Reviews


This is the first volume of a five-volume work to be published over the next five years. It is an expanded English version of the third edition [1986–7] of the Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon. Among the additions are articles of special interest to American readers and expanded English bibliographies. In addition to the more traditional theological, biographical and biblical entries, the work reflects modern sociocultural concerns with articles on cultural trends as well as political and economic issues. The 465 entries include articles on anxiety, depression, Amnesty International, birth control, censorship, child labour, civil rights movement, class and social stratum, conservatism, consumption, counterculture and democracy. There is also coverage of other world religions and secular philosophies. The global context of Christianity is stressed with entries on the history and current state of Christianity in most countries of the world as well as separate entries for the continents. A particular valuable feature is the statistical information on the current situation of the Christian faith in each country and continent which is presented in boxes and tables accompanying the entry. Although starting from a Protestant perspective, the articles are remarkably free from bias and stress the ecumenical dimension of Christianity. Articles dealing with controversial ethical questions such as abortion present and explain differing points-of-view in a fair and balanced fashion. Meticulous cross-referencing and up-to-date bibliographies are another positive feature of an encyclopedia which should become a standard reference work replacing classic works such as the New Schaff Herzog encyclopedia and its 1955 extension, the Twentieth-century encyclopedia of religious knowledge.

WHEATON, ILLINOIS

RUDOLPH W. HEINZE

The Christian view of death is both the starting-point (p. 1) and conclusion (pp. 187 ff.) of this enquiry, which examines the significance of death in the ancient Near East, in Judaism and in the early Roman empire. Davies is specifically concerned with the relationship between these views and other processes of social change in ancient societies (p. xi), working from a Weberian perspective which gives ‘explanatory primacy to ideas or values rather than to material circumstances’ (p. 4). As a result his study is unusually wide-ranging in terms of time-span (about 800 years), societies and sources (written and material). The style is lively and discursive, making this on one level a fascinating and readable book. Its enormous range means, however, that Davies (like this reviewer) is more at home with some societies and their material than with others. Although he quotes extensively from primary and a large number of secondary sources Davies does not always leave himself space for sufficient critical evaluation or to set them in nuanced context or argument. This can result in generalisations that are sometimes actually misleading (for example about Roman sarcophagi and imperial influence on them: p. 157); and in a study which looks for explanation in ideas and social values this is rather a drawback. But a greater problem is one which Davies himself notes at the start (p. 5) as the ‘imprecision at the heart of my methodology’. For although all the material he cites can be somehow related to the four variables which he sees as the main factors in a society’s ‘death culture’ – foundational cosmology, material culture, funeral rites and collective understanding of historical significance (pp. 17–18) – it cannot be assumed that, within that culture, a particular set of beliefs automatically led to a particular form of mortuary practice. This inevitably weakens the connection between ideology and material evidence (for instance), and consequently weakens an overall line of argument. Although Davies discusses the ‘variables’ in each case, there is no attempt to draw the threads together at the end; instead, Christianity’s particular view of death stands as the conclusion developed over time (especially pp. 208ff. and the epilogue). What readers will take away must surely depend on their own prior knowledge or specialisms. Neither author nor publisher clearly indicates the book’s intended readership (which of course makes it harder for a reviewer to feel fair). But several features suggest it may have been aimed at the interested lay-reader: for example, many of the secondary sources cited by Davies (for the Roman period at least) are themselves source-books (for example Shelton 1988) or were written with a non-specialist readership in mind (for example, Jones and Sidwell 1997, Walker 1985). But whatever its readership, the book offers a broad and generally accessible overview of ideas about death and burial in some formative periods of the ancient religions.

Open University

Janet Huskinson


Kate Cooper proposes persuasive ways of looking at virginity and the married state for women from the second century to the sixth. On fundamentals of
married life in the Roman elite after Augustus she is with Paul Veyne – ‘the male Roman aristocrat had invented a rhetoric of conjugal love to compensate for his emasculation in the public realm’ (pp. 1–2): secular change and no triumph of Christian ethics, contra the model alive and well in some other recent feminist work, for instance by Luise Schottroff. Cooper begins with Plutarch, observing how the relations of men with women are used to delineate male moral character; then discusses Greek novels and Christian apocryphal Acts, Jerome and the death of Blesilla, and finally the place of Gesta martyrum, especially the Passio Anastasiae and the Liber ad Gregoriam, in Christianity at Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries. She is good on the novelistic genres, insisting on understanding them together:

stereotyping by religious affiliation is misleading, whatever its attractiveness to the sort of classicist who establishes the sophistication of a genre by distancing it from those literary parallels presumed to emanate from an anti-intellectual population of religious fanatics, or to the kind of theologian who wants to claim a pristine divine inspiration, unmediated by secular culture, for any authentic religious voice. (p. 22)

She perhaps goes too far in the direction of relating the genre to fiscal pressures on the curial class: there were hard times all round in the mid third century, but (it is suggested in recent work, for instance by A. Bowman, Jane Rowlandson and Carsten Drecoll) town councillors did not, by comparison, do badly – and when one was ruined by civic responsibilities, a nouveau riche was usually there to take his place. The Jerome material allows Cooper to expand the debate on asceticism and autonomy, pointing to important Christian voices commending marriage to the elite Roman woman. Cooper admits that asceticism might increase a woman’s chance of choosing her own path, but she is cautious about what some scholars conclude: ‘the appeal of the ascetic life’, she argues, ‘can be explained in social terms … the disruption of normal patterns of social interaction would benefit those whose ambition exceeded their reach within the traditional system’ (p. 87). Status dissonance is to the fore, as in Wayne A. Meeks on the Pauline churches. The later narrative of Anastasia reinforces the case: ‘we should, I hope, be warned against easy acceptance of the early Christian literature of continence and rejection of family as a literature of women’s autonomy … what could autonomy itself have meant to a population so deeply committed to the values of group and dynasty?’ (p. 143). This important book has gaps (a key one, Cooper acknowledges [p. x], is that the Virgin Mary is not discussed); but it gives a powerful analysis which will move debate forward.

University of Auckland  Paul McKechnie


£23.95. 0 691 05980 2

In Making Christians, Buell explores the ways in which Clement of Alexandria employs metaphors of procreation and kinship – ‘natural symbols’ – in order to authorise power relations between the divine and the human, and between the Christian teacher and his students: thus the new Christian ‘family’ is created and
rationalised. Rejecting the hypothesis that Clement’s metaphors of procreation/kinship derive from ancient science or biology, Buell argues that Clement’s dominant metaphor, the sowing of seed in the soil (= the Logos/teacher’s instruction of the Christian ‘child’/pupil), derives from other, non-scientific forms of ancient literature. His metaphors, none the less, are designed to make power relations between teacher and pupil, father and child, seem ‘natural’.

First placing Clement’s metaphors of procreation against their Platonic and Philonic backdrop, Buell then expounds the ways in which Clement uses these intellectual and spiritual genealogies to demarcate authentic and inauthentic teachers and learners, especially in the discourse of heresy. Orthodoxy and heresy, she claims, ‘are the flexible by-products of the rhetoric of kinship and procreation, not the reverse’ (p. 80). The most authentic father is, of course, God, obligations to whom outrank those to parents, human teachers or ancestral traditions. Although humans as God’s ‘children’ can claim close affiliation with their divine parent, they are none the less reminded of the radical power differences between themselves and their divine ‘father’. Paternal language, however, does not always dominate: some interesting gender-bending manifests itself in Clement’s metaphors. Yet even when he describes God/the Logos through the maternal language of birthing and lactation, he ultimately refrains from calling God ‘mother’ outright; the association of mothers with materiality, Buell argues, diminishes the power that Clement wishes to ascribe to God. To the (human) Christian teacher and to the Church are ultimately left the functions of wet-nurse or ‘proxy mother’.

If humans are ‘children’ in relation to the divine Father, they are also ‘pupils’ of the Christian teacher who claims an authority to speak in the name of this true Father. Buell interestingly speculates that perhaps Clement did not name his own teachers because he saw them not as individuals, but as mediators of the apostolic tradition, and it was from these first Christians that Clement wished to derive his own authoritative pedigree as Christian teacher – or in his metaphor, as ‘farmer’. Moreover, Clement suggests that celibate spiritual educators reproduce more efficiently than do married (physically) procreating Christians, since teachers simultaneously (not sequentially) beget and educate their young; the discussion of marriage and procreation in Stromateis 3, Buell argues, can be read as an attempt to adjudicate ‘the legitimacy of truth claims among Christian groups’ (p. 83).

I here offer some suggestions of other topics I would have liked Buell to explore. Since she argues throughout that the rhetoric of procreation and kinship is a form of ‘totalizing discourse’, more explicit attention to ideology critique would have enhanced her argument; as it is, Mary Douglas is summoned to bear the burden of showing how symbols/metaphors naturalise power. Second, since Buell rejects discussion of ancient science/biology as the source of Clement’s metaphors of kinship and procreation, presumably in favour of more ‘social’ understandings of kinship, I think the book would have acquired an interesting edge if she had compared/contrasted our knowledge of kinship construction in late antiquity with Clement’s deployment of these metaphors. Third, the book could have benefited from some reorganisation: to divide 182 pages of text into ten chapters makes for rather choppy and sometimes repetitive reading. Despite
these caveats, Buell’s book is a worthy contribution to the ‘new patristics’ that seeks to explore the ancient texts with more critically-astute eyes.

Duke University, Durham, NC


At less than the price of many a hardback monograph, Allan Fitzgerald and his colleagues have produced an excellent work both of introduction and of reference, the interest of which is by no means confined to patristic readers. It well deserves the praise with which it is introduced by Jaroslav Pelikan. Fundamental reference is offered in two lists of Augustine’s works, one with their location in Migne and later editions and English versions, and another with date and circumstances. The articles ‘Epistulae’ and ‘Sermones’ give specific detail for each letter and sermon; and the article ‘Life, culture and controversies of Augustine’ (by Robert Markus) has a full chronological table covering Augustine himself and contemporary events. The articles, written by an array of reputable, chiefly American, scholars, cover a large number of topics related to the saint, his meaning and his influence. There are articles on the background: Plato, Aristotle, Vergil, Mani, Origen, Plotinus, Porphyry, Eusebius of Caesarea and many others. There are articles on Augustine’s own writings, many of great merit, like Rowan Williams on De trinitate. There are articles on people and topics with which Augustine had to deal, such as Ambrose of Milan, Church and State, Donatism, Pelagius, God, Jesus Christ, Grace, Time, Virtue. Some are harder to classify, but wonderfully useful: Sabine MacCormack on ‘Classical authors’ and ‘Classical influences on Augustine’, or Elizabeth Clark’s ‘Asceticism’ and ‘Asceticism before Augustine’; or a pair of articles on ‘Eucharist’ and ‘The eucharistic liturgy in Hippo’s Basilica Major at the time of Augustine’. Substantial attention is paid to the influence of Augustine down the ages. We have not only the obvious early polemicists like John Cassian, Prosper of Aquitaine and Faustus of Riez, but whole epochs such as ‘Carolingian era, early’ and ‘Carolingian era, late’, ‘Reformation’, ‘Trent, Council of’; individuals influenced by Augustine are also well served, like Anselm, Bede, Boethius, Bonaventure, Calvin, Erasmus, Eriugena, Luther. This process comes down to the present day, with Blondel, Troeltsch, Harnack and Heidegger among the moderns. The discussion of topics also becomes contemporary, sharply so in the case of E. Ann Matter’s ‘Women’, where the divergent feminist attacks on Augustine are succinctly presented and evaluated. For the up-to-date, however, pride of place goes to ‘Cyberspace, Augustine in’, in which James J. O’Donnell lists the web-sites and CD-Roms on which Augustine texts and scholarly discussion are available; he ends, not with a bibliography as do the other articles, but with the prediction that, like others in the past, this new technology will surprise us all. I have only one adverse comment on this superb volume: the index (of subjects) does not come up to standard, but consists of tedious
unarticulated strings of page-numbers. A good index would have been worth a pound on the price.

Stuart G. Hall

Athanasius von Alexandrien. De sententia Dionysii. Einleitung, Übersetzung und
Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999. DM 208. 3 11 016520 1; 0553
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Uta Heil’s introduction to, German translation of, and commentary on
Athanasius’ treatise or letter, *De sententia Dionysii*, is a revised version of a
dissertation supervised by Hanns Christof Brennecke. It is an excellent and
important piece of work. The brevity of a short review precludes consideration
of Heil’s interlaced translation and commentary in any detail: I can say only that
the former seems to be accurate and that the latter is careful, clearly argued and
well-informed – and commend Heil for paying proper attention to textual
problems large and small. The real significance of her book, however, lies in the
fact that it proves beyond all reasonable doubt that Luise Abramowski was fully
justified in suspecting that none of the passages that Athanasius quotes as coming
from Dionysius of Alexandria is authentic. Heil compares Athanasius’ quotations
from Dionysius with Dionysius’ indubitably authentic writings: she examines a
range of stylistic criteria including the frequency of common particles and the
Greek verb ‘to be’, sentence structure, rhetorical tropes and figures, and shows
that, while Athanasius’ quotations are homogeneous in vocabulary and style,
they differ from the genuine writings of Dionysius, which are themselves equally
homogeneous in vocabulary and style. Athanasius’ quotations, therefore, are not
authentic. It remains to explain their origin. Heil argues that between 340 and
345 an unknown author composed a *Refutation and defence*, which he attributed to
Dionysius of Alexandria in order to defend the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia
from the charge of ‘Arianism’, and that the passage containing the word
*homoousios* c. 358 was interpolated at a later date by someone else, who might be
Athanasius himself. These conclusions are necessarily speculative, but they
should not be rejected for this reason alone until they are replaced by a more
plausible explanation of the origin of the work falsely attributed to Dionysius
which Athanasius quotes. It should be noted, however, that when Heil dates the
*De decretis Nicaenae synodi* c. 358 and the *De sententia Dionysii*, which forms a
supplement to it, to 359/60, her arguments depend at crucial points on the
reconstruction of the course of theological debates between 350 and 360 proposed
by her teacher in his *Hilarius von Poitiers und die Bischofsopposition gegen Constantius II.*
(Berlin–New York 1984), which has never commanded wide assent. Heil argues
that the *De decretis* (2.1/2) cannot have spoken of attacks on Athanasius as
imminent before 356 or 357. But Athanasius could foresee a renewal of
Constantius’ ‘persecution’ as soon as the emperor convened a council of bishops
in Sirmium in the autumn of 351, immediately after the battle of Mursa, which
condemned him together with Marcellus and Photinus. In 353 Constantius
commenced his attempt to have the decisions of this council (including its creed)
endorsed by western bishops, and it was only a matter of time before he sent troops to arrest the bishop of Alexandria. I see no objection on internal grounds to dating the De decretis to 352/3 and the De sententia Dionysii shortly afterwards.

University of Toronto

T. D. Barnes


This collection is a companion piece to the essays Werner Beierwaltes published five years ago as Eriugena: Grundzüge seines Denkens. There Professor Beierwaltes gathered together a selection of his pieces on a single thinker. The articles republished here are some of Beierwaltes's more recent studies (1992–7) of the wider subject in which Eriugena plays so important a part: the history of Neoplatonism among Christian thinkers. A unifying thread is provided by Pseudo-Dionysius. As scholars have long recognised, although he issued his writings as the work of the Areopagite converted by St Paul, Pseudo-Dionysius was heavily influenced by the fifth-century pagan Neoplatonist Proclus. Beierwaltes offers a detailed and nuanced assessment of the extent of his influence. A shorter article examines aspects of Bonaventure's use of Pseudo-Dionysius, and a long essay is devoted to the theme of the hidden God, as developed by Pseudo-Dionysius and taken up by Nicholas of Cusa. The other pieces in the collection fit comfortably into this main framework: an analysis of the philosophically sophisticated thinking about the Trinity in Marius Victorinus, the earliest Latin Christian Neoplatonist; a study of Eckhart's idea of unity; and a piece which looks at the idea of thought thinking itself in Plotinus, Augustine and Marsilius Ficino.

The collection is unified in approach as well in subject. In the introduction, which he wrote specially for this volume, Beierwaltes describes the theoretical background to his method. He wishes to avoid two common views, which draw a sharp contrast between Christian thinking and Neoplatonism. According to one, Christianity was corrupted by Greek philosophy. According to the other, Christianity and Greek philosophy were, at base, antithetical, and any influence of Neoplatonism on Christian thought was merely superficial. Beierwaltes holds, by contrast, that from early Christian ways of thinking on the one hand, and pagan Neoplatonism on the other, there arose something new: a genuine Christian Neoplatonism, characterised by specifically Christian ideas which could not have been developed without Greek philosophy. Beierwaltes's historical range and his deftness in making connections across it help him to urge this view very persuasively. The positions which he criticises may appear plausible when considered in relation to some of the earlier Latin Christian thinkers, such as Augustine. They begin to seem very ill-founded once the focus of attention is widened, and Augustine and his contemporaries are set within a wider tradition, with Greek as well as Latin Christian roots, and stretching forward to Bonaventure, Eckhart, Cusanus and Ficino.

Trinity College

John Marenbon

Cambridge

Here a large subject is represented in a skillful miniature. There is a central argument. Theologians increasingly emphasised heaven as the proper place for angels, and played down their role as a force in the world. Mayr-Harting begins with the social role of angels down below. Angelic intervention had a social function. It could bolster authority, tell home truths that no-one else could safely say, and facilitate a climb-down without loss of face. (Mayr-Harting seems to be speaking of a literary motif here, but he may mean more. Thietmar of Merseberg reports an angelic admonition to Otto I. Is Mayr-Harting implying that Otto himself made the claim?) Sorcerers thought they could use angels, and banners bore angels’ names. Mayr-Harting concentrates on early medieval examples of this man-centred concept of angels, and argues that with time their contemplation of God came to seem more important, at least to theologians. Angels became more ‘heavenly’, and consequently less involved in the world. Pseudo-Dionysius’ influence encouraged the idea that intervention in the world was the task of lower-status angels, contemplation being the speciality of higher echelons. St Anselm drew a sharp hard line between good angels and bad angels, so that the good ones could no longer seem threatening or dangerous. Aquinas fitted angels into an Aristotelian scheme, where they were more peripheral to human affairs though they could lend help when called upon. Engagement with anthropology, questions about gender (of angels), political history, history of magic and perceptive comment on liturgical history all have their place in the setting of this important and convincing central argument.

University College, London

David D’Avray


This attractively produced, if over-priced, volume offers a series of interesting perspectives on seventh- and eighth-century Christian culture in England, especially its visual aspects. After an introduction that outlines the central role of art in early Christian culture as a whole, ch. i explores the extent to which the Anglo-Saxons emulated romanitas (be it from Italy or Gaul), and the factors which lay behind the emergence of early Insular manuscript art as represented by the Book of Durrow. Chapter ii looks at the arrival and impact of specifically Christian art, while ch. iii explores the taste for, and use of, the colour purple. Chapter iv examines the role of angels and saints, considering depictions and written sources in tandem, while ch. v explores the circumstances behind, and the form of, three keyworks – the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Coffin of St Cuthbert and the Ruthwell Cross. There is no conclusion to draw together these complementary but disparate strands. Henderson’s discussions are broad-ranging and thought-provoking, and he successfully shows the extent to which the culture and art of early Christian England were inextricably linked to those of the late antique world. He regularly takes the reader along complex ‘chains’ of works: on pp.
57–60, for instance, Bede’s description of Augustine’s arrival leads to a discussion of the True Cross, thence to crozier imagery, and then on to the cross motifs in Kentish manuscripts, while the examination of Cuthbert’s coffin (pp. 195–203) passes via the ninth-century Mercian Book of Cerne to the Coppergate Helmet. At its best Vision and image makes very suggestive juxtapositions, which do indeed shed light both on the artworks or texts in question, and on the nature of Anglo-Saxon Christian culture: the sections on Cassiodorus and Wearmouth–Jarrow (pp. 78–92) and on purple (pp. 122–35) are cases in point. At its worst the text is a rather ‘bitty’ collocation of thoughts and comparisons whose implications are either not fully worked out, or stretch one’s credulity. For instance, after arguing indirectly but at length for the Book of Durrow having southumbrian connections and being closer in date to the Sutton Hoo ship burial than is generally believed (for example pp. 41, 184–6), the author never really declares where and when he thinks the manuscript was actually produced. Equally, the comparison between the Life of St Cuthbert and the Ruthwell Cross (pp. 205–6), along with the suggestion that this monument was designed in part to solicit God’s mercy, via St Cuthbert, in the face of plague (p. 214) seem particularly far-fetched. In sum, this is an engaging, stimulating and worthwhile attempt to present a rounded picture of early Anglo-Saxon Christian visual culture – sometimes, however, a more rounded one than the surviving evidence will allow.

University of Kent

Richard Gameson


Volume ii of the MGH Concilia, Concilia Aevi Karolini, I, was edited in two parts (1904–6, 1908) by Albert Werminghoff and contains Frankish councils from 742 to 839, with full indices. In 1924, there appeared a Supplementum to this volume, containing Hubert Bastgen’s rather spare edition of the Libri Carolini (for a fascinating account of Bastgen and his work, see pp. 83–4 of the new edition). The two numbered Supplementa under notice here will therefore occasion bibliographical nightmares for conscientious librarians. Almost everyone else will receive them with unrestrained joy. In the first volume, the Libri Carolini are republished under an older and singular title, with authorship firmly attributed to King Charles. A major scholarly burden of the edition is, however, revealed by the Deutsche Bibliothek cataloguing on the reverse of the title-page: ‘Theodullus < Aurelianensis > : Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini) /[Theodulf von Orléans]’. Unless and until some unwisely brave soul arises to do battle with the ascription to Theodulf, which is documented here with massive (if often delicately yet confidently displayed) learning, the war is over (pp. 12–23). Ann Freeman has been working on the Opus Caroli since 1953 and publishing about it since a pioneering article in Speculum for 1957; her
collaborator, Paul Meyvaert, is known (amid so much else) for a famous article on the authorship question, published in *Revue bénédictine* in 1979. Three manuscripts (one a fragment) survive, all of Carolingian date, and we have the testimony of two partial and one complete sixteenth-century printings. The principal witness, ms Vat. lat. 7207, is a quasi-autograph (in four hands in a scriptorium-style: most clearly described by Freeman in *Speculum* [1965], 206), whose very numerous (c. 3,500) corrections are of the greatest importance for our understanding of the genesis of the work; it is, however, incomplete at both ends, wanting preface, capitula and the very beginning of bk 1, but also, more seriously, the last words of bk iii and the whole of bk iv. Where ms V is a witness, it is printed here page for page and line for line (with the alterations clearly signalled), which is laborious but manifestly necessary. The editors have not shirked their primary duty, however: this is no diplomatic reproduction; the text is fully edited. Where ms V is not a witness, conventional layout is found (pp. 97–106, 485–558). The other major witness (ms A) was written in the scriptorium of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims 845–82, and was a direct copy of ms V. (However, the table on p. 71, which seeks to display the physical relationships of the two, seems to me to be seriously misleading in its layout as well as sometimes confusing in its detail.) This ‘haughty official pronouncement’ (as Wilhelm Levison described it) contains a passionate argument in the king’s name against the position of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) on images: as Freeman has shown, Theodulf’s original draft was worked over by a court-seminar, presumably with royal participation, and heavily revised. In 1930 Wolfram von den Steinen suggested that numerous adverbial marginalia in tironian notes in ms V recorded the king’s approving comments on the work as it was read to him. In 1957 Freeman was cool about this but gradually came round, to the extent that since 1971 she has wholeheartedly adopted it. It is to be rejected, however. The underlying argument is specious; and if ‘acute’, ‘bene’, ‘catholice’, ‘rationabiliter’, ‘scholastice’, ‘uerissime’, and so on (all approximately translatable – to adapt a point made by Heinrich Fichtenau – as ‘right on!’) are such reactions, they are more likely to have come from the court-seminar; it is a pity that any adverbial disapproval has been lost with rejected passages. Freeman has devoted great energy and ingenuity over the years to considering the various and complex stages which brought the *Libri Carolini* from a mere series of capitula to their final form; it is a pity that some space has not been found here to address Stephen Gero’s suggestion (1973) that only rather decontextualised extracts of the translated *acta* of the Second Council of Nicaea were available to Charles’s court-circle, which explains some of Theodulf’s considerable problems in comprehending the Byzantine position. That there is no difficulty in understanding the current editors’ views must be due in part to Wolfram Setz who has produced a lucid German translation of (*inter alia permulta*) the 83-page introduction from an original in English; perhaps that original could be prefixed to the English translation of the *Libri Carolini* themselves which Freeman has promised (and which we now eagerly anticipate) to complete her great scholarly labour.

Harald Willjung’s impressive edition of the texts connected with the Council of Aachen of 809 began life as a Regensburg doctoral dissertation of 1994. Werminghoff devoted ten pages (*Concilia*, II 1, pp. 235–44) to this and the Roman Council of 810. Here we are presented with the *Decretum Aquisgranense de*
processione Spiritus Sancti a Patre et Filio and six other texts (some edited for the first time) on the same theme (pp. 233–412), including Willjung’s translation (pp. 295–302) of the *Ratio Romana de symbolo fidei*, and a very substantial introduction to both the whole issue and the individual texts. This gives a new dimension to the study of the long-running *filioque* controversy (it was discussed by R. G. Heath in this *Journal* xxiii [1972], 97–113). The dispute emerged in the Carolingian reaction to II Nicaea, embodied in *Libri Carolini* (III. 3–5) and given conciliar force at Frankfurt in 794 (§33). But what seems to have sparked the events of 809 was reported obliquely in *Annales regni Francorum* for that year, where the *filioque* issue before the council is handled historically: ‘quam questionem Iohannes quidam monachus Hierosolimis primo commouit’. Three items of papal correspondence (a letter to Leo III from a Frankish monastic community in Jerusalem, plus JE 2520, 2534) put colourful flesh on these bare annalistic bones: it is therefore very unfortunate that Willjung has rejected without serious discussion the possibility that these letters were forged by Ademar of Chabannes two centuries later. A case against the Jerusalem letter (and for the identity of the forger of this and JE 2534) was put by D. F. Callahan in *Revue bénédictine* c ii (1992), 75–134, an over-long and unfocused paper but one which none the less establishes a presumption of inauthenticity, not only of the letter to Leo from Jerusalem and JE 2534 but also of JE 2520 (in spite of Callahan’s disclaimer at p. 88 n. 56). Willjung’s only reference to the substance of all this (p. 26 n. 60; cf. p. 29 n. 72) relies on a one-line dismissal of Callahan by Detlev Jasper in the MGH house-journal, *Deutsches Archiv* xlvii (1992), 702. The letters were (according to Léopold Delisle) preserved uniquely at the end of Berlin Ms Phillipps 1664 (lat. 93) from which they are now missing. The manuscript is Ademar’s: see R. Landes, *Relics, apocalypse, and the deceits of history* (1995), 273 n. 15, and 342; it is misreported by Willjung (p. 425) as Phillipps 1661, and in Landes’s index, p. 309, the number has been corrupted to 1994 (another, unrelated, manuscript misreported by Willjung is Paris, BN latin 9530, which despite Bernhard Bischoff’s repeated published warnings is described here (p. 151 n. 62, and index) as 9525; Willjung has also mistakenly removed the Salisbury Cathedral manuscripts to Southampton University Library and (p. 427) made two places of Padova/Padua University Library. It is to be noted that Ademar forged another papal letter, attributed to his contemporary John XIX (JE 4902), in Paris, BN latin 5240, fo. 8v–9r (Landes, *Relics*, 274–6) and latin 5, II, fo. 130r–v (a later copy). If the Jerusalem letter and JE 2534 are removed from the picture, many questions need fresh treatment, but none more than the immediate provocation to deal with the *filioque* at the Council of Aachen in 809, of which Willjung’s account (pp. 20–9) is now inadequate.

What particularly unites the two volumes noticed here is the evidence which their texts present for the vigorous, if heavy-handed and intellectually unsophisticated, responses of the Carolingian establishment of Charlemagne’s reign to what were seen as theological and therefore political provocations from the Greek east. The nature and extent of connections between Byzantium and Carolingian Francia have recently been productively displayed in a fine article by Michael McCormick (in B. McGinn and W. Otten [eds], *Eriugena: east and west*, 1994, 15–48), and we can expect the two superb volumes noticed here to contribute to a reinvigorated interest in all the varied dimensions of this subject.
One last point: when all the critical matter in MGH editions was presented in neo-Latin, that was helpfully set in Italic type, to distinguish it from the Roman type used for the primary texts. Now that editorial material is in German, it seems unnecessary to preserve the old typographical distinction: after a few pages of italics (let alone a few hundred) the hapless reader can only see the world at an unnatural angle.

GIRTON COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

LES FAUSSES TERREURS DE L’AN MIL. ATTENTE DE LA FIN DES TEMPS OU APPROFONDISSEMENT DE LA FOI?

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The title says it all; this is polemic, though polemic of a very high and very learned order. Gouguenheim’s purpose is to demonstrate a negative, to show that as the year 1000 approached there was no expectation of the end of all things. In pursuit of this he demonstrates that this notion was first recorded only in the twelfth century by the pen of Godel, and that it became embedded in western historiography in the early modern period, particularly through the work of Baronius, whose errors were seized upon by the romantics of the nineteenth century before being scorned by the positivists, amongst whom F. Lot and K. F. Werner figure large. The responsibility for reviving such fausses terreurs is ascribed principally to G. Duby, J. Fried and R. Landes. Duby’s errors are excused because he was fasciné par son sujet and influenced by his perception that about the year 1000 Europe was undergoing a period of violent change, and a rather similar though more qualified tolerance is extended to Fried. The full blast of the author’s scorn is poured upon Landes and his notion of a conspiracy of clerks which, throughout the early Middle Ages, almost succeeded in suppressing knowledge of a widespread and deeply-rooted expectation of the end of all things, which reached a climax in the year 1000. Gouguenheim does not set out to present a history of Christian millenarianism, but focuses with impressive learning upon the whole range of events and sources which have been used to suggest that in or about the year 1000 western Christians expected the world to end. The discussion of Adson and Abbo, whose texts have so often been ransacked, is notably perceptive. However, it has to be said that, amongst writers in English, Landes is not the sole propagator of the fausses terreurs, and it is unfortunate that the collection of essays on the Peace of God, which he edited in 1992 with T. Head, is ignored, especially as Gouguenheim has a chapter on that remarkable phenomenon. The author is strong on French and German bibliography, but his otherwise excellent discussion of Flaber ignores all writing about him in English, and even the existence of recent British and Italian editions. However, Gouguenheim demonstrates all too clearly how thin is the evidential base of those whom he attacks, and his sharp style comes as a breath of fresh air. He has dared to write an attacking work, and he has shown that the target is all too worthy of attack. Moreover, although this is a polemic it is not merely negative. The author clearly has a real understanding of Christian eschatology. Many will use this work as a convenient compendium of information about millennial fears around the year 1000, a kind of Apocalypse for and against:
in this they will not be helped by the absence of a proper index. But
Gouguenheim has much to say about the tradition of Christian eschatology, and
it is a pity that this has not been developed.

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John France

Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien. Edited by Elke Goez
and Werner Goez. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata: [5].
Laienfürsten- und Dynastenurkunden der Kaiserzeit, 2.) Pp. xliii + 666 + 17
plates. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998. DM 180. 3 7752 5433 1;
1436 7394

Countess Matilda of Tuscany was born in 1046 and died in 1115; the oldest
surviving document to bear her attestation along with that of her mother
Countess Beatrice, who died on 18 April 1076, dates from 1072. As is pointed out
in the introduction to this edition of Matilda’s many surviving charters but
regrettably few surviving letters, her archival legacy is the largest by far of any
comparable woman ruler in the central Middle Ages. The major component of
the edition is formed by 139 genuine items, of which seventy-four survive as
originals. All that are preserved in their entirety were written in Italy, even in the
case of the few for recipients in Lorraine, with which Matilda had links through
her mother’s second marriage to Duke Godfrey the Bearded of Lower Lorraine
and her own first marriage to Duke Godfrey the Hunchback. There follow fifteen
spurious items and details are provided of 115 *deperdita*. An appendix of thirteen
documents includes charters which mention Matilda. Elke and Werner Goez
have provided the definitive edition of their material from the point of view of the
diplomatist. Such expertise is complemented by their familiarity with Italian
topography and with Italian legal and social usage. But Matilda was also Pope
Gregory vii’s adherent and throughout her long life the vicissitudes of the conflict
of papacy and empire pressed upon her. Her letters declare her partisanship, as
when her brief missive of 1084 to the German Gregorian flung defiance at
Henry iv as he returned newly crowned from Rome and at his anti-pope—
Barrabas latro, id est Heinrici papa—who had ‘also fled’ (no. 38). Matilda’s family
dealings are of much interest. Her unhappy marriage to Duke Godfrey left her
living under Salic not Lombard law and it is surprising that, after the
circumstances of his death, Godfrey could be referred to as ‘of blessed memory’
(nos 26, 28). Matilda’s marriage to Welf v of Bavaria left no lasting mark. With
no surviving issue, she took Count Guido Gerra as her adopted son (no. 55 etc.);
his prominence and that of his family, is noteworthy. So far as the Matildine
lands are concerned, the genuineness of Matilda’s renewal in 1102 of the
donation to the Roman Church of all her allodial possessions is unhesitatingly
accepted (no. 73, cf. Dep. 37). The activities of Paschal ii’s papal vicar in
Lombardy from 1100, Bernard cardinal-priest of S. Grisogono, as illustrated in
the charters, provide a significant background to the renewal. For the original
donation under Gregory vii, a date as early as 1074–5 is preferred to its usual
placing between 1077 and 1081; the question remains open. As for Matilda’s
bequeathing her allodial lands in 1111 to the Emperor Henry v, such a step is
deemed to be highly doubtful in view both of uncertainty about how to interpret
a line in Donizo’s *Vita Mathildis* and of the lateness and unreliability of the
chronicler Arnold of Lübeck, the principal source (Dep. 80). It is to be hoped that this exemplary edition of Matilda’s charters will lead to the biography that is greatly needed.

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Six papers delivered at a conference in 1995 are here collected under the editorship of Professor Warren Hollister just before his untimely death. As the foremost specialist on King Henry I (1100–35) it is his intention to show that his reign was ‘the most creative in the Anglo-Norman era’ (p. 14), that Henry could ‘reasonably be described as a “renaissance prince”’ and that ‘in Anglo-Norman England ... the new ideas, associations, and assumptions of the twelfth-century renaissance first affected and transformed political institutions and culture’. Hollister’s conclusion follows his assertion that ‘similar political responses to the twelfth-century renaissance elsewhere – in France, Germany, Flanders, Norman Sicily, the Iberian kingdoms and other regions of central and western Europe lagged behind the Anglo-Norman regnum but often by not more than two or three generations’ (p. 16). After such a forceful introductory chapter the reader could be forgiven for expecting to find the evidence in support of this thesis. Instead, however, we find five splendid essays on Anglo-Norman history (Cassandra Potts on early Norman hagiography, John Gillingham on chivalry, Judith Green on aristocratic women, Robin Fleming on the earlier Anglo-Norman cartulary and David Crouch on death), which do not really underwrite Hollister’s thesis. The nearest to an evaluation of the relation between renaissance ideas (reason, systematisation of information and humanism) and Anglo-Norman political organisation come from the contributions of John Gillingham and Judith Green. In Gillingham’s inspiring discussion of the first English history written in French by Gaimar we find a stimulating attempt to explain why Gaimar wrote in a foreign language about English court life, kings, chivalry and ‘amour’ in a way known from (later) chansons de geste and romances but not from standard political historiography. Green’s analysis of the position of aristocratic women shows how the cross-channel aristocracy came to pragmatic decisions about marriage and inheritance far removed from the dogmatic Anglo-Saxon/Norman legal systems posited by earlier scholars. Here too we find the nucleus of what I am sure is a fruitful research area to determine the relationship between the Anglo-Norman realm and other European regions. Cross-fertilisation of men/women and ideas across the different regions of Europe (including the Channel) accounts for the spread of what we now call the twelfth-century renaissance. To see Henry’s reign as pivotal is misleading. After all, as Hollister admits, many courtiers and administrators who came to work for him as archdeacons, bishops and judges received their education on the continent in northern France and Lotharingia, areas where Edward the Confessor too had recruited his staff. It was during William the Conqueror’s reign as duke of
Normandy that Italian scholars like Lanfranc and Anselm settled in western France. Princely patronage is a key factor in the spread and cultivation of new ideas as the cases of Charlemagne and his grandson Charles the Bald show for the Carolingian renaissance and the Ottos in Germany for the renaissance named after them. Perhaps the fact that the twelfth-century renaissance is not so intimately associated with one prince illustrates that Henry I was less of a renaissance prince than Warren Hollister, though not his collaborators, would have us believe.

**Emmanuel College, Cambridge**

**Emmanuel College, Cambridge**


Despite its title and its main thesis – that the heyday of Gorze came in the eleventh century – Wagner’s book can be considered as a valuable reference work for the history of the monastery, from the date of its foundation in the eighth century up to the time of Abbot Peter (1169–1203), who was responsible for the abbey’s cartulary. The extent of the abbey’s possessions is carefully examined and a catalogue of the eleventh-century library edited. Although both its possessions and its library turn out to have been relatively modest, Wagner none the less claims that in the eleventh century the influence of Gorze was felt throughout the empire. This was not because it had the organisational structure attributed to it by Hallinger – thus there never was an Order of Gorze – but because the prestige it had acquired in the tenth century led to it becoming the training ground favoured by eleventh-century bishops in search of abbots for foundations in their dioceses. Previously, insists Wagner, Gorze’s influence was strictly Lotharingian. The reform of St Maximin of Trier, and of the foundations that belong to that circle, owes nothing whatsoever to Gorze, and historians who have argued otherwise are simply ‘wrong’ (p. 31); and after the Investiture Controversy, Gorze would become once again ‘a purely local force’ (p. 289). What is lacking in all of this, however, is any sense either of the nature of the local ties that sustained Gorze throughout its history, notably its relations with the aristocracy of Lotharingia, or of the spiritual élan that for a while at least gave it such esteem. Acquaintance with the work of John Nightingale on the monastery’s patrons and of Henry Mayr-Harting on Ottonian art would have greatly enhanced and enlivened this useful but somewhat stolid book.

**St Peter’s College, Oxford**

**Henrietta Leyser**


This is an interesting study of eight German bishops’ chronicles (Eichstatt, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Metz and Toul) written in
the last quarter of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century. Each chapter is divided into five sections devoted to the author, the foundation of the bishop’s see, the relationship between the bishop and the king or pope, the particular circumstances of the see and, finally, the chronicle’s purpose and the author’s perception of the past. Schlochtermeyer argues persuasively that although the genre of chronicles devoted to the deeds of bishops goes back to the archetype of the Liber pontificalis (the book of the pope), the catalyst for the writing of all eight of these chronicles was the Investiture Conflict that raged in the empire in the period under consideration. The rival claims of king and pope, especially of King Henry iv and Pope Gregory vii, for the loyalties of the German bishops, forced successive bishops in each see to decide whom to support. This political decision in turn forced the bishops to confront the past interests of their see and the potential effect their actions had for its future. In the majority of cases it was the sitting, or the recently deceased, bishop who commissioned a trusted clerk to write the chronicle. In only two cases, during a prolonged interregnum between two bishops (at Toul and at Hildesheim), does it look as if the initiative came from the clerks themselves. Considering the genre of gesta history which as a serial biography was focused on the persons of the bishops rather than on the bishopric, most chronicles are concerned with regional history and only transgress local boundaries in the disputes involving king or pope. Their parochial interest is reflected above all in the spread of manuscript copies of the chronicles, very few of which can be found outside the dioceses concerned.

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Elisabeth van Houts


This is a curious book. Behind the portentous title there lurks an edition and translation of the Leges Edwardi Confessoris. The edition amends and supplements, but does not replace, that of Liebermann; the translation is a bold shot at a difficult text; it involves some odd judgements, but since it appears on facing pages, its occasional idiosyncrasies are immediately apparent. The author makes little change to the accepted dating of the earliest version to the second quarter of the twelfth century and makes the tentative suggestion that the work probably originated in diocesan administration, possibly at Lincoln. So far, so good. But O’Brien goes well beyond this. As evidence on the law of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the Leges Edwardi are not now rated highly, in comparison, say, with the slightly earlier Leges Henrici Primi; they have even been condemned as apocryphal. O’Brien will have none of this. In his view the Leges Edwardi ‘provide a less muddled reflection than the Leges Henrici of contemporary reasons for the recording of older English law and of that law’s continuing vitality after 1066’. And again, ‘The Leges Edwardi’s description of those forms of royal peace accurately reflects, with a few adjustments, the twelfth-century world of the author, especially as would have been found in the northern Danelaw.’ The views arise from the method. For example, cap. 25 deals with the Jews. It amounts to six lines of print and is important in indicating that Jews might be
O'Brien provides six pages of commentary in which this point is lost amidst a general and unoriginal discussion of the position of the Jews in the twelfth and later centuries. The method is followed repeatedly, and it follows that some parallel to the *Leges* will almost always be discovered. Those who use this book will be surprised to find that the text of the *Leges Edwardi*, heavily annotated, occupies just twenty-two pages; most of the rest is made up of commentary. So it is a slight work. It owed its later prominence to two passages: cap. 17, which gave the king a role as the vicar of God and protector of the kingdom and its people, and cap. 34, which describes how William the Conqueror, at the request of his new subjects, confirmed to them the laws of King Edward. The first contributed to the arguments about governance before and during the crisis of 1215; the second was one of the foundations of the ancient constitution as propounded by lawyers and antiquarians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. O'Brien summarises these later developments competently. Nevertheless, to borrow Froude’s words, ‘this is all, and indeed more than all, that is known of the Laws of the blessed St Edward’.


This volume aims to present a comprehensive collection in English of the biographical sources available for Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and her spiritual mother Jutta of Disibodenberg (1092–1136). Although intended principally for those engaged in ‘spiritual reading’, the translator’s introductions and commentary also provide a survey of the textual and historical issues raised by the documents. The core of the collection consists of three documents: *The Life of Lady Jutta the anchoress*, Theodoric’s *Live of Saint Hildegard*, and Bovo’s *Letter 38*, which contains his unfinished biography of Hildegard. Theodoric’s *Life*, the most substantial for Hildegard studies, has been published before, but this is the first English translation that takes stock of recent scholarship and uses Monika Klaes’s 1993 critical edition (CCCM cxxvi). A ‘penumbra’ of supporting documents complements the *vitae*: excerpts from the chronicles of Disibodenberg; documents relating to the monasteries of Disibodenberg, Sponheim and Rupertsberg; the readings from the liturgical office of St Hildegard; the acta of her inquest of canonisation; and Guibert’s revision of Theodoric’s *vita* (with changes indicated by italics). Appendices include maps, genealogical tables and a bibliography of sources and scholarship. Of importance in its own right, the life of Jutta is especially welcome as it portrays the young Hildegard before she become an international figure. The collection excludes some sources for the life of Hildegard, in particular autobiographical references in her own writings, but these sources are acknowledged and explained (pp. xix–xx). Silva’s translations are close to the original Latin but rendered into readable fluent English.
Life and thought in the northern Church, c. 1100–c. 1700. Essays in honour of Claire Cross. Edited by Diana Wood. (Studies in Church History. Subsidia, 12.)

This Subsidia collection of the Ecclesiastical History Society pays tribute to a scholar of whom one of the contributors has said elsewhere that ‘the prevalent view of the effect of the Reformation is that presented by Claire Cross ... the triumph of the laity’, and that she ‘examined the theoretical relationship between church and state and has sought to demonstrate relations between Crown and hierarchy within this framework’. This summarises the unifying theme of these varied offerings from friends and former pupils, scholars whose interests range widely across the north and across the centuries. The core is naturally the two centuries Claire Cross has made her own; its periphery is adorned with essays which enhance the symphonic nature of the collection. Some contributors focus on the microcosm, especially of archive evidence; others choose to present an individual, cleric or lay, in the religious and political context of his time. Some seek to highlight the role of a specific community, while others offer glimpses of interdisciplinary worlds. Many pay open tribute to the giant shoulders on which they stand, and to whom these essays are dedicated: Barrie Dobson’s introductory tribute to the academic career of Claire Cross finds many echoes.

Peter Biller opens the chronological batting with an assessment of the twelfth-century chronicler William of Newburgh and his handling of the infiltration of Catharist heresy into Yorkshire, focusing on one female convert. Rosalind Hill redresses the balance of Chaucer with a depiction of the responsible use of pardoners in fourteenth-century fund-raising. John of Ayton’s social commentary in his ‘grumbling gloss’ is chosen by Diana Wood to portray another side of fourteenth-century existence. Michael Wilks examines in depth the clash between Archbishop Arundel and Richard II as a necessary step in the archbishop’s campaign to extirpate Lollardy, rather than as a political choice between absolute and limited kingship. Anne Hudson continues the Lollard theme with an examination of evidence of interest in the writings of Wyclif shown by his native Durham.

Several essays then focus on York. R. N. Swanson reviews the medieval arrangements for supporting the Minster fabric fund from the income of the appropriated parish of Topcliffe, and David Smith considers the late medieval development of the exercise of probate jurisdiction by the archbishops of York. P. J. P. Goldberg contrasts with a discussion of the Corpus Christi plays and pageants in the Northern Province, showing their place in the development of gilds and as a focus of civic pride. Ann Rycroft focuses on the rare examples of humanistic script in the diocesan archives, from the papers on the election of the dean of York in 1503. Margaret Aston switches attention to Durham and elsewhere in a lively analysis of the political and theological statements made by bishops during the Long Reformation in the design of their episcopal seals. Similarly, the discussion of holy wells by Alexandra Walsham shows how an age which denied miracles as vain superstition yet found a political and theological accommodation for them, especially in scientific analysis of their real therapeutic properties.
The clergy return to the fore in C. C. Webb’s analysis of the York clergy recorded in the 1525 subsidy, highlighting how much can be gleaned from such sources. David Marcombe chronicles the last days of the priory of Lenton, Notts., and David Loades offers a contrasting piece on the transition of Durham from monastery to chapter in the middle years of the sixteenth century, a transition only really completed when Mary’s dream of the chapter as a spiritual powerhouse was replaced with a close full of wives and children.

Jane Dawson provides interesting variety in her portrayal of the earl of Argyll as both protagonist of the Scottish Reformation and shepherd of Clan Campbell. The active and energetic relationship between magistracy and ministry in northern towns, c. 1570–1630, is explained and analysed by D. J. Lamburn, while W. J. Sheils shows, from the preaching diary of Archbishop Tobie Matthew, the vital role played by the episcopate in concentrating on this post-Reformation function. Christine Newman’s picture of Lady Isabel Bowes makes the best of patchy information to portray a Protestant lady as influential as better known, because better documented, contemporaries. Rosemary O’Day’s discussion of the presentation of an incumbent to Melbourne, Derbys., in the 1630s, sheds valuable light on the influence which might be wielded by those not officially patrons. David Scott highlights the political career of the seventeenth-century Puritan Henry Darley, which brought him into contact with Covenanters, parliamentarians and crypto-royalists alike. The sufferings of the families of ejected clergy in the north in the 1640s and 1650s are discussed by Anne Laurence, showing the problems of survival faced by wives and children, and the unemployment of their menfolk, within the ‘sufferings’ genre. Thomas Larkham, incumbent of Tavistock, Devon, figures in Susan Hardman Moore’s perceptive analysis as the unlikely but apparently successful pastor of a gathered church in seventeenth-century Cockermouth, Cumberland. Will Coster’s account of the problems and pitfalls in the methodology of the use of wills as evidence for three contrasting Yorkshire communities, shows that they do not easily lend themselves to the demands recent researchers have made upon them. Stuart Mews and Michael Mullett show, from the library bequeathed to Burnley Old Grammar School in the late seventeenth century, how education in the town was wrested from the dominant Catholic family to become intensely Protestant, even if the books themselves were too advanced for schoolboys. David Thompson tackles the unlikely source of a book of nineteenth-century sermons to discuss theological perceptions of the essential continuity of the Reformation Church in the north with its Northumbrian past. The collection concludes with a bibliography of Claire Cross’s own work.

One expects a high standard from the Subsidia volumes of the Studies in Church History series, and in this varied, fascinating and wide-ranging collection one is not disappointed.

Ludlow

Margaret Clark
preaching held at Downside Abbey on 25 April 1997. The main objective was to draw attention to the preaching of monks and nuns to counter-balance previous studies on mendicant preaching. The opinions of secular clergy who preached to the religious in an attempt to reform monastic life are also considered. Two recurring themes appear: firstly, whether preaching was a proper activity for the religious at all, and secondly, how the religious or secular clergy sought to defend their positions on this matter. The book is subdivided into seven themes and each paper concludes with a bibliography.

Denys Turner considers the reasons put forward by Denys the Carthusian (c. 1402–71), whose prolific output was questioned by his General Chapter in 1446. This Carthusian believed that preaching was a contemplative performance, a standpoint which must have satisfied his superiors since he went on to compile a collection of 900 sermons in 1451–2. Brian Patrick McGuire gives a brief exposition of a sermon by the cleric Jean Gerson to the Carthusians to reveal traditional arguments about Carthusian spirituality, that is to say that they are a contemplative order and should remain in solitude. James Hogg looks at fourteen chapter sermons from the Carthusian Charterhouse of Mainz. Unfortunately, these reveal nothing about Carthusian spirituality or Carthusian life in the early fifteenth-century. He provides several appendices: one lists the collections of medieval Carthusian sermons in French public libraries, printed for the first time, and another gives the Carthusian sermons located in the archives of Grande Chartreuse.

Regina D. Schiewer looks at a collection of sermons known as the ‘High Alemannic sermons’ to investigate the production and transmission of the literature of the Dominican nuns of the Observance movement in the later Middle Ages in Germany. These nuns not only heard these sermons in German but could also read them in the vernacular. By contrast, there are very few surviving sermon manuscripts addressed to English nuns. V. M. O’Meara uses the visitation sermons of Bishop Alnwick of Lincoln (1437–47) to show that preaching to nuns was done mainly in the vernacular and consisted on the whole of devotional prose (appendix).

Catherine Mooney explores the life and sermons of the Vallombrosan nun, Humility of Faenza (1310), who was abbess and foundress of two monasteries. It is particularly enlightening that the sermons of this nun are among the relatively small number of wholly female-authored texts to have survived the medieval period, especially since women were not supposed to preach. George Ferzoco consults the canonisation processes of John Buoni and Peter of the Morrone, two thirteenth-century Italian hermits, to reveal that contemporaries were aware of their preaching activities. Moreover, he notes that their vitae chose to omit this activity, a point he hopes to expand upon at a later date.

Through a brief analysis of four extant texts of Hildegard of Bingen (1179) directed against the Cathars, Beverly Mayne Kienzle highlights the significance of, firstly, monastic preaching by an abbess, and secondly monastic preaching focused on an issue outside the monastery. Furthermore, Hildegard was a rare example of a woman being sought out to preach. John Arnold studies the context and practice of Cathar preaching as represented through witness statements from the inquisitorial registers in southern France for the mid thirteenth-century. He reveals that Cathar theology was not limited to formal preaching at the pulpit...
but was transmitted through discussion, conversation and argument or family tradition. Their preaching was intertwined in the way they lived their everyday lives.

Jessalynn Bird compares Jacques de Vitry’s idealised schema in his *Historia occidentalis* with his advice for the religious and laity in his *Sermones ad status* to show how he tried to persuade the religious to follow the new reforms promulgated by the Paris circle, Innocent III and his successors whereby monks and hermits should lead purely contemplative lives and stressed the pastoral role for regular canons, the mendicants and secular clergy. He even offered the monastic ideals to the laity. James R. Ginther’s article considers *Sermon 68* (edited in an appendix) of Robert Grosseteste’s *Sermo ad religiosis* to reveal that this bishop also believed that the principles and practice of monasticism should be contemplative and it was this view which he held when carrying out his episcopal visitations.

Joan Greatrex shows how Benedictines of the later medieval period had an interest in preaching: they kept in touch with the intellectual standards of the period by sending monks to university and preserved well-stocked libraries of sermon material. However, the purpose was not to specialise or excel in this field. Patrick Horner analyses four sermons of Robert Rypon of Durham which deal with *pastoralia* as evidence that Benedictines had an interest in popular preaching. Christopher Holdsworth deals with the difficulties of studying orality through a written source. In reconsidering Jean Leclercq’s argument in detail, he believes that St Bernard did in fact preach the *Sermons on the Song of Songs* to his monks at Clairvaux and that the text developed from what was actually said and reworked at various points. How long is the length of a sermon or a collection of sermons? At what speed does it actually run? M. B. Pranger considers these questions about the role of time and speed in monastic preaching, Chrysogonus Waddell looks at the nature and quality of liturgical preaching in Cistercian monasteries in the twelfth century which was conditioned not only by the audience but also by the tradition of liturgical preaching as represented in collections of sermons and homilies read during the divine office, refectory and cloister.

This whole collection is illuminating because it brings together information about monastic preaching from unexpected quarters, whether it is preaching by hermits, heretical monks, nuns, the sermon collections of the Benedictines or the sermon-writing of contemplative monks. The editor, Carolyn Muessig, draws these points together in her introduction and suggests that further investigation into monastic preaching could reveal how it shaped religious conduct and influenced the community both within and outside the cloister.
to the question of the history of natural rights theories. This volume draws together the diverse elements of that meditation, adding a considerable amount of freshly-written material. Although recent debate on the subject has challenged the previous orthodoxy (notably propounded by the French legal historian, Michel Villey) that the 'origins' of the concept are to be found in the philosophy of William of Ockham (or at the very least, in medieval Franciscan voluntarism taken as a whole), it could still be said that historians have continued to tackle the subject from the point of view of the history of philosophy. Tierney, by contrast, seeks to draw attention not only to the input of the medieval lawyers into the story, but also to stress the importance of historical context in the success of the basic idea. On his contention it was the twelfth-century canon lawyers, not fourteenth-century voluntarists, who first deployed the notion of natural rights, as a way of finding a language for the innate morality of human beings and of defending the claims of that morality over and against the demands of positive legality. Tierney attempts to situate this trend as evidenced in canonistic texts within the context of the broader humanist movement in twelfth-century intellectual circles; whether or not one finds this argument convincing will depend on how seriously one takes the idea of 'the discovery of the individual' in twelfth-century humanism. The same sort of objection might be raised for some of the other contexts upon which he relies to build his story. Nevertheless, Tierney is unparalleled in his attention to the minutiae of language and this, together with his extraordinary knowledge of medieval philosophical and legal discourse, ensures that his readings of specific texts within the natural rights tradition are always insightful and illuminating in themselves. This important book should at least challenge some of the readings dominant and taken for granted in the current debate.

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Annabel Brett


A life of St Thomas Becket, in well over 100,000 words which Urry left in manuscript at his death in 1981, has been reduced by Peter Rowe by about a third in order to produce an attractive volume for the general reader. A few references to some modern works replace Urry’s notes. The main condensation has been to turn the first four of Urry’s chapters into a prologue of 30pp. The events of December 1170, culminating in the martyrdom, are then covered in five chapters. It is unfortunate that the site of the Great Hall has since been relocated by archaeologists. A sixth chapter is devoted largely to the rebellion of 1173-4 against King Henry II; and an epilogue is concerned with the translation of the saint’s body to a new tomb in 1220, the pilgrimages to this in the later Middle Ages, and its destruction by Henry VIII. Strangely, the miracles are given short shrift. Urry’s translation of the sources for Becket’s last days is idiomatic and lively. Although he is reputed to have detested Becket – and there are a few jibes – he is generally sympathetic. The book is excellently illustrated; but to make room for captions the pages have wastefully wide outer margins. The main
adornment of the book, however, is the foreword, the address given at Urry’s memorial service by Henry Mayr-Harting, an eloquent, generous and moving oration.

Kenton, Exeter


The extent to which international religious orders were subject to regional and local influences is the topic addressed in the thirteen papers – most of them delivered at the 1997 Leeds International Medieval Conference – which make up this volume. Some provide useful contributions towards a wider understanding of this important theme: Jürgen Sarnowsky, for example, reveals the interplay between the crown, local brethren and the central authorities of the Hospital in the ‘election’ of English priors in the later fifteenth century; Jens Röhrkasten provides a detailed and painstaking survey of the local ties and international connections of London mendicants; and Anneli Randla argues that the architecture of friaries in Scotland was primarily Scottish and only secondarily mendicant. Yet the quality of the papers is uneven. Some cover ground which is already familiar, and several suffer from a lack of sufficient research. One or two seem only marginally relevant to the main issues under discussion. Most parts of western Christendom are touched upon, but contributors are covering only small aspects of a very large subject. It is therefore difficult to draw wide-ranging conclusions, and it is not surprising that the general points made in the concluding essay seem mostly rather obvious: that patronage by leading social groups was necessary for an order’s early expansion into a region, that local foundations were integrated into an order’s structures and the privileges of exemption caused conflict with diocesans are scarcely novel concepts.

Kirtlington


The last decades have witnessed much work on the medieval Anglo-Jewry but mostly in periodical literature. Mundill’s book is thus particularly welcome. After a general review of sources and issues such as settlement, society and economic activity, he moves to his main theme, the impact of what Lipman termed the Edwardian experiment. The 1275 Statute of the Jewry sought to divert the Jews into other commercial activities by forbidding them to loan money at interest. Its results, especially the move to commodities, are traced with reference to London and eight provincial Jewries. In seven, surprisingly, credit transactions increased rather than declined towards 1290. Data from three of the studies is used to determine the social and geographical composition of the clients of Jewish
financiers at Hereford, Lincoln and Canterbury between 1269 and 1290. From the records of the Lincoln Jewry in 1290 Mundill shows that almost three-quarters of those with outstanding debts were of humble origin. This is in contrast to the situation in the second half of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century. As late as 1244 of some £2,600 owed to the heirs of the magnate, Hamo, more than 80 per cent was due from members of the baronage.

The second theme is the general expulsion of 1290 with a final chapter devoted to interpretation. Edward I did indeed clearly and deliberately make the decision; but was it merely to persuade a grateful people to vote a new form of taxation or was it rather that Edward I used the English Jewry as a scapegoat? More than fifty years ago Powicke drew attention to ‘a remarkable series of transactions whose significance has not been fully realised’, illustrating Edward’s ability to use his awareness of contemporary tendencies again and again. By using his access to capital, he began at an early age to secure an immediate interest in the lands of indebted landowners. Edward was only seventeen when in 1256 he acquired in fee simple the marcher estate of John of Monmouth, valued at 15 knights’ fees, in return for a life interest in lands assessed at 1.3 knights’ fees. The inducement was Edward’s access to John’s bonds to the Jewry, totalling £1,777, held by the exchequer. Six years later Henry III mortgaged the Jewry to his son. In 1286 Archbishop John Pecham wrote of ‘public outcry in every part of England’ about our ‘illustrious lady queen ... occupying many manors of nobles which the Jews extorted with usury under protection of the royal court’. Edward did not rely merely on Jewish bonds. More than a decade after the expulsion he secured the reversion to the crown of the lands of Roger Bigod and of Humphrey de Bohun.

Roth’s Jews of medieval Oxford was published in 1951 and Lipman’s Jews of medieval Norwich sixteen years later. Mundill’s work makes clear the need for detailed studies of other recognised communities. These are essential for the understanding of the dynamics of England’s medieval Jewry. However, as Stacey has said, Anglo-Jewish history has to be tied to an understanding of the general history of medieval England. In Mundill’s work students now have a detailed guide to the last twenty years of the English medieval Jewry.

Herefordshire

J. Hillaby


This is a diligent analysis of the church patronage exercised in Catholic Europe by the Roman baronial family of Colonna, and also of that of their clerical clients and followers, both those in Italy and those attached to the familiae of the Colonna cardinals. The method used is prosopographical, and there are two elaborate series of ‘biograms’, one of the clerks belonging to the various branches of the Colonna family, and the other of the ‘familiars’ of the three Colonna cardinals of the period. The subject leads the author into political and social analysis of the parties and groups in the city of Rome at this period, which
includes the long absence of the popes from their see from 1307 to 1376. There
has been, perhaps inevitably, some difficulty in organising the complex material.
The author has also compiled the prosopography of two important classes of
influential Roman clerks, the fourteenth-century canons of St John Lateran and
St Mary Major, in a work simultaneously published in the same series as that
under review, Die Kanoniker von S. Giovanni in Laterano und S. Maria Maggiore: eine
Prosographie. (Tübingen 1999), and yet a further supplementary prosopography
is announced for the next issue of the Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen
Archiven und Bibliotheken. All this newly-published labour must greatly improve
our knowledge of the Italian clergy in their relationship with the papal
bureaucracy and its most powerful members, besides helping us to understand
the ways in which noble and oligarch families exploited their connections with
the Church in order to advance collective family interests. These are some of the
earlier chapters of a story that continues for centuries in the history of the Italian
dominating classes, and the book under review deserves attention from scholars
whose main interests lie in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as from
late medieval specialists. Social patterns that were to remain important for very
long periods were established at a time when the popes were absent in Avignon,
in a period generally supposed to have been unfavourable to Italian church
interests. Although the material analysed by Rehberg in the book under review
antedates the widespread use of the fideicommissum and its equivalents, many of the
practices that he discusses are relevant to much later developments. However, the
book loses incisiveness because of the author’s apparent inability to decide whether
his main concern is with the Colonna connection or with the City of Rome. Some
of his most enlightening observations, such as that the role of the Colonna prelates
in the distribution of benefices was one of co-ordination rather than of direct
influence (pp. 233, 369), have to be disinterred from discussion of other matters.
Rehberg also seems to avoid discussion of what a Pfründenmarkt was, and to
confine himself (p. 4) to referring to the work of other scholars on the subject.
Perhaps the term can be understood to mean the bartering of social and political
influence to obtain papal provisions and favours, but the author does not offer us
much direct help. It may be added that papal provision of Colonna prelates to
prebends in England was important, notably in the dioceses of York, Lincoln and
Winchester.

Winchester

Peter Partner

Hadewijch. Das Buch der Visionen, I: Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung; II: Kommentar.
Edited by Gerald Hofmann. (Mystik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Texte
und Untersuchungen. Abt. I. Christliche Mystik, 12, 13.) Pp. 212 + 1 colour
plate; 294. Stuttgart–Bad Canstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1998. DM 48,
DM 48. 3 7728 1863 3; 3 7728 1864 1

This is a most welcome new edition of the thirteenth-century Flemish Beguine
Hadewijch’s fourteen visions and the associated Lijst der volmaakten (List of the
perfect ones). Some of the best and most interesting work on Hadewijch and the
Beguines is currently being done in Germany, and this edition is no exception.
The first volume presents introductory material and the text of the visions with
a facing page translation into modern German. The second volume contains a
detailed commentary on the texts and on the translation. Hadewijch’s dense and
creative use of language is very hard to translate so the discussion of other
scholars’ translations of obscure words or phrases makes interesting reading as
well as adding depth to one’s understanding of the text.

Like many other recent German scholars, Hofmann is not inclined to accept
without question the judgements of the pioneering Hadewijch scholar Van
Mierlo. For example he argues against Van Mierlo’s position that Vision 14 is an
extended explanation of elements of Vision 13, pointing out that the connections
between the two visions are somewhat tenuous. Hofmann suggests that Vision
14 should be seen as an independent text which, although different in character
from some of the other visions, completes the cycle, describing the way in which
Hadewijch satisfies the demand Christ made of her in Vision 1 to follow his
example by being both divine with his Godhead and fully human with his
suffering humanity.

ROBINSON COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE
S. MURK-JANSEN

Charles I of Anjou. Power, kingship and state-making in thirteenth-century Europe. By Jean

Jean Dunbabin here gives us the first detailed look at the career of Charles I since
Steven Runciman’s now shopworn Sicilian Vespers, published in 1958, which was
itself little more than a narrative biography of the ambitious Angevin. Charles
certainly deserves the attention, since he was from almost any viewpoint one of
the half-dozen most influential political figures of the thirteenth century.
Dunbabin, who is best known in the US for her highly successful account of France
in the making, 843–1160, chooses a thematic approach to her topic, dividing her
discussion into four principal parts. The opening section provides a thumbnail
sketch of Charles’s life, emphasising his efforts to uphold the Capetian tradition
of working to advance the political interests of the entire royal family rather than
pursuing mere self-aggrandisement. Part II discusses the various regions that
made up Charles’s domain. Dunbabin’s balanced approach here deserves notice,
since we too often forget that Charles remained very much in control of Anjou,
Maine and Provence even after his move to Palermo and Naples. In Part III the
focus shifts to the diplomatic, ecclesiastical, economic and military policies
Charles pursued, while part IV surveys a variety of aspects of life at court: family
and household, chivalric culture, literature and the arts, learning and piety.

The results are commendable. Even though Dunbabin’s approach inevitably
results in some repetition, and while the extent to which Charles personally
deserves credit for certain policies or courtly interests is not always clear, a
considerably more multi-faceted portrait of the man emerges. Runciman’s
Charles was a monochrome Machiavellian; Dunbabin’s is no less ruthless in his
pursuit of political power (and indeed, she may try too hard to redeem his
reputation for cold-bloodedness) but he is more well-founded and complex, a
human—though still not a humane—figure. She argues for a greater Charles
than the one we generally know: an effective ruler, a daring and powerful military leader, a loving family man, a patron of art and literature and a promoter of intellectual life, a champion of piety; overall, in Dunbabin's words, 'the most colourful figure in thirteenth-century Europe'. She rightly focuses on Charles's mediterranean career throughout, for without his irruptive presence in the south he would hardly be remembered except as another example of late-Capetian apanage holders. While he devoted himself relentlessly to destroying the last of the Hohenstaufen descendants he aptly recognised the aspects of Hohenstaufen governance that worked in the regno, and adapted his own administrative, economic and military policies accordingly. He grossly miscalculated his control of the Sicilian populace, which led to the rebellion that drove him from his most important single domain and clearly weakened his spirit.

The late chapters on life in the royal court, chiefly at Naples, are clear but not entirely convincing. Apart from the purchased praise of Adam de la Halle, the Angevin court had little to contribute to chivalric literature and culture—primarily because the northern French dialect imported by the Angevins met resistance from the Provencal-based troubadour tradition already firmly in place. Charles's role in promoting intellectual life was eclectic, but valuable. The University of Naples was unique among European universities in being under the direct supervision of its king, and Charles deserves credit for putting it on a much more secure financial basis than Frederick II had established. He was also responsible for the university's sharp turn towards the study of law. Beyond this, however, it is unclear that Charles was ever interested in, much less involved in, promoting higher education.

Dunbabin's book, like the whole Medieval World series of which it is part, aims at an undergraduate readership and should prove highly successful there. But ironically the very reason why it will succeed argues, to a point, against the book's premise: Charles was a conventional ruler of his time, concerned with extending his political authority and fattening his purse and promoting whatever causes would help him to do so. His sole uniqueness lay in the degree of his success; indeed a better description of him might be 'one of the most conventional political figures in thirteenth-century Europe'. Be that as it may, Dunbabin has crafted an excellent introduction to the man and pointed the way to much-needed further research.

Boston University

Clifford R. Backman


This book, tracing the life and influence of this important European mystic, successfully charts a difficult course between writing for the non-specialist and for the more specialised reader. Placing the saint in the context of medieval Sweden, Morris discusses the way in which Birgitta's public voice and reforming zeal are presented as rooted in a private spirituality throughout her life from early childhood through marriage and widowhood. She also describes the foundation of the Brigittine Order, Birgitta's most lasting achievement, its history to the

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present day, and the process of her canonisation. At every stage there are footnotes directing the interested reader to possible sources of more information and a good bibliography. This book should do much to make this most impressive woman more accessible to English readers. It is to be hoped that a good translation into English of her visions will not be long delayed.

ROBINSON COLLEGE, S. MURK-JANSEN
CAMBRIDGE


What’s in a name? We learn in this handy popular survey of Icelandic Christianity, that even today a Christian first name leading one or more before a patronymic consisting of the father’s first name with ‘son’ or ‘daughter’ added, is the one which counts in Iceland: the national telephone directory continues to list subscribers alphabetically by first names. It is testimony to a very old communal religious life freshly told here by Fell in his text and his few well-chosen illustrations. This centred on the home farm (90 per cent literate by c. 1790) and the little parish turf church – timber after c. 1850. Worship was a mix of living with the pagan sagas told at home, liturgical survivals from Iceland’s medieval Catholic period like the rood screen visible today in Vidimyri turf church (p. 374), and the Scandinavian Reformation practice of house prayers, often morning and evening, in the farmstead’s living-room (p. 377), and examination in Luther’s Little Catechism until 1880, when compulsory elementary education was enacted, scattered farm by scattered farm by the parish priest. Iceland’s clergy, or Iceland’s semi-official civil service, were schooled solely (with free board 1623–1918) at Copenhagen University until the first Icelandic complementary training (1847) offered by Reykjavik’s new theological seminary. In practice, however, Copenhagen theology’s hold lasted well into the 1930s, given the practice of appointing its graduates as teachers in the theological seminary and as bishops. Hence the longevity of Martensen’s royalist theology in a Church re-defined in 1874 as a ‘National Church’ (royal supremacy and Lutheran religious homogeneity were seen as the basis of Iceland’s Lutheran social order in contrast to an allegedly hostile Danish government and administration), or Copenhagen’s pre-war Inner Mission work with disaffected urban youth (YMCA and YWCA) and Copenhagen’s Harnack’s liberal theology at the heart of the new Icelandic Bible translation of 1912 into the 1920s and beyond. Copenhagen’s long arm aside, Iceland’s Christian tradition is indeed remarkable, if one pauses to consider the natural disasters and hard times associated with the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1874 looked like a year when Iceland might have to be abandoned) recounted inimitably in the twentieth-century novels by the lapsed Catholic, Halldor Laxness. Fell has much to say in this survey which ends with the currently popular Icelandic New Age Movement and the return to belief in the ancient Norse gods visible in a new association of ‘Asatruarmenn’. Perhaps he could have said more about the cultural and religious push and pull inherent in Iceland’s
The lengthy Danish connection, finally severed in 1944, but that would be to quibble about a good book.

University of Glasgow

Nicholas Hope


The text that forms the core of this book – a detailed and impassioned attack on all forms of divination and magic, edited with detailed notes on pp. 223–339 – is not in itself distinguished for its originality and profundity: it is closely based on passages from Thomas Aquinas’s Summa theologiae and Summa contra gentiles. It is the context in which it is written that excites interest and that is fully exploited by Veenstra. The heart of France was being fought over by the English, the kings of France and the dukes of Burgundy, and the papacy was split by the Great Schism; these crises encouraged resort, at the highest levels, to astrologers and magicians, who were employed by all the protagonists: by the French king, Charles the Mad, by John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, by the English duke of Bedford and even by the rival popes. Veenstra documents in great detail evidence for the support and use of the forbidden arts on the one hand (culminating in the first history of astrology, written by Simon of Phares), and on the other hand the history of literature attacking such practices. In dealing with the French scene his book provides a nice complement to Hilary Carey’s Courting disaster: astrology at the English court and university in the later Middle Ages (London 1992), and provides a useful guide to divinatory literature in the French language. It also highlights the theological issues involved, whether in the scholastic discussions concerning divination, in the trials of magicians, or in events against the course of nature (which could be miraculous or magical, depending on one’s viewpoint). The book is both well-researched and learned, and includes three further French astrological/divinatory texts in appendices, a glossary of unusual French forms and a comprehensive bibliography. It is difficult to find omissions in Veenstra’s account of the divinatory sciences in the courts of France and Burgundy in the late Middle Ages; one may perhaps add, however, that the Compendium medicinalis astrologie written by an Italian astrologer in the service of both Charles v and John the Fearless, Nicolas de Paganico (see p. 131), is now edited by Giuseppe dell’Anna (Galatina 1990), and that a Latin text on the moon in the twelve signs included in this edition, bears several resemblances to the French text on the same subject on pp. 381–92 of Veenstra’s book.

Warburg Institute

Charles Burnett


In 1432, the Council of Basel established its own rota, or tribunal, modelled on, and ultimately in competition with, the Roman or papal rota. This dense but
valuable book, which owes much to the research of Erich Meuthen, presents the record of the conciliar rota’s activity from March 1433 to December 1439 as reported in the three surviving ‘manuals’ of two of its notaries, Johannes Wydenroyd and Johannes Thome de Bechem. As the editor notes (p. xviii), these extant ‘manuals’ represent only a small fraction of the notaries’ total original output. The text is divided into three main sections. The first (Cursores) lists the names of the most frequently mentioned people in the ‘manuals’. The second (In omnibus causis) primarily records the audiences that were cancelled due to holidays and the like. The third and by far the most significant section contains the actual cases, alphabetically arranged by diocese, heard by the rota. Given the highly formulaic nature of these cases, the editor has greatly abbreviated the individual entries both by omitting less significant information and by actually abbreviating words. Gilomen himself admits that the resulting text is not always easy reading, and few will read it straight through. Preceding the main body of the text is a concise and useful introduction that explains how the various entries are to be read and that also provides information on the history and organisation of the rota, as well as on the manuscripts used for this edition. As Gilomen repeatedly points out, the principal aim of this work is prosopographical. Consequently, there are several painstakingly detailed indices that make identifying and pursuing the people named in the text relatively simple. These ‘manuals’ do indeed constitute an important contribution to the prosopography of the Council of Basel, but they also shed valuable light on the routine legal activity of the conciliar rota and on the institution of the rota in general. Moreover, the focus on the litigants at Basel and their concerns offers a promising complement to the more common scholarly emphasis on conciliar ecclesiology and politics. In short, this primary source material should facilitate the exploration of new avenues of research and thereby enhance our understanding of the ways in which the Council of Basel affected both the Church and society in the fifteenth century.

MORRISTOWN, NEW JERSEY

JESSE D. MANN


Martin Luther was not the only theologian to draw attention in late 1517 to the discrepancy between the theology of indulgences and what was preached in its name. His opponent at Augsburg, Cardinal Cajetan, addressed the topic on no fewer than twelve occasions between 1517 and 1522. In this well-documented study – a revision of a doctoral thesis supervised by K.-V. Selge – Felmberg analyses these writings, understandably concentrating on the years 1517/18. Felmberg demonstrates convincingly that, in his attitude towards indulgences, Cajetan was no slavish follower of sixteenth-century fashions, and – more surprisingly – that he was even able to part company with the Thomist tradition. Guided by the historical researches of Durandus de Sancto Porciano, Cajetan concluded that indulgences could not be traced back earlier in the Church’s
history than the time of Gregory the Great, and he criticised those who sought biblical or patristic precedents for them. He also tried to distinguish the original nature and purpose of indulgences from later accretions, such as their application to souls in purgatory. Although he was to mute such criticisms in the face of what he saw as Luther’s much more radical assault on the entire sacramental system, Cajetan remained a champion of the ‘moderate’ position on indulgences, which found expression in the papal bull Cum postquam of 1518. Despite some interesting suggestions that Cajetan’s theology was more deeply affected by the encounter with Luther than has hitherto been acknowledged, it is clear that his chief concern was to locate indulgences within a moral perspective. This was as much at odds with Luther’s justification doctrine as it was with the more mechanistic views popularised by instructions to indulgence preachers and other semi-official writings. On the whole, Felmberg’s investigation is a valuable supplement to recent studies on the same subject by Irena Backus, Charles Morerod and Jared Wicks. Its weaknesses, such as they are, are minor. An edition of Cajetan’s 1519 treatise De indulgentia plenaria concessa defunctis appears as an appendix. It is odd that this treatise is included at the expense of Cajetan’s other, equally hard-to-find opuscula on indulgences, and it would have been more consistent to have omitted it altogether. A further weakness is the cursory treatment accorded to the theology of indulgence preaching in the early sixteenth century, given that it was Felmberg’s intent to investigate the relationship between theory and practice (p. 6). In the event, the topic is accorded barely three pages (pp. 68–71), in which we are simply informed that indulgence Praxis was indistinguishable from indulgence Theorie. Such blemishes do not however detract from Felmberg’s considerable achievement.

University of Hull

David Bagchi


This collection deals with much more (but also much less) than the title implies. In the first essay, F. Akkerman analyses two texts. The Disputatio habita Groningae (1523) describes a conversation between three Dominican friars and four secular priests who take a critical and broadly evangelical (but not Lutheran) position on religious issues defined by the Dominicans. Akkerman concedes that this discussion may well be fictional. Nevertheless, he insists, the dialogue reflects a well-attested local tradition of private talks on ‘religious, political and literary subjects’ stretching back a half-century to the time of Agricola. He attributes the Disputatio to Nicolaus Lesdorpius, headmaster of the local Latin-school. The second text, De intercessione divorum libellus (1532), written by a later headmaster, Regnerus Praedinius, is more clearly Protestant. It presents the case against the invocation of saints. M. J. F. M. Hoenen maintains that developments akin to humanism appear in late scholasticism. Thus the transition from scholastic to humanist predominance cannot be attributed solely to new textual discoveries but also expresses the intellectual needs of the late Middle Ages. J. Papy shows that Agricola’s De inventione dialectica, favoured by humanists over traditional
textbooks like the *Summulae logicales*, was used at Louvain by the early 1530s. His crucial evidence is a massive volume of commentaries on Aristotle’s *Organon* published at Louvain in 1535 for use by all teachers of logic. These commentaries never mention the *Summulae*; and although they still draw on medieval sources, they frequently cite Agricola and Lefèvre d’Étampes. The Louvain commentaries do not represent the demise of scholastic logic, but they do document growing humanist influence. Erika Rummel reinterprets the conflict between Luther and Erasmus by focusing on Erasmus’ scepticism. Although his position was akin to Academic scepticism, Erasmus was not willing to conclude sceptically on an issue involving the faith. Instead of suspending judgement or settling for a merely probable conclusion, Erasmus based his conclusion on authority and consensus. Rummel labels this position ‘Christian scepticism’ since the logically insoluble question of free will is determined with certitude on the basis of religious authority. Rummel concedes that Erasmus’ ‘Christian scepticism’ failed to gain the support of the humanist community at large, a failure that undermined his commanding influence on humanist intellectual life. A. G. Weiler revisits the issues raised by R. R. Post concerning the relation of the Brethren of the Common Life to both humanism and the Reformation. His conclusions are similar to Post’s: the Brethren were not a major source of Christian humanism, and their religious ideas did not lead to the Reformation. Several of these essays would support a conclusion that the thought of both the Brethren and the northern humanists is better understood as a further development of late medieval Catholicism than as a prelude to the Reformation. Each of these eighteen essays contributes to an understanding of the period 1469–1625, with particular attention to developments in Groningen and its vicinity.

**University of Missouri–Columbia**

**Charles G. Nauert**


This magnificent work, originally a doctoral thesis for the University of Paris–X, examines the political, religious and cultural contexts of French participation at the Council of Trent. The subject might, at first sight, appear marginal. Was not the French presence at the council at best peripheral – significant only in the last sessions, and then somewhat negative and untimely? It certainly did not attract the attentions of the great historian of the council, Hubert Jedin, who admitted to his ignorance of the French sources. Nineteenth-century French ecclesiastical historians tended to ignore a moment when Gallicanism appeared to be confronted by Roman intrusion. It was H. O. Evennett who first explored the significance of French engagement in the last sessions of the council. But, by doing so through the lens of the cardinal of Lorraine, he presented only one, later, part of a much more involved story. Tallon explores it all and in three sections, supplemented by informative tables and useful edited texts. He firstly uncovers France’s complex diplomatic and political role in the history of the council. Then he analyses the range and fluidity of French conceptions of a council and its agenda. Finally, he provides a conspectus of those who attended the council from France, their entourages and their individual experiences.
Diplomatic and political history in the classic mould is something of a rarity among French doctorands these days. Tallon demonstrates, however, how much still remains to be uncovered, using that methodology. It is a wonderfully rich domain, full of rumours, misunderstandings, tactics and short-term manoeuvres. Even the most subtle of contemporary prelates and diplomats (and the thesis indicates how, unconsciously, one has tended to laicise the latter in this period) had difficulty in making overall sense of it. That was, no doubt, with good reason. There was a delicate game of international diplomatic influence and trade-offs being played. Gallican sentiments at home meant that there were possibilities for domestic theatricals, in particular the threat to summon a national council, which was used as a means of pressure and influence on the wider international stage. It often made best sense to play for time, and to have more than one objective in mind at the same time. This is partly because the scope and objectives of ecclesiastical reform were large and diverse issues in France. They thus provided ample room for ambiguity and the pursuit of political advantage within the framework of perfectly plausible and even sincere demands for a particular kind of reformist agenda. Tallon holds on, however, to the significance of the domestic tournant of 1559 as marking a change in France’s politics towards the council. From that point on, ecclesiastical reform was a crucial part of the domestic political agenda, but at a time when there was much less by way of a steady hand on the monarchical tiller. Tallon’s delineation of the dilemmas and divergences of French policy between 1559 and the closure of the council of Trent in 1563 is masterly, casting doubt on many long-established views. It is the best modern analysis we have of how the French crown sought to manipulate attitudes and processes without, as well as within, the realm on a fundamental religious issue that it had never succeeded in integrating satisfactorily within its political agenda.

In the second part of the work, Tallon delineates French reactions to the idea of a reforming council. Protestant reactions were more or less as one might imagine. But the Gallican reality was much more pluralist than one might superficially have thought. There were varieties of lay and ecclesiastical Gallicanism. If the latter looked back to the theoretical foundations laid by Gerson, Clichtove or Lemaire, it did so by eliding various elements that would inevitably raise royal hackles. It was because French Catholicism contained such remarkably independent-minded clerics that Tallon can document the rich varieties of response. There were the Fabrists like Gérard Roussel, bishop of Oloron, who attended the first sessions of Trent, and who feared that the council would limit the possibilities for change and renewal within the Church. There were episcopal reformers like Georges cardinal d’Armagnac who, as Nicole Lemaître has recently shown, returned from these earlier sessions to begin reforming his Rouergue diocese, a Tridentinism avant la lettre. The cardinal of Lorraine, remarkably latitudinarian in his subtle awareness of where compromise might be found in the dangerous political and ecclesiastical waters of 1559–63, becomes just one of a gallery of clerics whose singularity was their lack of subservience to the French crown.

The final part of this book might, perhaps have been a little shorter. But it delineates the quality and diversity of the French delegations to Trent, and the fact that those who made it to the council were thoroughly integrated into its
debates and suffered the financial trials and tribulations that prolonged absence from home was bound to engender. Throughout, this is a remarkably documented work, rich, challenging and informative in a way that informs European, and not simply French, ecclesiastical history in the sixteenth century.

**University of Sheffield**

M. Greengrass

Erneuerung der Kirche durch Bildung und Belehrung des Volkes. Der Beitrag des Dortmunder Humanisten Jacob Schoepper zur Formung der Frömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit. By Ursula Olschewski. (Reformationgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 141.)

The subject of this book (originally a doctoral thesis at the University of the Ruhr in Bochum) is the role of humanist educational and communication methods in the context of Catholic pre-Tridentine renewal and reform. The study is set in the North-Rhine Westphalian region of Germany, part of the Cologne archdiocese and known for its devoto moderna piety, its ‘Erasmian’ approach to the problems of the Church and Christian life and so a moderate Catholicism not averse to finding common ground with the Protestant Reformers by envisaging via media solutions. More specifically, the work is focused on the imperial free city of Dortmund and on the literary, catechetical and homiletic contributions of the humanist educationist and priest, Jacob Schoepper (d. 1554); little is known about his early background and education. However, such a subject and context constitutes the undoubted freshness and originality of this book. For Schoepper, as a middle-ranking Erasmian Catholic reformer in a medium-sized north German town, primarily concerned with spiritual and church renewal among the clergy and the laity at the parochial level, is not a name that has been on everybody’s lips in Reformation studies. Yet a book like this not just resurrects from oblivion and spotlights such ‘provincial’ and ‘minor’ figures, it also reminds us that without mediators like Schoepper, the practical application of reform ideas (no matter what the hue) of high profile thinkers or church bodies would not have advanced beyond the drawing-board. Schoepper’s effective activity in the fields of drama, catechising and preaching (limited by no writings in the vernacular), his apparent appropriation of the via media Cologne reform theology of thinkers like John Gropper and his harnessing of the new humanist academy in Dortmund, yielded a reformation in the city which was reform-Catholic and ‘Erasmian’ – that is, theologically irenic, and a piety informed by Scripture and the Church Fathers within the framework of the old Church. This then was a remarkable example of a ‘pre-confessional’ reformation. Earlier commentators differ on whether this staunched a Lutheran reformation in Dortmund or prepared the ground for its introduction later in the century. The (Tridentine) reCatholicisation of Dortmund early in the seventeenth century induced amnesia about such a third-way type of reformation represented by figures like Schoepper. The three parts of the book are divided into fourteen chapters. Part 1 sets the scene in regard to place and person. Part Ⅲ rescues the book from being an isolated micro-study by relating its themes to general issues like humanism and reformation, confessionalisation, urban contexts, social discipline, the reception of Protestant theology etc. Part Ⅱ, however, comprises
the bulk of the book, being devoted to an exposition of Schoepper’s conception of reform based on his writings. These chapters follow a sequence reflecting controversial issues, like justification, sacraments, sabbath observance, veneration of the saints, the priesthood, civil and ecclesiastical authority etc. Olschewski’s masterly book is a reminder that there is far more to the Reformation than major ‘centres’ and names.

University of Glasgow  

W. Ian P. Hazlett

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**Il tramonto della curia nepotista. Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo.**


Building on his earlier work on the career and finances of Alexander VIII (1689–91) and the Ottoboni, the author seeks to provide in this book a concise guide to the present state of studies on papal nepotism. In this attempt he is not afraid to criticise the efforts of other scholars, while himself emphasising the need to avoid confusion between papal nephews generally, Cardinal Nephews, papal secretaries and, eventually, Secretaries of State (Cardinal Secretaries). Such care is indeed necessary, if anachronism is to be excluded, but conventional employment of the concept of ‘abuse’, where a variety of ‘uses’, however much debated at the time, was more really involved, is less helpful. He agrees with recent scholarship in stressing the extent to which the pontificate of Innocent XII (1691–1700) was a turning-point in the history of papal nepotism, while rightly drawing attention to the mixed developments, on this front, of the eighteenth century, culminating in the Braschi nepotism of Pius VI (1775–99). The prelude of the austere programme pursued by Innocent XI (1676–89) is interestingly linked to the financial difficulties of that pontificate, and not just to moral zeal. But in arguing here for the interlude of Alexander VIII to be seen as a conspicuous return to ‘abuse’, the author seems to be departing from the implications of his own earlier work, which showed how the Ottoboni fortunes had been made desperately precarious, before Alexander’s election, by the family’s hardly voluntary contribution to the Venetian struggle against the Turks. Since that struggle was very much part of the policies of Innocent XI, and his related difficulties with the French monarchy, the complexity of this stage of papal development seems strangely overlooked. That Cardinal Ottoboni’s opposition, before his own election, to aspects of Innocent’s policies represented also a sign of Holy Office disquiet during the latter’s pontificate is however perfectly well recalled here. This book is at any rate a valuable contribution to the history of papal office.

University of Leeds  

A. D. Wright

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This book – of the Oberman, McGrath and Trapp genre – tackles unfinished business in the field of the history of doctrine and ideas, namely the disputed
characterisation and evaluation of the theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli. His career was remarkable. An Italian Augustinian by origin and Catholic theologian of high standing into his middle age (he was one of the Catholic spokesmen at the Colloquy of Worms in 1540), he left Italy at the age of forty-three under a cloud of heterodoxy to become an influential professor of Reformed theology successively at Strasbourg, Oxford and Zurich. Modern names associated with Peter Martyr studies, and discussed in this book, are Philip McNair, Joseph McLelland, Marvin Anderson and Joseph Donnelly. To these now Frank James must be added. No one has undertaken a study of the totality of Vermigli’s life and thought, mainly because it is so paradoxical and unusual, though it does reflect the characteristic cosmopolitan flavour of the Reformed tradition. However, Frank James’s book offers material towards the endeavour to integrate the two parts of Vermigli’s life, that of being a Catholic Reformer in Italy, and that of being a Protestant theologian in Germany, England and Switzerland. The chapter on Martyr’s encounter in Naples with the Christian humanist predestinarian and Catholic evangelical, Juan de Valdés, exemplifies this in a fascinating manner. More traditionally, his status within Reformed Protestantism, Reformed Orthodoxy, Reformed Scholasticism (all terms are controversial) is at stake. Was he a ‘scholastic’ wearing a Reformation jersey, or did he simply use scholastic methods (Aristotelian dialectic etc.) to articulate Reformation theology appropriated by him? Also at issue is firstly the precise nature of his teaching on predestination, and secondly, the origins of it (or at least his notion of double predestination). Until now, interpreters ‘differ from one another on virtually every crucial point: whether predestination was Vermigli’s central dogma, whether it was supra- or infralapsarian, whether he taught double predestination, whether it was a part of providence, or whether he considered it rather as an aspect of christology and Christ’s saving function’ (p. 23). The author’s general diagnosis is that Vermigli’s theological style, and probably some of the substance, is derived from a coalescence of Thomist scholasticism, Augustinian and humanist influences. He is inclined to cite the late medieval Augustinian, Gregory of Rimini, as the source of his double predestinarian notion (an appendix firmly rules out any influence of Calvin), whereas the Protestant Reformers he apparently read most, like Zwingli and Bucer, contributed little even to his general predestinarian thought. Essential to James’s thesis is the affirmation that the essence of Vermigli’s predestinarian theology was developed before he left Italy. This enables him then to argue for continuity between late medieval theology (or at least one part of the spectrum) and the Reformation. This book is a welcome contribution to historiographical tidying up and to conceptual clarity. It is to be hoped that it will spawn others.

University of Glasgow

W. Ian P. Hazlett


A new publication in the field of Scottish church history is to be welcomed, especially when it is written by Alec Cheyne, Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History at New College in the University of Edinburgh. Most of the papers which
make up this volume have been published elsewhere, but it is most helpful to have them collected in this accessible way. Together they represent the wide-ranging interests of the author who is as much at home in the sixteenth and seventeenth as in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the period which he has made particularly his own by his study of The transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland’s religious revolution. The varied contents reflect the theme of the first chapter, originally given in 1964 as Professor Cheyne’s inaugural lecture, entitled ‘Diversity and development in Scottish Presbyterianism’. It is argued that there is no single tradition of Scottish Presbyterianism and that change and controversy have been the order of the day as far as the Kirk’s government, worship and doctrine are concerned. There is a most useful chapter on ‘The ecclesiastical significance of the revolution settlement’, a subject which has not received much attention in recent years, and the volume also contains the very valuable overview of the Disruption of 1843, which was first published to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that event. Following one chapter which contains three short portraits of Robert Rollock, Robert Leighton and William Carstares, who are examples of ‘piety and learning’ during the first two centuries of the Scottish Reformed Church, there are several studies of prominent figures from the last two centuries. These include Thomas Chalmers, the great evangelical leader of the Disruption; John Caird, the idealist theologian and preacher; John Tulloch, the stout defender of the establishment of the Kirk; Henry Drummond, the popular Free Church apologist of religion and science; and John and Donald Baillie, the ecumenical theologians and churchmen. The final two contributions were given in relation to the celebrations to mark the founding of New College after the Disruption and deal with the study and teaching of ecclesiastical history and the history of the college. The latter chapter is particularly welcome since little has been written about the history of relations between Church and University since the reunion of the two largest Presbyterian Churches in Scotland in 1929. Throughout these studies one can appreciate afresh the author’s depth of scholarship, his concise and graphic expression, and his analytical skills. In this volume the qualities which made Professor Cheyne so highly valued and appreciated as a teacher are made available to a wider audience.

University of Glasgow

Douglas M. Murray


While the role of the printed book, pamphlet and broadsheet in the early spread of the Reformation has long been a textbook truism, it is equally arguable that the Reformation itself, with its emphasis on the vernacular, had a profound impact on the development of the book trade. The mutual interaction of the two is the theme of this welcome addition to the St Andrews Studies in Reformation History
series and should prove invaluable to Reformation historians and students of book-history alike. Its purpose is to give a new direction to this perennial question by adopting a multi-disciplinary approach with contributions not only from historians and theologians but from literary scholars and bibliographers, drawing on new currents of research in the field of book history. In addition to contributions from the editor, a distinguished bibliographer himself, fifteen scholars have been assigned chapters covering the whole of Europe, divided up along linguistic, rather than political, lines – since the expansion of vernacular publishing was a major concomitant of the Reformation. Over half of the book is quite properly devoted to the Reformation in Germany (John L. Flood), the French-speaking regions (Francis M. Higman) and the Low Countries (Andrew Johnston), with case studies on the border printing cities of Antwerp, Strasbourg and Basel, and the remaining chapters allotted to England, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Three main lines of investigation have been followed in each case: first, who were the printers and publishers, where did they establish their workshops, how far were they ideologically committed, what features characterised their products in the way of format, type and use of illustration, and what distribution network was used to sell their output. Secondly, who were the authors and what kind of texts were involved in terms of literary genre as well as doctrinal content? And thirdly, what evidence is there to indicate how this output of Protestant writing may have been received by its target audience? On all of these matters this symposium offers much detailed information and analysis which is not readily available elsewhere in so compact a form, and many of the contributors make useful suggestions for future research. Conclusions are often very provisional, and this reflects the present state of research, which in many instances is patchy. There are major obstacles, for example, in the case of the first and second, because comprehensive bibliographies of published output during the period are in many instances ongoing projects of long duration still far from complete, and much Protestant printing was necessarily clandestine and successfully hidden from censors and persecutors to the frustration of modern researchers. The third line of investigation – probably the most pressing for Reformation historians – remains the most elusive in its conclusions, for the evidence of how the different types of writing were received (and at what level) is often little more than anecdotal. But attention is rightly drawn to the fact that reading was often a group activity (reading aloud to non-readers) so that discussion of literacy rates among the laity is perhaps less significant than has sometimes been suggested. At the other end of the readership scale, perhaps more attention might have been given – in the case of England, for example – to the evidence of book-ownership from surviving book-lists, inventories and private libraries. Although variable in detail, these can often throw light on the extent to which writing imported from the main printing centres of Europe was actually owned (and in some cases studied in depth) alongside vernacular writing of local origin. In this connection, neither Sears Jayne (Library catalogues of the English renaissance) nor E. S. Leedham-Green (Books in Cambridge inventories), for example, figure in the chapter on the English Reformation. The opportunity of an English edition has allowed for some limited updating of the text, footnotes and the select bibliographies, but the index (five pages) remains sketchy and not always accurate (for example, Steven
Surprisingly this is the first major book-length study of that small clutch of French cities that became Protestant strongholds in the sixteenth century. La Rochelle was politically and internationally the most significant. Kevin Robbins offers a major reassessment of the social taxonomy, political dynamics and religious affiliations in the city. The result is a work that is full of impressive research matched by challenging syntheses. The local sources on which to base such a reassessment are not, at first sight, the most malleable for his purposes. Given the city’s turbulent history, it is not surprising that there are virtually no tax-records, hardly any original city council minutes and no consistory court registers. But Robbins makes excellent use of the interesting contemporary local diaries, the useful compilations of early antiquarians, some baptismal records, a very rich collection of notarial registers and the local court records. The picture is one of a very independent municipality, eccentric from the main French kingdom, isolated and toughened by its frontier role on the ocean and marshy hinterland. It demonstrated its capacities for political rough-and-tumble in the early days of its reformation in the 1560s and early 1570s. That reformation cemented the formation of a ruling oligarchy composed of wealthy Calvinist merchants that was increasingly ill-viewed by the unenfranchised members of the wider society of the unruly city. These tensions were reflected in progressive social fragmentation in La Rochelle’s Protestant churches, a remarkable degree of public irreverence towards its disciplinary bodies, stingy rates of charitable giving and a growing unwillingness to support the local ministers either materially or morally. The tensions were occluded to some extent during the civil wars. But after the Pacification of Nantes they resurfaced and, in 1614, the dissidents in La Rochelle’s citizen militia and sympathetic artisans staged a little-studied but remarkably successful rebellion that broke the political oligarchy and curtailed the public authority of the Calvinist pastors who had relied upon it. At this point, Robbins’s astute analysis of the social networks that sustained the revolt’s leaders is excellent. Although imperfectly informed on developments in La Rochelle, Richelieu (confusingly referred to as ‘duc’ rather than ‘cardinal’) was shrewdly aware of their potential significance. The reCatholicisation after the famous siege of 1628 occurred more quickly than had been previously thought and assumed
subtle political and social forms that helped to integrate La Rochelle into the French kingdom. Here again, Robbins offers important insights on the connections between the Catholic Reformation and the urban magistracy that have broader implications. All syntheses, it has been said, are but impatient intuitions. Some of Robbins’s conclusions may turn out to be somewhat hasty. There is doubtless more to be said about the privateering activities of the Rochellois merchants in the civil wars; it may well modify his conclusions. There is also further exploration to be undertaken on the complex relationships between La Rochelle and the wider French Protestant movement. But this ground-breaking book provides an excellent basis for future research and comparative analysis.

University of Sheffield

M. Greengrass


With contributions from Inge Lukešaitė, Aldona Pramantaitė, Maria G. Slavénas, Albertus Juška and the editors, this volume traces the development of the Lutheran Church in Lithuania and among the Lithuanian population in East Prussia from the Reformation until 1995. As such it can only be (as it claims) a sketch, but it provides a valuable synthesis of work in less accessible languages, and a commentary on what is still, due to the vicissitudes of the Lithuanian past, a fledgling tradition of religious historiography. In the early modern period some significant themes emerge. The authors encourage us to see the Polish and Lithuanian experiences as interconnected but distinctive. In accounting for the progress of Reformation the importance of the response of political leaders and local nobles is stressed as well as the balance of power between monarch, Church and nobility. The appeal of early Lutheranism to Lithuanians is largely attributed to the disadvantaged status of Lithuanians in the Catholic Church. Lithuanians were unable to be clerics in the Ordenszeit in Prussia. In the Grand Duchy they were not given higher ecclesiastical office, and the majority of lesser clergy were Polish, often pluralist, and without knowledge of the Lithuanian language. For many Lithuanians polonisation could be attractive, but difficult, and this encouraged them to follow the German communities in being receptive to Lutheranism. The focus of the contributions in this volume is on the survival of the Lutheran Church, an agenda encouraged by the frequency of adverse circumstances and the nature of the evidence. A history of the devotional and theological evolution of Lithuanian Lutheranism is impeded by the paucity of sources not only in the earlier centuries of the Church’s existence but also in modern times: in the twentieth century the Lutheran Church was tolerated by totalitarian regimes due to its numerical insignificance, but religious transmission was largely by oral means apart from the censored church calendar. Despite the changing political contexts, the authors’ emphasis on language, ethnic identity, local variation and political control provides a perennially valid framework for understanding the evolution of the Lutheran Church in the region. At this stage in the historiography of Lithuanian Lutheranism the achievement of this
collective survey consists largely in bringing together the narrative outline of the Church’s experience and in giving equal consideration to different ethnic and linguistic groups. Despite this broad approach, the summary does not escape the weaknesses of denominational history. Church development is envisaged more in terms of interaction with political control than in the broader context of competing religious ideas. Consequently, specialists in different periods will find that this survey complements rather than supersedes earlier interpretations in western languages. Thus, for the sixteenth century Antanas Musteikis’s *The Reformation in Lithuania* (Boulder 1988) is still invaluable and offers an interpretation of the Reformation process which attempts to explain the competing appeal of Lutheranism, the Reformed Church and other Protestant groups in terms of political support for different Protestant influences from neighbouring areas.

The Queen’s College, Oxford

Christine Peters


In 1553 Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) finally agreed to the pleas of his fellow Jesuits that he give them an account of his life. Between September and March of 1554 Loyola recited his *acta* to Gonçalves de Cámara, who took down notes which he later wrote up into what became known as Loyola’s autobiography. Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, respected for her studies of Erasmus, Petrarch and Augustine, brings dazzling erudition to a literary study of this text. She draws parallels with Loyola’s struggle to overcome vainglory from ancient, medieval and Renaissance literature and art. She ignores the standard biographies of Loyola because in the autobiography, ‘What matters for interpreting Loyola’s impressions is not empirical reality but their epideictic function’ (p. 178). ‘Since the text is a moral for the formation of Jesuits ... what matters ... is not its historical factuality ... but its moral effectiveness’ (p. 170). For her the key to interpreting Loyola’s account is his struggle with vainglory. Thus her account may seem unbalanced to historians – she devotes the longest of her four chapters to examining two paragraphs which deal with Loyola’s great mystical experience on the riverside at Manresa and with his subsequent vision of a many-eyed flying serpent, which she identifies with a peacock, the symbol of vainglory. The examination of the peacock theme takes twenty-seven pages (pp. 101–28) from which Loyola virtually disappears. In contrast, Loyola’s years of study at Paris, where he gathered the nucleus of the first Jesuits, his return to Spain, his stays at Venice and Vicenza and his coming to Rome are virtually ignored. Boyle is a skilled writer and does not mince words – Loyola’s studies of scholastic theologians at Alcalá were regressive and obsolete. The College de Montaigu at Paris was obscurantist. She can be highly critical of Loyola, whose ‘discernment of dualistic spirits from affective states was not even Christian. It derived ultimately from the Zoroastrian hymns’ (p. 38). Sometimes her efforts to find layers of meaning in words seems overdone: thus when Loyola at Montserrat
prays for guidance and says he would even follow ‘a puppy dog for a remedy’ (p. 77), Boyle finds a slur on the Dominicans, the domini canes, in his prayer. She finds rich symbolism when Loyola rides a mule but does not comment on his later riding a horse. She simply assumes (pp. 26, 67, 113) that Loyola was a soldier – in fact he was a courtier who served only a few months as a gentleman volunteer – yet this colours most popular interpretations of his life. Readers who are not familiar with Loyola’s autobiography should have a copy on hand when reading Loyola’s acts; those who are will find that Boyle opens new depths of meaning in many familiar passages.

Marquette University, Milwaukee


Colm Lennon is one of the most level-headed investigators of the still-contentious history of early modern Ireland. Eschewing the old partisan quarrels with which the historiography is rife, he exhibits in this exemplary life of Richard Creagh a quietly illuminating seriousness. Archbishop Creagh fits none of the stereotypes. A shadowy Roman Catholic churchman, he spent most of the last two decades of his life as a prisoner in the Tower, where he died almost certainly by officially-instigated poisoning. The Louvain-educated scion of Limerick merchants (and therefore ‘Old English’ par excellence) he was assigned by the papacy in 1564 to the problematic and heavily Gaelic archdiocese of Armagh, where his success would depend upon the support of the maverick, eventually traitorous, chieftain, Shane O’Neill. Compromised in the government’s eyes by his negotiations with O’Neill, and almost immediately imprisoned, his only hope of freedom was to accept the Protestant faith, which he adamantly refused to do. But equally stoutly, in Lennon’s persuasive telling, Creagh refused to renounce his allegiance to Elizabeth I, as some of his coreligionists urged. But if one expects to explain this vestigial Old English political loyalty as an antipathy to the ‘wild (Gaelic) Irish’, one is confounded by Creagh’s Gaelophilia, his comfort with the language and culture from which many – but clearly not all – of the Old English disassociated themselves. In sum, Lennon gives us a provoking and inspiring conundrum: the kind from which a richer and more subtle interpretation of early modern Ireland will eventually be constructed.

State University of New York, Stonybrook


This is, as the author points out in his preface, only the third woman to make it into the Profiles in Power series. In Catherine’s case it has to be more a ‘profile in
power-brokering’ and ‘caretaker government’ in a period of complex political uncertainty and weakness for the French monarchy. It is the first full-length study of any consequence in English for over thirty years of this fascinating and controversial individual – and far more readable than any of its predecessors. Knecht provides a crisp, no-nonsense political analysis, interspersed with a shrewd assessment of Catherine’s flawed contribution to the survival of the French monarchy during the wars of religion. He recognises her undeniable courage and quick-wittedness at the moments of political crisis – most notable in the weeks of December 1560 when she established her regency in the minority of Charles IX and again in the temporary regency of the summer of 1574. But, whilst setting to one side the tainted evidence created by the (initially Protestant) légende noire of the queen mother, Knecht does not accept the revisionist picture of Catherine as the single-minded and selfless promoter of peace and reconciliation in a divided kingdom. Instead, he reworks the conclusions reached by Jean Marie Joll in 1920, the first study systematically to exploit the extraordinary riches of the edition of Catherine’s letters. The ‘surprise of Meaux’ in September 1567 was the irrevocable turning-point. The Huguenots attempted to capture the king and seize Paris. This transformed Catherine’s attitudes to the Huguenot leadership. The evidence for her complicity in the poisoning of d’Andelot, Coligny’s brother, in May 1568 is circumstantial but strong; that she put a price on Coligny’s head that year is almost incontrovertible. It is not difficult to write the script between her real fears of, and uncompromising venom towards, the Protestant leadership in these years and the Massacre of St Bartholomew of 1572, inconclusive though all the evidence of her engagement in the latter affair must remain. For all her wooing of the Huguenot high command thereafter, she never succeeded in overcoming their suspicions of her – nor yet of the crowded, suspicious, gossipy Valois court that she knew so well. That Catherine was a mistress of all the political talents a woman needed to survive in such a world is amply plain from this excellent study. She had stamina, tears aplenty, an instinctual understanding of political theatre and a capacity to deploy the language of affinity and fidelity to huge effect. Her artistic patronage is excellently summarised in chapter x. But we should hear more of her ability to find credit from the Italian bankers at critical moments. Her mastery of information and patronage networks and her understanding of the role of rumour and misinformation were all part of what made her the indispensable but ambiguous political operator that Knecht ably delineates.

University of Sheffield

M. Greengrass


This book seeks to bridge a gap the author perceives between historians of science and of theology. While acknowledging that historians of science have recently treated Kepler in a broad cultural context, she argues convincingly that the contextualisation of his astronomy would be greatly enriched by a more detailed account of the intellectual, and particularly the theological, life of Tübingen at
the time when Kepler was a student there. In a valuable introductory chapter on the development of the academic disciplines of the histories of science and theology, the historians of science are accused of not even taking account of the differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism; if things are as bad as that, a contribution from professional church history is clearly needed and we can anticipate considerable advances in our appreciation of the intellectual formation of Johannes Kepler. There follow chapters on the university education of Tübingen and on the attitudes of Philip Melanchthon to astronomy, astrology and natural philosophy, including a slightly revised account of his opposition to Copernicanism. There is a personal link from Melanchthon to Kepler through Michael Maestlin, but Methuen also argues for the pervasive influence of Melanchthon’s ideas. A further chapter deals with the different approaches to the doctrines of creation and of the relationship between theology and the natural world found in the textbooks then current in Tübingen, followed by one on the attitude of the Tübingen professors, Maestlin in particular, to the teachings of Aristotle and the problem of authority in studies of the natural world through observation. Here, for example, is a very interesting discussion of Maestlin’s interpretation of the 1572 appearance of an object in the sky as a new star, something that was not possible for Aristotle. All of this sets the scene for Kepler himself and the influence of his Tübingen education. He understood his call to astronomy as equivalent to the calling of a priest, but to interpret the book of nature instead of the Bible. The ability to recognise order in the world comes from intellect and nature having a common creator: our minds, made in the image of God, can identify, through a great deal of work, the divine structure in the created world, in the heavens in particular. The characterisation of Kepler’s astronomy in the final chapter, and of his motives for pursuing it, are not very different from the consensus current among historians of science, but we are now much better placed to appreciate their source. This is an excellent book, based on a great deal of work, which will be appreciated by historians of science, so to this extent the author has succeeded in building a substantial bridge.

University of Oxford

Jim Bennett

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This is an important book and timely in its publication since it adds significantly to the growing collection of material now available to students of the culture of death in early modern England. A particular strength of the text, which is clearly written and usefully illustrated, lies in its prudent balance between the exposition of theory and its presentation of some extraordinary, little-known and fascinating material. The opening historiographic introduction seeks to place the study of royal English funerals against the context of recent scholarly endeavours to understand the early modern experience of death. Then the author offers a set of introductory chapters. First, a summary of the heraldic funeral in Renaissance England, making sensible use of primary sources, especially manuscripts, and explaining the funeral’s form and functions, the ways in which people took part...
as participants and observers, and a notably useful section on liturgy and ritual. Chapters ii and iii consider funerals and the royal succession in England and France and the impact of the Reformation on funeral ritual, concluding quite rightly that ‘heraldry was an acceptable form of representational art in post-Reformation England’ and arguing, in line with Duffy and others, that the case of funerals suggests that we need to qualify our general view that the Reformation ‘signalled a shift away from ritualism’. There follow an admirably clear set of accounts of the royal funerals orchestrated by the heralds under Elizabeth and James, the number of which may surprise some readers. The funerals of Mary, Queen of Scots – there were many ceremonies, over many months after February 1587, in England and abroad, and in both ritual and textual forms – varied markedly in accordance with the political and ideological interests of their organisers and orchestrators. This theme of political expediency, or, to use the author’s term, contingency, recurs in chapter v – with its lively account of the role of the effigy in the funerals for Elizabeth i – and in the following two chapters, which consider the complex interplay of religion, culture and politics under James i. We discover how bodies were buried, reburied at night and moved to new locations. The book ends with accounts of the funerals of James i himself and of his closest family members, Henry, prince of Wales, and James’s consort, Anne of Denmark. There is still room for a fully illustrated treatment of the English Renaissance heraldic funeral, since the extant manuscript remains – especially the astonishing collections of the College of Arms – are, as Dr Woodward indicates, a rich source and little known; however, this important, scholarly and very well-written book, will remain the standard account of its subject for the foreseeable future.

University of Sussex

Nigel Llewellyn
Moravian Cistercians in the Bavarian Counter-Reformation. For scholars of Cistercian monasticism in general there are essays by Assumpta Schenkl on the spirituality of Bernard’s sermons on the Song of Songs; Kaspar Elm on reform initiatives within the order; Polykarp Zakar on four Cistercian abbots at Trent; Franz Machilek on Bohemian and Moravian houses (with enlightening insights on the Hussite situation); Krzysztof Kaczmarek on the organisation of the Polish province; Heinrich Grüger on the vicissitudes, religious and political, of the seven Cistercian houses in Silesia; and Ancilla Batting on Cistercian life today. These are in addition to numerous papers on Fürstenfeld itself and neighbouring monasteries. Peter Pfister considers the shifting roles of the Fürstenfeld abbot in the later 1500s; Gabriel Lobendanz examines, edits and translates the 1595 reform statutes (the anniversary of which was the occasion for these papers); Hans Bruno Scheider offers prolegomena and parerga to the statutes; and Kassian Lauterer describes their influence over the centuries. For influence and comparison there are papers by Werner Schiedermair and Regina Klaus on Oberschönenfeld; Werner Rössner on Salem Abbey and its role in southern German Cistercian life; Leonhard Scherg on the renewal of the order’s activities in Franconia after Trent; Irene Schneider on the Fürstenfeldian reform of the women’s house at Seligenthal; and Cornelia Oefelein on the twelfth-century Thuringian monastery that in 1540 became Pforta, the distinguished Gymnasium. The rather concrete definition of the material under scrutiny has resulted in some aspects being ignored. For example, one might wish for more attention to liturgy or individual monks’ piety, subjects for which there must surely be surviving evidence. However, whether one’s interests are focused on a few German religious houses or the larger development of Catholicism in early modern Germany, this volume offers detailed and provocative views of a still largely ignored corner of German religious history.

University of Iowa

Ralph Keen


The emergence of new approaches to Indian history in the 1970s brought a dramatic shift in scholarly treatments of John Eliot, the seventeenth-century ‘apostle’ to the Massachusetts Indians, from near veneration to near contempt. Historians charged Eliot with self-interest, criticised his long delay in beginning missionary work, and blamed him and others for undermining Indian culture and autonomy. This book is an attempt to restore balance to the subject. Richard Cogley devotes much of the work to addressing such criticisms, particularly those of Francis Jennings, and makes a persuasive case for swinging the pendulum back. For instance, in a chapter explaining why the English delayed any real missionary attempt until 1646, he cites the initial demands of settlement, the language barrier and the Congregational Church’s lack of a missionary arm. Finally, and most persuasively, he argues that the English were following an ‘affective’ model, which required Indians to show interest in English ways before the work could commence. Cogley demonstrates that Eliot’s missionary labours
began in earnest shortly after the voluntary submission of a number of Indian sachems to English authority in 1644 and that the work flourished among the very groups that made those overtures. Cogley lays similarly detailed groundwork before answering other criticisms, thus creating an accurate contextual portrait of the mission. He is not merely a cheerleader, however; he concedes, where warranted, several criticisms of Eliot. *John Eliot’s mission* is the first significant work on Eliot since William Kellaway’s *The New England Company* (1962) and Ola Winslow’s *John Eliot, apostle to the Indians* (1968). Cogley’s new treatment benefits from his familiarity with the ‘new’ Indian history. Though his focus is clearly different from that of Jennings and others, Cogley also works to give the Indian perspective, noting ways they used the mission to advance their material well-being and authority within English and Indian cultures. His depiction of the astute reasoning behind many Christian Indian decisions and careful attention to individual Indians will, no doubt, meet the approval of the Indian historians whose previous work he challenges in this book. Though he acknowledges the material benefits of the mission, Cogley disputes the historiography that dismisses Christian Indian doctrinal understanding and spiritual commitment; his comparison of native and English conversion narratives shows them to be strikingly similar in content and complexity. Cogley also brings his careful study of eschatology to bear on the ‘apostle’, providing a nuanced account of Eliot’s reliance on John Cotton’s teachings and of his changing attitude toward the imminence of the millennium and role of the native Americans in bringing it about. His appendices, which list Christian Indian towns and populations, prominent citizens, and variant personal and place names, are the result of gleaning hundreds of disparate records and will be of great value to other Christian Indian historians and to Colonial American and religious historians in general.

Brigham Young University, Utah

Jenny Hale Pulsipher


Ecumenists love pedigrees as much as the most sectarian claimant to an apostolic descent, as this interesting book bears witness. At a time when the bottom seems to be falling out of the German establishments, east and west, Catholic and Protestant, and all manner of combinations and agreements seem in order amongst those who cannot think of non-establishmentarian ways of Christianising the people, it was likely that some one would seek inspiration from the attempts to seek agreement between Catholic and Protestant in the empire during and after the Thirty Years War. On cue appears the present volume, the fruit of papers given at Loccum in 1995, not merely *partiätisch* but interdisciplinary, the theologians being reinforced by lawyers, historians and archivists. This concession to political correctness is in some ways a pity, for the best chapter in the book is by Johannes Wallmann on Calixt (who turns out somewhat inconveniently to be
not an ecumenist but a man pleading for mutual charity among Churches which had not managed to produce a new heresy since the first six ecumenical councils!); had it been possible to persuade him to write the whole volume a better and more cohesive volume would have been the result. On the other hand the *dramatis personae* are a glamorous assembly of Rojas, Molanus, Leibniz and Bossuet (who comes in for some rather disrespectful treatment from Jean Meyer) and it is very useful to have a brief and up-to-date treatment of each of them. The case of Leibniz is of particular interest. Obsessed with the question of church union, not merely as a matter of the politics of the empire, he genuinely believed that the method of the polemics he had developed against Descartes enabled him to reconcile conflicting views about the presence of Christ in the communion, and he looked to create an intellectual elite who would be able to swing the question his way. The difficulty for Leibniz, as for the apologists in this volume who wish to use seventeenth-century diplomacy to give an impulse to the present situation in Germany, was that the two key players were not fulfilling the roles required of them. There was no sign that Rome was willing to back the notions of its more generous apologists, and in Hanover the Welfs were single-mindedly bent on political aggrandisement. Willing to offer the bait of conversion to Rome while they were pursuing control of the bishopric of Osnabrück or the ninth electoral hat, they would be true-blue Protestant when the big prize of the British succession was in sight. Here indeed, though the editors do not say so, establishmentarianism revealed its feet of clay.

Petersfield

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This collection of essays had its origin in a workshop held at the Clark Library in 1996 on ‘Enthusiasm and Modernity in Europe’. The editors in their overschematic introduction explain that the essays aim to extend the contextual study of the field of meanings of the term enthusiasm. Regrettably, they point out that most of the essays are concerned to recover perceptions of enthusiasm rather than to go behind the stereotypes to the groups to whom the term was applied. However, although the editors favour the abstractions ‘Enlightenment’ and ‘modernity’, they are anxious to point out that the attack on enthusiasm does not necessarily imply a process of secularisation. A recurrent and important theme in the essays is that critics of enthusiasm often themselves appeared as enthusiasts in their attempts to establish new ways of writing about ethics, epistemology and religion. The essays are grouped according to national emphasis. J. G. A. Pocock’s ‘Enthusiasm: the antiself of enlightenment’ (which has previously appeared in another collection) concentrates on the shift from prophetic or religious to philosophical enthusiasm (in which the mind becomes the object of its own worship) in England, with comparative reference to Scotland, France and Germany. Two essays explore the treatment of enthusiasm in France: Jan Goldstein emphasises that it is primarily an aesthetic term, and Mary D. Sheriff explores its association with nymphomania by painters. La Vopa and Peter
Fenves both investigate the meanings of Schwärmer in German thought. The concluding essays deal with England: Klein contrasts different treatments of enthusiasm in the Restoration and Queen Anne periods, and Jon Mee explores the tensions between prophetic, political and poetic kinds of enthusiasm in the 1790s. The contributors are alert to problems of definition and interpretation, and there is much to be learned by readers who are interested in the changing fortunes of enthusiasm in the long eighteenth century. The best essays, those by La Vopa and Mee, combine clear and convincing analysis with detailed illustration of the contexts in which, respectively, Kant and Coleridge sought to clarify their thinking about enthusiasm and its dangers. However, there is a definite oddity about this collection. Surely a volume that deals with enthusiasm and Enlightenment should face up to the religious revivals (Pietism, Moravianism, Methodism, the Great Awakening) that swept western Europe and North America in the first half of the eighteenth century? La Vopa jumps from Luther to Herder and Lessing. Several of the contributors (usually with reference to Burke’s Reflections on the revolution in France) look back to the English enthusiasts of the Interregnum period and compare them with the radicals of the 1790s, with no indication that there were other kinds of religious enthusiasm in between that were also deemed threatening. Goldstein’s account of responses to the Saint-Médard convulsionaries is a significant exception.

St Hugh’s College, Oxford

Isabel Rivers


With the publication of this work, it could be said that students of the eighteenth-century French Church have gone from rags to riches in one single stroke. Hitherto there has been very little in English that one could confidently recommend to students of the subject. Even in French, coverage was, and remains, idiosyncratic and patchy – with the eighteenth century having to share space, often unevenly, in syntheses that usually cover the entire early modern period, or in volumes with a partial focus, such as religious practice, Jansenism etc. This situation is all the more puzzling since the eighteenth-century French Church has not been neglected by historians: au contraire, an impressive series of local and national studies have uncovered the importance of religion for a broader understanding of the age of Enlightenment and Revolution in ways that previous generations of historians could scarcely have imagined. Michel Vovelle, Timothy Tackett, Dale Van Kley, Nigel Aston and others have shed new light on old questions as well as opening up new and exciting ones.

But nothing approaching a full synthesis of this high-quality work had been attempted – until now. In an age when publishers issue dire warnings to authors of books of more than, say, 250 pages, we are here treated to two massive volumes which run to 1683 pages between them, subdivided into fifty chapters
accompanied by 183 pages of notes. In fact, these volumes are far more than a work of synthesis; rather they are a comprehensive summation of a life’s work from the pen of a historian with unrivalled mastery of his subject. One need but look at the eight-page list of printed sources and periodicals from which much of the raw material is drawn to appreciate the nature of what has been attempted by McManners. There is probably nobody else who could – or would – attempt such a survey, and it is hardly likely to be repeated in the future. So what have we got?

In some respects, one could say – more of the same. For McManners’s first book, *Ecclesiastical society in eighteenth-century Angers* (1960), was highly unusual in its time, a detailed and humane examination, enlivened by a dry wit, of the social world of the eighteenth-century clergy in a middling-sized and sleepy city dominated by the presence of the Church. It was a book utterly at odds with the quantifying approach to the subject then dominant in France. For the past twenty years or more McManners’s numerous lectures and essays have laid the foundations for successive chapters in this book – on aristocratic vocations, Jansenism and politics, dying, tithe, the theatre, the coronation of Louis XVI etc. Page after page of this vast compendium reflects his fascination with a society where clerical influence was palpable in almost every sphere of life, and with it the claims of religion on society. The entire first volume, entitled ‘the clerical establishment and its social ramifications’, is testimony to this fascination, and is especially valuable since it presents about the most comprehensive account of the structures of the French Church that one could wish for – not least because it includes the cathedral and other chapters, the monastic orders, male and female, none of which really figure much, if at all, in accounts of the early modern Church, and least of all in their social context. If there was a clerical establishment, it was one that was colonised by whole sections of French society. The Society–Church connection was largely mediated by the vast network of benefices into which the great wealth of the French Church was fragmented, and such were its complexities that only individuals with skill and connections could successfully negotiate it. Chapter xx offers a lucid and unusual analysis of what was needed to get on within the French Church, but additional insights on success and failure in that particular game are scattered generously throughout other chapters. If it gave the Church a strong social basis, the unreformed benefice system, which both kindled and rewarded self-interest, strongly contributed, in McManners’s view, to the strained relationship between the church establishment and the wider society as the century wore on.

McManners’s account, of course, is weighted towards the clerical establishment, and more particularly the religious and moral demands it made on French society. One valuable feature of his approach is that he gives considerable attention to the broader historical context which helps explain those demands. The totalising ambition of the Counter-Reformation Church to discipline the moral and social as well as the religious behaviour of the population translated into a myriad of prescriptions and proscriptions. The French crown and Church might have had their reservations about the Council of Trent and the ambitions of the papacy, but the seventeenth-century French Church arguably became the most rigorist in Catholic Europe. This was no doubt due in part to the wider influence of Jansenism there, but even without Jansenism there was a powerful
drive towards tougher demands on the individual Christian. Some of McManners’s best chapters deal with the consequences of this in an age when society, especially urban society, was beginning to move in a different direction, culturally and socially. This shift was in turn occurring just as the Counter-Reformation Church in France reached the high-point of its self-confidence. The most revealing consequences of this polarisation are sometimes to be found in discussions of what might seem like marginal questions – on lotteries or the theatre, for example. Here McManners brings to his analysis a robust, Anglican common sense, which is never afraid to deplore the absurdity of certain situations. The reader repeatedly encounters his exasperation with celibate, withdrawn and seminary-educated clerics, well-meaning to a man perhaps, but not best suited to cope with the demands and weaknesses of society generally, while attempting to lay down disciplinary commands drawn from theology manuals that were too often lacking in common sense, compassion or humanity. Again and again, McManners exhumes the resulting problems – as in a long and memorable chapter on the Church’s relationship with the theatre and, specifically, actors who remained under the ban of ‘infamy’ in France when even an early seventeenth-century pope, Paul V, and Cardinal Richelieu had both jettisoned the ban. As late as the 1690s Paris diocese was still becoming stricter on this point, as the archbishop banned the clergy from conducting marriage services for those connected with the theatre. It is not hard to imagine how much havoc such doctrinaire attitudes could wreak in the domain of sexual behaviour. Perhaps if the French Church had been more conservative, less effectively reformed than its neighbours in, say, the German empire, it might not have lost the support of so many of its ‘natural’ supporters as the century wore on.

McManners’s opus is Braudelian, not only in scope but also in structure. Two-thirds of its chapters are devoted to what the master would call ‘structures’, while the sixteen chapters on Jansenism, the Huguenots and clerical politics between them make up the ‘conjonctures’. It is here that the book acquires its real dynamic. If the French Church had a structural weakness in its capacity to adjust to changing social and cultural values and demands, it took the ‘conjunctural’ factor, the long fuse of the Jansenist quarrel inherited from one of Louis XIV’s most disastrous moves, the condemnation by the pope in 1713 of the 101 Jansenist propositions, to slowly undermine the ascendancy it had regained in the previous century. Against expectations, a determined Jansenist minority not only resisted repression, but for years led a tenacious coalition of critics of the clerical leaders of the day. They did more than the Voltaire to discredit the Church in the eyes of substantial sections of the educated social elite and, more damagingly still, they seriously questioned the nature of its close and privileged ties with the crown. Yet, as McManners’s narrative closes, with the clergy facing several ways in 1789, neither the clergy (high or low) nor French society had any inkling of the catastrophic and irreparable changes that were to emerge within less than a year.

No doubt relatively few readers will read this huge work from cover to cover, though the generous helpings of anecdote and case studies scattered throughout its pages would seriously enhance any reader’s understanding of eighteenth-century religion and society. It encapsulates a lifetime’s study and reflection, but if it has a central theme it is arguably not primarily one about eighteenth-century France, but rather about the problems faced by any institution whose mission it
is not merely to define, but above all to apply, a set of religious values in human society generally.

University of Manchester

Joseph Bergin


Coming after the publication of the _Autobiography of Thomas Secker_ (1988) and the _Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker_ (1995), this biography is a freshly researched and well-written account of the life and work of a central figure in the Hanoverian Church. Archbishop of Canterbury from 1758 to 1768, Thomas Secker is regarded as one of the finest prelates of his age. Barnard’s study contributes to the scholarly debate over the state of the eighteenth-century Church, and his evaluation of Secker is very much in the spirit of Norman Sykes’s pioneering efforts to rehabilitate the reputation of the Church and its bishops. That is to say, Secker was a conscientious pastor who made the best of a bad situation in which convocation was prorogued and patronage was the only path to promotion and influence. He did not rock the boat of the establishment. Indeed, he was a wealthy pluralist. In the same breath, though, it must be said that he used his wealth in the generous support of charitable causes, and he was conscientious in ensuring the pastoral care of his charges. Moreover, he was no erastian, and his record in parliament shows many signs of independence of judgement. As a bishop and archbishop he was a diligent overseer who sought to raise clerical standards according to the traditional means inherited from the Caroline Church: visitation, confirmation, ordination, pastoral admonition. He was also an influential behind-the-scenes support of literary works defending orthodoxy. His innovations appear modest today: he wrote frequently for the emerging popular press and was remarkably thorough and efficient in his record-keeping. Yet these were themselves important concessions to the new conditions of a more modern society. As Barnard acknowledges, Secker’s world remained distinctly circumscribed. While he had a wide knowledge of human nature, he moved almost exclusively in the higher echelons of society. He collected money for the poor, but never knew what it was to get fleas from sharing a bed with a poor man, as Wesley did. He served God according to the light he had, which is perhaps the most than can be asked of any man. The adjectives most readily associated with Secker are ‘judicious’ or ‘sober’. These adjectives can be used also to describe this biography.

Briercrest Biblical Seminary, Caronport, Saskatchewan

D. Bruce Hindmarsh


Dr Edward Drax Free, an unknown and cantankerous clergyman, may at first sight appear to be a most unprofitable subject on which to make a detailed study.
During his seventy-nine years he made no positive contribution to worship, pastoral care, theological understanding or church history. As a Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, he was lazy, rude, quarrelsome and generally caused havoc within the college, so much so that the President called in the Visitor in a vain attempt to restore harmony.

Worse was to come when Dr Free resigned his Fellowship to become Rector of the small parish of Sutton in Suffolk. Here he seduced a succession of housekeepers, he systematically alienated members of the local congregation, he refused to pay his workmen, he fell out with his neighbours and emptied the church of worshippers. Outhwaite painstakingly assembles a detailed picture of Dr Free's activities which point to the fact that Free was either a very wicked man or was mentally ill.

This book is of importance, not because Free was in any way typical of an Anglican clergyman at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, but because in a systematic way the author shows the problems of prosecuting an Anglican clergyman through the ecclesiastical courts and subsequently removing him from office. The charges against Dr Free were first laid in October 1823 but he was not finally convicted and deprived of his living until February 1830.

This book is full of interest; it is carefully researched and well worth reading by all students of this period of history as it sheds an important sidelight on the early nineteenth century.

HARRIS MANCHESTER COLLEGE, 
OXFORD


This is an extremely learned treatise which began life as a Cambridge PhD dissertation. It is based upon a huge range of primary materials both in print and in manuscript, and there is no reader who will not add to his knowledge by reading it. At the end, however, there is something rather inconclusive about it. This is not to do with the title, the subtitle being a more accurate description of the contents than the title itself, but to do with the general method of proceeding. The book is not anchored to 'the moral economy of the working classes' though this helps to explain why there was always such a strenuous turning to the Bible as a sanction for judgements on social justice. Lyon also has problems with the definition of Christian radicalism and fetches up with a political definition of radicalism—the doctrine favouring government by the consent of the people—Christian radicals being those who sought Christian support for the view. These definitions may be the best available but they do not much help to explain the changes brought about in radicalism by changes in the general political situation. Radicalism was not going to be the same when conservatives were urging social reform as a device for staving off political reform; it was going to alter its own agenda on such things as Ten Hours legislation according to the stage of the trade cycle and the possibilities of using legislation for profitable work-spreading; and
although Lyon seems loth to admit it, its appeal to religious authority was bound
to change as the ability of the Churches, the appointed guardians of religious
authority, to injure the radical cause diminished, as it diminished throughout her
period. Chartist churches cut a poor figure beside the Primitive Methodists of the
previous generation. Above all when, after 1850, the social pressures, which had
produced doctrinaires of all sorts by the wholesale, diminished, radicals could
suddenly become respectable, Bible or no Bible. And it is not to depreciate the
passion for justice to observe that it proved a less fertile seedbed of policy than did
political economy. All this said, however, Lyon's gallery proves a pleasant relief
from the stuffed shirts of Jonathan Clark, and students should not fail to visit it.

Petersfield

W. R. Ward

Controversial concordats. The Vatican's relations with Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler.
University of America Press, 1999. £35.95 (cloth), £19.95 (paper). 0 8132
0908 0; 0 8132 0920 X

These are enlargements of papers given at a conference at Duquesne University
where they had the good idea of comparing, out of the many concordats agreed
between Rome and various states, the three most famous and most controversial.
The growth of concordats in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a sign
of the increasing centralisation of the Church in Rome. They were agreements
between a state and the pope not as a sovereign himself, and therefore unlike any
other form of treaty, but as the spiritual head of the Catholic Church. The
conditions of these three were very different. The French Revolution tried to
deChristianise France; there could not be a united France unless religion was in
some way restored; the problem was how to allow the Catholic Church again to
be 'official' while keeping state control of its manifestations. The Italian con-
cordat was a reunion of Italy divided not physically but in its heart for nearly sixty
years by the Risorgimento. The German was a logical consequence of earlier
concordats with various Lands of Germany, but it was felt by Rome to need to
protect the rights of church folk in a state where ordinary policemen were weak
about public order in face of the violence of party gangs. The main objection to
all three concordats was that they were alleged to raise the international repute
of usurping or immoral governments (Napoleon, power by street fighting –
Mussolini, power through threats on State organs – Hitler, power through
constitutional election but already a patently immoral government in abuses of
human rights) by aspersing them with holy water. But the agreements must have
contained utility because the French lasted a hundred years and the Italian and
the German, with revisions, are still in force despite massive posthumous attacks
upon their makers. These five authors (= three studies of the three treaties plus
an introduction and at the end a commentary) are critical of them all, but with
good judgement. For further study see an excellent article by Rudolf Lill in the
Theologische Real enzyklopädie xiv. 462, s.v. Konkordate, and this book has a useful
bibliography.

Selwyn College, Cambridge

Owen Chadwick
Modern historians concur that evangelical Protestantism played a central role in the development of a discrete African-American cultural identity and the formation of remarkably strong black institutions during the nineteenth century. Among those institutions which took root in the southern states after the Civil War was the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church, originally a marginal offshoot of mainstream American Methodism confined to hard-pressed black communities in the North. From a base of less than 50,000 members in 1860, the connexion expanded rapidly to the point at which, in 1916, it could claim a total membership of around 700,000. Much of the credit for this growth belongs to James Walker Hood (1831–1918), a black northerner who was dispatched as a missionary to the freed people by the Church’s establishment in 1864. With the support of the federal authorities, Hood used his substantial talents as a speaker and organiser to set up AMEZ churches in Union-occupied North Carolina and then to grant licences to other preachers who proceeded to spread the gospel of Zionism across the former Confederacy. He also deployed his growing influence during and after Reconstruction to promote the political interests of southern blacks though the agency of the Republican Party and acted as a force for moderation (though not reaction) within the denomination after his election as bishop in 1872. While one might wish that the author had cultivated a more fluent prose style and taken a less self-conscious approach to his work, there is no doubt that he has succeeded in his chief objective of rescuing Hood from underserved obscurity. The bishop was a representative southern black leader of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and herein lies the principal value of this useful, if somewhat pedestrian, biography.

University of Sheffield

Robert Cook


The growth of interest in women’s religious history in recent years has led a number of historians to re-examine one of the relatively neglected features of nineteenth-century Anglicanism—the creation of religious sisterhoods. The influence of partisan hagiography, evident in earlier accounts of Anglican women’s religious orders, resulted in the high level of public hostility to their ideals being seen primarily in terms of Low Church theological opposition to the whole Anglo-Catholic project. In the work of Michael Hill, John Selton Reed and Martha Vicinus a more sociological perspective has emphasised the extent to which sisterhoods provided significant new opportunities for middle-class women to lead independent lives and to undertake demanding forms of employment outside the stifling confines of Victorian domesticity. Yet despite the stimulus to research provided by such pioneering re-evaluations, Susan Mumm’s new book is the first full-length study based upon a systematic examination of the surviving records of the communities themselves. This is no easy task since those
orders which still exist grant restricted, or, in some cases, no access to their archives. Even where limited research is possible, the records of organisations whose priorities were not bureaucratic, and whose members were dedicated to disciplined lives of self-abnegation, can yield meagre pickings for the historian. Despite these obstacles, Susan Mumm has made perceptive use of the records of twenty-eight convents, as well as a wide range of secondary sources, and has compiled biographical data on 2,200 sisters. Such diligence will ensure that this becomes the standard work on its subject. In a sympathetic account of the myriad forms of philanthropic work which sisterhoods undertook, which ranged from schools and orphanages to overseas missionary work, she provides a useful corrective to some of the harsher judgements which have been passed upon their activities. For example, she challenges Vicinus’ claim that the moral gulf which was believed to separate the nuns from the working-class prostitutes whom they sought to redeem made it impossible for the latter, even where they saw the error of their ways, ever to be accepted as full members of the religious orders. She is good, too, at bringing out the extent to which the autonomy of the sisterhoods was an affront to a hierarchical and male-dominated Church, provoking an exasperated Archbishop Benson into declaring that ‘there are no worse mines under the Church than such bodies’ (p. 147). As Mumm readily admits, this book is not the last word on its theme. Hers is a sociological study which does not attempt to engage with either the theology or the spirituality which motivated the sisters. This is a pity, for in the final analysis these are the keys to understanding the origins of the subversive challenge which the sisterhoods posed to the patriarchal assumptions of the period, and which in most other respects Mumm succeeds in bringing to life in such convincing detail.


Greenlee and Johnston weave part of the complex tapestry of the relations between imperialism and the Protestant missionary movement with skill and scholarly sensitivity to the ambiguities and contradictions involved in this relationship. They give special attention to a range of significant moments – the Boxer Rebellion, the Boer War and the ‘Congo Question’ in particular. At times missions sought to work hand-in-glove with aggressively imperialist governments, seeing mission and imperialism as closely associated projects which could benefit one another. At other times and in different contexts missionary societies were hostile to imperialism because of its disregard of ‘native rights’, or because Protestant societies saw French or Belgian colonial governments as promoting the feared and distrusted ‘Romanism’. There is no doubt that most Protestant mission theorists and practitioners in this period saw the expansion of empire and ‘the evangelisation of the world in one generation’ as central parts of one divine providential ordering. A few, like Alexander Duff in an earlier period, saw empire as but a stage to the fulfilment of a divine purpose of establishing free
Christian nations. The Edinburgh World Mission conference of 1910 helped to draw various missions towards a more common mind on relations to imperialism, as on other matters. But the Great War made the hitherto dominant view of cooperation between mission and imperialism impossible to maintain. Nothing could be the same again after this ‘solemn purification by fire’. Greenlee and Johnston’s illuminating book is based largely on mission archives. It has little on the general theories of imperialism and the theologies of providence on which missionaries drew – for that we have to turn to Studdert-Kennedy. Nor is there much mention of the ‘native Christians’ account of the empire; this was sometimes sharply at variance with that of the missionaries. And I hope it is not thought carping for a Scot to point out that the book is really about English missionaries and missionary societies! One could argue that Scottish missions, hardly mentioned here, nurtured a slightly different emphasis in their dealings with imperialism.

New College, University of Edinburgh

Duncan B. Forrester
work is generally favourable to the encyclical, despite a dissection by Bruno Pinchard of Leo’s individualist abandonment of Aristotelian and Thomistic communalism.

University of Durham

Sheridan Gilley


Pope Benedict XV has generally been assigned a minor role in the history of the twentieth century, noted only for his attempt in 1917 to persuade the belligerents to listen to his plea for peace and a negotiated settlement to end the stalemate of the European war. On the surface, nothing in his career marked him out as a man to watch. Born into an aristocratic Catholic family in Genoa, after ordination he progressed through the Vatican diplomatic service before becoming archbishop of Bologna in 1907. In a way, his time in Bologna was a bit of an exile, out of favour with those in power under Pius x, but it gave him valuable experience of the pastoral problems facing the Church in the new Europe of economic and class conflict, just as had his earlier diplomatic experience under Leo xii’s secretary of state, Cardinal Rampolla. When he became pope in 1914 he had a shrewd idea of how both the Vatican and the modern world operated which was to surprise those who thought they had already plumbed his depths. Professor Pollard shows that Benedict was always willing to learn. His instincts were conservative but he had a proper mistrust of the self-centred materialism which fuelled European progress. Hence his sympathy with the workers. His instincts were always for reconciliation, for charity allied with firmness. He was no ecclesiastical radical but he disliked the way the anti-Modernists had driven good men to extremes and he did his best to let quiet debate replace confrontation in theological questions. Although his efforts to broker a peace were pushed aside by the Great Powers, his obvious concern for suffering humanity increased the moral authority of his paternal office in the longer run through his work for prisoners of war and displaced persons and especially for children. In the latter case he helped found the Save the Children Fund. He was surprisingly modern in other ways, too. He preached the idea of the family of nations, he floated the idea many years in advance of its time of European integration and he laid the foundations for a strong native Church in the former European colonies. Professor Pollard has performed a historical service in showing us a man who while rejecting the world did not condemn it but sought to lead it aright with humanity and charity.

University of Glasgow

John F. McCaffrey


This study focuses on the activities of an organisation of “non-Aryan” Christians, who in their own eyes were thoroughly German, but who nevertheless had to face
increasing racial discrimination at the hands of the National Socialist government, as well as the provincial Churches controlled by Deutsche Christen.

The Reichsverband christlich-deutscher Staatsbürger nichtarischer oder nicht-reinarischer Abstamnung e.V., established in August 1933, transmuted into the Reichsverband nichtarischer Christen at the end of 1934, then into the Paulus Bund. Vereinigung nichtarischer Christen e.V. in September 1936 and finally into the Vereinigung in 1937 before being finally dissolved by the Gestapo on 10 August 1939. The skills of the chairmen of these organisations – Richard Wolff and Heinrich Spiero – were unable in the end to keep alive ‘the sole organised attempt of Christians under the Hitler régime to help themselves’. Vuletić presents a survey of these organisational changes, which the intensification of the legal campaign against the Jews’ position in German society compelled, describes the organisation’s cultural and educational activities and discusses the reasons for its failure. He also analyses the organisation’s contacts with the Churches and with Jewish groups.

The Reichsverband/Paulus Bund appealed only to a minority of a minority. Of the estimated 350,000 ‘non-Aryan’ Christians in Germany at the time only 5,400 were members at the height of the organisation’s popularity (1936). Its membership was mainly Protestant, almost exclusively middle-class with a nationalist and conservative outlook, and exceedingly patriotic. It adopted the Führerprinzip. The relatively large number of Protestant pastors in its ranks reflects the threat posed to their livelihood by the German Christians. Nearly all members perceived themselves to be non-Jewish or even anti-Jewish. The Reichsverband saw itself as a German, rather than Jewish or part-Jewish organisation, and as such expressed support, for example, for Hitler’s foreign policy. Such statements did not impress a government which carefully supervised, controlled and instrumentalised this small section of ‘non-Aryan’ Christians.

Vuletić’s excellent study, well written and ably researched, provides the reader with many helpful insights into the mentality of men and women who, more often than not left to their fate by the Protestant and Catholic communities to which they belonged, resisted, to the best of their ability, classification as Jews.

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Despite the ‘marriage of convenience’ symbolised by the signing of the Reichskonkordat in 1933 between Hitler and Pius xi, the ideological hostility between German Nazism and Roman Catholicism very quickly became apparent in the mid-1930s. After Pius xi’s encyclical Mit brennender Sorge of 1937, which condemned Nazi violations of the concordat, Catholicism was identified as a major enemy of National Socialism, in almost the same league as international Jewry, freemasonry and communism. In consequence, various organs and branches of the Nazi regime bent their efforts to penetrate and subvert the Catholic Church in Germany. After the outbreak of the Second World War, they extended their operations to the Vatican as well. Alvarez and Graham argue very
convincingly that these efforts were partly motivated by the fact that the Germans greatly overestimated the intelligence-gathering capacity of the international Roman Catholic Church, as did some countries on the Allied side. Hence, the Vatican became a focus of attention for other intelligence services during the Second World War.

Considering the amount of money and men put into the operations, German espionage against the Vatican during the Second World War produced meagre fruits. The main causes of the failures appear to have been a remarkable lack of understanding of the culture of the Vatican and its modus operandi, and the fact that so many different agencies were involved, those of the Party, the Armed Forces, the RSHA (unified SS and Gestapo security organisation) and the Foreign Ministry, with duplicating and sometimes conflicting operations.

At one stage, German efforts descended to the level of farce. In 1941, the RSHA sponsored the setting up of a ‘Georgian College’ in Rome for the training of priests to minister to the exiguous Catholic minority of that Soviet republic, as a cover for a major espionage operation against the Vatican. Part of the college was furnished as a spy centre, complete with radio transmitters. In order to staff the centre, the SS recruited half a dozen Georgians from POW camps and presented them to the unsuspecting superior as enthusiastic aspirants to the priesthood. Their cover was blown when it became all too obvious that the only thing these young men were interested in was women!

Ironically, what this book also reveals is the effectiveness of the Italian intelligence services by comparison with their German counterparts. In both world wars, Italian intelligence managed to crack the admittedly rather primitive codes used by the Vatican diplomatic service and intercept its mails. Given that the Vatican already knew what had happened in the First World War, it is astonishing that after the outbreak of war in 1939 the Secretariat of State did not invest in more sophisticated codes, radio transmitters for its nunciatures and even its own independent courier service: it certainly had the money to do so.

Alvarez and Graham (the latter sadly died before publication) have written an extremely interesting and readable book. There are few things to complain about: the reference to a ‘Catholic Archbishop of Stockholm’ (sic), the failure to include in the bibliography some works that are cited in reference notes and, more seriously, the extraordinary statement that the economy of the Vatican was ‘based on pious donations, museum entrance fees, and the sale of postage stamps’. Clearly, the authors know little about the size and complexity of Vatican finances at this time. These complaints aside, this is an important study, which consolidates our understanding of the difficult predicament of the Vatican during the Second World War, and confirms the reputation of Alvarez as the authority on Vatican intelligence and security matters.

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