

Witchcraft and magic in Europe. The twentieth century. By Willem de Blécourt, Ronald Hutton and Jean la Fontaine. (The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe, 6.) Pp. xii + 244. London: Athlone Press, 1999. £45 (cloth), £17.99 (paper). 0 485 89006 2; 0 485 89106 9


The first three books under review form part of the six-volume Athlone History of Witchcraft series, connecting the pagan societies of antiquity with the esoteric religions of modern Europe. Volume ii explores magical beliefs and practices in the Mediterranean, drawing on ancient literary, historical and philosophical texts, and more mundane social, legal and religious records. The discussion moves from cursing and the casting of spells, through to the sorcerers and necromancers of myth and Scripture, concluding with the place of magic in the mental world and its demonisation as Christianity came to dominate western thinking. As a whole, the book amply demonstrates the historical uses of witchcraft for entering past mentalities, but also the contemporary uses of witchcraft for marking boundaries of social and religious orthodoxy: to include and exclude, to unite and divide. In volume v, we are offered a summary of the interrelated reasons for the decline of witchcraft prosecutions in the eighteenth century: legal caution and scepticism; changes in witch-beliefs; broader religious shifts; social and economic transformation. The becalming effects of the Enlightenment upon witch-hunting zeal are minimised here, and in the rest of the book the social and cultural trajectory of witchcraft appears far from linear. Although it disappeared as an indictable crime, witches were still feared and loathed in communities, and in more rarified circles conversation about their existence shaped many a political and philosophical discussion, as well as focusing ideals of polite conduct and manners. Finally, witchcraft proves its worth as a
window onto the secularisation of European life by 1800. The sixth and final volume, covering the twentieth century, deals with paganism, satanism and the continuation of witch-beliefs, skillfully juggling coherent theories and concrete practices on one side, with misconceptions, myths and invented traditions on the other. The book neatly concludes the series not just because it completes a chronological sequence, but because, secularisation notwithstanding, it further illustrates the fundamental human need to establish controllable relationships between self, group, environment and universe. Moreover, we see clearly here how the modern heirs of science, industry and technology inevitably reach back into the distant past described in the previous volumes in order to recover the mysterious and magical foundations of their faith.

As a concise overview across swathes of time, these volumes occupy a valuable place within the existing literature. In contrast, Frederick Valletta’s study of ‘elite and popular beliefs in witchcraft, magic and superstition’, is harder to locate. If intended as a survey, clearly it concentrates on far too short a period (thirty years); but then as a monograph – its more likely status – it doesn’t quite satisfy either. It reads like an excellent doctoral thesis published too soon. The author has worked sedulously in the archives, his grasp of the subject is beyond doubt and he makes interesting points. The most significant of these is his reminder that ideas about witchcraft developed, an evolution best understood in terms of the religious and political debates of the later seventeenth century for which witchcraft was a potent metaphor – and here the book accords well with the salient themes of the Athlone volumes. And yet there are difficulties. Many sections are more descriptive than analytical; there is a scatter of factual and typographical errors, suggesting the need for sharper editing; important secondary literature either goes unacknowledged or is not cited where it should be; and the contribution on demonology, apparitions, medicine, psychology and the law impress more as neat synthesis than original observation. Most important, the overall conceptualisation is underdeveloped, illustrated in two ways by the above quotation. First, the elite/popular division seems dated, and, bypassing current historical concerns, the book is not committed to recreating the social contexts in which ideas were exchanged. Secondly, ‘magic and superstition’ are awkward historical categories, tainted by contemporary intellectual judgements delivered de haut en bas. The subject needs research which unpicks the seams of these definitions more than it needs to have them illustrated; for that, we still have Keith Thomas’s *Religion and the decline of magic*.

Churchill College,
MALCOLM GASKILL
Cambridge


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How does one map ideas about God? Bret Carroll’s atlas moves beyond predictable depictions of denominational affiliation to provide students with an understanding of how religious ideas have spread over time and across
geographical space in America. This handsomely produced atlas conveys a sense of dynamism entirely appropriate to its topic. The breadth of coverage is impressive. Carroll includes maps, charts and illustrations illuminating adherence to faiths as diverse as Zen Buddhism, Pentecostalism and Eastern Orthodoxy. The graphic design is clear and appealing, the explanatory prose and supporting apparatus are informative. Carroll includes enough background information to indicate to a student the broader place of religion within a narrative of American development. For all these reasons his atlas deserves to be on any number of reading lists.

St Cross College, Peter Thompson

Oxford


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Since the close of the nineteenth century early Christian attitudes to war and military service have continued to intrigue scholars, despite the scarcity of direct sources and the obscurity of much of the documentation. In the next century war and threat of war made ‘the military question’ in early Christianity a problem of current relevance. Several important monographs appeared on the subject: Adolf Harnack (1905), Cecil John Cadoux (1919), Jean-Michel Hornus (1960/1980) and, at the very end of the century, the most comprehensive study, which is reviewed here. Whereas the first three authors were theologians, Fernández Ubiña is a secular historian specialising in the history of the Roman army and his book is published under the auspices of the University of Granada’s Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies. Though the book’s aim is interpretative and no evidence emerges hitherto unknown, the erudite author presents his subject on a wider canvas than any of his predecessors. Here the socio-political structure of Imperial Rome, including its army, receives detailed treatment that illuminates the narrower military question within the Christian Church. The book’s major thesis is that, throughout the pre-Constantinian period, ‘neither the Church as an institution nor its hierarchy ever promulgated [as doctrine] the pacifist denunciation of army service and war that was proclaimed by its more severe moralists’ (p. 428). The author argues cogently in favour of the existence during the whole period of a diversity of views on the military question, a spectrum ranging from the uncompromising antimilitarism of heretical sects like the Marcionites through the wavering and sometimes contradictory pacifism of church Fathers like Tertullian and Origen and the eloquent expositor of non-violence, Lactantius, to enthusiastic acceptance of military service and combat in defence of the empire on the part of an increasing number of Christians, especially in congregations on the eastern frontiers. Such ‘pluralism’ has recently gained increasing scholarly support. It derived from the presence in the Gospels, at the roots therefore of the faith, of two opposing strands: on the one hand the legacy of the bellicose Yahweh of the Hebrew Bible and St Paul’s loyalty to Rome and, on the other, the non-violent message of Jesus, who rejected the sword and suffered death on the cross. The author treats in detail the widespread use of
military metaphors as well as the concept of the milites Christi and its implications for the Christian view of army service. He devotes more than a hundred pages to the military martyrs, most of whom were legendary and the creations of a later era. He seems, however, to opt for the overall authenticity of the passio of the conscientious objector, St Maximilian of Tebessa. The final chapters deal with developments after 312. ‘The Christian god of peace and forgiveness was converted into the god of the [Roman] armies and henceforward the Christ of the cross has become ... Christus victor’ (p. 457).


The title of this book is misleading since, from p. 82 onwards (out of a total 208 pages of text), Marilyn Dunn virtually ignores the eastern Mediterranean world, both Syrian and Greek. With more accurate advertisement, there may have been little harm in that; but the days are gone when one could heave a sigh of relief at the arrival of Cassian in Gaul, and proceed as if developments in the non-Latin world could be left to themselves. Even the now old but enduringly venerable Chitty is omitted from the bibliography, not to mention the more closely argued studies of Brock and Griffith (although Heussi and Voobus find their place). Western writers of the time were less isolated in their interests. Gregory of Tours, for example, is predictably plundered here for his splendid account of Radegund; but there is little attempt to deduce from his writings (not just the Histories) the constant allusion to chaotic experiment and exotic intrusion. The same may be said of Gregory the Great's Dialogues. A second misgiving attaches to the word ‘emergence’. The dust cover (for which we need not blame the author) somewhat ridiculously claims that this is a ‘unique work’, ‘the first book to provide a comprehensive account of the emergence of monasticism’; but Dunn is content to begin with ‘the emergence of Christian eremitism’ in the late third century, and to proceed then to ‘the development of communal life’ under the influence of Pachomius and Basil. Even the following chapter on ‘women in early monasticism’ hurries quickly to the fourth century and especially to the familiar patrons and protégées of Jerome. That is a pity, for both the forms and the ethos of the ascetic movement had much deeper roots; and a longer view would have called more into question some of the assumptions made here about lines of development from Antony onwards. Most historians of the earlier phase of monastic history would now be uneasy about a ‘hermit to coenobite’ scenario. Indeed, one’s final impression is of the conservatism of the overall argument, which moves from one familiar figure to another, without assessing the popular and successful alternatives that constantly challenged strictly ‘monastic’ patterns of organisation. Fresh interpretation is little in evidence, although Dunn sticks firmly to her hotly contested opinion that the Rule of the master postdates the Rule of Benedict. What we do have here is a thorough reading of the major secondary studies of the past generation, even if Dunn’s perusal of the texts themselves has served chiefly to confirm what the secondary reading has suggested. The
extensive notes, substantial bibliography and detailed index will be of great use. In spite of a rushed style, in which long sentences struggle to enclose explanatory parentheses, and in spite of innumerable misprints, hinting at very careless editing, the book does provide, therefore, a useful summary of what has been said about some aspects of western ascetic practice down to the seventh century. The invitation to think again about where the central lines of history may have run is, however, sadly absent.

**Catholic University of America**

**Philip Rousseau**


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This is a reliable German translation with introduction and brief notes, of what is usually known as Collection I of the Pseudo-Macarian homilies: sixty-four pieces, as edited by Bertholdt in the Berlin Corpus in 1973. It is the most extensive collection and includes much in Collection II of fifty pieces, previously published in Migne *PG* xxxiv and by Doerries and others in *Patristische Texte und Studien* (1964). Though often called ‘homilies’, the title ‘Addresses and letters’ better describes their character and is rightly retained. The repetitions and rhythmic flow hint at the original setting in oral instruction. Warm, simple but not naïve, devout and with negligible interest in doctrinal controversy, they make a welcome relief in theological literature and recall the student of church history to the continuing life of faith. They are the work of an anonymous fourth-century author; their provenance is probably Syrian. They reflect the kind of devotion which in its rawer form is characteristic of the so-called *Liber graduum* and of the Messaline teaching condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431). (The great Cyril of Alexandria, ever prudent, found nothing wrong with the Messalines except that they called themselves ‘Messalines’; Gregory of Nyssa fifty years before had a soft spot for them and made use of the writings of ‘Macarius’. The teacher who addresses us from these pages is by intention a Catholic (like the author of the *Liber graduum*) whatever others might later say. He is worth listening to for his own sake. Perhaps the technical church historian will learn here something about the life of the period, but these pieces are not for such. It is good to have them here skilfully presented in full. Annotations and explanatory material are admirably lucid and concise.

**Skelmanthorpe, Lionel R. Wickham**

**West Yorkshire**


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The fourth-century Syriac poet and theologian Ephrem has sometimes been portrayed as a representative of a Semitic form of Christianity as yet untouched
by Hellenism. In this important study Possekel documents and clearly demonstrates how Ephrem in fact displays in his writings (above all, in those in prose) a very considerable general knowledge of Greek philosophical ideas current in his day. Topics covered in this survey include the elements, atomism (rejected by Ephrem), space, incorporeals and sense perception. In several cases it turns out that, surprisingly, Ephrem's knowledge must have been quite detailed. It is significant, however, that in his poetry Ephrem makes use of this knowledge in his own individual and essentially un-Greek way; likewise, by comparison with Syriac writers of the fifth century onwards, Ephrem certainly belongs to the less Hellenised pole of Syriac Christianity. But Possekel's book is a salutary and welcome corrective to the misconception that this less Hellenised pole was untouched (or ‘uncontaminated’) by Greek philosophical ideas. An index of passages cited and a subject index would have been helpful.

Wolfsen College, Sebastian Brock
Oxford


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In a section of the introduction headed ‘The beginnings of Christological deliberation’, the author writes: ‘The period (381–451) which saw the greatest activity in the production of commentaries on the Song was also that in which Christology moved from being a side-issue in the controversies regarding the constitution of the Christian God for all eternity, to becoming a subject which attracted treatises in its own right’ (p. 11). Elliott goes on to examine twenty-two writers who wrote, or were read, in the period. It ended, he says, when ‘a preference for dialectic and a concomitant focussing on the titles of Christ took over’ (p. 161). Of the two principal chapters, ‘The groom’ and the ‘The bride’, the latter is, in my view, the most interesting. That the bride is the Church, the perfect soul and, occasionally, Mary, is well known. Less well known is that she is seen as the soul of Christ or as Christ’s humanity (p. 120). In his final paragraph Elliott writes: ‘The work has claimed not that the Song was seen as depicting or symbolizing a relationship between God the Word and the man in Christ but rather that these two are both described by the terms Bridegroom and Bride. He is the Word who does all … She is the humanity who receives and gathers all’ (p. 167). This book is a gift to anyone working in a similar area, but the interested reader is faced with a curtain woven from modern scholarly comment which obscures rather than illuminates the early writers.

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Oxford


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The modern study of medieval Cornwall owes much to the work of Lynette Olson and Oliver Padel. Padel’s books and articles on place-names since the 1970s, their
joint edition of ‘A tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints’, in Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies xii (1986), and Olson’s study of Early monasteries in Cornwall (1989) have improved the quality of research as well as extending its range. Original sources are presented with careful accuracy, expounded with wide contextual knowledge and encouraged to yield their own messages – with the honest admission of obscurities and divergent possibilities – rather than having views too rigidly forced upon them. Karen Jankulak’s study of St Petroc draws on this work and accords with its methods and standards. Petroc is the best-recorded of Cornish saints as far as his cult is concerned, although like nearly all of them he is personally an elusive figure in terms of chronology and biography. His cult gave name to Padstow, apparently its original centre, supported Cornwall’s most important religious house, the minster and later priory of Bodmin, and inspired the dedication of churches and chapels not only in Cornwall but in Brittany, Wales, Devon and elsewhere in southern England. He was, perhaps, Cornwall’s most successful cultural export up to 1200. Jankulak begins with the hagiographical traditions, principally from the saint’s two surviving lives, with some reference to his cult in Ireland and Wales. She then turns to studying his impact in three major regions, Cornwall, Brittany and England, as evidenced by relics, dedications and liturgical records. Particular attention is paid to the early history of his church at Bodmin and to the famous theft of his relics in 1177, their abduction to St Mèen in Brittany and their eventual return. Much of the ground of the book is familiar from its treatments in the writings of G. H. Doble, Paul Grosjean and others, but it is re-examined in a comprehensive, clear and dispassionate way, well supported by evidence. If Wales does not quite get its due, the chapter on Brittany is both fresh and revealing, and there is an excellent general bibliography. The result is a detailed study of Petroc’s cult, rather than one that relates the cult to wider religious and social history. It prompts such questions as whether the saint, his cult and its diffusion were characterised by special, possibly ‘Celtic’, features, or resembled those of other important regional British saints. Why did Cuthbert’s cult reach the south-west of England, while Petroc’s failed to do the same in the Midlands and the North, at least in terms of dedications of churches? The book does not answer such questions, but it lays the foundations for others to do so.

University of Exeter

Nicholas Orme


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McKinnon credits the Roman schola cantorum with the composition or at least the final disposition of the proper texts and melodies sung at masses solemnly celebrated by the pope or his representative in the stational churches of Rome. The creative activity of the schola cantorum (a specialised body of boys and singing clerics mentioned in the Ordo romanus primus, which is dated just after 700) would, according to McKinnon, have commenced as late as the pontificate of Sergius 1
(687–701) and must certainly have ceased by the pontificate of Gregory II (715–31). The schola, says McKinnon, embarked on the project of composing introits,graduals and other lesson chants,offertories and communions for the whole year,beginning with the thematically unified proper of advent—the last liturgical season to be introduced at Rome. Internal coherence of texts and music tends to support McKinnon’s case for advent,although he barely explores the genesis and varying duration of this pre-Christmas season of preparation. But the extension of the ‘advent project’ to the rest of the year as an intentional and consecutively pursued ‘creation of the Roman mass proper’ rests as a thesis upon a highly selective use of evidence and a large element of imagination, leading McKinnon to propose, for example, that ‘the seamless garment of the [annual] introit repertory might point to the equally significant chronological conclusion that it is the work of a single generation of singers’ (p. 200). This conclusion is not tenable, as Thomas Connolly and others have demonstrated: the introit repertory consists of different chronological layers. It is unfortunate that the scholarly care and scrupulous treatment of sources characteristic of McKinnon’s highly respected earlier work (for example, Music in early Christian literature [1987], and his own essays in the volume Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which he edited) were overborne by his enthusiasm for Gregorian chant as opposed to its presumed model, old Roman chant, and by the compelling desire he felt to complete this last work before his untimely but foreseeable death in 1999. Similarly, McKinnon’s keen insights into the way chant texts were compiled and his sensitivity to the nuances of Gregorian chant are too often obscured by the vividly ascriptive methods of the historical novelist (for instance, on p. 123). His text was prepared for publication by colleagues at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and handsomely printed by the University of California Press. There are few but not insignificant errors of fact: the introit antiphon for the Roman nuptial mass begins Deus Israel, not Uxor tua (p. 131), and the Codex Vaticanus latinus 5319 (not ‘Vaticana latina’, as on p. 170) has never been in the Archivio San Pietro (p. 423 n. 3), nor was it ever used at St Peter’s Basilica (p. 373).

TUCSON,

ARIZONA

John Boe


Part ii of this work consists of a place-by-place analysis of every known site where Anglo-Saxon religious women have been attested between the reign of Alfred and the Norman Conquest. Central to the argument advanced in part i is the claim that mynecen and nunne, first employed as contrasting terms in law codes drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan, are used consistently in vernacular documents to distinguish cloistered women living communally in regular monastic houses from vowesses, mostly widows, who retained their property and continued to live in the world after taking vows of chastity, usually in their own homes. With the
exception of Barking, it was only in Wessex that double monasteries were
replaced by single-sex houses permanently endowed by the royal family. There
are therefore fewer women’s religious houses described in contemporary sources
of the late Anglo-Saxon period because there was an actual decline in their
number, and, in Sarah Foot’s view, the relative prominence given to the royal
nunneries in contemporary sources, echoed by historians, gives a misleading
picture of women’s religious observance and obscures the existence of an
alternative form of vocation. Whether she is right to conclude that vowesses were
more typical of the period than cloistered women is questionable. Although
women’s monastic houses were few in number, their extensive holdings supported
large communities for a century or more, whereas the fifty additional sites
analysed in part II were occupied by individuals or small groups, in some cases
for no more than a generation or two. Foot argues that the appearance of
formally distinguished vocations for women in the Benedictine reform period
reflects the aristocracy’s unwillingness to endow women’s houses permanently.
Reversionary grants provided economic security during a woman’s lifetime at
minimal expense to her male relatives. With this hypothesis, Foot offers a
convincing explanation for the ephemeral nature of some women’s communities
in the late Anglo-Saxon period, but in arguing that unwillingness to endow
women’s houses permanently, rather than ecclesiastical redefinition of women’s
religious roles, was the underlying cause of the historical development she
identifies, she raises more questions than she answers, notwithstanding the
extinction of most of the royal families whose patronage was instrumental to the
foundation of the double monasteries. To what extent women who became
vowesses instead of cloistered women were exercising a choice is difficult to
determine, but in the absence of either an extended enquiry into the regulatory
literature dealing with vowesses, or a rigorous investigation of whether the
Benedictine reform impacted to any significant extent on women in monastic
houses, it seems premature to conclude that there is likely to have been no
difference in their lifestyles. Sarah Foot has made an important contribution to
the study of Anglo-Saxon religious women; part II of her work will be an
invaluable aid to further research.

University of Auckland

xiii + 298 incl. 3 maps and 4 genealogical tables. Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 2000. £35 (cloth), £12.95 (paper). 0 521 58443 4; 0 521
58602 X

In the decade since Michael Lynch’s Scotland: a new history was published, the
output of research into aspects of medieval Scottish history has been tremendous.
Andrew Barrell is here offering a synthesis of that new research and has largely
succeeded in assembling a useful undergraduate level text. I say ‘largely’
succeeded, as there are problems in content and structure that diminish the
book’s overall value. Some arise from constraints of space: the author
acknowledges that social and economic history and Scotland’s foreign contacts
have received at best shallow or patchy consideration. In a book that sets out ‘to
discover the origins and nature of Scottish identity’, however, these are serious
omissions and it must be asked if the weighting towards political narrative is the
best means towards achieving that end. This weighting, moreover, is skewed
towards the post-1300 period, an imbalance produced by the volume of new
research carried out in respect of this period. By attempting to accommodate this
work, a dichotomy is produced in the text. This division serves to accentuate the
‘watershed’ that occurs with the Wars of Independence, but it is a division made
artificially sharp by over-reliance on one body of published research. This
unhelpful weighting is most evident in chapter vii, which takes as its focus
crown–magnate relations in the later Middle Ages. Failure to examine this
theme in the earlier period, where discussion of such relationships is central to
understanding of the political development of the kingdom, artificially reinforces
the sense of dichotomy. Selective use of recent research results has produced an
awkward juxtaposition of traditional historiography with the new. Whilst it is
important to highlight the extent of the revisionism of the recent work, it is
unhelpful to compare and contrast the new research, based as it is on detailed
examination, criticism and analysis of the primary sources for individual reigns,
with the earlier work, which was principally synthetic and intended to offer a
coherent overview of then current historiography. This problem is compounded
by concentration on the ‘over-mighty magnate’ thesis, primarily through focus
on the activities of the Douglases and the MacDonalds. It is a theme that needs
careful handling, both in terms of exploration of the development of the thesis,
and in discussion of the rise of these families. Neither issue is adequately
addressed. In particular, there is a failure to consider the origins and development
of magnate power, and, more especially, the kinship of these men with the
Stewart kings. Consideration of this relationship significantly alters interpretation
of their behaviour in the early 1400s and puts a different gloss onto the struggle
for power in northern and western Scotland. Problems such as these are offset in
part by strengths in other areas, most especially in Barrell’s particular area of
expertise, the medieval Church. The deft handling of complex material here,
however, particularly in his very valuable discussion of Scoto-papal relations and
issues such as provision and pluralism, serves to emphasise the difficulties
elsewhere in the text. In the final judgement, such variation in treatment detracts
significantly from the value of the book.

University of Aberdeen

Richard D. Oram


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The demographic and spiritual vitality of Byzantium during the medieval phase
of the empire’s expansion (ninth–eleventh centuries) was marked by a
proliferation of monastic foundations by inspirational holy men on the
mountainous margins of agricultural society. The survival of the evidence has
been patchy; if we know more about the monastic colonisation of Mount
Galesion near Ephesos than about the origins of some other ‘holy mountains’, this is because the Life of the man responsible, Lazaros (baptised Leo), written by his disciple George the cellarer, was preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript on Mount Athos – the only Holy Mountain to have kept its monastic polity more or less intact. The Life is a positivist’s dream: long (255 chapters), detailed, reliable and plainly written, it does not require sophisticated decoding to reveal its rich data, which, although conditioned by the conventions of hagiography, are not the fools gold of fiction or topos. It is a faithful record of the long life (966/7-1053/4) of a strong ascetic personality who left western Asia Minor for the Holy Land at the age of eighteen and returned after twenty years of pilgrimage and long ascetic sojourns near Attaleia and Jerusalem. Settling as a stylite on a waterless and demon-infested mountain, he moved pillar three times, in the process founding four monastic communities. The text fully documents Lazaros’s role as a solitary ascetic, prophet, healer and exorcist, and as a monastic superior with wise understanding of human weakness but also with a very strict attitude to the ownership of private property. It is also rich in incidental realia, such as provincial education, the ubiquity of Armenians and the hazards of travel, including temptations to casual sex which might turn out to be unwitting incest. In general, this is a picture of a Byzantine provincial world in which all roads did not lead to Constantinople. There are glimpses of direct traffic between Asia Minor and Italy; the well-travelled hero never visits the capital, his objectives being the pilgrimage shrines of Asia Minor, Rome (though he never gets there) and the Holy Land, where he would probably have ended his days in the Lavra of St Sabas but for the scare caused by al-Hakim’s destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009.

Richard Greenfield’s careful annotated translation is the third in the excellent Dumbarton Oaks series. Based on the vintage Acta sanctorum edition by Delehaye, it deals discerningly with textual problems, and lays its interpretations open to inspection in helpful explanatory footnotes; helpful, too, is the prosopographical appendix B. While the introduction does not compare Lazaros with other founders, or the Life with other hagiography, the text is convincingly contextualised in relation to the vexed question of the founder’s monastic legacy. Greenfield explains this in terms of a conflict between the mountain communities, with which Lazaros and his biographer identified, and that at Bessai, to which the Emperor Constantine IX directed his benefaction because it had the blessing of the local bishop. The missing sections of the Life are plausibly seen as the result of the deliberate removal of embarrassing pages from the exemplar used by the fourteenth-century scribe.
dans les archives de l’abbaye (ms 179). Une brève introduction présente ce prieuré aujourd’hui disparu, dont on ne sait pas grand chose, sinon qu’il apparaît pour la première fois dans une lettre de Victor II en 1057, bien que l’on puisse déduire d’une note ajoutée à la chronique de Léon d’Ostie qu’il existait dès 1022.

On en trouve encore la trace dans quelques actes au milieu du xve siècle, mais il semble que le tremblement de terre du 9 septembre 1349 lui ait été fatal. Le livre du chapitre qui a été à son usage a été écrit entre 1031 et 1071, en minuscule bénéventaine, dans le scriptorium de Montecassino: la mort de saint Dominique de Sora (22 janvier 1031) est inscrite de première main. Sa composition est tout à fait classique: martyrologe abrégé et nécrologe, capitules de prime, règle de saint Benoît, avec à la fin quelques textes administratifs, capitulaire de 817, lettre de l’abbé de Montecassino Théotmar à Charlemagne, Memoriale qualiter, ces derniers textes ayant été publiés dans le vol. i du Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum. Analyssés dans l’introduction, les capitules, qui permettent de reconstituer l’homéliaire en usage, méritent tout l’attention, mais leur publication même ne s’impose pas et l’éditeur les a sagement analysés. Le texte de la règle de saint Benoît a été utilisé par R. Hanslik dans son édition de référence (sigle 179).

Le martyrologe est un abrégé de celui de Bède, issu d’une rédaction utilisée à Rome, comme l’avait déjà montré en 1908 dom H. Quentin, dont l’éditeur reprend et développe les conclusions, en s’appuyant aussi sur l’édition pratique donnée en 1976 par dom J. Dubois et G. Renaud. Le texte essentiel pour l’historien reste donc le nécrologe, publié ici pour la première fois, E. Gattola (1734) et H. Dormeier (1799) n’en ayant donné que quelques extraits. Il renferme 1,150 noms en 1,027 entrées; 450 de ces noms ne se retrouvent pas dans le nécrologe de l’abbaye et l’éditeur considère qu’il correspondent de ce fait aux entrées propres au prieuré de San Nicola, frères et associés. Comme c’est souvent le cas pour les nécrologes de cette période, la majorité des personnes ne peut être identifiée. Pensez aux 793 monachi et au 323 sacerdotes inscrits … Ceux qui ont pu l’être, abbés, évêques ou quelques dignitaires, ont fait l’objet de notes infrapaginale, même si souvent leur identification reste hypothétique. On remarquera aussi qu’à la différence de l’abbaye-mère, aucune confraternité entre maisons n’est inscrite dans ce nécrologe. L’édition par contre – que ce soit celle du Martyrologe ou du nécrologe – n’est pas satisfaisante, l’éditeur ayant fait fi des règles adoptées communément pour l’édition de ces textes, et ayant choisi un mode illusoire et passiste, qui a certes joué autrefois d’un certain prestige outre-Manche, mais abandonné aujourd’hui, celui de vouloir donner une édition ‘imitative’ du texte, avec un emploi absurde des majuscules et de la ponctuation. Cela rend le texte souvent illisible, et parfois on peut se demander si l’éditeur a bien compris le sens de ce qu’il publiait et si ses lectures sont fiables. Mieux aurait valu alors faire comme dom M. Ingueanez pour le cod. Cass. 47, donner le facsimilé photographique du nécrologe accompagné d’un index. De plus, il n’y a dans ce volume aucune reproduction, fut-ce d’un feuillet du manuscrit, et F. Newton n’en a pas donné dans son Scriptorium and library at Monte Cassino (Cambridge 1999). Aucune présentation des diverses mains employées dans le nécrologe n’a été faite. Le nécrologe est complété par index nominum, avec renvoi aux nécrologes du cod. Cass. 47 et du calendrier de Léon d’Ostie. Le volume se termine avec l’analyse de quinze documents, une bibliographie et un ‘Index général’ recoupant l’introduction et les notes infrapaginale. Mais le martyrologe
This is an excellent addition to the growing number of modern studies of cathedrals. The recent vogue for cathedral histories began with the collaborative project on York Minster edited by Gerald Aylmer and Reginald Cant in 1977. Since then at least eight other cathedrals have been similarly memorialised and several other cathedral histories are currently in the process of being written. This volume on Christ Church Cathedral (Holy Trinity), Dublin, has claims to be one of the most successful so far. To an extent it has benefited from being written after some of the others had been published, and the editor has learned to balance the need for having a variety of authors, to ensure subject specialism, with the advantages of having a relatively small number of contributors which helps keep the volume coherent, and this means that this book is less fragmented than some of the earlier histories. Furthermore, the contributors have used the previous volumes as points of reference and comparison which serves to indicate how far the experience of Christ Church differed from, mirrored or followed trends elsewhere. As might be expected, this history follows the necessarily chronological framework of the other histories, but the particular strengths of this volume are that it has a more self-consciously multi-disciplinary approach than most, and has successfully integrated architectural, liturgical and musical history with social, political and economic developments. Congratulations must in large measure be due to the editor who has marshalled a distinguished series of contributors and managed to harmonise the chapters so that they link together well. In the preface, he quotes an anonymous historian who described this project as ‘one of the most important events in Irish historiography of the [twentieth] century’. While some readers might think this is an exaggeration, it is to some extent justified, since, as Raymond Refausse points out in an introduction which acts as a useful overview of the issues raised in the following chapters, in comparison to England, there has not been any tradition of cathedral history writing in Ireland, and despite an interest in medieval cathedrals by late nineteenth-century Irish Catholic scholars, the history of the Protestant cathedral in Ireland has been almost totally over-looked. Moreover, notwithstanding the often received opinion that the 1922 PROI fire destroyed much of the necessary documentation for a history of this kind, this is thoroughly based on a broad range of records. In this regard the volume is very much the result of painstaking cataloguing and ordering of the archives.

One of the factors that gives the story of this cathedral (founded c. 1030) an interest, and which marks it off from most other cathedrals in Britain and
Ireland, is that for much of its life it has had a competitor in the larger and richer
St Patrick’s Cathedral (founded in the thirteenth century), situated only a few
hundred yards away. The relations between the two (Christ Church adopting the
Augustinian rule; St Patrick’s being a secular foundation) provide a theme
throughout the volume. There was a large amount of rivalry in the thirteenth and
early fourteenth centuries about which cathedral should take the lead in electing
the archbishop, yet this is also a story of compromise and collaboration, and in
some periods individuals were members of both cathedrals. What is of especial
interest are the ways in which Christ Church managed to keep its separate status
and be considered the mother church of the diocese. Well-researched chapters by
Stuart Kinsella and James Lydon take us through the social and political history
of the medieval cathedral. These chapters also explore relations with the city and
wider administrative powers. Christ Church looked south-east towards Dublin
Castle, and its relations with its inhabitants provide an interesting theme,
resulting in a strong relationship cemented by the holding of sessions of
parliament in the priory. The close links with the government can be seen in the
types of people recruited to the cathedral priory. In 1182 the first Anglo-Norman
bishop was appointed and from the thirteenth century none of the priory was of
Irish stock, but the cathedral did keep Irish feast days, which is suggestive of the
ways in which the ruling elite worked with the indigenous population. As far as
Dublin and the neighbouring community were concerned, relations were
generally good in this period. Members of the city wanted to be buried in the
cathedral, there was a lively gild dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the local
laity gave gifts to the community, including a large endowment in 1488. The
cathedral depended for its income on the leasing of property to members of the
locality (that of St Patrick’s came from church livings) and the tithe of fish from
the Liffey was notably lucrative. Alan Fletcher contributes a particularly striking
and evocative chapter on the liturgy. The Easter celebrations appear to have
been a forte and the grandest event held in the medieval cathedral was the
magnificent coronation of the pretender Lambert Simnel in 1487. By the fifteenth
century the cathedral had also become a pilgrimage centre (complete with its
speaking cross) and the findings of this volume tend to confirm other studies on
the vibrancy of late medieval Catholicism.

Three important chapters on the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by
Raymond Gillespie cover the Reformation and the effects of the civil wars. The
Reformation raised the issue of whether it was necessary to have two cathedrals
in Dublin and for a while it looked as though Christ Church might be demoted
or merged. In the end it was St Patrick’s that suffered, but its position was
restored by Queen Mary. Gillespie demonstrates that under Henry VIII there was
in fact much continuity with the old regime (members of the priory becoming
canons) and that the real shift came under Edward and Elizabeth when the
cathedral became an organ of the Protestant ascendency and the lords lieutenant
worshipped there. Even so, in the 1560s feasts of Thomas à Becket and the
assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary were being celebrated and the Jesuit
Edmund Campion was given access to the cathedral records to further his
research, suggesting that confessional boundaries were not yet entrenched. As the
histories of other cathedrals have shown, tensions were endemic between
cathedral bodies and the civic community in the early modern period, but these
were heightened in Christ Church’s case by the confessional divide between the cathedral and the city, ensuring that Christ Church was necessarily more reliant on governmental support and backing. The cathedral participated in both the ‘godly’ and Laudian initiatives, and shared in the general abandonment of cathedral status during Civil War (but here disruption was increased by the Irish uprising of 1641 and its aftermath). However, Christ Church’s experience in the 1640s and 50s was less disastrous than that of English cathedrals. While many of those were severely damaged, Christ Church served as the meeting place for the leading religious preachers and its fabric was kept up. The editor himself covers the social and political chapters between 1660 and 1960. He analyses the Restoration process well, and brings out the political implications of 1688–9, highlighting the fact that for seven months in 1689 Christ Church became a Roman Catholic stronghold. During the Hanoverian period, the cathedral went through a period of decline, and after the Act of Union in 1801, and the consequent departure of many of the most wealthy Protestants from the city and region, it was left without many supporters. In 1833 the Irish Temporalities Act (often seen as a political spark to the Oxford Movement) and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871 made the position of the cathedral problematic. From the mid-twentieth century, the fortunes of the cathedral revived, and today Christ Church occupies an important place within the cultural and religious life of the city.

Alongside these chapters, are ones that deal with the cathedral fabric and with music. Four expert chapters by Roger Stalley cover the architectural history of the entire period. Again the comparison with St Patrick’s is made: the rebuilding of the nave in the thirteenth century in the fashionable English style appears to have been done out of rivalry with the newcomer on the scene. The problems of maintaining a fabric, especially when initially rather shoddily built out of what was essentially rubble, served as a constant headache for members of the cathedral community. In 1562 the south side of the nave collapsed, and was repaired, but for much of the next three centuries the state of the fabric posed difficulties for the cathedral community. The 1870s – ironically at precisely the time when the cathedral had become disestablished – saw a complete restoration of Christ Church by G. E. Street, thanks to a generous donation by the Dublin businessman Henry Roe. Barra Boydell’s chapters on the music are a significant contribution not only to this volume, but to our knowledge of cathedral music as a whole. In terms of musical development, St Patrick’s had a slight edge because, as a secular cathedral, it had started using boy’s voices earlier, but Christ Church played a significant role in the musical life of the city. Music, indeed, was one of the success stories of the eighteenth-century cathedral, and to some extent this belies that century’s reputation for spiritual and religious neglect. Choirmen were usually members of both Christ Church and St Patrick’s choirs, and, enjoying a double income, the choirs could attract some excellent singers. Handel himself expressed satisfaction with the Christ Church choir, and several of its members participated in the first performance of The Messiah in 1742. Although Christ Church’s musical reputation suffered from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, largely because of the general uneasiness about the cathedral’s role, it has had a musical renaissance since the 1980s, and today its choir is internationally known.
This is an extremely interesting and significant volume. Above all, it sheds considerable light on religious life in Dublin from the eleventh century to the present day and adds greatly to our understanding of how the Protestant ascendancy operated and related to the wider community. It is to be hoped that a companion history of St Patrick’s will now be undertaken which will enable us to have a fuller picture of Dublin’s, and indeed of Ireland’s, religious history.

Jeremy Gregory


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Many readers of Robert Bartlett’s volume in the *New Oxford History of England* will be delighted with his recreation of twelfth-century English society. Bartlett has set aside the approach adopted by his predecessor in the first series, A. L. Poole, with its solid core of chapters outlining the history of politics and government. Bartlett concentrates instead on physical realities, the struggle for survival, the phases of human life and its mental horizons, culture, devotional practices and, the most intriguing chapter of all, cosmologies: concepts of time, views about the world and the beings within it. He writes about an astonishing range of subjects using a remarkable assortment of sources. This is a ‘must have’ volume for every scholar’s bookshelf, and there are few who will read it without learning something new.

It is however very much a personal take on the long twelfth century, rather than a textbook or a survey highlighting topics which have recently exercised other historians or where more work needs to be done. In the first place, the book is lightly footnoted, and most of the references are to printed primary sources. The reader who wants to discover the author’s sources looks in vain for a bibliography of secondary material, which makes it hard for the non-expert to detect where the author is synthesising recent research, or is offering fresh insights of his own. Secondly, the author has made choices about the space to be allowed to different topics, and indeed sources. One can see how this arose, in the sense that a discussion of one author, or one example, might be thought to give the text an immediacy which it might otherwise have lacked. Thus, for instance, six pages are devoted to a courtesy book by Daniel of Beccles, and another six to bestiaries. Both are interesting subjects, but when others are treated very briefly, doubts arise. Readers of this *Journal*, for instance, will find little on the careers of Anselm or Becket in the context of Church–State relations. At one level, it could be argued that this is a very good thing, yet surely the process by which relations between Church and State was debated and defined needs more discussion than is given here? Again, one may applaud the decision to use individual texts, or case studies, as a means to give immediacy to the text, but the examples perhaps need more contextualisation than they are given. For instance, a discussion of romantic love rests principally on the *Lais* of Marie de France, the identity of whom has been much debated. The author recognises this fact – and one could argue that authorship does not affect the substance of the discussion – but the
reader has to take it essentially on trust that the views expressed in these poems were representative. The discussion of the role of castles is brought to life by looking at the castles of Hertfordshire in some detail, and the justification for the choice of this county is that it is ‘manageable and not atypical’; yet we see on p. 272 that the castles discussed lay in the north-eastern rather than the south-western half of the county: why? Finally, Staffordshire is chosen as an example on which to base an account of the changing sources of royal revenue and expenditure: good, but the year chosen for particularly detailed treatment, 1158–9, was one of exceptional demand for the Toulouse campaign, a fact which is only briefly mentioned.

An uneven coverage in part arises from the author’s decision to deal with the whole period thematically. This works better for some themes, such as religious history or cosmologies, than it does in identifying the tempo of political crises, or developments in government. Separate descriptions of politics, kingship and aristocracy, do not really capture the interlocking crises of the reigns of Stephen or John, or the minority of Henry III, and the immediacy of the twists and turns of events is lacking. Moreover, an opportunity to provide an update on important recent work on these periods has been missed, and the novice reader is given no idea of just how much has appeared in recent years on Stephen’s reign, for instance.

Turning now to those chapters of most direct concern to readers of this journal: Bartlett discusses both the structure and personnel of the Church, and there is a particularly useful brief account of the development of parishes. The discussions of religious practice and the course of life from cradle to grave (which draw heavily on clerical writing) are fascinating. Topics such as concepts of the holy, patterns in the cult of saints, sexual practices and customs relating to marriage and death make good use of the English evidence.

How this book is to be judged depends in the last analysis on one’s view of what history is all about. When Poole was writing, the history of politics and government was centre-stage and the Church was primarily treated in the context of Church–State relations, though social, economic and cultural changes were not neglected. Bartlett’s perspective is very different. He sees the period as defined by the process whereby a new political elite was assimilated into England, whilst not neglecting the impact of wider cultural and religious changes, population growth and growing commercialisation, and England’s increasing dominance within the British Isles. Kings and archbishops are not automatically given starring roles, and his stage instead is thickly thronged with a rich diversity of beings, alive, dead, and even the undead. Its strengths lie thus in an impression of religious life and practice rather than in ecclesiastical history.

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Judith A. Green

_The creation of the principality of Antioch, 1098–1130._ By Thomas Asbridge. Pp. xii + 233 incl. 6 maps. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000. £45. 0 85115 661 4

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This is a welcome addition to crusading history, if only because the principality of Antioch has been so neglected by comparison with the kingdom of Jerusalem.
This is largely because it failed to live up to its early promise. There was a distinct possibility that it would become the dominant power in northern Syria, but any such hope had disappeared by 1130, when Bohemond II died in battle against an Armenian leader. This book prompts an obvious question: why was early promise not fulfilled? The key is military organisation. How were the first princes of Antioch able to raise such large forces? In 1119, for example, the prince collected a force of 700 knights and 4,000 infantry. Could the kingdom of Jerusalem at that juncture have fielded so large an army? The military power of the principality in these early years is equally revealed in its fortifications, notably those of Sâone (Sahyun). Asbridge does not stop to analyse the military power of the principality, but he does look at the origins of the major families. There is a very useful appendix (pp. 169–80) on the lay land-holders of the principality 1098–1130, containing twenty-one names. Interestingly, this list points to the Norman – whether from the duchy or from southern Italy – origin of the majority, thus tending to confirm the Douglas thesis, but it proves more difficult to say just how this Norman background shaped the principality. The Normans are famous for the way they made use of the existing administrative institutions. But at Antioch it is much less clear. The one episode to shed light on the organisation of the city in the early years is open to conflicting interpretation. Offices, such as duke, praetor and judge, could go directly back to Byzantine practice; equally, they might have been imported from Norman Sicily. Ruefully, Asbridge admits that there is not a great deal that can be made of the information. His line of approach is to set out as scrupulously as possible the information available in the written sources and to accept that only rarely is it strong enough to bear the weight of any sustained interpretation or elaboration. It means that Stephen of Antioch, the translator in 1127 of the Arabic medical compendium known as the Book of the king, does not rate a mention, still less Adelard of Bath who visited the principality c. 1114 in search of instruction in science and mathematics. And what about George of Antioch? Did the chief minister to Roger II of Sicily maintain any links with his homeland? Much of interest was going on in the early years of the principality of Antioch. Is it beyond recovery?

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1998, the nine-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), witnessed a spate of conferences and publications in her honour in both Europe and North America. Much had happened over the previous two decades to deepen public awareness of the writings and musical achievement of Hildegard. Whereas even in the early 1980s it was not uncommon to find uncritical hagiographies of Hildegard that treated her simply as an extraordinary woman mystic, by 1998 some excellent volumes had been published that sought
to situate her achievement within broader intellectual and religious traditions in
the twelfth century. The volume edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke
(\textit{Hildegard of Bingen and the context of her thought and art}, London, 1998) was just one
example of this trend. This makes it all the more surprising that Anne Bäumer’s
compendious survey of Hildegard’s writings should ignore so completely any
effort at contextualisation. Bäumer’s volume consciously announces itself as
enabling Hildegard to speak for herself. In an initial section about her life, she
presents the events well-known from her twelfth-century biographers as well as
her own recollections. There follow extended summaries of her letters, her
visionary writings and her medical works, filled out with long passages from
German translations of her writing. While the \textit{resume}s offered are not wildly
inaccurate, there is little original analysis in what is presented. There is a strong
emphasis on Hildegard’s awareness of health and healing as a metaphor for her
understanding of spiritual growth. Perhaps the most interesting section is the
extended survey, critical in tone, of the spate of pseudo-Hildegard medical books
and cookbooks to be found in German bookshops. Here at least Bäumer seeks to
impose a critical eye. She concludes by focusing, not inaccurately, on the
importance for Hildegard of \textit{viriditas}, greening power, as a metaphor for spiritual
health. The theme is certainly an important one. No effort is made, however, to
situate Hildegard within a broader theological or scientific tradition. Readers
who wish to find out what she has to say may be better served by going directly
to her writings.

\textbf{Monash University} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Constant Mews}

\textit{The making of Gratian’s Decretum}. By Anders Winroth. (Cambridge Studies in
Medieval Life and Thought. 4th Ser., 49.) Pp. xvi + 248 incl. 4 ills and
7 tables. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £40. 0 521
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Doctoral dissertations in history, however sound their findings and the scholarship
that supports them, seldom spark intense excitement, save perhaps among the
doctorand, his friends, his family and his \textit{Doktorvater}. Anders Winroth’s 1996
Columbia University dissertation, of which this book is a revised version, is a rare
exception to the general rule.

Winroth asserted in his dissertation that he had discovered a hitherto
unrecognised version of the \textit{Decretum of Gratian}, one that, moreover, was the
original recension of the work. This version, according to his account, survived
in three manuscripts, now located in libraries respectively at Admont, Barcelona
and Florence (Carlos Larainzar has since identified a fourth fragmentary
manuscript in Paris). Winroth added that the text that he had discovered was
about half the size of the commonly received one that had been taught in the
schools of canon law since the mid-twelfth century, and further declared that its
exposition of the law was more straightforward and made better sense than that
found in the conventional form of the work.

These were bold claims. The \textit{Decretum Gratiani} was, after all, the cornerstone of
the systematic study of canon law throughout the high and later Middle Ages and
well into modern times. Among Roman Catholics it remained a foundational
text, despite the fact that no pope had ever formally promulgated it, until the
publication of the *Codex iuris canonici* in 1917.

The origins of Gratian’s book have always been tantalising, starting with its
author and title. The author failed to put his name on his book. It remained for
early commentators and early manuscripts to supply the name of Master Gratian
as the author. We know nothing reliable about who this Gratian was, where he
lived, or what he did – aside, presumably, from writing this book. As for the title,
the author seems to have called it *A harmony of clashing canons* (*Concordia
discordantium canonum*). His contemporaries apparently found that title too
cumbersome for daily use and substituted Gratian’s decree (*Decretum Gratiani*) in its
place. To deepen the mystery, it is far from clear when or where the book was
written. The consensus of informed opinion on the matter is that it was probably
put together at Bologna in or shortly after 1140, since the received text includes
canons from the Second Lateran Council, held in 1139. Adam Vetulani, to be
sure, suggested in the 1950s that those canons might be interpolations and argued
for a date much earlier in the twelfth century, but few found his arguments
persuasive.

The book’s awkward structure is another stumbling block. Its three dissimilar
parts – or four, when one takes into account the *Tractatus de penitentia* – suggest
that it might be a composite. Certainly the joins between its parts are anything
but smooth. Quite aside from that, it is difficult to use. It only occasionally groups
topics together in coherent order and finding the specific section(s) that might
bear on a particular problem can be a nightmare. Canonists recognised these
structural problems – how could they not? – even in the twelfth century.

Even worse, the text itself is difficult to pin down. Roughly six hundred
manuscript copies survive from the Middle Ages and the texts they present are
far from uniform – an inconvenient situation, to say the least, in a legal textbook.
Eventually in 1566 a commission of cardinals was given the task of producing a
uniform version. The *Editio romana* that they published in 1582 did succeed in
standardising the text that church authorities used thereafter. While no doubt a
boon for early modern seminarians and administrators, this did nothing to meet
the needs of historians interested in the book’s medieval origins.

Into the midst of all these uncertainties strode Anders Winroth in 1996 bearing
his bombshell. He first announced his findings at an international congress in
August of that year, a month before defending his dissertation at Columbia. He
published one brief account of his argument in the Kanonistische Abteilung of the
*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* in 1997 and another the
following year in the *Revue de droit canonique*. Now in his book he presents his case
in detail.

Stephan Kuttner and others argued years ago that it was inherently unlikely
that Gratian (whoever he may have been) wrote the *Decretum* in one go. Winroth
maintains that the received version of the book was in fact the product of a two-
stage process. The four manuscripts that represent what he considers the first
recension of the work comprise almost 2,000 canons, while the received, or
vulgate, version of the text contains nearly 4,000. Winroth’s analysis of the
textual variants, the formal sources and the author’s arguments shows,
convincingly I think, that these four manuscripts cannot be simply a shortened
redaction of the longer version. Since this recension refers to a canon of the 1139 Lateran Council, a date of c. 1140 for its completion seems plausible. Commentators were using the fuller, second recension perhaps as early as 1150, certainly before 1158. A date in the early 1150s for the completion of that version thus seems plausible. This is reinforced by recent research into the history of medieval teaching of Roman law. The first recension of Gratian includes few references to Roman law, and those are mainly to pre-Justinianic sources. The second recension, by contrast, is rife with allusions and passages drawn from Justinian’s codification. This fits with recent studies that indicate that the study and teaching of Roman law did not become a flourishing industry at Bologna until the 1150s.

So who wrote Gratian’s Decretum? Winroth would like to believe that the author of the first recension may have been named Gratian. There is no compelling evidence for this, of course, but neither is there compelling evidence against it. Whether the same person wrote the second, vulgate recension remains undetermined.

Winroth concludes his impressive and well-argued book with a chapter-by-chapter analysis of the contents of the first recension which, one must hope, represents the first step toward a full edition of it.

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JAMES A. BRUNDA GE


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These two volumes serve not only as excellent biographies of three mystical theologians but also introduce major, albeit often neglected, treatises of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century spirituality. Elizabeth Andersen concentrates mainly on Mechthild (c. 1207–82) and her dialogues with God as indicated in her The flowing light of the godhead. As she guides the reader through the text, providing both the Middle High German and an English translation, Andersen’s aim is to present Mechthild as God’s interlocutor whose mystical experiences (Erlebnismystik) become translated into a unified narrative capable of assisting other souls in their pursuit of divine intimacy. Although Andersen, Professor of German at the University of Newcastle, chooses to proceed textually, she also provides the broader picture of Mechthild’s social and cultural context, including helpful sections on German women visionaries such as Hildegard of Bingen, Elisabeth of Schönau and Gertrude the Great. Hollywood’s more extensive work, a paperback reissue of her 1995 book, begins by examining medieval accounts of visions and ecstasies and the mulieres sanctae to whom these experiences were entrusted. Mechthild’s Flowing light as well as Marguerite’s Mirror of simple souls illustrate how women came to somatize their religious experiences in ways unattested to by men. Hollywood thus concentrates on the
role of the body in medieval mysticism, explaining how flesh penetrated by God bespeaks both divine immanence and human vulnerability. By placing Mechthild and Marguerite Porete (d. 1310) in this context, Hollywood is able to show that Meister Eckhart (d. 1327/29) relied on their particular characteristics of Frauenmystik in developing his language on the detached, or, virginal soul. Uniting what he learned from these women’s experiences with the traditional Neoplatonism of his day, Eckhart achieved a change of consciousness in paralleling the inner life of the Trinity with God’s action in each human soul. Thus for Eckhart, ‘The Father who gives birth to his Son in eternity gives birth to his Son in the soul … the soul is nothing and equal to the divine, she is also the Son to whom the Father is giving birth and the mother of that divine self-birth’ (p. 151). Hollywood goes on to analyse other paradigm shifts evident in Eckhart’s explication of creation as ebulitio, embodiment, and the inextricable unity of the contemplative and active lives. Both these works are highly accessible, provide excellent bibliographies and stand as fine representatives of the well-deserved attention being given today to the dynamics of medieval mysticism and the beguinal way of life.

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David Meconi


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Hugh II of Lincoln was a champion of the reforms promulgated by the 1215 Lateran Council. He established more than 500 vicarages in his diocese; he visited monasteries and campaigned against clerical pluralism, non-residence and illiteracy; he was antisemitic. He was the mentor of Robert Grosseteste. Much about him has already been published: fourteen surviving enrolments and his register recording vicarage endowments and appropriations. This collection of more than 450 documents, authoritatively edited, most already known, confirms Hugh’s reputation as a model bishop. Indeed, Hugh is now one of the best-documented of his age, his 17.3 documents surviving per annum outstripping, for example, the 2.5 for Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. Yet, as Smith laments, this is only a fraction of Hugh’s original output, a sample distorted by the better fortunes of institutional archives. From service in the chancery of King John (some apprenticeship) Hugh introduced brisk diplomatic professionalism into Lincoln. He initiated the dating of documents – using simple Roman method – and was unique in preferring the regal formula *datum per manum nostram.* The acta reveal a bishop constantly patrolling his vast diocese, but seldom north of Lincoln, returning to his cathedral for major festivals at least once a year. He did not stay at Sleaford or Newark castles after 1218. From 1233 ill-health grounded him at Stowe, Lincoln, but he continued to generate documents until his last fortnight. His 1212 testament, composed in exile, is lavish in its grants to west country monasteries and censures John’s notorious sheriff of Nottingham, Gerard d’Athée. His second, of 1233, is surprisingly mean to Lincolnshire
monasteries, but is characteristically generous to his hospital project at Wells, to his brother, Jocelyn, bishop of Bath, and ‘my poor relations at Wells and Pilton’.

SHERBORNE SCHOOL, Huw Ridgeway, DORSET


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These two handsome and extensively illustrated volumes offer a pioneering general study of the seven known bibles moralisées, today divided into thirteen individual manuscripts and spread among libraries in six different cities. The bible moralisée was devised by theologians and craftsmen in France under royal patronage in the 1220s. Only two of the seven were made later than 1300. Essentially didactic picture books, the accompanying text sometimes in French and sometimes in Latin, these are the most lavishly illuminated of all the various types of illustrated Bible produced during the Middle Ages. Even in their present mostly incomplete states, the manuscripts contain between them in excess of 23,000 individual pictures, many of them never yet reproduced. Lowden’s first volume addresses each of the seven in turn, concentrating on detailed codicological analysis and the careful consideration of every manuscript’s known history. His second focuses on the Book of Ruth, studying the presentation of each of its fourteen episodes throughout the series. This technique could of course be extended to cover the entire Bible. The bibliography records earlier studies and these are assessed, together with current projects and new developments. Though it may appear to modern eyes as an embodiment of the art of book painting in medieval Paris, the bible moralisée was never intended for general circulation. All seven examples have strong royal connections. The two earliest, one in French, the other in Latin, have been convincingly associated with Louis VIII of France and his Spanish wife, Blanche of Castile. Indeed, she seems to have been the moving force behind the enterprise. It is argued that the next two copies chronologically, both expanded to three volumes or more, were intended for her son, the young Louis IX, and his bride of 1234, Margaret of Provence. These two are identical for most of their vast length and modern technology has allowed the author to discover and explore the techniques of dry-point tracing which enabled the craftsmen to transfer imagery from one sheet of vellum to another in order to speed production. Both these three volume sets apparently left the French royal collection within a comparatively short time of completion, offered as diplomatic gifts to the kings of Spain and of England. The fifth in the series, executed in uncoloured line-drawing towards the end of the thirteenth century, has recently (and unexpectedly) been recognised as English work, replicating the contents if not the page design of the copy sent to England. This book was made for transfer back to France, probably because its model was connected with Louis IX, raised to sainthood at the end of the century, and it was the ancestor of the two later
versions, both of which were initiated from within the royal family. The last was left fragmentary and unfinished in the 1490s. This is an extremely interesting and readable study, telling a story fascinating to both historians and bibliographers.

The British Library


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The ten essays in this volume are based upon papers that were delivered at a conference on universities in medieval society that was staged by the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC, in 1997. The collection encapsulates important recent research of German and American historians on aspects of the history of medieval universities, with special reference to those of Germany and Italy. In particular, a central aim is to assess the impact of university education on areas such as secular and ecclesiastical government, urban life, the courts of emperors, kings and princes, and on the careers of various categories of personnel. In addition, two of the essays are concerned with pre-university schools and schoolmasters. The essays are organised into four thematic sections, and the overall sense is of a cohesive and well-integrated volume. Three of the four essays in the first section contain a mass of quantitative and demographic data relating to German scholars of the late medieval period. In a valuable contribution William J. Courtenay analyses in depth the evidence for German students who studied at foreign universities in the fourteenth century, especially at Bologna, Paris and Oxford. Rainer C. Schwinges examines patterns of recruitment to German universities from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. He argues that the standing of students within German universities generally reflected the traditional hierarchies in society at large. In a less well-developed essay Klaus Wriedt attempts an overview of the employment of German scholars in the cities of late medieval Germany, and he contends that old-established families tried to exclude scholars from assuming leadership roles in municipal councils. On a different and little explored theme Frank Rexroth gives an illuminating account of the important symbolism inherent in the celebrations that accompanied the opening of new university foundations in medieval Germany. In the second section, which is concerned with university careers in Italy, France and Germany, Darleen Pryds emphasises the sharp contrasts in organisation and function between the universities of southern Italy and the Iberian peninsula and those of northern Europe. While she exaggerates the extent to which this has not been appreciated, her detailed discussion of the central workings of the University of Naples is of considerable value. Helmut G. Walther’s contribution on the careers of academic lawyers in Italy and Germany contains, amongst many other features, useful data on the costs of law courses at Bologna, Padua and Pavia. Concluding the second section is Thomas Sullivan’s innovatory study of the criteria governing the ranking of candidates in the faculty of theology at the University of Paris who were on the point of receiving their degrees. In the third section Martin Kintzinger examines the low status of schoolmasters in late
medieval Europe and Jo A. H. Moran Cruz advances a speculative thesis regarding educational growth and the urban and rural economies in northern England. The only essay in the final section is an exploration by Jürgen Miethke of the ways in which political theory, which could be generated within any of the four faculties of arts, law, theology and medicine, had practical implications for contemporary society. This is a volume of interesting variety and sound scholarship, and it is a most valuable addition to our understanding of several aspects of the history of medieval universities.


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Aquinas, like other major thinkers from a distant age, has too often been portrayed in our image rather than his own. Memory selects, probably to meet current concerns. So Aquinas has been cast in too philosophical a light, especially in the English-speaking world, or as a theologian less immersed in the Scriptures than he was. Ryan’s study of Aquinas as reader of the Psalms is, therefore, a necessary corrective, and it is by far the most thorough account in English. More precisely, it is a study of Aquinas’s work Super psalmos. Although aware of the continuing debates, Ryan takes the work to be the report of lectures delivered by Aquinas in Naples between 1272 and 1273. Only Psalms i–liv were covered. The very late dating preferred by Ryan is gathering support from various directions, internal and external to the text.

Ryan’s study is in four well-documented chapters (although, possibly because it is based on his university dissertation, the notes at times contain valuable material that should have been integrated in the text so as not to distract the reader from the flow of the argument). The first chapter provides what is described as the informative structure of Super psalmos, paying much attention to the importance of assisting memorising, while the second examines the authority of Scripture as stated by Aquinas. These chapters are basic to the study of any aspect of Aquinas’s work on the Psalms. The remaining two chapters are narrower and comparative. Given the late dating adopted by Ryan, he can compare in detail how Aquinas treats Christ and prayer in the Summa theologiae (ch. iii) and in Super psalmos (ch. iv). Both works are unfinished. Ryan’s conclusion is far too brief to deal with Aquinas’s ‘spirituality’, but the reference to his comments on Psalm liv. 7 is a telling choice. There Aquinas contrasts those who like ‘the philosophers’ simply desire to investigate some truth, with those who both contemplate and teach their neighbours the things contemplated. We should recall the formative effect that praying the Psalms had on Aquinas: Ryan remarks that Aquinas periodically notes in Super psalmos the relevant liturgical setting of the Psalms. A fascinating detail: Aquinas’s explanation of Psalms lii–iv survived in a single manuscript, which was destroyed in a 1943 bombardment of Naples. Fortunately, it had been published by Uccelli in the nineteenth century. Ryan’s location of Aquinas in Naples as he expounded a course on the Psalms is corroborated by the fact that the manuscript diffusion would seem to begin in
that city. Although the surviving manuscripts are few and late, the Leonine Commission’s critical edition of Super psalmos, now in progress, should advance our knowledge of its dating and help identify the audience for Aquinas’s course.

Blackfriars, Robert Ombres

Cambridge


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This study of the Murthly Hours provides an admirable reconstruction of the history of a book of hours produced and decorated in Paris in the 1280s, for a female English owner (convincingly identified as Joan of Valence at p. 24). The style of the illumination is traced to that of the ‘Cholet Group’ of Parisian illuminators, as identified by Branner (ch. iii). The Hours are preceded by two gatherings that contain 23 full-page miniatures which are stylistically different from the rest of the book, but were bound up with the Hours before the Reformation. They have a separate, earlier origin in England (1260s–90s), related to the ‘William of Devon’ group (chapter vii). By the fourteenth century the manuscript was already being used in Scotland, where it has remained ever since.

Each aspect of Higgitt’s in-depth analysis is well developed: the liturgical analysis of the calendar, litanies and offices (chapter ii), the palaeographical and codicological description, the analysis of its decoration and illumination and the history of provenance and later ownership (chs ii, iii).

The book is placed, with a wealth of comparative material, in the wider context of book production and ownership of the period, in France, England and Scotland (chs iv, vi, xiii). In particular, mention is made of the contemporary Burdett psalter (p. 114), made for a Hospitaller, but the references provided by the author do not include Jonathan Riley-Smith’s Hospitallers: the history of the order of St John (1999), where on p. 79 it is suggested that the owner might have been Joseph Chauncy, prior of England 1273–80.

Chapters v and vi focus again on the content of the Hours, but from a different perspective, that of the meaning of this particular devotional book for a contemporary reader and worshipper. Here a reference to K. Ottosen, The responsories and versicles of the Latin office of the dead (Aarhus 1993), as well as to Jean Leclercq, ‘Fragmenta Mariana’, in Ephemerides Liturgicae xci (1958) on the development of the office of the Blessed Virgin would have complemented the historical argument nicely. It should also have been noted that, while the use of the Hours appears to agree with that of Sarum, the presence of the chapter at None ‘Et sic in Syon’ in the office of the Blessed Virgin is not, according to Madan, found anywhere else.

A rich set of appendices containing codicological and textual information, including later additions in Latin, French and Gaelic concludes the work.
It is praiseworthy that the author has sought the collaboration of specialists, with the result that complex technical aspects are very skilfully analysed, notably the binding and conservation issues, and the Gaelic notes deciphered and commented upon by Ronald Black. Footnotes are generally very informative, comprehensive and up to date and it is therefore a bit surprising to find references to Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* only in its English (p. 160 n. 10; Ryan-Ripperger 1941) and French translations (p. 161 n. 20; Roze 1967), and not to the Latin text, edited by Graesse in 1850 and Maggioni in 1998. For the analysis of the calendar a reference to the *Bibliotheca sanctorum* would also have been appropriate. Finally, a bibliography would have been helpful, to avoid the repetitions in the footnotes as well as to serve better as an excellent reference work for present and future readers, as this work clearly is.


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This is the final volume of the critical edition of William Durandus’ *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, perhaps the most important work on church practice and liturgy of the high and late Middle Ages. Book VII covers saints’ feasts, arranged according to the liturgical calendar from 20 January (Fabian and Sebastian) to 28 December (Holy Innocents). These chapters are as much of interest for the feasts not included as for those that were. Although feast dates are not given, the Venerable Bede, interestingly, appears among those for December rather than May. The longest of these chapters, not surprisingly, is on the offices of the dead on All Souls (2 November). Both the emphasis and detail of this chapter, divided into forty-five sections, will be an important source for those working on related topics. The last chapters concern categories of saints: the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and a final chapter on the dedication of churches. Book VIII discusses computistical and calendrical matters: why the solar year is important for the Church; the signs of the zodiac; the divisions of the month, week and day; the lunar cycle and the determination of Easter. After the text comes the introduction to all three volumes, covering the manuscript tradition and various redactions, the copies of the second redaction generated by university *stationarii* and specific remarks on the apparatus and book VIII. The editors acknowledge their debt to Fr Clarence Ménard for his preliminary work on the manuscripts and dating of the *Rationale*. While this introduction expresses the combined views of the editors, the sections beginning in French and ending in English are written in the first person singular, and the reader is initially in the dark regarding which editor is speaking (identified at the end of their assigned portion but not in the table of contents). The last half of this volume contains a very thorough group of indices for all three volumes: Scriptural references; authors; canon law citations; liturgical incipits; and a liturgical index from *acolytus* to *unctio*. The table of contents for books VII and VIII comes, somewhat awkwardly, after Book VIII and before the introduction. A table of contents for all three


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The fourteenth century witnessed a significant growth in the production of instruction manuals for parish priests; the Memoriale presbiterorum is a prime example of such literature. In his superb study, Haren carefully examines the contents of the Memoriale, while advancing cogent arguments for its dating and authorship. What makes this study especially valuable is the thoroughgoing manner in which the Memoriale is treated within its historical context, thus considering thirteenth-century English episcopal legislation, the works of canonists such as the Summa aurea of Hostiensis, as well as fourteenth-century vernacular satire and complaint literature. While the Memoriale is specifically concerned with confessional technique, this provides the setting for a stinging rebuke of both ecclesiastical and lay corruption, in addition to persistent criticism levelled against the mendicant orders. This last point is of prime importance in establishing a connection between the tract’s proposed author and Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, who would himself launch a series of attacks upon the friars in the 1350s. There can be no certainty as to the authorship of the Memoriale. While the earliest extant manuscript is the fourteenth-century Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 148, the fifteenth-century, BL, ms Harley 3120, includes a colophon explaining that a ‘certain doctor of decrees’ composed the tract at Avignon in 1344. Though concluding that internal evidence probably indicates that the author was not a doctor of canon law at the time of its writing, Haren does offer a very strong, though prudently cautious, case for the author being William Doune, one-time registrar of Bishop John Grandisson of Exeter. Doune had in fact accompanied Grandisson to Avignon in 1343, where he may have met Fitzralph, himself a Grandisson protégé since 1328. With respect to the dating of the treatise, Haren fixes as a terminus ante quem the 1342 Council of London, noting that the Memoriale makes no mention of its legislation, much of which dealt with the author’s own concerns. Thus its 1344 ‘composition’ at Avignon may have been a redaction intended for a wider audience. Observing that ‘the two outstanding characteristics of the Memoriale are its puritanical and legalistic approach to penance … and its concern with social vices’, Haren proceeds to examine the treatise in seven chapters under the general heading of ‘Society under scrutiny’. Here the discussion focuses on the specific forms of interrogation and the obligations of restitution suited to the status of the penitent, from knights to manorial officials, peasants to sailors, and clerics as well. The penultimate chapter of Haren’s study considers the strong criticism directed by the Memoriale’s author at the friars, primarily condemning them for imposing lax penances and exceeding their privileges. This is a crucial part of the linkage
which connects Doune and Fitzralph in the greater context of Grandisson’s own pastoral programme. Echoing the sentiments of W. A. Pantin, Haren rightly observes that the Memoriale stands as a testimony to orthodox criticism of both lay and ecclesiastical abuses in the fourteenth century, thereby helping put to rest the notion that all such censure signals Lollardy. This is an excellent work of scholarship, painstakingly researched, copiously documented and gracefully written.

Marquette University            Ian Christopher Levy


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The question of the origins of Muscovite and hence Russian political culture and a host of attendant questions (for example, economic development) have a distinguished historiographical lineage. Some decades ago it was succinctly framed in Michael Cherniavsky’s essay, ‘Khan or Basileus?’. The Mongol, or more correctly Chinggisid, heritage has held a particularly central position in this debate, often cited as the root cause of Russia’s various political, social and economic problems. Ostrowski has boldly entered this historiographical minefield and produced a thoughtful volume and a series of carefully crafted arguments that avoid the nationalist as well as anti-Russian cant that have typified some of the writings on the subject. He is willing to cast a wide net across Eurasia, view institutions comparatively and without a priori judgements. He concludes, not surprisingly for those willing to view Muscovite development within a larger Eurasian context, that Moscow drew on both Saray and Constantinople, importing and modifying to local conditions institutions and practices that originated in the Steppe world (itself the recipient of influences from its sedentary neighbours in China and the Islamic world) and in Byzantium. In Moscow, understandably, it was the secular political structure that drew most from its Chinggisid overlords, while the Orthodox Church, whose Metropolitan was appointed by Constantinople, was the conduit for Byzantine political and ecclesiastical culture. Western Church influences, on a much more modest scale, seeped in as well. Ostrowski suggests a tripartite chronological division of Muscovite history, early (1304–1448), middle (1448–1589) and late (1589–1722), concentrating on the first two. In the early period, an era in which three civilisations dominated Eurasia, China, Islam and Christendom, Chinggisid influences (which often contained elements of the first two) can be seen in political structures (consensus politics, dual administration, the chelobite [‘petition’, the term itself a calque of the Turkic calque of a Chinese expression], mestnichestvo [a complex ranking system of the aristocracy], military technology), while the Church remained the principal source of law. In the middle period, with the parent Church in Constantinople (which had followed a policy of accommodation with the Mongols) having succumbed first to a short-lived union with the hated ‘Latins’ and then to the Ottoman conquest in 1453, the Muscovite Church, while retaining a strong Byzantine ‘book culture’, now developed an ‘anti-Tatar ideology’ (p. 138), put Moscow forward as the heir to
Kievan Rus’ and sought to lay the foundation for the eventual transformation of the Muscovite grand prince into the tsar’ of Christendom. Both Byzantine and Chinggisid modes of governance, sometimes joined, are in evidence, connected in part with the growing number of Byzantine and Tatar refugees taking service in Moscow. The oprichnina of Ivan the Terrible (‘a pseudo-Tatar institution’: p. 189) and the Zemskii sobor (< Mongol quriltai) would appear to have their origins in the steppe. The seclusion of elite women, which begins to take root in this era, was a Byzantine, not Tatar custom. Towards the end of this period, western influences appear in the form of military technology (gunpowder weaponry) and Italian architecture. It concludes with the emergence of the patriarchate of Rus’. Islamic influences via the Tatars may be discerned in the shaping of Russian feudalism, but played no role in political or economic oppression (the so-called ‘Tatar Yoke’). ‘Oriental despotism’ was similarly not in evidence in the Jochid realm (Golden Horde). Indeed, Russian autocracy had its roots and legitimation in the ‘written culture of the Church’ (pp. 90, 131). The Mongol conquest did not cut off Northeastern Rus’ from Europe; such ties had not previously existed. Rather, Rus’ was brought into the larger Chinggisid Eurasian world. The ‘Moscow the Third Rome Theory’, which originated within the Church in the Northwest (Novgorod–Pskov) was originally meant for Muscovite princely consumption, delineating the limits of royal power (p. 225). It only later (in the nineteenth century) came to serve as the justification for imperial conquest. Ostrowski concludes that, overall, ‘the secular administration was heavily Mongol influenced and the ecclesiastical administration was heavily Byzantine influenced’ (p. 246). Mongol influences were strongest in the fourteenth century and Byzantine Church influences thereafter. This is a solid, thoroughly researched work on a major and often contentious topic. It is an important addition not just to Russian-Mongol imperial history, but to Eurasian and comparative studies as well.

Rutgers University

Peter B. Golden


This is an in-depth examination of the eighty-eight fourteenth-century marriage cases contained in the files of cause papers kept at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York; the files examined run from 1301 to the end of the century. Included are both cases begun within the diocese of York and appealed cases from other parts of the Northern province. Particularly rich (and particularly useful to the author) are the depositions of 580 witnesses. Taken together with other evidence, they lead to several interesting conclusions about medieval marriage law as it was put into practice. First, some disputes that seem to have been about establishing the validity of marriage could more accurately be described as about the protection of property rights, as in the case of women whose control over their lands and chattels was so slender in English law. Second, a basic knowledge of the canon law of marriage was fairly widespread among the laity in medieval England. Third, many marriage cases were preceded by a relatively informal meeting of litigants, relatives and lawyers to explore the legal
and factual issues involved; there was thus no rush to ‘go to law’ among those concerned in disputes over marriage. Fourth, the term *affectatio maritalis* retained the meaning of a willingness to transfer property that it had in Roman law; it did not take on a psychological flavour until much later. Fifth, although use of these records for demographic purposes must be approached with caution, it seems certain that most levels of society except the really poor, particularly the unfree, brought their matrimonial disputes before the ecclesiastical courts. Finally, a theme that will surprise historians reared in older scholarship runs throughout the book. It was once normal to think that the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was resented by the laity, and deservedly so. This book argues that in fact the laity was generally content with the canon law of marriage and with the legal expertise and impartiality of the men who served in the ecclesiastical courts. Whereas F. W. Maitland disparaged both the canon law and its implementation, Pedersen praises them. The litigants at York were ‘eager to embrace the certainty and security of the church law of marriage’ (p. 177). Nor were they wrong. ‘[B]oth the church and the laity benefited’ from the Church’s jurisdiction over marriage (p. 152). This book has reached something like a high water mark of a tide flowing in favour of the reputation of the tribunals of the Church. There is bound to be some ebbing.


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This is an ambitious book. The six chapters describe different aspects of late medieval English women pilgrims – their identities, their motives, both personal and familial, the restrictions to which they were subject as potentially disruptive social elements, their reactions to the devotional art, architecture and images encountered during their journeys, and how they were affected by the blurring of traditional distinctions between sacred and profane space which pilgrimage effected. Special attention is paid to Margery Kempe, the fifteenth-century housewife of Lynn. The final chapter suggests that future research on pilgrimage should concentrate on women and the family. The written evidence used by Susan Signe Morrison is diverse – literary and ecclesiastical texts, documents, such as papal letters, letters of safe conduct, powers of attorney, royal letters, both close and patent, inquisitions *post mortem* and wills. Artistic evidence includes stained glass, painted rood screens, statues and pilgrim badges. Some of the documents are reproduced or calendared in the three appendices. There are some interesting observations and suggestions in the book, but in general it falls short of its ambitious scope. It has a strongly theoretical emphasis and perhaps for this reason is heavy with quotations from secondary sources and other authors’ interpretations of them. It is not always well focused or planned. This is particularly true of the chapter on legal documentation and restriction which claims to explore ‘historical sources for the names of women who planned to travel or did travel on pilgrimage’ and to provide ‘an archive of their names with whatever details exist’. This exploration is followed by an interesting examination

In this original and illuminating study, Alexander Nagel considers Michelangelo’s painted, drawn and sculpted images of the dead Christ, a theme that preoccupied the artist for more than fifty years. Nagel’s central argument is that Michelangelo’s interest in reviving and reinterpreting pre-Renaissance visual conventions in the depiction of the dead Christ should be linked to contemporary concerns about reviving and reinterpreting older modes of religious devotion. Thus, the formal and iconographic effects of presenting Christ’s body frontally to the beholder in Michelangelo’s art, which recalled archaic cult images as well as later medieval subjects such as the Man of Sorrows, is related to the efforts of a small group of humanist-oriented religious reformers to return to the supposedly simpler and more direct forms of piety that they believed had existed in earlier periods. In making these types of connections, Nagel considers subjects as diverse as the iconography of the mass of St Gregory, the relation of antique-inspired depictions of Bacchic ecstasy to Christian devotional imagery, theories of gift exchange in artistic and religious contexts, and Raphael’s complicated process of altarpiece design. Although such erudite excursions are highly engaging, perhaps the most important point made by Nagel is that a self-consciousness about the historicity of art forms can be linked to a self-consciousness about the historicity of forms of religious devotion, a thought-provoking thesis that needs to be considered carefully by historians of art as well as historians of religion in the pre-modern period.

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Geraldine A. Johnson


Confraternities were a common feature in Italian cities between the late medieval and early modern centuries. This anthology of articles by North American scholars combines the two interests of institutional development of confraternities...
with their commitment to art, focusing mainly on Florence, Bologna and Rome. L. Marshall argues that a number of paintings created for confraternities during plague times contained imagery intended to provide spiritual security for both brothers and other city inhabitants during those frightening times of high mortality. Three scholars of Renaissance and early modern Florence, D. C. Ahl, A. Matchette and K. Eisenbichler, investigate the religious work, civic activities and artistic patronage of two youth confraternities, the Compagnia della Purificazione e di San Zenobi and the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello. Both institutions aimed to attract young men away from sinful youthful pursuits into good Christian behaviour through liturgy, theatrical performances and public processions; a well-decorated oratory, an active theatrical programme and elaborate floats with religious tableaux reminded Florentines – including the Medici family – of the religious and civic contributions of these confraternities. Two scholars of Renaissance Bologna, N. Terpstra and R. Klebanoff, consider respectively the construction of hospitals and the commission of an unusual Lamentation over the Dead Christ, consisting of six free-standing statues grieving over a dead Christ, for the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita, a flagellant confraternity supporting a hospital. Finally, five scholars of Renaissance and early modern Rome explore how some Roman confraternities used literature, buildings and paintings to enhance their appeal to believers in supporting the Christian activities of their institutions. N. Newbigin and B. Wisch investigate how the Confraternity of the Gonfalone used both plays and sacred art to encourage the piety of both members and the public; E. Howe reveals the many different contributions of women as consorelle in the great Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia; L. G. Lazar and L. S. Bross focus their researches on the Jesuit-supported Compagnia delle Virgini Miserabili di Santa Caterina della Rosa, a new confraternity which aimed to support poor virgins of Rome in avoiding prostitution. These different studies reveal a remarkable similarity of concern among the members of confraternities in different places and at different times in encouraging personal piety by sponsoring a 'social Christianity' of participation in good works to help the needy, by utilising the word in both preaching and religious theatre, and by creating a suitable environment through well-designed and well-decorated buildings. The contributions of women are particularly emphasised in a number of studies. These articles are all interdisciplinary in their approaches to the activities of the different confraternities investigated, mirroring the complex and complementary activities which their members pursued. Cambridge University Press must be commended on the high quality of text and photographs printed in this volume.

University of Strathclyde

William Wurthmann


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It is impossible to study the intellectual, ecclesiastical and spiritual history of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe without encountering the work and
influence of the late Heiko A. Oberman. If anyone earned a Festschrift, it was he.
The subtitle of this volume of eighteen essays published in his honour nods towards one of his early works, but contrasts with its content in the breadth of the range. Most of these papers are firmly anchored in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but a few wander, with those considering the earlier centuries sometimes sowing rather than reaping.

The essays vary in focus, united by no single consistent theme. Some order is imposed by dividing them into four groups. The first deals with ‘Governance in theory and practice’. Here Cary J. Nederman starts things with ‘Confronting market freedom: economic foundations of liberty at the end of the Middle Ages’. This looks at development in economic thought, focusing on the writings of John of Paris and William of Pagula in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Thomas A. Brady, Jr, then examines ‘The Holy Roman Empire’s bishops on the eve of the Reformation’, providing a valuable, stimulating and wide-ranging survey of their role and status, and of their contribution to the imperial reform movement of the late fifteenth century. James M. Estes offers a detailed analysis of the tentative evolution of ‘Luther’s first appeal to secular authorities for help with church reform, 1520’. In ‘Refugees and reform: banishment and exile in early modern Augsburg’, J. Jeffery Tyler quarries urban court records from 1564 to 1650 to provide a statistics-based analysis of punishments and those who were punished, especially prostitutes, beggars and women. Last in this group, James D. Tracy looks at ‘Public space: restriction of non-Calvinist religious behaviour in the province of Holland, 1572–1591’.

The second subtheme, ‘Print, publication and piety’, is represented by only three contributions, but perhaps for that reason appears the most coherent of the groups. Michael Milway leads the way with ‘Forgotten best-sellers from the dawn of the Reformation’. This potentially important assessment of European publications and their popularity from 1455 to 1501 is certainly interesting, but is undermined by methodological difficulties, not least the assumption – not actually spelled out or justified – that all printings were of 500 copies regardless of the size and potential demand for a work. Peter A. Dykema follows with ‘Handbooks for pastors: late medieval manuals for parish priests and Conrad Porta’s Pastorale Lutheri (1582)’. This is a valuable survey, contrasting the medieval concern with ritual correctness with the sixteenth-century focus on doctrinal purity resulting from confessionalisation and fragmentation within Protestantism. In ‘Protestantism, publication and the French wars of religion: the case of Caen’, Andrew Pettegree offers a significant and carefully analysed microstudy of printing and printers in a tense politico-religious context.

‘Exegesis and interpretation’, the third group of essays, contains four pieces, two very firmly pre-Reformation. Alan E. Bernstein goes furthest back, his ‘Tristitia and the fear of hell in monastic reflection from John Cassian to Hildemar of Corbie’ covering the fourth to ninth centuries. Bernard McGinn moves to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to provide a sensitive assessment of ‘Sapientia Judaearum: the role of Jewish philosophers in some scholastic thinkers’ (unsurprisingly, Eckhart has a major role). The remaining two articles could not be more firmly on Reformation thought. Current theoretical concerns and labels are applied by Andrew Gow in ‘Christian colonialism: Luther’s exegesis of
Hebrew Scripture’; while Irena Backus (‘Calvin and the Greek Fathers’) explores a different facet of the use of the past for Reformation purposes.

The last part of the collection, ‘Religious life: roots and ramifications’, offers six contributions, ranging from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. John van Enghen analyses a devotio moderna text in ‘The sayings of the Fathers: an inside look at the New Devout in Deventer’, adding a ‘working edition’ of the material to make his contribution the longest in the volume. In ‘Between severity and mercy: three models of pre-Reformation urban preaching: Savonarola – Staupitz – Geiler’, Berndt Hamm contrasts the severity of Savonarola with the merciful concerns of Staupitz, while placing Geiler firmly between the two. Susan C. Karant-Nunn considers the social impact of religious change in her ‘“Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not”: the social location of baptism in early modern Germany’. In ‘Late medieval religiosity and the renaissance of Christian martyrdom in the Reformation era’, Brad S. Gregory offers an important discussion of the re-emergence of martyrdom in the sixteenth century. Scott M. Manetsch investigates Beza’s thought after his conversion to Protestantism, his ‘Psalms before sonnets: Theodore Beza and the studia humanitatis’ arguing that for Beza humanism remained subservient and secondary to theology, but nevertheless provided important tools to spiritual development. The volume’s final essay, and the latest in coverage, is Sigrun Haude’s ‘Life, death, and religion during the Thirty Years’ War’.

Overall, this is a rich volume, and a fine tribute to its honorand. The crop is varied; but whether as wide-ranging analyses, or as focused case studies, the essays all point to areas for further research, or provoke a response. This may be a harvest, but it is also a ploughing and a sowing, which will yield its own crop in due time.

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R. N. Swanson


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Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) has rarely been studied as a theologian, despite his own aspirations and despite his enormous influence on the history of ideas during the Reformation. He is present in Renaissance and early modern studies principally for his influential translations of the works of Plato and Plotinus together with a number of other Neoplatonic and Hermetic treatises. However, as a philosopher, the Florentine attempted to reconcile philosophical method and Christian doctrine in a unified system which brought together ancient wisdom and contemporary issues. Thus his main work, on the immortality of the soul, is entitled ‘Theologia platonica’. Lauster concentrates on the doctrine of redemption (Erlösung), a central theme in Ficino’s work as his Platonic thought is based on the idea of liberating the human mind from earthly and sensual bonds and of ascending to the contemplation of God. The most important works considered in this book are Ficino’s De Christiana religione, his Letters and Sermons, and his Commentary on St Paul’s letter to the Romans, in all of which Ficino’s
philosophy is applied to, and confronted with, his concept of Christianity. The Apostle Paul is of special interest, because it seems that he – like his interpreter Ficino – had to convert or convince his contemporaries of the Christian truth with arguments on the margin between rationality and revelation. As Lauster points out, Ficino’s work is apologetic throughout (p. 33).

The book develops its reasoning in the following steps: anthropology, Christology, ascension to God, eschatology. Ficino’s view of man and the human soul is part of a cosmology, in which man obtains an undetermined position due to his soul which is both divine and prone to merge with the materiality of the body. Hence the need for redemption.

Ficino’s Christology is based on his concept of Trinity which he re-connects with pagan Platonic ideas of triads (pp. 95–7) and of divine self-reflection. As a result, incarnation is explained in terms of the same cosmology which incardinated a divine element into the world through the human soul (p. 102). Consequently God’s purpose in taking on human nature was redemption in the sense of divinising humanity. Christ became vitæ magister in providing an example of the potential, and of the ultimate aim, of human life. Here Ficino runs the risk of making Christ either a mere symbol or a representative man. According to Ficino the ascent to God, the deification of human life, has an intellectual tone. It is the higher part of the potential of the human soul which tends toward its origin, God. Redemption, then, is cosmological and intellectual re-union with the Creator. It reconciles God’s creative action and human freedom in a hierarchy of cosmological degrees (p. 199). Lauster’s study helps us to understand the systematic approach of Ficino’s thought and discloses both his dependency on ancient and medieval sources (previously Thomas Aquinas) and his originality which opened the way to religious philosophy in the age of Reformation.

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Susan Brigden’s book is the new Penguin history of the Tudor period. It has a strongly literary leaning: Tudor prose, poems and plays are enlisted to provide colour. The prologue discusses More’s Utopia as social criticism: later there is Ben Jonson, Spenser on Ireland and on Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh, Marlowe, Shakespeare’s Henry IV, and Hamlet to end the book. Eight chapters focus on the Tudor monarchs, their advisers and events within and beyond England; three chapters are more descriptive. There is much dense material on Ireland and the complexities of Irish lords and leaders, as setting for Tudor attempts to rule there.

English religious upheavals are well outlined in chapters iii, iv and vi, as might be expected from the author of London and the Reformation. There is clear short
explanation of early reformers’ views, and the book underlines the forlorn hopes of early English ‘evangelicals’ (Brigden’s preferred term). Chapter iv includes a lucid account of Henry’s marriage problem and his moves to solve it, which led to the Royal Supremacy and the changes which followed. Foreign pressures affected what England might do about its Church, but in Brigden’s view conservatives at court were the main bar to the evangelicals. Chapter vi tackles Edward’s reign: the complex politics, the further reform, the Protestant Prayer Book of 1552 and the two popular risings, that in the south-west chiefly against the new religious regime. Mary’s determination to restore the mass was popular with many; however she could not restore Catholic religious unity, and the dilemmas of evangelicals facing persecution are movingly described here. The writing in these chapters is fluent, even poetic at times, vividly recreating old and new religious worlds.

Chapters vii, viii, ix and xi deal with the second half of the sixteenth century, with a focus on domestic high politics and foreign relations. England, formally Protestant from 1559, had to negotiate dangers from France and Spain where Catholic powers were fighting Protestants in their own territories. Within England, the agitation of the godly for further reform is emphasised although perhaps Elizabeth’s reluctance chimed better with the majority of her people than did the plans of the religious enthusiasts in parliament and Church. Chapter ix discusses the voyages and plans for New World colonies – for their faith, but also for profit and strategy. However, we might note that those ‘new worlds’ failed, and were only successfully colonised under the Stuarts. Chapter xi stresses the multiple dangers facing queen and realm in her last decades. Here, the extremes are presented: Puritans still unsatisfied with the Church, and Catholics whose loyalty raised doubts. The move to outright war with Catholic Spain, the hopeful career of Essex, dashed in Ireland, and his eventual pathetic rising, make dramatic stories.

The three largely descriptive chapters provide more of a mixed bag. Chapter ii, ‘Family and friends’, starts with medieval devotion, mystery plays and the mass; then it deals with life events and sacraments for them. There are also patriarchy, defamation suits in the church courts (plus a little on the courts’ marital jurisdiction), religious communities and the poor. The emphasis on clandestine marriages seems odd, for they were only a tiny minority; almost all marriages were public events in the parish church. Examples chosen for the family are sometimes untypical, such as that of Elizabeth Plumpton sent to her in-laws aged three: when gentry did this, the young were normally teenagers. Chapter v, on the governors and the governed, deals with several themes: lordship and its feuds (with confusing detail on Ireland), justice, rebellion and village office-holding. Chapter x, on Elizabethan world views, covers some social history, and witchcraft, which is perhaps overemphasised since it was not a major issue except in Elizabethan Essex. Elsewhere in Tudor England hardly any witches were prosecuted. Some educated men wrote treatises about witchcraft, and Reginald Scot wrote against the belief, but it is Marlowe’s Dr Faustus which is discussed here.

In contrast to Brigden’s broad canvas, the collection of thirteen published articles, plus an unpublished lecture and a postscript, gather the fruits of Margaret Spufford’s archival research over thirty-five years. Many set new
agendas when they first appeared, while no. 1, the recent lecture, outlines the aims and methods of her famous comparative study of three Cambridgeshire villages. Here we also have her early articles on the hearth tax, and on Chippenham. Her groundbreaking work on wills (ii) showed that the religious preambles were often the wording of a village scribe, not of the testator, and that historians needed to consider the attitudes of local clergy, schoolmasters or scrivenors. The pieces on who made a will, and on witnesses, focus more on the economic aspects of wills, as does that on probate inventories; the last briefly notes that bills and bonds provided as powerful an incentive to read as did the Bible. Literacy is another area where Spufford sparked discussion, arguing for earlier and more widespread reading – with implications for the potency and reach of religious books. No. x, on spiritual autobiographers, revealed how some learned to read as young as four, but were sent out to work before learning to write – so that signing by a mark may not show illiteracy. Few working children were as eager to read and write as the thirteen-year-old shepherd who exchanged one of his two sheep for writing lessons – and so was able later to record his early struggle. No. xi, from 1997, focuses on women teaching children to read – surprisingly humble mothers, and school dames – and discusses the hornbooks and other materials used. There are four articles specifically on religion, including ‘Puritanism and social control’ which insists that concern for moral behaviour was not exclusively ‘Puritan’; and the salutory ‘Can we count the godly?’, which points out the serious problems of using presentations for non-attendance at communion for evidence of Dissent. The collection displays the impressive depth and range of Spufford’s research, reprinting work of real importance to ecclesiastical historians.

Oxford

ALISON WALL

Edited by Christoph Strohm. (Spätmittelalter und Reformation. Neue Reihe, 14.) Pp. ix + 392 + colour frontispiece. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000. DM 168. 3 16 147430 9; 0937 5740

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This volume presents seventeen lectures given at an international conference that was held at the Johann a Lasco Bibliothek in Emden on the quincentenary of the birth of probably one of the most ‘European’ figures in Reformation times. Between his birth and death in Poland, this nobleman visited or lived in Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany and Hungary as well as Belgium, the Netherlands and England. In addition, he conducted a voluminous correspondence. But these geographical border crossings are only the external mirror of his cast of mind: originally a Polish cleric, throughout his lifetime deeply influenced by Erasmus, whose library he bought while a subtenant of the great humanist in Basle in 1525, he actively supported the Protestant cause in different places and levels in Europe. His contacts ranged from Calvin, Melanchthon and Thomas Cranmer to Menno Simons, to name but a few, in addition to connections on the political level. It is unnecessary to emphasise that a contextual study of Johann a Lasco opens a large range of interesting perspectives. Some of them are gathered in this volume, which not only aims to revitalise research on à Lasco, but is also a
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Zürich


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Valentin Wagner was one of the key figures of the Lutheran Reformation in Transylvania, holding the positions of schoolmaster and pastor in Kronstadt (Brasov), and assuming a central role in the work of the printing house there. Having studied in Wittenberg in 1542, his religious position was a blend of Melanchthonian, Lutheran and humanist influences, and was shaped further by the interaction with Orthodoxy typical of the Lutheran Reformation in Transylvania. His Greek catechism, now edited and accompanied by a German translation by Andreas Müller, was not deliberately aimed at an Orthodox audience. This need had already been more appropriately met by the publication in 1544 of a catechism in Romanian. As annotations to the few surviving copies of Wagner's 1550 catechism suggest, his text was intended as part of a school curriculum. As such, it bears comparison with other Greek catechisms published by members of Melanchthon's circle, such as those of Lukas Lossius and Joachim Camerarius, but shows more independence from its Wittenberg sources. Of particular interest are Wagner's treatment of the question of religious images, and his coining of neologisms to describe Mary. Having chosen, in accordance with Swiss rather than Wittenberg tradition, to separate the first and second commandments, Wagner clarifies that no images should be made of God since it is impossible to capture his divine majesty in a painted image, but diverges from a Swiss position in favouring biblical illustration for didactic purposes. In describing Mary, Wagner comes close to the Orthodox emphasis on her as Theotokos, but instead of describing her as 'God-bearer' creates the unusual, and for the Orthodox problematic, epithet 'Son-bearer'. Such details reveal the distinctiveness of Wagner's theological position, and that of the Lutheran Reformation in Transylvania, and suggest the enormous value to scholars of editions and translations of such neglected works of the early Lutheran Reformation.

The Queen's College, Christine Peters
Oxford


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This book provides what has long been needed, a systematic, comprehensive and well-documented survey of perceptions of, and reactions to, the Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The subject is an important one, not least
because the images of Spain purveyed by early modern observers were to have a profound influence on perceptions of the peninsula and its peoples down to our own times. Moving from country to country, and using a vast range of printed and manuscript sources, the author shows in particular the extent to which the religious attitudes of observers shaped their perceptions. ‘The question of Spain’, he writes in his discussion of English responses, ‘was inseparable from that of Catholicism.’ This is true not only of the Protestants but also of the English Catholic exiles, to whose unquenchable optimism he devotes a substantial chapter. He also has a chapter on ‘Spanish Catholicism through foreign eyes’, and devotes a considerable amount of space to Jewish conversos, the Moriscos and the inquisition. If at times the theme of the book tends to get lost amidst the discussion of what was happening on the ground, it remains a magnificent and carefully researched compendium of information on the reading and mis-reading of early modern Spain by contemporary observers, which will profitably be plundered by historians of both Spain and Europe for a long time to come.

Oriel College, J. H. Elliott
Oxford

*Anticlericalism in Britain c. 1500–1914.* Edited by Nigel Aston and Matthew Cragoe. Pp. xxii + 225 incl. 6 figs. Stroud: Sutton, 2000. £45.00 7599 2205 2

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Anticlericalism in Britain is ‘complex, neglected and important’, says Keith Robbins, introducing this excellent book of essays, which historians of Church, State and Society will warmly welcome. David Loades shows that ‘the Reformation was accepted by English society as a whole not created by it’. Changes were brought about by a ‘small elite of gentry, literate citizens and educated clergy’. This gives a *leitmotif* to the book – changes in clerical status. ‘Slowly the clergy’, claims Christopher Haigh, ‘was being gentrified. The selection of clergy as magistrates, often making them unpopular, reflected their rising social place in the community’. Anticlericalism was quite different in Britain from the Enlightenment attitude on the continent, which marked a rejection of the Christian faith, not just the clergy. Britain had Nonconformity, enabling Dissenters to affirm their Englishness or Welshness without being Anglican. Julian Champion’s central chapter, the most sophisticated, shows the two-party system as an English feature unparalleled elsewhere. The clergy were a ‘powerful if informal political instrument on behalf of the Tory interest’ with the lower houses of convocation as their ‘parliament’. Suppressed in 1717, convocation needs its historian. The Whigs sought to avoid Atterburies and Sacheverells. After the trial of the latter, the mob supported him rather than the Whigs. Champion points to the fact, underlined by Ditchfield and Aston, that historians now see religion as far more significant than often thought. What of Dissent? James Bradley shows the significance of men like Thomas Bradbury (who announced that ‘Queen Anne is dead’ when a handkerchief was dropped from the gallery at worship in chapel!) and dissenting support for the Whigs. He asserts that Unitarians were seeking to restore what they took to be biblical norms – a matter which would have surprised historians like Bernard Manning who undervalued ‘rational Dissent’. He also shows dissenting influence preventing bishops from being appointed in America. If Secker had got his way what would Wesley have
done? But Wesley gets no mention. Callum Brown maintains that the secessions in Scotland brought sympathy to ministers from the common people who often enough supported the rebels against state power and patronage. In Wales, despite great Nonconformist strength, there was rhetoric but not gross bitterness against Anglican clergy. I rather think there could be more to that story. Frances Knight disagrees with Eric Evans both as to the scale of anticlericalism and criticism of clergy over wealth, titles and church rates. Attacks on bishops over their opposition to the Reform Bill and the ‘Swing Riots’ were not wholly typical. Clerical magistrates became less numerous. Carlile, Cobbett and Wade are not forgotten. ‘Pigs not parsons’ said Cobbett who also castigated Methodist itinerants as spongers. Hugh McLeod shows how Evangelicals and Tractarians evoked masculine mocking of their style. Punch cartoons illustrate this admirably, though he misses the one in which E. B. Pusey (dressed like Wesley) invites a demure Wesleyan lady to church. She spurns him! A gap here is the late Victorian and Edwardian and local level. M. K. Ashby’s ‘Joseph Ashby of Tysoe’ gives an example of a bitter conflict between Methodists and a pompous vicar. This book, with notes and reading lists, is a delight, opening up new perspectives on old controversies. It seems that ‘the optimists’ are conspicuous now on the role of the Churches in the nineteenth century but many questions are still wide open.

Bolton

John Munsey Turner


Marta Fata’s study of the religious history of early modern Hungary begins by reviewing the main features of the political and social landscape of the late medieval Hungarian kingdom. It then outlines the pattern of religious life in Hungary on the eve of the Reformation and surveys the impact of humanism in Hungary. Hungary faced both political and confessional division in the early sixteenth century and, in the wake of Ottoman invasion, political and ecclesiastical authorities proved incapable of preventing the spread of different ideas about religious reform across royal Hungary, the eastern Partium, Transylvania, Ottoman Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia. A varied pattern of reception of Reformation ideas emerged across these territories. Distinct Lutheran, Reformed and anti-Trinitarian confessions gradually emerged from localised reform initiatives by the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Important consideration is given to the impact of reform in Hungary’s towns and among noble families. Fata provides a detailed analysis of the progress of reform in a number of key towns including Lutheran Bartfeld in Upper Hungary, Klausenburg at the centre of Transylvania’s anti-Trinitarian community, the Reformed citadel of Debrecen in the Partium and Tolna in Ottoman Hungary. An assessment is also offered of the protection afforded to reformers by the Nádasdy and Perényi clans. The results of the major revolt of 1604, led by
the Reformed noble István Bocskai against Habsburg efforts to bring all of Hungary under its sway and to impose Counter-Reform measures, deepened the divide between royal Hungary and the Transylvanian principality. The Habsburgs steadily promoted Catholic interests in royal Hungary during the early seventeenth century aided above all by the Hungarian primate, Péter Pázmány. Meanwhile, in Transylvania, the Reformed Church achieved the status of a public Church under a series of Calvinist princes, but the Lutheran, anti-Trinitarian and Catholic Churches also continued to receive constitutional protection. Fata examines Reformed attitudes to the smaller ‘tolerated’ Churches of Transylvania, and devotes particular attention to the Puritan clergy faction of the Reformed Church. These Puritans, led by János Tönhai Dali and Pál Medgyesi from the 1630s, attempted to introduce further reforms to church government and to improve standards of moral discipline. While Catholic recovery stalled in the east in the face of entrenched support for the various Protestant Churches, a Greek Catholic Church was established from among previously Orthodox Slavs and Romanians in Upper Hungary and Transylvania.

By the end of the seventeenth century the growing power of the Habsburgs in the region provided ever greater support for the imposition of Catholicism, often with violence as in the 1670s, although Transylvania’s multi-confessional constitution remained intact throughout this period. This book provides a clear and detailed account of the progress of religious reform across Hungary, and highlights a wide variety of areas where further research is badly needed if Hungary’s significance in Reformation and Catholic Europe is to be fully understood.

University of Birmingham

Graeme Murdock


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The publication of these two fine books offers the opportunity to salute the achievements of two exceptionally talented bibliographers. Jean-François Gilmont’s bibliography completes a remarkable three-volume survey of the works of Jean Calvin published in the sixteenth century. The first two volumes covered the years between publication of Calvin’s Seneca commentary in 1532 and his death in 1564; this third volume lists a further 165 editions published between 1565 and the end of the century. As in the previous volumes full bibliographical descriptions and titlepage illustrations are accompanied by a full list of surviving copies, the fruits of a search through over 400 major libraries. Calvin remained a popular author after his death, and some of the books listed here were extremely successful. They formed the staples of library collections
throughout Europe, and survive in large numbers today. Others though are remarkably rare, and have survived only in the most obscure and unexpected locations. Who would have imagined, for instance, that a unique copy of the 1568 reprint of Calvin’s *Traité des reliques* (1568/1) would have found its way to the library of Norrköping in Sweden? At the other end of the scale the fine edition of the collected letters of Calvin and Beza published in 1575 survives in some seventy copies. The present location of these is not without interest. Of the forty surviving copies of the 1568 edition of Calvin’s *Institutes* eighteen are located in British libraries and ten in the United States; evidence both of the impact of Calvin in the English-speaking world and of English-language libraries on modern book science. In fact, this third and final volume reveals a significant shift in the main focus of interest in Calvin after the reformer’s death. During his lifetime publication of his works had been dominated by editions in Latin and French. Calvin’s influence elsewhere in Europe, already of course considerable, was mediated largely through the medium of Latin. After 1565 (when there was a flurry of French editions stimulated by news of the reformer’s death) all of this changed. From 1567 to the end of the century there were only nine further editions of his works in French, fewer than those published in Dutch (ten) or German (sixteen). But it is the quantity of English translations that is most remarkable – Gilmont lists forty-six, a quantity that vies in importance with the number of Latin editions (sixty-five). The seriousness of the English engagement with Calvin can be demonstrated in many ways, but here we have powerful corroborative evidence from the world of books. English publishers devoted considerable sums to publishing the largest and most serious of Calvin’s works: the *Institutes*, biblical commentaries and sermons. England was also the only culture to develop a successful abridgement of the *Institutes*, the work of Edmund Bunny, who also published a Protestant version of the *Imitation of Christ*.

Trevor Peach offers a scholarly survey of the *Bibliotheque municipale* in Poitiers. This is a collection of quite astonishing richness to those not familiar with the singular history of the French municipal collections. The Poitiers library was founded, like so many others in France, as a result of the celebrated decree of 1794 obliging local authorities to establish libraries. The strength of the collection owes much to the later and equally significant decree placing the libraries of the *écoles centrales* under the control of the municipalities, and with them the collections of numerous dissolved religious foundations. For this reason it is in the French municipal libraries, rather than university libraries (which suffered losses, rather than gained books, at the Revolution) that one finds the major collections of rare books. The Revolutionary confiscations amounted in the case of Poitiers to some 50,000 books, among them the large part of the 1,771 French and Latin books listed here. These municipal collections deserve to be better known, and better used. Many town libraries have only a rudimentary and inaccurate nineteenth-century catalogue, and although some progress has been made through retro-cataloguing, few have benefited from a study as careful and painstaking as this. This catalogue does not, it should be said, encompass the whole of the library’s sixteenth-century books. Peach here follows the terms of reference established for his equally fine catalogue of the *Bibliotheque municipale* at Versailles, including all books in French, or published by an author of French origin, and all books published in France written by a modern author. Excluded
are Greek and Latin Bibles and works of the ancients, unless a modern commentary has been added. With these important restrictions the residual collection surveyed is about 50 per cent Latin and 50 per cent vernacular works. The vast majority were published in Paris, as one might expect given the dominant position of Paris in the French book world, but there are around 300 books published in Lyon, and a considerable concentration of works from the south-west, published in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Niort or Poitiers itself. The presence of over 200 volumes from Poitivin presses is a direct result of the library’s acquisition of the collection of the banker-bibliophile Arthur Labbé de La Mauvinière, who in 1916 made over to the library his collection of over 8,000 volumes. These include rare and precious editions by a number of local authors, including Jean Bouchet, Scévole de Sainte-Marthe and Jacques Yver. The descriptions are, as one might expect, careful, thorough and full. Literal transcriptions of the title-pages take the place of the photographs provided by Gilmont. Where the edition is to be found in a standard bibliography or published library catalogue these other copies are indicated in a brief aside (Peach lists some sixty works thus consulted), as are copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. When no other copy has been traced this is indicated by a tantalising note ‘absent des usuels’; this does not mean that the copy is unique, though this may well be the case. Brief notes are included on bindings and provenance, often a manuscript note that indicates the religious house from which the book was confiscated. This is a marvellous and painstaking work of scholarship. My only quibble is the decision to indicate different states of the same work (a reissue under a different title-page, variations of date, etc.) as part of the same number. For even if these copies are part of the same edition, they are certainly not true duplicates. That they should be reissued, or published under the name of a different printer, makes them in essence independent artifacts: or at least a separate part of the same publishing process.

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Andrew Pettigree


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After a broadly conceived historical introduction to the concept of consensus, Becht focuses on the usage of three men who were pivotal to the Reformation debate in the sixteenth century: Erasmus, Melanchthon and Calvin. Erasmus was not a systematic theologian. Not surprisingly, therefore, Becht finds that his usage is vague and inconsistent. Consensus is certainly Erasmus’ preferred epistemological tool, a more reliable criterion of the truth, in his view, than individual judgement. He fails, however, to define clearly in whom consensus is vested (the boni et eruditi? The Fathers of a duly constituted church council? The combined authority of the Bible and church leaders who hold the magisterium?). Nor does he clearly establish the process by which consensus can be reached. He shares this lack of precision with Melanchthon and Calvin. Becht concludes that none of the men whose writings he examines here had a well-rounded concept of
consensus. Yet, both Erasmus and Melanchthon see consensus as a fundamental social concept, indeed as the basis of human fellowship. Melanchthon in particular subscribes to the idea of the Church as a congregation united in bearing witness to the biblical truth. He furthermore emphasises the historical continuity of doctrine guaranteed by a succession of erudite teachers (Erasmus’ boni et eruditi). Calvin’s concept of consensus (which includes consent – the believer’s submission to God’s will) is characterised by a certain tension. On the one hand he values highly consensus as preserving order; on the other hand, he does not regard it as a doctrinally legitimising principle in itself. Consensus indicates the truth only if it is conspiratio, that is, inspired by the Holy Spirit, the guarantor of truth. Becht notes that the three men agree in a number of areas: in their high appreciation for consensus and in the epistemological value attributed to it (to a lesser degree by Calvin). All three share an awareness of the problematic nature of the concept without being able to offer concrete solutions to the questions of who should be the consensus builders and by what process it may be achieved. In one area the reformers Calvin and Melanchthon sharply differ from the Catholic Erasmus: in the eyes of the former the consensus of the Church can never match the authority of the Bible; in Erasmus’ eyes the tradition of the Church, which represents the consensus of the believers, complements and clarifies biblical injunctions. In his conclusion Becht raises the question of the relevance of sixteenth-century religious thought for the present. He recognises, as ahistorical any effort to apply it directly to the conditions prevailing in the Church today. At the same time he acknowledges that consensus is once again a focal point of discussion. In that sense, he says, Melanchthon’s admonition to preserve the two principal intellectual virtues, love of the truth and consensus of the believers, has lost none of its edge in the modern world. Becht’s book is tightly structured and offers a wealth of documentation. Historians of the Reformation will appreciate this convincing analysis of a concept that was crucial to the religious debate of the sixteenth century.

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Ontario


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Scholars have long been forced to use the works of Philipp Melanchthon in a range of incomplete editions, dating from various periods since the time of the
Corpus Reformatorum in the first half of the nineteenth century. For the correspondence, at least, a definitive scholarly edition is now well in progress. Heinz Scheible’s Melanchthons Briefwechsel (1977–) has followed a two-strand approach. The first series of volumes comprises detailed calendars in German. These summarise the contents of each letter, and supply formal descriptions of the sources and editions of each text. This first series has now been completed with volumes ix and x. Volume ix contains the addenda to the earlier series, including summaries of new letters both dated and undated, from correspondents both known and anonymous. There are several interesting pieces written during the 1540–1 religious conferences which future historians will need to consider. Some eighty pages of notes on the first eight volumes of the calendar elucidate previously unnoticed interconnections and cross-references. There is also a most useful concordance which tabulates the relationship between the documents in Melanchthons Briefwechsel and those in earlier editions. Volume x presents a place name index of more than 200 pages, followed by a day-by-day itinerary for the whole of Melanchthon’s adult life from summer 1518 onwards. The second sequence, the ‘T’ series, contains the full editions of the correspondence in the original languages. Volume T3 has now appeared, covering the years from 1527 to 1529 inclusive. The appearance of this volume is timely, coming hard upon Timothy Wengert’s Law and Gospel: Philip Melanchthon’s debate with John Agricola of Eislenen over Poenitentia (Grand Rapids 1997). The high-point of Melanchthon’s first debate with Agricola was reached in autumn 1527. While the correspondence does not of itself contain most of the key documents, it offers some intriguing and human insights as Melanchthon unburdens himself to his friends on the distasteful business of theological quarrels. There follow letters from the critical years of the visitations of Saxony, the second Reichstag at Speyer and the Colloquy of Marburg. Two things stand out. First, Melanchthon consciously avoided controversy (genuinely and temperamentally, not just as some humanist pretence). Secondly, Melanchthon’s opinion was too weighty to be ignored by any of the protagonists, so he had no escape. Unfortunately, to do full justice to this fascinating series one must cope with the fluid mixture of Latin, Greek and German in which Melanchthon so effortlessly expressed himself.

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Euan Cameron


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The historiography on Catholicism in the Holy Roman empire has made great advances. Long overshadowed by the prominence of Protestant church history and by an implicit Protestant vision of national history, the tradition of Catholic historiography in Germany had remained largely isolated from the methodological and intellectual currents of the profession. As late as 1985, a symposium
organised by the Görres-Gesellschaft, an association of Catholic scholars in Germany, was devoted to discussing whether Catholic church history properly belonged to the discipline of history or theology. The advances since then, replicating a process that began with Protestant church history more than thirty years ago, resulted largely from the raising of social, political and cultural research agendas in a field that had hitherto been largely off-limits to ‘secular historians’. The two studies under discussion here illustrate precisely this development.

Two themes informed an older tradition of scholarship on early modern Catholicism in Germany: the reform-bishop and piety (Frömmigkeit). They represented natural foci not only because of the centrality of the episcopate and popular piety in Catholic life, but also because of the nature of the historical sources generated by the process of Catholic renewal in central Europe after the Council of Trent. While not neglecting these classic questions, the studies by Jendorff and Herzig strike out in new and fruitful directions, raising questions about political-institutional and social history in their examination of Catholic renewal.

A doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Giessen, Reformatio catholica displays many of the strengths of that genre: a thorough discussion of historiography, a comprehensive command of scholarship and an impressive archival find. Unlike the archbishopric of Cologne, the episcopal principality of Mainz took a different path in the development of the early modern territorial and confessional state in the Holy Roman empire. Whereas Cologne fell under the power influence of the Wittelsbach in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and showed a marked tendency toward the consolidation of a centralised princely government based on confessional conformity and confrontation, the archbishopric of Mainz remained essentially a late medieval corporatist state that represented the collective interest of the regional lower nobility and a multiplicity of local interests. The structure of the territorial state in Mainz determined the course of the Catholic reform, as Jendorff convincingly argues. For unlike Wittelsbach Bavaria or Habsburg Austria, the consolidation of princely power and territorial centralisation did not go hand-in-hand with Catholic confessionalisation. In fact, all the archbishops of Mainz, committed in different degrees to the aims of Tridentine reform, were forced to temper their goals of reCatholicisation in the face of pragmatic political concerns. That made for a slower, zigzag, course of Catholic renewal which, however, had the advantage of eschewing major violent confrontations with Protestant neighbours and subjects.

Divided into seven major sections, Jendorff’s book discusses thoroughly the institutional structures of power in Mainz that conditioned the nature of reform. He contrasts a first phase of ineffectual reform (1514–55) with a second phase of ‘Compromise Catholicism’ (1555–1601), before sketching a third phase initiated by the new climate of confrontation during the Thirty Years’ War. A second section is devoted to a detailed analysis of the cathedral chapter, whose position on reform depended on the material and institutional interests of the canons. A third section analyses the workings and interests of the intermediate elites regarding Catholic reform: the spiritual commissioners, the parish clergy, the officials of the territorial state and the communal and noble elites at the local
level. The next two sections, on ‘Collective belief and individual piety’ and on the older and newer religious orders, offer original insights and copious examples mined from the archives. Jendorff paints a complex picture of different pressures and engagement and argues for the confluence of interests between high and low in the course of reform. The last section surveys the relationship between Mainz and her major Protestant and Catholic neighbours. Jendorff’s conclusion that ‘Catholic Reform in the archbishopric of Mainz was not exclusively directed from the top’ (p. 528) may seem at first glance obvious, but the achievement of this study lies rather in the detailed and intricate analysis of the interplay of political, social and religious factors, and the wealth of archival material assembled from diverse archives. If *Reformatio catholica* has any shortcomings, it is in the style and organisation of the book; the writing tends to be repetitive and verbose, a drawback perhaps endemic to the genre but hardly detracting from the author’s impressive scholarship.

Herzig’s book deals with a related but different subject: his is not about Catholic reform or renewal but reCatholicisation or, as the title succinctly puts it, ‘the compulsion to true belief’. In other words, his subject matter is the Counter-Reformation. Offering a wider chronological and spatial frame than Jendorff, Herzig based his synthesis on his own research on Habsburg reCatholicisation in the county of Glatz (Silesia) and on a wide reading of sources and studies.

Written in a lively style, this compact synthesis moves from politics to theology and political theory before ending with those affected by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Readers will find in these pages an engaging portrait of the events, personalities and theology of the Counter-Reformation from Wittelsbach Bavaria to the toleration edicts of Josephine Austria. The confessional state – be it Austria, Bavaria or Salzburg – is the actor in this drama; and the heros, victims and martyrs are those Protestants forced into exile and dissimulation by the coercion of the state. Herzig’s picture of the crypto-Protestants in Catholic principalities is especially sympathetic and detailed. While never explicitly anti-Catholic, Herzig’s contrast of a religiously tolerant Brandenburg-Prussia (with a Calvinist ruling dynasty, a majority Lutheran population, and Jewish and Catholic minorities) with a mono-confessional Habsburg Austria may remind some readers of an implied Protestant superiority in German historicism. While not couched entirely in terms of liberty of conscience, the language of political modernisation and social plurality reveals a secularised Protestant historical vision in this analysis of confessionalisation and social discipline. Herzig’s use of the term *Gleichschaltung* (p. 12) for the early modern period is a particularly unfortunate slip into anachronism that detracts from what is in general an engaging and informative synthesis.

**New York University**

R. Po-chia Hsia


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Ian Green has devised a new, quantitative technique to measure the impact of Protestantism in early modern England through the medium of print. He
suggests that instead of treating every religious text as essentially equal, and therefore over-valuing radical texts with limited popularity, we can more properly gauge the religious complexion of mainstream English culture by examining ‘steady sellers’ which were regularly reprinted over a significant length of time. Thus, using the statistical resources of the short-title catalogues, he compiled a database of roughly 700 religious texts which went through at least five editions within thirty years, many of which remained popular for generations. These texts, he suggests, show the sorts of ideas and practices which had the widest appeal in early modern England. His results are striking. He argues (often in very polemical fashion) with historians like Alexandra Walsham, Peter Lake, Patrick Collinson and Tessa Watt who have pointed to the appeal of Protestant and even Puritan ideas within mainstream culture. He suggests instead that the most popular books were generally those of least ideological or unequivocally Protestant character. His sample is overwhelmingly ‘associated with the broader Christian community through its stress on the sacraments, moral rigour, and personal prayer’ (p. 563) rather than expressing exclusively Protestant doctrine. Moreover, the lower down the social scale he looks, the more he finds his sample weighted towards ‘instinctive popular semi-Pelagianism’ (p. 565). Thus Green’s book is a significant addition to English Reformation ‘revisionism’, and its tour through the ‘steady sellers’ of early modern England is both authoritative and enlightening. However, because the book is so overtly polemical, this reviewer may perhaps be excused for suggesting that its analytical techniques cannot bear the weight of its conclusions. Green’s analysis slips uneasily between different definitions of ‘Protestantism’, often accusing books in his sample of lacking ‘high Calvinism’, his term for a scholastic theology of supralapsarian predestination and limited atonement which one would hardly expect to find in pastoral texts, and which Scán Hughes has recently reminded us never achieved confessional status anywhere in Europe. Green’s focus on works of sustained popularity also excludes topical tracts, few of which may have been important singly but which undoubtedly achieved an enormous cumulative weight on critical issues (can one really argue that the Spanish match does not reveal the importance of Puritanism because no one tract went into five editions?). And perhaps most important, is it not possible that Green has isolated the 700 most atypical books in early modern England, those unique few that achieved long-term appeal in a divided and rapidly changing society by carefully avoiding controversy? Green has effectively described the least common denominator of English religion, a project of undoubted value to historians, but like all least common denominators this one hides more than it explains.
authors of the two chapters specifically devoted to religion characterise as a
process of secularisation and a move towards pluralism. Their position is revealed
in their chapter headings, that for the period before 1700, ‘Reformation and
culture’, refers directly to religion, but for the period following religion is
bracketed with moral and cultural reform in a subsection of the chapter dealing
with ‘Culture and leisure’. This is all very modern and churchgoers today will
recognise the voluntarism implied in placing their behaviour in the culture and
leisure category, but it was far from the whole story for contemporaries. In the
chapter on the period 1540–1700 Vanessa Harding provides an up-to-date survey
of current knowledge, albeit with a rather optimistic slant; it is acknowledged
that ‘a more complex picture is emerging than the one which more or less
equated urban residence with support for reformed ideas (p 267), but the fact
that traditional urban rituals associated with religious gilds continued in a
number of places until the 1570s, thirty years after their statutory abolition, is
comfortably framed in a section which underestimates the social dislocation, not
to mention the religious one, which the changes of the mid-century left on the
urban landscape. The ultimate success of evangelical Protestantism in towns such
as Worcester or York, not to mention places like Bury St Edmunds in the
Protestant heartland of East Anglia, was far from certain before 1580, and the
cautious reception of reform noted in Scottish towns was mirrored in many
English ones too. Nevertheless it is clear that the Reformation, with its powerful
rhetoric of the city, Geneva or Jerusalem, as a model for human society,
commanded strong support from urban elites from 1580, with several
communities expressly setting out to establish ‘godly commonwealths’, often
reinforced through their support for preaching and for grammar schools.
Following a broadly Collinsonian line, the treatment of the years between 1580
and 1660 is the most successful element in Harding’s chapter. In contrast, the
discussion of religion after 1660 is contained within one paragraph, which refers
particularly to London and to anti-papery, and this brief treatment, combined
with the short account of the years before 1780 in the later chapter, by the editor
and R. A. Houston, does scant justice to the place of religion during England’s
urban renaissance. To take one example, in both chapters it is stated that
traditional urban identities were weakened in these years by the growth of dissent
and the decline of the communal basis of the parish, but it is by no means certain
that the parish sat comfortably within urban structures, it could just as easily
undermine as underpin urban consciousness by providing an alternative focus for
loyalty. In York it is clear that, in the years before 1640, the parish was
considered an obstacle to reform: there were too many of them and the clergy
were too poor and ill-educated. Accordingly, the corporation, like many
elsewhere, set up civic lectureships to remedy this deficiency, privileging the town
over the parish as the best model of religious life, thus replacing the socially
vertical and inclusive associations of the parish with the horizontal, and often
exclusive, spiritual elites known as the godly. Fractures within these elites
emerged during the civil wars and continued after 1660, but all parties operated
at the level of the town, not the smaller community: the Anglican clergy clearly
accepted the fact of voluntarism in practice if not in theory by the 1740s, when
they organised their services to ensure a choice of times within the differing parts
of the city to cater for the needs of the citizenry as a whole rather than their
parishioners specifically; dissenters, both Quaker and Independent, and later Roman Catholic too, increasingly operated throughout the city and saw their chapels as important links between town and country for their adherents. The engagement of ministers, and in particular the Anglican clergy, with initiatives such as the Blue Coat School, the Assembly Rooms and the County Hospital, in the years between 1700 and 1770, demonstrate that the Churches had recognised the challenges of urban ministry and had adjusted their priorities accordingly, perhaps with more success than is suggested in this volume. What is missing in these accounts, therefore, is due consideration of that civic, or civil, religion which replaced the ‘parochial’ religion of the Pre-Reformation Church, and was itself swept away between 1780 and 1840 by rapid population growth, mass migration and industrialisation, which combined to reinforce existing and produce new varieties of voluntary religious association.

Given the all-pervasive influence of, if not religion, then at least ecclesiastical institutions, during much of this period, one might expect the subject to crop up in several other chapters, but here the reader of this Journal will be disappointed. On the importance of ports in the reception of reformed ideas in the years up to 1560, and in harbouring returning Catholic priests in the years following 1590, it is regretted that their role in the exchange of religious, as well as other ideas, is not referred to. More surprising is the fact that the chapters on the urban landscape say very little about the impact of ecclesiastical buildings, whether the dissolution of redundant institutions like monasteries and gilds in the earlier sixteenth century, or the building of new churches and chapels after 1689, on the urban landscape. Yet these events changed the face of many towns in the period and on the evidence of the illustrations included in the volume, not only of Norwich, Haddington and Bath, but also of Bridgnorth and industrial Bradford, the churches continued to dominate the physical, if no longer the social and cultural, landscapes of these towns and cities until the end of the period and beyond. The role of these buildings in civic memory and civic consciousness in this period and that covered in volume iii needs consideration, and suggests that the process of secularisation may have been both more complex and less complete than the scheme set out in the chapters suggests.

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W. J. Sheils

Les Spirituels. Philosophie et religion chez les jeunes humanistes allemands au seizième siècle.


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The monograph reviewed here undertakes to situate the Spiritualist phenomenon in the German Reformation by subjecting it to a combined philosophical and religious analysis, returning to the approach Étienne Gilson applied to St Thomas Aquinas. At the same time the author borrows from the perspective of H. A. Enno van Gelder, The two reformations in the sixteenth century, who regarded the Renaissance as the major Reformation of the sixteenth century, in the sense that it had progressed further from medievalism in the direction of modernity.
The author describes his protagonists, Jörg Haugk von Juchsen, Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck and Caspar von Schwenckfeld, as a third generation that responded to ideas that they found offensive in the major reformers (typified by Martin Luther) by discriminating borrowings from biblical humanism (typified by Erasmus of Rotterdam). In the Erasmus–Luther controversy of 1524–5 these Spiritualists found themselves unable to accept the bondage of the will, but they were too much influenced by the outbreak of the Reformation to endorse Erasmus’ continuing fidelity to the papal Church. They insisted upon a divinely bestowed inner spirit that gave all human beings the opportunity to turn away from the outer world, if they chose, and to experience the incarnation of the image of God in their persons, thus becoming brothers of Christ, fulfilled in both their human and divine natures. The Scriptures gave witness to this transformation but, as part of the external world, they could not of themselves transmit a saving faith; indeed, they threatened to become a ‘paper pope.’

This monograph situates the Spiritualists in a panorama of religious development stretching through the medieval, Renaissance and Reformation eras. It insists that they were heirs of Renaissance humanism, not medieval mysticism, because with their positive anthropology they had left behind the spiritual passivity of the mystics, no matter how much they cited them. This interpretation, although drenched in the scholarly literature of its subject, seems oddly old-fashioned. The ideas are arranged according to an architectonic logic, with little attention to the associations and interactions of the people who held them – and the stress on the modernity of the Spiritualist standpoint makes this a late specimen of the much-decried Whig interpretation of history.

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James M. Stayer

Penitence in the age of Reformatons. Edited by Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xvi + 276 incl. 2 figs and 1 table. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. £49.50. 0 7546 0096 3

The ways in which religion seeks both to inculcate and alleviate guilt have long been meat and drink to medievalists; this lively and valuable collection follows the lead of historians such as John Bossy in asserting the importance of the subject for the social history of the Reformation era. Thirteen chapters explore penitence across a wide spectrum of early modern societies: Lutheran and Catholic Germany, Calvinist England, Holland and France, Counter-Reformation Spain, France and Italy, with a foray into the New World. The essays all have interesting things to say; particular highlights are Jodi Bilinkoff’s demonstration of the potential for inversion in the relationship between confessors and pious female penitents in Spain, and Wietse de Boer’s account of the paradoxes on display in Counter-Reformation Milan, where a conscious attempt to regulate confession as an instrument of social policy collided with the traditional insistence on an undisclosable exchange between priest and penitent. Naturally, one can find gaps. Though there is throughout a laudable attempt to privilege the social
experience of penance, many of the essays perforce draw largely on prescriptive
texts, and there is relatively little on the technology, or choreography of
penitential practice (I looked in vain for the confessional box). Curiously, no one
mentions indulgences. Thomas Tentler, doyen of historians of the subject,
provides a challenging and broad-ranging postscript which seeks to place early
modern penance in a wider cultural and ethnographic context, and gently takes
some of the contributors to task for going too far in their revision of John Bosy’s
influential thesis juxtaposing a medieval emphasis on the social and communal
aspects of penance with a (Counter) Reformation drive towards interiority.
Tentler insists (and is surely right) that in both Catholic and Protestant societies
‘an individualised sense of sin is intensified in the early modern period’ (p. 249).
His final clarion-call, looking towards a new dawn for the subject as historians
become ‘increasingly liberated’ from confessional allegiances, strikes a rather
incongruous note in a collection where several of the contributors work at faith-
based colleges, and one of the better essays is by a member of the Society of Jesus.
An undoubted strength of this book is its explicitly cross-confessional and
comparative focus. Yet there is a crucial divergence which is barely commented
upon in the essays and introduction here: Lutheran private confession was
voluntary, Calvinist consistorial discipline selectively applied; in Catholic Europe
the structures of penance remained a universal and legally-enforced social
obligation. An English anecdote: according to an Essex parishioner in 1570, the
decline in payment of privy tithes to the clergy was ‘by reason of auriculer
confessyon then movinge their good conscence in those dayes more then good
preachinge can doe now’ (PRO, E 337/6/79). The loss of a system of individual
regulation and pastoral oversight of all members of the community by the clergy
was one of the main practical effects of the Protestant Reformations, and surely
had profound consequences for the varied patterns of secularisation and
decchristianisation across western Europe in modern times.

University of Warwick  

Peter Marshall

The adventure of religious pluralism in early modern France. Papers from the Exeter
conference, April 1999. Edited by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and
Penny Roberts. Pp. 322 incl. 2 maps, 1 table and 2 pull-out ills.
Oxford–Berne: Peter Lang, 2000. £32 (paper). 3 906758 71 0; 0 8204
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‘Neither Rome, nor Geneva’. This cryptic phrase, used as the title of a recent
book on the religious scene in sixteenth-century France, neatly sums up the
current trend in French scholarship. No longer is the Reformation in France
interpreted as a struggle between two, or at most three (if the Politiques are
included) clear-cut religious camps. A greater awareness than ever before of
several shades of denominational commitment between the extremes of
Catholicism and Protestantism has developed. Hence the heightened interest in
religious pluralism and the challenge which it presented to the state which finds
expression in the pages of this collection of twenty conference papers. The editors
are to be commended on achieving an unusually high degree of consistency both
in respect of content and quality. They have divided the volume into four sections
dealing respectively with religious pluralism ‘in practice’, ‘in literature’, ‘in
towns’ and ‘after the Edict of Nantes’. The least cohesive is the last which offers
a typology of state responses to pluralism (Richard Bonney), an account of
political relations between France and Lorraine in which religion seems to have
counted for little (Kate Currey), an investigation of the gender tactics employed
by Angélique Arnaud of the congregation of Port Royal to outwit Louis xiv’s
persecution (Daniella Kostroun), an illustrated survey of Huguenot and Catholic
church architecture in the seventeenth century stressing the impact of preaching
on both (Andrew Spicer), an account of French royal policy in respect of Muslim
rowers in the king’s galleys and of Christians captured by Muslims (Gillian
Weiss) and another of crypto-Catholicism in Elizabethan and early Stuart
England (Alexandra Walsham). Although often suggestive, these essays are
tangential to the main theme of the conference. In the first section, Alain Tallon
brings to bear the fruits of his recent and extensive research into France’s
relations with the Council of Trent. The significance of the roles played by three
kinds of Gallicanism – that of the king, of the parlement and of the Church – in the
evolution of pluralism is underlined. Tallon explains France’s refusal to follow the
Anglican model and illuminates the often misrepresented dogmatic stance of the
Cardinal of Lorraine. A major question which scholars are now beginning to
address seriously is the motivation and effectiveness of the edicts of pacification
which punctuated the religious wars. Useful insights into the difficulties
encountered by the commissioners sent out to enforce the Edict of Amboise of
1563 are provided by Penny Roberts who has explored several provincial
archives. Enforcement also concerns Mark Greengrass who points to the
uniqueness of the Peace of Monsieur of 1576: it proclaimed a genuine religious
pluralism unfettered by place or by legal definition, and was bitterly opposed in
consequence. On the evidence of a history by Gabriel du Précourt, published in
1583, Greengrass argues that the famous Péronne manifesto was almost certainly
genuine and not Protestant propaganda. Focusing on the enforcement in 1599 of
the Edict of Nantes in Dauphiné and Poitou-Aunis, Daniel Hickey shows that the
commissioners failed to guarantee peace in either region. Their success depended
in the final analysis on local elites selling the compromise to their constituents.
David Trim challenges the notion that the Edict of Nantes was the result of
military failure on the part of King Henry iv. The parties involved were, in his
opinion, driven to make peace by Henry’s effective marketing of his military
prowess which convinced them that further fighting was unlikely to profit their
cause. Naval warfare is commonly overlooked by historians of the French
religious wars. Alan James explains the crown’s failure to mount an effective
opposition to the Huguenots’ naval superiority. Even after the appointment of
Joyeuse as Admiral of France, Henry iii’s maritime administration remained
hopelessly fragmented. Three essays deal with literary aspects of religious
pluralism. Protestant propaganda has been exhaustively studied by Robert
Kingdon and others; far less attention has been given to Catholic propaganda in
the vernacular. Luc Racaut sets out to redress this imbalance by showing that the
hatred and distrust which Catholic polemic generated among the common folk
posed a formidable challenge to advocates of religious pluralism. On the evidence
of Michel de l’Hospital’s Carmina and speeches, Loris Petris demonstrates that the chancellor’s religious policy was conditioned not by political pragmatism but by ‘an ever-deepening and coherent evangelical religious sensibility’. Yvonne Roberts traces the evolution of Jean-Antoine de Baı$	ext{f}$’s attitude to the politico-religious problems of his day as reflected in Les Mimes, a verse satire composed over fourteen years between 1574 and 1588. Disillusionment persuaded him to acknowledge the vital necessity of separating state from religion. Among the best essays in the section on pluralism in the towns is Timothy Watson’s piece on Lyon. Using the city’s archives, he points to the difficulty of defining a Huguenot. Several non-religious criteria could be invoked as indicators of heterodoxy. Philip Conner focuses on the Protestant stronghold of Montauban and on the career of Guichard de Scorbiac, a member of the local elite, to show how the Catholic crown sought local Protestant support to enforce the Edict of Nantes. Using much archive material, Elizabeth Tingle argues that the League in Nantes was not a product of Catholic militancy so much as a defensive movement springing from an ideology of Christian community as a means of restoring secular and spiritual order. An epilogue by Mark Greengrass places the various contributions within the context of a lively and continuing historical discourse. This, then, is an excellent book which brings to public notice a picture of religion in sixteenth-century France that is far more complex and subtly nuanced than that conveyed by traditional histories.

University of Birmingham

R. J. Knecht


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This volume provides a valuable checklist of some 5,600 early English imprints in the library of the Vrije Universiteit (Free University), Amsterdam. Equally valuably, it draws attention to a singular collection scarcely known to scholars from Britain, and certainly very little used except for specifically bibliographical projects. Founded in 1880, the original goal of the Vrije Universiteit was to offer an education of a specifically Calvinistic character, and that remains true today. The creation of the collection surveyed here, however, is much more recent, and dates only from the university’s move to its new site in 1960. At that point a decision was made to create a collection devoted to the early period of British and American book production, an area of book history remarkably poorly represented in the larger collections of continental Europe. Initial impetus was provided by the donation of one fine private library and the purchase of two established collections: the library of New College, London, one of the oldest Congregationalist colleges in the United Kingdom, and that of Columbia
Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia. Resources have not been expended on purchasing single copies of the oldest and finest books. Although there are a fair number of early books – 750 STC items for instance, and these include some outstanding pieces – the real strength of the collections lies in the large number of pamphlet editions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly works by English authors in the Nonconformist tradition. The library has an exceptionally fine collection of English funeral sermons, and some 200 editions of Bunyan. There are many works by seventeenth-century Puritan authors, including a considerable number of English books published in the Netherlands in this and earlier periods. There are numerous works of science and history, the latter reinforced by a number of important contemporary manuscripts purchased specifically to enhance this collection. Aside from Göttingen, there is probably not a collection as rich in this specific field outside Britain and America. This catalogue will serve a useful purpose in encouraging scholars to visit the Vrije Universiteit and use these resources. Visitors can be assured of fine working conditions and a warm welcome.

University of St Andrews

Andrew Pettigree


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Students and specialists alike too often dismiss the reign of Edward VI (1547–53) as an intermission of sorts between the Henrician and Elizabethan eras. In fact, as Diarmaid MacCulloch reminds us, the boy-king’s regime witnessed unprecedented developments of profound, far-reaching significance – the definition of a new British identity, a fateful plan for planting colonies in Ireland, the first officially sponsored forays into Africa and Russia and, with the coming of Edward’s royally-backed Protestantism, a religious revolution that with shocking suddenness utterly transformed the architecture, liturgy, theology and ecclesiastical polity of English Christianity. MacCulloch’s story, based on the Birkbeck Lectures which he delivered at Cambridge in 1998 and undergirded by research in English, French, Swiss and American archives, tells how Thomas Cranmer and a zealous, close-knit band of like-minded evangelicals made this revolution. Cranmer’s reformed Church possessed an unlikely secret weapon, metrical psalms of the type published by Thomas Sternhold in 1549. Set to rhyming Tudor verse, the singing of such psalms constituted a form of universal ‘theatre’ (p. 14), guaranteeing the Edwardian Reformation a long and influential life in English popular culture. The revolution also spawned one of the great books of English-speaking culture, Thomas Cranmer’s Book of Common Prayer. In discussing the ‘afterlife’ of Edward’s Reformation, MacCulloch shows how Cranmer’s Book contributed to the outbreak of the civil war. But MacCulloch’s real story is of another war, Cranmer’s war of words against the AntiChrist, the pope. Although Cranmer fought that war by gradualist means, the end, the triumph of True Religion, justified a policy of ‘religious aggression’. Cranmer’s
unswerving, ‘inflexible determination’ to advance the evangelical cause ‘by fair means or foul’ became ‘the keynote of Edwardian policy’. MacCulloch stops short of explaining the roots of Cranmer’s ‘ruthlessness’ (p. 104) in this regard. One usually associates such ruthlessness with that bad boy of Edwardian politics, the duke of Northumberland. MacCulloch accepts Northumberland as an evangelical, citing as evidence John Bale’s dedicatory flattery and the duke’s extraordinary ‘confession’ on the scaffold. In fact before that final speech Northumberland’s hypocrisy had alienated true evangelicals; by July 1553 even his toughest admirers could no longer stomach the shameless force he was using to promote ‘Goddes cause’. That Edward vii was an emotionally fervent, independent-minded evangelical of radical bent MacCulloch brilliantly establishes beyond all doubt. In the governmental realm, however, the author carries his interpretation of royal activism and control too far: many of the signet warrants for payment that MacCulloch thinks the boy signed in fact bear the impression of the wooden stamp of his signature, a stamp wielded by Northumberland’s lackey, Sir John Gates. But this hardly detracts from MacCulloch’s engagingly presented, powerful theme, that King Edward’s Reformation represented a ‘vital stage in the fashioning of a nation and a culture’ (p. 14).

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Persecution and toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689. By John Coffey. (Studies in Modern History.) Pp. xii + 244 incl. 3 tables. Harlow: Longman/Pearson Education, 2000. £17.99 (paper). 0 582 30465 2; 0 582 30464 4

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Paradoxically, while modern scholars admire few virtues as universally and unequivocably as religious toleration, they have largely ignored its genesis and development in early modern England. It has been over a half a century since W. K. Jordan’s massive, but now dated, four-volume survey of the subject appeared. Coffey claims that his book is merely a footnote to Jordan’s magnum opus but he is being far too modest. Conceptually Coffey’s work is a marked improvement upon Jordan’s as he avoids the Whiggish teleological assumptions that underlay his predecessor’s tomes. If he believes that ‘seventeenth-century England did indeed witness a dramatic movement from persecution to toleration and from religious uniformity to pluralism’, Coffey also repeatedly emphasises that this development was not inevitable and depended upon fortuitous contingencies. He has been influenced sufficiently by the revisionist historians to point out the limitations of the toleration achieved in the seventeenth century. The difference between Jordan’s approach and Coffey’s is neatly epitomised in the titles of their works: Jordan wrote about the development of religious toleration, Coffey chronicles persecution and toleration. Yet if Coffey surpasses Jordan in the nuance and subtlety with which he approaches the topic, he also comes surprisingly close to emulating Jordan’s thorough coverage in a book only a tenth of the length of Jordan’s. However, while Coffey meticulously chronicles
the diminution of religious persecution and the development of religious toleration in England, his explanations of why this happened are relatively cursory and unconvincing. Humanism, radical Protestantism, the Enlightenment, the discovery of the New World, the invention of printing, a rise in material prosperity and the negative examples of the religious wars are all invoked, but such explanations are too vapid and general to be convincing. England and the Netherlands were the two early modern European countries which went the farthest towards tolerating dissenting religious minorities. Among the features which the two countries shared was a history of fierce, and equally important, demonstrably unsuccessful, religious persecutions. They also had in common state Churches which had once been persecuted and which glorified their martyrs and vilified their persecutors; circumstances which made it all the more difficult for them to persecute dissenters. A more meaningful explanation for the rise of toleration in both countries might have begun with an analysis of these common features. But apart from this one flaw, Coffey’s book is a triumph. It is clearly intended as a guide for students and it succeeds admirably on that level, but it is also a lucid, well-researched and insightful study of a complex and important topic, which will certainly stimulate thought and, it is to be hoped, future research.

University of Sheffield

Thomas S. Freeman


In this volume Scott Wenig explores the development of the English Church in the first half of Elizabeth’s reign by focusing on the theology and actions of four key members of the early Elizabethan episcopate: Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, Edwin Sandys, bishop of Worcester, and James Pilkington, bishop of Durham. His goal is to address three issues: ‘the evolving nature of the English church following the Settlement of 1559, ... the major conflicts which the progressives’ program created ... over the type of national Protestant church which was being ... created ... [and] the scope and pace of religious change in the localities’ (p. 9). In order to accomplish this, he analyses the theology and political strategies of both the ecclesiastical and political hierarchies of the early Elizabethan regime, and then moves to a diocese-by-diocese assessment of the effects of religious change in the sees of his four key bishops. He presents a clear narrative of the changing nature of early Elizabethan Protestantism and of the often-contentious interchanges between the bishops and the queen, on the one hand, and between the bishops and the more radically reformist clergy, on the other. In his discussion of the Vestarian Controversy, for instance, he analyses effectively the ways in which Cox, Jewel, Sandys and Pilkington negotiated the space between the crown’s policy and the radical
clergy’s position. He provides explanations for the resulting hostilities the queen and the clergy each felt toward the bishops, but also offers a probable motivation for the stance taken by those bishops, who might in other circumstances have sided with the protesting clergy: preserving the Church in England from Catholicism was far more important than which vestments the clergy wore. Similarly, Wenig’s portrayal of the nature of religious change in specific dioceses (those over which one of his four bishops presided) is a welcome addition to the growing volume of material on the local impact of the advent of Protestantism in Elizabethan England. Overall, this volume provides a very interesting combination of views of religious change between 1559 and 1579, by focusing first on the development of religious policy, then examining some of the more controversial aspects of the manifestations of that policy and finally providing four case studies of the local application and reception of that policy. One might wish for a more up-to-date historiographical framework for this work. However, the clarity of the narrative, its organisation and the information presented, make this book potentially very useful, especially to undergraduates. Wenig’s depiction of the ways the four bishops worked to influence religious policies and then implement them in their individual dioceses provides useful insights into the dynamics of the creation of Elizabethan Protestantism.

Portland State University, Caroline Litzenberger
Oregon


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This book grew out of a dissertation supervised at the University of Arizona by Heiko A. Oberman. It contributes to a thesis for which Oberman had argued for years: that the Calvinist Reformation is to be understood to an important degree as a Reformation by and for religious refugees. Beza, like Calvin himself, was indeed a refugee to Geneva, who spent much of his career ministering to other refugees there and elsewhere. Manetsch studies Beza not as a theologian but as a strategist, a man who spent much of his time guiding the course of Reformation in his native France. His account depends primarily upon intensive study in Geneva of Beza’s correspondence, both as it has been published in recent years and as it is still being prepared for publication by a team of scholars led by Alain Dufour. Parts of Manetsch’s account represent gleaning after earlier scholars, as in his chapter on the development of political resistance theory by Beza and others in the years following the St Bartholomew’s massacres, but even here Manetsch has much to add, as on the importance of Lambert Daneau as a contributor to that resistance theory. Other parts are remarkably fresh, as in his demonstration that Henri of Navarre, who became Henri iv of France, for considerable periods of time, both before and after his conversion to Catholicism, actually paid Beza for his assistance, with pensions and gifts from his royal
treasuries. Altogether this book constitutes an impressive demonstration of one prominent refugee’s role in French history of the late sixteenth century.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MADISON

ROBERT M. KINGDON


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This is a wonderful book, beautifully written, insightful and often moving. Students and scholars, clergy and lay people can learn from it and enjoy it. The authors tell the story of Mathias Hovius, archbishop of Mechelen in Belgium and provincial metropolitan from 1595 to 1620, a period characterised by war and peace before and after the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce in 1609 between the warring parties in the Netherlands. Hovius emerges as a faithful, hardworking, and conscientious pastor, ‘respected, not beloved’ (p. 285). But Harline and Put ‘intended the book less as a biography and more as an opportunity to immerse ourselves and our readers as much as possible in his world’ (p. 306), and they make good their claim that we can still learn much about the lived religion of the early modern period by viewing it through the eyes of a significant personality. Their book is based largely on archival research, especially in the archdiocesan archive of Mechelen, where the authors discovered the only surviving volume, for his last years from 1617 to 1620, of a journal that Hovius kept throughout his life. Displaying a masterful command of the literature, the authors situate Hovius clearly within the context of early modern Catholicism. Understandably, they forego the traditional footnotes, but at the back of the book they provide a careful account of their sources for each chapter and state clearly when they are conjecturing. The creative narrative strategy they adopt is to devote each chapter to a vignette or series of vignettes that proceed chronologically and illustrate one of the archbishop’s multifarious activities or one aspect of his life. The vignettes then correspond to principal issues of early modern Catholicism. Chapter vi, for example, ‘Our Dear Lady on the Sharp Hill’, shows Hovius’ efforts to control and then to foster the development of a popular shrine to the Blessed Mother, and chapter xiv, ‘The sportsman’s mass’, colourfully relates his attempts to discipline recalcitrant canons of the cathedral chapter of St Rombout in Mechelen. Other issues that appear are Hovius’ visitation of parishes; his relationship with Rome through the various nuncios and with the government of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella; his encouragement of education, especially of priests; his conduct of a provincial council in 1607; his dealings with religious orders of men and women, active and contemplative; his monitoring of hospitals, raising of funds, suppression of heresy and harmful books, and authentication of relics. ‘In all the audiences he hosted, in all the meetings with his staff, among all the entries in his journal, the most common subject was love’. It was also the messiest and the worst recorded, so that the documentation for marriage cases survives unfortunately only in bits and pieces’ (p. 271). One conclusion is that ‘religious life was a constant negotiation among all parties rather than a simple matter of the hierarchy proclaiming and
the flock obeying…. Almost always were bishops negotiating, not merely imposing’ (p. 305). One puts down this book with a sympathetic understanding of an early modern bishop and the challenges that he faced.

**Loyola University,** Robert Bireley sj

**Chicago**


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Raymond McCluskey’s collection of six articles surpasses Abbé Paul MacPherson’s somewhat biased nineteenth-century history, and Canon John Gray’s 1930 edition to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Scots College Society. Anthony D. Wright situates the college’s foundation in Counter-Reformation Rome amidst the lingering hopes for James VI’s acceptance of Catholicism. Mark Dilworth OSB, James F. McMillan, McCluskey and John McIntyre, a former rector of the college, trace its not always tranquil history. In an appendix, Michael E. Williams discusses a relatively unknown early eighteenth-century proposal to merge the Scots and English Colleges into one British College. Each article is a clear, historical narrative accessible to the general reader and rooted in serious scholarship. Because of restrictions on length, the authors could not develop many of the important themes raised. One yearns to know more about specific incidents and individuals, but unfortunately there are few secondary sources devoted to post-Reformation Scottish Catholicism. In the early seventeenth-century alone, one encounters important historical figures, for example William Crichton, who have not been studied; diplomatic manoeuvring for the conversion of James VI, which has been underestimated; and Anne of Denmark’s concern for the Scottish Catholic community, which has been ignored. McCluskey and his collaborators have provided a firm basis for further research: one can only hope that others will follow.

**Jesuit Provincial Archives,** Thomas M. McCoo gj

**London**


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In 1998 the archives of the Holy Office (or inquisition) and of its stepchild, the Congregation for the Index of Prohibited Books, were finally thrown open to scholars. Godman’s splendid book is the fruit of a year’s work among primary sources previously unavailable, and attempts to understand those agencies and their agents on their own terms. He does so largely by tracing the career of St Robert Bellarmine as censor and inquisitor. Bellarmine was a professor of theology at the Collegio Romano when he was appointed consultant to the
Congregation of the Index in 1587; he was appointed consultor to the inquisition in 1597, named cardinal in 1599 and gradually came to dominate both the inquisition and the Congregation until his death in 1621. Godman is unsparing in highlighting the previous incompetence of the Congregation: ‘Consistent only in its indecisiveness and prevarication, the Congregation for the Index, incapable of mastering the problems of the past, inclined to arbitrariness in the present’ (p. 40). Many of the censors were second-rate theologians; few knew any languages except Latin and Italian. The Roman censors were slower and less skilled in drawing up lists of prohibited books than were the Universities of Paris and Louvain and the inquisitions of Spain and Portugal. ‘Before the tribunal of their arbitrary incompetence no one was safe, and from it there was no appeal. Unrestrained by effective direction from above, the Congregation for the Index evolved its own momentum which faltered only because its members lacked the organization to pursue its reckless course’ (p. 66). Bellarmine brought to the Congregation erudition, clear and systematic thought and organisational ability. He laid down rules ‘to guide the Congregation in the direction of reason and responsibility’ (p. 165). Godman’s book has three parts: part i (pp. 1–233) examines the role of the Congregation and Bellarmine; part ii (pp. 237–309) presents excerpts from the archives which illustrate Bellarmine’s own work as censor; part iii (pp. 311–483) prints selected documents on the Congregation’s work. Bellarmine’s role on the Congregation is mainly illustrated by several case studies: the prohibition of Erasmus’ writings, Bellarmine’s efforts to block and revise Sixtus v’s slap-dash edition of the Vulgate, his defence of the papal interdict of 1606 against Venice, his protracted controversy with King James i over the English Oath of Allegiance, and his prohibiting Galileo from teaching heliocentrism. Part ii provides new documentation on all these questions. This book is an erudite and well-written contribution to our knowledge of how the Congregation and the inquisition really functioned. There are some defects: the book has some digressions and repetitions, lacks a bibliography and has a few slips: for example, M. Courtney for John Courtney Murray (p. 100n.).

Marquette University, John Patrick Donnelly Milwaukee


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The destructive obsession of early modern Scotland with religion is well known. From the History of the Reformation by John Knox through to James Hogg’s Private memoirs and confessions of a justified sinner (1824) there exists a powerful literary canon of a nation transfixed by its Protestant faith. It provides an iconography of heroes and an arsenal of ideas from which many have drawn, and continue to draw, inspiration and raw energy. Equally, that heritage represents to others a demonology of sectarian fanaticism and intolerance. Scotland’s religious history rarely attracts cool and dispassionate comment even from professional historians. In Scottish Puritanism, 1590–1638 David Mullan tries to enter one of the most divisive and emotionally charged periods of this history with disciplined
objectivity, although at the end of his excellent analysis of early seventeenth-century Scottish Protestantism he cannot avoid taking sides.

The first surprise about this book lies in the title. One suspects that while there might be reasonable arguments for following James VI in applying the term Puritan to a Scottish context, the real reasons here have more to do with marketing. Early modern Scottish religion has largely avoided being encompassed within the Puritan debate that has so excited English and North American scholars. Outside of the Reformation era, the Scots have kept their debate in-house, engaging in a private quarrel over the relative merits of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, refusing to engage with discussion taking place elsewhere. The exception has been L. E. Schmitz’s *Holy fairs: Scottish communions and American revivals in the early modern period* (1989) that went beyond the denominational in-fighting to examine aspects of religious belief and practice in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland and America. Mullan also grounds his Scottish material in a thorough knowledge of parallel religious movements. For my own part, the application of the term Puritan to a Scottish context is not appropriate, but if it helps this important book to reach a wider audience then Oxford University Press should be commended. What really matters is the material that lies between the covers.

Until the publication of *Scottish Puritanism*, the religious history of early seventeenth-century Scotland was thin indeed. While the Reformation period has been well covered in the latter half of the twentieth century by Gordon Donaldson, James Kirk, Michael Lynch and, most recently, by Alan MacDonald, the period from c. 1600 to the outbreak of the Covenanting revolution in 1637 has been less attractive to historians. W. R. Foster’s *The Church before the Covenants* (1975) offers an ecclesiastical history of the period that is not only very dated, but has a narrow focus on institutions and finance. Walter Makey does discuss the 1630s, but only in the most general of terms, as a prelude to his absorbing analysis of the Church of the Covenanting era. Apart from those historians who touch on religion as part of a broader political study, only Mullan himself has tackled this period in his previous book, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea*, that sought to make the case for the continuity of an Episcopalian tradition from the Reformation to its overthrow at the Glasgow general assembly in the autumn of 1638. With *Scottish Puritanism* there at last exists a book that students and scholars can confidently approach in the expectation of gaining a better understanding of Scottish religion in this surprisingly neglected era.

The highwater mark for sixteenth-century Scottish Presbyterianism has long been recognised as 1592 when parliament conceded a *de facto* recognition of much of what the more activist clergy had long demanded. Yet, within six years James VI had begun a reversal of fortunes that culminated in 1612 with the general assembly recognising diocesan episcopacy under a reinvigorated royal supremacy. Those ministers advocating a Presbyterian settlement and a separation of the powers of king and Church were imprisoned or driven into exile and underground. Dissent remained alive but largely muted until 1618 when the Five Articles of Perth stimulated a growth in secret house meetings and field conventicles. Under Charles I, further developments towards a crown-imposed liturgical programme enlarged the body of disdient clergy and laity against a background of growing apocalyptic thinking. However, it was only when in 1637
the nobility decided to act against their absent and increasingly authoritarian
king that this Presbyterian underground found the political means to overturn
the hated bishops and the equally pernicious royal supremacy. In broad terms
this is the field within which Mullan has gone in search of Scottish Protestantism.

The great achievement of this volume is to open up the mind of early
seventeenth-century Scottish Protestants in a manner that no other writer, apart
from Schmitz, has come close to realising. Mullan takes the view that apart from
the issue of church government, both Presbyterians and Episcopalians were
indistinguishable on matters of belief and piety, an argument that resonates with
MacDonald’s conclusions even if these are reached differently. Following an
invaluable who’s who of the leading clergy, Mullan offers a unique insight into
the self-perception of these men in their office as ministers. At the core of the book
is a finely nuanced discussion of the Christian life, from conversion through
assurance and the soul’s onward pilgrimage. If one must be critical, it is on the
grounds that the recreation of spirituality from religious writings has obvious
limitations, although Mullan is aware that he is describing the aspirations of this
community of belief rather than its common practice. In drawing women into
view as prominent lay activists, this book not only makes a valuable comment on
the nature of that community of faith, it contributes to the slowly emerging
picture of women in early modern Scotland. Mullan also investigates closely the
language of covenants, teasing out a far more complex register than is commonly
recognised, and in his discussion of predestination he largely dismisses the
relevance of Arminianism to the Scottish Church. Finally, he argues that
throughout the first four decades of the seventeenth century there was little
indication within the Church of any likelihood of revolt, seeing the alliance with
the nobility in 1637–8 as unscrupulous and opportunistic.

It is this concluding judgement, with its whiff of polemic dismissing the
Covenanting leaders as ‘religious cranks’ (p. 312), that exposes Mullan’s own
prejudices. Nevertheless, this book offers a brilliant insight into Scottish
Protestantism and should be read by anyone interested in early modern Scotland
as well as by those in search of Puritanism wherever it can be found.

University of St Andrews

Keith M. Brown

and introduced by Allan Greer. (The Bedford Series in History and
Culture.) Pp. xiii + 226 incl. 2 maps and 11 ills. Boston–New York:
Bedford/St Martin’s, 2000. £8.99 (paper). 0 312 22744 2; 0 312 16707 5

Allan Greer’s selection of documents from the Jesuit relations is intended ‘to open
up that textual treasure chest to a wider audience’ (p. v). Noting, rightly, that
the sheer bulk of the seventy-three-volume Rueben Gold Thwaites edition of the
Relations makes it impractical or unavailable for student use, Greer’s edition, the
latest in the Bedford Series in History and Culture, provides a small but carefully
selected range of documents well-suited for reading and discussion in college
courses. The volume follows the pattern of other Bedford Books, providing a good-
sized selection from the primary document, an introductory essay intended to
place the document in historical context, short introductions to each new section, a selection of questions suitable for discussion and a helpful index. Greer’s introduction relates the history of the Jesuit mission to the New World, providing a brief overview of the background of the Jesuit order and of the Iroquois and Algonquin cultures the missionaries encountered, and a documentary history. In addition, Greer discusses the problems of interpretation the Relations introduce and gives an apt warning against presentist readings of the documents. He notes the ‘cultural gap separating Jesuits and natives’. Within the Jesuits’ cultural context, much of native belief could only be described in absolute terms, as either of God or of the devil, leading some modern historians to condemn the Jesuits for intolerance and other ‘offenses’ that Greer asserts ‘are meaningless in the context of their times’ (p. 17). Hoping to give students a sampling of the range of native cultures encountered in the Relations and of the subjects the documents illuminate, Greer breaks the volume into eight chapters. These cover the Montagnais and the Hurons, two of the chief native groups the Jesuits described; native views on disease and medicine, diplomacy and war, and the natural environment; exploration of the Mississippi; and the mission itself, including a discussion of religious devotees from both French and native cultures. Recent historiography of native–European relations by such scholars as Daniel Richter informs Greer’s introductions to each of these chapters, as in his discussion of the French use of Indian alliance systems and the impact of growing cultural and religious divisions on Indian hegemony (pp. 94, 112). Having used this text in an upper-division college course on colonial America, I found that Greer’s edition of the Relations worked very well. Students found the wide-ranging selections engaging and Greer’s comments informative; both provided them with valuable insights into seventeenth-century native America and complicated their understanding of European colonisation and evangelisation of the New World.

**Brigham Young University**

**Jenny Hale Pulsipher**


John N. King’s aim in *Milton and religious controversy* is to uncover ‘the integral role played by anti-Catholic and antiprelatical complaint and satire’ in *Paradise lost*, a dimension of the work which was quickly suppressed by eighteenth-century neoclassical critics in favour of the ‘critical fiction’ that the epic was ‘a sublime masterpiece divorced from contemporary history’ (pp. 1–2). In reconstructing the less decorous pre-Enlightenment identity of the poem, King draws on a range of religious polemics in different genres and media. One is the indigenous strain of anticlericalism associated with Wycliffe, Chaucer, Langland and, above all, Edmund Spenser (whose May Eclogue from the *Shepheardes calender* King takes as the key to Milton’s *Lycidas*). Milton’s own works feature prominently; not only, as one might expect, the antiprelatical tracts of 1641–2, but also his miniature epic on the Gunpowder Plot, *In Quintum Novembris* (1626), and his militant 1673 tract, *Of true religion, heresie, schism, toleration: and what best means may be us’d against the growth of popery*. Another element, amply illustrated in the volume, is the visual
iconography of title pages, frontispieces and broadsheets, ranging from Martin Droeshout’s engraving of Richard Smith’s *The powder treason propounded by Satan, approved by AntiChrist, enterprised by papists* (1615) to, fascinatingly, Michael Burghers’s engravings of Satan (one with the face of Charles II, the other with that of James II) for the 1688 folio edition of *Paradise lost*. While this volume was a culturally prestigious artefact, sponsored by Lord Somers and a group of Oxford Tories, King insists that ‘the “low” world of antipapal broadsheets and street processions’ (p. 78) was no less important. According to him, ‘Miltonic gravity coexists with a vulgar satirical strain’ (p. 123) evident in the profusion of coarse puns, burlesques, parodies and travesties that align Milton with the scatological and carnivalesque religious satire of Luther and Rabelais. All these materials are brought to bear on often critically neglected features of the poem, including the demonic conclave in Pandæmonium, Sin and Death, the Paradise of Fools and the War in Heaven. Some of King’s insights are far-fetched, but many more are genuinely illuminating. Thus his account of divine laughter successfully historicises an aspect of the poem that scandalised William Empson and still troubles many students of Milton. However, since most of King’s previous work has dealt with the Tudor Reformation, he is sometimes less reliable on the history and politics of later periods. For example, the duke of York’s public declaration of his conversion to Roman Catholicism and his marriage to Mary of Modena are mistakenly alleged to have happened before the 1673 Test Act (p. 134). Notwithstanding these slips, there can be no doubt that this book provides a valuable corrective to those who still persist in reading *Paradise lost* without a due sense of ‘the centrality of religion in early modern culture’ (p. 200).

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*Archbishop William King of Dublin* (*1650–1729*) and the constitution in Church and State.


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The brooding presence of Archbishop William King pervades the history of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ireland. In both Church and State he was omnipresent and, more important from the historian’s point of view, he wrote about his experiences in thousands of letters which form the largest single collection of correspondence for this period. Curiously, despite his significance, King has never attracted the attention of a biographer until now. Part of the explanation may lie in the sheer volume of correspondence, library lists and accounts which have survived, but equally King’s enigmatic character may help to explain his neglect. On the one hand he was a High Church reformer who should have been a Tory but was, in fact, a staunch defender of the Glorious Revolution and wrote what became in the eighteenth century the standard justification of Protestant support for William III. He was also a political administrator who spent a great deal of time arguing with his political masters. This biography tackles these fundamental problems by emphasising that King was not primarily a politician or administrator but a churchman who tried to secure the position of the Church of Ireland as the main shaping force in Irish