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The centenary of a great learned journal, a notable event both for individual readers and for libraries, is proper matter for a deep salute to the twin universities of Leuven/Louvain. This special volume celebrating the RHE contains thirty-nine papers on selected problems in the two millennia of past Christian history. A discernible emphasis lies on the sense of tension between traditional conservative catholic theology and the assumptions of modernity. Some good essays on hagiography include an admirable stress on the scholarly achievements of the Bollandists, especially (but not only) Hippolyte Delehaye, who broke new ground by applying strict historical method to texts which, even when far from being sober and dry records, could often contain social history of high value. Mathlits Lamberigt contributes a major paper on the modern rehabilitation of Pelagius, whose ‘ism’ was largely a construct of his opponents and who found considerable sympathy in the Greek Churches. W. Frijhoff comments on rationalist histories of sorcery and demon possession. Two sections discuss the delicate topic of church authority, including a sympathetic piece by Bruno Neveu on the treatment of Jansenism, the problems of recruiting clergy and religious in western Europe, and the rise of an audible voice on the part of women and Catholic laity. Ecumenism, particularly Catholic–Orthodox dialogue, is handled perhaps more nervously but has developed a convincing method and offers a good process of education for those Catholics and Protestants to whom ecumenism is a polite term for treachery. J. A. Komonchak has here a candid piece on religious freedom and the confessional state. Emile Poulat, expert on Loisy and Modernism, reconsiders some of the lasting problems. Finally, the grand master Roger Aubert concludes the collection, analysing the distinct assumptions of those who think church history no branch of theology but only of history. The point is perhaps worth making here that theology has not only had but retains a decisive role in the formation of the central narrative.

Oxford

HENRY CHADWICK
In spite of the fact that it opens with a statement ('The first Christians had no love for holy places') so sweeping that it is likely to be as false as the old conviction that they were all pacifists, this collection is a worthwhile one. It comprises twenty-five papers read at the summer conference and winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society in July 1998 and January 1999 respectively. Five are on Christianity in Palestine and Syria and on pilgrimages to it from the fourth to the eighth centuries. Nine are on issues relating to the crusades and the crusader states. Three are on devotion to and images of the Holy Land and Holy Places in medieval Europe and pre-Petrine Russia. Five link the theme of the conferences rather tenuously with aspects of Protestant thought and four consider visits to the Holy Land and the state of Christianity within it in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Five deal with the eastern Churches, seven relate to various forms of Protestantism and the rest concern Catholic thought and actions. The standard of papers is high and it is good to see so many young scholars contributing alongside well-established names. It is a measure of the changes in our understanding of the history of the Holy Land in the last thirty years that so many historians should now be grappling with the issues of thought and iconography.

**Emmanuel College,**

**Jonathan Riley-Smith**

**Cambridge**

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This is a timely monograph for Theophilus has received less attention than other second-century Greek apologists. It provides a careful analysis of many aspects of *Ad Autolycum*, and is replete with detailed footnotes. Rogers’s quotations throughout are from R. M. Grant’s translation. Surprisingly there is no introduction. Part i provides background information. Chapter i sets out such information as we have about Theophilus from Eusebius, Jerome and *Ad Autolycum* itself. Chapter ii considers the literary genre of *Ad Autolycum*, pointing out that it does not consist merely of apologetic material, for it is also didactic and exegetical. He calls it ‘pfrontropic literature’ (i.e. material designed to win over a convert). He notes the three terms Theophilus himself uses of his three volumes: ‘*homilia*’, ‘*syngramma*’ and ‘*hypomnema*’ and subsequently uses them throughout his book. Part ii, the body of the book, is devoted to Theophilus’ theology. In chapter iii Rogers examines Theophilus’ exegesis of Genesis: Adam was created neither mortal nor immortal but with the potential of going either way depending on whether he obeyed or disobeyed God’s command not to eat of the
fruit of the tree of knowledge. Taking the forbidden fruit he was expelled from the
garden, but allowed to redeem himself by repentance shown in renewed
obedience to God. From this Theophilus moves on to what Rogers calls his
‘preeminent soteriological statement’: ‘For God gave us a law and holy
commandments; everyone who performs them can be saved and, attaining to the
resurrection, can inherit imperishability’ (Aut. 2.27). So man is to work out his
own salvation. There is no reference in Ad Autolycum to Jesus Christ or his
sacrifice. Chapter iv focuses on ‘sophia’, ‘pneuma’ and ‘logos’ which Rogers calls
‘personified agents of God’, ‘literary fictions useful in describing God’s
power, … revelation … and … actions in the world’ (p. 74). He may well be
right to see in Theophilus’ reference to the ‘triad’ of God, his logos and his sophia,
together with man (2.15), merely a pragmatic device to bring his discourse to the
fourth day of creation, but is his reference to the logos as God’s son in 2.22 really
only an expanded personification? In chapter v Rogers looks at all the
occurrences of nomos in Ad Autolycus. He notes Theophilus’ propensity to construct
analogies from natural law to ‘positive law’ (‘statutes’ of human or divine
origin). He also points out Theophilus’ division of Old Testament command-
ments into the three categories, justice, piety and beneficence (3.9), which are
then expanded into a secondary nomos of repentance, justice, chastity and good-
will embracing both Old and New Testament ethical material (3.11–14). Sadly
Rogers does not discuss this New Testament material nor why it should have been
chosen. Part iii, ‘An analysis’, effectively answers Grant’s case that Theophilus
is close to being an adoptionist, and declares moreover that, though Theophilus’
position is far removed from Paul, it does ‘fall within the trajectory’ of James.
Rogers fights shy of saying that Theophilus clearly formulates an extreme form of
Judaico-Christianity.

Der Weg des Weinens. Die Tradition des Penthos in den Apophthegmata patrum. By
Barbara Müller. (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 77.)
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This fine study ably accomplishes what its title describes. Since 1944 any work on
penthos has been dominated by the well-known monograph by I. Hausherr
which covered the question from Clement of Alexandria to the eighteenth
century. Müller rightly points out the need for more concentrated studies on
particular authors or groups of authors, and she offers this with her focus on
Egyptian desert Fathers and Mothers, drawing her material primarily from the
Apophthegmata patrum. In part i the author offers a summary of the scene for
Egyptian desert spiritual teaching, discussing also the literary dimensions of
the originally oral apophthegmata and the anthropology which underlies them.
Part ii concentrates more specifically on penthos, treating both its secular and its
biblical background. There are fine pages on Origen’s development of the theme,
and this part concludes with a chapter-long review of the last century’s scholarly
investigations on the same. This chapter is a useful overview of the status questionis.
In part iii the author comes to the heart of the matter, presenting in a systematic way the desert’s teaching on penthos. In a beautiful chapter, which the author herself describes as the Hauptkapitel of her study, two images are examined for a more concrete understanding of penthos in a monastic milieu. The first is ‘dying to the world’, the second is ‘becoming all eye’. Each of these strong images captures a critical dimension of the teaching on penthos: the first, the ascetical dimensions; the second, the contemplative goal. The reader will be grateful to the author for her clear and precise focus on this one band of the widespread penthos theme and for her well-organised presentation of the results of her sound research.

PONTIFICIO ATENEO S. ANSELMO, Rome

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The ban on ‘graven images’ in the second of the Ten Commandments has been variously interpreted within both Judaism and Christianity. If taken completely literally, it would impose a ban on all religious art. As Henry N. Claman shows, in this very interesting book, both Judaism and Christianity have at times adopted the iconoclastic interpretation, but in both religions a less strict interpretation has given rise to beautiful artistic representations. After all, the commandment does not necessarily forbid all art, but only the creation of objects of worship. The Talmud is a good deal more lenient in this matter than it is sometimes taken to be. It should not occasion great surprise, therefore, that ancient synagogues have been excavated which show a highly-developed artistic tradition, including the portrayal of the human form. The most sophisticated example is the third-century synagogue of Dura-Europos, illustrated here among the many excellent reproductions. Rather more surprising, however, is that Christianity, despite its long artistic reputation, has had its periods of iconoclasm, when portrayals of human and animal forms were as forbidden as they have always been in Islam. The first such period, Claman argues, was probably in Christianity’s first 200 years. The lack of pictorial art in this period is otherwise hard to explain. There is nothing conjectural, however, about the explicit iconoclasm of the Byzantine period of about CE 800–900 (which took place after a period of brilliant artistic achievement). A great motivation for Christian art, which began to develop its full glory in the Romanesque period beginning about 1000 CE, was the rivalry between Christianity and Judaism. Claman, following Rosemary Ruether, calls this motivation ‘supersessionism’; i.e. the desire of Christians to show that the Old Testament, in its literal interpretation, had been superseded by Christianity, while retaining a symbolic or metaphorical validity. This led, for example, to the interpretation of Old Testament stories about the younger overcoming the elder (e.g. Jacob and Esau) as foreshadowings of the triumph of the Church over the Synagogue. Claman shows how the
supersessionary theme informs the whole of Christian art in the period with which he deals, and that the theme acquired more and more animus as time went on, fostering a strong anti-Jewish feeling among those for whom pictorial art was a chief means of religious education. Towards the end of the period, actual persecution of the Jews increased, and the popular feeling aroused by Christian art cannot be absolved of a measure of responsibility. Claman writes as a non-professional, as he frankly admits, but he has studied his chosen theme in depth and has produced a valuable book for non-specialists who can pursue further aspects in the generously-provided bibliographic references.

University of Leeds

Hyam Maccoy


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These three books address different aspects of literature and history in early and late ancient Christianity. Greek biography and panegyric in late antiquity consists of eleven essays originally offered by scholars at a colloquium in Bergen, Norway, in August 1996, together with an informative introduction by the editors. Essays were contributed by Gillian Clark, M. J. Edwards, Averil Cameron, Philip Rousseau, Samuel Rubenson, Frederick W. Norris, David Konstan, Jostein Børtnes, Robert J. Penella, Patricia Cox Miller and G. W. Bowersock. The formal frame for the texts discussed, the editors assert, is the ‘cultural translation’ of two genres, biography and panegyric, from ancient Hellenism into Christian Hellenism and ‘pagan’ philosophical Hellenism between c. ce 250 and 450. The editors highlight some of the book’s important themes: reality and representation; audience and subject; audience and text; literary tastes and expectations; models and virtues; new versions of ‘holiness’; language and its public; the living and the dead. Various contributors suggest how these genres transcended their ancient confines in the process of cultural ‘translation’. In these pages philosophers’ biographies mix with those of Christian holy men and women, emperors and saints (Gregory of Nazianzus’s funeral oration for Basil the Great is the subject of three essays; the Life of Antony likewise receives ample attention). The authors are concerned to show how significant differences emerge between and among ‘pagans’, not just between the latter and Christians. Quite different answers, within the ‘pagan’ camp as well as within the Christian, might be given to questions such as: what is the relation between the material world and the divine? What makes a ‘saint’? What makes an ‘authentic human being’? Of what does a noble education consist? What happens to the category ‘biography’ when hagiography and panegyric converge? Themes of honour and reputation
are often at the forefront of discussion—qualities allegedly of no importance to Christian renunciants, but none the less equally on display in Christian as in ‘pagan’ texts. Readers of these essays will receive a keen impression of a conference filled with papers and discussion of the highest quality. The ‘all-star’ cast of essayists and editors has provided readers with a volume to stimulate thinking about genre and cultural transformation among scholars of antiquity.

Kim Haines-Eitzen’s Guardians of letters owes a debt for its title to Robert Kaster’s 1988 Guardians of language. Whereas Kaster wrote about grammarians—already considered lower in the hierarchy of status than rhetors and professors of philosophy and other ‘advanced’ subjects—Haines-Eitzen turns to those even ‘lower,’ namely, early Christian scribes. Working from an assortment of (mostly) Christian literary and theological texts plus inscriptions and papyri, Haines-Eitzen argues that scribal work was not denigrated in Christian circles, despite the low status of the men and women who performed the task of copying. In a slightly later time, copying holy texts would in fact become a way to enhance religious status. The author argues that many early scribes were ‘multi-functional’, i.e., as non-specialists, they copied a variety of texts and documents. One thesis she proposes is that the scribes who copied the documents were often Christians who used as well as copied them; their scribal activities were not set apart from their religious commitment. The earliest scribes probably were already-literate converts from ‘paganism’, Haines-Eitzen argues, since Christians in the second and third centuries exhibit no interest in teaching devotees how to read and write. In an era before organised scriptoria became the centres for copying manuscripts, private scribal networks provided the social locus for copying activities. An especially interesting chapter provides evidence regarding a female scribal culture in the early Christian period. As a whole, the book is a step towards a social history of scribes in the second and third centuries. Guardians of letters is a worthy addition to recent studies on the ‘culture’, material and otherwise, of reading and writing in early Christianity, such as Harry Gamble’s Books and readers in the early Church (1995).

Early Christian historiography surveys a vast period of historical writing, from the Ancient Near East to late Christian antiquity. As the bibliography reveals, this is a book that has been in the making for at least three decades, and is (understandably) more up-to-date on some topics than on others. ‘The discourse of retribution’, Trompf argues, ‘is one in which the ancient Mediterranean historiography lived, moved, and had its being’ (p. 164). The course of human affairs reveals a ‘moral order’ that ancient historians sought to ascertain. After briefer surveys of some important Greek historians and the Deuteronomic historian, Trompf turns to early Christian literature, with Luke/Acts positioned as a text especially concerned with ‘retribution’. The major portion of the book consists of discussion of later patristic authors. Lactantius and Eusebius receive pride of place, as readers might expect (Lactantius’ triumphalism was ‘unforgiving’, Trompf concludes [p. 121]). Trompf gives special attention to the somewhat differing views on ‘triumphalist’ history contained in the first and second editions of Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical history. Another chapter details Rufinus of Aquileia’s efforts in translating and supplementing Eusebius’ History for the west. In the Greek east, there was a special attempt to write history so as to legitimate the imperial order, Trompf argues. More difficulties attend Trompf’s
discussion of Augustine, in my view, since the latter’s City of God can be made to fit the ‘retributive justice’ thesis only with some forcing of texts; Trompf’s Augustine expresses a modified ‘Eusebian optimism’. Many Augustine scholars, following the argument of Robert Markus’ Saeculum, would dispute Trompf’s emphasis (although Trompf concedes that Augustine left to Orosius the working out of divine retribution against Rome). The book is none the less useful in bringing to the fore an important theme in much ancient history-writing.

Duke University

Elizabeth A. Clark


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Although Eusebius was the most versatile writer of the age of Constantine, it is often held that he either failed to grasp the theological questions of his times or purposely misrepresented them through his partiality for an ailing cause. The first chapter of this comprehensive study ought to put an end to all such caricatures. Two facts suffice to dissipate the hackneyed allegation that he was openly or secretly a tool of the Arian heresy: he styled the Son true God (though not in the same sense as the Father), and he never espoused the claim that the Son was created ‘out of nothing’. As for his putative condemnation for denying the homoousion to the Council of Antioch in 324, the modern reconstruction of events depends on records which, if true, suggest that Bishop Alexander of Alexandria was as heterodox at that time as his Arian opponents. His letter to his own church after the Council of Nicaea, perpetually quoted by historians since Athanasius as a proof of his stupidity or mendacity, deserves our credence if only because it ascribes to the Emperor Constantine a doctrine of the Logos which was quite irreconcilable with the known views of Eusebius himself. A careful survey of the Eusebian corpus yields no evidence that he was liar, fool or turncoat; the gravest charge, perhaps, is that he was so much an apologist that his faith became a hybrid of Christianity and current Platonism. After more than two hundred pages of discussion, Strutwolf concludes that the Christian polymath did not merely adopt the teachings of the Gentiles, but yoked the incommensurable systems of Numenius and Plotinus to such effect as to escape the suspicion of being either man’s follower. The analogy that he draws between the Spirit and the World-Soul of the neo-Platonists enables him to affirm that the third person of the Trinity is God – an anticipation of later orthodoxy which it was prudent to suppress in his polemics against Marcellus. And just as he is found to be neither Arian nor Platonist in his concept of the Trinity, so too his Christology is neither so exiguous nor so heterodox as the textbooks have implied. It is catholic in its stress upon the unity of Christ’s person, typical of its age in its indifference to the soul in Christ as an ‘ontological factor’, and none the less loyal to Origen in invoking the soul as a ‘theological factor’ to explain the susceptibility of Christ to fear and sorrow. It may be that the term ‘Origenist’ is employed too freely, for it was not a party label in this period, and Eusebius does not imitate his predecessor’s qualified use of the adjective homoousios, or his subtle attempt to
penetrate the consciousness of Christ in his hour of suffering. But after all, this is not a book on Origen, and perhaps no further books on him are needed; we were certainly in need of a competent study of Eusebius, and here it is at last.

**Christ Church,**

**M. J. Edwards**

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Historians of the Arian controversy have difficulty in providing a clear account of Arius himself, the sources being almost all hostile. But for the radical Arian Eunomius emerging two decades after Arius’ death we are far better informed. Substantial remains of his exegesis and self-defence were edited and translated fifteen years ago by Richard Vaggione. In the present monograph he offers a distinguished and most learned study. Eunomius learnt his theology from the logician Aetius who taught him to disown opinions attributed to Arius himself. In the last years of the Emperor Constantius he accepted ordination as deacon from Eudoxius, bishop of Antioch, but was later to be briefly bishop of Cyzicus in the Hellespont. His language alarmed some and he was to engage the critical minds of his fellow Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. When he had to leave Cyzicus he could retreat to his property at Chalcedon, and from there he could recruit influential converts at the court, especially among the eunuch chamberlains. In 390 he was expelled and six years later died at a Tyana monastery. His many admirers had already formed a rival group of communities with their own bishops. One of these dissenting chapels produced the historian Philostorgius who once met his hero and recorded enchantment at his noble physical appearance and acute mind. Like Aetius Eunomius thought it axiomatic that the Son of God, who had created this contingent world, must be distinct and subordinate from the non-contingent Father, for whom the only fitting epithet is *agennetos*. He insisted on correct theology (*akribeia*) and declined to recognise validity in pro-Nicene churches. His followers received baptism ‘into Christ’s death’, not the Trinity, by a single immersion and apparently baptizands were expected to wear loincloths. The story includes observations (in many cases convincingly) on details in the fourth-century controversy, for example defending Garnier’s date (1 January 379) for Basil’s death, but not perhaps persuasive on the meaning of Theodosius i’s *Cunctos populos*. The last chapter stresses that the Nicene and anti-Nicene groups differed not merely in terms used but also in their total picture or framework.

**Oxford**

**Henry Chadwick**
The central interest and thesis that undergirds this exceedingly learned and complex tome is clearly enunciated in the preface. The author believes that she has found the key with which to interpret John Chrysostom’s account of the divine Apostle. The extent of his devotion to St Paul can be seen from pp. 90–1 of Kelly’s *Golden mouth* (1995), where we learn that from 391 onwards ‘he threw himself into the exposition of Paul’s letters’ beginning with thirty-two homilies on Romans.

Mitchell distinguishes her approach from the majority of previous treatments of the subject by her interesting claim of an author-centred devotion to St Paul evident in Chrysostom. The aim of the work, therefore, as she insists on p. xx of the preface, is to uncover ‘the range of portraits of Paul in a single author’. This means that Mitchell’s basic interest is to show how Chrysostom’s fascination with his hero is the key to his interpretation of Paul’s ideas.

The rest of this vast work is an investigation of ‘Chrysostom’s author-based interpretation’ (p. xxii) in eight chapters with 2 appendixes, the first of which is devoted to a new translation of Chrysostom’s seven homilies *De laudibus sancti Pauli*. Later on (p. 378), she situates Chrysostom’s approach within the more general context of epideictic oratory, such as can be found in his teacher Libanius.

It cannot be said that the work, despite or perhaps because of the weight of its learning, makes for easy reading and in places the style seems unduly inflated. Nor is it altogether clear what light, if any, might possibly be cast on the meaning of Pauline theology by analysis of his character. These are interesting and important questions, especially as most commentators on the divine Apostle – a favourite phrase in Gregory of Nyssa, though not, apparently, in Chrysostom – treat his theology quite distinctly from his personality.

Finally there are one or two desiderata. There is no index either of important themes or of ancient authors. It is true that there is an extensive list of passages cited at pp. 529–58. Even so, a reader eager to discover what Chrysostom had to say on freedom, would search in vain.

Moreover, there seems to be one notable omission. The earliest and in many ways the most stimulating of all early Pauline commentators was Origen. It is indeed true that most of his work has perished, but we do possess, largely in a Latin translation, his superb and fascinating commentary on Romans, which surely deserved a mention. Was Chrysostom aware of Origen’s work and if so did he use him at all? It is hard to believe that the man who sheltered the Origenist monks from the bigotry of Theophilus in 401 avoided all contact with their spiritual master.

**London**

A. Meredith
Early medieval states are often documented so differently from their contemporay societies that historians need to be determined connectors to bring both squarely within their sights, as Matthew Innes does in *State and society in the early Middle Ages*. Some 3,000 charters of donation to the monastery of Lorsch between its foundation in 764 and 900, together with relatively full annalistic records for the Frankish kingdom, and miscellaneous other materials, notably the letters of Einhard, allow the political workings of both regional and wider worlds to be mapped. If Innes’s time-frame (despite his title) is largely confined to the eighth and ninth centuries, it follows the grain of the Lorsch evidence. The new monasteries of the Carolingian age were embedded in the family relationships of local elites. In the motivations of donors, women as well as men, a kind of religious individualism flourished alongside collective charitable concerns. Giving to monasteries tempered the individualism, and targeted the charity. In both respects ‘the texture of local society’ becomes tangible in Innes’s hands. The first half of the book explores individual and collective action in the region, as people pursue status and interests (women’s agency is much in evidence), resolve conflicts, negotiate relations between themselves and the new monastery. Readings-out of documents were events on local stages, with audiences intensely involved. Once put together, this material shows us landowners, small and large, moving about their business within county landscapes we can perceive as ‘social units’ rather than administrative ones. Innes has the benefit of a lot of German scholarship to build on, yet his sociological feel is something new, and accommodates the religious with the social. The Middle Rhine should take its place in the literature of Carolingian small worlds alongside Wendy Davies’s east Brittany. The book’s second part analyses the interactions with the region and its leaders of royal regimes, for which Innes justifiably uses the term state. Carolingian realms were polities, cohering internally across time and space, which ‘did define the legitimate exercise of power within given areas, and claim monopolies on strategically important forms of political assertion’ (p. 255, with acknowledgement to Susan Reynolds). By contrast, Innes insists that the modern distinction between public and private can seriously mislead. Far from the early medieval public being subsumed into private life, with no conceptual distinction being recognised, ‘publicness’ was so strongly associated with the wielding of political power through rulership and lordship that the private could be seen as a lack, a deprivation (Innes’s translation at p. 257 needs minor amendment). Charisma acquired through displays of power and consensus could hardly have been other than public. Innes mentions the modern label ‘Rupertines’, denoting the kin of Lorsch’s founders, only to dismiss it as misleadingly suggestive of cohesion (p. 53). It misleads too in suggesting patrilineal monopoly: rather than the eponymous Rupert, who scarcely figures, it is his widow Willeswind who dominates Lorsch’s early history. Power was contested within as much as between families. Aristocratic intra-familial contests tended to be aligned with royal ones. Hence the dramatic shift of power after the death of Willeswind’s son.
late in 771, when her grandson Heimerich’s loss of control of the monastery to his kinsman Abbot Gundland who promptly handed Lorsch’s lordship over to Charlemagne, occurred in March 772, after the death of the king’s brother and rival Carloman (4 December 771) had made it imperative for Charlemagne to establish his presence in the middle Rhine valley against potential supporters of his brother’s sons and presumptive heirs. The case, recorded in a royal judgement at the old Carolingian palace of Herstal, to which Heimerich had travelled in hopes of securing his inheritance, is aptly dealt with by Innes in both parts of the book, in a local, societal, context (p. 56) and in a regnal, political one (pp. 180–2), for it illustrates just how close was the articulation of regional with royal power precisely at a ‘point of contact’ – a monastery – ‘between centre and locality’. Innes shows, in impeccable detail, how connections, loose or otherwise, were fixed and made functional. Foundations like Lorsch meant the restructuring of power, in the end, because of the sensibilities and agency of those who endowed them. The king joined their ranks because he shared those sensibilities and because his superordinate agency was acknowledged by the Lorsch community itself: here he was uniquely placed to extend and re-centre the circuit. Innes never patronises his subjects as practitioners of an archaic religion. His is the surest of empathetic touches for the personal as well as the local. Yet what also makes his work outstanding is his grasp of the big picture, and his preparedness to address and resolve questions of structure and theory. Seldom can a young scholar’s first book be greeted with superlatives. This is such a book.

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London


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These two slim fascicules mark the first appearance in print of a very great undertaking. It has two aims. First, the intention is to achieve a list of Latin authors for the period 500 to 1500, related to a separate undertaking to achieve an authoritative repertory of medieval and humanist authors during this period, published electronically as Bibliotheca scriptorum latinorum medii recentiorisque aevi. The authors treated in CALMA are and will be selected (p. v) from that work. Second, CALMA will provide a bibliographical guide, concise but comprehensive. As Michael Lapidge rightly observes, ‘No human being could control the bibliography of all Latin authors during the period’ (p. xiii), and it was thought that no group of scholars could contemplate undertaking a guide of this nature. What made it seem possible was the list of 10,000 writers generated from the first ten volumes of the collaborative annual bibliography Medioevo Latino. This list was weeded to remove spurious names and extended by further research, and we are told that there are now reckoned to be 1,000 authors whose names begin with A, 700 with B (p. xv). With 211 writers in Fascicule 1, it is not yet apparent how many fascicules will be needed to complete the task nor how long it will take to
reach the end. Work has been in progress for ten years, and advertisements promise two fascicules per year from now on. It will be a remarkable testimony to the entrepreneurial powers of Claudio Leonardi and Michael Lapidge if this huge undertaking is completed before it is found to need thorough revision. Every fascicule represents no small achievement, for so comprehensive a list of this kind has never before been compiled.

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Oxford


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Moreira takes as her basic text the insight of E. R. Dodds that by the time of the later Roman empire ‘the third person of the Trinity had outlived his primitive function’. She seeks to revise his opinion, also expressed in some of the earlier work of Peter Brown, that late antique and early medieval Christianity sought to marginalise charismatic visionaries in the interests of clerical authority and orthodoxy. Instead she argues that in the Romano-Gallic and Merovingian Church there was a tendency ‘to control, not eliminate, the ordinary dreamer’ (p. 225). Open access to the divine was not eradicated by an ecclesiastical hierarchy keen to exclude the ordinary Christian from theological and spiritual resources, though such access was increasingly channelled through the figure of the intercessory saint or the figure with special merit, often a bishop or ascetic. It may seem a nice distinction in the end but it is one worth making and Moreira is able to demonstrate her thesis adequately through a series of chapters that move from patristic thinking on dreams and visions, through Gregory of Tours and the otherworldly journeys of Fursey and Barontus, to the seventh-century visions of the female ascetics, SS Radegund of Poitiers and Aldegund of Mauberge. A modest book with one point to make, accessibly if a little flatly written, experts in Merovingian ecclesiastical history will find much that is already familiar but will doubtless welcome Moreira’s collection of fascinating material, while late antique or Carolingian historians will value her controlled rehearsal of the debates surrounding the nature of the early Frankish Church. As always in the tightly focused monograph there are a few issues that remain out of focus and which could have benefited from more extensive treatment, particularly the thorny issue of the ‘reality’ of these dreams and visions. Moreira seems to accept that they were in some sense experienced by real visionaries, while being subject to literary amplification and interpretation by historians and hagiographers. This is a reasonable enough position to take up and may very well be right, though it would have been good to see her explore the possibility that these visions and dreams were a purely literary genre. If, as Moreira suggests, the *Visio Baronti* had a functional use ‘as a didactic tool for prospective or recent converts’ (p. 166) is it not at least possible that it had a more prosaic origin than in the visionary experiences of a monk for whose existence there is no independent evidence? In the imagination of someone whose duty it was to teach these
prospective or recent converts for example? Overall this is solid literary–intellectual history, primarily interested in texts and their affiliations rather than in a major reworking of the historical ground, but none the worse for that. Especially when read in conjunction with Paul Dutton’s book on Carolingian dreaming and Peter Brown’s recent and forthcoming thoughts on the end of the ancient otherworld, it makes a worthwhile contribution to a growing body of literature on an important theme.

University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Scott Ashley

Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.

By Wassilios Klein. (Silk Road Studies, 3) Pp. 464 incl. 9 maps and 76 figs + 3 colour plates. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000. €87. 2 503 51035 3

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If the extraordinary spread of Nestorian Christianity across Asia from the seventh century onwards has received marked attention in recent years, the history of the Nestorian communities founded in the valleys of the Chu and Talas rivers has not, and this book is warmly welcomed. An introduction to the secondary literature is followed in chapter ii by a survey of the chequered political history of the region (ruled successively by pagan Turks, by the Islamicised Turkish dynasty of the Qarakhanids, by the Buddhist Qara-Khitan or ‘Western Liao’ and by the Chaghadayid Mongols, whose conversion to Islam began only in the fourteenth century), together with a sketch of the progress made by Christianity and its competitors – Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Islam and Turkish-Mongolian ‘shamanism’. Chapter iii reviews the sources, comprising references in Muslim geographical works, travellers’ accounts (including the reports of Franciscans who passed through Mongol-ruled Kyrgyzstan in the thirteenth century) and the prodigious results of over a century of Russian archaeological activity. The most significant corpus of material is undoubtedly the six hundred or more Nestorian gravestones unearthed in the region, of which forty-one are here for the first time reproduced in facsimile, transcribed and translated. Convincing identifications are advanced for several once major towns mentioned in the literary sources (pp. 126–52). Despite the fragmentary and often problematic nature of his material, Klein is able in chapter iv to draw important conclusions about the development and character of the communities in Kyrgyzstan. They emerge as remarkably vigorous and, for all their relative isolation from their mother church in Mesopotamia, strongly attached to the models it presented. In a particularly good section (pp. 266–76), the somewhat hostile and dismissive verdict reached by the Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck in 1255 is reassessed and an attractive explanation is offered for the seemingly high number of Nestorian ordinations to the priesthood, namely the fiscal exemptions enjoyed under Mongol rule by the ‘religious classes’ within every faith (pp. 245–6). The collapse of Nestorianism in Kyrgyzstan in the few years after 1338 is persuasively linked to the Black Death, with major implications for the chronology of that catastrophe (pp. 283–9). Klein is occasionally less sure-footed when straying outside the strict confines of his subject. The Khitan (Liao) were expelled from China in the 1120s, not by the Sung dynasty (p. 39), but by

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The wise master builder is an enthusiastic but not particularly successful attempt to resuscitate a languishing topic; the role of geometry as an expression of cosmological ideas in medieval great church architecture. There has long been a current of scholarly opinion, more or less coherently expressed, supposing that geometry did play more than a utilitarian role in church design. This is understandeable (if not correct), for it may seem unworthy to consider the aesthetic achievement of medieval great church architecture as the result only of practical, empirical processes, conceived by men unfamiliar with high-minded, metaphysical speculation. Although the catalyst for some rich and thought-provoking scholarship (one thinks of Erwin Panoński), this opinion has in the past led many to ‘consider too curiously’ the plans of cathedrals with improbable – even ludicrous – results. Conversely, recent scholarship has tended to take a minimalist approach to the issue; while nobody wholly discounts the use of metrological and numerological theories in the design process, few suggest a more than pragmatic role for them. Thus, many readers will regard Nigel Hiscock’s subject with suspicion a priori, a fact of which he is obviously aware. The author divides his book into four parts, the first reviewing existing theories concerning the role of geometry in medieval church architecture, the second providing historical and textual context for his speculation, the third being a ‘geometric investigation’ (so-called) of various medieval churches and the fourth a collation and justification of his findings which is (like the introduction) markedly apologetic in tone. The most original and contentious parts are the third and fourth. Here the author tries to demonstrate that certain basic figures present in Plato’s geometry (the square, equilateral triangle and pentagon) were indeed employed by the designers of medieval churches in an attempt to express universal Neoplatonic ideas. The supposed importance, ubiquity and essentially medieval character of this practice is emphasised by the application of these figures to a ‘sample’ group of canonical buildings (supposedly representative of medieval great church architecture in general), and the analysis of some modern structures (misleadingly entitled ‘counter examples’) using the same method. This is embellished with a plethora of suggestive passages lifted from classical and Christian authorities; over 300 substantial quotes in the first 200 pages alone make The wise master builder a useful source-book in its own right. There is also
some straightforward speculation on architectural semantics that does not involve geometric analysis (for example, the discussion of the Pantheon at p. 129). All this apparatus, together with the mathematical elements bound to occur in such a study, make for disjointed and stodgy reading, and the reader is not rewarded with anything like proof insofar as the general thesis is concerned. The wise master builder is a thought-provoking and interesting book, but it will come no closer to convincing the sceptic that ‘sacred geometry’ played a part in medieval architectural practice than have previous attempts. ‘A great church is like a small universe’, as Richard Morris has said, and indeed, it seems that almost anything can be discovered in it, provided it is looked at from the appropriate angle.

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It is not often that the study of an entire field is thrown wide open by a single publication, but this book is such an event. Despite the appearance over the past fifteen years of translated saints’ Lives and much excellent secondary literature on Byzantine monasticism, the main primary sources remained completely inaccessible to monoglot anglophones, and some editions of the original texts were hard to come by. Now sixty foundation documents, ranging in time from the seventh to the fifteenth century and pertaining to monasteries from northern Syria to southern Italy, are available with full scholarly commentary and apparatus in a five-volume set, which, thanks to the low-budget format (no Greek, no illustrations) is astoundingly affordable at a paperback price of $100 (hardback $150). At last it is possible for the undergraduate historian or the educated reader with an interest in medieval religious life to compare single Byzantine institutions; both with each other and with the religious orders of the medieval west. Following an admirable preface by Giles Constable to put them in the comparative picture, readers can go on to experience at first hand the remarkable individualism with which Byzantine monastic founders approached the constant, universal concern for reform. The documents vary in length, style and designation – it is only for convenience that they are all described as Typika. What they have in common is the fact of combining two functions that in the west were fulfilled by different types of document, the foundation charter and the rule. Each Typikon was thus customised to the individual foundation and represented the personal concerns of the founder. These might be expressed at some length, with the result that several Typika of the eleventh century and later are important sources for the study of Byzantine autobiography. Typika are indeed informative
on much more than monasticism: for example, aristocratic families and estates, private libraries, the urban fabric of Constantinople. Of course, they consciously present an ideal, but they are based on a concern to protect against the fallibility of human nature – whether of the monks, or the monastery’s lay protectors, or of the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities. They are more than mere documents, but they are less distorting than almost any other kind of Byzantine literature. Dumbarton Oaks, Giles Constable, John Thomas, Angela Hero and the team of fifteen translators are to be applauded for a major contribution to the diffusion of knowledge about Byzantium as it really was.

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Paul Magdalino


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The author has chosen a difficult but worthwhile period of east Frankish or German church history for her study. The contemporary evidence is very patchy. The councils of Tribur (895) and of Hohenaltheim (916) were important, but there were no very significant councils after that, nor, apart from that of Ulrich of Augsburg, have major hagiographic works survived: the great flowering of episcopal biography in the Ottonian Reich did not begin until the last quarter of the tenth century, and it was not until then also that the clear links between royal chapel and episcopate had been fully established. In spite of this, reasons of space have led to a consideration solely of the episcopate in the two southern duchies, thus leaving out the Saxon and Lotharingian Churches and most of the province of Mainz. This permits a clear account of the loss of contact between king and southern episcopate during the first half of the tenth century and its reestablishing thereafter, followed by a survey of church councils and their place in the government of the kingdom, and of the transmission of church law – about which more can be said, it turns out, than one might have expected, not least because of the existence of extensive preliminary studies of the manuscripts of Freising, Augsburg and Constance. A lengthy section on the choosing and installation of bishops is preceded by an analysis of the (limited) historiographical sources available; in spite of these limitations, southern Germany offers some interesting material, not least the attempt to translate Wiching from Nitra to Passau in 899, the brutal deposition of Herald of Salzburg and the difficulties faced by rulers in appointing bishops in Strasbourg. The study concludes with a survey of the bishop as representative of the ruler within his diocese. Even though readers should treat with extreme scepticism the claim (p. 206) that tenth-century east Frankish bishops took an oath to the pope which included a promise of fidelity to the princeps – the Liber diurnus, drawn on here, is evidence at best for bishops within the Roman province, and other bishops did not take oaths to the pope at this point – they will be able to learn a good deal from this final section and its accompanying appendices of maps, tables of bishops mentioned in royal diplomata and family trees of bishops. Overall this monograph is a valuable addition to the studies of the east Frankish or German episcopate already in existence, notably those by Fleckenstein and Fink von Finckenstein.

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Timothy Reuter
The historian Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607) took a harsh view of the century covered by this volume. In the tenth volume of his *Annales ecclesiastici* of 1603 he wrote: ‘Lo, here begins the year of our Saviour 900, the start of a new century called iron for its barbarity and lack of all that is good, lead for its formless abundance of evil, dark for its lack of sources’ (as cited by Johannes Fried, *Die Formierung Europas* [1096–1165], 2nd edn, 1993, 3). So the tenth century acquired its name: ‘secolo oscuro’, ‘dunkles Jahrhundert’, the dark century. As the general editor here observes: ‘It is widely held that the long tenth century is a period more lacking in sources and reliable and precise information on “what actually happened” than any other period of post-Roman European history’ (p. 1). Of course this view has been contested, to the point that it has been claimed as an age of cultural renewal. The present volume rightly regards the period not ‘as particularly obscure or particularly enlightened’ (p. 186) but offers a sober analysis of the available sources pursued with the appropriate methods. Since the geographical range extends right across Europe, the chronological limits can only be arbitrary; the period seen from a German perspective as that of the hegemony of the Saxon royal line of the Liudolfinger has much less coherence seen from elsewhere. For contemporaries who thought in terms of the history of Salvation the years 900 and 1024 had little significance; periodisation is necessarily a function of the historian’s perspective. In those terms there are good reasons for the limits chosen here, for they mark a period of the rise of political dominance by national kings, but of the continuance of an international culture.

Post-Carolingian Europe was expanding; new independent states were formed, such as Poland or Hungary; the Byzantine empire stood firm and influenced the west and Rus; the Muslim caliphate of Cordoba was as its apogee. In the east missionaries had some success while in some circles in the west millennial fears of apocalyptic judgment gained ground. The period from 900 to 1024 cannot then have been so dark or leaden, a view confirmed by this volume. The stark simplicity of its title, without the thematic subtitle ‘Germany and the western empire’ of the earlier version, indicates the new volume’s desire to take a broad view. This policy is to be applauded, for it privileges no one topic or method. The work is in the best sense European, being the work of twenty-four authors, all with substantial publications to their credit already, of whom half are from English-speaking countries and half from Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Poland. Together their contributions – ignoring that considerable measure of overlap almost inevitable in such undertakings – provide a collection which reflects the most up-to-date research and is a worthy successor to the venerable *Cambridge Medieval History* of 1911–36.

In a learned and exact introduction Timothy Reuter discusses the sources in detail and draws a contrast with those of the Carolingian age, over the range from ‘Carolingian nostalgia’ (p. 9) to a movement towards a Europe ‘which would be shaped by competing dynastically orientated territories, many of them ancestors of the modern nation-state’ (p. 10). Unwritten sources, and the ‘use of
symbolic and non-verbal forms of communication’ so widely studied in the modern literature, are given proper attention too. Reuter rightly suggests that one can ‘read the history of tenth-century Christianity as one of remarkable success’, and, in contrast to the Carolingian age, points to ‘the emergence of a more active lay participation in Christianity which took many forms: large-scale and long-distance pilgrimages, notably to Rome and Jerusalem; the veneration of relics on a very substantial scale; arguably also mass participation in the movements known as the Peace and the Truce of God’ (p. 21). The missionary activity of the Church of the time, which had some success towards the east, and sometimes came into conflict with similar Byzantine initiatives, is treated allusively. As in vol. ii, covering the period 700–900 and published in 1995, there is no separate chapter on the history of missions (see R. Schieffer in his review in Historische Zeitschrift cclxiv [1997], 111–18). Although such activity is noticed under other chapters (esp. pp. 140ff) this leaves an uncomfortable gap, especially when one considers the crucial contribution it made to the formation of Europe over the period. Yet one can only agree with Reuter’s conclusion that ‘it is this paradoxical relationship between coherence and fragmentation which in the last resort dominates almost all readings of the long tenth century’ (p. 24).

Part 1 of the volume offers an overview of broad themes, with a particular emphasis on structures (pp. 25–230). Robert Fossier deals with ‘Rural economy and country life’ and arrives at a positive conclusion: ‘The climate may have been better, there were certainly more people, the family was set on a new basis, the framework of the village was stable, the seigneurie with its guarantees and restriction was being put in place.’ On the alleged terrors of the year 1000 he aptly observes that ‘people may have thought about the birth or death of Christ, but they had enough to do to make a living; there was no need to worry about dying’ (pp. 63; cf. pp. 210f). Peter Johanek describes the new beginnings of ‘Merchants, markets and towns’; Janet Nelson introduces ‘Rulers and government’, a very convincing combination of factual history with analysis of the rules underlying the exercise of power. The life of the Church is discussed by Rosamond McKitterick, the editor of vol. ii. For her the history of the Church of the time ‘is essentially the history of many local churches, in which the dominant role in secular ecclesiastical and religious life was played by the bishop’ (p. 130). This episcopal Church, in which the pope played only a modest role, had a two-fold function: ‘the church could provide both an element of stability within a polity, and an excellent supply of able and educated personnel who could assist in the process of government and administration’ (p. 134). Mission in this period was inseparable from politics, as became obvious in Scandinavia (vol. ii. 202ff) and again with the foundation of the Ottonian missionary dioceses. Several times in the course of the creation of states in northern and eastern Europe the stabilisation of power went hand in hand with Christianisation, as kings became keenly aware of the capacity of uniform religion to forge identity: ‘Conversion to Christianity, therefore, was a decision not merely about religion but also about political association and cultural alignment’ (p. 150). On the other hand, ‘resistance to Christianity ... was part and parcel of political resistance’ (p. 151). These interrelationships make it very difficult to determine what Christian or polytheistic beliefs people really held, and can scarcely have made missionary work among pagans easier. All this suggests that an explicit
A chapter devoted to mission in a broad context, including preaching, would have been a considerable advantage. A survey of the internal life of the Church shows that it does not deserve to be described as a ‘dark age’, for it was ‘an extraordinarily creative period’ in the history of liturgy (p. 156). The same is true of the veneration of saints, no longer, as it once was, seen as divided between official cult and popular devotion. Recent work has stressed how both hagiography and the observance of a cult are far from indifferent to chronology and historical context, and that the ‘popular’ veneration of a saint need not involve non-Christian, magical or pagan practice’ (p. 159). Taking into account the manifold forms of lived religious practice and monastic life, treated by Joachim Wollasch in the next chapter, McKitterick concludes: ‘The developments within the church in Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries were extraordinarily rich, varied and creative’ (p. 161). Claudio Leonardi describes intellectual life, and reveals an impressive panorama of production in various genres. ‘The Bible remained the supreme fount of knowledge, and the focus of study for all the liberal arts’ (p. 188). Hagiography experienced ‘territorial expansion’ (p. 197) as there was a widespread demand for saints as points of reference for self-definition. At the same time some of its products show a tendency towards historiography, which prospered particularly: ‘No other literary genre of the tenth century produced so many works as historical writing, from annales to chronica, from gesta to biographies and autobiographies, a form which first appeared in this period’ (p. 204). Here again we are shown a remarkable development, further confirmed by Henry Mayr-Harting’s chapter on ‘Artists and patrons’, with plates which help drive home its message.

Parts II and III deal with the multitude of kingdoms of post-Carolingian Europe (pp. 231–484), and with the new empires in the east and the established ones around the Mediterranean (pp. 485–691). The chapters follow chronologically, and recount the sequence of events in varying detail. Eckhard Müller-Mertens deals with the Ottonians, Gerd Althoff with the Saxons and the Slavs of the Elbe, Herwig Wolfram with Bavaria, Michel Parisse with Lorraine, Constanze Brittain Bouchard with Burgundy and Provence, Giuseppe Sergi with Italy, Simon Keynes with England, while three chapters by Jean Dunbabin, David Bates and Michel Zimmermann deal with the realm of the West Franks. However valid the subdivisions, they involve some overlap. Europe beyond the former Carolingian empire is covered in chapters on developments in Russia (Thomas S. Noonan), Bohemia and Poland (Jerzy Strzelnicki), Hungary (Kornél Bakay), three chapters on Byzantium (Jonathan Shepard), southern Italy (G. A. Loud), Sicily and Al-Andalus (Hugh Kennedy) and the Spanish kingdoms (Roger Collins). A projected chapter on the Jews in western Europe could not unfortunately be included. Many of these chapters are illustrated by maps to help the reader.

The advance in historical knowledge all this represents cannot be assessed here in any detail. Most readers are likely to turn to particular chapters, but they should be careful not to lose sight of the broader context, though there is no final summary. The volume ends with abundant appendices (pp. 692–863) – a list of popes, genealogical tables, a comprehensive list of sources and a substantial bibliography. For quite a few articles, mostly those completed by 1994, some very recent publications have been added. The bibliography follows the order of the chapters, and has a special importance since the footnotes to the text are largely
confined to bare references (omitting any discussion of differing views). Again, the arrangement involves some duplication. The index is extensive. There can be no doubt that this meticulously edited volume offers a very valuable synthesis of current research, and deserves careful study.


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The names of leading examples such as Corvey, Fulda, Hersfeld, Lorsch, Reichenau and St Gall are reminders of how important the so-called Reichsabteien were in the church and constitutional history of medieval Germany, so that it is surprising that no comprehensive monograph has hitherto been devoted to them. Thomas Vogtherr’s admirably planned and wide-ranging book well supplies a pressing need. He begins with the problem of definition. Historians of the second half of the last century were much influenced by the distinction that Theodor Mayer drew in his Fürsten und Staat (1950) between those German monasteries which he called Reichskloster and those which were Königskloster; whereas the former were constitutionally part of the Reich as the complex that made up the royal authority and power, the latter were dependent upon it. Vogtherr sets this distinction aside as being a historian’s construct which does not arise from the contemporary evidence and which does not do justice either to the individuality of each institution or to the underlying comparability of the monasteries concerned in their relation to the German ruler and kingdom. The strength of his book is his thoroughness and rigour in drawing from the evidence balanced conclusions about the continuities and changes in the structures and workings of German Church and society reign by reign from Conrad I to Henry V. Three main topics are addressed. The first is the legal status of the Reichsabteien, with full discussion of royal family- and house-monasteries; nunneries are given their due place. Second, Vogtherr turns to royal interventions in the inner life and endowment of monasteries; one may single out his tracing of the increase of royal involvement in abbatial elections culminating in his appraisal of the astute use by Henry V of the role left by the Concordat of Worms for royal adjudication in disputed elections, and his discussion of later tenth-century royal grants of markets, mints and tolls. These were in some sort a quid pro quo for the services that abbeys provided for the Reich, the consideration of which is the subject of the third, longest, and most illuminating, part of the book. Vogtherr insists that the relatively late appearance of the phrase servitium regis does not mean that the origins of the obligations involved are not to be traced far back into the past, for example to the Carolingian obligation of the higher clergy to military service and even to the Merovingian requirement of the service of prayer. The importance of the German rulers’ Italian expeditions, especially in the tenth century, is duly noticed. Indeed, the reign of Otto I was something of a heyday for the abbeys. By 973 Vogtherr considers that the number of Reichsklöster was some seventy-eight, rising by the year 1000 to perhaps ninety. Nevertheless, at no time should the place of the abbeys and their abbots and monks in the service of the Reich be
overstated, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the underlying tendency was for it so to diminish that Vogtherr writes of the increasing marginalisation of the Benedictine Reichsabteien and similar collegiate churches in the constitution of the Reich. As royal itineraries illustrate, they lost ground to the episcopal cities and to the bishops to whose number they ceased to supply many recruits.

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Two important symposia on millennialist ideas in the western tradition are both neatly timed for the years 2000–1. The first volume is more macroscopic, beginning with Gerard Guyon’s brilliant discussion of tensions in earliest Christianity between the ‘anarchic’ (anomique) and respect for governments as instituted by God. This whole collection pays homage to a wider range of millenarian currents than the German one. It covers medieval issues, with chapters on European expectations about the year 1000 (Pierre Riché) and the development of the Christian calendar (George Comet). Chapters on modern and contemporary materials, moreover, are not limited to France, or for that matter distinctly religious millenarisms. Three pieces focus on German issues and writers; one on European Jewry; and others take in more secularised political visions – Olivier Ihl on Saint-Simonianism, and Thierry Paquot on comparative utopias (uchronies), with some United States examples included.

The second volume is limited chronologically to the last five centuries and intensely focused on German ideas, but for this reason involves detailed investigations into many neglected materials. The first six chapters are understandably devoted to apocalyptic speculation during the Reformation, but the particular turning-points upon which they concentrate – 1500 and 1600 – set the tone for the whole book. As its title suggests, the volume concerns ideas about the turning from one century into another. In a brilliant chapter by Jakubowski-Tiessen, we find that by 1700 the reading of macro-time in terms of centuries has overtaken religious models (the Great Week and Four Monarchy schemas), and European Catholics and Protestants have brought their calendars into uniformity. Thus from then on the book can oscillate between discussions of modern senses of fin-de-siècle crisis or transitions of chronological time and the continuing uses of biblical apocalypticism.

On my assessment, the chapters on how time is read by large ecclesial institutions will be of most value for mainstream ecclesiastical historians. For the rest we are dealing with religious ideas that affect group picturings. The
Reformation chapters by Kaufmann and Barnes in the German volume introduce us to a whole host of figures within German Lutheran speculation about the future and the meaning of cosmo-history. These people might have been overlooked if their views had not been expounded and their influence not assessed. In his *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), of course, Robin Barnes has already brilliantly related Lutheran apocalyptic mentalities to the development of Rosicrucian and neo-Gnostic currents in the wake of the Reformation, and his chapter may be read in conjunction with that work.

Of the pieces on the later history of religious ideas, Hans Schneider has made a significant contribution in the German volume in elucidating the apocalyptic views in *Pietismus*. Scholars have needed a clearer picture of Philipp Spener's approach to these matters especially, but it is tantalising that the mysterious Gottfried Arnold is not given attention. Both the French and German collections devote space to earlier Romanticism, and it is a real strength of the former volume that it carries Jean-François Kervégan’s article on Friedrich von Schlegel’s triadic age theory of history and its apocalyptic implications. In von Schlegel’s imaging Christ stands between the Age of the Word and the Age of Force, while he and his contemporaries stand on the threshold of the Age of Light. Fortunately Ludwig Stockinger does not neglect von Schlegel in the other volume either, making for a ‘combined feast’ of rediscovery: he unveils the background to von Schlegel’s hopes with discussions of the early Romantics’ dreams of Art and all its implications – Freedom, Truth, Goodness – triumphing at last over the ignorance and sordidness befalling the masses. More on early Romantic visions can be found in Kurt Nowak’s piece (which precedes Stockinger’s) on the social utopia of Schleiermacher in which religion is de-institutionalised. Limitations of space disallow adequate comment on other articles, but in the French colloquy Michel Senellart is excellent on competing ideologies to ‘prop up’ the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth century, and the eminent Michael Lowy is learned on the permutations of ‘political apocalypticism’ around 1900. The German collection maintains unity with chapters on predictions about imaged cosmic transition-points at 1500 (Schilling, Dormeier, Robinson-Hammerstein), 1600 (Kaufmann), 1700 (Holzem), 1800 (Krusenstjern) and 1900 (Oelke, Wolff-Thomsen). Both volumes are graced with overview articles – the French with Catherine Colliot-Thélène on millenarism and western philosophies of history, and the German with Reinhart Staats and Gerhard Sauter on reasons for the persistence of apocalypticism and its integral connections with historical thinking. The Singer–Polignac collection also includes various short comments and reports of debate.

Both books should be welcomed for the riches of research and for pointing up the enduring significance of macrohistorical ideas too often set aside as irrational or associated with the ‘fanatical fringes’ of western thought. The two books might seem to have filled in a gap left by Norman Cohn’s all-too-renowned *Pursuit of the millennium* (1957, new edn 1970), which ran from the Book of Daniel to the aberrant Anabaptist Münster revolt and then jumped to Nazism and Stalinism. *Per contra*, these books are in the tradition of W. Nigg’s *Das ewige Reich* (1944) that gave continuity to a whole story that Cohn did not have the expertise to tell.

I am happy to report that I could find no errors in historical representation, although some of the areas of investigation were quite new to me. Occasionally
the typesetting went awry, the footnotes not matching the text (as at pp. 280–1 of the German volume). The dustjacket wrongly specifies Newton’s prediction of the millennium as 2000: 1867 would be my calculation from his manuscripts, and this date carries meaning in relation to the fervour surrounding 1666 in Newton’s time.

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G. W. Trompf


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This book is a revised edition of the author’s 1996 PhD thesis. Of its six chapters, the first is a short pre-history, the second deals with the first Christian institutions in Iceland, the third discusses churches and property, the fourth focuses on the bishops, the fifth on the priests and the last is a conclusion entitled ‘The Church and the increase in social complexity’.

This is a useful book, especially because it helps to balance discussion about the Icelandic Free State Society (c. 930–1262/64). For the last few decades the focus has mainly been on secular matters, a bias that can be traced in part to the anthropological approach to this debate. The book’s title is misleading; this is not a book about the Christianisation of Iceland, but about ecclesiastical institutional development in the period 1000–1300. The focus is on the administrative and political aspects of the Church and on the co-operation between members of the Church and the chieftains, who controlled more or less everything in the country.

The author’s main theory is that, in the political development of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of the chieftains’ families who were forced to withdraw from the national political struggle managed to preserve their local power through control over churches: ‘The churches made it possible for the chieftain’s families to link their claim to power to their property so that the possession of a church-farm was what decided who wielded power’ (p. 238). This hypothesis works for the situation in the western part of Iceland, but not for the country as a whole. Due to the sources, we know rather little about the situation in the eastern part of Iceland in the twelfth century, but political development there was different from that in the west. Local differences should therefore have been discussed in more detail. Another important question that lacks proper attention is the mutual tie between the ‘new’ local leaders and the chieftains. It is difficult to see how the local leaders could have managed without the approval of the chieftains. At the same time the chieftains had to gain the support of their local leaders, otherwise their power would have been even more fragile than it was in reality.

In 1262/4 Iceland became a part of the Norwegian kingdom, and between 1262/4 and the 1280s significant changes took place that altered the political structure of the country. The Norwegian administrative system was introduced. New leaders were appointed by the Norwegian king, and did not have to build up their power base as before. How did these changes influence the relationship between the political leaders in Iceland and the local leaders? This question
should have been discussed in more detail. These critical comments apart, _The Christianisation of Iceland_ is an important book, for it gives a good overview of church institutional development, in particular in the period prior to the fall of the Free State.

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Jon Vidar Sigurðsson

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Manuscripts in many Austrian collections have been available on microfilm for twenty or thirty years due to the work of the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library (HMML). Older catalogues and lists exist as a glance at the relevant entries in the revised edition of P. O. Kristeller’s _Latin manuscript books before 1600_ reveals. (A catalogue of Melk’s manuscripts was published in 1747 and one of Michaelbeuren’s in 1825.) HMML has published descriptive inventories of variable quality and usefulness, but Austrian scholars have produced good catalogues of several collections during the 1980s and 1990s (Salzburg Cathedral, Salzburg University, Kremsminster and Innsbruck University) and the present ones are the two latest to be published. Both are underpinned by much earlier work of many kinds on Austrian books, as is shown by the list of abbreviated works following the introductions in each catalogue. _Michaelbeuren_ describes the entire collection (about 130 volumes, nearly all written on paper) and _Melk_ the earlier portion (pre-1400) of a much larger collection (about 320 out of nearly 2,000 volumes). A little over forty of the volumes in _Melk_ are earlier than 1200, although only seven of these date from before 1100. Nearly all the manuscripts in _Michaelbeuren_ are later than 1400, but for some fragments from earlier books reused in bindings.

The format and arrangement of the catalogues will be familiar to users of earlier volumes in the series. Each has a short introduction dealing with historical and bibliographical matters, including accounts of earlier lists and catalogues. Each catalogue entry is prefaced with carefully marked sections dealing with physical make-up, scribal history, decoration, provenance and binding. A collation is given for each manuscript in _Michaelbeuren_ but there are none in _Melk_. The decision not to include a collation for the manuscripts in _Melk_ is a matter for regret as many of the volumes are composite ones, containing several or more
parts of different dates and origins. The bulk of each description comprises a minute account of the contents of each manuscript, with lengthy incipits and explicits provided, and bibliographical references to the relevant editions and discussions. (Exceptions to the printing of incipits and explicits are biblical commentaries and glossed books, where there is often only a reference to a relevant Stegmüller number, and sermons, where there may only be reference to a relevant Schneyer number.) There is not much mention of the evidence of the use of the manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts were made in Austria, a significant number locally, and both collections have a number of imports, from Germany, France and Italy. Neither collection has any manuscripts of English origin.

The pre-1250 manuscripts at Melk are mostly patristic with some more modern theology of a conservative kind. The locally made books with the patristic texts that were the foundation of any ecclesiastical library mostly date from after rather than before 1200 and nearly all of the glossed books, many French-made, also date from after rather than before 1200. To characterise any collection of medieval books in a few words is difficult but it may not be too misleading to describe Melk as containing something of nearly everything and quite a lot of some kinds of texts. What Melk does do is make it easy to see each part of individual manuscripts in its context as a part of a book and each manuscript as a part of a collection. While there are many who may only have been interested in particular texts, what Melk shows vividly is the sometimes mysterious nature of composite manuscripts. What led to the decision to include one work with another or bind up this work together with that? Melk, with (it is to be hoped) its successors describing post-1400 books, is more than the mere record of what is ‘there’ for it is also a record of what went with what else.

Michaelbeuren is a collection with a much narrower range than Melk. Nearly all of the manuscripts are ‘theological’ (commentaries, sermons and miscellaneous collections) with not only a strong representation of the work of more or less contemporary regional authors but also earlier and near-contemporary European figures. A significant number of the manuscripts were locally made and the manufacture and content of the books need to be seen in the context of the fifteenth-century Benedictine reform movement in Austria. Perhaps even more than Melk, Michaelbeuren reveals a significant number of books which need to be considered as equally important for their entire content as for their individual items.

Melk has a list of manuscripts, arranged by shelfmark, following its introduction, with a short title and a note of the origin and date of each book. This is helpful for browsing and quick reference but, unfortunately, there is no such list in Michaelbeuren and this makes it more difficult to find out quickly what is in the collection. Both volumes have a number of exhaustive indices. Michaelbeuren has three (persons and places; incipits; and manuscripts) and Melk six (incipits; authors; subjects and anonymous works; manuscripts; named scribes; and dated manuscripts). Michaelbeuren and Melk each have sixteen plates, some in colour, but this economy is complemented in different ways in each catalogue. Michaelbeuren has an accompanying portfolio of sixty-nine plates, sixty of dated or datable manuscripts and nine of undated manuscripts signed by their scribes. Melk comes with a CD-ROM with images from every manuscript,
sometimes only one or two, but often many more, some in colour, illustrating script, decoration, inscriptions and decorated bindings.

Both collections contain a few handsome books. These include a twelfth-century missal made at Lambach now at Melk (Cod. 709) and a thirteenth-century copy of Peter Lombard on the Pauline Epistles which looks as if it could have been made in Paris (Melk, Cod. 1883). A lavishly decorated thirteenth-century psalter made at Würzburg (Melk, Cod. 1903) and a great twelfth-century Bible made at Salzburg for Michaelbeuren (Man. perg. 1) are well known to art historians and, equally fine in its own way, is the fifteenth-century Gradual made at and for Michaelbeuren (Man. perg. 2). It is, however, characteristic of the text-driven nature of these catalogues that one of the rarest kinds of medieval ‘portrait’, that of a named scribe, is described, not reproduced (Melk, Cod. 383), although it was reproduced in a 1989 volume (1000 Jahre Benediktiner in Melk, 274).

Both catalogues are the same size as earlier ones in the series (300 x 210 mm) and both have an old-fashioned look. Both are set in the same type (a ‘modern’) and both vary type sizes and use line spaces intelligently. They look as if they were put together by an old compositor trained with metal types but both are well printed lithographically on an uncoated paper (and therefore easy to annotate) and, to my eye, are superior to most recent catalogues printed in the English-speaking world. The plates are also well printed on coated stock. These two catalogues are solid pieces of work, user-friendly, and welcome additions to the catalogue shelves of institutions and, for those who can afford them, private library shelves.

The Red Gull Press

Michael Gullick


In *Worlds of difference,* Nederman builds on his previous work on religious toleration to deny that toleration is an Enlightenment development. He examines the writings of three medieval intellectuals in whose works he finds a theory of toleration, John of Salisbury, Marsiglio of Padua, Nicholas of Cusa, and also the writings of two missionaries, William of Rubruck and Bartolomé de Las Casas. The missionaries dealt with toleration not within a Christian society but in Asia where Christianity was clearly a minority religion and in the Americas where a small number of European Christians ruled a much larger native population. The key to understanding the idea of toleration in Christian thought is in seeing it not as an intrinsic good but necessary because of ‘the realities and shortcomings of humanity’s mental powers or physical capacities’ (p. 9). These innate human weaknesses meant that some people, even when presented with Christian teaching in the most gentle and rational manner, would not accept it. Such people should not be forced to accept baptism, however, because conversion must be a voluntary act, not a coerced one. Given that constraint, toleration is ‘necessary and unavoidable, but still not entirely desirable’ (p. 8). Nederman
argues not that medieval discussions of toleration influenced later ones, nor that Enlightenment theorists of toleration built on a medieval foundation, but that while ‘there is a pronounced tendency in post-Enlightenment thought to regard tolerance in matters of religion as necessary because faith itself is irrational, medieval authors seem generally convinced that religious belief can be subjected to rational evaluation’ (p. 119). He argues, however, that medieval theories of toleration are relevant to the contemporary world. In his opinion, as long as religious toleration is linked to political liberalism, the case in the western world, ‘the many theocratic or highly communitarian nations that flourish outside the West’ will reject it. The medieval approach to toleration, however, is ‘congenial to social orders that subscribe to an orthodox religion or constrained civil order’ (p. 120). How convincing is the line of argument? It is true that the theological rejection of forced conversion does provide some space for limited toleration. Furthermore, medieval Christians saw Jews as having an important role in God’s plan for mankind, so they should be tolerated. Spain, with its *convivencia*, Christians, Jews, and Muslims, living together, provides a working model of a medieval society with limited toleration. Church officials who feared the effect that non-believers could have on the faithful were, however, opposed to such toleration, limited though it was. Finally, would the medieval basis for toleration really be intelligible to the leaders of other faiths? That is an interesting suggestion but would seem to assume that other religious traditions relied on rationality in the same way as did the medieval thinkers Nederman examined.

The John Carter Brown Library

James Muldoon


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The figure of Prester John is well known to medieval scholars: he was mentioned in a wide variety of medieval writing, from histories and travel writing to religious works and Grail romance. It has long been established that Prester John was a fictional figure and that the letter which purported to come from him, describing his wonderful kingdom, was actually composed in western Europe during the first half of the twelfth century. Past historical studies have attempted to identify the sources of the legend; only recently has interest changed towards the reception of the legend by the society from which it sprang. This new study sets out to trace the literary tradition of Prester John’s letter, identifying the variations in the legend, in order to assess the changes in its conception and function in medieval western Europe. Wagner lists 200 manuscripts of the Latin letter of Prester John which are known from the medieval period, seven from the early modern period and fourteen early printed editions, as well as describing the German translations – while explaining that the letter was also translated into most European languages. Clearly Prester John and his alleged writings were taken very seriously between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, not only by
those literate in Latin but also among a wider public. Yet, Wagner argues, Prester John remained ‘between historicity and fictionality’. While prominent public figures throughout the later medieval period composed replies to Prester John, their work does not indicate absolute belief in the existence of the far-off priest king. Such letters were a literary exercise, and a means of criticising contemporary institutions by comparison with Prester John’s earthly utopia. In the same way different versions of the letter emphasised different aspects of Prester John’s kingdom, depending on the interests of the redactor. Bettina Wagner describes the development of the various versions of the text, giving a concordance of the different Latin adaptations of the Latin text and the German translations. She considers the composition of the original version of the letter, which either originated in what is now north-east France and spread to England, Bavaria and Austria, or originated in Bavaria or Austria and spread to France. The debate over authorship is set out; Wagner offers a new possible originator, Wibald von Stablo (c. 1097–1158), but concludes that it is not possible to identify the author with certainty. The reception of the letter in the original Latin and in translation is considered in depth, on a version-by-version, and even manuscript-by-manuscript basis. This fascinating study is significant for both medieval historians and literary specialists, raising questions about other widely known, widely copied and adapted Latin works from the medieval period.

University of Cardiff

Helen Nicholson


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Murray’s second instalment of his ‘Divine Comedy’ examines the nature, causes and origins of medieval attitudes to suicide. Two chapters skilfully reconstruct the presence in European laws – at least by the later Middle Ages – of extraordinarily drastic (and anomalous) penalties on both the body and property of suicides. These chapters are full of fascinating comments on medieval law and culture, and speculative insights, such as the suggestion that suicide laws appearing in royal laws are vestigial survivals of lordly justice. The bulk of the following chapters deal with theory: why theologians, philosophers and other commentators thought suicide so wrong. This exploration is truly a ‘histoire de la longue durée’. Murray shows how older pre-Christian principles survived into medieval thought, despite the early Christian need to refute Stoic and other pagan philosophy which contained more tolerant views on suicide; and how theological attitudes (as on so many ethical matters) sharpened and hardened from the twelfth century onwards. Yet, Murray argues, the ‘Church’ cannot entirely explain why suicides were treated so harshly, especially given (another) apparent paradox, that churchmen seemingly dealt with attempted suicide with surprising leniency given twelfth-century theological concern with ‘intention’ behind sin. Hence Murray resorts to Mary Douglas’s concept of pollution, and how a ‘community’ (especially in a face-to-face culture) felt the need to create the taboo of suicide in the maintenance of its normative framework. But the discussion is
not allowed to end there. In two final chapters of remarkable virtuosity, Murray also finds traces of these attitudes both in antiquity and in other non-western cultures. He also speculates how the curse on suicide in one culture might also have been incorporated into another – and how ideas might have their own histories, travelling through the centuries (to use one of the many arresting metaphors of this book) along ‘wavelengths’ longer and more profound than surface changes which might have been expected to eradicate them. Ultimately, Murray draws back (in a way historians seldom do) from his own conclusions: how indeed can any historical, social or anthropological theory possibly account satisfactorily for the severity of punishment inflicted on the physical remains and property of someone who is no longer there to punish? This is a book of breathtaking learning, full of insights on a great range of aspects of medieval culture, not least because, as Murray so brilliantly shows, the issue of suicide threw up so many paradoxes and anomalies within legal and ethical systems of thought and practice. An extraordinary, if daunting, second volume to the trilogy: Paradiso is eagerly awaited.

University of Edinburgh

Andrew Brown


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This is an excellent life. Professor Clanchy believes (p. 328) that Abelard’s reputation in popular esteem has declined in the last thirty years or so and that ‘the time has come to restore the former fame of Abelard and Heloise among the reading public’ (p. 329). But he also calls his book a ‘teacher’s book’ and dedicates it to those students in the University of Glasgow who followed his course on Abelard – students who now have mingled with the wider world. They were exceedingly fortunate at Glasgow. Although the reading public may now esteem Abelard and Heloise less, the scholarly world has been impressively active. In addition to tracing the life of Abelard with careful attention to what the documents reveal and to what recent debates have contributed by way of interpretation, Clanchy has painted a wider landscape to provide an introduction to medieval culture in the period of the twelfth-century Renaissance and to enrich understanding of the different roles which Abelard undertook: knight and master; logician, lover and monk; theologian and heretic.

The work unquestionably earns a place alongside the notable studies written by earlier scholars such as de Rémuat (1845), Deutsch (1883), Sikes (1932), Gilson (1938), Jolivet (1979) and Marenbon (1997), but it differs from most of these by being both more biographical and more historical in emphasis. Thus, Clanchy brings together for the purposes of comparison and fuller illustration Abelard’s autobiography – Historia calamitatum – and a song composed by the troubadour William of Aquitaine, Abelard’s Commentary on the six days of creation and one of the visions experienced by Hildegard of Bingen, his interpretations of Adam, Eve and the serpent and relevant Romanesque sculptures – to mention just three examples among many. He is very good too in bringing together the evidence that makes more plausible some of the claims that
Abelard makes in the *Historia calamitatum*. Clanchy illustrates Abelard’s fear of being lynched at Soissons, when he was accused of heresy in 1121, by reference to the investigation of the religious views of two peasants at Soissons in 1114 and to the views of Ivo of Chartres about what should be done with Abelard’s former teacher Roscelin who was also accused of heresy at Soissons in 1095 (p. 289). The similarities between Roscelin’s career and Abelard’s are very well observed (p. 294). Clanchy is right to relate the second condemnation that Abelard received for his errors at Sens in 1140 or 1141 to the indebtedness of Pope Innocent II to Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, during and after the Anacletan schism of the 1130s (p. 313) and also to judge that Bernard ‘persisted in repeating slanders and exaggerating insults because he found it worked, not least in the papal curia’ (p. 316).

The book is full of interesting suggestions, of connections between incidents and events which by and large have not been related to each other before. Clanchy relates Abelard’s difficulties at Laon when starting to study the Bible and theology under Anselm, dean of Laon, to the support he enjoyed from Stephen de Garlande, who had been instrumental in securing the election of Hugh, dean of Orleans, to the bishopric of Laon in the previous year, a suggestion which finds tangential support in a story told of Anselm later by Peter the Chanter and to which Clanchy refers (p. 73). The account of Abelard’s responses to Fulbert after he had betrayed his trust (pp. 184–7) is a brilliant display of Clanchy’s expertise in legal history. Clanchy has a very positive view of Heloise but always makes it clear when he is proposing a hypothesis. He suggests (p. 169) that it is she who introduced Abelard to the idea that classical literature embodied an ideal of how to live rather than just consisting of texts learned at school, and she who formulated the ideas about intention and consent (rather than actions) as the determinants of morality – the ideas, that is, that inspired Abelard later to write his *Ethics* or *Sciuto teipsum*. This hypothesis, however, becomes ‘over-egged’ when Clanchy goes on to suggest (p. 279) that, before Fulbert employed Abelard as her tutor, he may have earlier inveigled William of Champeaux (who was a canon of Notre Dame until c. 1105) into giving her special tuition, and that William (whose surviving writings certainly state that doing wrong depends on personal intention) may have first introduced Heloise as well as Abelard to ‘the philosophical paradoxes of sin and guilt’. This is possible but there seems to be nothing in William’s surviving writings that suggests that he wished to remove the sphere of actions from the realm of morality altogether or that he went any further than, say, St Augustine or, indeed, any of his own contemporaries, in stating the relative importance of consent. A curious statement, made in discussion of Abelard’s development of the analogy of a seal and of the process of sealing to clarify the mystery of divine unity and trinity, is that the example was ‘technologically modern’ (p. 282). On the contrary, seals are technologically ancient. Also curious is the observation (p. 325) that Peter the Venerable, in writing an epitaph after Abelard’s death, did not state the year ‘because everyone would have known that’. Would that they had and that we, too, might know when it occurred, and that Clanchy had recalled his remarks about this on pp. 20–1! Curious, too, is the remark (p. 277) that, at the time of their first meeting Heloise was a humanist and Abelard a scientist. Clanchy goes on to suggest that Heloise had a literary upbringing while Abelard excelled in logic,
...and that it was she who brought Abelard to a love of literary culture. Not surprisingly, Clanchy clings to his view (see this Journal xli [1990], 1–23) that Abelard’s understanding of the relationship between faith and understanding is a mockery and reversal of that of Anselm of Canterbury who wrote of faith seeking understanding. My own view is that there is no reversal, deliberate or indeliberate: searching for understanding of belief was common ground for both thinkers.

The unifying theme of this life is that its subject is a conundrum: there is no middle way between the opinions held of Abelard by his friends and the contrary opinions held of him by his detractors. Abelard was both resilient in the face of adversity and repeatedly a failure; he was consistent and coherent in his monastic ideals and unstable in his own practice of the monastic life. The inconsistencies in his personality make it as hard for us as it was for his contemporaries to reach a single judgement about him (p. 334). The puzzle is an old one. It clearly continues to fascinate scholars and, one now hopes – with the author of this book – will fascinate the reading public once more.

University of Sheffield

David Luscombe


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This is a welcome contribution to the invaluable English Episcopal Acta series and especially to the history of the metropolitan see of York. In contrast with the previous volume for York (English episcopal acta, V: York 1079–1154, edited by Janet Burton [1988]; rev. this Journal xlii [1991] 105–6), the present volume is dedicated to a single episcopate, that of Roger of Pont L’Eveque, with the advantage this brings of focusing on one individual’s career and influence. Marie Lovatt’s full and scholarly introduction attempts a biography of Roger of Pont L’Eveque ab initio, but inevitably much remains obscure. Roger may be summarised as ‘unwaveringly loyal to Henry II’, and never underestimating that king’s power; but royal politics impinge little in this edition. Rather, the collection of his acta adds mainly to our knowledge of Roger’s policy concerning the diocese, and this tends to confirm the conventional wisdom that Roger was a careful steward of the archbishopric’s wealth and also its prestige vis-à-vis Canterbury (despite his early, Canterbury career). In particular, the collection shows that Roger was parsimonious in his benefactions to religious houses, issuing many confirmations but few new endowments. Lovatt argues convincingly that Roger was not simply miserly: his tendency to be less parsimonious towards struggling female houses must ameliorate the harshest judgements. Furthermore, Roger redirected episcopal munificence towards his own favoured building projects for the glorification of the cathedral and see, notably at York and Ripon.

As in other volumes in this series, the introduction discusses the constitution of the cathedral chapter. In this case copious evidence emerges for links between York and Rouen in this period, important material for those interested in cross-Channel tenurial relationships leading up to 1204. The collected acta of
Archbishop Roger in this volume total 140, plus, in appendices, 16 letters to popes and 11 references to Roger which may not have been evidenced by an acta. Sensibly, this edition was prepared with an eye to the preceding York volume, but is improved by the publication of full texts of all the acta, even those published elsewhere. This is very helpful since some two-thirds of the 140 acta survive in almost complete texts. This writer keenly anticipates the next volume chronologically, on Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet, from the same capable editor.

Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge


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For such a fascinating and important subject, the Becket conflict receives relatively little attention from present-day scholars and students. This may be explained in part by a mistaken belief that everything that needs to be said about it has been said, but it is also due to the volume, complexity and inaccessibility of the sources. None of the Latin Lives exists in a translated and annotated form, and notwithstanding the excellent modern editions of the correspondence of John of Salisbury, Gilbert Foliot and Arnulf of Lisieux, the nineteenth-century Rolls Series edition has remained the principal resource for the letters. Professor Duggan’s collection is then very welcome, both as a reminder of the dispute’s fascination, and as a foundation for further research.

The collection comprises the 329 extant letters issued or received by Thomas Becket as archbishop of Canterbury (though not the other letters relating to the dispute and its aftermath included in Alan of Tewkesbury’s collection and printed in the Rolls Series edition). The Latin text, with parallel English translation, is accompanied by extensive editorial and explanatory notes, and is prefaced by introductory essays on the letters and their historical context. Of particular interest is the discussion of the manuscript tradition, which builds upon the editor’s Thomas Becket: a textual history of his letters (1980), but includes some important revisions. Helpful tables collating the manuscript sources and earlier printed editions, and informative biographical notes are also provided.

Though there is much of literary quality in Thomas’s correspondence, that was not the principal reason why his letters were first preserved and put in order. The earliest collections, made during Thomas’s exile, were intended as records of the ongoing dispute, and as statements of the archbishop’s case. Thomas’s murder and posthumous acclaim prompted others, notably John of Salisbury, to gather together their own relevant letters. The definitive collection was made at Canterbury in the mid-1170s by Alan of Tewkesbury who had access to various early collections, and also to much private and even secret correspondence. As is the case with the Lives, Alan’s collection was both a product of the cult and an integral part of it, serving the demand for a record of the dispute and at the same
time standing as vindication of Thomas’s cause and deeds. The main appeal of
the correspondence to the modern reader is that it tells the story so well. From
1166 to 1170 at least, we can follow the dispute from month to month, and often
from week to week. The best-known events – Thomas’s meetings with Henry II at
Montmirail and Montmartre, for example – are well served, with detailed
eyewitness accounts. But the less explicitly descriptive letters tell their own story
with equal eloquence – of diplomacy and intrigue, raised hopes and disappoint-
ments. These letters were not only records of the dispute; they played an
important part in it. Particularly evocative are the secret communications:
reports to Thomas from allies in England and in the Curia, instructions to
smuggle letters into England, or briefings to negotiators on how to deal with the
royal party. The value of the letters as historical records is enhanced by Duggan’s
explanatory notes, and in particular by her meticulous work in establishing a
reliable chronological sequence, no easy task considering the absence of dates of
issue, the uncertainty over individual itineraries and the confusion caused by
distances between England, northern France and Italy.

As one might expect, propaganda features prominently. On the most basic
level, there are the slanted reports of events sent to the pope and others. At the
other extreme, both Thomas and his critics produced highly elaborate and
learned polemical works, packed with scriptural, literary and canon law
references. Let us take, for example, the three letters ‘of mounting severity’ which
Thomas addressed to Henry II in 1166 (nos 68, 74, 82). Their immediate purpose
was to complain to the king of the treatment of the archbishop and the Church,
to demand repentance and to threaten reprisals if it were not forthcoming. At the
same time, they are arguments on behalf of Becket’s position on clerical
immunity, based on Christian tradition. And on a deeper level, they are
justifications, aimed primarily at fellow-ecclesiastics, of Thomas’s controversial
stance in taking vigorous action against his enemies. As his learned supporters
and critics would have recognised, all three letters are substantially based on the
letters which Ambrose, eight centuries earlier, sent threatening the Emperor
Theodosius with excommunication. Five years before his death, then, Thomas
and his supporters were developing not only a theory on clerical immunity, but
a defence of Thomas’s actions, based on a wide range of *exempla*. After his death,
many of these arguments were incorporated into the *Lives*. We can also read here
equally sophisticated denunciations of Thomas’s stewardship of the English
Church, including Gilbert Foliot’s masterpiece *Multiplicem nobis* (no. 109). Alan
of Tewkesbury’s decision to include such letters in his collection is an illustration
of the confidence of the cult: Thomas’s murder and posthumous glory had
bestowed a new authority on the case which he made during his life, while
showing up the flaws in that of his critics.

It is clear that the more complex and erudite letters owed much to Thomas’s
learned companions, and the archbishop’s input into the collection in general is
difficult to determine. However, Duggan convincingly argues that Thomas’s own
learning has been underestimated, and we can see in the more intimate letters to
his allies, and in the barbed communications to those he sought to correct,
characteristics which also come through in the *Lives*. As Duggan puts it, they
reveal ‘an unusual directness and independence of mind’. On occasion Thomas
could be too direct even for his closest supporters. ‘No’, wrote a clearly

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exasperated John of Salisbury in 1167, ‘I do not approve of the drafting either of the first or of the second letter you have resolved to send to Cardinal William [of Pavia]’ (no. 138). There are some intriguing flashes of insight into the great questions which still surround Thomas, for example his comments to the English clergy on his lowly origins and his rise through the secular and ecclesiastical ranks (no. 95), and the declaration in his final letter to Henry II, that fate was drawing him to Canterbury, ‘perhaps to die’ (no. 320). But the rhetorical purpose of many of these letters means that as evidence for Thomas’s personality, character and motives they remain problematic.

This edition is a very important contribution to the study of Thomas Becket and his world. It is a testimony to Professor Duggan’s dedication and scholarship that she has brought to fruition such a daunting project, and that the result is so impressive. To paraphrase Alan of Tewkesbury’s comment on his own editorial skills, ‘If anyone can do it better, no-one will grudge him [or her].’

University College, Dublin

Michael Staunton


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This volume contains twenty-five chapters by thirty-five historians. Although the majority are drawn from Britain, there are also contributors from the USA, France, Norway, the Netherlands, Australia, Israel, Italy and Lithuania. The content reflects a genuine attempt to be comprehensive, with sections on common themes, including social, economic, linguistic and artistic developments, on the Church, encompassing the papacy and the religious orders, as well as relations with the laity, the Jews and heretics, and political coverage ranging from Ireland to Russia and from Scandinavia to North Africa, taking account of the impact of outside forces, most crucially the Mongols. There is evidently some pride in the shift of emphasis from the rather narrow agenda implied by the title, ‘Victory of the papacy’, used in the equivalent volume of the original Cambridge Medieval History (1929), to a more multicultural approach, paying attention to non-Christian and non-Latin peoples both inside and outside ‘Europe’. All this is backed by 148 pages of bibliography.

Collaborative works like this demand huge effort, not the least from the editor who, unlike a football manager, cannot assemble the contributors at half-time and throw the teacups around. Equally, the members of the team may feel stifled by the roles they have been asked to play, and some of them may think they need more creative freedom to be really effective. It may seem paradoxical in a book with over 800 pages of text, but it is evident that most of the contributors do not have the space to develop their ideas properly; inevitably something has to give. In the opening section on common themes, for example, Kathryn Reyerson, with only eleven pages to cover commerce and communications, gallantly tries to provide a balanced coverage, but is, for instance, unable to expand upon the
stories which lie behind the tantalising glimpses she gives of the commercial world of mid-century Marseille. In contrast, Gérard Sivéry, tackling rural society within an equally tight format, is essentially impressionistic; a terse paragraph at the end on Byzantium and the Islamic countries is no more than tokenism. He does, though, have some significant insights; his point about the way technological progress amplified social divisions is thought-provoking and apposite. In his survey of art and architecture, Paul Binski adopts another strategy, presenting a sophisticated and allusive interpretation backed by references to his extensive bibliography, which is fine for fellow art historians, but unlikely to mean much to the student looking for basic guidance.

While the concept of common themes breaks away from the approach of the past, nevertheless a high proportion of the volume is still given over to political history of a fairly traditional kind. Here, many of the contributors, trapped inside the straitjackets of their word limits, have opted for a density of factual narrative which, it must be said, is often extremely turgid. Kings are overthrown, battles fought and revolts take place, but the reasons for these events are often elusive. Perhaps they have taken to heart Richard Evans’s criticism of The New Cambridge Modern History where, in his view, the greater room given to interpretation has meant that it has dated more quickly than its predecessor (In defence of history, 174). Eugene Cox’s chapter on Burgundy, Savoy and adjacent territories, for example, would be quite at home in the original CMH, as would much of his elderly bibliography. Having said that, however, if this is meant to be a reference book providing basic information, then it should be authoritative: the merging of the two Simon de Montforts in the index (presumably the consequence of handing over the task to professional indexers) is seriously misleading.

This does not mean that there are simple answers to these problems, nor that this kind of book should not be produced. All the chapters have something important to contribute and some of them are excellent. John Watt’s device of using the framework of general councils within which to examine the thirteenth-century papacy enables him to overcome many of the problems of handling this huge subject in only fifty-six pages. André Vauchez, despite his unconvincing paragraph on the military orders, presents a subtle and balanced discussion of the vexed question of the alleged monastic ‘crisis’ of the period. Wim Blockman’s attention to the effects of environmental degradation for short-term profit in Flanders encompasses recent historical concerns in a manner which helps to justify the decision to produce a new CMH. David Carpenter’s chapter on the Plantagenet kings really does analyse the problems faced by John, Henry III and Edward I, but manages to explain what is happening at the same time. His financial comparisons between the different reigns and with the Capetians are especially sharp and neatly complement the view from the other side given by William Jordan. Robert Bartlett’s explanation of how Edward I overcame the Welsh is a good example of the way complicated political events and difficult nomenclature can nevertheless be presented lucidly within a concise structure. Moreover, scattered through the volume are some memorable vignettes, often of the less well-known figures: Peter Linehan’s portrait of Alfonso X, physically deteriorating as Castile falls into crisis and yet still avidly pursuing intellectual goals; Michael Burleigh’s King Mindaugas of Lithuania, superficially converted to Christianity for political reasons but, according to the chronicler, if a hare ran
across his path, then he would not go into the grove, nor dared he break a twig’; or Simon Franklin’s Mikhail of Chernigov, executed by the Mongols in 1246, whose career of steady failure ‘is a shining example of thirteenth-century Riurikid futility’. The effort, therefore, is worthwhile and, although none of the contributors is entirely at ease with the allotted task, nevertheless this is a solid achievement of lasting value.

**University of Reading**  
**Malcolm Barber**

*Theodore Psalter. Electronic facsimile.* Edited by Charles Barber. CD-ROM. Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2000. £45. 0 252 02585 7

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In February 1066 Theodore, ‘archpriest’ of the Studios monastery in Constantinople, completed an illustrated psalter on the orders of his abbot, Michael. Now housed in the British Library, the psalter is commonly identified by the name of its scribe. The very precise information about the text’s provenance and attribution (all contained in a colophon) have made this psalter a central reference point in discussion of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts. Now reproduced in electronic facsimile form, this important text, containing 440 illustrations, becomes accessible at an extremely reasonable price to a much broader audience than customarily studies Byzantine manuscripts. Magnified views of each miniature, a transcription of the Greek text, a searchable English translation and a commentary enhance comprehension of the manuscript at many levels. Three introductory essays, hyperlinked to the facsimile, discuss current bibliography, Theodore’s role as scribe and (more controversially) as artist and Michael’s position as the text’s primary reader. These chapters present the psalter as a unique artefact whose text and imagery should be approached with reference to the relationship between layout, scribe/artist and patron, rather than as a part of a manuscript chain traceable to a long-lost archetype. Paradoxically this willingness to interpret the psalter in its own terms yields some interesting comparisons with other illustrated manuscripts of this period including the Barberini psalter. This is a very encouraging attempt to produce a Byzantine manuscript in electronic form. The CD-ROM can be used on both MAC and PC platforms. From future projects of this variety, however, scholars are likely to require the facility to search the original Greek text as well as the translation.

**Gonville and Caius College,**  
**Catherine Holmes**  
**Cambridge**


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This book is a version of the author’s doctoral dissertation of 1998–9 for the Wilhelmsuniversität Munster. It is a study of the internal and external relations
of the commune of Milan in the first half of the thirteenth century, when Milan led the opposition to Frederick II. It addresses Milanese political relations on three levels, kingdom, region and commune, and is organised into three corresponding sections, two large ones on Milan’s involvement in imperial politics and her relations with other communes and rulers of northern Italy and a shorter section on Milan’s internal conflicts and institutional developments in this period. The second section is perhaps the most significant. It is well known on a general level that not all of Milan’s neighbours were happy to follow her lead and might have been willing to make common cause with her enemies. Hermes presents an analysis commune by commune and area by area of the political, social, economic and military factors influencing Milan’s relations with her neighbours. While the book bears the clear stamp of its origins as a dissertation and is not particularly user-friendly, it is not difficult to find one’s way about it, especially with the aid of a three-and-a-half-page table of contents. Hermes has done a service both to students of the empire and of Italian communes in the time of Frederick II in setting out in so detailed and clear a fashion the politics of the major centre of Milan in this period.

Trinity College, Christine E. Meek
Dublin


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The process by which the papacy took control of a substantial proportion of appointments to ecclesiastical benefices is one of the most striking features of the Latin Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Even if it was only in the fourteenth century that the system of papal provisions reached its apogee, the preceding century was the crucial period for the development of the juridical basis of papal actions in this sphere. Michèle Bégou-Davia’s book is undoubtedly the most detailed and subtle treatment of this subject that has ever been provided. It deals first with expectatives and then with direct provisions, dividing the discussion of the latter between major and lesser benefices. A number of interesting features emerge, including the key role of Innocent III in the development of juridical doctrine, Innocent IV’s use of appointments to benefices to further his struggle against Frederick II, a new interpretation of Clement IV’s Licet ecclesiarum and of the later constitutions that modified it, and the remarkable degree to which Boniface VIII extended the system that he inherited from his predecessors. On the other hand, this ‘simplified version’ of a doctorat d’état is written in an opaque style, which makes the author’s argument difficult to follow. Matters are not helped by the placing of the notes, which are full of essential quotations from the sources, at the end of each chapter and by the absence of an index. Moreover, it seems that the author pays insufficient attention to the procedures of the papal Curia, especially the chancery, and to the nature of papal letters of provision, which are the main source of the book. The bibliography cites neither Bresslau’s Handbuch der Urkundenlehre nor Herde’s Beiträge zum päpstli-
This is striking, for the diplomatic has much to contribute to an understanding of papal provisions. Provisions to major benefices (bishoprics and monasteries) were made by the pope in consistory, while those to lesser benefices were almost invariably issued in response to petitions. In other words, the procedure that the Curia followed in issuing letters of provision concerning the two types of benefices was quite different. Yet the author appears to attach no weight to this fundamental distinction; she uses the term ‘interventionnisme bénéficiale’ (with which she displaces ‘politique bénéficiale’, the term favoured by earlier French historians) indifferently to describe papal provisions. It is an appropriate term in the case of provisions to major benefices, but not in the case of the much more common provisions to lesser benefices. Here it is the petitioner, not the pope, who ‘intervened’. The pope responded to the petition. Admittedly, the role of the pope and his entourage was not merely passive. They might reserve certain benefices or classes of benefices ‘to the disposition of the apostolic see’, they made rules according to which the petitions were assessed, and they might reject or modify a petition instead of approving it. None the less, the petitioners had as important a role in creating the system of provisions to lesser benefices as the papacy itself. One can achieve a rounded view of papal provisions only if one takes into account the petitioners’ aspirations and activities.

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CAMBRIDGE


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As Yves Delaporte claimed, in writing of the ordinal of Jumièges, the only books sufficient in themselves to give an almost complete picture of the liturgy of a cathedral or a monastery were the ordinals. His further statement that they gave only a static picture of the liturgy at a particular moment has, however, been corrected by David Chadd in his exemplary edition of the ordinal of the abbey of Fécamp (part1). For this would be true only of a book prepared as an exemplar for use in other monasteries. The early thirteenth-century Fécamp ordinal was, as Chadd shows, designed for use by the cantor, and both embodied much of the liturgy based on that of St-Bénigne at Dijon established two hundred years previously by William of Volpiano and showed, in later marginal insertions, some of the changes adopted up to the end of the seventeenth century. The broad lines of William of Volpiano’s reforms have been established in earlier studies of service books from a group of Norman monasteries, including Fécamp, Jumièges, Mont Saint-Michel, Troarn and Conches, and, outside Normandy but under Norman influence, in Winchcombe, Gloucester and even San Martino delle Scale near Palermo. Chadd’s edition of the Fécamp ordinal begins the task of ‘laying out clear details of liturgical observance’, which he and other scholars will be able in time to carry much further. He has incorporated alongside the text of the ordinal, which in itself contains indications of possible alternatives for some established
ceremonies and later changes, further details taken from seven other Fécamp books: a sacramentary, a missal, two breviaries, an antiphoner, a collectar and a processional. It is rich in information about the duties of the cantor and other monastic officers, and illustrates the whole course of a liturgical year. Part I consists of the Temporal, beginning in advent; but because the offices of the saints varied according to the day of the week when advent began, the complete Sanctoral for each possible variation is included up to the octaves of epiphany (13 January). The remainder of the Sanctoral and the complete index will follow in part II. Sometimes the ordinal records alternative practices that were considered unsuitable and may have been abandoned. Comparison of the changes with the ritual described in the fourteenth-century processional shows some developments and alternatives. The Ash Wednesday procession (p. 352) outside the church and cloister might follow a more sheltered route if war threatened or the weather was unusually bad. The dramatic details (Quem queritis, pp. 237–9) of the Easter morning office for Matins indicate changes from its first appearance, probably as early as the ninth century, until the thirteenth; one change was the substitution of one of the monks for the boy who had represented the angel (perhaps after oblates ceased to be part of the community). A fourteenth-century version of the processional (pp. 363–4), which was published elsewhere in 1975, is much more perfunctory. Even before the publication of the Sanctoral to complete this edition, the first volume of Fécamp’s ordinal is an important work, of great interest both to liturgical scholars and to less specialist readers; it contributes to a deeper understanding of Norman monastic history.

Clare Hall, Marjorie Chibnall
Cambridge


This is an important book, setting prophecy firmly on the agenda for literary and political historians alike. Lesley Coote approaches the subject via its audience, which here in effect means the compilers and owners of the extant manuscripts, a detailed handlist of which is provided. She argues persuasively that prophetic writings were not some sort of esoteric code, but were accessible, both in the sense that their meanings were (with the partial exception of prophecies on the Erceldoune model) obvious and – more important – that the ideas they embodied were widely shared. The author modestly presents the book as a ‘contribution, not a final solution’ and that, inevitably when breaking new ground, is true. The sheer amount of ground to be covered in terms of identifying material and setting it in its contemporary political context across 350 years means that at times the discussion can feel a bit perfunctory. In fact there are signs that this may have originally have been a longer book which has been pruned, and there are some confusing allusions to detail which is nowhere discussed, and notes which do not quite relate to the text. There are some factual slips too, like the apparent belief that John of Bridlington is the St John buried in Beverley Minster. The book raises all sorts of issues that cry out for further exploration, such as the thread of anti-papalism running through some of the prophecy traditions and what this
says about its consumers. That issue of consumption (how this material was used and by whom) can only be touched on within this survey. It is fascinating to discover that prophetic expectations of Edward ii and Henry vi were so high, but high among whom, and to what effect when hopes were dashed? There is a broader issue of audience here, which goes beyond the ownership of manuscripts and hence beyond the book’s remit. But, thanks to Coote’s identification of the shared prophetic vocabulary, we now not only have some idea of what to look for, but know that it should be looked for.

Fitzwilliam College, Rosemary Horrox Cambridge


This is presented as the first full-length study of medieval and early modern European writings about south India. However, given Rubiés’s penchant for drawing out themes of broad significance, it is really a sustained analysis of European thinking about the east with the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar in Tamil Nadu as an ever-present case study. The implications of the adventurous but highly sensible theoretical preface permeate the entire work. It argues that, just as the modern historian is able to enter with some success into the diverse mental worlds of ‘Renaissance’ writers, so the writers themselves were able to engage in a meaningful way with the realities of the eastern societies that confronted them. Eschewing the reductionist tendencies of the orientalist paradigm, Rubiés thereby manages to give the east a certain agency in the formation of western thought.

The business of curious travel was not only a European affair. When the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope they found a vibrantly cosmopolitan world criss-crossed by transoceanic trade, religious pilgrimage and diplomatic alliance: the kind of environment in which ethnographic gossip flourishes. It follows that the simple dichotomy of western ‘observer’ and eastern ‘native’ has to be collapsed into a more complex vision of text production. In this vein Rubiés argues that Marco Polo’s fabulous image of the dog-headed men of Andaman Island is as likely to derive from local hearsay as from the fantasies of medieval Europe. Indeed it is an uncomfortable irony that the supposed hallmarks of the ‘orientalist gaze’ can also be found in the work of Muslim historians who wrote about Hindu civilization. Conversely, Europeans were not all fleeting tourists. Some ended up as genuine ‘participant observers’. Chapter ii makes this case for Marco Polo, who served in the court of the Great Khan for seventeen years, in order to rescue him from his reputation as a purveyor of medieval stereotypes. Instead he emerges with a comprehensive curiosity and a rather surprising if inevitably limited brand of relativism, which allowed him, for example, to make an explicit comparison between the saintliness of Buddha and Christ.

This principle of retrieving a certain dignity for Renaissance writers is maintained for Nicolo Conti (c. 1385–1469) in chapter iii and Ludovico di
Varthema (died before 1517) in chapter iv – the latter being arguably the first westerner to present himself as a travel writer per se. The next three chapters focus on Portuguese relations with Vijayanagara and the fascinating attempts of early secular writers to bring it within an ethnographic grasp. In the process major Portuguese chroniclers and commentators such as João de Barros, Diogo do Couto, Duarte Barbosa and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda receive the kind of contextualising insight that is all too rare in Portuguese historiography.

If the academic gambit has generally been to emphasise crucial socio-cultural differences between east and west in order to explain subsequent failures of communication, Rubiés enquires into the homologies that might have served as grounds for mutual understanding. This is most apparent in chapter vii, which investigates early Portuguese accounts of Vijayanagara as a centre of sacred kingship. This comparative analysis involves the author in the sort of abstract cross-disciplinary generalisation – about, for example, the role of literary epic in the legitimisation of Hindu royal power – that must make any writer slightly anxious. It will be interesting to hear what indologists have to say on such matters. The author is most sensitive to the imperatives of genre but he does not fall into the trap of making texts simply transformations of previous texts. The remarkable work, discussed in chapter viii, of Fernão Nunes, a horse-trader who had spent decades dealing with the people of Vijayanagara, cannot be associated with any of the usual literary genres of missionary reports or the official Iberian chroniclers. Indeed Nunes managed a much more faithful rendition of the indigenous historical tradition than that achieved by the famous chronicler Diogo do Couto.

Perhaps the most significant arguments arise in the chapters ix and x, where Rubiés explores the sudden rush of works about Hindu theology by Jesuit missionaries and such secular writers as the wandering Italian, Pietro della Valle, which appeared in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This was an extraordinary development – given that before c. 1580 the European imagination had concentrated on Asian customs whilst making very little attempt to discern the beliefs that shaped them – and Rubiés offers some original arguments as to why it happened. Moreover it would have disturbing repercussions within European intellectual history, as the analytical discourses of religion and civilisation, largely kept apart by medieval and Renaissance writers, were drawn into a revolutionary intimacy. It may be a feature of works with such a capacious field of vision that readers will want to see it extended still further so as to bring their own research interests within its ambit. It would be very interesting to see how its arguments relate to the literature produced by that other great focus of early modern European curiosity, the New World. For example, it is as yet unexplained why the Spanish mendicant orders developed such vigorous evangelical and ethnographic projects in the Americas, while the Portuguese friars in Asia remained so intellectually moribund. A sensitive analysis of what place racial concepts had in the variegated flux of European ethnological interpretation also remains to be written.

For some time now, D. Lach’s great series, Asia in the Making of Europe (1965–93) has supplied us with a comprehensive overview of writings on the east. What Rubiés does is to bring a powerful analytical sensibility to this material. In the process the problematic and slippery nature of a huge range of texts is
properly disclosed while at the same time imbued with all sorts of new meanings. The book therefore lends itself for use as an intelligent guidebook for anyone who has cause to refer to Renaissance travel writing – surely a broad and expanding constituency. It is to be hoped that it will receive a much larger readership than that.

Trinity College, Alan Strathern
Oxford


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James Brodman’s study of the many forms of distribution and relief in medieval Catalonia spans a wide range of organisational forms which are known to us from uniquely rich sources. Besides insights into hospitals and hospitaller institutions (chs iii, iv), well-known from other parts of Europe, Catalan sources offer a glimpse into some forms of relief which were unique to the region, or uniquely accessible to us through surviving documents. To those acquainted with English and French charities the robust episcopal distributions will be an interesting case for comparison: they provided those deemed to be deserving poor with bread, wine, meat, cabbage and beans, and like so many forms of relief, experience a crisis in management and viability towards the end of the fourteenth century (ch. ii). Catalonia was also unique in maintaining provision for lepers for far longer than northern institutions. Like Italian cities there appears to have been a fruitful relationships between medical practitioners and hospital care, a trend reinforced by the foundation of the university at Lleida, with its medical faculty. Brodman is able to study hospital records from the fifteenth century, which show that almost half the patients were women, that a quarter of them died while hospitalised and that care for plague victims remained one of the tasks of Catalan hospitals well into that century (ch. v). Charitable tasks also applied to those who were young and healthy: these ranged from royal provision through the Almoner in Barcelona, to parish provision; grants of dowries for poor women were a consistent charitable interest. Activities such as care for orphans, abandoned children and support of poor infants through payment for wet-nurses, all demonstrate the enduring link of charitable giving and organisation with the aim of sustaining the family unit (ch. vi). In chapter vii Brodman engages in a polemical discussion of the significance of ‘secularisation’ in charitable provision, that is the move to administrative strategies outside religious houses which characterises the late medieval centuries and continues, with some interesting new forms, throughout the Reformations of the sixteenth century. Readers will find much of interests in the description and analysis of the many forms of Catalan distribution and re-distribution; the meaning and significance of such activities are embedded in complex interactions of ideas, traditions and needs, as experienced in the various and varying regions of Europe.

Queen Mary College, Miri Rubin
University of London

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Darleen Pryds has, in this revised doctoral dissertation, situated Robert, the early fourteenth-century ‘preaching king’ of Naples, within his political and religious world. Although it is more a study of Robert as a preacher-politician than of the content and form of his preaching, it also seeks to redress the negative stereotypes that have plagued his sermons since Giovanni Siragusa’s first study of them in the nineteenth century. While the evidence presented may not fully dispel his sermons’ reputation of being ‘as dry as the dust on the manuscripts themselves’, Pryds’s book nicely integrates Robert’s preaching and his sermons within his political and religious agenda. She thus succeeds in her goal of ‘reassessing the king’s ritual presentation of sacred oratory and the overlap of the religious inspiration and political purpose’ (p. 6). Pryds dedicates three chapters to how Robert’s preaching addressed the unsavoury reputation his dynasty had inherited from the first Angevin king of Naples, how his preaching enhanced his image as a wise and powerful king and how his sermons’ theme of peace deflected accusations that he was militarily remiss in defending the Guelf cause. In each chapter, she situates the theme and argument of representative sermons within the king’s larger ‘public relations’ projects. Less directly focused on Robert’s preaching, but in some ways more interesting, are the book’s remaining three chapters. These sketch out Robert’s domination of the University of Naples (where he regularly preached to the students and faculty), his theological treatises on evangelical poverty and the beatific vision composed at the request of Pope John xxii (from whose ideas he dissented), and his role in protecting and encouraging the Spiritual wing of the Franciscans. As the near universal consensus of the fourteenth century was that kings were laymen, with no God-given ecclesiastical status, Robert’s activities as a theological advisor and director of theological studies are striking. Pryds’s conclusion, that Robert’s preaching was practical in purpose – *ad hoc* – and more or less a function of his political projects, while not earthshaking, is undoubtedly correct. In any case, this small book will, one hopes, introduce a most unusual monarch to English-speaking scholars.

University of Virginia

Augustine Thompson


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This book is an ambitious work on the interrelated issues of divine foreknowledge and future contingents. It accomplishes far more than the title reflects, since it is a history of those issues from the ancient period through the late fifteenth century. After a preface detailing the genesis of the work as a dissertation at the University
of Iowa, the topic is examined from Aristotle to Duns Scotus (ch. i). The immediate predecessors to Peter Auriol, such as Robert Cowton, Durand of St Pourçain and Thomas Wylton are then considered (ch. ii), followed by an extensive examination of Auriol’s theories on immutability, indistinct knowledge of the future, neutral propositions and intrinsic and extrinsic willing (chs iii–vi). The next section covers early Parisian Franciscan reactions to Auriol and the problem of future contingents by Landulph Caracciolo, Francis Meyronnes, Pastor de Serrescuderrio, Gerard Odonis, Nicolas Bonet and Poncious Carbonell (ch. vii), as well as reactions from those outside the Franciscan order, such as John Baconthorpe, Walter Burley, Bernard Lombardi, Gerard of Siena and Michael de Massa (ch. viii). Schabel then turns to the next academic generation: Francis of Marchia and his followers (ch. ix), English critics, such as William of Ockham, Walter Chatton, Adam Wodeham, Robert Holcot and Thomas Bradwardine (ch. x), later Parisian reactions such as those of Gregory of Rimini and Alfonso Vargas (ch. xi), and finally the discussion of these issues from John Wyclif to the debate between Peter de Rivo and Henry of Zomeren at Louvain and Paris in the late fifteenth century. The work is based on an impressive amount of firsthand manuscript evidence that carries the reader into previously unexplored territory without damaging the flow of the narrative. The conclusions are well argued and convincing. Given its scope and quality, the book will become the standard on this topic.

University of Wisconsin–Madison

William J. Courtenay


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The subject of ‘confessionalisation’ has been controversial in church historiography for more than twenty years. Even though the contents of the process of confessionalisation as well as their historical periods are yet to be clearly defined, the term is gradually prevailing in research on church history. It offers ecclesiastical historians the advantage of being able to enter into a historians’ discourse that has existed since the sixties, trying to define the era under discussion using the categories of ‘social disciplinisation’ and ‘modernisation’.

Thus it is useful for ecclesiastical historians to take note of the current discussion among historians on the subject of ‘disciplinisation’. The present volume contains the papers given at the Austrian Academy of Sciences on the subject ‘Disziplinierung im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit’ in October 1996. The objective of the conference, as described by Gerhard Jaritz in his introduction, was ‘ein Bild mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Disziplinierungsversuche, -muster und -strukturen, sowie der Reaktionen auf dieselben zu vermitteln’.
Thirteen contributions provide a great variety of analyses on the subject of ‘disciplinisation’, starting in the Middle Ages through to the seventeenth century, in a Europe-wide context. The papers’ broad range of subjects is impressive. There are numerous individual studies on the subject of ‘disciplinisation’ from ‘Formen der Disziplinierung und (Straf-) Rechtsverständnis’ by Wolfgang Schild, ‘Selbstdisziplin als mittelalterliche Herrschertugend’, by Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘Residenzstadt als Sozialdisziplinierung’, by Martin Dinges, ‘Spiel und Didache’, by Gertrud Blaschitz, and ‘Mit der Hand auf der Thora: Disziplinierung als internes und externes Problem in den jüdischen Gemeinden des Spätmittelalters’, by Michael Toch to ‘The careful watchman: James I, didacticism and the perspectival organisation of space’, by Ross Parry.

The variety of contributions, which at first sight is confusing, results from the object of research: ‘Disciplinisation’ in the specific everyday situations of the Church, authorities and society is not pursued by uniform methods, but arises in each specific situation in a variety of disciplinisation measures and attempts at realisation, which began in the Middle Ages and lasted until the early modern period. Irrespective of the question of the extent to which the models of social disciplinisation developed may be considered useful for an analysis of piety and confession history, one thing becomes evident: ‘Disciplinisation’ was part of everyday life in the Middle Ages and the early modern age and disciplinisation of everyday life corresponds to the routinisation of life.

Questions for church historiography are raised by this observation: is the limitation of the social, cultural and devotional aspect of ‘disciplinisation’ to the period after 1550 an unfortunate restriction in the discussion of confessionalisation? The process of ‘disciplinisation’, as this volume shows, is certainly not a phenomenon peculiar to the early modern period nor is it limited exclusively to theological discussions on church discipline and church order; it is already found in medieval structures of society in various forms as well.

It remains to be seen whether the question about the definition of the term ‘Confessional Age’ is thus raised anew for theologians as far as the content is concerned. Actually, ‘disciplinisation’ as a characteristic of the Confessional Age has become very questionable. These conference proceedings provide an impulse to reflect in depth upon the function of ‘disciplinisation’ in the context of theology and the Church not only in the early modern period but also in the Middle Ages.

Monreal, Andrea Mühling

Germany


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The origins of Poland-Lithuania’s exceptional political and constitutional development in early modern Europe have rarely been analysed from an ecclesiastical point of view. Thomas Wünsch fills this obvious gap with his impressive and well-researched study of the Polish conciliarist movement in its
European as well as its domestic context. The book is divided into three parts, spanning the history of Polish conciliarist thought from its very beginnings at the Council of Pisa in 1409 and the Council of Konstanz (1414–18), to the failure of European conciliarism after the dissolution of the Council of Basle in 1449. A prosopographical analysis of Poland’s major participants at the councils of Pisa, Konstanz and Basle is followed by a history of conciliarist ideas in western Europe and its influence on Poland. The largest section traces the changing debates on theological and ecclesiological concepts, such as the issue of the superiority of the church council over the pope, synodal tradition, the theory of representation and corporation, the dualism of corpus mysticum and corpus politicum and the thorny issue of the limitation of papal power. The author shows how each debate found its echo, yet also developed its specific features, in the intellectual, theological and political life of Poland, where the University of Cracow rose to become one of Europe’s most eminent centres of conciliarist theory, next to Paris and universities in the Holy Roman Empire such as Vienna, Cologne, Erfurt and Leipzig, which maintained close contacts with Cracow. The book closes with a summary of the impact of conciliarism upon Poland, demonstrating Poland’s central role in Renaissance Europe. A notable diversion from the French or German movements was the strongly practical character of Polish conciliarist debates, foreshadowing the pragmatic nature which, a century later, the Reformation adopted in multi-confessional Poland. Another specific element was the particular emphasis on representation and the model of the ‘mixed monarchy’, applicable to papal as well as secular power, and so dear to the ambition of Polish noble society to impose increasing limits on the power of their monarch. Yet King Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk enforced Poland’s official return to the anti-conciliarist camp in the 1440s, not least in the hope of receiving Rome’s backing against the Teutonic Knights. It is this conflict which might have received greater attention in this otherwise highly accomplished study, and which might have provided some explanation of why, in east central Europe, only Poland was attracted to conciliarism, although, as Wünsch stresses, most conciliarists in Cracow had studied in Prague, where Hussitism, not conciliarism, was rife. Occasional repetition makes this book at times hard reading, although summaries at the end of each subsection are useful to readers who are looking for compressed information. Inconsistency in the writing of foreign names is often hard to avoid, but it seems odd that the author writes about ‘Wladislaus Jagiello’ and ‘Stanislaus von Skalbimierz’, but uses the Polish form for ‘Stanislaw Staszic’ and ‘Jan Ostrorog’. Such minor flaws should not distract from the fact, however, that this study is of great value not only for the history of Poland, but for the history of ideas and religion in Europe as a whole.

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Karin Friedrich
This fine study should be commended to students of church history and medieval literature alike. The author’s stated aim was to uncover the extent and nature of St Katherine’s popularity in late medieval England. This aim has been largely achieved through a wide-ranging survey of a variety of materials, primarily literary texts, but also sources such as wills, as well as surviving items of religious art such as church paintings and stained-glass windows. Dr Lewis appears to be equally at home with documentary or material evidence and shows a subtle appreciation of the problems of interpreting such evidence and its application. She maintains a graceful and engaging style of writing and commands the reader’s attention throughout.

The author locates St Katherine’s high-watermark of popularity in the late Middle Ages, but she recognises that the cult was well known in pre-Conquest England. However, the advent of the crusades, and the opening up of cultural influences from the eastern Mediterranean provided the main impetus for St Katherine’s wider reception in the west (along with that of other holy figures, such as St Margaret of Antioch). By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, her cult had become diffused across the social and geographical spectrum, while the fourteen surviving Middle English Lives of St Katherine also attest her considerable popularity. The author stresses that St Katherine was a multi-faceted saint who appealed to all sections of society, and whose Life could be read or interpreted in a variety of ways among different social groups. For instance, the author argues that, since the cult of St Katherine had considerable support amongst members of the English royalty, the saint was often adopted as an expression of power and status by civic elites, or gilds, which sought to cloak themselves with a similar aura of authority and devotion. For women there was a particular and obvious appeal. For some, St Katherine could have been seen as an exemplary role model of chastity and pious virtue, while for others she had a somewhat more down-to-earth appeal as a purveyor of husbands. Katherine also had the potential for subverting the patriarchal hierarchy of late medieval urban society; the author contends that Margery Kempe, for example, deliberately used and drew upon the example of St Katherine in order to formulate and express her own criticisms of male authority and complacency.

There are one or two areas in which conclusions might have been incorporated into existing research. First, Lewis might have presented the reader with a sort of ‘league table’ relating to regional or local patterns of popular veneration of St Katherine, in order to determine whether there were any patterns based on, say, urban/rural criteria. Ken Farnhill’s recent study, Guilds and the parish community in late medieval East Anglia, has presented such data and he has revealed that, in terms of gild dedications at least, St Katherine was most popular in London. This strong urban support might have been worthy of comment.

A further question, although one which may be difficult to answer, is why Katherine was so popular in England when compared with other female martyrs such as St Barbara? The latter seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity on the continent (particularly in the Low Countries), but not in England. The
cultural differences in such aspects of popular religion across Europe might have been worth examining in a little more detail by the author.

One final, albeit small point, of complaint, is that the author also has shied away from including a general conclusion, an omission which slightly spoils the overall coherence of the study and, moreover, one’s enjoyment in reading the work. In general, however, there are few complaints. This study will undoubtedly be of great interest to a wide readership and should remain a standard reference work for some time to come. Further examinations of the cult of particular saints in England are required in order to draw further contrasts and comparisons.


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The years leading up to the Columbus quincentenary observances of 1992 saw a dramatic proliferation of interest, academic and popular alike, in the Spain of Isabella and Ferdinand, and the wave of fresh scholarly research has subsided little in the decade since. John Edwards’s effort to produce a fresh synthesis is thus timely and most welcome. Readers should understand in advance that the book’s subject of study is ‘Spain’, or perhaps more appropriately, given the book’s skilful attention to affairs in the crown of Aragon as well as Castile (not to mention Navarre, Granada and even the Canary Islands), ‘the Spanish kingdoms’, rather than the ‘Catholic Monarchs’ themselves. Those who wish to learn about the imposing historical personalities of the queen and king would thus do better to consult biographical works such as those of Peggy Liss or Tarsicio de Azcona. Edwards’s aim is instead to provide a comprehensive survey of the social, economic, cultural, military, political and religious history of Spain as a whole in this pivotal era, and he carries out this task with an expert’s grasp of the facts and key debates. The author demonstrates throughout the work a solid command of recent research findings among both Spanish and non-Spanish scholars. His lengthy and clear inventories of the various tax policies, royal and municipal administrative structures, land tenure practices and commercial activities characteristic of each kingdom of Ferdinand and Isabella’s complex ‘composite monarchy’ by themselves make the book a valuable reference tool for scholars in the field. Some readers, however, may find the level of detail on apparently tangential matters at times excessive and distracting. He explains quite correctly, for instance, that the role of non-Castilian soldiers in the 1482–92 Granada wars was very limited, despite papal designation of the campaigns as a ‘crusade’. Yet he follows this assertion with nearly three pages of anecdotal detail on Edward Woodville – an English nobleman who participated in the Christian assault on the Muslim town of Loja in 1485. Edwards’s ability to marshal such minutiae is no doubt emblematic of the breadth of his knowledge of the field, but these digressions may limit the book’s appeal as an instructional text. Nevertheless, on the critical and controversial issues of more general interest – from the historical significance of the Catholic Monarchs’ administrative and ecclesiastical reforms to the nature of religious belief and practice among Spain’s judeoconversos and the
foundation of the Spanish inquisition – the book’s discussions and conclusions are on the whole balanced and well-informed. Finally, although the book is exceptionally well-indexed, the bibliographical essay, limited for practical reasons almost exclusively to monograph citations, is far too sketchy. Keeping production cost down is certainly an admirable goal. Nevertheless, since this book will likely serve for years as an important reference work, it seems that Blackwell Publishers has done a disservice in not allowing a scholar of Edwards’s range and experience to publish alongside the text a definitive, comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography.

Eastern Kentucky University

David Coleman


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On the appearance of the third and final volume of Archbishop Morton’s register, Professor Harper-Bill is to be congratulated for bringing to completion a project that has consumed many years’ labour. Like the second volume of the register, this instalment deals with the archbishop’s sede vacante administration – in this case, an administration covering the vacancy in the diocese of Norwich for five months from February 1499. It is an especially welcome addition to the Canterbury and York series for two reasons. Firstly, owing to the generally uninspiring character of the Norwich ‘institution books’, it is only the second register from this important diocese to be published. In fact, there is a considerable quantity of memoranda in the fifteenth-century Norwich registers and it is to be hoped that further publications from the diocese will follow. Secondly, and most unusually for a bishop’s register of this date, there is very little routine business in this volume. Instead, after a few pages of institution records, there follows a collection of well over 100 wills, the financial accounts from the vacancy and, most interesting of all, a large body of visitation material. Although this latter section adds little to the Norwich monastic visitation records edited by Augustus Jessopp, this shortcoming is more than offset by the wealth of information from parochial visitations. Morton’s register contains both a summary of consistory court judgements from the archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk and the detecta and comperta from those of Sudbury and Suffolk. Both focus on sexual misdemeanours, but several instances of non-attendance at church, gossiping and clerical failure to serve parishes properly also feature. Perhaps surprisingly, there are no clear cases of heresy in these records, but some colourful practitioners of ‘superstitious arts’ do appear. Etheldreda Nixon of Barrow claimed to be able to recover stolen goods by such means and charged customers 25 per cent commission for the service. More ingenuous was Marion Clerk of Great Ashfield who believed herself able to heal people, prophesy future misfortunes and to locate hidden treasure, an art she had learned ‘from God and the Blessed Virgin and from the gracious fairies’. Her condition was clearly hereditary, since her mother, Agnes Clerk, had also been in her youth a regular
confidante of ‘the elves’, ‘to such an extent that for a while her head and neck were twisted around backwards’. These revelations were treated seriously by the visitors, who imposed a strict public penance on the family, to be performed in four separate locations. In the main, however, the picture that emerges from this volume, as the editor concludes in his perceptive and well-judged introduction, is of an orthodox and conservative society. The 135 wills therein show a typical range of bequests, with parish churches, lay fraternities and the mendicants the main beneficiaries. Professor Harper-Bill also draws out valuable statistics about the clergy of the diocese, including the numbers of vicars and parochial chaplains employed, and of graduates, non-residents and pluralists and regulars serving cures. This volume therefore provides a valuable glimpse of parish religion in the generation before the Reformation.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

Martin Heale


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In this encyclopedic work, Stephen Wilson explores the magical beliefs and practices which suffused all spheres of everyday life in pre-modern Europe. Collating cases from every corner of the continent and ranging widely over more than a millennium and a half, the book demonstrates the extent to which magic was interwoven into the outlook and experience of men, women and children prior to the advent of technological control, urbanisation and scientific advance. Seeking to deflect attention from witchcraft and other similarly sensational aspects of this subject, Wilson assembles a wealth of fascinating detail to show how magic offered ritual protection against the forces of a harsh and unpredictable environment which constantly threatened crops, livestock and agrarian subsistence; how it was employed in the rites of passage which marked birth, marriage and death; how it helped people to combat ill-health and cure disease; how it informed their understanding of and response to strange events; and how it enabled them to see into and shape their future. He stresses the symbiotic relationship between ecclesiastical rites and magical rituals and insists that magic was neither a marginal nor an occult activity but one at the very heart of ‘traditional’ peasant culture, ‘a bedrock of popular belief and practice which changed very little down the centuries’ (p. xxvii). In both its scope and its functionalist approach, Wilson’s book bears comparison with Keith Thomas’s classic *Religion and the decline of magic* (1971). Like Thomas before him, Wilson draws his inspiration from the discipline of anthropology, especially, in his emphasis on the centrality of concerns about fertility, from the work of Sir James Frazer and his pupil Marcel Mauss. He too sees magic as essentially a product of the primitive, pre-industrial structures of rural society, as a farrago of opinions and techniques, which, by contrast with religion, lacked any formal ‘logic’ (p. xxvi) or coherent ‘theology’ (p. 459). Yet it must be said that the methodological assumptions which underpin this book now seem not merely questionable.
but rather passé. Wilson ignores the refinements and qualifications engendered by three decades of scholarly discussion and debate and sidelines the insights to which post-modernism and ‘the linguistic turn’ have given rise. Adopting the perspective of the longue durée and downplaying the practical and intellectual impact of movements such as the Renaissance and Reformation, he presents a picture of European magic which is too static, untextured and inert. Denominational differences are glossed over and contradictions and inconsistencies are rarely resolved. Sacrificing depth for breadth and eschewing argument for the exhaustive accumulation of examples, the book suffers from the fact that most of its evidence is second-hand. It will be quarried for colourful quotations and episodes but it runs the risk of perpetuating an uncritical curiosity about bygone customs and ‘superstitions’. Lacking the analytical subtlety of Thomas, it ironically shares the same weaknesses Wilson attributes to Frazer’s Golden Bough – a persistent neglect of context and an ‘excessively eclectic and pointilliste methodology’ (p. xxx). Conceived and begun in the 1970s, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that The magical universe has had the misfortune to be published thirty years too late.

University of Exeter

Alexandra Walsham


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At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pierre Duhem rejected the idea of scientific revolutions and strongly argued in favour of continuity in the history of science. According to his ‘Origines de la statique’ (1904), modern natural sciences developed in a continuous sequence of small, hardly perceptible steps out of the doctrines of the medieval schools. Since then, this theory has been completely or at least partially refuted by many other historians of science, for example by Alexandre Koyré or by Anneliese Maier, who maintained that the scholastic philosophers had not anticipated the thought of Galileo, Leibniz or Newton, though they might have paved the way for the science of the seventeenth century. But in 1996, in his book on the foundations of modern science in the Middle Ages, Edward Grant made an attempt to return to Duhem’s theses. A very different, sociological approach was undertaken by Thomas Kuhn who suggested that scientific communities are formed by paradigms and that scientific revolutions are necessary elements in the history of science, marked by the change of paradigms by a new generation of scientists. A partial but very interesting answer to the problems involved is now offered by W. G. L. Randles who explores intensively the developments in one important field of natural studies: the cosmology of the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

Randles starts with early Christian and medieval concepts of the cosmos. He refers to three models: the theological (or pseudo-Clementine) model based on Genesis according to which the firmament and spheres are hard and solid (afterwards integrated with the Aristotelian concept of the heavens and the fifth essence); the neo-Platonic (or Basilian) model according to which the First Heaven or Empyreum is uncreated and of incorporeal light while the firmament
is humid and part of the hydrological cycle as are the Supercelestial Waters; and, finally, the astronomic (or Isidorian) model which relates the account of Genesis to ancient planetary theory with the distinction of the First Heaven (which is the dwelling of the saints and the blessed), the Second Heaven or Firmament, and the Supercelestial Waters. These models were fundamental in all subsequent discussions though they were modified and combined, as is demonstrated first for medieval authors like Robert Grosseteste, William of Auvergne, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome or the Spanish Franciscan Alfonso Tostado, then for theologians, philosophers and scientists since the period of Renaissance and Reformation. In a meticulous examination of numerous works of many – well known as well as virtually unknown – authors (with many and sometimes rather lengthy quotations from the originals, all in translation), Randles proceeds from the Renaissance to the age of Baroque, covering commentaries on Genesis or the Bible in general, works on creation, optical and astronomical treatises, as well as university textbooks. One important starting point for the early modern discussions was the neo-Platonic revival which led authors like Agostino Steuco (†1548) to adopt the Basilian model of the cosmos and to assume that the fifth element was fluid. The influence of optics became equally important when Jean Pena (†1558) stated that there was a contradiction between optics and the Aristotelian doctrine of the heavens, resulting from the optical theory that light rays passing from one medium to another undergo refraction which would also hold true for the light of the stars passing from the fifth essence to the sphere of fire and from the sphere of fire to that of the air. Based on Pena, Tycho Brahe (†1597) and Christoph Rothmann (†1608) discussed the nature of the upper heavens and caused a wide-ranging controversy. Both were also (at least partly) involved in the discussions about the new astronomical theories, the extension of the universe and the nature of the Empyreum. New astronomical data found different reception in Protestant and Catholic quarters and caused a crisis within the Jesuits when Christoph Clavius (†1612) took over the Tychonian system and doubted the fluidity of the heavens. Further controversies were aroused by Catholic dissidents like Giordano Bruno or Francesco Patrizi (†1597) and by the spread of Cartesianism, especially in Catholic countries. But finally, in 1757, after the Newtonian system had been equally well received in Catholic and Protestant Europe, the ban against Copernicus was lifted.

Randles’s book is a very careful and sound guide to early modern cosmology and to the thought of numerous scholars, philosophers, theologians and astronomers. Though it is only in the second part of his very short conclusion that he offers some kind of survey of the main factors of the development, it becomes very clear that the acceptance of the new cosmology was a complex process in which older theories became obsolete because of changes in foundations or convictions, and less because of new evidence. Revolutionary elements were introduced by single scholars, but the change of paradigms was only brought about when – after long and widespread discussions – a wider scientific public was convinced, and even then the older models and theories survived for some time in university textbooks and summaries. Quite similar conclusions could probably be drawn in many other fields of study in the history of science, for example in physics or chemistry. It is to be hoped that these will receive similar
attention in the future. Since Randles has focused on cosmological problems like the substance of the heavens, it might even be useful to examine astronomical discussions in the proper sense, concerning the ‘saving of the phenomena’ of celestial motions, and at least in this context the late medieval philosophers – almost completely omitted by Randles – deserve closer consideration. In sum, this is a stimulating study that offers new insights into the transition from medieval to early modern science.

Hamburg

Jürgen Sarnowsky


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For a decade the Centro de Estudios de Historia Religiosa (CEHR) of the Universidade Católica Portuguesa has been publishing texts on religious archives. Since 1997 CEHR – with the help of the Gulbenkian Foundation – has been implementing a more ambitious scheme for the development of religious archives, the agenda for which is included as an appendix to this volume. An integral part of that scheme is the organisation of regular conferences to discuss relevant issues. The present volume makes available to a wider public some of the contributions to two courses organised by the CEHR in collaboration with the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo – the first held in Lisbon in 1997 and the second in Porto in 1998. By contrast with the earlier volumes in the series of which this is part – all of which dealt with narrower, more concrete, Portuguese historical subjects – this one deals more broadly with religious archives, their purpose, use and value. Besides this greater breadth, the contributors include a number of foreign specialists writing in the more accessible – at least for the non-Portuguese audience – French and Spanish languages. Thus Brigitte Wache opens the volume with the general ‘Archives religieuses et recherche historique’, Lucille Potvin provides a ‘Contribution pour la definition d’une politique des archives religieuses’, and D. Francesco Marchisano, president of the papal commission on the Catholic Church’s cultural patrimony, contributes both ‘El archivo, el archivero y la archivistica eclesiastica’ and ‘La funcion pastoral de los archivos eclesiasticos’, the latter a brief commentary on his commission’s circular letter – printed in Portuguese translation as an appendix – on the pastoral purpose of ecclesiastical archives. Among the other contributions, Jose Paulo Leite de Abreu considers the Church’s developing policy on its archives in ‘A Igreja e seus arquivos: historia e normas ate 1983’. With this contribution, the volume begins to deal with more specifically Portuguese subjects, a development which is continued with Pedro Penteado’s ‘Arquivos de confrarias e irmandades: alguns presupostos para o sucesso de uma intervencao arquivistica’. For her part, Maria Olinda Alves Pereira considers the archives of the early modern misericordia in Portugal in ‘O arquivo como reflexo da organica e funcionamento das Misericordias’. In order to set these conference papers – many of which include invaluable bibliographies – in context, the volume also includes the
opening presentation of a seminar on ecclesiastical diplomatic, held early in 2000, Fernando de Lasala’s ‘Actualidad de la diplomática eclesiástica: importancia socio-cultural e historica de los documentos eclesiásticos’. It is a pity that more of the original conference papers – for example that of Jose Mattoso on the historian and archival documentation – and that some of the other sessions – for example those on computerisation and on parochial archives – do not seem to have generated publishable papers. It is a pity, too, that the published papers are not accompanied by brief summaries in English. But to say this is to salute the excellent job that has been done by the CEHR both in launching its religious archives programme and in publishing this and the previous volumes. It is to be hoped that the CEHR will continue its efforts to preserve Portugal’s ecclesiastical records, to produce guides to them and to encourage further reflection on their purpose and use.

University of Dundee

Christopher Storrs


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College histories are a long-established genre; but in more recent years English university history itself has undergone a renaissance, with multi-volume treatments of Oxford and Cambridge now virtually complete. One of the challenges facing present-day college historians therefore is how best to integrate the local tales they tell with the new macro narratives. A wider problem, of course, is the modern explosion of relevant historical writing – political, religious, intellectual, cultural and socio-economic – and the extent to which this too can be taken on board. Certainly the three co-authors of A history of Emmanuel College bring a variety of talents to their task. Sarah Bendall is an expert on estate mapping and management, Christopher Brooke, apart from being a distinguished mediaevalist, has written a history of Gonville and Caius College and the final volume (1870–1990) of A history of the University of Cambridge, while Patrick Collinson is the pre-eminent historian of religious change in early modern England and as such ideally equipped to handle the transition of Emmanuel College from the Puritan institution envisaged by its founder to a centre of High-Churchmanship and indeed Toryism by the end of the seventeenth century. In the event Collinson proves the most successful in relating college history to the broader context, so much so that some alumni expecting a more traditional approach may be rather bemused by the fascinating sections on Puritanism and anti-Calvinism. But Bendall, albeit operating within a narrower framework, is not far behind in her capacity to illuminate the general from the particular and vice-versa. Brooke, on the other hand, tends to eschew this way of proceeding, yet his modus operandi too has its strengths – especially the use of biographical vignettes. One cause for regret, however, is that the ‘complete biographical register of those who attended Emmanuel from 1584 to 1990’, compiled during the preparation of the volume, although referred to at various points is not expressed in tabular form. Similarly we are told that in the early seventeenth
century Emmanuel became the largest Cambridge college and in the 1650s, according to Thomas Fuller, a majority of heads of house were Emmanuel products, whereas the college then shrank to become ‘one of the smallest’ during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries. Some graphs would have helped the exposition here. (By contrast this is one of the many virtues of Bendall’s chapters on the estates.)

For those with a particular interest in religious history this book has a great deal to recommend it. First there is Brooke’s prologue concerning the Dominican friary on the post-Reformation site of which the college was built. Then comes Collinson’s account of Puritan Emmanuel; contrary to what one might suppose, the college was less a seminary for preachers and more a godly training ground for the scions of the gentry. ‘The design was the capture of the Church of England by a kind of Trojan horse strategy of insidious infiltration.’ In that enterprise the role of ‘moderate’ Puritanism was crucial – clergy willing to conform up to a point for the sake of the ‘main chance, the promotion of a godly, converting, preaching ministry’, although paradoxically such moderation may also have helped to pave the way for the subsequent Laudianisation of the college along with much of the nation at large. Chs vi, viii and ix are a marvellous distillation by Collinson which, along with a fascinating New England and specifically Harvard excursus across the Atlantic (ch. vii), collectively provide the reader with much of English seventeenth-century religious history in parvo. The complex character of Laurence Chaderton, Master from 1584 to 1622, is very well captured, his combination of radicalism and moderation in many ways paradigmatic of the Puritan movement. In passing Collinson laments the ‘revisionism which afflicts so much modern historiography, a corrosive process whereby familiar historical landmarks are removed and whole landscapes wrecked, as if by a kind of anti-Capability Brown’, while rightly reaffirming the reality of Puritanism and the ‘godly mafia’ of preachers and their patrons produced by Emmanuel and especially thick on the ground in Essex and Suffolk. Nevertheless in some ways the crux of his account is what he calls the ‘strange death of an old college’ and its ‘transmogrification’ into the society presided over in the early 1660s, albeit briefly, by William Sancroft, the future archbishop of Canterbury. What was involved, so Collinson argues, was a ‘reaction’ against the ‘Calvinism of the old college’. Signs of change among the fellowship were apparent as early as the 1630s and were to culminate physically in the construction of the new Wren chapel which was in large part the brainchild of Sancroft, who provided both the altar and reredos. (The old Puritan chapel, ‘aligned north to south’, became a library.) Given the close relationship of Sancroft to Bishop Cosin by this date he was now probably also an Arminian in this theology, even if Collinson hedges his bets on this question.

Unfortunately the later chapters by Brooke shed little light on ensuing religious developments, although he does provide an entertaining account of William Chawner, Master from 1895 to 1911, and his pamphlet Prove all things ‘in which he firmly rejected traditional Christianity and prophesied its downfall’, thus provoking a protest by among others the ‘evangelical’ F. W. Head. As regards the wider educational scene, Emmanuel appears to fit the more favourable picture painted in recent years of seventeenth-century university science, yet according to Brooke the college remained largely untouched by the eighteenth-
century changes associated with the new mathematical tripos and ‘reform’ had to wait until the mid-nineteenth century. But in this context one would have liked to hear more about the algebra lectureship, recorded as early as 1746. Brooke does, however, provide an interesting chapter on developments in science from the 1870s onwards. He also deals incisively, à propos the fellowship, with both the ending of celibacy and the breaking of clerical monopoly. Between them the three authors have produced an excellent volume, which in many ways successfully transcends the conventional format of the college history.

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London


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The papal penitentiary was the department of the Roman Curia that issued dispensations and other spiritual favours. The earliest series of its records begins in the fifteenth century and consists of registers of petitions for these favours heard and approved by officials of the penitentiary. The present volume is largely based on these registers. Its editors have been at the forefront of research on the archive of the penitentiary, which became generally available for research only in 1983. Filippo Tamburini, who died in 1999, was the archivist of the penitentiary (or Sacra penitenzieria apostolica, as it is known today) and the author of numerous pioneering works based on its records, while Ludwig Schmugge is the initiator and senior editor of the Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum (which is publishing the entries in the registers concerning the German empire) and the author of major studies for which these registers are the principal source. The bulk of the cases in the present volume concern Lutheranism. The subject matter includes absolutions for those who reverted from Lutheranism to the Catholic faith, the effect of Lutheranism on monastic life, the careers of figures who were prominent in the Reformation, and licences to possess Lutheran works (in order to refute them). If the book were confined to Lutheran cases, it would be rather more focused than it actually is, for it contains in addition material concerning other heretical or dissident movements, as well as orthodox reform movements, within a long chronological span (1279 to the late sixteenth century). The result is an eclectic but fascinating collection. Among the remarkable group of documents concerning printing and publishing are four concerning Jewish printers in Bologna in 1539 (no. 39a–d). As one would expect, the Latin texts appear to have been transcribed most accurately, and the footnotes are well-informed and learned. A summary in German and in Italian prefaces each entry, but the reader requires a knowledge of both languages, since the introduction is in Italian, while the foreword (which includes an appreciation of Tamburini) and the footnotes are in German. The many elaborate commentaries on the documents in the footnotes might have been better placed at the head of the entries following the summaries, especially as the footnotes sometimes repeat what has already been said in the

This magnificently illustrated volume presents a long overdue survey of the four or five thousand funeral monuments set up in England between 1530 and 1660. Nigel Llewellyn provides a deluge of information on the quantity and geographical distribution of monuments, and examines valuable evidence such as the few surviving contracts between patrons and masons. The result, surpassing K. A. Esdaile’s pioneering but limited scholarship of the mid-twentieth century, provides the first detailed account of how these objects were commissioned, carved, transported and erected. Llewellyn extracts monuments from their lowly position in positivist histories of art that once praised all things Italian, and re-establishes them as a distinctive genre of early modern visual culture. Unresolved about the purpose and use of imagery in early modern religion and society meant that monuments were a contested subject. Puritans and humanists, iconoclasts and sovereigns, topographers and heralds expressed a range of views on how the dead might best be remembered. This book argues, nevertheless, that monuments were fundamentally unchanged in form and function after the Elizabethan ‘settlement’. Monuments were didactic tools, preserving their subjects’ places in the social hierarchy in the face of death, while providing onlookers with virtuous ideals to follow. There is perhaps room to question this anthropological framework, on the evidence of the monuments themselves: were they actually designed to repair or prevent breaches in the social fabric caused by death? Or were they principally intended as exemplars to the living, the context of mortality merely adding potency to their messages? The transformation of ecclesiastical space in the century following the break with Rome is a rapidly developing field, as historians continue to debate the reception and rejection of reformed belief and practice; unfortunately, the book does not engage with recent work on death and burial by Eamon Duffy, David Cressy and Ralph Houlbrooke, nor with Joshua Scodel’s significant study of monumental inscriptions. Clearly, historians need to read monuments within several contexts, but how might this be achieved? The final chapter sets out one scheme based on four interlocking discourses found on early modern tombs – architectural frame, effigy, inscription and heraldry – but this methodology does not take account of phenomena such as Archbishop Laud’s removal of monuments from the east ends of chancels. Although Llewellyn demonstrates the futility of attempts to find patterns by aligning the religious beliefs of patrons with the imagery of their tombs, there remains scope for further investigation into the religious function of monuments during and after the Reformation. The pewing of churches forced monuments to move up the walls in order to be seen, as the author points out,
yet in the 1560s the removal of altars created new, prominent spaces for commemorative display. Dr Llewellyn is to be commended for establishing a new area of inquiry: the visual culture of churches and the practice of commemoration in early modern England.

**Clerical marriage and the English Reformation. Precedent, policy and practice.** By Helen L. Parish. (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Pp. xii + 276 incl. 4 maps. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. £52.50. 0 7546 0038 0

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This learned and lively monograph meets a longstanding need for a thorough account of the English debate concerning clerical marriage. Part of a larger European controversy which the author keeps constantly in view, the debate was a vigorous one in which several famous controversialists took part. This survey is based for the most part on an exhaustive study of their printed works, with a concluding chapter about the practice of clerical marriage in England between 1549 and 1570. Helen Parish shows that both sides appealed to the Scriptures while drawing opposite conclusions from them. Catholics asserted that the new law enhanced the need for priestly celibacy, Protestants that it removed such a need altogether. The fact that the same text could often be made to support opposite arguments underlined for Catholics the importance of the Church’s interpretative role. Evangelicals drew comfort from the fact that clerical celibacy had clearly been imposed after the earliest generations of the Church. Papal condemnations of clerical marriage from the third century onwards were for Catholics signs of the growing confidence and maturity of the young Church, for Protestants evidence of that Church’s decline from a state of pristine purity. The attempt to enforce a priestly celibacy which could not be maintained was a mark of AntiChrist, a devilish stratagem to lead men to perdition. Catholic writers insisted that vows of celibacy were voluntary; their fulfilment was made possible by God’s grace. For Protestants such vows amounted to a rejection of saving faith and implied that chaste celibacy, God’s gift to a few, and unnecessary to salvation, was available to all. They came to see vowed celibacy as a mark of an inward idolatry of false faith and trust in one’s own deeds. Sacerdotal celibacy was closely bound up with the priest’s sacrificial function and the theology of the mass. The evangelical denial of transubstantiation appeared to remove its chief justification, while Protestant polemicists also perceived a natural connection between a corrupted sacrament and unclean priests incapable of keeping their vows. Parish’s final chapter shows how difficult it is to pin down any characteristics, apart from their propensity for marriage, which distinguished the married clergy from their celibate colleagues. She acknowledged that many evangelical clergy married. Yet there is no clear evidence of the religious persuasion of the majority of the married clergy, and some of them remained doctrinally conservative. Neither the wealth of their livings nor their educational attainments seem to have had a significant influence on the clergy’s decisions for or against marriage. The discovery of local clusters of married incumbents does however suggest to Parish that many of those who took wives were emboldened...
to do so by the example of close neighbours. In her conclusion, Parish again underlines the central issues of doctrine and authority involved in her subject. Her book, while conveying a vivid impression of the depth of feeling on both sides of the debate, is also scrupulously impartial. It constitutes a most distinguished debut for Helen Parish.

University of Reading

Ralph Houlbrooke


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From sections of the hitherto largely unused manuscript source known as ‘Cranmer’s great commonplaces’, now in the British Library (BL, mss Royal 7 B. xi; 7 B xii) and other manuscript and printed sources, plus the iconography in Gerlach Flicke’s 1545 painting of Cranmer, now in the National Portrait Gallery, Ashley Null with great industry has effected an impressive reconstruction of the development of Cranmer’s doctrine of repentance. Beginning with the teaching on penance Cranmer is likely to have received as an undergraduate at Jesus College, Cambridge, Null examines each stage in Cranmer’s understanding of penance until his doctrine reaches its full maturity in the Protestant Reformed teaching of justification by faith of the elect. In tracing this development Null provides insights into the effect on Cranmer of the Augustine-influenced humanism of John Fisher’s emphasis on and dependence on divine grace in the process of salvation which yet required human effort, the contribution of the New Testament and philological work of Erasmus and his doubts on an *ex opere operato* view of auricular confession, despite its admitted benefits, and Cranmer’s growing attraction to Protestant Augustinianism with which he was probably first confronted during his stay with Osiander in Nuremberg in 1532 and which, with the teaching of St Paul, with some help from the interpretation of Bucer and Calvin, formed the basis of Cranmer’s mature soteriology. In the course of this exposition Null shows Cranmer’s part in the debates surrounding the contents of the Bishop’s Book (1537) and the King’s Book (1543) in which he argued for a Protestant understanding of justification. Turning to Cranmer’s understanding of repentance in his liturgical work, Null considers ‘the most moving experience of [Cranmer’s] beliefs’ to be found in the 1552 Prayer Book and calls the late Dom Gregory Dix to support his view that the Prayer Book stands as ‘the only effective attempt … to give liturgical expression to the doctrine of justification by faith’ (though Dix said many other things about that book with which Null would not agree). But despite the fundamental commitment to solidifianism which Null stoutly defends as a basis of the mature Cranmer’s soteriology, in both the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books Cranmer retained the authoritative form of the absolution in the Visitation of the Sick (where it has remained). It is difficult to accept Null’s explanation that its retention was merely sensitivity on Cranmer’s part, a virtue for which the sixteenth century was not too renowned. It is in instances such as this that we touch on the many problems that remain to be unravelled concerning Cranmer’s theology; problems created partly because of his shifting allegiance and because of a political situation in which he had to tread a very careful path and partly because he left so little of
his own work that is susceptible to academic analysis. Will the real Cranmer ever be revealed? In the meantime, Ashley Null’s book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Thomas Cranmer’s soteriology.

The four horsemen of the apocalypse. Religion, war, famine and death in Reformation Europe. By Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell. Pp. xiii + 360 incl. 71 plates, 1 fig. and 3 tables. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £42.50 (cloth), £15.95 (paper). 0 521 46135 9; 0 521 46701 2

This book, originating in lectures at Cambridge, is an ingenious and refreshing assessment of the Reformation. It is structured by a trope, the text of Revelation vi as famously illustrated by Albrecht Dürer, the vision of the four horsemen at the Opening of the Seals: Judgement Day, war, famine and plague. Each horseman gets a chapter. This device works surprisingly well in placing theological aspects of the Reformation against their social, political and economic background. Opening with the White Horse of Judgement (at some length) has the advantage of stressing how all-pervasive was apocalyptic expectation during the Reformation period – indeed, eschatological fervour increased rather than declined during the sixteenth century. Cunningham and Grell then provide some good social and economic explanations of this: favourable climate change stimulated Europe’s population growth, producing a society which was dynamic but under severe strain because of social and economic change, rapidly evolving disease profile and problems of food supply. Well before the clashes of the Reformation, the resulting hopes and fears borrowed the existing vocabulary of apocalyptic, and colonised the discourse of religious reformism. The book does not claim to give a complete explanation of the Reformation – justification by faith is as much an independent variable as a warmer climate – but those with primarily theological interests will find the material here a useful balance to their doctrinal knowledge, and students of social history will equally extend their horizons. The book is instructively and lavishly illustrated, and also illuminated with much contemporary source-quotation; examples are usefully taken from parts of the Reformation story less familiar in the anglophone world, particularly Scandinavia. Occasionally translations from Latin are awkward, and a good many typos and some small slips should be corrected in a second edition – that apocalyptically-minded High Churchman Joseph Mede would consider it proof of the imminence of the Last Days to find himself described at p. 60 as a Puritan, while the figures of 100,000–200,000 people killed during the witch craze (p. 87) ought on most latest estimates to be downscaled to c. 49,000. What might be termed the quadriquine structure makes for a certain amount of repetition in the text, and it sometimes proves procrustean. So an interesting introduction to discussions of whether it was permissible to flee the plague misses the opportunity to make comparisons with contemporary debates about fleeing religious persecution. Moreover, when Luther argued that public persons have a duty to stay and help the community in plague, he was making a statement about the role of the public and private which was also reflected in the common Protestant
restriction of the right of rebellion to magistrates. But one must be grateful to Cunningham and Grell for co-operating on a brave and lively textbook which produces a useful rapport between the interests of social history and the history of religion.

St Cross College, Oxford

Diarmaid MacCulloch


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While the trial records of the Roman inquisition continue to provide rich pickings for historians studying early modern beliefs and practices throughout the Italian peninsula, this has long been accompanied by a recognition that in order to contextualise these findings an understanding of how the inquisitorial tribunals functioned is crucial. The work of scholars like John Tedeschi and Adriano Prosperi has suggested the forms this research might take. To this we can now add Andrea Errera’s study of inquisitorial manuals. From the middle of the sixteenth century there was a systematic effort within the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office to describe the various categories of heresy and heretic, as well as the rules to be observed in inquisitorial judgements. These were issued in the form of manuals for inquisitorial judges. This voluminous literature still awaits serious study by historians; but in the meantime Errera has identified, in a single Perugian manual, a way of shedding light on the different methodologies, compilation techniques and wider aims which lay behind these works. The text in question, the Fundamentum processus conficiendi in causa fidei, transcribed in the appendix to his book, is an unpublished manual written by a little-known Dominican inquisitor active in Perugia at the end of the sixteenth century, Vincenzo Castrucci. The summary and elementary nature of the work, Errera deftly argues, allows us to study a type of manual conceived as a brief synthesis, at once systematic and easy to follow. Its very practicality gives us some idea of actual inquisitorial practice in a provincial office of the inquisition, although Errera limits himself to the not indifferent task of exploring its place in the history of inquisitorial manuals. In this context, Castrucci’s manual represents an important stage in the development of manuals conceived specifically with inquisitors in mind, out of an earlier tradition of more generalised doctrinal works.

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David Gentilcore


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Gribben’s book rests on a close study of five commentators on the apocalypse, ranging from Foxe through Ussher, Gillespie and Milton to John Rogers and
John Bunyan, by a scholar from a theological and literary-critical rather than historical background. The introduction makes it clear that Derrida has provided much of his inspiration in terms of approach and agenda. Gribben’s ‘canon’ (his term) offers a usefully British rather than English dimension, and has a chronological rationale, but he never explains the criteria by which he has selected this rather disparate group. A casual reference to ‘the baton of the radical eschatology’ being passed on (p. 171) comes nearest; his interest lies clearly in the radicalisation of eschatological thought, rather than in assessing the influence or representativeness of his writers. There is much of value in this study. Gribben provides a useful survey of the debate on Foxe, arguing sensibly that the Acts and monuments could sustain belief in either the ‘godly prince’ or ‘faithful remnant’, and that later generations selected according to their own predilections and circumstances; he offers too a discussion of Foxe’s little-known play, Christus triumphans, though his claim that it is ‘equally significant’ (p. 63) is surely untenable. Gribben also demonstrates how the marginalia on apocalyptic texts varied dramatically in successive editions of the Geneva Bible, and offers a persuasive analysis of Ussher’s early commitment to a future quasi-millennial future, from which he later backed away. The apocalyptic dimension of the Scots Presbyterians in the early 1640s is well illustrated by George Gillespie, who looked for an imminent age of latter-day glory within a national Presbyterian Church. Often critical of other scholars for their theological confusions, Gribben is here guilty himself of blurring categories. He is happy to pronounce on Gillespie’s ‘millennium’, while acknowledging that the author disavowed the term, and conflates the idea of a latter-day glory (which might be brief) with the millennium (which could not), without offering any grounds. On Milton, he charts a shifting positioing which ended in De doctrina’s endorsement of a future millennium concurrent with a thousand-year Day of Judgment (p. 133). Bunyan’s position also evolved, and in his last writings came close to endorsing the realised eschatology of the Quakers. Historians will have to face some thickets of jargon (for example ‘enallage’ and ‘hypallage’ at p. 74, neither defined), a consistent muddle between ‘principle’ and ‘principal’, and occasional inaccuracies (for example the ‘Interregnum Parliament’ in 1643 at p. 90), but they will also find some thoughtful and stimulating ideas.

University of Warwick

Bernard Capp


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In this short but solid study, Marc R. Forster both builds upon and critiques the theory of confessionalisation, which since the 1970s has dominated discussion of reform in Germany and other areas of early modern Europe. Forster defines confessionalisation as a process ‘in which state and Church cooperated successfully to enforce religious conformity and inculcate religious identity’ (p. 2). While providing ample evidence of the efforts of states and the ecclesiastical hierarchy to impose reform measures from above, he argues that the
confessionalisation thesis can be criticised on several counts. First, by the late seventeenth century the people of south-west Germany had developed a confessional identity in the absence, for the most part, of strong states and a sustained policy of confessionalisation. Second, in the two centuries of his study the religious initiatives of the people played a greater role in determining religious change than the reform efforts of Church and State. Pilgrimages, processions, shrines and other local devotional practices retained their hold upon the rural masses. Third, the emergence of a Catholic identity was more often than not the result of compromises and accommodations between the clergy and hierarchy on one hand and the laity of towns and villages on the other. Basing his argument on evidence drawn from extensive archival work at Freiburg, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart and Innsbruck, Forster demonstrates how pilgrimages, processions, attendance at mass, lay confraternities and a variety of other popular practices contributed to a growing sense of religiosity and Catholic identity. His argument is multi-faceted and convincing. He demonstrates how the communal religion of the people was balanced with the promotion of a more individualised Christianity based on private devotions and reading. In like manner, towns and villages, though jealously guarding their claims in such areas as parish finances, developed a special rapport with the local clergy who administered the sacraments and by their presence legitimised pilgrimages, processions and prayer meetings. The professionalisation of the clergy through improved education and higher standards of conduct was compatible with the religious interests of the commune and the rural masses. Forster describes the development of a clerical culture which included at its heart the manifestations of popular religion. Thus the Catholicism of the Baroque age was not primarily a tool of the religious elite, but more a blending of communal and popular practices with the initiatives of that elite. Forster’s book provides a superb explanation of how these interactions worked and gives testimony to the enduring nature of popular religion in the early modern era. It makes an invaluable contribution to the history of Catholic revival in Germany and has profound implications for other areas of Europe as well.

St Thomas More College, Saskatoon


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In recent years the question of why the Reformation failed in Ireland has fuelled a lively debate among Irish historians. Answers have often turned on arguments about Irish exceptionalism but, even where developments have been viewed comparatively, the customary British Isles context of explanation has also highlighted the exceptional character of the Irish response. Ireland was the only kingdom of the British monarchy in which ‘cuius regio, eius religio’ was not successfully enforced. Elsewhere in Europe, however, efforts to enforce this principle sometimes also failed or at least encountered sustained resistance. The
present book approaches the Irish Reformation movement from a European perspective, offering a fresh look at developments by exploiting the concept of confessionalisation as an organising principle. Confessionalisation has over the past twenty years established itself as one of the dominant historiographical concepts in German writings on the role of religion in state formation and social change in Reformation Europe. Following the pioneering work of Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling on German territories, the theory has been applied with more or less success to other countries and to the development of a European state system. Here, one of Schillings’s students, Ute Lotz-Heumann, applies the confessionalisation paradigm to the Irish Reformation.

The meat of the book is a detailed reworking of some comparatively familiar source material. Yet as the impressive bibliography attests, the book also draws together recent and older secondary writings, including the significant but neglected German-language literature, to offer a series of fruitful comparisons with developments elsewhere. For Lotz-Heumann, the Reformation movement in early modern Ireland was characterised by an oscillation between conflict and coexistence brought about by two processes of confessionalisation at work. The one was imposed ‘from above’ by the English state and the Church of Ireland; the other operated ‘from below’ through the Gaelic and Old English elites and the Catholic underground Church. Thus, particularly during the period 1580–1640, the Tudor-Stuart monarchy succeeded in transforming Ireland into a confessional state; while concurrently Catholic resistance worked to reshape Irish society and identity along confessional lines. Hence the ‘double confessionalisation’ of the title. This argument has considerable merits. In particular, it allows us to view comparatively movements which are normally seen apart. The application of the confessionalisation model also fits better the particular circumstances of Irish religious reform, supplying a more convincing periodisation of developments, than the theory of a Tudor Reformation gone wrong.

Despite these strengths, however, I fear that in Ireland the book’s insights will be as seed strewn on stony ground. Tolerance of new perspectives which call in question central aspects of the Irish Sonderweg remains in short supply, notwithstanding the retention here of key nationalist terms and concepts. For students of the European Reformation, however, Lotz-Heumann has written a valuable and much-needed synthesis which offers much the best single-volume survey of developments in early modern Ireland.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, Galway


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In 1872 Edward F. Rimbault published his monumental edition of the ‘Old’ Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, a register of personnel, appointments and other memoranda from the time of Elizabeth I to the 1700s. This original Camden Society edition (often a first port of call for students of English musical
history) nowadays is rare to find, though the 1966 Da Capa reprint regularly turns up on the shelves of secondhand book dealers. The editors, in their justification for a new edition, comment on the ‘inadequacies’ of the earlier one, which are, it must be said, numerous, and it is good to have a fresh and well-ordered transcription. Ashbee and Harley give us our money’s worth by adding the ‘New’ cheque book (which continues to the time of Queen Victoria) to the ‘Old’, together making up the first volume, while volume two contains the hitherto unpublished personal memoranda of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford, officers of the Chapel Royal. All, at times, makes interesting reading, and the helpful introductory notes include details of Chapel Royal membership as well as the scope and layout of both cheque books. The new edition will particularly attract those interested in later periods of the Chapel Royal’s history and personnel (as the old edition, on the whole, still serves its purpose), but none the less, with so much new material, comes highly recommended.

Christ Church, 
Oxford

David Skinner

Conformity and orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660. Edited by Peter Lake and Michael Questier. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, 2.) Pp. xx + 296. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000. £50. 0 85115 797 1

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‘Conformity’ (the demands imposed by a public adherence to the Church of England) and ‘orthodoxy’ (the demands imposed by a formal acceptance of its doctrines) are the twin poles around which this volume revolves. Its aim, as explained in the introduction, is to ‘problematis[e] these two categories ‘by showing the wide variety of ways in which contemporaries could and did try to gloss and appropriate them, filling up the empty vessels of both conformity and orthodoxy … with cultural and ideological contents that suited their own persuasions, preferences and agendas’. Essay collections can often be a disappointment, but this is a welcome exception: there is not a single dud article in the volume, and, taken as a whole, it is one of the most important contributions to the history of the early modern Church of England to have appeared for a long time. As with most essay collections, however, it incorporates a variety of different interpretations and approaches; and I was left unpersuaded by the editors’ claim to be providing a single ‘interpretational key’ to unlock the problems of the English Reformation. One does not have to look very far beneath the cloak of ideological unity to discover that, like a pantomime horse, the volume is being pulled in more than one direction.

At the back of the horse is a group of essays which look at conformity and orthodoxy from the perspective of a single individual. Nicholas Tyacke discusses ‘Lancelot Andrewes and the myth of Anglicanism’ and dispos[es] of the notion of Andrewes as the proponent of an Anglican ‘middle way’; Andrew Foster traces the career of Archbishop Richard Neile, an elusive figure whose understanding of ‘orthodoxy’ is unusually difficult to pin down; Judith Maltby introduces us to the poetry of Christopher Harvey, which was regularly published alongside that of George Herbert in the 1640s and 1650s and served, she suggests, as an
imaginative space’ within which to commemorate and celebrate the pre-war Church of England. With varying degrees of caution, these essays attempt to situate their subjects in relation to particular religious groupings or doctrinal categories: thus Tyacke regards Andrewes as an anti-Calvinist (or even an anti-Protestant), Foster regards Neile as an Arminian and Maltby regards Harvey as an ‘old conformist’ (that is, a member of the ‘moderate, non-Laudian tradition of pre-civil war conformity’).

All three make out a reasonably convincing case for assigning these particular individuals to these particular categories, but a few questions are left unanswered. Tyacke shows that Andrewes’s churchmanship was an inspiration and a model to later Laudian divines, but does not shed much light on the corresponding process by which (as Peter McCullough has shown in a recent article on the posthumous publication of Andrewes’s sermons) the Laudians sought to co-opt Andrewes retrospectively into their own version of orthodoxy. Foster makes it clear that Neile cannot be fitted into the conventional Elizabethan or Jacobean episcopal mould, but does not question the application of the term ‘Arminian’ to a man who denied ever having read any of Arminius’s writings; one does not have to take Neile’s protestations of injured innocence at face value in order to feel that his theological self-fashioning requires more attention than it receives here. Maltby is more cautious in her terminology (Anglicanism, in her work, is the love that dare not speak its name), but one cannot help being struck by the way in which the concept of ‘Anglicanism’, even as it is being disassembled by Tyacke, is being reassembled by Maltby in a slightly different set of clothes.

At the front of the horse, meanwhile, is a group of essays which look at orthodoxy and conformity in broader thematic terms. Thomas Freeman’s highly original essay on ‘the politics of exorcism in late Elizabethan England’ argues that exorcism was ‘a weapon of unparalleled power in the puritan propaganda arsenal’ which the ecclesiastical authorities eventually succeeded in putting beyond the pale of orthodoxy; David Como’s equally fine piece on ‘Puritans, predestination and the construction of orthodoxy’ traces the gradual break-up of the ‘Calvinist consensus’ in the early seventeenth century; Peter Lake’s demanding but rewarding essay on ‘the construction of conformity in the early Stuart church’ explores the infinitely complex and variable relationship between moderate Puritan clergy and their diocesan bishops. Common to all these essays is an emphasis on the fragmented and incoherent nature of Puritanism: Freeman shows that exorcism was an issue on which the Puritan clergy were themselves deeply divided; similarly, Como argues that there was no positive consensus on the doctrine of predestination, merely a ‘negative consensus’ defined by a common antipathy to semi-pelagianism; and Lake, rightly correcting a recent article of mine, stresses the ideological gulf between moderate Puritans like Laurence Chaderton and radicals like William Bradshaw.

These essays exemplify the interpretative position set out in the introduction, in which orthodoxy and conformity are treated as floating signifiers, ‘empty vessels’ whose content varied according to the demands of the moment. This approach makes it possible to analyse religious beliefs and practices with a great deal of flexibility, without having to stuff individuals into pigeonholes labelled ‘Puritan’, ‘conformist’, ‘Calvinist’ or ‘Arminian’. The danger, however, is that it can lead to a privileging of the ‘political’ and the ‘polemical’ over other forms
of discourse. Not everyone will be persuaded, for example, by Lake’s view of conformity as largely a matter of style and presentation, conditioned by a particular set of political and polemical circumstances: ‘the point as always was as much about tone as about content; what mattered was not so much what one thought or even, for the most part, did, but how and to whom one expressed one’s views’. This is an uncomfortably limited notion of conformity: inescapably public, and thus very hard to reconcile with private and personal forms of religious belief; inescapably contingent, and thus very hard to integrate into narratives of long-term cultural or intellectual change.

These differences of approach are spelled out in the introduction, where, with a certain lack of tact, the editors chastise two of the contributors (Maltby and Walsham) for ‘privileging the supposedly moderate’ and conferring ‘a false coherence on the resulting conception of the middle ground’ through the ‘promiscuous’ use of categories such as ‘church papist’ or ‘prayer book Protestant’. It is interesting to note that the victims thus singled out for attention are two of the three female contributors to what is otherwise an exclusively male-authored volume; early modern history, it would appear, is still very much a chap’s game, and girls who want to join in have to be taught a proper attitude of respect. It may also be questioned whether the analysis of orthodoxy and conformity as ‘sites of conflict and contest’ has the ‘methodological novelty’ which the editors claim for it: it is arguably prefigured in Anthony Milton’s Catholic and reformed (1995) in which, as I commented in a review in this Journal in 1997, orthodoxy is seen as ‘something fluid and provisional, contested and evolving, embodied as much in language as in dogmatic certainties’. Milton’s work is not cited in the editor’s introduction, which seems a little ungenerous.

Other contributors to the volume include Kenneth Fincham, with an archivally rich survey of ‘Clerical conformity from Whitgift to Laud’; Alexandra Walsham, with a study of the lapsed Catholic priest Thomas Bell, who, she argues, needs to be ‘rescued from the historiographical sidelines and credited with far more importance and influence’; Michael Questier, on Catholic gentry families hovering uneasily on the boundary between conformity and recusancy; and Pauline Croft, on another group of Catholic gentry who, though implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, were encouraged to purchase baronetcies in 1611 as a way of cementing their loyalty to the Jacobean regime. This is the second volume in a promised series, Studies in Modern British Religious History, and if future volumes live up to the high standard of this one, university libraries would be well advised to place a standing order for the whole series. On the evidence of this collection, there is no doubt that early modern religious history is alive and kicking, even if, as with the pantomime horse, the legs it kicks are often its own.

University of Nottingham

Arnold Hunt


This exhaustive study examines the political and religious complexities of reforming a single, reluctant religious order after the Council of Trent. Drawing
on a vast quantity of archival research, Taylor begins by exploring the Mercedarian order’s hazy origins. Centred in Barcelona and granted Aragonese royal patronage, the Mercedarians dedicated themselves to ransoming captives and developed an identity rooted in Catalonia. As the order expanded, however, the Castilian Mercedarians achieved relative autonomy and grew in prestige, while the Aragonese houses failed to carry out much-needed reforms. This situation, combined with Philip II’s support for the Castilian clergy and the efforts of the Castilian Mercedarians to use reform to better their position vis à vis the other provinces of the order, led to division and rivalry and laid the groundwork for future conflict in the context of Tridentine reform.

Regular clerical reform for the Mercedarians became a royal affair under Philip II and was shaped by the crown’s own politico-religious motives. The Spanish king viewed the unreformed Mercedarian order as a potential breeding ground for heterodoxy and, with its ties to Aragon and France, as existing in opposition to royal efforts to Castilianise the Spanish Church. For its part, the Mercedarian leadership in Aragon became increasingly zealous in its efforts to guard ancient privileges and exemptions. Moreover, since the entire order was centred in Barcelona, Mercedarian resistance to royal reform was supported by Barcelona’s Consell de Cent.

As in the reform of other orders, plans for the Mercedarians were made at the Spanish court, but as various visitations were carried out, the Aragonese province continued to resist reform. Because of the order’s poorly documented origins and the comparatively undefined nature of its constitutions, Mercedarian reform became as much about reinventing the order’s customs as about restoring a higher standard of observance. Partly as a result of this peculiar circumstance, by the late 1570s, more than a decade after it commenced, reform had lapsed into a cycle of ‘violence, litigation, and counter-litigation’, which led eventually to the visitation of Catalonia’s Mercedarian houses in 1584. Reform in the order thus slowly occurred, even in Catalonia, where hostility to reform continued to be tied to notions of Catalan liberty.

A new ‘spirit of reconciliation’ transformed the first half of the seventeenth century into a golden age for the reformed order, which increasingly attracted patronage. Mercedarians, particularly Tirso de Molina, became well known for their literary production, and the order resumed its regular ransoming activities and reached its ‘apogee’ by achieving the canonisation of important figures in Mercedarian history.

Bruce Taylor’s new monograph demonstrates that regular clerical reform was a wildly complex, drawn-out affair in which royal and papal political agenda were commingled with Tridentine reforming goals and with notions of Catalan independence. This highly detailed book is a remarkably informative and comprehensive accomplishment, which, by being one of the few books to treat regular clerical reform under Philip II, is a major new contribution to the historiography of the Catholic Reformation.

Wofford College

TIMOTHY J. SCHMITZ
The central concern of Mönchtum und Reformation is the fate of the monastic institutions in Protestant lands, more specifically the final destiny of the houses in the margravate of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach and the secular territory of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Manfred Sitzmann approaches the issue from a number of perspectives, ranging in his analysis from the ecclesiological dilemmas faced by the evangelical reformers (along with their varied solutions) to the problems encountered by secular rulers once the Reformation was introduced. For the historian, the monasteries serve as a point of intersection between the Reformation movement and the medieval age. Much of the monastic culture and its institutions were swept away, as the work illustrates by drawing on a rich array of archival materials and local secondary literature; but there was also a considerable degree of continuity, as the very process of territorial intervention (a phenomenon already apparent in the medieval period) makes clear. The main focus of Sitzmann’s investigation begins with the onset of Reformation, and the value of the study lies in its recreation of the process at the local level. In Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, for instance, the implementation of the Reformation can be traced in detail, from the spread of the evangelical movement under Casimir to the introduction of Lutheranism with the accession of Georg the Pious to the consolidation of the Protestant Church during the reign of Georg Friedrich. With each phase the culture of monasticism was dealt a serious blow, with the final outcome being the subjection of the institutions and the clergy to the territorial Church. A local illustration of events is provided by a detailed study of the Cistercian cloister of Heilsbronn. With the Reformation came a reform of liturgy, a new church order and the appointment of evangelical preachers, while the property of the order fell under the control of the secular arm. Accounts were now rendered by the Ansbach officials, the fees and dues gathered by servants of the margrave. Some clergy remained, but the reception of novices was forbidden. In 1556 the canonical hours came to an end; six years later the last abbot of Heilsbronn was elected to office. Ultimately the monastery and its holdings were absorbed by the Schwabach chapter of the territorial Church, and in keeping with the principles of evangelical thought the institution found its meaning in serving the common good rather than fulfilling the conditions of private bequests. Similar local histories occurred in the archbishopric of Magdeburg, as the latter half of the work illustrates, though in Magdeburg evangelical cloisters shared the territory with the surviving Catholic institutions.

By examining the relationship between the evangelical movement and monastic culture at the local level, Sitzmann has brought to light a number of issues which are important for understanding the broader aspects of the German Reformation. As Mönchtum und Reformation demonstrates, many decades would pass before the cloisters were integrated into the Protestant order, and several factors would dictate the extent and the timing of the reform process. Some institutions were quickly subsumed and used for caritative purposes; others
enjoyed something of a half-life, reduced by degrees as Lutheranism took root in the empire; still others, such as the evangelical monasteries in Magdeburg, remained more or less intact. As the author makes clear, the history of monastic institutions in the Protestant lands is the narrative of a ‘multilayered and complex process’ (p. 233), just like the Reformation itself.


James Doelman contends that ‘while contemporaries joked about their king’s love of hunting, it was James’ religious interests that had the greatest effect on England’ (p. 1). English religious culture, he argues, was shaped by James’s actions and writings in a way that made him a ‘major trendsetter’ (p. 1). Surprisingly, the king’s role in forming the religious culture of his time has received relatively little scholarly attention. Drawing on the rich literary production of James and other writers in Scotland and England, Doelman traces many of the important connections linking religion, politics and literature in the early modern period. He shows that James’s conception of kingship, modelled on monarchy in ancient Israel, helped to shape political theory in Britain and abroad, providing an alternative to Reformed theories concerning relations between Church and State. The king’s own translations of the Psalms and of French religious poetry were a stimulus to Scottish and English writers. Doelman breaks new ground in delineating a tradition of Latin epigrammatic poetry that James and his fellow poets in Scotland promulgated. Writing in this mode was associated particularly with Andrew Melville, James’s theological opponent who served, nevertheless, as a kind of court poet in Scotland, and who later proved to be a controversial and amusing commentator on the English Church during the early part of James’s reign in England. James recruited religious writers, Protestant and Catholic, to defend mainstream English Protestantism, and he enriched the native religious culture by bringing a succession of foreign scholars to England. He took an active interest in the ‘politics of conversion’ (p. 102), and engaged in oral as well as written discussions of important religious issues. These achievements and many others, Doelman shows, were celebrated by Bishop John Williams in a funeral sermon that was highly favourable to the king, as might have been expected, but not effusive. Doelman’s argument is persuasive, partly because it is advanced with a wealth of contemporary evidence. He also takes into account recent treatments of the king’s reign by scholars in a variety of disciplines. But there is actually much more to this story than Doelman provides. He deliberately omits any discussion of the immensely influential authorised or King James Version of the Bible, on the grounds that this is a subject that other scholars have treated perceptively. He asserts that ‘it is fruitless to try to precisely pin down James’s theological views in isolation from his political views and his role as king’ (p. 12), despite the fact that the evidence he cites points towards the moderate Calvinism of the bulk of James’s English subjects. He does not attempt to assess the effect on the Church
of England of James’s religious policies, especially his initiatives to encourage closer ties between the English Church and foreign Churches and his efforts to promote religious reconciliation across Europe. He analyses the image and reputation of James as a peacemaker but does not describe or evaluate what the king actually did to further international peace and stability. Doelman’s study does, however, contribute significantly to a new view of James vi and i as a statesman and as a cultural ‘North Star’ (p. 1) in his three kingdoms.

University of the South

W. B. Patterson


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Given the now-fashionable research interest in Shakespeare and religion, the title of this book promises a timely contribution from a series designed to survey major literary and contextual issues in Shakespeare studies. But especially for readers of this *Journal* it will probably prove a disappointment. Most disturbing is the lack of attention to the production and reception of the Bible in England’s own Reformation culture. Matters of belief and revelation and, with the exception of occasional quotation from Geneva Bible glosses, Tudor and Stuart modes of interpreting and deploying the Bible make no appearance. The result is a Bible curiously disengaged from the period under discussion. Anachronistically appealing to modern scholarship on ‘the Bible as literature’ and the rabbinical concept of *midrash*, or creatively glossing Scripture, Marx argues for Shakespeare’s broad glossarial engagement with biblical texts. Using what he calls ‘typological’ links between books of the Bible and Shakespeare plays, the author offers comparisons of Genesis with *The tempest*, Exodus with the Davidic histories with *Henry V*, Job with *King Lear*, the Gospels with *Measure for measure*, Romans with *The Merchant of Venice*, and Revelation with (again) *The tempest*. Marx’s own *midrash* is overwhelmingly thematic, relying more on suggestive juxtaposition of the biblical and the Shakespearean texts than on argument about Shakespeare’s actual use of the Bible, and all with a disappointing lack of attention to either biblical or Shakespearean language itself. We yet await a study worthy of this important topic.

Lincoln College, Oxford

Peter McCullough


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This book was written for ‘Paul Seaver, colleague, mentor, friend’ (p. v) by his peers and former students. It consists of an introduction and thirteen essays. The essays do a good job of reflecting Seaver’s own interests in the religious, social and local history of early modern England. They are in general well-researched and
written, and on solid, and sometimes even somewhat narrow, historical topics. Despite the presence of ‘self-fashioning’ in the title, there are no examples here of the New Historicism’s art, or of the higher flights of literary fancy. Indeed, little is said about literature.

The essays are divided into three groups – ‘Passion and practice’, ‘Diffusion and the limits of appropriation’, and ‘Religion and locality’, but these divisions are quite loose, and many themes crop up in more than one section (for instance, popular religion and urban history). In a very brief review it will be possible to do no more than single out a few highlights. David Como provides a fine analysis of the career and thought of John Traske, who was savagely punished for his eccentric Judaising views in 1618, but later returned to the ministry and shifted from ultralegalism to antinomianism, becoming a leading figure in London’s antinomian underground. Through a close analysis of Traske’s writings, Como suggests that his thought was more consistent than is usually allowed, and that he was closer to the Puritan mainstream and to Familism than has been recognised. Pre-Civil War Puritanism is commonly seen as an authoritarian, conservative creed, which stressed the need to discipline the lower orders. Familism is portrayed as a religion that had few links to radicalism or to Puritanism. What, then, were the roots of the radical Puritanism of the Civil War period? Como argues that there was already a radical wing to the godly community before the Civil War. Muriel McClendon discusses the Marian persecution in Norwich, showing that only two residents of that city were burned as Protestant heretics, and that those two so openly incriminated themselves that it was difficult for the authorities to ignore them. Norwich magistrates were religiously mixed, but were keen to avoid persecution. McClendon convincingly concludes that local context was of overriding importance in the Marian persecutions. David Cressy gives a wide-ranging survey of early modern English iconoclasm, discussing such non-verbal modes of expression as book-burnings and the destruction of images, and showing how political conflict under Charles I stemmed from differences in cultural and aesthetic sensibility, as well as in material interests and ideological principle. Robert Shoemaker discusses ideology and practice in London gender relations 1660–1740, arguing that whereas theorists tried to confine women to the private sphere, in practice they also entered the public sphere in multiple ways. Richard Greaves analyses the Great Persecution of the Quakers in Ireland between 1660 and 1689, concluding that they were in fact tolerated for most of the time, and observing that their own religious ideas led them to have ‘an expectation of – and a need for – suffering’ (p. 212). Other contributors to this welcome volume are Thomas R. Holien, J. Sears McGee, Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, Joseph P. Ward, Burke W. Griggs, John Smail and Katharine W. Swett.

This is a welcome addition to scholarship on Milton and on seventeenth-century English preaching. It aims to show the extent to which Milton’s writings were influenced by seventeenth-century theories of preaching, many of whose proponents she connects with through his college and first tutor, William Chappell. This discussion (ch. ii) does a great service to students of seventeenth-century sermons by asserting the crucial role that Hyperius’ (Gerardus Andreas) De formandis concionibus sacris (1553), played in the development of the sermon genera used by English preachers and the rise of the ‘doctrines and uses’ formula for sermon composition. Chapter iii argues that precepts on controversial (redargutive) sermons help explain the argumentative standards according, and in contrast, to which Milton constructed his anti-prelatic tracts. This does place these texts in their appropriate rhetorical context, but the discussion is weakened by a rather thin account of the arguments on both sides. For example, adiaphorous arguments for episcopacy are presented simply as a ploy by the establishment, because arguments on such things were supposed to be conducted with greater charity (pp. 124, 140). None the less, the central point is carried. Chapter iv is the first of two on Milton’s poetry, and here books 11 and 12 of Paradise lost, often seen as troublesomey pedestrian, are redescribed as sermons of correction and consolation. The angel Michael explicitly takes a ‘text’ (Gen. iii. 15) and exhorts Adam to ‘apply’ to himself the lessons of the biblical episodes. The construction of the visions and narrative, however, do not seem to follow that of a sermon, leading Lares to suggest that it is rather ‘a multiplicity of sermons’. It is a thought-provoking account of these books, but it might, perhaps, be pushed forward by a consideration of the episodes as commonplaces (or proof-texts). In chapter v, Lares attempts to situate the ‘Athens temptation’ in Paradise regained in the context of late seventeenth-century debates about secular learning and the Bible. A variety of controversies are considered, from the chronic debates about figurative language in the Bible to ‘witty’ attacks on Scripture in the 1690s, and not all are explained clearly or made pertinent to the poem. The final section, on tropes for preaching as combat, is more focused and convincing. And so Milton is shown to have been influenced by preaching commonplaces to the end of his career. Lares began by arguing that Milton did not abandon plans to become a minister until 1640, which I found persuasive, and goes on to suggest that he may have considered writing an ‘extraordinary ministry’, the evidence for which I thought slight (to my knowledge, this was restricted to those with explicit callings for explicit purposes, like the Apostles and prophets). Overall, however, the book achieves its aim: that pulpit and poetry had similar functions for Milton has been stated by many, but Lares has demonstrated how much Milton used the literary conventions of both throughout his career.
This study of a South German painter in the service of the Catholic Reformation generally and the Jesuits in particular is a welcome addition to the historiography of the Catholic revival in central Europe. For roughly a century after the ending of the Thirty Years’ War the region experienced an astonishing flowering of artistic activity. In the ecclesiastical sphere this was largely due to the patronage of the religious orders. Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke locates her subject well in the context of artistic and devotional developments. The renewed stress on the cult of the Virgin and of St Joseph and the Holy Family are discussed in relation to Storer’s work as well as in the more general context of Catholic Europe and its artists. The Catholic claim of continuity between the contemporary Roman Church and that of the primitive and medieval eras is well illustrated by the depiction of Apostles and other biblical figures as well as saints such as Benedict and Scholastica. The Catholic Reformation itself is represented, not just by Jesuit saints such as Ignatius and Francis Xavier, but by Teresa of Avila and Charles Borromeo; the use of figures from such diverse geographical backgrounds, as well as local patron saints, buttressed the Church’s claim to universality. Besides an admirable analysis the author presents an exhaustive catalogue of Storer’s works which is generously illustrated and supported by enormous erudition.

St Mary’s College, Strawberry Hill

Maria Dowling


There is a pronounced tendency among many scholars of the theory of religious toleration in the seventeenth century to confine their attention to a small number of ‘canonical’ figures, generally John Locke and perhaps Pierre Bayle. These authors are treated as though they wrote entirely against the grain in a wilderness of intolerance and persecution. As with the other recently published and announced volumes in this series (edited under the direction of Antonio Rotondo), the present book systematically dispels the heroic mythology of a few lone thinkers taking up the cause of religious toleration in the absence of any intellectual context. Tarantino’s subject, Martin Clifford, has been little studied in the English-speaking world, despite the fact that his 1674 tract in defence of toleration, entitled A treatise of humane reason, seems to have circulated widely during the period before the Glorious Revolution and enjoyed an influential readership. A leading figure of English deism, Clifford constructed a principled case for according tolerance to religious difference based on a defence of liberty of conscience arising from the light of reason. Clifford’s little work—
Tarantino reproduces as an appendix – proposes a position both more broadly tolerant and more vigorously reasoned than Locke’s Letter, published fifteen years later. In turn, Clifford’s ideas received affirmation from a number of contemporaries, including Locke’s own translator and editor, William Popple (several of these apologiae are also reproduced in appendices). Tarantino provides an admirable commentary on Clifford’s treatise and its context, as well as surveying the known details of his life and the range of reactions to his doctrines.

Texas A&M University

Cary J. Nederman


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This distinguished volume of fourteen essays has its provenance in the sixth British–Dutch Colloquium on Ecclesiastical History in 1998 and now appears in the *Subsidia* series of *Studies in Church History*. It is most fitting that church historians from both countries should turn their attention to the formidable missionary involvement of both Great Britain and the Netherlands resulting from their seaborne empires. Accordingly we have richly informative papers from the Dutch side on ‘Political rivalry and early Dutch Reformed mission in seventeenth-century north Sulawesi’ (Hendrik E. Niemeijer); ‘Civilising the kingdom: missionary objectives and the Dutch public sphere around 1800’ (Joris van Eijnatten); ‘Modernism and mission: the influence of Dutch modern theology on missionary practices in the East Indies in the nineteenth century’ (Guus Boone); ‘The governor a missionary? Dutch colonial rule and Christianisation during Idenburg’s term of office as governor of Indonesia, 1909–1916’ (Pieter N. Holtrop); and “There is so much involved”: the Sisters of Charity of Saint Charles Borromeo in Indonesia in the period from the Second World War (Liesbeth Labbeke). From the British side we have valuable contributions from Kate Lowe on ‘The beliefs, aspirations and methods of the first missionaries in British Hong Kong, 1841–5’, Myrtle Hill on ‘Women in the Irish Protestant foreign missions, 1873–1914: representations and motivations’ and John Casson on ‘Missionaries, Mau Mau and the Christian frontier’. Four papers take us beyond the frameworks of the two seaborne empires. The British scholars Andrew Porter and Brian Stanley write on the North American missionary leaders, Rufus Anderson and George Sherwood Eddy, albeit with a close eye to their British connections. H. L. Murre-van den Berg tackles a still relevant issue in ‘Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the eastern Churches: mission among nominal Christians, 1820–70’. A younger scholar from Madagascar, Rachel A Rakotonirina, takes us into the nature of martyrological and missiological discourse in colonial times. There are also two papers which have nothing to do with the seaborne empires. The Italian philologist Anna Maria Luiseli Fadda contributes an article on ‘The vernacular and the propagation of the faith in the Anglo-Saxon missionary activity’ and Eugene Honée writes about ‘St Willibrord in recent historiography’. For the
most part readers of these essays will, I presume, home in upon the papers that touch on their special interests, but it is a reviewer’s duty to read every one of them. I can report first that each contribution is of a uniformly high standard and for this the editors deserve warm congratulations. I also report that no single theme emerges. Rather we have a veritable kaleidoscope of themes and issues, with serendipitous conjunctions and fascinating contrasts of context and period. Willibrord’s methods in the seventh century on the north-western rim of Europe are fresh in our mind as we are invited to reflect upon the aspirations for the mission to mainland China of eight missionary leaders entering Hong Kong for the first time in 1841; relations with the colonial powers had different dimensions in Sulawesi and Java from those in early British India and twentieth-century Kenya; there are striking resemblances between Dutch attitudes to indigenous Indonesian Christians in the post-1945 period and the historians of the early nineteenth-century beginnings of the Church in Madagascar; a well-argued suggestion as to why missionary activity came to flourish at the end of the eighteenth century raises the question of the deeper causes of the impulse to mission in Britain and America in the same period; the clash between modernising theology and older British or Dutch frameworks has rather different results in each context, and we see the ambiguities in ecclesiology and eschatology each could produce. But shake the kaleidoscope again and other patterns emerge: the influence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (called rather oddly the American Society for Conducting Foreign Missions by one contributor) and its powerful secretary, Rufus Anderson, emerges in no less than three of these papers; the recent ‘discovery’ of the importance of women in the missionary movement is treated against the relevant sociological backgrounds; both Dutch and British versions of the Enlightenment are shown to have been of greater significance for the modern missionary movement than was earlier supposed. Other readers will shake the kaleidoscope again and yet different patterns will emerge. The last impression your reviewer reports is of the immense vigour that the missionary movement displayed in both Britain and the Netherlands as well as on the other side of the Atlantic. It is very good that so much scholarly effort is now directed towards its study, and that so many tools are being developed to reach an accurate assessment of its heyday in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I warmly commend this exciting volume.

BRITE DIVINITY SCHOOL,
FORTH WORTH,
TEXAS


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Laso de la Vega’s Huei tlamahuicoltica has been overlooked by scholars since the late seventeenth century when the central part of the text, the Nican mopohua,
which related the story of the Virgin’s apparitions to the Indian neophyte, Juan
Diego, was attributed to an indigenous source dating from the middle of the
sixteenth century. The present edition, by contrast, argues that the entire text
was written by Laso de la Vega, who took the apparition narrative from his fellow
priest and friend Miguel Sánchez’s Image of the Virgin Mary (1648), although he
employed dialogue and considerable poetic embellishment in his Nahuatl
rendering of the Spanish original. The evidence presented is based on a careful
scrutiny of the incorporation of Spanish loan words, verbal constructions and
spelling variations, all of which place the apparition narrative quite clearly in the
middle of the seventeenth century. Not only is there a clear identity between
Sánchez’s and Laso de la Vega’s accounts, but there is also direct linguistic proof
of the dependence of the Nahuatl on the Spanish version. There are, for instance,
a number of obscure constructions in Laso de la Vega which become quite clear
after examining the equivalent passages in Sánchez. In short, what Sousa, Poole
and Lockhart present us with is a devastating criticism of the persistent attempts,
sustained and developed over three hundred years, to minimise the originality of
Sánchez’s treatise by basing the Guadalupe tradition upon a totally misconceived
native foundation. From now on, any serious study of the Guadalupe devotion
will necessarily have to take Sánchez and Laso de la Vega as their starting points.

University of Bristol

Fernando Cervantes

A catalogue of the maps of the estates of the archbishops of Dublin, 1654–1850. By
85182 595 9

The diocese of Elphin. People, places and pilgrimage. Edited by Francis Beirne. Pp. 403
incl. 230 illustrations + 42 maps. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press,
2000. £30. 1 85607 299 1

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Raymond Refaussé and Mary Clark have drawn up an invaluable catalogue of
sixty-four maps, preserved in the Church of Ireland’s Representative Church
Body Library, of properties which formerly belonged to the Protestant
archbishops of Dublin. The collection is ‘a very small rump of a once substantial
body of cartographical matter’. None the less, it forms a large part of what
survived after the Church of Ireland’s map collections were taken into public
custody in the nineteenth century, only to perish when the Public Record Office
of Ireland was destroyed in 1922. The collection of maps is, therefore, of
considerable value for Irish church historians, given the relative dearth of records
they usually have to contend with. Raymond Gillespie, in a fine introduction, sets
the maps in context, and highlights their utility for the history of the social world
of the church lands, as well as for the history of cartography in Ireland. The maps
mostly pertain to archiepiscopal estates in Dublin city and county, with a lesser
number from Wicklow, Westmeath and Cork. Their interest is, undoubtedly,
magnified by the inclusion in several of them of a wealth of topographical and
cartographic details of estates such as Tallaght and Rathcoole which have since
been incorporated into Dublin’s sprawling suburbs. The catalogued maps range
in date across almost two centuries, with a chronological concentration around
the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Refaussé and Clark, with the other contributors, are to be warmly commended for a very substantial contribution to Irish ecclesiastical history. They have been extremely well served by Four Courts Press which has produced an impressive volume, superbly illustrated.

_The diocese of Elphin_ is focused on an extensive Catholic diocese in the west of Ireland and incorporates a 'short history' by the late Canice Mooney OFM, one of Ireland’s foremost ecclesiastical historians. It has a particularly interesting chapter featuring _relationes status_, reports to Rome on conditions in the diocese between 1631 and 1792, which provide striking testimony to the manner in which the Catholic community endured religious persecution and colonial exploitation during some of the darkest years of Irish history. The greater part of the book consists of a rich compendium of information relating to the secular clergy and religious communities that ministered in Elphin, the parishes and their buildings, monuments and other ecclesiastical treasures. This section is copiously illustrated with maps, line drawings and photographs. One must congratulate Fr Beirne and his team of contributors, and the Columba Press, for the production of such an attractive and accessible book. It provides an impressive platform from which further studies of the diocese will inevitably ensue.

**Derry**

**Henry A. Jefferies**

_Churches, chapels and the parish communities of Lincolnshire, 1660–1990_. By R. W. Ambler. (History of Lincolnshire, 9.) Pp. xii + 274 incl. 49 ills and 1 table. Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee (for the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology), 2000. £25 (cloth), £12.95 (paper). 0 902668 17 X; 0 902668 18 8

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There are remarkably few high quality local or regional studies of religious history in Britain and this volume, the ninth in the new county history of Lincolnshire launched in 1966, is particularly welcome and provides a model for other areas of the country to emulate. It is a worthy companion to Dorothy Owen’s _Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire_, in the same series, and builds upon the important research on the religious history of the county in the nineteenth century undertaken by James Obelkevitch and Frances Knight. That having been said, I have three reservations about the way in which the volume has been presented, which future authors of similar studies of other parts of Britain would do well to avoid. The first is the excessive use of abbreviations for works cited in the footnotes and the fact that these are not listed at the front of the volume, but arranged at the back in alphabetical order as a substitute for a proper bibliography or guide to further reading. The second is the way in which the histories of the established Church and dissent are treated separately from one another with the result that some issues, like the religious census of 1851, are not treated in a fully comprehensive manner. The third is the way in which religious developments in Lincolnshire are treated in a somewhat parochial manner with very little reference to comparable, or in some cases different, developments in other parts of the country. The result is a volume which, though an extremely useful contribution to local religious history, involving a vast amount of original
research, and entirely sound in its judgements, nevertheless feels old-fashioned to the point of being almost antiquarian, and fails to address some of the broader issues of the role of religion in society which are becoming increasingly important in modern religious history. This defect is well illustrated by the lack of any final section in which an attempt might have been made to bring together the main conclusions to be drawn from the research and to outline the broad themes of religious developments in Lincolnshire over a period of more than two hundred years.

University of Wales, Lampeter

Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), pastor and polymath, was the outstanding figure of the ‘Catholic Enlightenment’ in Italy. He is best known as an antiquarian historian and as the author of Della regolata devozione dei cristiani (The properly directed religious observance of Christians) (1747), which called for a Christocentric religious practice, purged of superstitions, unnecessary observances and Baroque extravagances. But he also wrote extensively on literature, ethics, law and political theory; he avidly followed intellectual developments north of the Alps, not least Newtonian science. His thought in general represents a combination, an imperfectly resolved one perhaps, of Catholic traditionalism with Enlightenment speculation. The present study focuses on his ethics and politics and seeks to identify his significance as a transitional figure. Muratori, a subject of the dukes of Modena who served them as chief archivist, was a theorist of enlightened absolutism. For him, the objective of ethical activity and of politics was the promotion of human felicity, although this was ultimately defined in terms of man’s supernatural end. He saw their task as being to achieve a balance between individual and collective interests, which were inevitably in tension with one another; Muratori, unlike many Enlightenment thinkers, did not assert that they could be reconciled. Continisio’s major thesis is that the eighteenth century saw ‘prudence’ give way to ‘justice’ as the pre-eminent political virtue and she identifies Muratori as showing early signs of the crisis. Felicity, for Muratori, was defined in terms of a multiplicity of ends. Prudence, so Continisio argues, could not achieve a harmonisation of a multitude of polyvalent individual interests; only distributive justice could do so. For Muratori, prudence was the pre-eminent political virtue of the subject, but not of the ruler. Yet if justice was the defining virtue of rulership, charity was the supreme Christian virtue. It was the ultimate antidote to excessive self-love, while, at the same time, it required justice to give it force. Continisio argues that in Muratori’s thought, the relationship between these two chief social virtues, justice and charity, is never resolved, a symptom, she suggests, of his difficulties in combining traditional Christian ethics with a
political calculus. This book has significant implications for Enlightenment studies generally.

**University of East Anglia**

**Oliver Logan**


Italy has a rich tradition of local ecclesiastical history, the fruits of which can be followed in the excellent regional bibliographies published in the *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia.* It remains rare, however, for important contributions to come from outside Italy, more especially work on southern Italy, where so much research on the Counter-Reformation Church remains to be done. For this reason alone this volume – a prosopographical, legal and social study of the office of vicar-general in the Kingdom of Naples in the early modern period – is welcome. It is a most thorough account, based on the rich local studies available to the author, whose industry is clear from the bibliography and the further items listed in the footnotes, which, in the German manner, are as full as the text. The study opens with an account of the theoretical role of the vicar-general as recounted in the *Praxis vicariorum* of Bishop Carlo Pellegrini (Venice 1677) and the scope of his powers and jurisdiction. This is followed by the important topic of areas of conflict between bishops and their vicars-general and with the secular authorities, including the vexed question of their income. The study ends with an examination of the career patterns and social background of vicars-general, with details on a number of families with a particular tradition of providing such office-holders (generally not from the highest echelons of the nobility, but persons of some status), and, as occurred not infrequently, their promotion to some of the 135 bishoprics in the region. There are listings and tables of the various vicars-general, based mainly on standard reference works such as Ughelli and Eubel, supplemented by modern local studies. These tables and biographical profiles will be invaluable to future researchers who may wish to take on the challenge of transmuting such a necessary and ground-breaking group study into the history of individual humanity.

**University of Bristol**

**A. V. Antonovics**


The scope of this scholarly volume transcends the limited chronology of the title or the history of the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France. Though it gives special attention to the two most considerable, one might say flagship, colleges of the order in France, it is concerned to define the entire administrative and educational framework of the Society and where France was situated within it.
Researching the history of the Society once one has the requisite languages fulfils almost every fantasy the historian might have in respect of the richness of documentation and its standardisation. The early Jesuits were bureaucratic fanatics whose rules for proceeding were respected throughout the Society worldwide. For example, they produced records of the foundations of their colleges which not only included registers and archives of donations and privileges (in case of litigation) but uniform triennial accounts of income and expenditure, debts, numbers of students, range of classes taught. For the novitiate houses they had a standard questionnaire explaining who each novice was, the professional or socio-economic status of his family, motives for entry as well as educational record. This standardisation crossed national boundaries and continents as the order became truly international. By the suppression, the Jesuits were running the largest private system of education the world had ever known (750 colleges of which 91 were French). The Society comprehended 22,589 priests (of whom 3,548 were French), not only those who taught in colleges but others involved in mission work. The education offered in the colleges was free to the consumer. That is not to say that it was not paid for. The funding of colleges in France came from the endowment-income from donations which were invested in land or urban properties, from privileges such as prebends, but running costs also came from municipal governments who saw the schools as valuable to civic growth and helped to finance them through indirect taxation. A point not pursued here is the use of annuities or the accumulation of debts often as a result of building. Most Jesuit colleges by 1762 were deeply in debt.

The colleges were founded, worldwide, on French educational principles. Loyola was Sorbonne trained and the Jesuit education formula was laid down so as to concentrate year by year, as one progressed in maturity, for most of the time on a specific category of knowledge. If one stayed the course, and the college had a full range of classes, one had done classics, rhetoric, languages, mathematics, philosophy, science etc. by the time one was a man. Some teaching we would call ‘rote’ question-and-answer teaching but its excellence in training and equipping a bright student has probably never been surpassed. Learning was highly competitive with beautifully bound prizes for excellence (contributed by a donor). The French lycées still bear some of the hallmarks of the system; many of them were later established in the buildings the Jesuits were forced to evacuate. The Jesuits laid down an example which other teaching orders (Oratorians, Salesians etc.) sought either to emulate or to simplify. Increasingly, high-level education became competitive and municipal authorities could find cheaper alternatives. Such competition, rather than Jansenist controversy or Gallican hatred of papal authority, may explain the slight decrease in enrolments in Jesuit colleges in the eighteenth century. Every great man, however, seemed to pass through one and every illustrious revolutionary, including Robespierre, learned the arts of disputa there.

This study is given over less to the political reasons for the suppression of the order than to a rich examination of what one can know about the lives of pupils and religious, the content of courses, the advancement of mathematical and scientific learning and the excellence of the libraries bequeathed by bishops and princes as well as scholars which were often tragically dispersed at the suppression or in few cases became the kernel of great university libraries. Much has been
written on the Jesuits who seem to offer something for everyone: most recently, to suit modern tastes, library reconstruction, scientific reasoning and confrontation with overseas cultures. Something of the diversity of many of these interests is reflected in this work which will add to the range of valuable Jesuit studies published by Peter Lang

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The portrayal of clergymen in novels by British women writers in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century is the subject of Christina Pumpe’s monograph. Whilst taking into consideration the social and historical context of the period under consideration, the author attempts to depict the interrelatedness of developments in two spheres, namely that of women as writers and fictional heroines on the one side and that of the role of clergymen in real life and in literature on the other. Pumpe’s examination of sixteen English novels by twelve authors ranges chronologically from Frances Burney’s Evelina (1778) to Dinah Craik’s Olive (1850). The foundation for the ideas permeating her study is, in many ways, laid in the tradition of the courtship novel and the didacticism of late eighteenth-century fiction. Despite its neglect of religion as a topic, clergymen tended to feature as feminised protagonists, as paternal ‘lover-mentors’, who supported the process of personal formation in women. This type of minister, which is particularly well presented in the novels by Jane West, was associated with a departure from aristocratic ideas about masculinity and, in political terms, the rise of a professional middle class. In the nineteenth century a different picture emerged. The evangelical movement, in particular, was responsible for the fact that religion was granted a more central role in fictional writing. Pumpe argues that the depiction of clergymen becomes more detached from the political moving forces of the time, even though bad and corrupt clergy can be part of a flawed establishment, which is exposed in socially critical novels. Maria Edgeworth’s Patronage (1814) can be perceived to mark the beginning of this trend in fiction, whilst the church reforms of the 1830s, with their emphasis on the spiritual as opposed to the material future of the ministry as well as its professional standards eventually counteracted these tendencies of secularisation. What is more, Pumpe’s selection of novels shows how women increasingly transcended the domestic sphere and thus took over traditionally male roles. These new possibilities for women are particularly well explored in the evaluation of Geraldine Jewsbury’s History of an enthusiast (1830), in which parallels are established between a clergyman and a heroine who strives for fame and public recognition as a writer. In Olive, the final novel Pumpe examines, the female protagonist is not only deformed and artistic, but she also takes the initiative in religious matters and attempts to make the minister of the novel return to the faith he has lost. It is the connection between church history, social history,
literature and gender studies which makes Pumpe’s project appealing, and the parallels and interactions between the development of the role of women and clergymen it examines are convincing. The author could, however, have achieved a more coherent, and possibly less ‘thesis-like’ structure of her book, had she related the no doubt useful and essential historical background information more closely to the often lucid and perceptive, though at times repetitive, observations in the criticism of the novels she chose to examine.

University of Oxford

Susanne Stark


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This is a dispassionate, clear and admirably compressed review of the debate as to whether Britain was or was not seriously threatened by revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century. In his dissection of much complex evidence pro and contra, Royle bears in mind the wise words of the late George Kitson Clark – not normally thought of as a post-modernist – to the effect that the period’s apparent propensity to violence might owe more to a linguistic turn (drawing in turn on theRomantics’ exaggerated modes of expression) than to genuine revolutionary consciousness or a turn for the worse in economic and social conditions. University students will undoubtedly find this a useful as well as stimulating volume. However, readers of this Journal may be disappointed that the author of pioneering works on infidelity and northern Nonconformity has so little to say (hardly more than four pages) about the religious dimensions of the debate, despite the excitement once generated by Halévy, Thompson and Hobsbawm et al. Nevertheless, Royle’s wisdom comes without a wasted word. Pointing to the considerable impact which Anglican evangelicals had on the governing classes, nationally as well as locally, he rightly observes: ‘it may be that their non-commissioned officers in the reserve armies of Methodism and Nonconformity made a greater impact on the middling sections of society. However they operated, the combined forces of religious revival may have called people’s minds to higher things, softened the edges of social conflict and, where they did contribute to radical organisation and consciousness, turned that onto constitutional and non-revolutionary channels’ (pp. 167–8). Such fine discrimination is typical of the author’s judicious approach in all controversial matters, not just religion.

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Boyd Hilton


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Since cultural history became hegemonic, the subject of ceremonial has given rise to much vapid theorising, and nowhere more than among historians of France.
Royal rites of passage under the old regime have been at the heart of it, and the funerals of kings have been analysed (so to speak) to death. Until now, much less attention has been bestowed on post-revolutionary obsequies. Avner Ben-Amos fills that gap with a detailed survey of all public funerals from Mirabeau to Mitterrand. The story is intertwined with the vicissitudes of the Pantheon, the former church of Ste Genevieve transformed by the revolutionaries into a depository for the remains of national worthies. A supplementary theme is that of ‘subversive’ funerals intended to incite or mobilise opposition to whatever order was for the time being established. Public funerals, it is argued, are basically of two types: integrative or exclusive. They use the dead to reconcile or to divide, and those who seek to do the latter, it is shown, have usually been the more successful. Public funerals generate crowds – not always spontaneously, but their organisers know that a ceremony without an audience is a pointless farce. When they seek to demonstrate opposition to the established order (which has changed so frequently in France since 1789) they also attract attention from the police, who document them copiously, if nothing else, to the great benefit of historians. Although the whole period marked out by the book’s terminal dates in amply covered, the main focus is on the Third Republic, when the Pantheon was finally established for good, and the state seized every occasion, including the deaths or anniversaries of great men, for public celebration of the values it endorsed. This was the time, too, when funerals at this level escaped from the control of the Church, to the point where religious trappings were positively excluded, along with candidates for pantheonisation whose prime associations had been religious. The lists of those accorded the three carefully defined levels of public funeral are exhaustively analysed, as is that of those proposed for the Pantheon but rejected. ‘Thick description’ of a number of key cases illustrates the nuances between funerals of politicians, soldiers, colonisers, intellectuals and artists. Written in a clear, direct style, with little jargon, and theory largely limited to how these ceremonies were conceived and received at the time they took place, this is a refreshing and always interesting commentary upon one way in which the French have sought to express their diverse political identities over two centuries of waning commitment to public religious values.

University of Bristol

William Doyle


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This, the third volume of the History of pietism, scores highly in a rather different way from its two predecessors. They surveyed an immense literature, much of it not available outside Germany and Scandinavia, and part of the education which they offered lay in the fact that the overview they gave did not escape the controversy which has been with the Pietist movement from the beginning. This volume was clearly planned to cover what is called in German the Erweckungsbewegung, in Francophone Protestantism the Réveil, in America the Second Great Awakening, and in Britain constitutes the anonymous but riotous advance
of evangelicalism in the first generation of the nineteenth century; it has, however, been allowed to pursue some of the themes it has taken up into the late twentieth century. The result is that much of this volume is not so much a guide through the thicket of generations of scholarship as a first attempt at a general view based on primary sources which are very unscholarly indeed. Every reader will be grateful for what is offered, and for the sparkle with which much of it comes (notably in Mark Noll’s piece on evangelicalism and fundamentalism in North America); but a fair number of eyebrows will be raised at what it does not contain. The editor makes a valiant stab at an impossible commission to embrace the whole of western Europe in one brief chapter. The result is that those British things which were most obviously a motor of events on the continent – religious societies and the social ideas of Thomas Chalmers, for example – get a mention, but the British evangelical Churches hardly appear. Methodism, generously treated in the last volume, is here curiously absent from both Britain and North America, while in terms of allocation of space the soziale Frage is primarily German. Some of these oddities are no doubt due to an attempt to provide historical backing for that new German horror, Evangelikalismus, but on so large and varied a tapestry other embarrassments intrude. Jörg Ohlemacher in two good chapters, internationally conceived, stoutly maintains that the term Evangelikalismus implies a unity which never existed and proceeds to expound the unity of his portion of the patch. So much for a History of Pietism. Perhaps more might have been made of some of the theological themes with which the movement began, and especially eschatology and mysticism. But there is excellent material here, notably by Weigelt on Herrnhut, the Allgäu and the Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft, by Benrath on the German Landeskirchen, and by Pentti Laasonen (with some charming pictures) on the Nordic states. Hartmut Lehmann introduces the volume in characteristic style with an account of the social and cultural setting. What will he keep for the fourth and final volume which is in his hands?

Peterfield

W. R. Ward


This biography of Simeon-François Berneux, one of the nineteenth-century Roman Catholic bishop-martyrs of Korea, is a meticulous and detailed study of his life in the context of the socio-political events of the early and mid-nineteenth century. Based upon the doctoral thesis submitted by the author to the Faculty of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn in 1999, Lecleir shows how Berneux’s theological and missiological views were shaped by the post-Napoleonic French Church’s revitalisation of its missionary movement and how in turn his own missionary endeavours became caught up in the effects of French and European imperialism in East Asia in the nineteenth century. This book is the most detailed study done in any western language of a single missionary figure or
Korean Catholic from the crucial first century of Korean Catholicism, during which time the Korean Church experienced the most severe persecution the Roman Catholic Church had encountered anywhere for several hundred years. For the first time we have a detailed study of the entire life of one of the Roman Catholic missionaries to Korea. Lecleir divides his book into nine chapters covering Berneux’s youth, his years in theological seminary, his work with his missionary society (the Société des missions étrangères de Paris) initially in Tonkin (northern Vietnam), then in Manchuria, and finally as bishop and vicar apostolic to Korea. In addition, the author provides a general description of the history of the Korean Church and its persecution as background to Berneux’s own work. The author stresses that it was Berneux’s efforts which helped to stabilise the Church after the persecutions and martyrdoms of Korean Catholics and missionaries prior to his arrival – efforts which helped the Church to weather the storm of the Great Persecution of 1866–71 in which Berneux himself was martyred. Perhaps Berneux’s most enduring monument was the creation of a theological seminary for the training and raising up of an indigenous clergy, one of the chief missionary aims of his society. This book is highly recommended to anyone interested in East Asian mission history, the history of the Church in East Asia, or East Asian socio-political history during the nineteenth century.

University of Sheffield

James H. Grayson


There are many reasons why many of the nineteenth-century prophets of atheism and secular humanism often seem today to be reduced to nothing more than curiosities in the history of ideas. They were many, they shaped their age decisively, and their teachings were varied and complex within the limits of the general world view of secular humanism. Yet with the First World War, their whole vision was already shattered in the eyes of many, and the completed experience of the twentieth century, in combination with broadly postmodern intellectual influences, often seems to have confirmed and reinforced the conviction that the outlook of this major current of the nineteenth century is among the most obsolete in our historical heritage of ideas: speculative notions of the course of history, unqualified faith in progress and science, gross materialism, bombastic claims concerning the divinity and grandeur of Man and often a quaintly detailed social utopianism.

Yet in his Drame de l’humanisme athée, Henri de Lubac warned that these ideas were not to be taken lightly, that, however naïve they may seem to us, they were the expressions of fundamental potentialities or proclivities of the mind of man. Furthermore, although no one today defends such world views in their entirety and in the same terms, their basic premises linger as serious assumptions or hypotheses in important strands not least within the social sciences and, for instance, the psychology of religion. The more subtle and rich philosophy of
Hegel, which of course inspired one of the leading prophets, Marx, has always been of interest to many different kinds of twentieth-century philosophers, and lately his stature seems to have been strengthened again. Neo-Positivism died hard in philosophy, and when it did, it was not only because of internal deliquescence, but partly also because of external attacks by alternatives inspired by other secular humanist prophets: by neo-Marxism or by broadly Nietzschean postmodernism.

Nietzsche clearly was an exceptional prophet in that he questioned most of the characteristic beliefs – in his view, illusions – of the nineteenth century. Among the prophets treated by de Lubac, Comte and Feuerbach are more representative. But the reasons why today it is Feuerbach who receives the most attention are obvious. On the one hand, Comte’s school had collapsed in the course of the nineteenth century, and its programme was carried on only in very general terms by neo-Positivism, which ultimately itself collapsed within analytical philosophy, while the whole of the radical enlightenment agenda was increasingly questioned by postmodernism as well as by various forms of traditionalism. Feuerbach’s star, on the other hand, is firmly fixed between those of Hegel and Marx, the first an ever brightly shining classic in philosophy, the second shining at least longer than Comte and still flickering in the minds of neo-neo followers who struggle to dovetail the most subversive elements of postmodernism with the badly tarnished older prophet’s more straightforwardly revolutionary programme.

Important work on Feuerbach is thus still forthcoming, not least from intellectual historians inspired by Marxism. The important chapters on Feuerbach in Warren Breckman’s *Marx, the Young Hegelians, and the origins of radical social theory* (1999) deserve special mention. And reading the works of thinkers like Habermas, who claims that we still stand, and ought to stand, where the Young Hegelians stood, it becomes clear how much of what normally appears to be the phantasmagoriae of the nineteenth-century prophets of neoterism is in fact alive and well, shrouded in new and more fashionable terminology.

Still, Brunvoll’s claim is hardly fully warranted that the justification of the study of Feuerbach is that it is impossible any longer to treat him as a mere historical curiosity, that it is illusory to regard postmodern and ‘neo-religious’ currents as a historical refutation of his criticism, that he maintains his place as the classical anti-theologian of modernity, and that no theology that is not prepared seriously to engage with him is capable of defending faith, that all theology must accept his challenge since it has to do with *Anfechtungen* that belong to theology’s unavoidable conditions of life. One does not have to read long in Brunvoll’s book to rediscover the plainly bizarre and mercilessly context-specific character of many elements of Feuerbach’s criticism of religion. Indeed, Brunvoll himself often seems aware of this.

Brunvoll’s purpose is to examine Feuerbach’s reading of and inspiration from Luther, and although, I think, a Norwegian he proceeds with meticulous German *Gründlichkeit*. One third of the book is a sixty-four-page appendix with an exhaustive list of the passages in Feuerbach’s works – including unpublished manuscripts – which refer to Luther. Another third is a discussion of the historical questions of when and what Feuerbach read of Luther and the various changes in his view of Luther which took place in the course of his career, and Brunvoll’s main arguments concern these matters. With regard to the basic
meaning and importance of Feuerbach’s reception and interpretation of Luther, to which the remaining third of the book is devoted, he seems to be largely in agreement with earlier scholarship.

The study of Luther contributed to a modification both of Feuerbach’s criticism of religion and of his own philosophy. Through it, he abandoned the view in the first edition of Das Wesen des Christentums of medieval supernaturalism and asceticism as the essence of religion, and came to regard it instead as the revelation of sensuous humanity as God. At the same time he turned to a considerable extent from abstract and generalistic Hegelian speculation to an affirmation of concrete sensual individuality. According to his Hegelian interpretation, man’s nature is at one stage of the dialectical development of consciousness alienated and externalised as a supernatural being as a step in the process of man’s full and conscious appropriation of it. In Luther, however, Feuerbach finds a new anthropological truth, namely in the denial that a purely transcendent God has any meaning, and in a new, exclusive affirmation of a ‘God for us’ and of the aim and the goal of faith as having to do with us rather than with God. Not just the acts of God, but the essence of God himself, is in Feuerbach’s Luther constituted through his relation to Man. This, Feuerbach thinks, proves that God is a creation of Man, and that pronouncements about God are expressions of our human needs. The incarnation is an event in human consciousness, whereby sensual Man and his individual Ego are accepted as God. The salvation, atonement, forgiveness and justification through Christ lie in the Love that is identical with God as sensual Man and sensual Man as God, in the Aufhebung of the transcendent God of wrath.

Not much needs to be said about this as an interpretation of Luther. In the true spirit of the nineteenth-century eccentrics of radical modernism, Feuerbach pathetically regards his own work as marking a turning-point in world history, where he, as ‘Luther II’, completes the revelation of the full anthropological significance of religion. The fact that this may perhaps be regarded as the work of the ‘classic’ anti-theologian of modernity cannot conceal elements of utter banality within it. The reasons for studying Feuerbach are at least not primarily the ones offered by Brunvoll.

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Jan Olof Bengtsson


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This monumental book, written by a fine American Hegel scholar, is unusual for the facility with which it combines an extensive account of Hegel’s life and an outline of his entire philosophy and intellectual development. All students of Hegel and of Hegelian idealism should welcome this work; while even Hegel scholars may be unfamiliar with much of the biographical material, those relatively unfamiliar with Hegel will be particularly well-served by the lucid account of his thought. Now the importance of Hegel is that more than any other idealist before him his philosophy bears witness to the insight that knowledge of
the real can reside only in ideal possession of the process by which the real comes to be. While Pinkard conveys this adroitly, he is equally concerned to clear away some still commonplace misunderstandings of Hegel; for example, that he glorified the Prussian state and thought it the culmination of human history, and that he claimed that reality developed according to a process of thesis/antithesis/synthesis.

The biographical sections (chs i–iii, vi–vii, ix–x, xii–xiii) are minutely researched and highly informative on almost every knowable aspect of Hegel’s life. Hegel’s marriage and amorous life, his money worries, his academic ambitions and setbacks, his struggle for social standing, his professional relationships, his formative years at the Protestant seminary in Tübingen, his early companionship and later falling out with Schelling, his friendship with Holderlin, his health problems, his move to Heidelberg in 1816 and his final years at home, for instance, are all brought to life in an engaging and sympathetic manner.

The account of Hegel’s philosophical development (which may be read separately from the biographical sections) summarises all his main writings, such as the *Phenomenology of spirit*, the *Science of logic*, the *Philosophy of right* and the *Encyclopaedia of the philosophical sciences*, but also focuses on some of his lesser known works, such as his early theological writings, his later lectures on the philosophy of religion, the philosophy of art, the philosophy of history and the philosophy of nature. This account is outstanding in its ability to make universally intelligible some extremely complex philosophical ideas and arguments. Moreover, the book contains brilliantly clear sketches of the critical philosophy of Kant, the Romantic idealism of Schelling, and of Fichte’s conception of philosophy as *Wissenschaftslehre*, all of which must be understood to understand Hegel. Pinkard also expertly records the not always favourable reactions of Hegel’s contemporaries and peers (most of them now forgotten) to the Master’s philosophy.

It is difficult to find fault with this illuminating work. Perhaps the reader might have been given a more heightened sense of the problems with Hegel’s idealism, such as its deduction of the act of thinking from Nature and Nature from the Logos (and the contents list on pp. vii–viii should have included the subsections to each chapter). But it would hardly be fair to expect the author to have given more and better than he has here, in a single volume.

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