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BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to the Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel. By Hermann Gunkel, completed by Joachim Begrich (1933), and translated by James D. Nogalski. Pp. x, 388, Macon, Georgia, Mercer University Press, 1998, $45.00.

Hermann Gunkel was the most influential figure in the study of the psalms and one of the great OT scholars of the last century. His more than one hundred articles in the encyclopaedia, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1st ed. 1909–13; 2nd 1927–31), including both entries on the psalms, testify to his significance and versatility. While he appreciated the contribution of historical criticism to the study of the Bible (examining the composition, authorship, date, purpose, sources, etc.), he realized that many of the most natural and persistent questions remained unanswered. He directed attention to the quality of speech and literature in the Bible, and recommended listening to a text read aloud. He also endeavoured to situate Israelite literature in the wider context of the cultures adjoining Israel.

Before tackling the Psalter in a systematic fashion Gunkel had already examined the Genesis myths of creation (Gen 1:1–2.4a: *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895), and completed his commentary on the whole book (*Genesis*, 1901). In 1906 he sketched out a programme for a literary history of Israel (*Die orientalischen Literaturen*), analysing each literary form, and suggesting its context in real life. Having commented on a selection of psalms (*Ausgewählte Psalmen*, 4th ed., Göttingen, 1917), his attention was directed more and more to the Psalter. Between the two editions of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* he wrote his monumental *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen 1926). Alas, his failing health prevented him from completing its companion introductory volume. During Christmas of 1931, realizing the impossibility of his completing the work, he committed the task to his student, Joachim Begrich, who, after Gunkel's death on 11 March 1932, saw it through to publication (*Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, Göttingen, 1933). Begrich explains in the Foreword how he dealt with Gunkel's incomplete manuscript and notes. It is the English translation of that work which is under review.

Gunkel's seminal work has enriched every aspect of the study of the psalms to the extent that his once original ideas have entered the mainstream. Inevitably, some of his assertions are untenable in the light of further insights, particularly those dependent on his evolutionist view of the development of Israelite religion, as well as those resulting from his tendency to assume a greater degree of corruption of the Hebrew text than more recent scholarship would countenance ('There can be little doubt that one finds the text of the Psalter in a particularly dismal condition', p. 2). While not every aspect of his work has stood the test of time, that relating to the designation of literary forms for the psalms, broadly speaking, has.

Gunkel realized that historical criticism was not sufficient for the task of writing a comprehensive history of Israel's literature, since the dating of books, and the identity of the authors were not secure, to say the least – and in the case of the psalms were very obscure. In his view, the task of the literary historian was, firstly, to isolate an individual literary unit (determining its beginning and its end); secondly, to establish its literary *Gattung* (type, or *genre*), noting its formal characteristics, style, etc.; thirdly, to trace the *Gattung* to its proper origins, before it received its subsequent literary formulation – he recognized that much of the 'literature' of the Old Testament was originally oral – and,

finally, to situate the composition in a historical context (e.g., personal or communal life; songs of victory after battle; keening after the dead; prophetic oracles in the marketplace; liturgical settings; priestly rituals and liturgies in the sanctuary, etc.).

Gunkel argued that every element of literature must be studied *formgeschichtlich*, i.e., in terms of the history of the literary type (*Gattung*) to which it belongs. Each psalm, too, had to be investigated bearing in mind its stylistic form, its content and its life-setting (*Sitz im Leben*). He maintained that the context in which any literary work evolved virtually determined its form of expression. He insisted that the setting of ancient literature was communitarian rather than individual. If the psalms, too, originated in a community setting, the prevailing view of their origins – that they were written by David and other individuals, and were only later taken up by the group – had to be abandoned. Furthermore, for Gunkel the communal setting of the psalms was the cult of the children of Israel. The cult was the *Mutterboden*, or womb, in which the psalms were born and developed. The individual element in many psalms reflected a later stage in the evolution of the tradition.

Since nothing can be understood outside of its context, '*the particular task of psalm studies should be to rediscover the relationships between the individual songs* that did not occur with the transmission, or that occurred only in part. Once we have co-ordinated the psalms that belong together internally, we can hope to achieve a precise understanding of the poem by means of a thoroughgoing comparison. Then with the help of meaningful analogous passages we can hope to resolve many of the individual difficulties' (p. 3). Gunkel distinguished five main categories (*Hauptgattungen*) of psalms: Hymns, Communal Laments, Royal Psalms, Laments of the Individual, and Thanksgiving Songs of the Individual. Among his other categories, four merit special consideration: Songs of Pilgrimage, Communal Songs of Thanksgiving. Wisdom Poetry, and Liturgies. Finally, those psalms manifesting elements from two or more types are 'Mixed Poems'.

Gunkel's work helps the reader to hear the Israelites praying and to understand more deeply the nature of Hebrew poetry (different styles/types, language, rhetoric, etc.). One can more easily enter into the devotional life of a pious Israelite at the time of composition, be sensitive to the liturgical fervour of the worshippers when the psalms were composed and/or were used in the liturgy, appreciate Israel's religious response to its history/life, and participate in the ecstatic bursts of joyful praise, as well as in the laments of people in difficulty, and in their protestations of sinfulness. Moreover, one can more readily relate Israelite psalmody to the (religious) lyrics of the adjoining cultures.

Gunkel's pioneering work was advanced by his student, Sigmund Mowinckel. If the master held that the earliest psalms were cultic in character, and only later became spiritual songs and prayers, Mowinckel was convinced that all psalms – with the exception of the mainly wisdom and historical ones – were cultic in nature, and he nominated the cultic context in the case of each one, almost. He asserted that originally the words pronounced during the services were the interpretations and complements of the acts performed in the cult. He criticized Gunkel's insistence that content and form always go together: a prophet may use a psalm form in his message, and a psalmist may use a wisdom form in his. Gunkel's emphasis on the 'form-historical' method, then, must be complemented by the 'cult-functional' one: to understand a psalm properly one must see it in its appropriate cultic situation.

Reflecting the historical-critical spirit of his age, Gunkel, the founder of the history of religions school at Göttingen as well as a major practitioner of the form critical method, seldom went beyond the investigation of antiquity, thereby leaving many aspects of psalm study unaddressed. In concentrating on the period of composition and subsequent use (in the Israelite cult) of the psalms he, together with Mowinckel, does not deal with their use in the NT, their Christological interpretation in the Fathers, their use within the Christian cult, not with their relevance for the modern reader, etc.

Nevertheless, Gunkel's insights quickly entered mainstream ecclesial as well as academic exegesis: 'It is absolutely necessary for the interpreter to go back in spirit to those remote centuries of the East, and make proper use of the aids afforded by history, archaeology, ethnology, and other sciences, in order to discover what literary forms the writers of that early age intended to use, and did in fact employ' (*Divino Afflante Spiritu*, 1943, par. 39). Further, Pius XII directed the exegete's attention to a consideration of 'how far the form of expression or literary idiom employed by the sacred writer may contribute to the true and genuine interpretation; and he may be sure that this part of his task cannot be neglected without great detriment to Catholic exegesis … Thus a knowledge and careful appreciation of ancient modes of expression and literary forms and styles will provide a solution to many of the objections made against the truth and historical accuracy of Holy Writ; and the same study will contribute with equal profit to a fuller and clearer perception of the mind of the Sacred Author' (par. 42).

More recently, the Pontifical Biblical Commission's *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* (1993) salutes Gunkel as the one who brought the historical-critical method out of the ghetto of literary criticism, and commended his work of defining the genre of each piece of literature and its original setting in the life of the community (I,1). Its description of the historical-critical method recalls Gunkel's own insistence: 'It is the role of literary criticism to determine the beginning and end of textual units, large and small, and to establish the internal coherence of the text … Genre criticism seeks to identify literary genres, the social milieu that give rise to them, their particular features and the history of their development.' It goes on to describe tradition criticism, redaction criticism, etc. (I,3). Despite such excellent advice, however, too many fail to distinguish between historical writing and legendary narratives, myths, apocalyptic forms, etc. If Church people attended to such seminal exhortations we would be freer of the many excesses of biblical fundamentalism.

James D. Nogalski and Mercer University Press are to be congratulated on providing the English translation of Gunkel's most influential work, albeit sixty-five years after its original publication in German.

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Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature. By James H. Morey. Pp. xxii, 428, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2000, $34.95.

A key image associated with the English Reformation under Henry VIII is the frontispiece to the Great Bible of 1538, showing the king channelling this English translation to a grateful people, eager to receive God's Word in their own language. This device encapsulates a persistent tradition about the change resulting from the Reformation: Protestantism made the Bible readily available in English, whereas earlier it had been obscured in Latin, inaccessible save in the Wycliffite version, produced by the Lollards and therefore tinged with heresy.

James H. Morey effectively disproves that contention, as far as the New Testament is concerned, claiming that 'virtually the entire New Testament was translated into Middle English prose before that project was undertaken by [the Wycliffites]' (p. 331). His main concern is not with Biblical translation *per se*, the complete and accurate Englishing of Old and New Testaments, but with questions of accessibility and likely knowledge of the Bible's contents through paraphrases, partial translations, and assorted citations – means whereby people might know a text and its contents without actually having read the original. That case is argued in this volume's introductory chapters; it is demonstrated thereafter in a valuable reference tool which offers analysis of a range of Middle English religious and devotional texts for their Biblical content.

The book's argumentative section (pp. 1–86) is a worthwhile statement in itself. After a brief introduction, Morey assesses the medieval approach to the Bible, a liberal stance which allowed paraphrase, commentary and extensive refashioning to suit an author's purpose. He then considers official attitudes, contrasting Continental restrictions on lay access up to *c.* 1400 with a less restrictive English approach, ended by Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions. He may put his case too starkly: it would almost certainly be possible to produce a catalogue of Continental texts to match that offered in the second part of this book; and many of the cited official restrictions derive from immediate contexts of outbreaks of (or fears of) heresy. The third introductory chapter briefly considers 'The place of English in post-Conquest England', before a final consideration of 'Genre, audience, and self-representation'. These introductory chapters make important points, not just about the Bible, but about attitudes to English (and Englishness), and processes of imparting information (with an important discussion of the meaning of 'lewed'). They stand in their own right, and deserve attention beyond the confines of studies of Middle English.

The second, larger, part of the volume, the guide itself, provides a listing of works which contain Biblical material in Middle English. The entries list manuscripts, identify editions, tabulate the biblical content, and offer occasional commentary. Grouping the works in relation to their Biblical coverage (with some unavoidably miscellaneous), this compilation will be an extremely useful research aid. The groupings reveal the preferences of the period: the Psalter has a section to itself (II.B, pp. 172–6), as do Passion narratives (III.C, pp. 263–90). Some of the treatments are unavoidably impressionistic: sermon material is too bulky to be dealt with in detail, even though 'The biblical material preserved in the various sermon and homily collections of medieval England was probably … the primary means of spreading the Word among lay folk' (p. 319). All that is here offered is a taster, based on the late-twelfth-century *Ormulum* and the later *Northern Homily Cycle*. Likewise, the ubiquitous freely-circulating translations of the Ten Commandments and Paternoster receive a treatment which is admitted to be brief (pp. 162–7, 302–5). There is a useful bibliography, running to almost twenty-five pages. The one flaw in the enterprise lies with the indices. Three of these, the most valuable for researchers, allow the guide to be plundered for reference to particular biblical chapters; mentions of biblical people, places and events; and for texts in particular manuscripts. These are all constructed around the sigla for the individual texts (the fourth, general, index, uses page numbers). Unfortunately, movement from the index to the text entries is a complex and roundabout process, which could well prove tiresome. It would be surprising if this book does not before long move into a second and expanded edition: hopefully this problem can then be resolved to make it more user-friendly.

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The Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists: The Discourse of Skepticism, 1680–1750 (Studies in Rhetoric/Communication). James A. Herrick. Pp. ix, 245, University of South Carolina Press, 1997, $29.95.

Near the end of the seventeenth century, the vogue of natural theology, a consequence of the rationalist temper of the age, was to take a different turn. With the exception of Quakerism and, in some cases, puritan 'enthusiasm', faith and knowledge, reason and revelation, right doctrine and sound morals had been more or less compatible with one another until this time; and, whatever the extremes of anti-Trinitarianism, orthodox Christianity had remained essentially unchallenged. For all the emphasis on reason and natural religion, Latitudinarians, leading scientists and philosophers alike – Newton, Boyle, and Locke – never questioned the existence of God or the importance of belief.

God did exist. This, Locke maintained, is 'the most obvious truth that reason discovers'; 'its evidence' is 'equal to mathematical certainty'. Belief is the consequence of rational proof. Reason, it seemed, could resolve all difficulties and banish all mysteries. The effect on theology was revolutionary. For, in the discussion of scripture and miracles, the strong emphasis on reason was to raise the question of the status of revelation and to encourage more speculative thought, of which the most disconcerting of manifestations was Deism.

The causes of the rise of Deism and its increasing popularity near the end of the seventeenth century are manifold and complex. It would at least in part have had to do with a relative stability. There was more toleration of free thinking, an increasing anti-clericalism and, in the view of many contemporaries, a collapse of morals. There was certainly an increase in the popular nature of discussions on religion, in the city taverns, coffee houses and guilds as well as in secret societies. As a system that was simple and rational, Deism had a great appeal for the less educated urban working population. The Church had begun to worry, as Edward Stillingfleet's *Letter to a Deist* (1677) confirms. There the Deist is addressed as 'a particular person who owned the Being and Providence of God, but expressed mean esteem of the Scriptures and the Christian religion'. But it was only in the early nineties, in the writings of the bitterly anti-clerical Charles Blount, that it first became a serious threat to orthodox Christianity. With his amplification of the five fundamental truths of Deism set down by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Deism assumed the guise of an attack on traditional beliefs. Revelation was a disguise for superstition; mysteries, prophecies and miracles, particularly with regard to the birth of Christ, were rejected as irrational; and Christ as well as many leading biblical figures were treated as imposters. The attacks on priestcraft were now direct attacks on the authority of scripture and of the Church. Three years later, with Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), Deism had become a 'virulent skeptical movement'.

This is James Herrick's point of departure in *The Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists: The Discourse of Skepticism, 1680–1750*. Not only was radical British Deism a 'popular religious movement'. More importantly, it was 'a rhetorical movement' which, in its attacks on the Bible, aimed at undermining not only 'the foundation of the Christian faith but also of British government'. In their efforts to refute revelation the British Deists invented a new critical method explicitly designed for such subversion. 'Foundational to this method was the "test of ridicule" ', which drew on rhetorical, philosophical and theological traditions of scepticism. Next to ridicule they employed complementary methods and experimented with 'historical criticism, naturalistic explanations of miracles, comparative religious studies, and allegorical schemes of interpretation'. But in addition to argument, their corrosive approach was especially marked by distinctive rhetorical tactics which would appeal to their popular audience – ridicule, lying, disguise, profanity, insult, selection and forgery. In developing a critical approach to the Christian scriptures, their purposes 'were strategic rather than scholarly and destructive rather than apologetic. The Deists' method was invented out of the need for a tool for dismantling the biblical texts, particularly miracle narratives, as part of a grand project of forging a case against the notions of revelation and religious privilege.'

Herrick is a professor of rhetoric and communication. According to the editor of the series, Thomas Benson, he 'demonstrates that the doctrines of the Deists, though highly varied, are best understood as rhetoric – that is, as addressed to readers in a particular historical circumstance and in the context of a bitter public controversy'. So Herrick turns to the Deist controversy and the course it took, indicating the various phases of this 'rising tide of skepticism, heresy, blasphemy and atheism [that] swept the realm as the foundational presuppositions of Christianity were assaulted'. Central to the discussion are the doctrines of the principal Deists with the emphasis on their rhetoric – of Toland, Shaftesbury, Tindal, Collins, Woolston, Morgan, Chubb, Annet and the little known Jacob Ilives – and the reactions of their critics – of Fleetwood, Berkeley, Conybeare, Butler, Sherlock, Stackhouse, Gibson and William Law.

The controvery came to a height in the late twenties, with Woolston and Collins, the former's trial and Tindal's reaction following it. The early and mid-thirties are dominated by orthodoxy with the return to serious argumentation and great reasonableness in the works of Berkeley, Law and especially Butler. There was another crescendo in the 1740s with Morgan and Chubb. The former firmly restates the Deist case against miracles and justifies the method of ridicule. With the latter, a new popular brand of Deism was introduced. But, although there is some sense of chronology, much is unclear and confusing from the start. This would be due to the book's main focus, which is not very clear either. The issues, doctrinal or otherwise, are not only subjected to the kinds of rhetoric used by Deists and orthodox opponents alike, (here, as Collins noted in *A Discourse Concerning Ridicule and Irony* of 1729, revered classical scholars and respected orthodox divines likewise indulged in rhetoric and polemics in order to ridicule their opponents), but both the doctrines in question and the rhetorical strategies are also seen to be couched in, and indeed motivated by, social, political and legal issues, mostly concerning class and authority. This is revealed in the headings of the ten chapters and in those of the sections with which the book abounds: 'The Rhetoric of Subterfuge and Characterization', 'Tolerance, Expression, and Prosecution', 'Ridicule and the Popular Audience', 'The Popular Audience, Free Expression, and Rhetorical Triumph', and so on. Much is made of the persecution of the Deists, which was indeed vicious, of Woolston, Annet and Ilives in particular, and of their skirmishes with the Blasphemy Act, instituted in 1679. Of course with respect to such ulterior motives and the use of rhetoric for rhetoric's sake, Berkeley, Law and Butler, in their reasonableness and clarity, fall outside the discussion.

The focus becomes no clearer when it appears that Herrick's attempts to illuminate the period have a purpose: they are directed towards illustrating 'the origins of cultural assumptions that are part of the common sense of our time'. It would also be for this reason that he believes radical British Deism had not begun to decline in the late 1740s and that, contrary to the dates in his own title, 1680–1750, prominent Deism continued with great vehemence right up into the 1770s. Admittedly, Annet was only prosecuted for blasphemy in 1762 for his 'seditious' periodical, the *Free Inquirer*, and not for his attacks on the miracles and diatribes against priestcraft in the early forties. But the argument becomes muddled here. Hume had come on the scene with his famous 'Of Miracles', and the orthodox responses he received with such relish can no longer be seen as directed against the Deists.

Herrick's modern bias and sense of purpose pervade his book and the conclusions he draws. The discussion of the gnostic Jacob Ilives, preceding the 'Conclusion', is just one more example. Ilives was the last of the Deists to be tried and imprisoned, in 1753 and 1757. However, this was not for his 'anti-Semitic' forgery, *The Book of Jasper* of 1751, which was immediately recognized, and is still listed, as such by the British Library; but Herrick is no more specific than this. He sees Ilives as a 'major figure in English Deism who is virtually unknown to the twentieth century'. He 'serves as a theological link between Christian and heretical writers of the early Christian period and later gnostic religions such as Mormonism, Theosophy and Rosicrucians'. Here C. D. Bond's republication of *The Book of Jasper*, with the removal of the more seditious parts in 1829, is linked to Joseph Smith's *Book of Mormon* of a year later. Herrick ends his book by saying: 'Like the Sophists of Plato's day, English Deists applied the acid of rational criticism to the eternal verities of a great society and in so doing threatened many things valuable, stable, and defining about it. Like the Sophists, the Deists' impact has often been either underestimated or misunderstood due to the presence on their historical stage of more talented actors. And, like the rhetoric of Plato's rivals, Deist discourse has shaped the modern, urban, pluralistic society in fundamental and lasting ways, while to the mimetic work of others has often gone the credit.'

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Le Catholicisme classique et les pères de l'église. By Jean-Louis Quantin. Pp. 672, Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1999, no price given.

It is generally appreciated that the late seventeenth century was a golden age in the long and distinguished history of French patristics: it was the age of Tillemont and the Maurists, an age when a theology based on Augustine gave the Jansenists the courage to stand up to popes and absolute monarchs alike. This new study by a young French scholar, learned and fully documented, yet consistently lucid and stylish, explores far more than a chapter in the history of scholarship: it shows how a return to the patristic sources informed two generations (and more) of French clergy, created a distinctive theology and spirituality, and ultimately worked to undermine the Tridentine Catholicism it had set out to defend. The book covers a wide range of themes that can only be touched on selectively in a brief review. It is not only a major contribution to French religious history: it raises essential questions, all too rarely addressed by scholars, of the role of patristics, and indeed any form of historical theology, in the healthy development of Christian culture.

The Council of Trent called for an appeal to 'the consensus of the Fathers' against the errors of Protestantism. The apologetic requirement was that the Christianity of the Fathers be presented as a norm of doctrine and practice that could be established by impartial historical research: the rational arguments of scholasticism were to be replaced by the scientific appeal to established fact, by what was called 'positive theology'. Those who attained expertise in this discipline and gained confidence through their supposed success against Calvinists could not but realize that their method provided a criterion with which to sit on judgement on Tridentine Catholicism as well. They could only feel contempt for the Ultramontanism caricatured by Pope Innocent X, who admitted that he had not studied theology but rejected an appeal to refer the Jansenist controversy to a learned investigation by theologians with the words, 'Non dite questo, perché abbiamo noi lo Spirito Santo'. What did the Gallican theologians and their clerical following understand by the 'consensus of the Fathers'? Although they understood the age of the Fathers to extend to St Bernard, for them the golden age was the century from Nicaea to Chalcedon, and within this period the dominant figures were seen to be Augustine (for doctrine) and John Chrysostom (for ethics). The orthodox presumption was that Christian doctrine had never changed and that practice should derive from dogma. As the informed compared the practice and discipline of the fourth-century Church with the Catholicism of their own day, they could only interpret the difference in terms of decline.

Quantin discusses in detail the calls for reform that were emitted by a much wider group than the Jansenists and included such items as the restoration of public penance (which, after all, Trent had envisaged), a pruning of extra-liturgical devotions, and (interestingly enough) a restoration of the active participation of the faithful at mass as an expression of the universal priesthood in virtue of which they collaborate with the priest in the eucharistic offering. A vast mobilization of preaching adopted without hesitation the programme of the great monastic bishops of late antiquity, urging generous almsgiving as an absolute duty, excoriating such perennial vices as ostentatious luxury and addiction to the theatre, and generally refusing to accommodate the gospel to contemporary cultural norms; with tragically misplaced confidence they inspired and supported the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its application to the Huguenots of the policy of coercion of which Augustine had provided the classic defence in his writings against Donatism. The Fathers of the fourth century had sought to Christianize culture, without expecting extensive success; their seventeenth-century imitators were equally determined and equally pessimistic. They recognized that only a few would respond, quoting as authoritative (as did Fr Faber as late as the 1850s) John Chrysostom's estimate that less than a hundred out of the whole population of Constantinople would be saved; but true Christians would respond, and the rule of Christian living had, they

insisted, to be based on a lively faith in the power of grace rather than an easy accommodation to fallen human nature. The spirit of 'classical Catholicism', Quantin concludes, was not primarily a spirit of primitivism or a nostalgic recall of distant glories but a spirit 'd'intransigeance, de rupture et d'expiation' (pp. 590f.). As such, one may observe, it was true to the heritage of the greatest of the Fathers, and it would be pedantic to point out (as did some contemporary Protestants) that early Christianity was far less uniform than the Gallicans supposed.

Quantin's judgement of the Gallican movement, as an attempt to return to the Church of the Fathers, is severe and at times ungenerous. Is it really fair to accuse them of constantly confusing 'droit' and 'fait' by appealing to past teaching and practice as normative, or to accuse them, in their resistance to the heavy wielding of Church authority by the Ultramontanes, of falling into Donatism? But Quantin's judgement is convincing when he points out that the Gallicans ignored the Catholicism of the poor, centred on Marian devotion, the cult of the Sacred Heart, and relative penitential leniency, and that it was this popular Catholicism, appreciated and supported by the Jesuits, that was to become the dominant Catholicism of post-revolutionary France. Some might, of course, suggest that the academic theologians and historical specialists got their own back after Vatican II, with unhappy results for the French Church (and perhaps for Catholicism as a whole). Quantin is too disciplined a scholar to hint at this: his book is a model of thorough scholarship that raises questions of perennial importance for the future of the Church, but which at the same time maintains the objectivity of the true historian. He wisely leaves it to others to pursue the questions over the nature of Catholicism and the role of historical theology that his work raises in so magisterial and stimulating a manner.

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The Sacred and Secular Canon in Romanticism: Preserving the Sacred Truths (Romanticism in Perspective: Texts, Cultures, Histories). By David Jasper. Pp. x, 158, Macmillan, 1999, £40.00.

David Jasper's background is interdisciplinary. He is Professor of Literature and Theology and Dean of Divinity at the University of Glasgow. He believes that 'the age of Romanticism initiated many of the complexities in the reading of the Bible which we would do well to recognize and explore today'. The emphasis, then, is on 'Preserving the Sacred Truths', on 'the significance of Romanticism for our understanding of postmodernity'. 'In Romanticism, the Bible is situated between two worlds – the ancient and the modern – and remains central in our postmodern world as the power of traditional religious language fades and gives way to new perceptions of the sacred in poetry and art.'

The discussion begins with a definition of the term 'canon' and the biblical canon of sacred texts, in particular: 'The list of books of the Bible accepted by the Christian Church as genuine and inspired'. Of course, as a theologian, Jasper notes that this definition and the terms 'genuine' and 'inspired', as well as 'the Christian Church', have been the source of debate in biblical criticism since its beginnings. But his concern here is not with the technical history of the study of the canon of scripture. None the less, it is as a theologian, interested in the phenomenon of 'canonical criticism' in biblical studies, that he approaches the literature and art of European Romanticism, when 'a largely stable view of the biblical canon was being disrupted and the Bible was, in a sense, rediscovered as a much trickier, more volatile and perhaps more powerful collection of texts than its "canonization" by the Church had allowed'. (It is not clear which Church is meant here, just as throughout this book little distinction is made

between the social, political and religious situation in England and elsewhere in Europe.) However, Jasper goes back to the Deist Anthony Collins, the first to effect 'a breach in the unity of the biblical canon at the same time as putting in question its reliability'. He then rapidly turns to the beginnings and developments of modern biblical criticism in Germany, in the work of Semler, Eichhorn, Schleiermacher, Baur and Strauss, 'as it began to chip away at the assumed unity of the biblical canon and in various ways allowed the Bible to be read as "literature" '. Jasper is evidently in command of his material, especially in the chapter that deals with '*Weltliteratur* and the Biblical Critics'. But the discussion is necessarily selective and often a more specific and wider knowledge of the complex issues and conflicting interests which inform the work of these professional critics is taken too much for granted. Schleiermacher, the founder of modern hermeneutics and a major New Testament scholar, certainly believed that the study of the constituents of the canon must be carried on by the same methods and with the same object as the investigation of secular texts. But he also remarked that 'a continuing preoccupation with the New Testament canon which was not motivated by one's own interest in Christianity could only be directed against the canon'.

It is against this backdrop, in which the distinction between sacred and secular literature has begun to disintegrate, that Jasper explores what he sees as the major Romantic contributions to biblical interpretation and our understanding of the sacred today. They include the work of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Goethe, Hölderlin, Strauss, Turner and Arnold. Through them and a host of others, the Bible begins to emerge as part of a great 'secular' literature, 'whose canon is shifting and continually needs to be reassessed'. Assessment and reassessment pervade this book. The chapter on 'Hölderlin and Holy Scripture' is largely concerned with Heidegger's interpretation of Hölderlin's poetry 'as itself Holy Writ'. Similarly, Turner's biblical paintings are read in the light of Goethe's 'Theory of Colours', and Jasper is baffled by the fact that Turner has not been seen as an important biblical critic. In these and further instances a multitude of other voices, including those of modern deconstructionist interpretation, Paul Ricoeur's or Paul de Man's, are brought into the discussion. Hence Jasper is able to say: 'the Bible and its texts continued to hang together, remaining important and even definitive in the formation of the developing canons of *Weltliteratur* from Goethe to Matthew Arnold, so that scripture remains crucial, even as a "sacred" text (whatever that means), through the use of "literature" in the studies of academic departments, through the traumas of the nineteenth-century secularization of the European mind, and even through most recent *anti*-canonical writings in literary criticism and theory which regard all canons of whatever kind as instruments of "principled, systematic exclusion", reflectively [*sic*] passively "the ethos or ideology of a particular society of [*sic*] group" '.

So large, comprehensive and all-encompassing are this short book's approach and focus, that it is impossible to summarize its arguments with any precision. On almost every page, the argument tends to become unfocused. There is far too much offhand and allusive mention of countless, seemingly relevant, views of other writers, artists, theologians and philosophers – Romantic, pre-Romantic, post-Romantic, modernist, pre-modernist, post-modernist, contemporary, and from the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The many footnotes do not help in this respect. It is as if the Romantic concern with 'diversity in unity' and the 'organicist' approach to the Bible in answer to what Coleridge called 'bibliolatry' is commensurate with vagueness and diffuseness. But perhaps this is in the way of post-modernist romanticizing. The prose also tends to be abstract, to blur distinctions and to over-simplify complex issues. Often it is convoluted with unexplained specialist terminology and modern jargon. Furthermore, words have frequently gone missing; and the many spelling mistakes and slips in grammar as well as the misquotations – such as Blake's comment on Milton that he was 'a true Poet[,] and of the Devil's poetry [party] without knowing it' – are irritating. The book is uneven. Three of the nine chapters have previously appeared elsewhere. There is much repetition and a strange optimism, particularly about the all-inclusive nature of

Romanticism and its legacy – a great deal of anxiety which is seen as energizing – for our post-modernist age. Here, the swipe against Harold Bloom is gratuitous, even for readers who are not necessarily his fans.

Finally, as Jasper says, the list of suggestions for 'Further Reading', with which his book ends, can only be too short for such a vast subject. Nevertheless, more of the older standard works within the different disciplines, theological, biblical, literary, philosophical or otherwise, might have been included.

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands E. M. Knottenbelt

Losing the Sacred. By David Torevell. Pp. xiv, 236, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 2000, £24.95.

Sub-titled 'Ritual, Modernity and Liturgical Reform', this book by a Senior Lecturer at Liverpool Hope University College (UK) deserves serious attention and could provide the basis for an extended and thorough debate, not only about liturgy and ritual, but about the future of Catholic Christianity itself. It is clear, measured, well sign-posted and scholarly, and the overall argument is both strongly defended and coherently constructed. Torevell draws on the social sciences and cultural studies, as well as on theology, philosophy and religious studies, in offering a critical review of the effect of post-Vatican II liturgical reforms, indicating along the way some false moves he believes have been taken.

He argues that there has been a loss of transcendence and of mystery and a downplaying of the notions of sacrifice and the sacred. An over-emphasis on the current concerns of congregations, a well-meant but ultimately disastrous stress on relevance, a subjective focus (rather than a turning of attention towards God), a prioritizing of the cognitive over the bodily – all these are for Torevell regrettable features of recent liturgy. By neglecting ritual, liturgy has lost much of its spiritual power. Instead of distancing us from the world by enclosing us in a deliberately supernatural space, one marked by special language, clothing, movement, gesture and directing our attention away from the quotidian and mundane, liturgy has too often assumed a therapeutic role, addressing the individual and communal existential needs of worshippers. In reducing the social distance between priest and people and by minimizing the gap between liturgy and daily life, the church's ritual has been robbed of its essential form. Its codes and symbolic performances have been emasculated and its capacity to bring us into the orbit of the divine has been seriously weakened.

These losses have been suffered despite the advantages claimed for liturgical reforms in the 1960s. These advantages include a renewed pastoral emphasis, increased lay participation, better understanding of what is happening in the liturgy, enhanced appreciation of scripture, greater adaptability in acknowledging different social and cultural circumstances, a more celebratory mode of worship and more sensitivity to ecumenism. Torevell argues that effective liturgy should rely less on worshippers' current state of mind and more on the enduring aspects of God's message. One might, with some justification, claim that he laments the tendency in recent years to give priority to the 'horizontal' over the 'vertical' dimensions of Christian faith.

Despite being impressive, the argument does not entirely convince. First, the analysis of sacred power and the role of the priest does not benefit from the author's own retrieval of Foucault. Second, although the weaknesses that reforms were intended to address – clericalism, excessive attention to rubrics, passivity and conservatism – are mentioned (p. 148), they do not appear to be given their due weight. Third, is it really true that worship which aimed to establish closer connections with the secular world 'failed to challenge the assumptions lying behind that world it so desperately wanted to include

into its salvific framework' (p. 159)? Fourth, in places the book exhibits a high degree of abstractness and even shows a tendency to hypostasize some of the key ideas. Fifth, in pleading for a more counter-cultural dynamic to be played out in liturgy and ritual performance, Torevell neglects the degree to which past liturgical forms have buttressed social hierarchies while marginalizing other groups (most obviously, women). Sixth, in rightly stressing the need for liturgy to address and evoke the divine, the author sometimes seems to forget that it still remains a human construct. If ritual enacts and represents the heavenly and hopes to reflect back onto our lives some of its glory, it continues to be rooted in the earthly. Finally, more attention could have been paid to the extent to which material conditions influence (without determining) our mental categories and personal priorities. For a work that gives such a heavy emphasis to the bodily dimensions of worship, this book is strangely silent about the effects of an inherently unpredictable and threatening material world on human needs for refuge, consolation, protection and insurance. It may turn out that there are closer links between the mundane and the mystical than are allowed for in this work.

There are several minor errors. These occur on p. 52 (Bonaventure's work was in the thirteenth century; Hume's contentions could not have been anathema to Descartes, who died sixty years before Hume was born) and on pp. 137, 153, 156, 171, 193 and 203. There is an unclear reference on p. 169. The interpretation of Blondel (pp. 131–2) is a little precarious and in some respects not completely accurate.

Despite my reservations about some parts of his argument, I believe that Torevell's study presents some very important challenges to contemporary Catholics, and indeed to other Christians. Those who wish to appreciate their own liturgical traditions and to benefit from rituals that seek to attend to the divine as well as to the human can find much to ponder on here. This work provides a particularly promising focus for bringing together in fruitful debate those who identify themselves as progressives and those who feel comfortable being described as traditionalists.

St Mary's College Strawberry Hill (University of Surrey), UK John Sullivan

The Sacred in Music. By Albert L. Blackwell. Pp. 255, Cambridge, Lutterworth Press, 1999, £25.00.

A survey of the history of Western and Christian society and of music reveals that philosophies of music have always reflected the prevailing attitudes about God and the world, attitudes that have changed continuously in the course of history. Many decry the commercialism, mediocrity and even the godlessness of much music prevalent in Western society today. For such people the ancient Greek and early Christian philosophies and theologies pertaining to music and Cosmic Harmony, Music of the Spheres and the Doctrine of Ethos hold appeal, especially in the context of their dissatisfaction with modern society.

In this book Albert Blackwell explores the idea of the 'sacramental' in music. He defines 'sacramental' as 'any finite reality through which the divine is perceived to be disclosed and communicated, and through which our human response to the divine assumes some measure of shape, form and structure'. He examines the well-documented philosophies and theologies relating to the Pythagorean and Incarnational sacramental traditions, and refers to and quotes from a huge number of sources, ancient, medieval and modern.

The author's comprehensive review of the Pythagorean mathematics of music, of numerical proportions of musical overtones and of the various musical modes is excellent. He maintains the belief that they display an order in music that is consistent with the order to be found in creation in general. In his discussion of the Incarnational

tradition, he adopts panentheism (the belief that God is both transcendent over and immanent in all creation) as a premise for his argument for the possibility of the sacramental in music. He discusses not only the sacred power of music but also music as an expression and reflection of a fallen world, with power to harm as well as to heal. This section of the book is refreshingly free from the dogmatism, prescriptiveness and intolerance often found in discussions of this nature. The final chapter discusses eschatology, mysticism and transcendence, and how music relates to these.

The book is commendable as an overview of sources and ideas on the topic of the sacred in music. In general, though, the book fails to be convincing. Blackwell's arguments constantly beg the question, which leaves the reader feeling unsatisfied and unchallenged. His basic presumption is that the divine, or God, is present in all creation, and he builds his discussions and arguments on this premise. However, his arguments, though interesting, simply lead us back to that presumption, like a snake eating its tail: from the basic premise that the divine, or God, is immanent and can be perceived in, and communicated through, all creation he leads us around in a circle to the conclusion that God can be perceived, disclosed and communicated through music – an aspect of creation.

Another source of dissatisfaction that arises is Blackwell's interpretation of ancient and medieval perspectives on the sacred in music from the standpoint of a modern Western aesthetic philosophy of music. This philosophy, which dates back to the eighteenth century, and which reifies music, sees and treats music as a product rather than a process. While this philosophy may no doubt be shared by many readers, it leaves enormous gaps in the author's arguments. In his critical analyses of deconstructive arguments that seek to reduce music merely to historical, social and cultural constructs, he certainly acknowledges the importance of these aspects of music. Yet nowhere does he discuss their possible relevance to the topic. He appears to take no cognizance of an increasingly important body of research on the psychological, sociological and other aspects of musical preferences and of music-making – aspects that could add much of value to the discussion of the sacred in music in terms of the Incarnational tradition. The strong focus on abstract and universal concepts of the sacred in music suggests a dualism that is not defended and that reduces the relevance of the book to today's society.

This underlying attitude to music has led Blackwell to make emotive and subjective statements. His remarks about popular music being the most obvious example of Western musical impoverishment are based solely on its elemental qualities such as melody, harmony, rhythms and timbre. Not only does the author generalize about popular music, but also his perception of its lack of musical sophistication leads him to a conclusion that ignores the possibility of sacramental encounter in aspects of popular music other than its inherent structural qualities. Yet Incarnational theology supports the argument that the divine can be present, perceived and communicated just as much through the social, psychological and cultural aspects of music as in its inherent mathematical and musical structures. *The Sacred in Music*, while offering an interesting review of sources and ideas on the subject, nevertheless fails to offer anything new.

University of Pretoria, RSA Krystyna Smith

The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation. By R. Scott Appleby. Pp. xiii, 428, New York, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict and Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield, 2000, £16.95.

Religion played a large role in international affairs in the last three decades of the twentieth century, and so far there are no signs that it will recede into the background in the twenty-first. But it is negative images of religion, as progenitor of violent conflict and tribal hatred, which have dominated the world's media while the role of the world's

religions in engendering peace and reconciliation is less frequently recorded. In this well written and thoroughly researched study Scott Appleby attempts to set the record straight, portraying as he does the remarkable record of religion's contribution to world peace in the last thirty years, while also documenting its contribution to violence.

For Appleby this ambivalence of the human response to the sacred – at one time sustaining acts of violence and even genocide, at another enabling heroic resistance to evil and birthing miracles of reconciliation and forgiveness – is a consequence of the 'distance between the infinite God and the contingent human being'. But the ambiguity of the sacred has positive as well as negative outcomes, for within each of the traditions it is possible to trace 'a moral trajectory challenging adherents to greater acts of compassion, forgiveness, and reconciliation', a trajectory which informs the pattern and structure of this book.

Among the stories of religiously sanctioned violence, Appleby provides highly informative accounts of Islamic terrorist groups Hammas in Palestine and Hizbullah in South Lebanon, of black Christian support for violent resistance to apartheid in South Africa, of the religio-ethnic character of the conflict in Bosnia-Hezegovina, of the violent tendencies of Hindu nationalism in India as sponsored by the Bharatiya Janata Party since 1980, and the support for violent resistance to oppressive states in Catholic Latin America by liberationist theologians and church leaders such as Ernesto Cardinal in the 1970s.

Alongside these stories of violent religious militants, Appleby documents the charismatic religious leaders and groups who have become militant in the cause of peace and conflict resolution in the last thirty years. One such is the Buddhist primate of Cambodia, Samdech Preah Maha Ghosananda, who commenced an annual march for peace in 1993 that played a crucial role in engendering and sustaining popular commitment for the emergence of democratic government and a reconciliation process in post-Khmer Rouge Cambodia. Appleby recounts how two Christian organizations, the Mennonite Central Committee and the Catholic Sant'Egidio Community, have also been militant in conciliation work; in the former case in Nicaragua, Somalia and Columbia, and in the latter in Lebanon, Mozambique and Uganda. From contrasting theological positions – the one a community with a tradition of withdrawal from the world, the other embracing the Vatican II doctrine of the relation between the People of God and the 'gracing of humanity' – these two communities have mobilized resources in the Christian worship of Christ the reconciler, and the Christian doctrine of forgiveness, to become ambassadors for peace, and in particular for friendship and dialogue between enemies and combatants. Both groups recognize a key component of recent religiously-inspired reconciliation projects – the need to find a safe, and often secret, space and time where opponents can come together and find common cause in their mutual humanity – even friendship – and discover that they have shared interests in transforming conflict into peace.

In conclusion, Appleby characterizes religious peace-building as a 'preeminent expression of religious commitment' which has the capability to turn the ambivalence of the sacred with regard to violence into a positive force for justice and peace in the late modern world.

This book is that rare thing, a scholarly work which also makes a powerful impact on the interiority of the reader. While not discounting the negative role of religion in engendering violence in some parts of the world, the book is dominated by moving stories of the role of religious people in conciliation and peace-making which are engagingly recounted (and documented in exceptional detail in more than a hundred pages of end notes). It should be required reading not only for diplomats and specialists in international relations but also for religious studies students who are more accustomed to reading the secularist portrayal of religion as a cause of conflict than as a source of hope in a world of conflict.

New College, University of Edinburgh, UK Michael S. Northcott

Theology, Hermeneutics and Imagination: The Crisis of Interpretation at the End of Modernity. By Garrett Green. Pp. 229, Cambridge University Press, 1999, £37.50.

In this book, based on his Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham in 1998, Garrett Green delineates a programme for a hermeneutics of imagination by exploring the 'hermeneutics of suspicion' by way of a whistle-stop tour of its master practitioners, Feuerbach, Marx, Nietzsche and Freud. Green argues that a perpetuated dichotomy of imagination/faith *versus* understanding/reality (traceable to the Enlightenment) is at the back of their suspicious readings of religion in general and Christianity in particular. When understanding is considered the relatively straightforward function of the human mind, imagination will appear as a distortion or sickness of it. And the critics whom Green surveys have universally insisted that religion, chiefly Christianity, is precisely such a distortion. In addition to summarizing their thought, Green calls attention to a trend in theology he designates 'accommodationist'. The distinguishing feature of accommodationist theologies is that they attempt to salvage religion while accepting this sharp dichotomy of reality versus faith, by sloughing off the particular (or contingent, positive) features of Christianity to reveal the rational kernel at its heart. Kant's *Religion within the limits of reason alone* exemplifies this sort of undertaking, and, though Green does not dwell on the point, so does Bultmann's demythologizing.

Green then takes up the lead of postmodernist critics of the modernist position on understanding. Their criticisms, he argues, are devastating to the modernist hermeneuts of suspicion and the accommodationist theologians who have collaborated with them. Citing the work of Thomas Kuhn, Green draws attention to the implausibility of 'pure' understanding, which is the foundational premise for modernist rejections of faith and imagination. Bearing in hand this fruit of deploying postmodernist thought in a Christian cause, Green then precedes with an exploration of how Derrida's notion of *différance* sheds light on Barth's hermeneutics. Then follows an excursus on Christian theology in the postmodern context, in which Green presents a conventional account of the hermeneutic imperative and an unconventional definition (one might say 'reduction') of theology as interpretation. Because Green's book is an attempt to set a programme for understanding the Bible in the postmodern age, though, this is perhaps unsurprising. What Green proposes in the end is an embracing of Christian faith as an imaginative orientation toward life that is grounded in trust in Jesus Christ and the God who raised him from the dead. On the basis of this trust, Christians can realize their vocation as faithful exegetes of the Bible and indeed the rest of God's creation.

What is curious about the book is not the regularity with which imagination is invoked, unexplained, since Green has elsewhere written at length on the place of imagination in Christian theology. Instead, it is the remarkable ease with which Green dovetails secular philosophy and Christian theology. Certainly this is not done without awareness of the dangers involved, as his several scathing passages on various liberation theologies reveal. But though he skilfully navigates his conclusion between the Scylla of conservatism and the Charybdis of liberalism, it is not at all clear that he has come safely to harbour. For instance, he seems uninterested in how postmodernist borrowings might compromise his own theological project. But it is unreasonable to suppose that the terminology and methods used to pursue a theological course are *adiaphora*. In light of his great awareness of the fact that content cannot be divorced from its form, the ease with which Green has recourse to secular postmodernism surely calls for comment, if not justification. But it is not forthcoming, and this must be regarded as an unfortunate deficiency in an otherwise fascinating book. To make the reason for my dissatisfaction clearer, a quotation from Green will be helpful. Describing Kant's *Religion within the limits of reason alone*, Green pointedly argues 'that historic Christianity cannot survive Kant's attempted translation. The price of accommodating Christian doctrine and symbols in this way to the presuppositions of modernity is the sacrificing of the essential

positivity of the gospel – a price that believers cannot afford to pay' (p. 31). Surely the same can be said of postmodernity.

University of Durham, UK Augustine Casiday

Doctrines of the Trinity in Eastern and Western Theologies (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity). By Alar Laats. Pp. 171, Berne, Peter Lang, 1999, no price given.

Alar Laats's timely study explores the chief theological difference between Eastern and Western Christianity, the *Filioque*, within its Trinitarian context. Lest his task should be hopelessly ambitious, he confines his study to the works of two eminent modern theologians, Karl Barth and Vladimir Lossky. As befits a study of triadology, the book's structure is threefold. The first section examines Barth's theology, the second, Lossky's, and the third compares the two. Laats proceeds by laying out their respective Trinitarian theologies so as to highlight the coherence of their systems and especially the role of the Holy Spirit in each.

Laats first turns to Barth's *magnum opus*, the *Church Dogmatics* (CD). He carefully draws from the CD two importantly distinct accounts of the Trinity. This gives him ample opportunity to expose the intra-Trinitarian dynamics that in Barth's system justify, indeed, necessitate Filioquism. The first account in CD I/1 is based on Barth's explanation of divine revelation and the theological epistemology it entails (pp. 24–38). But Laats argues that the dominant epistemological considerations, coupled with an inadequate attention to Christological and biblical elements, compromise this system (pp. 38–43). In the later volumes of the CD, no longer is God's freedom the sole focus of Barth's attention: now God's love comes to the fore as well. The consequent attention to fellowship (love's corollary), argues Laats, provoked a crisis for Barth's account of divine modes of being within the unipersonal God which he resolved by expressing his triadology in the framework of the 'I–Thou' relationship (pp. 51–4). In the intra-Trinitarian relationship between the Father and the Son, as in the relationship of God to human, the Spirit is mediating love, the communion that unifies the 'I' and 'Thou'. Since the Father and the Son are equal, both must be reckoned to be sources of the mediating love that binds them in communion (p. 66).

Laats rightly believes that the premises of Lossky's theology require some explanation. Of course, Lossky is enormously indebted to Palamite theology. Unfortunately, as soon as Laats signals this fact, without clarifying what this means, he promptly muddies the waters with several deprecatory references to Palamite tendencies (pp. 75–8). This only serves to sharpen the polemical edge of Lossky's position. When Laats describes Lossky's affirmation of Palamism (pp. 87–90), we encounter something rather puzzling. Laats is exceptionally well versed in the contemporary objections to Palamism, even substantiating his claim that not all Orthodox theologians adhere to Palamism with reference to an obscure Serbian theologian (pp. 87–8, footnote 67). For all this impressive knowledge, though, Laats demonstrates no evidence whatsoever of having actually read Palamas's works. This must be regarded as a serious shortcoming. I cannot escape the conclusion that the tortuous introduction to the Palamite categories of Lossky's thought (pp. 80–91) would have been considerably easier to understand had it featured more references to Gregory Palamas and fewer to Dorothea Wendebourg.

After this fitful start, it is much to Laat's credit that the account of Lossky's work he produces is generally accurate, stressing as it does Lossky's twin concerns, apophaticism and revelation (pp. 119–25). As Laats shows, Lossky distinguishes the divine essence from the divine persons, and both from the divine energies. Laats further argues that these distinctions are based on Lossky's assessment of God's actions with respect to

humans (p. 129), even though Lossky disavowed making claims about the immanent Trinity on the basis of divine manifestations (pp. 113–4). Lossky insisted not only on the redemption of human nature by the intervention of God the Son, but also on the fulfillment of the redeemed humans by the mediation of God the Spirit (pp. 98–100). Because he understood the Holy Spirit's 'personhood' so robustly, Lossky strenuously objected to reducing the Spirit to a relationship between the Father and the Son (p. 111).

Laats concludes by noting the relevant differences between Barth and Lossky. Even when he lays out Barth's and Lossky's divergences, he does not attempt to resolve the ancient debate on the procession of the Holy Spirit. There is, however, a notable and troubling disparity in his treatments of Barth (generously apologetic) and Lossky (tacitly hostile). This is unfortunate. But aside from this preferential treatment, the comparisons helpfully recapitulate the whole work. In the end, this book makes important contributions to ecumenical theology by engaging two influential thinkers and by painstakingly detailing their theologies of the Trinity. Laats has executed a complex and thoughtful analysis that will no doubt provoke much discussion.

University of Durham, UK Augustine Casiday

Our Father: Reflections on the Lord's Prayer. By A. J. Cardinal Simonis, translated by Barbara Schultz-Verdon. Pp. x, 125, Grand Rapids MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999, £9.99.

Besides recognizing its obvious liturgical importance, the Christian tradition has accorded the Lord's Prayer paradigmatic status as a foundational resource for Christian doctrine and teaching on the nature and practice of prayer. In this collection of more or less random reflections, gleaned by spoken interview, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht reveals his familiarity with the traditional commentaries and modern exegetical research, blending catechesis, homily and exegesis in candid engagement with contemporary and popular questions about prayer and the Christian faith. Recalling the first part of Origen's treatise *On Prayer*, the first chapter is devoted to exploring the what, when, how, and why of prayer. Chapter two introduces the Lord's Prayer itself, attending especially to the significance of its biblical setting in the 'Sermon on the Mount'. Chapters three to nine deal with the respective petitions, the doxology, and the Amen. Interspersed throughout the book are no fewer than fifteen prayers from such notables as Teresa of Avila, Luther, Kierkegaard, Newman, Solovyov, and Hammarskjöld, each functioning something like a *selah* in the Psalter, drawing the reader into prayerful, meditative engagement with the text. Though it is brief, given the book's non-systematic form an index would have proved helpful.

The author's pastoral and didactic concerns are striking, underscored by frequent personal anecdotes. Indeed, as a Bishop he cannot but pick up in passing such wide-ranging and pressing ethical and theological issues as women's ordination (p. 40), liberation theology (p. 63), suffering and evil (pp. 81–3), the existence of angels and demons (pp. 87–8), bioethics (pp. 96–8), and communal confession (p. 112). Several emphases are worthy of mention. One is the Christocentricity of the Lord's Prayer – that one can only pray 'Our Father' in and with Jesus the Christ of Israel and Incarnate Son of God (p. 33). Another is the communal nature of the prayer, that its 'our' and 'us' presuppose and invite baptismal and Eucharistic communion with Mother Church (pp. 31, 37, 95). Yet another echoes Luther's characteristic stress on God's own intiative and action in hallowing his name, inaugurating his kingdom, and fulfilling his will – all in and through his appointed human means (pp. 47, 54). Here Simonis might have added some reflection on the meaning of holiness in connection with the first petition – that God hallows his name through its proclamation, a distinctly doxological, sanctifying act.

Notwithstanding this practical approach, the subjective and personal possibly tend to weaken the discussion. It is perhaps the result of the casual, conversational form that from time to time critical theological questions are raised and discussed in an unguarded, superficial manner. Two examples will suffice.

The first concerns Simonis's laudable rejection of appeals to address God as 'our mother'. 'To do so', he says, 'would lead us into great difficulties with regard to God as Creator' (p. 38). But we never learn precisely why that is the case. In fact, one could get the impression that creation is solely a paternal act quite apart from the Word and Spirit. The second example concerns Simonis's attempts to treat theodicy – the problem of suffering and evil (pp. 82–6). Here I think he falls into the trap of wanting to protect God from any suspicion that he is an active cause of suffering: 'how do you react to the bad that may also happen to you? Never ascribe it to the will of God. It comes from the evil one' (p. 86). But besides the implicit dualism in this response is the paradoxical evidence that for the psalmists and the saints, the most salutary comfort can often be found through associating personal suffering to the just and merciful action of God, who in killing gives life, and in judging saves. Simonis's rationale follows the trendy tendency to outlaw the kind of God in whom we 'cannot believe', and so construct a God of our own liking.

The Cardinal's honesty and pastoral humility is disarmingly refreshing. Yet there remain inconsistencies that seem to arise not only from the cut-and-paste format of the book, but also from tensions between Simonis's own goals in his office as teacher of the faith, in his sympathies with what could be called the 'therapeutic' pastoral approach, and in his efforts to 'connect' with a Protestant readership – as well as 'the man on the street', who, he laments, is deeply secularized (p. 116). But it may also be that while he finds the embodiment of his own religious yearning in praying the prayer, he curiously commends the Our Father to his readers as 'one of those fundamental texts … that will enable them to develop a deeper understanding of the culture and history of Europe' (p. ix). And no matter how great its educative potential, the Lord's Prayer was never meant to be a 'text' for public scrutiny. On the contrary, its transformative power can only be realized as its textuality is transcended through its being prayed, learned and lived in its own native soil, which is not the Bible, nor the Sermon on the Mount, nor even Europe, but the Church.

University of Durham, UK Adam G. Cooper

Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook, by A. D. Lee. Pp. xxiv, 328, London and New York, Routledge, 2000, £48.00/£15.99.

Ever since Von Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* the question of the Christianization of the Roman Empire has been on the agenda of Later Roman Empire scholarship. As a consequence of both the religious pluralism of today's world and the enormous development which research on Late Antiquity took during the past decades, attention nowadays has shifted towards the associated question of the relationship between the various religions of Late Antiquity, Christianity being only one of these, albeit a very successful one. Monographs and more detailed studies in this area abound, but a general textbook that reflected this approach was still a desideratum. The existing and very successful textbooks by Stevenson (*A New Eusebius* and its sequel *Creeds, Councils and Controversies*) are designed to fill the needs of more traditional church historians. A sourcebook aiming at ancient historians interested in the religious aspects of Late Antiquity and in particular the relationship between pagans and Christians did not exist. With the present volume A. D. Lee has successfully filled this gap. In this sourcebook he presents some one hundred and fifty sources in a fluent English translation, mostly by his own hand. Every source is preceded by an introduction in which the background and importance of the text, as well as difficulties with regard to

its interpretation, are discussed. Besides literary texts, Lee also included in his collection epigraphical and papyrological documents as well as, to a lesser extent, numismatic and archaeological sources.

The book opens with a useful introduction sketching a concise overview of the history of Late Antiquity and its sources, as well as a terminological discussion on 'pagans or polytheists'. The sourcebook itself then consists of three parts. The first, 'Pagans and Christians through time' (pp. 13–149) surveys in seven chapters the dealings pagans and Christians had with one another between the third and the sixth centuries. In the second part (pp. 149–85) documents concerning three 'other religious groups' (Jews, Zoroastrians and Manichaeans) are brought to the fore. The final part (pp. 185–298) treats six 'themes in Late Antique Christianity': ascetics, bishops, material resources, church life, women, pilgrims and holy places.

Among the translated sources one finds extracts from important and well-known texts such as the *Feriale Duranum* (a third-century religious calendar from Dura Europos), the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, Athanasius's *Vita Antonii* and Eusebius's *Church History*. There are, however, also pieces from gems which are hardly known, such as Endelechius's poem *On the Deaths of the Cattle*, the Arabic *Universal History* by Agapius of Membij and canons of the Council of Vannes (held between 461 and 491). Among the papyri presented by Lee, I was especially struck by P. Grenfell 2.111: a fifth, or sixth-century inventory of a village church. The document shows that a church of undoubtedly modest means possessed '*inter alia*' three silver cups, one silver jug, twenty-three (!) linen cloths for the table, twenty-one parchment books and three papyrus books (note the surprising difference between the last two items).

The book is eminently suitable for use in an introductory course on Ancient Church History or on Christianity and Paganism in Late Antiquity. If students are provided during lectures with a basic framework and the means to interpret ancient sources, working through Lee's sourcebook will deepen their insight and increase their grip on the religious world of Late Antiquity. Lee's excellent commentaries and suggestions for further reading enhance the book's applicability for self-study. The same can be said about the bibliography at the end: it can serve as a basic biliography of the literature in English on this subject.

I would like to suggest a correction regarding Lee's interpretation of text 16.5: 'The case against pilgrimage: Gregory of Nyssa *Letter 2*' (pp. 283–6). This text is introduced to the reader as 'the most forthright argument from Late Antiquity against pilgrimage'. At first sight it seems indeed to contain a serious effort to discourage pilgrims *in spe*. Gregory warns women in particular that the life of a pilgrim, with much travel and the inevitable lodging in inns and hostels, 'those places of sensuality', will not contribute to their leading a chaste and devout life. Moreover, he argues, it is not clear what they hope to find in the Palestinian holy places: the Lord is no longer physically present there and, given the many kinds of depravity the inhabitants of the Holy Land engage in, the Holy Spirit is not there either. Admittedly these are strong arguments against pilgrimage. In his *Letter 3*, however, in which Gregory describes his own experiences as a pilgrim, the tone and content is much more positive. In a recent article, not available to Lee when finalizing his manuscript ('Wallfahrt und Wallfahrtskritik bei Gregor von Nyssa', in *Zeitschrift für Antike und Christentum* 3/1 [1999] 87–96), Jörg Ulrich has shown that there is more coherence between the two testimonies than appears at first sight: in both cases Gregory's concern lies with the spiritual attitude of the pilgrim, the ultimate criterion being the *inhabitatio Christi* in the pilgrim. Thus, in *Letter 2*, it is not pilgrimage as such that is condemned but any kind of pilgrimage that endangers this spiritual richness. Gregory wants to take seriously the needs of his readers to participate in the general movement of pilgrimage while at the same time qualifying this participation by pointing to what should be their foremost concern: to live in Christ.

Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium Johan Leemans

Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary. By Sarah Boss. Pp. x, 253, London, Cassell, 2000, £45.00/£19.99.

This lively and powerfully argued book advances a single, unfashionable contention. The cult of Mary, Sarah Boss believes, has embodied (quite literally), fundamental Christian attitudes towards spirit and matter, and the relationship of humanity to the rest of nature. Marian devotion at its most authentic is the opposite and the refutation of pornography, for pornography seeks to empty the body of any significance beyond the physical, to reduce the human person to mere flesh. By contrast, 'the willingness of the spirit to be united with matter, the potential of matter to receive the spirit and the bonding of divinity with the physical creation: these are the truths which the Virgin and Child embody and which pornography denies'. But not just any image or imagining of the Virgin. Boss attributes normative significance to the understanding of the role of Mary represented by the strong, solemn Romanesque images of the Virgin as the regal seat of wisdom, such as Our Lady of Montserrat, her son hieratically enthroned upon her knee. In such representations the flesh has its own palpable dignity and reality in its receptivity to the Divine, the natural order is not dominated but blessed and fulfilled by the coming of its creator. The cult legends of these images emphasize the independence and self-willedness of the images, in whom nature is wooed, not manipulated; and they are characteristically located in the wild, linked to mountain and stream, earth and water. By contrast, in modern images of the Virgin like the ubiquitous status of Our Lady of Lourdes, though some of the rich association with unsubdued nature persists, Mary's child is absent, and the materiality of her motherhood is minimized or suppressed altogether. Such sexless images, Boss hints, are themselves manifestations of the tragic cultural separation of matter and spirit in which pornography can flourish.

The modern history of Marian devotion and doctrine has therefore been a history of the attenuation of the bodily within the cult. Modern Catholics shy away from the physicality of Mary's motherhood – blood and breast, menstruation and milk have been banished from Marian discourse and Marian imagery. By the same token, Mary's motherhood is spiritualized away: what matters for modern Catholic teaching and piety is not the material fact of her giving flesh to the Godhead, the centre and foundation of the whole Marian tradition, but rather her obedient assent to God's will. Boss deplores this spiritualization as a form of decadence, for she detects in it a capitulation to a discourse of domination which reflects an essentially exploitative relationship to nature, and which depends for its coherence on a similarly exploitative account of the relations between men and women. She castigates a number of modern Mariologies, including that of the present reviewer, for smuggling sexist preconceptions into a deceptively politically correct account of the significance of Mary.

This is a wonderfully robust and zestful book, which employs the resources of social theory and social anthropology to question some of the most cherished assumptions of post-Conciliar Catholicism, and to demand a fresh look at aspects of the tradition which Dr Boss believes can assist us to a fuller and richer theology of the material world and the natural order. Historians however will wince, as I did, at the sometimes glib correspondences which she seeks to establish between complex shifts in Christian piety and '1066 and all that' style generalizations about political or economic developments. So, for example, she suggests that the growth of emphasis in the later Middle Ages on the sufferings of Mary reflects a changing relationship in Europe between human beings and their natural environment, from which they felt increasingly alienated. This sort of generalization (does it include all Europeans, everywhere – Portugal and Hungary, Calabria and Iceland?) can never be anything more than a dubiously illuminating parlour-game. Fortunately, Boss's main contentions can survive without such aids. This exciting contribution to the reconstruction of Marian theology will ruffle feathers and enliven debate: it deserves a wide readership.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, UK Eamon Duffy

Augustine and his Critics: Essays in Honour of Gerald Bonner (Christian Origins). Edited by Robert Dodaro and George Lawless. Pp. xiii, 274, London and New York, Routledge, 1999, £55.00.

The articles collected in this volume honour the work of Professor Gerald Bonner, not least by constantly returning to the sources to contribute to the scholarly conversation about St Augustine, as Bonner himself has so often done. Further in keeping with Bonner's scholarship is the contributors' rare ability to bring to bear on a controversy a grasp of Augustinian thought that is profound and therefore sober, a characteristic of deep familiarity with the sources. Though praise on this account may seem vaguely ridiculous, *ressourcement* is a distinctive practice in a subfield so dense with secondary material. All too often, the secondary literature takes on a life of its own and becomes more influential for academic discussions than the writings of Augustine himself, leading to a variety of inaccuracies. The contributors to the present volume redress some of the commoner extravagant claims about Augustine's thought, then, on three fronts: his debt to Neoplatonism ('If Plato were alive'), practical applications, and implications, of his theology ('The order of love'), and his assessment of his era ('We are the times').

As with many collection of essays, the quality of this one is mixed. The articles are at their best when they are least preoccupied with stage-setting – Hubertus Drobner's extensive overview of recent trends in the field being obviously excepted. Some expend such effort describing the *status quaestionis* that they scarcely say anything else. Robert Crouse's '*Paucis mutatis verbis*: St. Augustine's Platonism' may be given as an example. But many notable contributions find a skilful balance between sketching modern debates and elucidating Augustine's writings. Thus, Lewis Ayers ('The fundamental grammar of Augustine's trinitarian theology') argues for the central importance of divine simplicity for Augustine's triadology. Rowan Williams ('Insubstantial evil') revives the Augustinian definition of evil as a *privatio boni* by insisting on Augustine's primary interest in the temporal, rather than the spatial. E. Ann Matter ('Christ, God and woman in the thought of St Augustine') offers a finely nuanced account of Augustine's multiple perspectives on women. Carol Harrison ('The rhetoric of scripture and preaching: classical decadence or Christian aesthetic?') considers the role of *De doctrina christiana* in the formation of a distinctively Christian *eloquentia*. Also exemplary of this happy equilibrium is Mathijs Lamberigts's searching criticism of Augustine's view of sexuality, ('A critical evaluation of critiques of Augustine's view of sexuality') based on Julian of Eclanum's writings. Robert Dodaro ('Augustine's secular city') places Augustine's dealings in the political order squarely within late antique history and so takes much of the sting out of a modern critic's claim, thus revealed to be misleading. On the other hand, John Milbank's 'Sacred triads: Augustine and the Indo-European soul', an article of twenty-five pages, devotes only five pages, intriguing though they are, to Augustine's triadology (the balance is an overview of G. Dumézil on Indo-European triapartition).

What emerges from this collection is hardly a robust apology for Augustinianism. Many of the authors eschew definitive features of Augustine's thought, and not without good reason. In spite of this, the contributors are able to explore the links of Augustine's thought with admirable sensitivity. If, then, these essays share a common purpose, it would have to be demonstrating the need of a solid historical foundation for appreciating Augustine and the consequences, for better or worse, of his voluminous writings. This is a refreshing tendency. Coupled with the overall high quality of the contributions, it makes for a fitting tribute to an excellent scholar.

University of Durham, UK Augustine Casiday

The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. By Bernard Hamilton. Pp. xxv, 288, Cambridge University Press, 2000, £37.50/$59.95.

Baldwin IV inherited the throne of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem in 1174, aged thirteen. He was already ill, but that his illness was actually leprosy was confirmed only after his coronation. Although illness and increasing incapacity meant that he often had to appoint regents to rule in his stead, Baldwin retained the crown until his death in 1185, shortly before his twenty-fourth birthday. By local law he should probably have resigned the throne (as he repeatedly offered to do); but his retention of the kingship was unchallenged.

Traditional interpretations of the history of the crusader states see the reign of the leper king as a sad preliminary to the disastrous battle of Hattin in 1187, following which Saladin almost swept the Crusaders into the sea. Bernard Hamilton here offers a reassessment, almost inverting the traditional analysis. In his view Baldwin IV, despite his illness, was on the whole an effective ruler and warrior. Moreover, challenging the former orthodoxy, he argues that the notion that Saladin would have tolerated the continued existence of the crusader kingdom, and that the Christian assertiveness of Baldwin's reign was therefore misguided and counter-productive, is based on false premisses which misinterpret Saladin's real ambitions.

The approach adopted is essentially biographical, and chronological. However, before the biography proper can start, certain preliminaries must be cleared up. The first chapter accordingly surveys the sources on which the history must be based. These are patchy, often partisan, and not always reliable. Chapter two then examines Baldwin IV's life prior to his accession, while the next two chapters outline in turn the state of the kingdom at his accession, and the international context in which realm and reign must be set. Following these preliminaries, five chapters provide the narrative and analytical core, working through the reign from accession (as a minor, under a regent) to death. The final chapter examines the aftermath. Baldwin IV's designated heir and co-king, Baldwin V, died within the year, still a child. Subsequent succession disputes split the kingdom, creating a situation which Saladin decisively exploited at Hattin. In addition to Hamilton's text, an appendix by Piers Mitchell offers an informative evaluation of Baldwin's leprosy, dealing with its physical symptoms and evolution.

The picture of Baldwin IV presented here is not one of a weak and sickly child-king, the impotent plaything of rival factions jockeying for power, territory and control of the succession. Despite his youth, Baldwin appears as an assertive ruler, and an effective military leader who managed to keep Saladin at bay. Throughout he was determined to assure the continuation of the kingdom. He recognized the dangers created by his illness, and repeatedly sought to resolve the problem of the succession to ensure a smooth and effective transfer of power. That, in the end, a smooth succession did not happen was not really his fault – although his promotion of Guy of Lusignan as husband for his half-sister Sibylla proved to be a costly mistake. He was ready to abdicate should an appropriate replacement be found; none was forthcoming, and neither he nor Baldwin V lived long enough to ride out the uncertainties. Ultimately, Baldwin IV appears as something approaching a hero king; his 'importance to the kingdom lay in his willingness to remain at its head throughout his life' (p. 240).

Hamilton offers a judicious reinterpretation of a crucial period in the history of the first Crusader kingdom. He effectively balances the complex sources to piece together a new mosaic. Under Baldwin IV, the kingdom of Jerusalem was capable of exploiting the balance of power among the Arab rulers, and could even undertake quite daring thrusts which were potentially serious threats to Saladin's hold on power. Hamilton clearly admires the young king; and admiration is certainly due to a ruler who insisted on joining in battles when he could not mount a horse unaided, and therefore had to guard against being dismounted.

His illness, and the circumstances of his kingdom, mean that Baldwin IV will always be something of a tragic figure. Yet, in this engaging and highly readable volume, he is

also a hero, almost a martyr – although he has never been considered a candidate for sainthood. He was always a warrior-king. In the light of this book, a great 'what-if' of crusading history must surely be: What if Baldwin IV had not been 'the leper king'?

University of Birmingham, UK R. N. Swanson

The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade. By Michael Costen. Pp. x, 229, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1997, £40.00/£14.99.

Although there is considerable interest among students in the English-speaking world about the Cathars and the society of Languedoc in the central Middle Ages, there are surprisingly few scholarly general studies of this subject available in English. Jonathan Sumption's *Albigensian Crusade* (1978) is a military history of the Cathar wars, as is J. Strayer's *The Albigensian Crusades* (1971). Linda Paterson's *The World of the Troubadours* (1993) is an excellent study of Occitan society, but is only marginally concerned with Catharism. Malcolm Lambert's *The Cathars* (1998) is primarily a history of the Cathar religion in all parts of Europe. (In this review I have excluded any comparison with Malcom Barber's *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* [Longmans, 2000], which was published only a few months ago.) The book which is closest to Costen's in its approach is W. L. Wakefield's *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1000–1250* (1974) but much new research has been done on this subject, some of it by Wakefield himself, since that was published, and there is urgent need for a new survey. That is why this knowledgeable and remarkably even-handed book by Michael Costen is particularly welcome.

He examines the rise and fall of Catharism in its social context and explains how that society came into being. His introductory chapter, which comprises about a tenth of the book, deals with Languedoc from Charlemagne to 1100: this section is exceptionally well done and difficult to parallel in any other general work in this field. It is followed by a description of the society of Southern France in the twelfth century when Catharism took root there. Among other matters, Costen explains how the military ethos of this society differed from that of Northern Europe. Warfare was endemic in both areas, but whereas the Northern nobility were warriors, the nobility of Languedoc did not automatically consider themselves to be so, and their armies tended to be composed largely of foreign mercenaries who had no local commitments. This helps to explain why the Papacy regarded the patronage of Cathars and the employment of mercenaries by the Occitan nobility as equally damaging to the well-being of their subjects.

Because he is constrained by a word-limit, Costen deals very briefly with the origins of Catharism and with the other ephemeral dissenting movements which preceded it and to some extent laid the foundations for its success in Languedoc. He describes the rise of the Waldensians, but is surely mistaken in arguing that the Catholic reformers who initiated this movement were driven into schism because the hierarchy was unwilling to allow laymen to preach. The schism developed when some Waldensians refused to abide by the papal ruling that a layman might only preach if he had a bishop's licence. One of the very few factual errors in the book relates to the heretics arrested at Cologne in 1143. Eberwin of Steinfeld who examined them found that there were two groups, one composed of dualists, the other of radical dissenters. The former are generally agreed to have been Cathars, but Costen mistakenly identifies the Cathars with the radical reforming group (p. 59).

He gives a sound description of the absolute dualist beliefs of the Southern French Cathars and also of their way of life and organization. He quite rightly rejects the widely held view that women occupied a privileged position in the Cathar Church. Theoretically, of course, they were the spiritual equals of men, just as Catholic

women were, but in practice they were excluded from the ordained ministry of their church and rarely allowed to preach or to administer the Cathar baptism, the *consolamentum*. In fact, as Costen notes, their position in the Cathar movement mirrored their position in Occitan society, where although some women were important, power was mostly in male hands.

Costen gives a refreshingly fair description of the Catholic Church in twelfth-century Languedoc: 'The Church which the Cathars found so objectionable was not, as has sometimes been claimed, especially corrupt or backward in the Midi. It was as vigorous as elsewhere in Europe. Catharism should not be seen as a set of beliefs which spread in default of the actions of the Church in the Midi. To imagine that would be to subscribe to the contemporary official view' (pp. 199–200). He advances two explanations for the growth of Catharism, and I find both of them attractive. The first relates to those men and women who became fully initiated members of the Cathar Church and were known as 'the perfect'. They were by definition devout and their lifestyle resembled that of the more austere kinds of Catholic monks and nuns. Costen suggests that whereas in the early twelfth century such people had responded to the preaching of Catholic holy men like Robert of Arbrissel and Stephen of Muret, who had founded innovative monastic orders capable of providing for postulants of both sexes drawn from all social classes, after 1150 such movements were absorbed into the traditional monastic system, chiefly by the Cistercian Order, and were no longer able to meet the vocational needs of such a wide range of devout people. This created a religious vacuum which the Cathars were able to fill.

Costen's second explanation relates to the far larger number of people who found Catharism attractive but continued to lead worldly lives and were known as believers. He rightly points out that most believers were probably unaware of the profound doctrinal differences between Catholicism and Catharism, but were drawn to the Cathars because of the austere and devout life of the perfect. He suggests that the believers were dissatisfied with Catholicism not because they thought the hierarchy was corrupt, but because Catholic reformers were trying to impose changes which affected lay people. Those changes, which included attempts to inculcate Christian sexual morality, the prohibition of marriage within the sixth degree of kinship, a drive to enforce the payment of tithe and the building and endowment of new churches, thus vesting more economic power in the clergy, were not welcomed by large sections of the laity. The Cathar perfect, who regarded the material world as inherently evil and who were therefore content to make general denunciations of human sexuality and acquisitiveness, but did not try to intervene in the day-to-day life of believers, seemed more like the old, pre-reform Catholic clergy to lay people who were hostile to the reformers. Costen writes: 'In its individualistic appeal Catharism was revolutionary. To regard the world as intrinsically valueless, a vale of tears and a place of tribulation, called into question the whole structure of society. It seems unlikely that many of the believers who listened to the sermons of the *perfecti* realised the implications of the new doctrines. Instead, much of Catharism must have seemed conservative and comforting, endorsing the familiar world and resisting change and interference and regulation from outside. For people threatened by change it offered safety' (p. 98).

Costen's account of Catholic attempts to suppress Catharism is unexceptionable. He does not have the space to examine the campaigns of the Albigensian Crusade in any detail, and Sumption's account remains essential for anybody who wishes to read about them in English. Costen rightly maintains that although the Cathar Church suffered grievous losses during the crusade it remained a resilient and vital force in Languedoc when the wars ended. He attributes its subsequent decline to two factors. First, St Louis was prepared to restore some measure of land and power to noble families with Cathar sympathies provided that they became good Catholics. Secondly, this deprived the rest of the Cathars of noble patrons and left them defenceless against the attacks of the papal Inquisition. It is an undisputed fact that by *c*.1330 Catharism had been completely eradicated in Southern France.

I do not find this rather simple explanation very satisfying, particularly because it contrasts markedly with the subtle and complex reasons which Costen rightly advances to explain the growth of Catharism. He gives a very balanced account of the way in which the Inquisition in Languedoc operated, but does not emphasize sufficiently that the medieval Inquisition was a very poorly organized institution in many ways, quite unlike the later Spanish Inquisition or the Holy Office. It was successful in Languedoc only in so far as it had the support of the papacy and the Capetian monarchy, which, as Costen points out, was not always forthcoming. What he does not say very much about is the effect of the Catholic reform movements of the thirteenth century, led by the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, on the society of thirteenth-century Languedoc. Indeed, he writes of the Dominicans as though they were chiefly employed as inquisitors, whereas only a handful of them were. The lifestyle of the early friars was in many ways very like that of the Cathar perfect; like the Cathars they preached to the laity, and as a result many lay people became properly instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic faith; but unlike the Cathars the friars taught a form of Christian spirituality which was world-affirming, and they emphasized that living a normal life in the world was entirely compatible with the full practice of the Christian religion. The Cathars did not prove resilient in the face of this competition, but continued to practise their faith in a traditional and conservative way which no longer seemed attractive to people living in the rapidly changing society of thirteenth-century Languedoc (which Costen describes in his account of the effects of royal rule there). The Inquisition, which in my view was a rather inefficient and makeshift tribunal, was, in those circumstances, able to administer the *coup de grâce* to the moribund Cathar Church which had lost its spiritual vitality. That persecution accelerated Cathar decline I would not deny; that it was the sole, or indeed the principal cause of that decline I do not think likely for this reason: the Waldensians were subject to the same degree of persecution by the Inquisition, but they were resilient enough to survive it, and their Church still exists today.

Yet despite my reservations about Costen's conclusions, this is a book which will be rightly valued by those who are interested in Catharism and by those who teach in this field.

University of Nottingham, UK Bernard Hamilton

Marian Representations in the Miracle Tales of Thirteenth-Century Spain and France. By David A. Flory. Pp. xx, 156, Washington, DC, Catholic University of America Press, 2000, $49.95.

From the twelfth century onwards, devotion to Mary became one of the dominant strands of medieval Catholicism, finding expression in a wide range of forms. Her status as Mother of God made her the supreme mediatrix between Man and Christ, a key worker of miracles. David A. Flory's book offers a consideration of attitudes to Mary in the miracle tales produced by a selection of French and Spanish writers of the thirteenth century. His initial chapter deals with some of the theoretical issues of defining 'the Marian miracle tale', and establishes a basic historical context. Attention then turns to the five selected writers, starting with the Spanish clerical poet, Gonzalo de Berceo. The following chapters each deal with a different writer: the French jongleur Gautier de Coinci, the intellectual preacher Jacques de Vitry, the poet Ruteboeuf, and, finally, the Castilian King Alfonso X and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

To cram the discussion of these writers and their works into a mere one hundred pages – which is what it all amounts to after discounting the first chapter – is a tall order; it is hardly surprising that the end product appears rather superficial. There is little opportunity to do much beyond providing a brief introduction to each writer, discussing a

selection of exemplary tales from each set of writings, and making a few comments. Sometimes the precise relevance of those comments is not immediately obvious. Two pages are spent denying a Jungian interpretation of one of Gautier de Coinci's poems (pp. 57–8), without showing that any commentator seeks to apply it in the first place. A considerable chunk of the chapter on Alfonso X offers an inconclusive discussion of music which has little direct relevance to the Marian focus (even if indicative of how the texts were treated for presentation at the time).

The chapters do possess a consistent underlying theme, with the writers equating an appeal to Mary with an appeal for divine grace; and there is some cross-referencing to contrast the differing approaches in the texts and the different ways in which they are directed to their intended audiences. Overall, however, Flory's approach is primarily literary rather than historical and contextual – despite an early declaration that 'A consideration of socio-historical context is necessary because some Marian scholarship has tended to sacrifice a historical view of these stories in favour of psychological analysis' (pp. xiv–xv). The first chapter may discuss history, but the book often lacks a real sense of it. A tale treated as central in the discussion of Berceo concerns a monk withdrawn from Hell because of his devotion to Mary, but excluded from Heaven because of his sinful life and accordingly returned to earth to complete his penance. This tale clearly meshes with contemporary developments in the idea of Purgatory; but not a word is said about that evolution. The contrast of Eve and Mary appears elsewhere, the antithesis of Eva and Ave, but is not picked up. Debates about the Immaculate Conception and Assumption are noted but are effectively ignored, apparently because the dogmas were not proclaimed until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and despite the intensity of medieval arguments, especially over the Immaculate Conception.

There is a significant book to be written about the Marian devotion of the thirteenth century. Whether that was the century which saw 'the apogee of popular Marianism' (p. xiii), is open to question. That statement certainly requires more discussion of just what counts as 'popular Marianism'; perhaps some consideration of whether Flory's selected authors do actually reflect it, or rather an élite variant. Nevertheless, Marian devotion clearly flourished in the thirteenth century. Its full and effective discussion requires more awareness of the doctrinal and historical backgrounds than presented here. Moreover, to discuss the writings effectively demands some attention to the overall corpus of Marian tales, and greater discussion of interrelationships and derivations than Flory provides. The texts themselves would also benefit (as would the readers) from more extensive introduction (the discussion of Alfonso's *Cantigas* is fairly pitiful), especially some examination of issues of transmission and reception. Flory's discussion is interesting; but in the end the book seems too short for its subject, little beyond a collection of snippets, fragments of what could – perhaps should – be a larger and much more significant project.

University of Birmingham, UK R. N. Swanson

Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim. By Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias. Pp. ix, 237, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000, £22.50.

The Jubilee of 2000 offers a tempting prospect for publishers. This volume sends forth a strong whiff of the bandwagon, without quite jumping on one. The authors eschew explicit exploitation by looking back seven centuries to the first papal Jubilee, proclaimed by Boniface VIII in 1300. However, they do not look back merely to produce a historical description and analysis. Rather, they attempt to create an armchair pilgrimage of part of that first Jubilee, using a neat conceit. Writing as though describing the experience of a female pilgrim in Rome in 1300, they guide the reader through a selection of the main sights and sites. Assuming that the pilgrim is there in August, the bulk of the book is constructed around the annual night-time procession on the eve of the Assumption,

14–15 August, when an icon of Christ from St John Lateran was carried by a somewhat circuitous route to S. Maria Maggiore, there to meet an icon of Mary. Following the prescribed path, the volume begins at St John Lateran, progresses along to S. Clemente, past the Colosseum and through the Forum to SS. Cosmas and Damian, thence to S. Prassede, and finally on to S. Maria Maggiore. The starting-point of the Lateran precinct and the Sancta sanctorum within the basilica are considered in detail, the major churches *en route* are also fully described. Other notable points along the way are treated more briefly. After completing the Assumption Eve trek, the pilgrim then visits two other churches: S. Paolo fuori le mura, and St Peter's at the Vatican.

The trick of writing as if in 1300 results in a text which takes some getting used to. The descriptions are constrained by the nature of the available information, whether extant material, or descriptions of lost features. For the initial processional route, that causes few difficulties: the churches still stand, but allowance must occasionally be made for later amendments and restorations. As a modern guide-book, the text must be illustrated; but the illustrations, obviously, are largely of the monuments as they now are, so that post-1300 changes must be acknowledged and explained. The gaps caused by current lack of knowledge sometimes require subterfuge. Constantine's Arch is apparently easily visible by candlelight as the procession passes it (p. 90); but at S. Prassede the exterior mosaics (whose pattern is unrecorded) are indistinguishable in the gloom (p. 108). At S. Maria Maggiore, description of frescos now lost by damage is avoided by claiming that, from the standpoint of 1300, they are unfinished (p. 156). The focus on 1300 also means that what is now a major attraction in one of the churches which receives detailed attention, and which actually predates the focal year, is nevertheless omitted. The S. Clemente of this book is the church constructed in the twelfth century. Writing from the standpoint of 1300 precludes consideration not only of its later decoration, but also of its recent excavation: to maintain the illusion, the remains of the earlier basilica must be left underground and undescribed.

Once the Assumption Eve procession has ended, and the putative pilgrim visits the two apostolic basilicas, the guide-book stance becomes rather more speculative. The present S. Paolo is largely a nineteenth-century rebuild, following a fire, so the church must be toured on the basis of earlier paintings and the surviving fragments. This is largely successful, although it still feels slightly incomplete. At St Peter's, the reconstruction is dependent on even more sketchy material, the deliberate destruction of the Constantinian basilica having occurred before antiquarians really got to work. This tour is perhaps the least convincing of all, although the authors make what they can of their sources.

While the book's underlying conceit does sometimes stretch credibility – could or would all the buildings from the Lateran to S. Maria Maggiore have been visited in such detail in so little time by a pilgrim intent mainly on following the procession? – it does provide a spine which unifies the text as a whole. The visits to the churches also offer an opportunity for lavish illustration, with several of the 225 plates being in colour. Yale University Press here maintains its reputation for producing well-crafted books at reasonable prices. The volume will not work as a guide-book for a pilgrim visiting Rome now, but it is an ideal way to bone up without too much effort before going, or to wallow in memories on return. It is also worth looking at for its own sake.

University of Birmingham, UK R. N. Swanson

Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter. By Megan Holmes. Pp. ix, 301, 234 ills, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, £45.00.

Fra Filippo Lippi was one of the outstanding painters in Florence during the fifteenth century and, even today, the delicacy and immediacy of his paintings can still take one's

breath away. Born the son of a butcher in 1406 or 1407, he entered the nearby Carmelite convent as a schoolboy at the age of eight, following in the footsteps of an elder brother. He began his novitiate at the minimum age of fourteen, and on 18 June 1421, made his profession as a friar. He remained in the Carmine in Florence for the next ten years, completing his studies for ordination and developing a growing skill as a painter. He was away for one year, 1428–1429, when he served as subprior in Siena.

It was during Lippi's period at the Carmine in Florence that Masolino and Masacio were completing the frescos in the Brancacci chapel, and watching these plaster painters must have had a significant influence on him. By 1431, he is listed in the community records as 'frate Filippo de Tommaso, dipintore (painter)' and in 1434, he is executing a commission as a professional artist in Padua. On his return to Florence around 1437, his career as a painter takes precedence and, with the permission of the Carmelite provincial, he takes up residence outside the convent. However, he maintains his links with the Carmelite community, where his brother was subprior, and is frequently present at functions. In 1441, he is named as rector of San Quirico where, in 1447, his fellow Carmelites are recorded as coming to celebrate mass.

However, following the receipt of a commission in Prato which necessitates Lippi moving there and his subsequent appointment as chaplain to a small Augustinian convent in 1456, there occurs the liaison for which Lippi has become notorious. Soon after Lippi's appointment as chaplain, one of the nuns, Lucrezia Buti, comes to live with him and this liaison continues for the next ten years, during which two children are born. In 1466, Lippi receives the commission to undertake the painting of the apse in Spoleto cathedral and his move away from Prato must have brought relief to the various church authorities. However, Lippi's feelings for Lucrezia seem to have been very sincere and his son, Filippino, accompanied him to Spoleto, as well as a fellow Carmelite, Fra Diamante, his long-time pupil and assistant. Sadly, just as the pictures in Spoleto were nearing completion in 1469, Lippi died and was buried in the cathedral which he had so richly enhanced.

In this impressive volume from Yale University Press, Megan Holmes has focused on the Carmelite background of Lippi in order to try to understand some of the motivation and recurrent themes within his paintings. The book itself is immaculately designed and edited, and among its illustrations there are some stunning reproductions of Lippi's paintings. It is the sort of volume which would enrich anyone's collection. Holmes's account is unique in that she is one of a select group of art historians who have made a serious study of the Carmelite Order. Carmelite history is particularly difficult because the older accounts of its origins are influenced by medieval legends about the foundation of the Order by the prophet Elijah. Holmes shows an impressive acquaintance with recent Carmelite historical research, together with a sensitivity for the complexity of life in a medieval Florentine friary. In her early chapters, she describes the many different facets of Filippo Lippi's life in the Carmine in Florence and brings together a lot of the previously published research. Only in the general background to the Carmine would her account have been assisted by a couple of unpublished theses of which the seems unaware: Patrick McMahon, O.Carm, *Servants of Two Masters: The Carmelites of Florence 1267–1400* (New York Univ., 1993) and Flavia Zoccatelli, *II Carmine di Firenze nella seconda metà del quattrocento* (Univ. Florence, 1979).

It is in her analysis of Lippi's paintings that Holmes excels. She describes the patronage involved, the religious circumstances and setting of each painting and the personal and Carmelite influences of Lippi himself. Her last two chapters are particularly fine and contain extended case studies of the altarpieces which Lippi painted for the Franciscan Santa Croce friary and for the two Benedictine convents in Florence, Sant' Ambrogio and Le Murate. There are times when one might wish to challenge some of her conclusions, but her hypotheses are always stimulating and open up new insights into the paintings.

Only in a couple of instances does her grasp of Carmelite history let her down. In her analysis of Carmelite devotions in the first half of the fifteenth century, seeking

to identify their influence on Lippi's work, she is right to focus on devotion to the two Sicilian Carmelites, St Albert and St Angelo and, more importantly, on the developing Carmelite historiography with its idealized picture of Mount Carmel and the imagined Carmelite presence there through the ages. However, she appears to believe that the vision of Pope John XXII in 1322 with the resulting belief in the Sabbatine Privilege (that the Virgin Mary would descend into Purgatory and release all those who had worn the Carmelite habit on the Saturday after their death) and its confirmation by Pope Alexander V in 1409 were historical events. She claims that: 'It is almost inconceivable that it would not have influenced the way he [Lippi] meditated upon death and the departure of the Christian soul from this world' (p. 185). Sadly, the truth is more prosaic. As Ludovico Saggi has shown, the whole legend and the supposed bulls were the invention of an unknown Sicilian Carmelite, some time between 1422 and 1430 (cf. his two articles in *Carmelus*, 1966 and 1967). The devotion would appear to have become generally known in Carmelite circles in Florence only with the dissemination of Calciuri's *Vita fratrum del sancto Monte Carmelo* in 1461. This was much too late to have had any significant influence on Lippi's paintings.

Secondly, on p. 169 Holmes writes: 'The Carmelites had two convents in the city of Jerusalem'. Once again, Carmelite inventive writing is to blame. The first hermits gathered on Mount Carmel *c.* 1200, some years after the city of Jerusalem had fallen to Saracen control following the battle of Hattim (1187). However, Carmelite historians quickly created a series of earlier imaginary monasteries in the Holy Land. Only one of these was in Jerusalem, at the Golden Gate, the site of the legendary meeting between St Joachim and St Anne. This was never a real foundation although Holmes may be right in her suggestion that this legend was influential in the choice of scenes depicted in Lippi's painting of the Madonna and Child with the Birth of the Virgin (Bartolini tondo). The only caution is that the St Anne legends were well known outside of Carmelite circles.

Overall, this is a very fine book which gives witness to extensive research. Prof. Holmes's writing is always interesting and continually throws up new ideas. Her study of Filippo Lippi's Carmelite background adds a new dimension to his work. As she points out, monastic artists were encouraged by their communities because, in contrast to the employment of lay artists, they 'offered the monks and friars one means of wresting back some part in the structuring of religious vision' (p. 93). By situating Lippi within his own religious order and the formation that he would have received, Megan Holmes has generated fresh insights and enriched our enjoyment of his paintings.

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The Letters of Marsilio Ficino: Volume 4 (Liber V). Translated by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London. Pp. xxiii, 184, London, Shepheard-Walwyn, 1988, £22.50.

The Letters of Marsilio Ficino: Volume 5 (Liber VI). Translated by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London. Pp. xx, 203, London, Shepheard-Walwyn, 1995, £22.50.

The Letters of Marsilio Ficino: Volume 6 (Liber VII). Translated by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London. Pp. xxiv, 165, London, Shepheard-Walwyn, 1999, £22.50.

The ravishing dust jackets on these volumes, reproducing some of the most beautiful illuminated leaves from the manuscripts of Ficino's epistles, seem, at first, to conceal the rarefied world of Ficino's academy, of scholars sitting in the gardens of his villa at

Careggi, discussing Platonic philosophy and writing letters which could also serve as sermons, prefaces, or independent treatises, but which hardly ever conveyed any news. Yet it soon becomes apparent that there are various dimensions to Ficino's letters. We do indeed have the reiterated statements of Platonic belief, the exhortation to return to the One and the Good through love. 'If God is the good itself, and the light of the good, and the love of the light of the good, I beg you, friends, let us love, let us love before all else the good which is light and the light which is good. For thus we shall not merely love our God: we shall delight in loving Him, for God Himself is love, love itself is God.' But the heading of this letter, addressed by Ficino to his 'friends', is 'In the midst of evils there is no refuge, unless it be with the highest good'; and the word 'evils' reminds us of the political events which accompanied, and often conditioned, Ficino's recourse to Platonic mysticism.

The letters in Volume 4 were written between September 1477 and April 1478, those in Volume 5 from 1478 to 1480 and those in Volume 6 from 1481 to 1483. Volume 4 is thus set in the period of the Pazzi consipiracy, the unsuccessful attempt on the part of Girolamo Riario, Francesco de' Pazzi and Francesco Salviati, to organize the assassination of Lorenzo de' Medici with the backing of the pope, Sixtus IV. Described in some detail in an excellent appendix, it also involved many of their relatives and acquaintances: Girolamo Riario's nephew Raffaele, Francesco Salviati's brother Jacopo, Giovan Batista da Montesecco, Antonio Maffei, Bernardo Bandini, Stefano da Bagnone and Jacopo Bracciolini. Lorenzo's brother Giuliano was indeed killed on 26 April 1478, but Lorenzo escaped and the most tragic part of the conspiracy was the vindictive treatment by the Medici supporters of anyone suspected of being involved in it. This, in its turn, provoked a violently anti-Florentine reaction in Rome.

Ficino himself was officially a protégé of Lorenzo de' Medici. He had acted as his tutor when he was a child, and there can be little doubt that he did not wish him to be removed from power. In a letter to Giovanni Cavalcanti written well before the conspiracy and headed 'Philosophy does not teach us to live with princes; indeed she forbids it', Ficino emphasizes the danger of 'the company of princes', giving examples of their tyranny, viciousness and ingratitude. Yet he ends by writing: 'However, if anyone, ignorant of our affairs, raises our long-standing friendship with the Medici, I shall reply that they should not properly be called princes, but something greater and more sacred. For their singular virtues and great merit deserve more than any human title. They are fathers of their country in a free state.' Nevertheless Ficino was dissatsified with the way in which he was being treated by Lorenzo and by the meagre benefice he had received from him. He had looked increasingly to the powerful Francesco Salviati, whom he described at one point as 'my patron' and from whom he clearly received financial assistance. He was also a friend of Jacopo Bracciolini and Raffaele Riario. Salviati's name was removed from some of the letters by a later editor (to be replaced by the editors of the present edition). Other letters, including one to Bracciolini, were entirely suppressed and are included here in an appendix. Ficino certainly felt uneasy in the days following the failure of the plot. 'Do you not see what an extraordinary year this is?', he remarked cautiously to Raffaele Riario who was released from prison on 12 June 1478. 'So many new and unheard-of events occur every day that every day one finds oneself repeating such words as, "I would not have believed it".'

The letters in Volume 5 were written when Florence was at war both with the pope and with the king of Naples – an immediate result of the Medici reactions to the Pazzi conspiracy. At this point Ficino felt himself called upon to address the protagonists, sometimes ironically, reminding them of their true duties and endeavouring to steer them towards moderation and forgiveness. In his letters to Sixtus IV, Ficino expounded some of his astrological conclusions: 'The next two years will be so miserable it will be commonly believed that the utter destruction of the world is imminent, a universal and final calamity overwhelming the human race by war, pestilence and famine. Many leaders from every nation will be overthrown, and then a new heresy under a false

prophet will arise. The mind shudders to narrate what follows: soon, God forbid, the bark of Peter will be swamped by the waves of the Tiber. In the end the barbarians will lay waste Italy.' There is little wonder that these words would retain their relevance well into the sixteenth century, and be applied in turn to Savonarola and the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France, to Luther, and to the sack of Rome by Charles V.

The hostilities against Florence came to an unexpected end after the Turks had invaded the Apulian coast and occupied the port of Otranto in August 1480. When war resumed, in the years covered in Volume 6, the alliances of the late 1470s had changed. The pope had lifted the interdict against Florence, and Florence now acted, with the pope's blessing, together with Naples and Milan against the advance of Venice. The Duke of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltro, who had previously commanded the papal forces against the Medici, led the troops opposing the Venetian attack on Ferrara, and it is to him, a ruler he had always admired, that Ficino addresses some of the finest letters in the volume. Although no longer so immediately affected as in the previous years, Ficino remained a spokesman of peace and harmony. He also knew that the hostilities against Venice were disrupting the activity of his academy, preventing the many Venetian members from participating.

These three new volumes of Ficino's letters are a most welcome continuation of the project launched by the editor, Clement Salaman, and the translators, the members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science in London, in 1975 with the appearance of the first volume. The translation meets the high standards established at the outset, and the introduction, notes and appendices give an excellent idea of the historical background. In contrast to the earlier volumes, Volumes 5 and 6 contain facsimile reproductions of the Latin original – a particularly useful feature which the publisher would be well advised to retain in future volumes. Some readers, however, may have misgivings about the lavish illustrations in Volume 6. Rather than showing illuminations from the Ficino manuscripts or other contemporary works of art, they are of modern paintings and sculptures, by artists such as Charles Hardaker and Jeffery Courtney, and might seem to clash with the otherwise homogeneous presentation of the text.

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European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Edited by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein. Pp. x, 203, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1998, no price given.

Of the nine articles in this volume, five, taking up almost three quarters of the book, are on Trinity College, Dublin. That Dublin should not even be mentioned in the title is symptomatic of a lack of rigour that pervades a publication which gives no information about the contributors and contains essays of highly uneven quality.

The book opens with an informed study by James Murray on the long pre-history of the Irish university, the various attempts to found it at the expense of St Patrick's Cathedral, which started in about 1547 and dragged on until 1585, seven years before Trinity College was actually set up in 1592. It was, from the outset, an English ploy aimed at the destruction of Dublin's diocesan establishment, but a varying combination of interests repeatedly ensured its failure. When the Dublin college was at last established it owed much to its first provost, Archbishop Adam Loftus, who is discussed by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein. Loftus was a fiercely anti-Presbyterian Puritan. He came to terms with Anglicanism and was eager both to organize a training ground for the local clergy and gentry, and to provide employment for Cambridge men who could find no outlet for their talents in England. He described the religion to be observed at the

university as 'reformed Catholico-Anglicanism or the original British Christian religion'. The myth of a pristine Celtic Christianity peculiar to the British isles, which had existed before the arrival of Augustine of Canterbury in 597, was a theme on which one of the most eminent early products of the Irish university, James Ussher, would elaborate. But who were the first students? Alan Ford exposes the unreliability of most of the sources, but comes up with tentative conclusions, suggesting that, in about 1605, almost thirty-five per cent of the students were indigenous, Irish and Anglo-Irish. This proportion seems to have persisted until the late 1630s. Then, thanks to the influence of Laud, the percentage dropped to fifteen, and students of English origin massively prevailed.

It is unfortunate that these three competent pieces should be followed by two thoroughly mediocre articles by Elizabethanne Boran which occupy an inordinate amount of space. They both concern James Ussher, the learned archbishop of Armagh. The first is a comparison between Ussher's book collection and that of his father-in-law Luke Challoner, which are now in the college library. As long as it is possible to derive information from titles, the conclusions Boran reaches are predictable but plausible. Challoner was inclined to prefer books which followed the Ptolemaic tradition, whereas Ussher was more open to Copernicanism. Works by Ramus and Ramists are prominent in both collections, and the two men shared a marked interest in Greek grammarians. Where Boran proves altogether unqualified, however, is when it comes to describing the many Hebrew works collected by Ussher and to assessing his interest in Semitic languages and its bearing on his Biblical studies. Her sole source is G. LLoyd Jones's *Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, and she has not even bothered to consult the *DNB* or any other biographical dictionary. She thus knows little about the importance of the French Hebraist and chronologist Gilbert Génébrard and nothing about the English Arabist William Bedwell (she describes him as 'one William Bedwell, M.A.') – a friend of Ussher's who advised him during his growing interest in the study of Arabic. The other piece on Ussher is on his 'friendship network'. By choosing to concentrate on his Puritan friends, Boran argues against his biographer, Ronald Buick Knox, that the archbishop was far from unsympathetic to Puritanism. Had she read Hugh Trevor-Roper's fundamental article on Ussher in his *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, she might have made a slightly better job of it.

Two of the four remaining articles are by distinguished scholars, Mordechai Feingold and Willem Frijhoff. In his study on Aristotle at the English universities in the seventeenth century, Feingold demonstrates that England was open to scientific progress since, in contrast to the rest of Europe, there was no restriction on the teaching of Copernicanism or Cartesianism. Aristotle was indeed taught, but so were far more recent systems. Frijhoff examines the efforts of Leiden, with its eminent university and its claim to monopolize higher education in the Netherlands, to prevent Amsterdam from founding a higher school with the explicit object of promoting civic culture in 1631. Gernot Heiss then discusses the Jesuit university at Graz, founded by Archduke Charles in 1585 in a deliberate attempt to put an end to what had previously been a relatively peaceable co-existence between Catholic institutions approved by the Habsburgs and Protestant schools set up by the Austrian Estates. The book ends with a short and superficial survey of the Jesuits and the Italian universities by Gian Paolo Brizzi.

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Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773. By Gauvin Alexander Bailey. Pp. xii, 310 + 100 illus, University of Toronto Press, 1999, £45.00/$65.00.

This is a difficult book to review, though its thesis is a simple one. Bailey is Assistant Professor of Renaissance and Baroque Art at Clark University in Worcester,

Massachusetts, and has recently been responsible for mounting an exhibition at the Smithsonian on Renaissance art at the Indian imperial court from 1580 to 1630, entitled 'The Jesuits and the Great Mogul'. His primary focus in this volume is the reception accorded to European art in four different cultures – those of Japan, China, the Mogul court and among the Amerindians, particularly among the Guaraní of Paraguay – as mediated through the missionary efforts of the Society of Jesus.

He wishes to demonstrate, and it seems to me that he admirably succeeds in doing so, that the reception of Western art, perhaps predominantly but certainly not only Iberian, in these varied cultures was a partnership. The outcome was not the dominance of a Western tradition, but a re-interpretation of that tradition by local painters, engravers and builders, who will brought to their trade not just their own skills, but the artistic sensibilities of their own cultures. The Jesuits, and the Franciscans before them, when writing back to their superiors and their patrons in Europe, commonly insisted that 'indigenous artists have no capacity for imagination or originality, and confine themselves to making exact but derivative copies of European engravings and paintings. If they are left unsupervised, or stray ever so little from their models, they fall into error' (p. 34). This account of indigenous artistic capacity was utterly untrue, argues Bailey, who bolters his case by detailed examination of works produced in these mission territories, many of them illustrated in the plates which accompany his text. But if untrue – and the Jesuits, he insists, knew it to be untrue – why was the myth allowed to be spread? Because, he believes, Jesuits were 'trying to placate the authorities in colonial centres and Europe'. As the Chinese Rites affair was to demonstrate, 'Jesuit acculturation efforts were extremely controversial and were frequently used as fodder for their enemies. The missionaries were justifiably sensitive about advertizing their methods too freely in such a hostile climate' (ibid.).

As this discussion indicates, the author is concerned to place his study of the art of the Jesuit missions in precise context. This he does admirably, and students of Jesuit history generally will not be able to ignore this volume. It means, however, that, for a book that is basically art-historical, relatively little space is given to the detailed discussion of the art works surveyed. The Jesuit mission to Japan came to a rather sudden, and particularly bloody, end, but the society's activities in the other regions covered lasted far longer, more or less up to the Society's suppression, which marks the *terminus ad quem* of this study. Bailey therefore is treating not only of different locations but of a fairly long time-scale, and he is sensitive to the different periods within each territory. Not all Jesuits, especially some of the earliest arrivals, were as sympathetic to local cultures as later ones came to be, and he pays tribute to the remarkable visionaries José de Acosta and Alessandro Valignano for their success in changing attitudes. Matteo Ricci is surely the most admired of the missionaries, at least after Francis Xavier himself, but Bailey argues he was not as open to acculturation in the arts as he was in literature or science.

Indeed, Bailey describes the Jesuit missionary effort in China as 'a high profile and extravagant failure' (p. 111), which he attributes in part to political back-stabbing by other Christians in China, but also because the Jesuits had failed to come to terms with Chinese artistic taste – or at least, with the taste of the literati to whom Ricci and many of his successors addressed themselves. They had more success, Bailey suggests, with the common people who had more interest in Christian iconography because it echoed Buddhist and Daoist imagery. Likewise, Jesuit missionary activity at the Mogul court had little success if measured in numbers of converts, though it was there, Bailey believes, that they fostered the 'most reciprocal artistic dialogue' of any of their missions. It was remarkably exemplified by Kesu Das (active at the Mogul court towards the end of the sixteenth century), who painted a crucifixion scene, now in the British Museum, for a Muslim patron, though he was himself a Hindu.

What was common to the reception of Western art in these mission territories, argues Bailey, was astonishment at its realism. But that did not necessarily imply approval. He compares its reception to the impact of photography in the nineteenth century which was

admired for its realism, but thought not really to constitute 'art' according to the accepted canons. That, he claims, was the impact of the art introduced by the Jesuits – though perhaps less so in Paraguay than in the other regions he covers. And if on the whole Jesuit devotion to art did not serve to win them converts, why did they proceed the way they did? 'Almost as powerful as their love for God was their love for high culture', he concludes (p. 197). 'For surely it is the conversation itself, the intellectual exercise with its basic reaffirmation of human affinity, that is the ultimate attraction and the final legacy of the Jesuits' mission enterprise' (p. 198). That is his final sentence, the remainder of the book being taken up with notes, bibliography and indexes. It is an interesting conclusion, for it makes members of the Society rather less pragmatic than I had always taken them to be.

Bailey acknowledges the help of many members of the Society of Jesus in his preparation of this work. You might have thought that one of them would have spotted that Gregory the Great had been long dead by 621 (cf. p. 38). It is, however, a minor blemish in a fascinating study.

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Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy. By David Gentilcore. Pp. xiii, 240, Manchester University Press, 1998, £40.00.

Students of early modern religion are already indebted to David Gentilcore for his careful, nuanced study *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* of 1992 (cf. my review in *HeyJ* XXXV [1994], p. 227). There he made the important point that from the believers', or users', point of view, religion and magic were not diametrically opposed modes of response in the face of illness and calamity, but rather co-existed as part of a complementary repertoire of strategies adopted to cope with the acute uncertainties of pre-industrial life. In the study under review, Gentilcore takes this insight further by offering us, again from the consumers' point of view, 'a study in medical pluralism' (p. x), in the Kingdom of Naples between *c.*1600 and *c.*1800. In order to describe the plurality of overlapping strategies adopted by the sick and their kin, which he labels, loosely, 'medical', 'ecclesiastical', and 'popular', he has consulted a plurality of sources, including: medical and demonological treatises, hagiographies, guild statutes, hospital records, government edicts, chronicles, local histories, episcopal visitations, canonization processes, trials for magic, diabolism and simulated sanctity, Jesuit mission accounts and records of the Kingdom of Naples' medical magistracy, the *Protomedicato*. This imparts to Gentilcore's study a richness and range that makes it essential reading not only for historians of medicine but also for students of the social and religious culture of early modern Europe.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one charts the 'therapeutic landscape' of Southern Italy, which considers all sources of healing, together with their competitive and complementary relationships. This is followed by a chapter which centres on what is perhaps Gentilcore's richest institutional source – the records of the royal medical tribunal, the *Protomedicato*, which was responsible for licensing all medical practitioners throughout the Kingdom apart from physicians and surgeons. Chapter three turns to the practitioners themselves, their training, education and practice. Their respective places in the rigid corporate structure of guilds and medical colleges constrasts sharply with the fluid world of the charlatan, which is discussed in chapter four. Focused on the case study of Girolamo Ferranti, an indefatigable marketer of his anti-poison electuary known as 'orvietan', Gentilcore follows this early-modern Dulcamara in his meanderings through the Italian states and beyond, to France. The following chapter (ch. five) returns to the world of institutional care, the hospitals of the

Kingdom of Naples, where he traces the role of active piety in their foundation and running. The final two chapters of the book take the reader into a world Gentilcore has already made familiar to us in his first book – that of religious forms of healing. Chapter six focuses on the attempts of episcopal courts to curtail devotion to so-called 'living saints', who were considered to be (and considered themselves) sources of healing miracles. The final, complementary, chapter looks at the investigations conducted by the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, the Roman curial standing committee responsible for, *inter alia*, overseeing canonization procedure, a process which involved physicians in extensive investigations into determining whether cures were genuinely miraculous or not.

For readers of *HeyJ*, these last two chapters will be of particular interest, but it is worth reiterating that this is a book whose impeccable scholarship and quiet, unshowy thoughtfulness ensure that all of its contents have much to teach those interested in the relationship between society and belief. In his measured conclusion, Gentilcore notes that the constituent elements of medical pluralism remained in place for the century and a half following the closure of the Council of Trent in 1563. During this period, he argues, we can talk of a 'Golden Age' of pluralism when, for example, charlatans could be tolerated 'so long as the prestige and repute of physic was not damaged', and when many of the values and attitudes were shared throughout society, in which the 'popular', 'ecclesiastical' and 'medical' explanatory models might be adopted by one and the same person as they sought practical relief for their suffering. It was not until the very end of the eighteenth century that such a consensual picture was replaced with 'a struggle between two opposing forces of reason and tradition'.

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Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief. Edited by Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts. Pp. xiv, 368, Cambridge University Press, 1996, £40.00.

Witch-hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History, 1638–1693. Edited by David D. Hall. Pp. 378, Boston MA, Northeastern University Press, 1999, £40.50/£14.50.

A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution. By Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn. Pp. xix, 284, London, Routledge, 1997, £14.99.

A Case of Witchcraft: The Trial of Urbain Grandier. By Robert Rapley. Pp. ix, 277, Manchester University Press, 1998, no price given.

Eleven of the thirteen papers in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* were originally read at a conference held at the University of Exeter (UK) in September 1991 on the twentieth anniversary of the publication of Keith Thoma's *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. The object was to re-evaluate Thomas's conclusions in the light of more recent research. In his introduction Jonathan Barry surveys the various aspects of witchcraft that deserve further investigation. He recommends approaches some of which were suggested by Thomas and others of which were neglected by him. He stresses the extent of the commitment, difficulty and danger in bringing a case of witchcraft before a court of law and the consequent need to search more deeply into the background of the accusers as well as of the accused. He brings out the importance (underrated by Thomas) of factional disputes and power struggles in the accusations. He questions the theory, held notably by Muchembled, that charges of witchcraft were deliberately used by an élite in order to impose discipline. He criticizes Thomas for his failure to discuss the cultural transmission of ideas about witchcraft, and he points to the role of the Civil War in changing attitudes to witches.

Many of the papers that follow make points which advance research and modify current prejudices. Robin Briggs demonstrates how hard it is to make any valid generalization about the witch-hunts. He argues against the existence of the witchcraze as a general movement, and emphasizes the immense diversity underlying a phenomenon which, almost always organized locally, was highly dependent on local conditions – 'a complex model of social interaction, full of checks and balances, which allows considerable scope for the merely contingent'. The essentially local character of the witch-trials, and the scepticism of the rulers, is discussed in Brian P. Levack's essay which concentrates on the situation in Scotland. There we see that, despite the initial encouragement given to witch-hunting by James VI, the ruling élite soon developed very considerable doubts about witchcraft which would be shared by James after he had become king of England, but which he had probably already developed in Scotland. Witch-hunting in Scotland remained the prerogative of the local authorities, 'the periphery, not the centre'. But to what extent was this true elsewhere in Europe? Levack shows how the intervention of the central authorities in England could actually lead to the prosecution of the accusers of the witches, and he observes the restraint on the witchcraze imposed by the government in Denmark and the Inquisition in Spain and Italy.

If the idea that witch-hunting was encouraged by governments is convincingly dismissed, Malcolm Gaskill, in his interesting piece on witchcraft in Kent, questions other ideas about the stereotype of the witch. Rather than being 'old, impecunious widows' on the fringes of society, an astonishing number of the witches prosecuted in Kent between 1560 and 1575 were married at the time of their accusation, and many were forceful figures, well integrated in society, who fell victim to local power struggles.

The gradual decline of interest in witchcraft, which would bear fruit in the repeal of the legislation in England in 1736, is studied by Ian Bostridge and, less directly, by Peter Elmer. Elmer suggests that, in England at least, the resentment that had once been concentrated on witches, was, from the 1650s on, centred increasingly on the Quakers and other dissenters. The witches were thus substituted by different social enemies. Bostridge distinguishes between three separate strands in the treatment of witches: private beliefs, actual prosecution, and the public rhetoric concerning witchcraft. He argues 'that the demise of the witchcraft debate between members of the élite who wanted to be taken seriously had political and ideological rather than purely intellectual occasions; and that the ideological colouring which witchcraft acquired in the early eighteenth century was a double-edged affair, both ensuring the demise of witchcraft as a mainstream discourse, and paradoxically ensuring its survival and occasional re-emergence at the fringes, as long as the ideological framework of the *ancien régime* remained in force'.

A number of the features brought out in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* emerge from the collection of documents contained in the second edition of *Witch-hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History 1638–1695*, edited by David D. Hall and first published in 1991. The work covers much of the century, ending with the notorious witch-hunts of Salem and Stamford-Fairfield in 1692 and 1693. As in Europe, the quantity of women prosecuted vastly exceeds that of men and the editor concludes that the phenomenon was 'gender-related, not gender specific' (the same theme is treated in two of the less felicitous papers in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*). But while a striking number of the accused were 'healers', some, such as Mary Parsons of Northampton, were married, well-off, and integrated in their community, thus confirming some of Malcolm Gaskill's conclusions. A further feature of the trials is the high proportion of acquittals. This, again as in Europe, would seem to be due to an increasing scepticism on the part of the magistrates and higher authorities. There were no executions for twenty-five years after 1663, and, despite the admissions of guilt on the part of the accused, the trials of Salem ended abruptly when both churchmen and laymen of influence started to doubt the reliability of the evidence. After that no court in New England again passed a death sentence for witchcraft.

A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution by Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn reminds us that, in the second half of the seventeenth century, there were still many thinkers of distinction who believed in witchcraft. The subject is the trial at Bury St Edmunds in 1662 of Amy Denny and Rose Cullender, both of whom were executed. The thinkers of distinction who had a hand in their sentence were Sir Matthew Hale, who presided over the case, and Sir Thomas Browne, who, in his capacity as a physician, declared the defendants' young accusers to have been bewitched. The contemporary account of the trial, which is included in an appendix, *A Tryal of Witches at the Assizes held at Bury St Edmonds* … (1682), had an influence on the trials of Salem and was quoted extensively by their chief defender, Cotton Mather. Yet even this trial testifies to a certain scepticism among the authorities, for Sir John Keeling and two of his fellow serjeants-at-law found the evidence provided altogether insufficient. Geis and Bunn have assembled an impressive amount of material. They admit, however, that they are not academic historians. Unfortunately, their approach, sometimes excessively ingenuous and emotional, and their tendency to lose themselves in details which are of no great relevance to their subject, occasionally undermine the fruits of their research.

Robert Rapley's book on Urbain Grandier, *A Case of Witchcraft*, is highly readable, a gripping account of the familiar tale, the nauseating details of which were recounted so hauntingly by Aldous Huxley in his *Devils of Loudun*. Rapley is critical of Huxley in his bibliographical appendix, but he does not in fact add very much to past studies of the subject. Grandier, the glamorous, philanderous, free-thinking priest, accused of bewitching the inmates of the Ursuline convent of Loudun, again emerges as a victim of the power struggle between Richelieu and his enemies, and his courage during torture and execution in August 1634 raises one's admiration for a man who was not always entirely admirable. But no conclusions about the impact of the trial are drawn, and when it comes to assessing attitudes to witchcraft, we are simply told that 'just as everyone at the time believed in witchcraft, everyone believed in possession'.

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands Alastair Hamilton

Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England. By Susan Thorne. Pp. ix, 247, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 1999, £30.00.

In Charles Kingsley's novel *Alton Locke* (1850), the working-class hero grows up with the missionary tracts and journals his non-conformist mother gives him to read. They stimulate his starved imagination so much that he wants to become a missionary himself. However, when he is introduced to a visiting missionary one day, he cannot hide his disappointment: 'It appears to me to be the rule that many of those who go abroad as missionaries, go simply because they are men of such inferior powers and attainments that if they stayed in England they would starve' (ch. 1). The missionary project is abandoned, but the sense of imperial pride in it remains. Later on in the novel, when witnessing the physical strength of middle – and upper-class Cambridge athletes, Alton's rebellious working-class spirit is hushed for a moment. 'The true English stuff came out here,' he admits to himself; 'the stuff [which has] colonized every quarter of the globe [and] I felt that, in spite of all my prejudices … I was as proud of the gallant young fellows as if they had been my brothers' (ch. 12).

These contrasting feelings stem partly from Kingsley's (upper) middle-class background, partly from Alton's working-class provenance. They show, on the one hand, middle-class reactions to foreign missions, and, on the other, how missions helped even working men back home to create a kind of colonial awareness and (democratic) identification with the empire. Such sentiments are at the heart of Susan Thorne's fascinating

study of Congregational missionary imperialism. Of course, Kingsley was not a Congregationalist, and could hardly be expected to be impartial. But although Thorne makes frequent reference to Dickens's famous, and not more impartial, representation of 'Telescopic Philanthropy' in *Bleak House*, she does not make use of Kingsley's instance. Still, Alton's tensions of class in the context of missionary activities and empire reveal the intricate make-up of the attraction of mid-nineteenth-century missionary projects that Thorne analyses in her book: '[t]he lure of the exotic and the heroic was the foreign missionary sugar pill for the domestic missionary instruction in lessons of thrift, self-help, and, above all else, gratitude for the manifold benefits of being English' (p. 116).

Thorne's book concentrates on the London Missionary Society (LMS) – that strange institution linking independent congregations on a national level – and outlines how it created a passionate popular support for the imperial stimulus in the country.

Missionary attitudes to empire were far from constant and unambiguous through the (long) nineteenth century. If initially from their background of humanitarian critique of slavery middle-class missionaries positioned themselves in direct opposition to colonial administrators as part of their condemnation of secular values of civilization, by mid-century, when the limitation of a mere evangelical message became clear, this stand shifted to a general acceptance of colonial officialdom as securing that basic kind of civilization without which spiritual conversion seemed to have little chance of success. The traditional role of caring and nursing of Victorian women was thus called upon to 'civilize' the colonial field at its base 'on an assumed absence in colonized women and their societies of qualities, strengths, and virtues that the missionary project implicitly attributed to their English benefactresses' (p. 103). As a result, missionary activities were increasingly feminized. Following the alarming findings of the 1851 census, emphasis in missions increasingly changed from foreign to home populations, and when during the last decades of the century the working classes themselves became ever more involved in missionary activities, a flight of middle-class components from missionary institutions took place, which left the LMS in financial trouble. It is finally at the beginning of the twentieth century with the contrasting opinions on colonial matters within the Liberal Party, which found many of its votes in the ranks of English Congregationalism, that the collective power for missionary imperialism started to wane.

As Thorne carefully unravels these changing relationships between benefactors and beneficiaries in missionary imperialism during the nineteenth century, she also investigates the repercussions such changes had on questions of class, gender and race. She claims, for example, that 'the missionary imperial project was central to the construction of Victorian middle-class identity' (p. 56), that 'the foreign mission cause was very probably the largest mass movement of women in nineteenth-century Britain' (p. 94), and that the inclusion of the British working class in the organizing end was 'predicated upon the racial exclusion of the beneficiaries of missionary operations abroad' (p. 121). New notions of class, gender and race (her 'master narratives'), Thorne argues, were directly created by missionary interest at home.

It was in their enthusiasm for missionary philanthropy that the non-conformist English middle classes found a response to the commonly held view that they were essentially soulless materialists. Thus they deployed their projects in turning the tables on their accusers and criticized official capitalist policies in the colonies. By thus questioning the moral superiority of the classes above them, they found in missions a political outlet for discontent about being politically unrepresented in the country. Undermining the Anglican establishment's moral credibility became a means of asserting 'respectability, gentility, and civility in distinctively middle-class terms' (p. 76).

With the shift to nurturing and caring in the missionary project, and its consequent feminization, women were increasingly sanctioned by society to operate outside the domestic circle in public endeavours. They were thus given 'institutional space' to engage in activities which were before mostly the domain of men (such as to speak in

public), and as a result of such equality women were enabled to promote their own suffrage at home.

If, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, no distinction was made between the beneficiaries of foreign and home missions, the inclusion of English working classes in the missionary project meant further racial definition of the foreign cause. Ironically, emancipation through missionary imperialism, first of the middle classes, then of women, and finally of the working classes, helped to establish race as a language of class struggle and fostered the idea of the otherness of the foreign beneficiary.

Although far from an easy armchair read – the author's style is at times abstruse and in her line of argument surface traces of problems in organization – this book is a fascinating account of the influence of the missionary effort on the home front which offers welcome new insights in the complex colonial perspective.

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Vera Brittain: A Feminist Life. By Deborah Gorham. Pp. x, 330, Toronto and London, University of Toronto Press, 2000, £24.95/£16.00.

Vera Brittain was born in December 1893, says Professor Gorham when she gets down to business, in Newcastle-under-Lyme, 'a North Staffordshire industrial town on the western edge of the Potteries'. It is not a propitious start. Newcastle, even half a century alter, and despite its connection with Brittain's Paper Mill, was still a market town with among its most distinctive features the stalls down the High Street on market day and, just below the town, the pens for cattle brought in for sale by local farmers. But local colour is not really to the point. This is not a conventional biography at all, not least because it ends in the mid 1930s, while Brittain herself lived on until 1970. The two hundred and sixty-seven page text (much of the remainder is footnotes) tells us rather more than the disclaimer on the penultimate page might suggest: 'Although I do not claim to have recaptured the "real" Vera Brittain, I believe here was such a person, that she was born in 1893, that she died in 1970, and that between her birth and her death, she was alive'. Gorham claims, for instance – and it is the 'fundamental premiss of this book' – that 'for Vera Brittain feminism was more than a cause she espoused. It was the central organizing principle of her personality, the belief that gave direction to her energies, that enabled her to make the best possible use of her talents as a writer, and through which she defined her personal relationships and her own sense of self' (p. 174). For myself, I wondered even on the evidence presented by Gorham, whether it was not the determination to be a writer that was the 'organizing principle' of her life, and feminism which provided the content, though it is perfectly true that even from her youth she was irritated by the constraints imposed upon the role of women in society, and rebelled.

Professor Gorham has done an impressive amount of research in the very extensive archives. This has enabled her to distinguish between the character as portrayed in her most famous book, *The Testament of Youth*, and the actual events, and her reactions to those events, which she recounts in her letters and other of the voluminous sources. Vera's was a constructed life, a fact of which she was at least occasionally aware. Writing to her great friend Winifred Holtby about meeting the novelist Rose Macaulay she confessed to considerable alarm. She was, she said, 'terrified she'll see me for the egotistical little poseuse I know I am so often'. She was, on the evidence of this volume, quite right about that.

Indeed, it is the contrast between the revised and the authorized versions of Vera Brittain's life that make this a fascinating study. Otherwise it seems rather over-focused on her self-conscious feminism. That, it is true, is the topic about which Gorham has chosen to write, which is fair enough, but it left at least this reader very unsatisfied. I

ended up being particularly curious about her religious convictions. I would not have given this thought, were it not for a chance quotation from her early, and unpublished, novel, *Folly's Vineyard* in which one of her characters rejects having an abortion: 'it would be covering up one sin by another far worse'. The notion that Vera Brittain might think in terms of 'sin', though of course quite understandable, had not been what one had been led to expect by the text. It came as a surprise to me, despite her early infatuation in Buxton with a clergyman of evangelical views. Such an attitude is not referred to again, not until she and her husband, (Sir George) Gordon Catlin light a candle for Holtby after her death. They do so in St James's church, Spanish Place, London, where she and Gordon had been married – Catlin was a convert to Catholicism. She wrote to Catlin in 1930, 'Half the world's leaders have been produced by only 1 per cent of the population (i.e. by families like the Haldanes … Mosleys, Galtons, Darwins, Huxleys) … I wonder if you & I, in spite of our undistinguished ancestry, have sufficient vital ability … to found a famous family'. She was, it would seem, eager not only to construct her own life but that of her children. She did, it would seem, to some extent succeed. Her daughter Shirley is now Baroness Williams of Crosby, who, in her distinguished political career, has achieved what her father's, rather than her mother's, ambitions left unfulfilled. She has also succeeded to his Roman Catholicism though, it would seem from Professor Gorham's account of Brittain's and Catlin's 'semi-detached marriage', with rather greater commitment than he.

Heythrop College Michael J. Walsh

The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia (Contraversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature, Culture and Society). By Hagar Salamon. Pp. 168, Berkeley CA, The University of California Press, 1999, $48.00/$17.95.

From 1977 to 1991, nearly 50,000 Ethiopian Jews (the Beta Israel, popularly known as Falasha) relocated to Israel. This massive migration followed the proclamation made in 1973 by the Chief Sephardic Rabbi that the Falasha are indeed Jews, descended from the lost tribe of Dan. Like the Ethiopian Christians, the Ethiopian Jews are a fascinating community that has developed for centuries in relative isolation from the rest of the world. Even though a close adherence to the *Orit* (that is, the ancient Ge'ez translation of Torah) has formed their identity, the separation of the Falasha from other Jewish cultures has allowed them to develop in distinctive ways. When Operation Moses (1984) and Operation Solomon (1991) succeeded in spiriting the Beta Israel out of Ethiopia, the need to facilitate their integration into Israeli society was urgent. Hagar Salamon's *The Hyena People* contributes to this process by examining the cultural identity of the Beta Israel that was formed precisely as Ethiopian Jews in a Christian land.

On the basis of a decade of interviewing relocated Falasha, Salamon has written an ethnography of considerable interest. In her words, it is 'an attempt to capture the consciousness of a reality that is foreign to the most fundamental categories of modern Western thought' (p. 117). The categories to which she refers are cosmological, cultural, religious and metaphysical. This is reflected in the book's title. One of the derogatory names by which the Ethiopian Christians call the Beta Israel is *buda*, or hyena. As Salamon explains, this name situates them in an elaborate and shifting cosmology on the boundary that separates humans from supernatural animals, identifying them as potentially malevolent beings that disguise themselves as human by day and eat human corpses by night. This metaphor represents the Christian perspective of the Falasha's subordination. But, as the book reveals, the Falasha, considering themselves a faithful remnant, in their turn liken the Christians to *dohoné*, unbaked and therefore largely worthless pots.

This presents the situation at its worst, each side caricaturing the other in a bid to maintain some sort of superiority. The relations uncovered by Salamon's interviews were far richer. Jew and Christian would work together, employing ingenious measures to preserve the important distinction that defines each community. They feasted at each other's weddings, and mourned at one another's funerals. Indeed, Christians would even carry the bodies of Falasha deceased to the graveyard so that the Jews need not risk impurity. Such knowledge of, and respect for, religious observances was fairly widespread. This was based on the awareness of devotion to the same God – though this claim itself was subject to minute theological debate. Ambiguities of this sort run through the life recounted by the Beta Israel. Unable to own land, it was their metalwork that produced the implements of agriculture, their sweat and toil that turned the earth and harvested the crops, their skill that produced the indispensable earthenware bowls. On many levels, then, social, economic, and religious, the Falasha occupied the distinctive position of being simultaneously necessary and marginal.

The anecdotes that Salamon has chosen to support her analysis are lively and fascinating. They make the book not only easy, but positively enjoyable, to read. Among the first must be included Salamon's accounts of *qes* Avraham, the Beta Israel priest, going to the Ethiopian Church in Jerusalem to debate with *qes* Abram, the Orthodox Christian priest. 'He argued that the Jews' arrival in Jerusalem was incontrovertible proof that, despite the superiority of the Christians in Ethiopia, God favors the Jews' (p. 2). Other similar accounts of the lives of the Falasha in Israel are as interesting and important as their reminiscences of life in Ethiopia. *The Hyena People* is, after all, an effort to ask what it means to be Jewish in this particular way and indeed in this particular context. This is evident in that Salamon characterizes the interviews as dialogic. Not only, then, does Salamon seek to understand what it means for the Beta Israel to be Jewish, but also, and especially, she attempts to broach a much bigger question: what does it mean for anyone to be Jewish.

University of Durham, UK Augustine Casiday

Faith among Faiths: Christian Theology and Non-Christian Religions. By James L. Fredericks. Pp. vii, 186, New York/Mahwah, N.J., Paulist Press, 2000, $18.95.

The coming together of world religions is the most significant event in the world today. The growing awareness of religious diversity brings to the fore the need to understand and respect one another. Written from within the Christian tradition, James L. Fredericks's *Faith among Faiths* invites the reader to reflect in what way thinking theologically can assist and foster interreligious dialogue. The author challenges the idea that theology of religions can offer such help. To be of any assistance, he explains, a Christian theology of religions must respond to two general criteria. It must be responsibly faithful to the two traditional Christian affirmations that Christ is the unique saviour and that God wills the salvation of all human beings, and it must also help Christians respond creatively to the religious diversity of their neighbours. In the author's opinion exclusivist, inclusivist and pluralist theologies of religions fail to measure up to these two criteria. Therefore he suggests leaving theory aside and concentrating instead on the practice of comparative theology.

In order to prepare the ground for a discussion of pluralistic theology of religions, which is his major concern, Fredericks concentrates first on the roots of the whole debate, i.e., the earlier discussions between exclusivists and inclusivists. As representative of the exclusivists, who affirm that salvation is available only through Jesus Christ, he singles out the Protestant Karl Barth. As representative of the inclusivists, who suggest instead

that salvation through the grace of Christ is a distinct possibility also for those outside the institutional borders of Christianity, he chooses the Catholic Karl Rahner. In the author's view neither Barth's nor Rahner's theology of religions fully qualifies. Barth fails to do justice to the fullness of the Christian tradition because he overlooks God's will for universal salvation. He also prevents Christians from responding creatively to religious diversity because of his lack of interest in learning about and from other religions. Likewise, but perhaps less convincingly, Fredericks suggests that Rahner's idea of the 'anonymous Christian' also fails to be responsive to the demands of the Christian tradition. He concludes that Rahner's inclusivism is as unhelpful as Barth's exclusivism in that it undermines the need and desire to learn from non-Christians.

The second, third, and fourth chapters discuss pluralistic theology of religions. As prominent examples of pluralist theologians, who regard Jesus Christ as only one of the many ways to salvation, the author singles out John Hick, Paul Knitter, Wilfred Cantwell Smith and Stanley Samartha. Being in favour of one salvation for all, these pluralists present strongly theocentric theologies, which inevitably downplay the differences between religions. They focus instead on finding a common denominator for all religions. John Hick deems all religions as different reflections of one inexpressible mystery. Paul Knitter states that all religions have social justice as their major concern. Wilfred Cantwell Smith focuses on their universal quest for transcendence. This he calls faith and regards as totally different from human and institutional belief. Stanley Samartha too points to the one transcendent mystery lying beyond all religions, to which no normative response is possible. In short, pluralists suggest that Christian theologians should not make absolute what God has made relative.

Chapters five and six put pluralist theologies to the test. The author asks two questions. First, do pluralists help Christians respond creatively to their non-Christian neighbours? His answer is that they do not. By domesticating differences and making them uninteresting, pluralists do little to equip Christians with the skills necessary for transforming their own religious views in the light of the teachings and wisdom of other religious traditions. His second question is: do these same pluralist theologies of religions respect Christian tradition? Frederick's answer is once again that they do not. To propose a single common denominator pluralists are compelled to revise the doctrine of Incarnation. Hicks, for example, sees Jesus simply as a 'myth of God Incarnate'. Knitter too finds absolute claims for Jesus impossible. Consequently Fredericks regards the pluralists' theocentric Jesus inadequate to the demanding richness of the Christian tradition. The doctrine of the Incarnation is undoubtedly richer, he writes, and more demanding than the mythological interpretation the pluralists suggest.

The last two chapters offer comparative theology as a practical and fully adequate way for Christians and non-Christians to live with one another responsibly. Fredericks clarifies that unlike pluralist theology of religions, comparative theology does not start from a perspective beyond all the actual religions. Instead, it respects their differences. Comparative theology, he insists, is an attempt to understand the meaning of the Christian faith by exploring it in the light of the teachings of other non-Christian religious traditions. In an original and captivating way he explains how, for example, the Hindu story about Krishna and the milkmaids can help Christians explore more deeply the parable of the prodigal Son and the quality of God's love. He comments further that the Zen Buddhist conviction about the non-duality of life and death can also be a resource for Christians trying to reflect in new ways on the meaning of the Resurrection. This is particularly effective because, while the comparison opens up new areas of understanding Christian tradition, it also confirms differences. For understanding death and life, for example, the comparison demonstrates that Zen Buddhism has nothing in common with Christian eschatology. The book ends with the statement that unlike the pluralist theologians, comparative theologians like Francis X. Clooney, John B. Cobb, Donald Mitchell, David Burrell, and John Keenan, respect Christian tradition and are open to learning about other religions. They are willing to promote the acceptance

of the inevitable tension between commitment to the Christian tradition on one side and openness to the truths of non-Christian religions on the other. By so doing they hope that a slow and careful spiritual transformation of Christian believers will take place.

Two echoes will reach any reader of *Faith among Faiths*. They come from apparently different directions. One is unexpected and concerns the way in which the book is planned. *Faith among Faiths* mirrors the individual stages of argumentation of *Theology and Religious Pluralism* (1986) by the inclusivist theologian Gavin D'Costa. D'Costa looks at the three paradigms of pluralism, exclusivism and inclusivism, selects as representatives, respectively, John Hick, Hendrick Kraemer and Karl Rahner, measures them up to theological and phenomenological axioms, proves inclusivism superior, and ends with the apology of inclusivism. Fredericks's overall design and logic are similar to D'Costa's. His alignment and proposal, however, are clearly very different. They echo rather Francis X. Clooney's ideas, especially those contained in the latter's article on the study of non-Christian religions in the post-Vatican II Roman Catholic Church (*Journal of Ecumenical Studies* XXVIII [1991], pp. 482–94). There Clooney writes in favour of the new generation of Catholic comparativists who, in his own words, 'lack, do not yearn for, and perhaps resist the positing of a single theological discourse by which one could articulate "the Christian" or explain in precise terms what the "non-Christian" is supposed to mean'. This new generation of scholars, Clooney explains, think Christianly with a set of resources that includes non-Christian elements, are rich in examples and modest in systematizations, and wait for a new theology to ensue from the practice of comparative theology. These interesting echoes do not vitiate Fredericks's personal vision; rather they enrich it. In content Fredericks distances himself from D'Costa, whose inclusivism he challenges. As for Clooney, Fredericks enlarges, clarifies and logically supports what Clooney presents as simple impressions and brief considerations. But above all Fredericks distinguishes himself by suggesting that theology of religion should be at the service of a responsible, respectful interreligious dialogue.

Faith among Faiths is a lucid, well-documented and helpful summary of the lively debate on pluralism. It also contains a sound, well advocated apology of comparative theology. There are points, however, which might be debatable. For example, it seems doubtful, at least to the present reviewer, that Fredericks does full justice to the complexity and depth of Rahner's inclusivism. I also wonder whether the book would not have been more compelling if the author had been less repetitious. It might have benefited, too, from a discussion of the earlier theological debate on non-Christian religions. Personally, too, I should have liked an appreciation of – perhaps an elaboration on – the fact that diversity and division exist and will always exist at the level of belief but that experientially, in the knowledge of the heart, there is a universal profound sharing in the mystery of godliness.

A final consideration: Comparative theology is a sign of hope for the development of theological studies and will undoubtedly promote interreligious dialogue. The latter, however, is helped in other ways too, for example by prayer and action. And it may, after all, be assisted in part also by a Christian theology of religion, a possibility that Fredericks seems to dismiss. By fortifying and strengthening our faith within the Christian tradition, a Christian theology of religions can indirectly foster interreligious dialogue. A good example is D'Costa's *The Meeting of Religions and the Trinity*, which investigates a Catholic Trinitarian approach to other religions.

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Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context. Edited by Darrell Jodock. Pp. xiv, 345, Cambridge University Press, 2000, £40.00.

This admirable work is much more than simply a collection of essays by scholars with similar interests. There is a coherence and unity underlying the themes developed by the twelve different contributors; their treatment of the issues at stake, their approach to differences among protagonists, the perspectives they open up – all these cumulatively support one another as essential elements within a symphonic whole. We learn why the modernist crisis within Catholicism (broadly, 1890–1910) developed when it did and why the individuals involved took up their respective positions. I have rarely come across a book on this topic which is so even-handed and penetrating in its analysis of the diverse stances adopted by leading players on 'both' sides in the modernist crisis. The various authors help us, whatever our own particular leanings may be with regard to past and present controversies in Catholicism, to come to a deeper appreciation, both of what the protagonists were *for*, as well as of what they were *against*. The book deserves close attention, both from those who come new to the topic and also from those who are already steeped in the relevant literature. It concentrates attention on France and England and leaves for later (or for others) a similar in-depth study of modernism and anti-modernism in Italy, Germany and America.

The main themes have been rehearsed over the last fifteen years in the Roman Catholic Modernism Seminar of the American Academy of Religion. All but one of the contributors teach in North American universities. The editor provides an excellent introduction, setting the scene clearly for the rest of the book, outlining the main action, the issues and the people involved. He also closes the book with a succinct and strong concluding chapter, arguing that the Modernists exercised a *selective* accommodation to the modern world, while the anti-Modernists adopted a *selective* confrontation with it. The former were accused of selling out to modernity and the latter were criticized for a wholesale rejection of it. Both sides failed to appreciate the selectiveness of the other's response. Jodock argues (p. 338) that 'when contending with modernity Christianity needs … both selective endorsement and selective resistance'.

One of the ways the book advances our understanding of the crisis is through its detailed exploration of how the theological positions of the participants were affected by, and in turn influenced, their other priorities and projects in education, politics and socioeconomic developments. Another major strength is the demonstration of how the nineteenth-century theological and political background continued to exert a major influence on the perceptions and stances adopted in the early years of the twentieth century. Internal politics, Roman foreign policy, papal aspirations to hold onto at least some temporal power, control over education, and battles with liberalism all receive due attention. The interweaving of intellectual and institutional factors, of the political and the personal dimensions of decisions and attitudes, is particularly effective in this work. The continuing shock-waves caused by the French Revolution, the threat posed by the growing power of the nation state, the apparently inexorable march of secularization and of secularism, all contributed to a church response that stressed centralization, uniformity, hierarchy and control.

One theme emphasized by several contributors is that anti-Modernism, not only as a mentality shared by many Catholics, but even as a co-ordinated campaign, pre-dates Modernism. An indication of the chain of reasoning at work among some traditionalists is given (on p. 58, by Paul Misner): 'no public morality or national character without religion; no religion in Europe without Christianity; no Christianity without Catholicism; no Catholicism without the pope; no pope without the supremacy that is his due'. Such a mentality required a strong defence of church authority both internally, in the life of the faithful, and externally, in allowing it considerable influence in society. Ideas about the autonomy of earthly affairs from church

jurisdiction, later to become accepted at Vatican II, were anathema in the nineteenth century.

There are excellent chapters by Gabriel Daly, Lawrence Barmann and Peter Bernardi. Daly summarizes the threats posed for Catholicism by Kant, by individualism and by liberal Protestantism. He analyses the different nineteenth-century responses: French traditionalism (e.g., de Maistre), the German Tübingen scholars (e.g., von Drey) and the neo-scholastics (led by Leo XIII). Then he exposes central philosophical and theological issues at stake for modernists (e.g., a defence of a more Augustinian/Franciscan approach and the proper place of immanence and experience within religious reasoning and apologetics). His subtle examination of the work of Blondel and Loisy is supplemented by insightful chapters on the French philosopher by both Kaminski and Tavard, and on his compatriot historian and exegete by both Hill and Talar.

Daly's analysis of Tyrrell is taken up and developed further by Barmann, whose main focus is von Hugel's 'costing and fruitful' asceticism, his inclusiveness and the relationship between his spirituality and his scholarship. A different version of the critical fidelity aimed for by von Hügel was articulated – and lived out – by Maud Petre, whose work is examined by Ellen Leonard and set firmly in its English context. Leonard interprets some of the differences between von Hügel, Petre and Tyrrell as stemming from their different backgrounds, the first being European, the second from a well-established, confident, recusant Catholic family, the third an Anglo-Irish convert who never quite belonged.

Bernardi's essay is a model of clarity in its depiction of the under-studied dimension of social modernism in France. For many readers this chapter may break new ground in its measured delineation of the differing perspectives of the social modernists and the *integristes*. The former advocated a third way, one that avoided both the neo-scholastic and the positivist approaches. As Christian democrats they sought some accommodation with the Third Republic, rather than a return to a pre-revolutionary situation. Their aim was to demonstrate the bearing of the gospel on contemporary social and political life, to show the connections between Christian doctrines and social relations, to oppose what they saw as a damaging individualism, and to promote fraternity and the equal dignity of all. *Integristes*, on the other hand, felt that the social modernists, in their misguided zeal for a false egalitarianism, failed to defend adequately the family and property, and claimed that they undermined hierarchies that were essential to the social fabric. They accused their opponents of confusing the natural with the supernatural order. In hoping for an unyielding and united front by Catholics, they were incensed by any co-operation with anti-clericals and enemies of the church. Politically they preferred to stress charity rather than justice. Bernardi's insightful, balanced and accessible essay shows that both 'parties' were counter-Revolutionary, but in different ways; it then brings out how the controversy over social modernism rumbled on long into the twentieth century.

Kerlin compares the developing work of two anti-modernists, Garrigou-Lagrange and Maritain, with a special focus on the connections they respectively envisaged as appropriate between philosophy and politics. He points out that, for French Catholics, the (long-delayed) condemnation in 1926 of Action Française was 'immensely more dramatic and painful than the Modernist crisis two decades earlier' (p. 325).

Among some of the welcome but unexpected insights offered here, we find the power of newspapers in galvanizing support for intransigent religious positions, Loisy's political concerns and the subtle but significant differences among anti-Modernists in the relationship they envisaged between philosophy and politics. The authors are aware of the work of other contributors to this volume; they build on and develop further their arguments and evidence. The book is throughout scholarly, careful and nuanced. It is not polemical. It is historically rooted but also suggestive for debates within Catholicism at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It provides for many of the key protagonists '*both* a deep awareness of their social environment, their individual circumstances, and

their personal choices regarding the questions they confronted *and* an informed and judicious assessment of their ideas' (p. 336).

St Mary's College Strawberry Hill (University of Survey), UK John Sullivan

Does God Suffer? By Thomas G. Weinandy. Pp. x, 310, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1999, £16.95.

In this study of ten chapters, each clearly concluded and crammed with footnotes, Oxford lecturer Dr Thomas Weinandy reclaims as philosophically, theologically and pastorally integral the ancient Christian conviction concerning God's invulnerability to suffering. Notwithstanding its being plagued by irksome typographical errors, the book presents a deft demonstration 'not that *despite* God's impassibility he is loving and kind, but rather precisely *because* he is impassible that he is loving and kind' (p. 37).

First Weinandy traces the philosophical presuppositions behind the trend – prominent since the Holocaust though active at least since the late nineteenth century – which rejects divine impassibility as untenable and espouses in its place a God who, in the fullest sense possible, is subject to the existential and ontological instability of the created order. He locates its roots in the Process thought of Whitehead and Hartshorne, whose philosophy 'grew out of the basic principle that change is the universal element in reality' (p. 22), and resulted in a theodicy ultimately grounded in a nihilistic metaphysical structure (pp. 156, n. 19; p. 241).

From chapter two, the author begins systematically to build his case, superbly characterizing his task as discerning a mystery rather than solving a problem (pp. 30–4). Finding as paradigmatic a transcendence/immanence dialectic at work in the biblical and patristic data, Weinandy shows how the simultaneous ontological difference and relation between God and creation – expressed in the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* – emerges as the fundamental key to his whole argument (pp. 53–4, 89, 93, 137–8). There are occasional anachronisms, as when, for instance, he finds Justin (pp. 85–8) and Origen (pp. 97–100) guilty of failing to articulate a full-blown fourth-century doctrine of creation; or when he pits the Judaeo-Christian tradition against Greek philosophy without any apparent appreciation of the central role of, say, Plato's *Timaeus* in the formation of the Christian doctrine of creation (pp. 108–9; see also pp. 147–8), let alone the nuanced dynamics involved in the development of Christian dogma within, and in direct relation to, its cultural milieu, as we have learned from the likes of Hugo Rahner, Jaeger, Hadot, or Von Balthasar. But his point still stands.

The sixth chapter leads us into what in the author's opinion is 'the heart of this study' (p. 114) where, on the basis of Aquinas's understanding of God as *actus purus* (pp. 120–7), he argues for the Trinity's immunity to any kind of moral or ontological alteration since God 'has no self-consisting relational potential which needs to be actualized in order to make him/them [the persons of the Trinity] more relational' (p. 128). This remains the case in God's relation to creation (p. 135). Far from being a barrier to God's vitality, impassibility constitutes its very condition (p. 124). This naturally enough anticipates an account of evil and suffering as deprivation of the good, of the empirical human condition as morally, though not ontologically impaired, and thus the rejection of any notion that suffering could be part of the ontological fabric of creation (pp. 147–71).

One would hope that such an engaging account would lead into an equally careful elaboration of the way in which the Church does in fact speak legitimately of God's suffering in the economy, but while Weinandy rightly eschews any attempt to reduce the Incarnation 'to a mythological expression or symbol of what is happening transcendentally and ahistorically to or within God as God' (p. 173), we then encounter a host of

minor flaws: apart from the twice-repeated mistranslation of the famous Cyrilline formula (pp. 192, 196, though compare p. 196, n. 46!), he speaks of an 'ontological union' of two natures in Christ (pp. 180, 182, 184, 186 *et al.*) – clearly meaning *real* union, but actually implying blending of natures into one, a problem he could have obviated by employing the standard formula 'hypostatic union'. He condemns the soul/body analogy as 'the most lamentable, unfortunate, and misconceived intellectual strategem in the entire history of Christology' (p. 183), even though, understood as no more than an imperfect analogy, it functioned as a critical conceptual and linguistic parallel in the Christology of Leontius of Byzantium, Maximus the Confessor and John Damascene alike. He speaks of the *communicatio idiomatum* as if it were some kind of self-evident principle or process, arguing that *it*, rather than scriptural data and soteriological necessity, 'demanded' Cyril's acknowledgment of the reality of the Son's human existence (p. 190). While he decries the Cappadocians' Christology as semi-docetic as though they conceived Christ's humanity with the benefit of post-fifth-century hindsight (p. 185), he could have made use of their theological distinction between *ousia* and *hypostasis* in order to rescue himself from Cyril's own terminological inconsistencies. One could get the impression that Weinandy's conception of how Christological formulae came to achieve normative status overlooks some of the historical complexities. Perhaps my difficulties here boil down to the question Weinandy, citing R. A. Norris, raises in passing, whether Christological formulae should be understood as metaphysical statements of Christ's ontological constitution, or as linguistic and conceptual tools for penetrating the mystery (p. 200, n. 53). Surely Weinandy is right when he claims that 'Christological grammar and logic are dependent upon Christological ontology' (ibid.), but wrong if he thinks they are constitutive of it.

Be that as it may, the weaknesses of this section are more than redeemed by the final two chapters where Weinandy brings his argument to bear upon the actual human experience of suffering. By differentiating between human suffering in general and that of the baptized, he revitalizes the Fathers' understanding of suffering transformed and transformative: transformed by its being subsumed within the redemptive sufferings of Christ, and transformative as it conforms the sufferer to Christ crucified, risen and alive.

With a little revision, mostly editorial in kind, *Does God Suffer?* provides a persuasive answer to a sometimes provocative, but always pressing question.

University of Durham, UK Adam Cooper

God and Goodness: A Natural Theological Perspective (Routledge Studies in the Philosophy of Religion). By Mark Wynn. Pp. xii, 228, London, Routledge, 1999, £50.00.

This is a most attractive as well as quite a persuasive book. The author argues, following John Leslie, that the main reason why the world exists, is that it is good that it should do so. In effect, he presents a version of the design argument which emphasizes the value of the world; rather than effectively leaching the value out of it, as post-Newtonian versions of the argument, which treat the world as an ingenious mechanism, have tended to do.

It is good to see so much attention paid to F. R. Tennant, whose great work on philosophical theology was published in the 1950s, but in my opinion has not yet been given its due. Tennant made much of the fact that the world is 'saturated' with beauty, at once on a large and a small scale. As Wynn admits, it has been very plausibly argued that the human liking for parkland, consisting of grass with frequent clumps of trees and abundant streams or lakes, is due to the kind of habitat in which a crucial stage of human evolution took place. But this hardly explains the deep fascination exerted on many people by snowfields and deserts, let alone microscopic phenomena. 'In aesthetically

charged encounters with nature, of the kind that all of us know, we are offered an intimation of the world's meaning.' The author says very sensibly that the argument is not necessarily pointless, if one admits that it cannot provide a persuasive case in isolation from other arguments. He suggests that one reason why arguments in natural theology are so difficult to assess, is that credible ones have to rely on a variety of different approaches. (Anthony Flew once protested in this connection that a number of leaky buckets was no better than one for carrying water; but that seems to be false as a matter of empirical fact, as one may find by putting one such bucket inside another.)

Wynn will have it that the predictive power of design is greater than that of naturalism with regard to the phenomena of life, sentience, and the use of concepts – in that naturalism would not be embarrassed by their non-occurrence, whereas design renders them at least unsurprising. That the world exists because it is good that it should do so, he insists, is not overturned by the evident disvalues of the world, as he thinks may be shown by a judicious use of the notions of integral wholes and divine inscrutability; 'in at least some cases, an integral whole may be consistent with the purposes of a benevolent God providing simply that it is better than not.'

The author's 'theodicy in an ecological mode' draws convincingly on the work of Holmes Rolston, who has developed an environmental ethics which is both holist and non-anthropomorphist, with a highest value consisting of 'lofty individuality with its subjectivity, present in vertebrates, mammals, primates, and pre-eminently in persons'. A person's religious beliefs may contribute to her overall capacity to participate in relationships of trust, which is something that is morally good; so one may be said to have a moral case for theism which 'tops up' the epistemic case for religious belief offered thus far.

In the last chapter of the book, the author seeks to forge a connection between the goodness of the world and the concept of God. For him, it is the essence of the divine to offer 'a radiantly attractive synthesis of the goodness evident in created things'. I find this notion particularly helpful in counteracting that sort of piety which seems only to be able to value God at the expense of the created world. Worship is to be understood 'by reference to the wonder and reverence we feel before the existence of things'; we should not start, as Richard Swinburne does, from the notion of 'respect', as that is too religiously impoverished. Following hints in Aquinas's work, perhaps not adequately realized in the Thomistic system itself, salvation is to be conceived in terms not of isolated individuals, but only in relation to the wider social and cosmological community.

Calgary, Alberta, Canada Hugo Meynell

Christian Perspectives on Religious Knowledge. Edited by C. Stephen Evans and Merold Westphal. Pp. viii, 224, Grand Rapids, Michigan, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993, £10.99.

'Is "religious knowledge" an oxymoronic phrase?' (p. 1). Evans and Westphal locate this question in the historical context of the Enlightenment. They paint a vivid picture of a sharp contrast between 'the Enlightenment view of reason as pure and self-contained' (p. 2) and the views of twentieth-century epistemologists who, developing Hume's critique of reason, criticize the Enlightenment view and offer their own indigent alternatives.

Twentieth-century epistemologists have no doubt achieved much. However, this black-and-white portrayal of the Enlightenment view, as contrasted with the views represented by the authors included in this volume, seems overdrawn. During the Enlightenment

period it was by no means clear that the 'pure reason' stand would win out. The contrast and lively intellectual exchange between Kant's views and those of Hamann on this point should warn us that the Enlightenment view of reason was much more complex than it may appear in retrospect. In the light of this, perhaps Evans and Westphal are somewhat overdoing their heralding of the essays presented in this volume as the long-awaited corrective to Enlightenment mistakes.

Be that as it may, we are told that this volume 'embodies some of the fruits' of the 'assault' of twentieth-century epistemologists upon the 'Enlightenment epistemologies and those philosophies of religion which rest on them' (p. 2). Indeed, despite holding otherwise divergent views, the authors included in the volume 'are united in their conviction that, with a proper understanding of the nature of knowledge and how it is derived, the fashionable Enlightenment dismissal of religious belief as unreasonable is itself unreasonable' (p. 2). But surely no one has had to wait until the end of the twentieth century for this particular conviction to emerge. The eighteenth-century reader of Hamann's 'Metacritique of the Purism of Reason' (published in 1783) would have been presented with this conviction at about the same time that Kant was promoting his ideas on the purism of reason. So, we might wonder, what is new about the epistemological insights contained in this volume?

Well, the next insight which the editors draw to our attention is not new either. We are told that 'the authors all believe that a proper understanding of the position of human beings as 'finite, *created* beings is helpful in coming to see what knowledge is and how humans know' (p. 3). Again I refer the reader to the work of Hamann. The editors begin their introduction by telling us that the authors are in the tradition of Hume. I suggest that any affinity to Hume is merely accidental. For the tradition of thought which these authors are developing seems to be that of Hamann not of Hume.

The first essay in the volume is William Alston's 'On Knowing that We Know: The Application to Religious Knowledge'. Alston outlines and defends a 'reliabilist epistemology', that is, a type of externalist epistemology which holds that the 'knower' may know without knowing that she knows. Relying on arguments developed in his book *Perceiving God*, Alston defends this externalist stance against an 'internalist' position which would insist that the knower must have access to the grounds of her knowledge.

The basic premise of Alston's argument is that knowing that we have knowledge about God in any particular case always depends on our already having some prior religious knowledge. However, Alston argues that this does not make religious knowledge essentially different from any other type of knowledge – for example, knowledge in physics. Knowing that we know anything in any given field of enquiry depends on our accepting certain background beliefs as true. In the case of religious knowledge, Alston elaborates, the background beliefs are provided by the religious tradition.

But surely there is an important difference between religious knowledge and knowledge in other areas – such as biology, for example – which Alston has overlooked. In the case of religious knowledge we are faced with competing sets of background beliefs, each belonging to a distinct religious tradition. Which set are we to choose? Alston's argument does not seem to offer a way of answering this question. Moreover, the range of competing sets of background beliefs in the religious case has no real analogue in other areas, and this suggests that religious knowledge claims are anomalous even if we accept Alston's reliabilist epistemology and his characterization of the ultimate groundlessness of all knowledge claims.

The next essay, by Alvin Plantinga, entitled 'Divine Knowledge', addresses the vexing questions which arise when considering claims about God's knowledge. The principal vexing question is, of course, that of God's knowledge of the future actions of free creatures, or God's knowledge of 'counterfactuals of creaturely freedom'. The thrust of Plantinga's approach is neatly expressed by the editors: 'The fact is that we don't understand how God knows any of what he knows; what we can understand is that we should not be expected to understand, because divine knowledge must be fundamentally

different from human knowledge' (p. 5). Any religious epistemologist with rationalist inclinations take note. Those interested in tracing the pedigree of Plantinga's argument from God's creation of us to our nature as knowers could do worse than read his essay in conjunction with Herder's 'On the Origin of Language' (published in 1770).

One of the strengths of this volume lies in the constructive dialogue which the contributors engage in with each other. William Hasker's piece, 'Proper Function, Reliabilism, and Religious Knowledge: A Critique of Plantinga's Religious Epistemology', is a good example of this dialogue. While offering a critique of Plantinga's epistemology, Hasker also presents his own approach which provides a welcome naturalistic contrast to Plantinga's.

This is followed by an engaging piece by Nicholas Wolterstorff, 'In Defense of Gaunilo's Defense of the Fool'. Unlike the earlier essays in this volume, Wolterstorff's contribution does not offer a treatment of the structure of religious knowing. Instead, it focuses on Anselm's famous ontological argument for the existence of God. It is thoroughly in keeping with the tenor of reformed epistemology that it has no need for such arguments, hence it comes as no surprise to find Wolterstorff arguing for the stance of the fool.

Laura L. Garcia takes up the theme of natural theology in her essay, 'Natural Theology and the Reformed Objection'. She proposes that the differences between natural theologians in the Thomist tradition and reformed theologians are not as great as might at first appear. This lucid and cogent piece is a welcome reappraisal of the intellectual continuity between the Thomist and reformed traditions of religious epistemology.

In the next piece, 'Empiricism, Rationalism, and the Possibility of Historical Religious Knowledge', C. Stephen Evans is concerned to show that even apparently empiricist arguments which deny the possibility of historical religious knowledge turn out, on closer inspection, to rest upon rationalist assumptions. Having argued the case for this, he then proposes that Christian philosophers have no good reason to accept a rationalist stance towards religious knowledge. Hence they need not accept the rationalist assumptions which make historical religious knowledge seem so problematic. Evans concludes by rightly pointing out that, having got this far, further work needs to be done to establish whether or not anybody actually does have any historical religious knowledge. This essay provides a clear exposition of the central issues under debate, and it will be a useful addition to undergraduate reading lists.

Merold Westphal's essay, 'Christian Philosophers and the Copernican Revolution', might come as a disappointment to those hoping for a discussion of the epistemological implications of theories of religious pluralism. However, this essay will not disappoint any reader who feels that today's philosophers of religion typically fail to engage meaningfully with post-Wittgensteinian developments in analytic philosophy, especially those on the realism/anti-realism front. Westphal outlines four different versions of Kantian metaphysics, arguing that two are theistic and two humanistic. Of the two humanistic versions, only one seems to be anti-theistic: that developed by Richard Rorty. The other humanist version, 'the Pierce–Habermas–Putnam' (PHP) version, has, Westphal argues, been too quickly dismissed by theistic philosophers of religion. What theistic philosophers can take from the PHP version of creative anti-realism is 'the reminder that our best theories to date, including our theologies, are in their very structure and not just in their details fallible, open to critique, and revisable' (p. 176). So, Westphal concludes, *contra* Plantinga, a Christian epistemologist can adopt a version of Kantian metaphysic without falling into a philosophical stance which is inherently antagonistic to Christian theism. Moreover: 'Anti-realism is valuable in pointing to the noetic effects of sin' (p. 11), as Westphal's view is succinctly summed up in the volume's introduction.

Westphal's reading of Kant certainly fits more snugly with the period of the First Critique than it does with the later Kant, as Westphal himself acknowledges. Nevertheless, this essay provides a sober reminder of the deep theistic commitment behind the *Critique of Pure Reason* – a commitment which is all too easily 'bracketed out' by later non-theistic thinkers.

The penultimate essay, 'Songs of Zarathustra: Faith after Nietzsche', by Galen Johnson, comes from the Continental tradition. Surprisingly, perhaps, it makes an apt companion to the other contributions in the collection. The portrait of Christian faith after Nietzsche as a 'tragic faith' – one which acknowledges human sin and limitations – is appropriate after the foregoing explorations of human cognitive limitations.

Many of the essays in this volume emphasize that human knowers are first of all creatures, and that this creatureliness affects their noetic abilities. In the final essay, 'Persons of Flesh', Donn Welton provides a stimulating and original account of how our bodies might be characterized within this religious framework – a framework which takes creatureliness for granted. The bulk of Welton's essay offers a fascinating critique of Descartes's conception of the body, along with an analysis of some of the problems which the Cartesian conception gives rise to. Welton urges us to move away from a Cartesian conception of the body towards a view of the body which emphasizes that the body of flesh is always an experiential body. This 'fleshy' conception of the body should, Welton argues, lead us to re-assess the way we think about religious knowledge.

The avowed purpose of this volume is to provide a range of Christian perspectives on religious knowledge. However, at the end of the day, the reader may wish that the perspectives had been rather more divergent. Does no one out there adopt what Alston terms an 'internalist epistemology'? Are there no Christian philosophers left who defend the claim that religious knowledge has grounds? In short, the conclusions reached by many of the authors struck this reviewer as something of a *fait accompli*, given that the volume fails to include the work of any epistemologist who might challenge them from a significantly alternative standpoint.

Birkbeck College, University of London, UK Victoria S. Harrison

Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits: Religion, Morals and Magic in the Ancient World. By Georg Luck. Pp. xii, 314, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2000, $54.50.

This is a long-overdue collection of essays by Georg Luck, one of the foremost scholars in the field of ancient Greek religion, who is especially well known for his book *Arcana Mundi*, on magical practices in ancient Greece and Rome. While his arcane interests feature strongly in the collection, there are also essays on rather more mainstream topics. But this distinction between 'arcane' and 'mainstream' is precisely what Luck has spent most of his life combating, by showing how central magic was to the Greek and Roman worlds, and how we can gain a rounded picture of these cultures only if we extend our picture to include such 'superstitious' practices. This collection is particularly welcome because many of the essays have been translated from their original German.

I here pick on a few themes that are common to the essays in this collection. First, the mystery religions – especially a fascinating interpretation of the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* as full of symbolism relating to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and a previously unpublished essay on Apuleius's *The Golden Ass*, focusing on the fictional protagonist's salvation through initiation into the mysteries of Isis.

Second, a recurrent underground theme is the idea that ancient philosophy was close to what we would now understand as monasticism or mysticism, and that the teacher was a spiritual guide as much as a logician, metaphysician or whatever. This is important; it is always vital to remember that ancient philosophy scarcely resembled modern academic philosophy. Modern philosophy is conceptual analysis; ancient philosophy was a way of life, and its practitioners were trying to become better people. But most scholars ignore this difference and interpret ancient philosophers as though they were

modern philosophers. This insight informs, particularly, Luck's essay 'Epicurus and His Gods', first published in 1960.

Third, an interest in obscure byways of ancient philosophy: the comic poet Menander's possible influence on Panaetius; the antecedents of various themes in the 'Dream of Scipio' (the eclectic Antiochus of Ascalon, Luck concludes); the discovery of a Stoic cosmology preserved in a passage of the Latin astrological poet Manilius; the theory and practice of theurgy – the attempt at mystical union with God – among the Neoplatonists.

Fourth, a close engagement with texts, both word by word (if necessary) and in terms of the structure or form, but usually in the service of larger conclusions.

Fifth, the interaction between Christianity and paganism. As conflict, this is discussed in an essay on Palladas, considering the question whether he was a pagan or a Christian (neither, really, Luck concludes – just a poet), and in an essay on the passage in the *Asclepius* (one of the books of the *Hermetica*) where the decline of paganism is 'predicted'. In terms of literary form, it crops up in a famous essay on whether or not the early Christian *vitae* imitated the structure of Suetonian biography. And there is a fascinating survey of humour – or laughter, at any rate – from the beginnings of Greek literature, through Latin literature, and into the early Christian authors, concluding that the Christians were not entirely as po-faced as they might seem.

Sixth, and finally, of course, the study for which Luck is deservedly famous – ancient magic. And so we find an illuminating article on the doctrine of salvation in the *Hermetica*, and an excellent introduction to the forms and features of ancient Mediterranean magic, masquerading as a survey of recent (in 1995) work on the subject.

The book is delightfully wide-ranging and clear, despite its focus on somewhat arcane subjects. Luck appears to be equally at home with Roman comedy and Athenian drama, with the New Testament and the *vitae* of the Christian saints as well as classical historiography, with epic, epigrams and etymology. He writes always with lucidity and an engaging sympathy with the beliefs and practices, however odd or obscure, of his subjects. This is hard to illustrate – more at the level of tone of voice than of explicit comment. But consider, for instance, assertions such as: 'A recently published book on trance, as observed in so-called primitive societies – and I emphasize *so-called*, because who are we to judge what is primitive and what is advanced?' (p. 123). Nor is he afraid of using the often-despised technique of comparative anthropology, to illuminate, above all, the magical practices of the Neoplatonists by reference to modern mescaline experiences and voodoo. This forms part of his reconstruction of Neoplatonist higher magic in his fundamental essay, the longest in the book, 'Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism', first published in 1989.

This is undoubtedly an important collection of essays which will find a place on the shelves of scholars and libraries representing a wide range of disciplines, for all these disciplines fall within the compass of the author.

London, UK Robin Waterfield

Indian Philosophy: An Introduction to Hindu and Buddhist Thought. By Richard King. Pp. xvi, 263, Edinburgh University Press, 1999, no price given.

Though there are already quite a few introductions to Indian Philosophy available in the market, this book is a welcome addition because it seeks 'to challenge the parochialism of "Western philosophy" and to contribute to the growth of a relatively new, and much-maligned, field known as "comparative philosophy". In this respect, this work represents the first step in an attempt to think through the implications of a post-colonial approach for the study and practice of philosophy as a cross-cultural phenomenon' (p. xiii).

My impression is that King has succeeded in the task he set for himself. Since 'philosophies are developed through debate and interaction with other points of view', King has 'chosen to organise the material around specific themes and philosophical questions rather than providing separate chapters on each school' (p. xiv). Two important themes could be incorporated: Hermeneutics – how do we understand? and Ethics – how should we behave? We have a little of the former on pp. 52–3. The latter is very important precisely because one of the accusations colonials levelled against Indian Philosophy is that it lacked an ethical tradition. Since the book is an introduction, it combines a glossary with the index.

I found the first two chapters very informative, providing a fitting introduction to what follows. King shows how the Eurocentric understanding of what philosophy is all about has led some to question the very existence of philosophy in ancient India. Not only is this impression wrong, but 'a proper engagement with these [non-European] cultures will undoubtedly result in a greater appreciation and understanding of the cultural roots and identity of "the West". This is particularly important since we no longer live in a world which can be strictly divided into East and West' (p. 37). King brings to his work a wide range of reading. He is familiar not only with the primary sources of and secondary studies on Indian and other philosophical traditions, but also with scholarly studies in other fields of learning. His book, though an introduction, is not only a mine of information, but takes careful note of the peculiarity of each tradition. Even very little-known traditions are dealt with, e.g., the Saatīyas, a school of thought 'condemned by all other Buddhist schools for its apparent denial of the doctrine of no-abiding-self' (p. 89). It may not be out of place to mention here that today some Buddhist scholars interpret the no-abiding-self doctrine as the mistaken identification of our real self – person – with the non-essentials that make our personality. At times the reader comes across some very insightful passages, e.g., one may get the impression that the Aristotelian and Nyāya syllogism are the same, because both have a major and a minor premise from which a conclusion is derived.

King shows how the citing of an example in the Nyāya syllogism relates Nyāya logic 'to the world of lived-experience' (p. 132). Some minor points may need to be reconsidered. King translates advaita either as non-dualism or as monism (p. 153). I believe the former is the more correct translation. I am not sure that 'Carvāka means "one who eats" ' (p. 17), at least I have not come across this explanation in other studies. In Hindu tradition the sages who received the revelation are called rsis (seers) not because they are 'those in whom the revelation was heard' (p. 52), but because by their special competence they perceived the revelation, but this revelation is called śruti because it is handed down through oral tradition. But these are minor points. The book is an excellent study and is more than an introduction.

Papal Seminary, Pune, India Anand Subhash

Missio Moscovitica (American University Studies, IX/178). By Jan Joseph Santich. Pp. xi, 255, Berne, Peter Lang, 1999, no price given.

The book under review is an in-depth account of Jesuit activity in seventeenth-century Muscovy, the *Missiones Moscoviticae* (1604–08, 1609–19) and the *Missio Castrensis in Bello Moschovitico* (1633), drawn chiefly from Pontifical and Jesuit archives. Given the political and military turbulence of the times, the dashing and grandiose characters, and the perpetual schemes for unions of one sort or another, it is an altogether intriguing study. Santich has a considerable talent for elucidating the seething events of this era with crisp and incisive narration. In addition, his even-handedness impresses the reader:

from the visionary Antonio Possevino, SJ, to the unctuous 'False Dmitrii' to the steely Filaret of Moscow, the personages stand out with the full human complement of foibles and strengths.

Santich begins with an extremely important, if unexciting, survey of the sources. This survey allows him not only to describe the materials used throughout, but also to sketch the structure and protocol of the Jesuit mission in question. Due to the extensive correspondence maintained throughout the period which he has examined, he is able to track the development of Jesuit activity in Poland-Lithuania with great precision. It is this ambience that eventually produced the missions of the early seventeenth century, so Santich takes pains to describe the arrival and eventual success of Jesuits during the reign of Sigismund III Jagiellon, King of Poland. It was in no small measure due to Sigismund's enthusiastic reception of the Jesuit mission that the Society was in a position to undertake its later ones.

Before those missions, however, Tsar Ivan IV ('the Terrible') besought Pope Gregory XIII to negotiate an end to the war with Poland in Livonia. In 1582 Gregory dispatched Possevino as papal legate to Muscovy. Possevino's experience, as reflected in his memoirs, set the tone for Jesuit activity in Muscovy for the next century, and it was generally speaking a tone of grave condescension. Though Possevino showed some consideration for the integrity of the Muscovite Christians, he regarded the Orthodox Church in Muscovy as the product of 'decadent Greek schismatics'. But so impressed was he by the autocratic rule of the Tsar that he conceived a plan to 'restore' the Muscovites to the bosom of the Roman Church by winning over the Tsar.

Though Possevino's career was a string of diplomatic failures, his observations about the ecclesiastical and political status of Muscovy dominated the next half-century. When in 1603 a pretender to the throne of Ivan IV, 'False Dmitrii', appeared in Lithuania and allied himself to Sigismund, even being clandestinely received into the Roman Catholic Church, the first serious effort at Jesuit mission in Muscovy began. Two Jesuits were attached as military chaplains to the ragtag army that eventually set Dmitrii on the throne. For some time, they entertained dreams of great success, which Dmitrii nurtured with promises of Colleges and churches. These were not realized, as False Dmitrii systematically alienated the citizenry and was eventually assassinated during riots. The first effort ended in abysmal failure, which saw the Jesuits languishing in prison.

The two subsequent missions were similarly tied to military efforts. During the Muscovite War (1609–19), when Sigismund attempted to seize power, his troops were accompanied by three to four Jesuits at various stages of the expedition. And again when Sigismund's son and successor Wladislaw IV renewed his father's efforts at seizing Muscovy (1633–4), eighteen Jesuits were attached to the campaign. When this failed, and Wladislaw recognized Michael Romanov as tsar, Muscovite disgust for the Jesuits rose to a new high. Under the powerful direction of Michael's father, Patriarch Filaret, this sentiment hardened into a policy that remained in place until the regency of Sophia Alexievna (1684–7).

From this epic, Santich infers several important points. The Jesuit mission was, practically from its inception, doomed to failure. The distaste for the Orthodox Church and its culture so baldly evident in Possevino's journal was a constant feature, and indeed was an organic extension of the intransigent effort to secure Latin preeminence in Muscovy. Coupled with the close alliance of Jesuit and Polish interests, this led to an utter failure, in light of which the Propaganda abandoned any efforts at reuniting the Muscovite Orthodox to Rome by the ministrations of the Society of Jesus. Even when later efforts were undertaken by Ruthenian Catholics of the Order of St Basil the Great, whose cultural affinity should have held out a greater likelihood of success, the Muscovite perception of Roman Catholicism had been so thoroughly besmirched that failure was inevitable.

University of Durham, UK Augustine Casiday

Ancient Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction. By Julia Annas. Pp. viii, 127, Oxford University Press, 2000, £5.99.

The Oxford History of Western Philosophy. Edited by Anthony Kenny. Pp. ix, 450, Oxford University Press, 2000, £9.99.

I here give a rapid survey of these two recent histories of philosophy from OUP, one covering about 1,000 years in about 120 pages, the other about 2,500 years in 400 pages.

Annas's book is wonderful. Thematically based, it is at once absorbing in its depth and accessible in the lightness of its treatment. The first chapter is typical. A number of ancient philosophers reflected on Medea's dilemma, that she could see the better course of action and even approve of it, but could not follow it. What does this tell us, they wondered, about the constitution of a human being and especially the relation of reason and emotion? By introducing us to Stoic and Platonic theories, Annas simultaneously shows us that ancient philosophers often responded to one another, and that studying ancient philosophy is somehow doing philosophy – puzzling about things and trying to get clear about them. In the second chapter Annas uses the most famous ancient philosophical text, Plato's *Republic*, to consider how we engage with works which spring, after all, from another culture. The changing fortunes and readings of *Republic* well illustrate this theme. Annas stresses the richness of a text that can support varied approaches, and warns that not all ancient texts or issues are as immediately accessible as Medea's dilemma.

In the third chapter she clarifies our thinking about happiness, pleasure and virtue – the key concepts of ancient thinking about 'the good life' and how to achieve it. The fourth chapter does the same for ancient epistemology and its key concepts – knowledge (or understanding), giving an account, and belief – and approaches such as dogmatism, scepticism, relativism and empiricism. Her fifth chapter covers logic and physics (theories about the natures of things, including humans), and focuses especially on the ancient attraction for teleological explanations and the variety of views this engendered. A final chapter serves as both a summary and a survey, and tries to trace threads which are common to the thousand years of ancient philosophy's history and all its varied and various proponents.

Throughout the book there are sidebars summarizing and highlighting some issue, school or thinker, and a few illustrations also help Annas to make some point or other. This is a short book, in keeping with the rest of this new series from OUP, but the writing is somehow leisurely and expansive, intelligent without being dense. Annas communicates her own enthusiasm for the subject, its perennial interest and richness, and the sheer intellectual audacity of these pioneers. She always has half an eye on modern developments of and reactions to ancient views, for the sake of contrast and clarification. Of course, the book simplifies some issues and skips others with which historians of philosophy are concerned, but it is, nevertheless, a perfect introduction.

Kenny's book is a multi-authored volume which started life a few years ago as *The Oxford Illustrated History of Western Philosophy*. Here it is with the illustrations removed.

I found Stephen Clark's section on ancient philosophy odd: there seemed to be as much of Clark in it as of the ancient philosophers he was supposed to be informing us about, and I suspect that anyone not already familiar with the topics would find it hard going. By contrast, Paul Vincent Spade's section on medieval philosophy is admirable: clear, authoritative, broken up into numerous digestible subsections – a well-chosen selection of the most important theories of Augustine, Aquinas and others. The editor's summary of the philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is exemplary. As well as explaining their chief views, he also, interestingly, reveals how much common ground there was between them, even if they have earned the apparently contrary titles of 'rationalist', say, as opposed to 'empiricist'. By this stage of Western philosophy, the ideas are getting highly abstruse, but Kenny steers us illuminatingly

through the shoals, without disguising difficulties and controversies on the way. My only criticism is that I think many readers would have been helped by a more neutral exposition, with less criticism woven into it.

Roger Scruton's chapter on 'Contintental Philosophy from Fichte to Sartre' is a masterpiece of condensation, summarizing thinkers such as Hegel, Marx, Husserl and Heidegger in a few pages each. This is not an easy phase of philosophy, and the non-initiate will have to work hard, but the result is rewarding. Kenny and David Pears co-authored the next chapter, 'Mill to Wittgenstein'. The sections on Mill, Frege and Russell are good, but those on Wittgenstein are excellent, placing his early work clearly against the background of Frege and Russell, and then tracing the evolution of the philosopher's thought away from logical atomism and towards the more holistic views which have proved so attractive and influential since his time. Pears focuses on the private language argument and its ramifications, in order to lead the reader gradually into Wittgenstein's philosophy of mind.

A final long chapter by Anthony Quinton traces the history of Western political philosophy, otherwise more or less neglected in the book. Structured chronologically, this chapter has the virtue of being almost entirely a bare summary of the views of the main thinkers and schools of thought, and of some lesser figures too, and of relating them to the real historical situations within which these views developed. It ends more or less with the Second World War, in keeping with the policy of the whole book not to cover living thinkers.

Kenny's book will undoubtedly reach a wide audience because of its impressive title and contributors, but apart from the outstanding chapters on medieval philosophy and political thought, it is not a book for beginners. OUP is pushing its 'Very Short Introductions' for that audience. But then it is not clear who the book is for. There are histories which are just as good, and most of the thinkers or schools need a less condensed approach.

London, UK Robin Waterfield

Plato's Democratic Entanglements: Athenian Politics and the Practice of Philosophy. By S. Sara Monoson. Pp. xi, 252, Princeton University Press, 2000, £25.00.

Plato is traditionally portrayed (e.g., in a famous book by Karl Popper) as virulently anti-democratic. Monoson shows admirably well in this book that the true picture is far more complex – hence the 'entanglements' of her title. In some respects, it is true, Plato was deeply suspicious of democracy (which means Athenian democracy as practised in his day), but Monoson shows at length that he took over four central features of Athenian democracy which he did not find hostile to the claims of philosophical truth. These four features are: a loathing for tyranny and approval of the wide dispersal of political power; the right to free speech; public funeral oratory; and attendance at the theatre. Monoson includes these last two, perhaps somewhat oddly at first sight, because she thinks that for an ancient Athenian, 'democracy' meant more than a certain kind of government: 'It was also a matter of the ritualized performance of a cluster of cultural practices that reach into both private and public life' (p. 6).

Monoson's thesis is perhaps not as novel as she makes out. It is obvious to most people reading *Republic* that Plato critically engages with the institutions of democratic Athens, rather than dismissing them outright; and one thinks of Glenn Morrow's demonstration that, in *Laws* at any rate, Plato took over quite of few features of Athenian democracy. What is new is that Monoson's book is based on exciting new work on Athenian democracy, which shows how it may have been propped up by, for instance, attending the dramatic festivals, and how virtually everything an Athenian citizen did,

right down to walking through the agora, connected with his sense of himself as a member of a democratic culture.

What is true in her book, and needs constant reiteration, is that Plato was not simply an enemy of democracy. So the value of the book is that it reaches this conclusion based on a new study of what democratic Athenians thought of themselves (in the first part of her book), and a closely argued interpretation of certain of Plato's dialogues in this context (the second part). While the idea that the philosopher is a tyrant-slayer (of the tyrannies of the appetites, for instance) along the model of the Athenian democratic heroes Harmodius and Aristogeiton can be no more than suggestive, her argument that Plato's model for philosophic activity was based not only on the ideal of free speech, but on the performance of the public funeral oration and on the results of being an active, intelligent member of the audience at civic dramatic festivals, is fascinating and ingenious. She makes a good case for Athenian dramatic festivals involving mass assembly which resonated with political assembly and was fundamentally supported by democratic institutions, and for attendance at the theatre being itself a democratic act. Therefore, Plato's use of theatre-going as a model of what a philosopher does shows his involvement with democratic institutions. And not only did Plato himself write a funeral speech in *Menexenus*, thus appropriating this democratic form of oratory for philosophy, but Athenian funeral speeches construct ideal cities as Plato did in *Republic* and *Laws*.

This is an intelligent, well-argued book, and deserves serious attention. But it should not be thought that the author has proved in any real measure that Plato was not opposed to democracy. Once she has opened the floodgates of the new work on Athenian democracy, there are hundreds of activities that count as democratic – yet she can find only four of which Plato approves. The two most important of her criteria are not specifically Athenian or democratic: hatred of tyranny was just as strongly imbued in Sparta as in Athens, and although the right to free speech was an Athenian slogan, other states included in their constitutions assemblies of all male citizens. Meanwhile, it still remains incontestably the case that Plato was opposed to political equality, majority rule, and the practice of debating topics in the Assembly – practices that are surely essential to Athenian democracy. Monoson would be the first to say that all she is trying to show is that Plato was 'entangled' with democracy in ways that are more complex than the orthodox view of him simply as an anti-democrat; but in fact all she shows is that, like all of us, Plato was conditioned by his upbringing, so that he used the forms and features of life around him as metaphors for various aspects of philosophy. From this truism it is hard to draw political conclusions.

London, UK Robin Waterfield

Recognition, Remembrance and Reality: New Essays on Plato's Epistemology and Metaphysics. Edited by Mark L. McPherran. Pp. xi, 157, Alberta, Academic Printing and Publishing, 1999 (*Apeiron*, vol. 32.4), $64.95/$24.95.

Another fine volume of essays on Plato has come from the annual Arizona Colloquium on Ancient Philosophy (see my review of an earlier volume in *HeyJ* 40 [January 1999], pp. 122–4). There is no real connecting thread between the eight essays, other than a focus on Plato's epistemology and metaphysics, but they exhibit a pleasing iconoclasm, in the sense that several of the essays find something new and provocative to say about familiar sections of Plato's dialogues.

In the opening essay Lloyd Gerson reinterprets the passage from *Phaedo* where Plato argues for his doctrine of recollection (72e–78b), and arrives at a reading of this perennially fascinating argument that allows Plato to say both that we arrive at knowledge of the Form, Equality, through sense-perception and that we had pre-natal

knowledge of the Form. In a nice, clear paper, Mi-Kyoung Mitzi Lee examines the assumptions that persuade Plato, in *Theaetetus*, that he is right to accuse all or most of his predecessors (including, Lee argues, his own earlier work) of assimilating thinking and perception. She reads the Protagorean section of the dialogue differently from the orthodoxy, inspired by Burnyeat, in order to bring out the assumptions that govern Plato's diagnosis of the Protagorean position – the assimilation of appearing and perceiving; the idea that to perceive is to be altered passively; and that both the perception of qualities and the very qualities themselves come into existence simultaneously. She finally sketches how, in what follows, Plato refutes each of these three assumptions, in order to refute the Protagorean position.

Another essay on *Theaetetus*, by Christopher Shields, is, I think, the outstanding essay of the volume. At the end of the dialogue Plato rejects a definition of knowledge as justified true belief accompanied by an account. His rejection is disturbing, because that is essentially the definition of knowledge that many modern thinkers would want to give. Shields shows that the arguments Plato uses to reject the definition are considerably weaker than arguments used elsewhere in the dialogue to reject other definitions. In particular, he does not give full credit to the notion of an 'account' as picking out the distinguishing mark of something. We might wonder why Plato does this, since as Shields shows, the arguments could well have been strengthened by premises readily available to Plato; but at any rate, we need not be unduly disturbed by his rejection of this promising definition.

There are also two papers on *Parmenides*. The editor, Mark McPherran, tackles a neglected passage, where Plato denies that the gods can have knowledge of the particulars of this world, such as we ourselves have (134c–e). First, he elucidates the argument, showing how it is valid on Platonic premises; then he discusses three strategies by which Plato could allow the gods knowledge of particulars. Essentially, Plato would have to allow change into the realm of Forms for this to happen. The other paper, by Richard Patterson, is contentious. Most scholars would now read the second part of *Parmenides* as giving us arguments that result in substantive metaphysical conclusions with which Plato was in agreement, but Patterson argues that there are just too many bad arguments here for this strategy to be sound. He thinks that Plato was providing deliberately bad arguments, on which readers are expected to improve, his purpose being to force us to think about issues central to his metaphysics, and to train us in the kinds of argument required to think constructively about those issues. I think it is difficult to sustain Patterson's thesis: how can we identify a *deliberately* bad argument and distinguish it from a simple mistake?

There are two papers on *Republic* as well. In *Republic* 522–31 Plato prescribes a course of mathematical studies designed to lead the minds of budding philosopher-kings away from the mundane world and towards the world of Forms. Mitchell Miller shows how each of the subjects is supposed to achieve this, explains why Plato chose just the subjects he did, and put them in that particular order – arithmetic, plane geometry, solid geometry, astronomy, harmonic theory – and argues that each stage of the sequence represents a kind of progressive purification of the soul from its attachment to the material world. Nicholas Smith considers the educational course outlined by Plato Books 2 and 3 of *Republic*, in the mathematical studies of Book 7, and in the elusive remarks about the education of character at 539–40. Plausibly, this curriculum is also supposed to be an ideal one for us too, the readers of the book, as well as for the guardians of Kallipolis. Less plausibly, Smith proposes that *Republic* itself is supposed to educate its readers in the required way, and considers how it is meant to do so, at each of the three phases of the curriculum. This leads him to some interesting speculations, but there is really no textual warrant for this assumption, and it is impossible to see how *Republic* could provide a course of physical education or mathematical studies, to take the most obvious instances.

Finally, in a fine essay, Asli Gocer argues that the translation 'quietness' for *hesuchia* is misleading in so far as it implies that Plato was a quietist in politics and ethics. Noting

its religious connotations, she argues that it implies a certain mental state of balance, similar to physical health, which is a necessary but not sufficient condition of virtue. It is related to the Platonic ideal of assimilation to god. The evidence is circumstantial rather than definitive, but Gocer creates what is to my mind a plausible scenario.

This is not a collection of essays for the beginner, but professional students of ancient philosophy will find something in every essay to provoke or please them.

London, UK Robin Waterfield

Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion (Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities Volume IX). Edited by William W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf. Pp. ix, 464, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2000, £44.50.

It is good to have a new edition of the fragments of Demetrius of Phalerum. Wehrli's edition is out of date, and lacks the benefit of a translation. Demetrius was an early Peripatetic, a companion and student of Theophrastus of Eresus, but also presumably of Aristotle, since he was born around 355. He is most famous as an active statesman who with Macedonian support became virtual sole ruler of Athens and undertook moderate reforms before being banished (and so providing for writers like Plutarch a moral example). He was a notable orator, and restricted his philosophical work to practical and popular treatises, and to scholarship rather than original thought. His importance in the history of philosophy is slight, but he confirms the trend among second-generation Peripatetics to focus more on history and literature than on hard philosophy.

This edition contains a text with facing translation and full apparatus criticus of all the existing fragments and testimonia, split up under a large number of headings and subheadings; concordances with the main previous editions of the fragments; indexes of texts and names; and seven essays by various hands (two in Italian and the rest in English) assessing Demetrius's contribution to Greek thought, literary criticism, and Athenian politics, and unravelling his biography.

It has to be said that a great deal of what remains is pretty lightweight or repetitious. The most interesting details of his life are the few snippets about his political career and his contribution towards stocking the library at Alexandria (especially with Hebrew texts, for which he arranged a translation). Of his philosophical work, very little of substance survives in the fragments; it is likely that there was little of substance in the treatises anyway, since they were designed to be popular. There is more interest in the remnants of his political writings, and those on literature and rhetoric. But the point of an edition like this is completeness, and as far as I can tell the editors (in this case Peter Stork, Jan van Ophuijsen and Tiziano Dorandi, giving us the abbreviation SOD) have given us a complete set of fragments and testimonia. Papyrus fragments from Herculaneum have added to what we know about Demetrius, but unless or until there are more such finds, we may take SOD to be complete.

The essays partly elucidate the preceding texts and partly complement them. For instance, the first essay, by Michael Sollenberger, is an assessment of Diogenes Laertius's life of Demetrius, which is among the testimonia; and the final essay, by Elisabetta Matelli, is an attempt to contextualize and show the importance of Demetrius's collection of Aesop's fables, of which we have nothing other than the title The most interesting essay, to my taste, is the one by Stephen Tracy reassessing Demetrius the man as a would-be philosopher-king, and not a military dictator, as is usually stated or assumed, and not – or not quite – merely a puppet of his Macedonian masters. This is complemented by the essays by Michael Gagarin and Hans Gottschalk, both of which (after discussing his legislation and writings) argue that as a statesman he was responding more to the needs of the day than he was following a Peripatetic line. Tiziano

Dorandi discusses the ways in which the papyrus fragments of Philodemus's *On Rhetoric* have added to our knowledge of Demetrius as an orator and rhetorical theorist, and Franco Montanari's essay is a valuable reconstruction of the extent (little can be known about the content) of Demetrius's writings on literature, chiefly Homer.

In the nature of things, the essays will encounter responses, and scholarly thinking about Demetrius will develop; but the edition of the fragments and testimonia which constitutes the heart of this book will remain the basis for all future work on this little known Peripatetic.

London, UK Robin Waterfield