan provincialates and the ecumenical patriarchate (to 1895), as well as material from Zagreb, Đakovo, Dalmatia, Hungary and, more limitedly, Moscow and Belgrade, enable him to resolve many issues in illuminating footnotes, though what to an outsider seem partial generalisations can slip in at the end of meticulous research.

On Austria-Hungary, Vrankić convincingly sets out the background to religious policy in the liberal post-concordat assumptions of the dualist state (the Hungarian angle is kept in mind), and reiterates that the monarchy’s achievements in Bosnia should neither be denigrated nor exaggerated. The
argument that the Bosnian administration was ‘by nature neither anti-Serb nor anti-Orthodox’ (p. 233), but that unclear guidelines allowed lower organs to transmit a hostile impression to the Serbs, has strengths but clashes with the comment cited from one of Kállay’s own former officials in 1907 that ‘antagonism to the Serb element runs like a red thread through the policy of the whole occupation’ (p. 300). The key point was surely that Kállay’s distinction between Orthodoxy and Serbdom in Bosnia, patronising the former but denying the latter, could not but appear to be anti-Serb to the nationally conscious, who held themselves to be members not only of a confession but of a nation. In discussion of the autonomy movement of the Serb Church and school communes there is also a somewhat curious jump from 1882 to 1896, though Austrian documents and the works of Kraljačić and Madžar show the growth of tensions from at least 1888, during which time the government had been developing its own agenda to emasculate the communes, as also to win over the Orthodox clergy by manipulable teaching honoraria. While Serb hegemonist ambitions in Bosnia were indeed a destabilising factor, ‘the daily practice of Panslav agitation’ needs more concretisation than the two references on p. 230, and the assumption that a schoolboy’s murderous act in 1914 disqualifies the mild attempts at a more ‘inclusive’ policy towards the Serbs after Kállay’s death requires arguing out. The endorsement of the Jesuit Puntigam’s alarmism of 1909 about ‘Serbian cultural work’ driving the monarchy from Bosnia (p. 724) is the slackest point of the book, since whatever might be meant by this phrase has simply not been discussed. Empathy would suggest that Bosnian Serbs had reason for irritation when church gifts from Orthodox nations were seen as Panslav propaganda, while the Catholic Church was built up on donations from the Catholic world. But Vrankić is right to rebut unscrupulous Serb charges that Austria-Hungary supported a ‘Catholic propaganda’ in Bosnia. His comment that the regime’s complex balancing of inter-confessional and confessional elements in education was bewildering for a confessionally-minded population, is well taken; but then a purely confessional school system would have given the authorities no lever for the westernisation of the Moslems.

In the somewhat longer Catholic section Vrankić’s interpretations are directed against the Franciscans. The detailed refutation of Fra Berislav Gavranović’s 1930 account of the re-establishment of a Catholic hierarchy, as an Austrian plot to side-line unblemished Franciscans, is really the core of the book. For Vrankić the story is rather one of the regime’s failure to support Archbishop Stadler and his new secular clergy, once it saw the continuing popularity of the Franciscans, who are presented as political opportunists in 1875–8 and 1917–18. The presentation of Stadler’s restless initiatives, like those in girls’ education and welfare, as reflecting lacunae in Bosnian society and his own orphanage upbringing rather than ‘propaganda’ is instructive. But regular references to state funding for the Franciscans (who complained of niggardliness) omit to note that the more equal state support for regular and secular clergy training in the immediate pre-war years had been forced on the government by the pro-Franciscan majority in the new Diet. The claim that Austria skillfully frustrated a possible alliance of Catholics and Moslems (p. 743) is hollow without discussion of different approaches to Moslems in the Catholic camp. This theme and the San Girolamo affair, also omitted though highly relevant for Stadler’s relations with the
government, have of course been treated by Luka Daković, who is criticised for reflecting the former Yugoslav orthodoxies, but only in passing. The vexed question of religious conversions is, however, discussed at length, albeit objectivity is not maintained, the author at one point saying a government version of events exists but not divulging it (p. 635) – though the devil here regularly lay in contested details. No Bosnian administration could accept the view that only the Catholic Church had the right to assess the free will of potential entrants. The argument that the Catholic side here was concerned with freedom of individual conscience and the others only with collective autonomy rights of Byzantine or Ottoman stamp (p. 677) verges on the polemic. There was a question of personal freedom, to be sure, and Källay’s manipulative suavity exasperated Catholics no less than Serbs and Moslems: the author’s view that the framework of Austro-Hungarian religious policy was more important than individuals commands respect but perhaps neglects a personal factor here. Oddly, government attempts to remove Stadler are more alluded to than discussed.

Vrankić’s book shows some unevenness, as between formidable research and unexplained omissions; a generally judicious tone and occasional partialities. In Bosnia’s tragically fraught circumstances, however, it is to be welcomed as a weighty investigation of complex and wide-ranging problems.

University of Warwick

Robin Okey


Even though Dietrich Bonhoeffer died before reaching the age of forty, the new German critical edition of his writings runs to sixteen volumes. The Cambridge companion to Dietrich Bonhoeffer is a significant contribution to contemporary Bonhoeffer studies because it relies substantially on the recent critical edition, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke (DBW), and its as yet incomplete English translation (DBWE). The initial volumes of the DBW appeared in 1986. They complement the first chronological anthology of Bonhoeffer’s works, the Gesammelte Schriften, edited by Eberhard Bethge between 1965 and 1974. English-speaking interpreters of Bonhoeffer’s life and works have long been constrained by their reliance on abridged translations. Now, with the DBW and the DBWE, scholars can examine a complete range of Bonhoeffer’s known writings. Never before, to illustrate, have interpreters had available to them in a critical edition a full collection of Bonhoeffer’s texts dealing with his engagement in the German church struggle between 1939 and 1945. The Companion includes chapters by thirteen authors. A useful chronology of events and a glossary of terms precede the chapters, which are divided into two major parts. The first comments on Bonhoeffer’s life and legacy (chs i–v). The second discusses major themes in his theology (chs vi–xiii). The purpose of this Companion is two-fold: to provide a guide for those wishing to explore Bonhoeffer’s legacy; and to uncover some of the reasons why he has been of such interest for many people in quite diverse contemporary contexts. After all, Bonhoeffer is variously invoked as a prescient forerunner of anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa; the civil rights movement in North America; late
twenty-first-century ecumenism; North-Atlantic Continental political theology; and Latin American liberation theology. The opening chapter sets Bonhoeffer's life and labours within his German political context spanning the late Wilhelmine empire to the Third Reich. Subsequent chapters in part I unravel details of his life, the formation and reception of his theology, as well as his considerable literary legacy. His was a life well-written by himself, so to speak. The fourth chapter is highly instructive since it explains in some detail the diversified texts of the DBW and the DBWE. The major themes treated in part II include human sociality, Christology, ethics, ecumenism, discipleship, Bonhoeffer and the Jews, Christianity in a world come of age and spirituality. The Companion provides a wealth of new information and corrects a few common misinterpretations of Bonhoeffer. For example, rather than viewing him as an independent prophetic figure it locates his distinctive contribution ‘in his sharp theological interaction with his partners in ecumenical peace-work’ (p. 154). In addition, the radical ideas penned in Tegel Prison are not seen in discontinuity with his earlier work, but are linked to his doctoral dissertation and Habilitation thesis. There is some inevitable repetition of information in the Companion as different authors comment on the same events and publications (for example see pp. 81, 157; 82, 126; 83, 120). Even so, this is a splendidly instructive and thought-provoking collection.

BLACKFRIARS, PHILIP KENNEDY

Oxford

Montfortians in Malawi. Their spirituality and pastoral approach. By Hubert Reijnaerts, Ann Nielsen and Matthew Schoffeers. (Kachere Text, 5.) Pp. xx + 499 incl. numerous ills. Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft/Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1997. £20. 3 926105 80 1; 99908 16 09 3; 1025 0956


These two very different books are further examples of the initiative of the Kachere publishing enterprise developed by the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Malawi. Kachere has published in Malawi a steady stream of books at prices that are more affordable to people in Malawi and neighbouring countries than the prices of books published in the UK and the US. Kachere publications fall into three categories: Kachere Books, Kachere Monographs and Kachere Texts. Kachere Books are academically based but orientated to issues of topical interest.

Isabel Phiri’s study of the experience of Chewa women members of the Mkhoma Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian is a Kachere Monograph, a worthy addition to what has become a distinguished series of works based on rigorous primary research. The third category, the Texts series, is a much more heterogeneous category best summed up as ‘the place for the first word in an important area of study’. 


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It is in this latter category that the editorial board of Kachere has placed Reijnaerts, Neilsen and Schoffeleers’s *Montfortians in Malawi*. This is an in-depth study of the work in Malawi of the Fathers, Brothers and Sisters of the two Religious Societies of St Louis Marie de Montfort by three ‘insiders’. It was planned originally with two audiences in mind, the supporters of the two societies in Europe and North America and also the newer members of the Societies, that they might gain an understanding of the tradition in which they stand. However this Kachere Text is much more. Certainly it is written by three insiders but it is no piece of mission propaganda or of ‘in house’ religious journalism. It is not the last word which will be written about the Montfortians in Malawi or of the Catholic dioceses that have emerged from their efforts. However, every future study of the Roman Catholic Church in southern Malawi, historical or missiological, will have to begin with this thoroughly researched and equally thoroughly documented book. The work is divided into five major chronological divisions covering the ninety-five years, 1901 to 1996, during which the Montfortians have worked in Malawi. In each section there is careful historical and missiological analysis of the work of the Montfortians during the period and of the growing Catholic community. These periods are not evenly divided chronologically but each is defined by some unifying problem or other such theme. With their original body of hearers in mind there are liberal quotations from the pioneers and early heroes and leaders of the work but there is also a willingness to face up to both the problems they faced and the problems they created. Mistakes are noted and explained if not always satisfactorily. This rigour continues throughout and there is a penetrating and frank discussion of a period of great difficulty, beginning around 1950 and going on to the end of the 1960s. These difficulties were partly caused by external forces, particularly the difficulties that developed between the Catholic Church and the nationalist movement in the period, both in the form of the original Nyasaland African National Congress and the new Malawi Congress Party. However there were also major difficulties within the Montfort Fathers because of profound differences that had developed within the Society over the nature of their task as religious in a developing area of the Church in Africa, as well as conflicts over problems of inculturation and over styles of piety.

Some problems and difficulties in the history of the Montfortians in Malawi are skirted round somewhat unsatisfactorily; a good example is the role of the mission at the time of the Chilembwe Rising, particularly their evidence to the subsequent commission of enquiry with its insistence that Africans should never be allowed to work unsupervised by whites. These defects do not alter the fact that this book is a very fine beginning to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Malawi that is still to be written.

Isabel Phiri’s *Women, Presbyterianism and patriarchy* is a revision for publication of the dissertation which gained Dr Phiri her doctorate from the University of Cape Town. This is a precisely focused study on the role of women in the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, Mkhoma Synod. The area of the synod is one where the majority of the people are of the one Chewa tradition unlike the areas of the other two synods of the CCAP in Malawi, the Livingstonia and Blantyre Synods that contain a much greater variety of cultural traditions. This enables the author to compare and contrast usefully the role of women in the religious life.
of the people before the coming of Christianity with the subsequent role, or rather roles, they have played as Christians without the complication of the presence of other numerically significant alternative African traditions.

Phiri makes a very persuasive case for understanding that while traditional matrilineal and matrilocal Maravi society did give women dignity and in religious matters, authority, the ultimate authority of fathers and brothers was always there limiting the autonomy of women. Again she shows how Christianity came and despite some errors and mistakes by the South African missionaries of the Cape Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, did bring new forms of autonomy to women, but also new forms of subjugation. She shows how the women missionaries from the Cape Synod came themselves from a tradition that restricted the activities of women and that Afrikaaner women missionaries and Chewa women grew together in their understanding of the role of women within the Christian community. In two very fine chapters, one on the CCAP women's movement, Cigwirizano, and one on contemporary attitudes to women in the activities and structures of the present-day Mkhoma Synod, the author exposes a development that raises a serious question about some forms of ‘indigenous’ Christianity. She shows irrefutably that the status and autonomy of women in the synod have been reduced since the synod became fully ‘Africanised’ and free of missionary control. The author exposes how in recent years the male leaders of the synod have used a selective view of ‘our African tradition’ or an equally selective choice from the biblical tradition, whichever suited the situation, in order to inhibit the autonomy of women.

There is one complaint that this reviewer has to make. It is the underlying acceptance of the name Chewa as descriptive of the peoples who speak various forms of the same language, called Chewa in Malawi and Nyanja in Zambia. Surely Maravi is the more accurate term, certainly a more useful term that would have helped Phiri avoid making the extraordinary statement on p. 23 that ‘In the Southern Region the Chewa are mainly known as the Mang’anja.’ The Mang’anja people have always known themselves as Mang’anja, as have the Chipeta known themselves as Chipeta, the Nyanja as Nyanja, as with the other sub-divisions of the Maravi peoples. The Mang’anja have not thought of themselves as Chewa who were ‘known as’ Mang’anja by others.

University of Edinburgh

Andrew C. Ross


‘Enfin, un homme normal’: John xxiii’s relief at seeing a man of his own size, Paul Frank, a Bonn senior civil servant, follow the entry of the ‘giants’, Konrad Adenauer and Paul his son, Karl Carstens and Bonn’s ambassador, Strachwitz, during Adenauer’s official visit to the Vatican on 22 January 1960 (related p. 187 by another diplomat present, Peter Hermes), captures in a trice the touchy issue of ‘aggiornamento’ in the frosty German–German–Polish climate of Vatican II. The unspoken assumptions behind a Vatican eastern policy – was there such a thing? – between the death of Pius xii and the election of John Paul ii, the first
Slav pope, connects these eight essays and the subsequent discussion (pp. 163–252) – the latter perhaps more revealing than the essays themselves – before a reunited Catholic German gathering of politicians, foreign office spokesmen, bishops and historians at Augsburg between 6 and 8 March 1998. Two concise surveys of Vatican eastern policy, the first – appropriate to the ensuing discussion – since 1917 by Heinz Hürten, and the second by Rudolf Lill covering the pontificates of John xxiii and Paul vi, preface perhaps a disproportionate concentration on divided German Catholicism – four papers by Rudolf Morsey, Joseph Hummel, Josef Becker and Josef Pilvousek. Their findings express a deep official West German Church and State mistrust of any form of meaningful Vatican pastoral or Vatican diocesan ‘coexistence’ with Soviet-controlled Europe, and with Europe’s post-war western Socialism and eastern Communism. This is particularly apparent in Morsey’s paper, using the now available Bonn foreign office documents for the period up to 1968. Particularly striking is Adenauer’s deep disappointment and depression over what he called Pope John xxiii’s ‘political naivety’, and his fears about a negative outcome to the forthcoming Vatican Council. The following essays and discussions do little to alleviate such post-war West German pessimism about Vatican eastern policy in general before John Paul ii. However, a balance of sorts is given by Leonid Luks in his challenging study, based on Polish sources, of Church and State in Poland (1956–78). His interpretation shows us how 1956 signalled for the first time room for intervention by Poland’s Church, and Cardinal Wysinski’s leading role therein, supported by Poland’s bishops as advocates of the Polish national interest. However, this generation of bishops was ever mindful that respective Polish governments should not be compromised too much. Their eventual triumph was only possible in a society which lacked plurality before 1989; not to forget too, that ‘Solidarity’ and what followed was also only possible after official regulation of German–Polish border relations in the Moscow and Warsaw treaties of August and December 1970! As Wysinski put it, tongue in cheek, after being praised as a patriot on his seventy-fifth birthday in August 1976 by the then Polish premier, ‘I felt well when bad things were written about me. However, the recent fashion to write a little better about me has made me really fear for my principles’ (p. 153). These essays and the ensuing discussion show how different a shared German–Polish Catholic churchscape in the very recent past could be, and how divided about it and the Vatican we still are today.

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Nicholas Hope