

## CURRENT THEOLOGY

### THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FROM 1300 TO 1648: A SURVEY OF RESEARCH, 1955-1960

Three and a half centuries of the life of the Church are contained within the terminal points of this survey, extending as it does from the Great Jubilee of Boniface VIII up to the fateful Peace of Westphalia. They record a story of growth and change in which the feudal concept of *respublica christiana* that had been a principle of cohesion during the Middle Ages now begins to cede dominance to new political theories, the appearance of neoclassic humanism, a religious fragmentation following upon the Protestant revolt, an effective Catholic restoration originating at Rome, the steady expansion of Europe into the New World, and so on. Accordingly, it would be well beyond publication limits to include all or even a greater number of the studies that have appeared in these fields during the last five years. A quick glance at the headings of such thorough bibliographical journals as *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* will reveal the staggering bulk of research that is ever in progress. Furthermore, many of the books and articles exploring the theological, liturgical, and legalistic aspects of these crises in the Church's story are considered as belonging to independent disciplines.

Nor is the objective of this bulletin to produce a type of all-embracing compilation. It is rather to gather together in summary the findings of research projects, significant new views, and syntheses of existing judgments with their modifications brought about by an ever-widening perspective in historical interpretation. It is hoped that what remains after much necessary sorting will order itself into a useful report.

#### MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THEORY

The fourteenth century was conspicuous for ideological warfare. It opens upon the struggles of Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair as both tried to set limits to the extension of spiritual and lay power. Philip remains the monarch mired in debt and bothered by vague stirrings of responsibility as France approached a nationhood more vividly perceived by the *chevaliers-ès-lois* who influenced his policies of state.<sup>1</sup> Boniface is still the Lear of the

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third in a series of Church history surveys which appear each year in the March issue.

<sup>1</sup> For a benign judgment that makes Philip an industrious king with a strong faith in God and the French monarchy that was counterbalanced by weak intelligence, see Joseph R. Strayer, "Philip the Fair—A Constitutional King," *American Historical Review* 62 (1956) 18-32.

later medieval popes, with a tragic fault that has been interpreted in a wide arc ranging from crass vanity to a stubborn belief that he could win the day by wielding the heavy weapons of Innocent III. Perhaps neither really caught the import of their position in a time of change. At least we are often helped more in our understanding of this readjustment by the writings of the subjects who surrounded them. One of these is Pierre Dubois, lawyer and pamphleteer, who never gained the confidence of the King as did Pierre Flote and William of Nogaret, but whose written legacy reflects the accelerations of his age. His most significant work, *De recuperatione Terre sancte*, published sometime before Clement V took up permanent residence at Avignon, appears now in critical translation.<sup>2</sup> In its pages can be found the ideas and interests of the emerging middle class, who saw their future better served by a strong monarchy than by a loose system of warring feudal states. The *Recovery*, under the guise of being a plan for the aggrandizement of the French king, was in fact a revolutionary plea for reform in educational methods, monastic life, and so on. The translator, Walther Brandt, also supplies extensive bibliographical lists and the identification of the numerous quotations from Aristotle and canon law.

There has been much progress during the last few years to edit the polemical tracts defending the lay thesis in these debates. Three more letters of William of Ockham have appeared: *Epistola ad Fratres minores*, *Contra Joannem*, and *Contra Benedictum*.<sup>3</sup> They press his characteristic view on the power of the emperor and his rightful exemption from papal approval before assuming imperial office. A valuable aid towards reaching the mind of Ockham is the lexicon prepared by Léon Baudry.<sup>4</sup> He spent thirty years examining the manuscript texts of Ockham's writings and treats some 450 terms, often at great length. *Causa*, for example, is accompanied by nine pages of quotations and analysis.

Out of the medieval arguments justifying the autonomy of lay government, the ruler emerged as a *gemina persona*, human by nature, divine by grace. The genesis of this notion of the royal person mirroring the duplica-

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, tr. Walter I. Brandt (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1956; pp. xvi + 251). An appraisal of Dubois helpful for the history of ideas is made by Mario delle Piane, *Vecchio e nuovo nelle idee politiche di Pietro Dubois* (Florence: Felice de Monnier, 1959; pp. 151).

<sup>3</sup> *Guilelmi de Ockham Opera politica*, ed. H. S. Offer (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1956; pp. ix + 322). This is the second volume of the series. The first appeared sixteen years ago under the direction of C. Cheney, E. Jacobs, R. Klibansky, M. Knowles, and Sir Maurice Powicke, but the project was delayed by the war.

<sup>4</sup> Léon Baudry, *Lexique philosophique de Guillaume d'Ockham* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1958; pp. 308). For a selection of his writings in translation, see Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., *Ockham: Philosophical Writings* (London: Nelson, 1957; pp. lix + 154).

tion of natures in Christ is traced by Ernst Kantorowicz, who finds evidence for it not only in the strong expressions of "Christ-centered kingship" as found in the Norman Anonymous of the early twelfth century, but even in the elaborate monuments of the kings where the decaying corpse represented the individual ruler, while the stone effigy above stood for his immortal kingly caste, his superbody.<sup>5</sup> Peter Reisenberg also follows this concept of the crown being independent from the personality of the king, especially as background for the theories of inalienability proposed by the Tudor kings.<sup>6</sup>

The *Defensor pacis* of Marsilius of Padua has often been considered the forerunner, if not the parent, of Niccolò Machiavelli's *Il principe*. Scholars will continue to dispute whether Marsilius was really a herald of modern times or merely one more voice sounding the old grievances of the jurists and Fraticelli. But whatever judgment is passed on Marsilius, his treatise did become an antipapal symbol and in that capacity a factor in the rapid formation of the secular state. Therefore the new, readable translation by Alan Gewirth is welcomed.<sup>7</sup> It is based upon the edited texts of Previtè-Orton and supplants the older translation made at the insistence of Thomas Cromwell in the sixteenth century, noticeably incomplete and altered to accommodate Tudor policies.

#### THE CRITICAL CENTURY

The hundred years that extend from the closing of the Council of Constance in 1417 to the challenge of Luther over indulgences in 1517 might

<sup>5</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957; pp. xvi + 568).

<sup>6</sup> Peter Reisenberg, *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Mediaeval Political Thought* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1956; pp. viii + 204). Studies of the development of the hierocratic theme center upon the centuries of feudalism prior to the period of this review. Two books that reach the first decades of the fourteenth century are M. Pacaut, *La théocratie: L'Eglise et le pouvoir au moyen âge* (Paris: Aubier, 1957; pp. 302), and W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1956; pp. xviii + 482). These are discussed in a fine bulletin on the medieval papacy by Robert E. McNally, S.J., *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* 21 (1960) 92-132. W. Ullmann's conclusions are commented upon in a lengthy review by F. Kempf, S.J., *Saggi storici intorno al papato* (Rome: Gregorian Univ., 1959).

<sup>7</sup> Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua, The Defender of Peace 2: The Defensor pacis* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951; pp. xciv + 450). The first volume is an introduction to the times and thought of Marsilius: *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951; pp. xi + 342). For the influence of Dante's *De monarchia* upon his thought, see Peter Munz, "The Thirteenth Century and the Ideas of Marsilius of Padua," *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 34 (1960) 156-71.

be called the critical century of the postmedieval Church. After an enervating stay at Avignon and the subsequent confusion of the Western Schism, the Church needed to initiate a program of reform and stability. However, effective reforms during the early decades of this century were hampered by a persistent conciliarism that in its extreme expression still placed ultimate juridical authority in ecclesiastical affairs not in the voice of the pope but in the dictates of a lawfully assembled council. Added to this strong conciliar feeling was the nagging problem of Hussitism, made more threatening by the military successes of John Žižka. Then there were the forces of the classical revival that tended to push ideas of reform into categories of secondary import.

### *Conciliarism*

Brian Tierney's explorations into the canonistic sources of this theory bring us to the conclusion that its juristic basis is not to be found in some contemporary novelty nor in the procedures of government in the fourteenth-century monarchy, but in the corporation doctrines of the decretists.<sup>8</sup> In Franciscus Zabarella, cardinal and active conciliarist at the Council of Constance, he sees a fitting synthesis of these earlier views. Further light on the issues debated at the Council comes from the critical edition of two important tractates. One is the *De auctoritate concilii* of John Gerson, other of whose writings have also been receiving attention.<sup>9</sup> The second is the *Viridarium imperatorum et regum Romanorum*, heretofore considered anonymous but now accredited to Dietrich von Nieheim.<sup>10</sup> Besides being an

<sup>8</sup> Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1955; pp. x + 280). Also by the same author, "Pope and Council: Some New Decretist Texts," *Mediaeval Studies* 19 (1957) 197-218. Tierney's conclusions are analyzed by John Watt, who adds a further documentary appendix, "The Early Medieval Canonists and the Formation of the Conciliar Theory," *Irish Theological Review* 24 (1957) 13-30.

<sup>9</sup> Z. Rueger, "Le *De auctoritate concilii* de Gerson," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 53 (1958) 775-95. Other works of the *doctor christianissimus* have been examined. André Combes has collated sixty-seven MSS of the *De mystica theologia* and concluded that it is the work of Gerson and not Pierre d'Ailly as previously believed (Joannes Carlerii de Gerson, *De mystica theologia* [Lugano: Thesaurus Mundi, 1958; pp. xxxii + 251]). Dorothy Wayman discovered a 1484 copy of the *De quadam puella* and contends that this is the genuine tractate and should be acknowledged in place of the *De mirabili victoria*, a highly-seasoned political pamphlet circulated at the same time. In this new discovery he judges Jeanne d'Arc "a maid of good life, inspired by God" in spite of the political tangles in France ("The Chancellor and Jeanne d'Arc," *Franciscan Studies* 17 [1957] 273-305).

<sup>10</sup> Dietrich von Nieheim, *Viridarium imperatorum et regum Romanorum*, ed. A. Lhotsky and K. Pivec (*MGH, Staatsschriften des späteren Mittelalters* 5/1 [Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1956; pp. xxvii + 107]). Three articles enlarging on the practical difficulties produced by the Schism deserve attention. Gilles-Gérard Meersseman tells of the Dominican friars at

optimistic reassertion of the belief that harmonious cooperation is possible between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, it becomes a helpful corrective in our estimate of Dietrich. Considered usually and almost exclusively as a fanatical imperialist, he appears here as an energetic leader of the reform party of the Roman Curia.

Conspicuous in furthering our knowledge of conciliar problems has been the publication of the series, *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et scriptores*, begun some twenty years ago at the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies under the guidance of the late Georg Hofmann, S.J. It brought together in critical form the acta of the Council, diaries, letters, dissertations, and other similar materials. This project is largely completed, and Joseph Gill, S.J., who participated in this previous research, has written the history of the Council based upon these abundant sources.<sup>11</sup> It is a highly-praised achievement by a dedicated scholar who might not have suspected that his work would suddenly have topical interest. This assembly, after its inauspicious beginnings at Basel and a long, stormy record of trials, did effect a union of Christendom, and while it was fragile and destined to shatter, it has a relevance for contemporary Christians. With an ecumenical council soon to be assembled having Christian unity again as a goal, these records of fifteenth-century reconciliation can be studied intently, especially since the *gravamina* of the East then as now were probably less dogmatic than juridical and strongly political. The notion of *uterque orbis*, a duality that signified the separating interests of East and West in earlier centuries, had by this time grown into a state of accepted mutual ignorance and disregard.

In 1954, the ninth centenary of the papal excommunication of Michael

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the beginning of the Schism: "Etudes sur l'ordre des frères prêcheurs au début du grand schisme," *Arch. fratrum praedicatorum* 25 (1955) 213-57; 26 (1956) 192-248; 27 (1957) 168-99. F. Roth follows the activities of three Priors General who gave allegiance of the Augustinians to the Avignon obedience: "The Great Western Schism and the Augustinian Order," *Augustiniana* 8 (1958) 281-98. W. Ullmann records the courteous rejection of Cambridge to the proposal of Richard II that England leave the Roman obedience: "The University of Cambridge and the Great Western Schism," *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1958) 53-77.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Gill, S.J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1959; pp. 453). By the same author, "A Tractate about the Council of Florence Attributed to George Amiroutzes," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 9 (1958) 30-37, where he contends that this treatise is from the hands of some Latin compiler, possibly Coesius (d. 1654), a strenuous campaigner against Rome. The celebrated discourse of Bessarion delivered in April, 1439, is published together with Latin translation by Emmanuel Candal, S.J., *Oratio dogmatica de unione* (Rome: Oriental Institute, 1958; pp. xci + 98). What the term "ecumenical" meant to the Greek theologians is told by Bernard Schultze, S.J., "Das Unionskonzil von Florenz," *Stimmen der Zeit* 164 (1959) 427-39. For the cultural significance of the Council of Florence read Kenneth Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100 (1956) 1-76.

Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, Yves Congar, O.P., published a synthesis of the forces, political, ecclesiological, and cultural, that provoked this estrangement. A careful translation by Paul Mailloux, S.J., has appeared five years later under the title, *After Nine Hundred Years*.<sup>12</sup> Of interest in this regard is the account of the reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-87, studied by George Dennis, S.J.<sup>13</sup> Though spanning just a few years, it becomes a cross section of the type of domestic crisis afflicting the Byzantine world as well as the issues that complicated diplomatic relations with the Roman Church and Italy in the first years of the Western Schism.

### *Hussitism and Slavic Nationalism*

In commenting on the present state of our knowledge of the conciliar movement, E. F. Jacobs stresses the importance of new documents such as the nearly contemporary registers preserved at Berlin, Danzig, Eichstadt, and the Archivio di Stato at Florence.<sup>14</sup> These sources have led scholars to study the intellectual revolt in the academic axes of Central Europe, and the events that led to the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague at Constance. Of special benefit is the fact that their findings are appearing often in our vernacular, thereby lifting the language barrier that has kept Czech history the restricted possession of a few Slavic specialists.

Frederick G. Heymann, for example, tells the story of John Žižka, who though blinded in one eye and with little acquaintance with military strategy, managed to build an army that in siege, countersiege, and general field maneuvers repeatedly outwitted the vast forces of Emperor Sigismund's crusade.<sup>15</sup> His is the figure that extends over the long struggles between the conservative Praguers and the radical Taborites. In fact, in him or about him the author concentrates such impulses as anti-Romanism,

<sup>12</sup> Yves Congar, O.P., *After Nine Hundred Years*, tr. Paul Mailloux, S.J. (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1959; pp. ix + 150).

<sup>13</sup> George Dennis, S.J., *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Rome: Oriental Institute, 1960; pp. xii + 180).

<sup>14</sup> E. F. Jacobs, "The Conciliar Movement in Recent Study," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 41 (1958) 26-53.

<sup>15</sup> Fredrick G. Heymann, *John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955; pp. x + 521). See also the two articles by H. Kaminsky, "Hussite Radicalism and the Origins of Tabor, 1415-1418," *Medievalia et humanistica* 10 (1956) 102-30; "Chiliasm and the Hussite Revolution," *Church History* 26 (1957) 43-71. An inquiry into the tracts of Paul Kravar for Hussite views is made by M. Spinka, "Paul Kravar and the Lollard-Hussite Relations," *Church History* 25 (1956) 16-26. See also P. Bernard, "Jerome of Prague, Austria, and the Hussites," *Church Today* 27 (1958) 3-22.

the apocalyptic preaching of zealots such as John Zelivsky, the reappearance of the chiliastic idea of Christ's imminent coming, the bibliolatry and strong insistence upon the vernacular in divine worship, and the utraquism that led Žižka to place the chalice on his coat of arms. His thesis is that Protestantism was born in these Hussite campaigns and was an integral part of the later German revolts, not merely a forerunner such as Waldensianism or Lollardy.

The *De ecclesia* of John Huss is looked upon generally as the ideological font of Taborite anti-Romanism and in this role deserving of special historical prominence. The treatise has been considered, furthermore, as a substantial derivative from the writings of John Wyclif. In fact, in 1884 Johann Loserth published his *Hus und Wyclif: Zur der Husitischen Lehre*, asserting that the *De ecclesia* contained "hardly a line that does not come from Wyclif." This aided in fixing the notion that Hussitism was only transplanted Lollardy. S. Harrison Thomson has checked the majority of MSS, a project that the interruptions of the last war extended into twenty years, and edited the text of the *De ecclesia*.<sup>16</sup> This is the fifth publication of the tract since its first appearance in 1413. Thomson has discovered that only about one twelfth derives from various works of Wyclif, and if the quotations from Scripture, canon law, and patristic literature are excepted, the quantity of borrowed material can be reduced to a twentieth. This is significant not so much for absolving Huss from wholesale plagiarism, a common and seemingly accepted practice of the Middle Ages, as for its aid in reinterpreting the alleged close dependence in the Wyclif-Huss-Luther genesis of Protestantism.

An appraisal of the conceptual pattern that guided the later progress of Hussitism is found in Peter Brock's narrative of the rise and fall of the

<sup>16</sup> S. Harrison Thomson, *Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus de ecclesia* (Boulder, Colo.: Univ. of Colorado Press, 1956; pp. xxxv + 251). The first of twenty-five volumes of the complete works of Hus has appeared: *Johannes Hus: Sermones de tempore qui collecta dicuntur*, ed. Anežka Schmidtová (*Opera omnia* 7 [Prague: Czech. Acad. of Sciences, 1959; pp. 624]). F. Seibt discusses whether Huss was a unique force in pressing Czech dominance at Prague or simply the mouthpiece of already existing antagonism: "Johannes Hus u. der Abzug der deutschen Studenten aus Prag, 1409," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 39 (1957) 63-80. Francis Dvornik has supplied a valuable handbook of Slavic history: *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956; pp. 394). For essays on Byzantine Slavic traditions cf. *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954; pp. vi + 390). O. Halecki, in reporting on the new interest in Slavic history, warns that the concept of its Middle Ages is misleading and artificial, since instead of being in the middle of two others, it is the first period of their recorded past: "The Tradition of Medieval Slavdom: New Interpretations," *Traditio* 14 (1958) 401-21.

Unity of Czech Brethren from Peter Chelčický, the village philosopher who supplied the theoretical foundations of the Unity when it broke from Rome in 1457, to Brother Lucáš, who a century later tried to save a cause that was crippled by schism and confusion.<sup>17</sup>

### *Medicean Renaissance*

Current judgments of the Renaissance, especially in this Florentine phase, continue to be for the most part revisionist in character. They represent a respectful though persistent questioning of the classic synthesis fashioned by Jacob Burckhardt a century ago, in which the Renaissance was made to signify the emergence of individuality long confined to the limits of a corporate feudal society and a general dominance of the clergy in letters. According to this view the humanist shook off such restraints and to push his newly liberated resources to their fullest success he reached back into antiquity.<sup>18</sup> The simplifications of this thesis have been abandoned by many or at least challenged in a great number of its corollaries. Paul Oskar Kristeller, for example, has probed the writings of the neglected Scholastics of the *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* and concluded that their learning was not supplanted by humanism but moved forward with it in a type of coexistence that allowed it vigorous growth.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Aristotelianism "in some ways even increased rather than declined" (p. 24).

As a consequence, the old emphasis upon contrast between the Aristotelianism of the Middle Ages and the Platonism of the Renaissance cannot

<sup>17</sup> Peter Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Mouton Co., 1957; pp. 302). See E. Peschke, "Peter Chelčický's Lehre von der Kirche und der weltlichen Macht," *Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift d. Univ. Rostock* 5 (1956) 263-74.

<sup>18</sup> A reconstruction of the events that led Burckhardt to write his celebrated *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* is made by Werner Kaegi, *Jacob Burckhardt, Eine Biographie* 3: *Die Zeit der klassischen Werke* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1956; pp. xxiv + 769). Attention should be called to the Service Center for Teachers of History sponsored by the American Historical Association, which has prepared a series of brochures indicating recent progress of research in various fields of history. *The Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism*, by William Bouwsma (1959; pp. 24), is one of the twenty-six to appear. The *Problems in European Civilization Series* has also gathered the opinions of modern Renaissance scholars: *The Renaissance, Medieval or Modern?* ed. Carl Dannenfelt (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1959). Also, the five Arenburg lectures by Wallace K. Ferguson, Garrett Mattingly, E. H. Harbison, Myron Gilmore, and Paul Kristeller, have been published: *Facets of the Renaissance*, ed. W. Werkmeister (Los Angeles: Univ. of Southern California Press, 1959; pp. viii + 112).

<sup>19</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. 106), and *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Lett., 1956; pp. xvi + 680).



now be maintained without distortion. In Marsilio Ficino, whose writings appeal to Kristeller as typical of this humanism, are found expressions of a revived Platonism but at the same time noticeable Scholastic elements. Raymond Marcel in his biographical study of Ficino perceives the same double strain.<sup>20</sup> There is the unmistakable humanism but mixed with it is that impulse characteristic of the medieval man to seek rational argument that might sustain his faith, so that Ficino "avant d'être humaniste, était chrétien" (p. 586).

Eugene F. Rice, Jr., explores the concept *sapientia* in the works of some twenty humanistic and nonhumanistic authors from Petrarch to Pierre Charron, whose *De la sagesse* of 1601 portrays the wise man along naturalistic lines.<sup>21</sup> He organizes his figures and their ideas to show how wisdom developed from a contemplative, religious ideal in the Middle Ages to a secularized, classical notion with its extreme expression in the writings of Charron, a skeptic intent upon separating ethics from religion. It is a valuable study, further enriched by the lengthy discussion of Hans Baron.<sup>22</sup>

Peter Ramus was a figure of wide influence during the sixteenth century. He revolted against Aristotle and developed a system of logic and method that had a great dissemination. Walter Ong, S.J., has inquired into the origins of his innovations and finds influences of Rudolph Agricola and Johann Sturm. In a second volume he gives a listing of all the works relating to Ramism that have come to his notice.<sup>23</sup>

The significance of politics in the development of Florence's humanistic tradition is the emphasis in two new books by Hans Baron.<sup>24</sup> According to

<sup>20</sup> Raymond Marcel, *Marsile Ficin, 1433-1494* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1958; pp. 784).

<sup>21</sup> Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. xiv + 220).

<sup>22</sup> Hans Baron, "Secularization of Wisdom and Political Thought in the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21 (1960) 131-50.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Ong, S.J., *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue, from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. xix + 408); *Ramus and Talon Inventory: A Short-Title Inventory of the Published Works of Peter Ramus (1515-1572) and of Omer Talon (ca. 1510-1562) in Their Original and in Their Various Altered Forms* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. 558).

<sup>24</sup> Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*. (2 vols.; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955; pp. xxix + 378, x + 379-656); *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1956; pp. x + 223). He comments on some of the conclusions in Wallace K. Ferguson's classic *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*, published thirteen years ago, in an article, "Moot Problems of Renaissance Interpretation: An Answer to Wallace K. Ferguson," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958) 26-34. In the same

his thought, humanism passed from the hands of poets and scholars to those of politicians. Fortunately, these hands belonged to the civilians of Florence, who warred successfully against the aggressive plans of Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan. Had the Visconti tyranny prevailed, Florence would have become a subdued provincial town, too weak to thrive under Milanese despotism. Whatever is thought about this thesis, riches can be found in the author's erudite treatment of his witnesses, such as Leonardo Bruni, Coluccio Salutati, and Gregorio Dati.

Florentine politics for a few intense years were dominated by the ascetical figure of Fra Girolamo Savonarola. The career of this enigmatic friar has been examined for twenty years by Roberto Ridolfi in an effort to gather materials for a thorough biography. In the two volumes that followed this research, Savonarola emerges neither as inspired prophet nor tiresome rebel.<sup>25</sup> In fact, the author, by placing greater stress upon what Savonarola said than upon what he did, produces a portrait that is sympathetic but restrained and reflecting properly the issues that brought about his quarrel with Alexander VI. The second volume in the Italian edition is almost all notes and unfortunately omitted in the English version, though referred to.

#### *Niccolò Machiavelli*

Tracking down origins in the political thought of Machiavelli is an enduring task of scholars. Frederico Chabod, director of the Istituto Italiano founded by Benedetto Croce and an acknowledged leader in this quest, warns that neither *The Prince* nor *The Dialogues* will reveal their true significance if reduced immediately to bare political theory. They should not be removed from the setting of a weakened Florence, an ambitious French monarchy, and the Borgia peril in Central Italy. These were the forces that fired Machiavelli and centered his attention on strong princely power as the sole salvation of the Continent. Dr. Chabod gave this advice

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issue is the appraisal of Baron by Ferguson, "The Interpretation of Italian Humanism: The Contribution of Hans Baron," pp. 14-25. For further views read B. L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Lett., 1955; pp. 393); G. A. Brucker, "The Medici in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 1-26; Warman Welliver, *L'Impero fiorentino* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1957; pp. xi + 280). This last makes Lorenzo de Medici a heroic figure beset with tragic nemesis.

<sup>25</sup> Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Girolamo Savonarola*, tr. Cecil Grayson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959; x + 325). See the article by D. Weinstein, "Savonarola, Florence and the Millenarian Tradition," *Church History* 27 (1958) 291-305, and the comment by M. B. Becker, *ibid.*, pp. 306-11. A popular account of the conflict with Rome that favors the tolerance of the Pope without the extremes of Msgr. De Roo and Orestes Ferrara is written by M. de la Bédoyère, *The Meddlesome Friar: The Story of the Conflict between Savonarola and Alexander VI* (London: Collins, 1957; pp. xv + 256).

thirty years ago in essays that now appear in English translation.<sup>26</sup> Gennaro Sasso follows this avenue of inquiry and sees *The Prince* as the statement of a retroaction to an actual political situation where *conscienza* and *necessità* were in conspicuous conflict.<sup>27</sup> Machiavellianism to both is thus the product of the disunion and insecurity of the Italian Renaissance.

Leo Strauss, on the other hand, approaches the writings of Machiavelli as an object of literary criticism, giving slighter attention to the historical circumstances that provoked them. This process can be justified, but it risks the tendency to read back into the text suppositions formed centuries after his times and to push out thoughts that do not fit a preconceived hypothesis. He comes to the judgment that "If it is true that an evil man will stoop to public and private gangsterism, we are forced to say that Machiavelli was an evil man," thereby matching somewhat the conclusions of Herbert Butterfield, who found Machiavelli "a teacher of artifice," whose mind escaped the tensions of his century and returned to the ancients for witnesses to his maxims.<sup>28</sup>

The close friendship that is supposed to have existed between Machiavelli and Cesare Borgia receives a skeptical glance from Renzo Sereno.<sup>29</sup> He finds this intimacy grounded only upon the praise of Cesare in *The Prince* and upon a curious forged document. In 1503 a former partisan of Borgia fled from Rome. Cesare, now close to the end of his career of power, issued a circular letter demanding his arrest. The letter of eight lines is in Machiavelli's handwriting but signed by Borgia. Sereno contends that the entire letter, signature included, came from the pen of Niccolò and indicates not friendship but frustration at having failed to attain the high office fitted to his talent. This led him to imitate Borgia even in this childish *divertissement*. Thus the picture of "crafty counsellor and ruthless prince plotting together new courses of history" is romantic.

### *Renaissance Church Diplomacy*

In the *Commentaries of Pius II* is contained much that can further our knowledge of the complexities of fifteenth-century diplomacy especially within papal circles. This is the last volume of the works of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini in translation, begun in 1936 and now brought to completion

<sup>26</sup> Frederico Chabod, *Machiavelli and the Renaissance*, tr. David Moore, introd. A. Entrèves (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. xviii + 258).

<sup>27</sup> Gennaro Sasso, *Niccolò Machiavelli: Storia del suo pensiero politico* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1958; pp. 504).

<sup>28</sup> Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958; pp. 348), and Herbert Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli* (New York: Macmillan, 1956; pp. 167).

<sup>29</sup> Renzo Sereno, "A Falsification by Machiavelli," *Renaissance News* 12 (1959) 159-67.

by Florence A. Gragg (translation) and Leona C. Gabel (introduction and historical notes).<sup>30</sup> The *Commentaries* saw their first publication in 1584, with passages of revealing or possibly scandalous nature excised. In this translation the omitted passages are printed in italics, a device that tells much of Renaissance morality and its norms.

The life of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, Castilian diplomat and writer of tracts defending papal authority, is traced with competence and command of sources by Richard J. Trame, S.J.<sup>31</sup> From 1435 to 1470 Sánchez was engaged in embassies for the King of Castile, and these activities together with his strong anticonciliar writings indicate the growth of international relations as they touched the security of the papacy.

Jacopo Sadoletto, as Bishop of Carpentras, Papal Secretary, and later Cardinal, was involved in papal issues from the St. Peter's indulgence of 1515 to the convocation of the Council of Trent thirty years later. Richard M. Douglas' account of these activities illumines the controversies and negotiations that went on behind the scenes as the Vatican struggled to achieve reform and religious harmony.<sup>32</sup> Sadoletto, though regarded as a conservative who wished reform to remain within the limits of tradition, proposed ideas that identify him with no particular faction but remain individual.

A history of the diplomacy of this time that does not view papal practices exclusively has been written by Garrett Mattingly. It observes how the simplicity of feudal courts with their temporary messengers grew into the Renaissance practice of permanent diplomatic agents. Little has appeared in English concerning such developments before the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and thus this volume is significant.<sup>33</sup>

### *The Devotio moderna*

This reform effort, proceeding from the Brethren of the Common Life, had a considerable diffusion throughout Europe during this critical century, despite the fact that it was limited geographically to the Netherlands,

<sup>30</sup> Florence Gragg and Leona Gabel, *The Commentaries of Pius II: Books X-XIII* (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1957; pp. xxxviii + 621-883). Two years later the *Commentaries* appeared in an abridged form, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II* (New York: Putnam, 1959; pp. 381).

<sup>31</sup> Richard H. Trame, S.J., *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, 1404-1470: Spanish Diplomat and Champion of the Papacy* (Washington, D.C., Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1958; pp. ix + 242).

<sup>32</sup> Richard M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoletto, 1477-1547: Humanist and Reformer* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959; pp. xii + 308).

<sup>33</sup> Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1955; pp. 323).

Northern France, and the northwest sections of Germany. Its plea for a return to Christian inwardness produced the *Imitation of Christ*. Although this became one of the most celebrated books of all times, its authorship is still disputed. In recent decades scholars that include Kern, Hyma, Jacob, Van Ginnekin, and Lewandowski, turned from Thomas a Kempis and attributed at least partial authorship to some of the Brethren living earlier, such as Geert Grotte, Gerald Zerbolt of Zutphen, and Heinrich Mande. In their view Thomas a Kempis was a compiler who revised and re-edited their writings much later. Five years ago L. M. Delaissé brought new excitement to this riddle by submitting the autograph of the *Imitation* to an examination of all the modifications, erasures, and additions that paleographical science can disclose.<sup>34</sup> With justification he refers to his thorough work as an "examen archéologique."

In the next year Jacques Huijben, O.S.B., and Pierre Debongnie, C.S.S.R., appeared as the new champions of the Thomas-thesis.<sup>35</sup> As a result the controversy has turned full circle and Thomas is again in favor. Bernhard Spaapen, S.J., suggests that Kempists and pre-Kempists could reduce their disagreement by adopting a common meaning for the term "author."<sup>36</sup> In the accepted sense an author is one who conceives a work and expresses it in words. It would seem, therefore, that Thomas a Kempis conceived the *Imitation* and put it to words, and though these words were those of earlier authors, his arrangement and additions could allow him the distinction of authorship at least in some broader sense.

The impact of the Rhineland mystics upon the earlier history of the *Devotio moderna* is also being studied, especially regarding Master Eckhart. Mysticism is a borderland and the phenomena that occur there cannot be touched easily by precise literary phrase. So it is not surprising that Eckhart's writings were subjected to posthumous papal censure. His works are appearing now in critical forms and in translation, and it is not easy to determine how much of this condemnation was due to faulty expression and how much to a real Neoplatonism. The need to judge his career and his

<sup>34</sup> L. M. Delaissé, *Le manuscrit autographe de Thomas a Kempis et "L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ"* (2 vols.; Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1956; pp. x + 150, 360).

<sup>35</sup> J. Huijben, O.S.B., and P. Debongnie, C.S.S.R., *L'Auteur ou les auteurs de l'Imitation* (Louvain: Louvain Univ. Press, 1957; pp. xx + 425). In reply to these Kempist studies, Tiburzio Lupo sustains the thesis that the author of the *Imitation* is the Benedictine John Gersen (not to be confused with Jean Gerson, to whom authorship is also ascribed), Abbot of St. Stephen in Vercelli from 1223 to 1240. To support this claim the author lists twenty-nine ancient Italian MSS, eleven Transalpine MSS, and fifty-four codices that are anterior to the Kempis MS of 1441 (*Salesianum* 22 [1959] 56-106).

<sup>36</sup> Bernhard Spaapen, S.J., "Der heutige Stand der Forschung über den Verfasser der 'Nachfolge Christi,'" *Geist und Leben* 31 (1958) 303-8.

words in the mood of the Late Middle Ages is stressed by Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, so that heretical tenets will not be read into his writings, which she believes came from a mind that always avowed orthodoxy.<sup>37</sup>

Karl Kertz, S.J., states furthermore that a comprehension of Eckhart will always fail unless the reader grasps the meaning and centrality of his doctrine of the generation of the Divine Word. In a synthesis of this fundamental Eckhartian teaching, he brings acceptable interpretations to some of the previously condemned propositions.<sup>38</sup>

#### PROTESTANT REVOLT

Under this heading we would like first to classify three works that attempt to interpret the revolutionary motions of the sixteenth century in a manner to promote "conversation" between Catholic and Protestant. The first is a collection of essays honoring the seventieth birthday of Joseph Lortz, the Catholic historian whose own learned years have been devoted to establishing such an atmosphere.<sup>39</sup> A number of the articles deal directly with the figures of this period of stormy controversy, and it is significant to note that a great richness has been produced in a climate of amity by a group of contributors of varied faiths.

In the second, Louis Bouyer tells the story of his search for religious conviction that led him from the Lutheran ministry to the Catholic priesthood.<sup>40</sup> The title, *Du Protestantisme à l'Église*, is somewhat misleading in its English translation, *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, although it is still a provocative book for historians accustomed to the standardized view of doctrinal Protestantism. Bouyer tries to isolate the positive beliefs of Luther,

<sup>37</sup> Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, *Master Eckhart and the Rhineland Mystics*, tr. Hilda Graef (New York: Harper, 1957; pp. 192). For new editions of his works see Josef Quint, *Meister Eckhart: Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1958; pp. xxxi + 513, 602); J. M. Clark, *Meister Eckhart: An Introduction to the Study of His Works with an Anthology of His Sermons* (London: Nelson, 1957; pp. xii + 267); J. A. Bizet, *Mystiques allemands du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.: Eckhart, Suso, Tauler. Choix de textes* (Paris: Aubier, 1957; pp. 296); *Late Medieval Mysticism*, ed. Ray C. Petry (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957; pp. 424).

<sup>38</sup> Karl G. Kertz, S.J., "Meister Eckhart's Teaching on the Birth of the Divine Word in the Soul," *Traditio* 15 (1959) 327-63. For further investigation into his mysticism see P. Kelley, O.S.B., "Meister Eckhart's Doctrine of Divine Subjectivity," *Downside Review* 76 (1956) 63-103; W. Frei, "Was ist das Seelenfünklein beim Meister Eckhart?" *Theol. Zeitschrift* 14 (1958) 89-100.

<sup>39</sup> *Festgabe Joseph Lortz 1: Reformation: Schicksal und Auftrag; 2: Glaube und Geschichte*, ed. Erwin Iserloh and Peter Manns (Baden-Baden: Bruno Grimm, 1957; pp. xxiii + 586, viii + 590).

<sup>40</sup> Louis Bouyer, Cong. Orat., *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, tr. A. V. Littledale (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1956; pp. xi + 234).

Calvin, and the others from the revolutionary factors usually accentuated, in order to show how in many ways they are "in harmony with Catholic tradition," and how modern Protestantism has ended in conclusions widely at variance with the doctrines of the original dissenters. In a later study he tackles the riddle of Erasmus.<sup>41</sup> Here he differs from A. Renaudet who made Erasmus the father of Modernism, and sees him instead as "the chief creator of what is today termed positive theology."

The third is the *New Cambridge Modern History*. Of the fourteen volumes planned, the second to appear scans the period from 1520, when Luther burned the Bull of Leo X, to the late 1550's, which witnessed the flourishing sessions of the Council of Trent.<sup>42</sup> Instead of emphasizing the cause-and-effect thesis common in so many histories since the time of the German synthesists at the turn of the century, wherein Protestantism was considered basically as a reaction to the Renaissance immoralism, the *New Cambridge* seeks factors that provided its cohesion as a period of history. That these forty or so years represent a unique movement where "secularization, princely ascendancy over the Church, religious diversity" were dominant, is debatable, but the atmosphere of this book is free from the pressure of polemics and extravagant expression, if we except an occasional statement of high color such as "Calvin restored the exhilaration of Christian comradeship," or the *Institutes* is "a handbook for Christian warriors."

### *Protestant Eschatology*

The movement towards ecumenicalism so strong in recent years among Protestant theologians has awakened new interest in the eschatological perspectives of the New Testament. In fact, some now deplore that this element was clouded over in the early history of the various sects by the more tangible doctrine of secure possession of full Messianic justification. As a result, Protestantism became preoccupied with the ethical ideals of Christ's teaching and activity centered in social betterment, laudable but, as it turned out, often superficial. Now the thought of their founders is being re-estimated and the transcendental contents discovered once again.

<sup>41</sup> Louis Bouyer, Cong. Orat., *Erasmus and His Times*, tr. Francis X. Murphy, C.S.S.R. (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1959; pp. 220).

<sup>42</sup> *New Cambridge Modern History 2: The Reformation, 1520-1559*, ed. G. R. Elton (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958; pp. 686). For a binocular view of the past five centuries of Germany's history that stresses the revolutionary character of its religious development, see Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* (New York: Knopf, 1959; pp. xvi + 374 + xxi). V. Fern, *Pictorial History of Protestantism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957; pp. 368), supplies a wealth of illustrations, but the text is not free from pointed interpretation.

A succinct statement of the new view, useful for the Catholic historian of the Church, comes from the pen of a prominent Protestant churchman, T. F. Torrance, at present editor of the *Scottish Journal of Theology*.<sup>43</sup> He concludes that for Luther the nature of the kingdom was an eschatology of faith; for Bucer it was an eschatology of love, where the kingdom becomes sanctified by the priesthood of each single believer; for Calvin it was an eschatology of hope, since to Torrance Calvin is a truly Ascensionist theologian, for whom predestination was the *prius* and eschatology the *posterius* of Christian faith.

### *Martin Luther*

Some of the J. Pelican-H. Lehmann edition of Luther's writings have begun to make an appearance.<sup>44</sup> This English translation, founded upon the Weimar Series, will reach fifty-five volumes when completed. Volumes 31 and 32, entitled "The Career of the Reformer," are of special interest for the historian, since they arrange Luther's explanation of his ninety-five theses, the Heidelberg dispute, the affair at Augsburg, the early apologetic pamphlets, and so on, about his life in a chronological pattern.

Quasi-biographical studies of Luther continue to abound, and of these two should have a place in future Luther bibliographies. The first is written by Robert H. Fife, already known for his *Young Luther* published in 1928. This new study concerns the personality of the youthful Luther up to the Wartburg retreat.<sup>45</sup> The author has quarried his way through the contradictions that have hardened about the narrative of these years and presents a Luther that is plausible. It is a scholarly achievement drawn from sources and a judicious use of the *Tischreden*, which in spite of their uneven testimony cannot be entirely disregarded. It presents, however, the usual confusion arising from the non-Catholic understanding of the indulgence disputes.

The other is a psychoanalysis of Luther's young manhood by Erik Erikson, perhaps the most noteworthy since Paul Reiter's *Martin Luthers Umwelt, Charakter und Psychose* that was published almost thirty years ago.<sup>46</sup> Erikson, who has had much clinical experience with the emotional disturbances

<sup>43</sup> T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church; A Study in the Theology of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956; pp. viii + 168).

<sup>44</sup> *Luther's Works* 31, ed. Harold J. Grimm (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957; pp. xxii + 416); 32, ed. George Forell (1958; pp. xx + 303); 34, ed. Lewis Spitz (1960; pp. xxii + 387).

<sup>45</sup> Robert H. Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957; pp. xii + 726). Roland H. Bainton, author of *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville, Tenn., 1950) gives a historiographical summary of more recent interpretations of Luther: "Interpretations of the Reformation," *American Historical Review* 66 (1960) 74-84.

<sup>46</sup> Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (New York: Norton, 1959; pp. 288).



of late adolescence and early adulthood, analyzes the constituents of personality that led Luther to the "identity crisis," the high point in adolescent growth when the youth "must forge of himself some central perspective and direction, some working unity, out of the effective remnants of his childhood and the hopes of his anticipated adulthood." In Luther's case this crisis was prolonged due to an agitated boyhood, but he managed eventually to reach a type of integration before settling into the "integrity crisis," the last in the lives of men. He comments: "It seems entirely probable that Martin's life at times approached what today we might call a borderline psychotic state in a young man with prolonged adolescence and reawakened infantile conflicts."

Two articles discussing Luther's ecclesiology deserve mention. They grew out of papers read at the Tenth World Congress of Historians held in Rome in September, 1955. The first, by Hubert Jedin, celebrated authority on the Council of Trent, perceives three motions in late medieval doctrines of the nature of the Church, namely, curialist papalism, conciliar ideology, and the spiritualist elements found in the writings of the mystics.<sup>47</sup> All three were operative in Luther. Gordon Rupp opposes this view, believing that Luther's stress on the communion of saints, the people of God, does not derive from these medieval theories but from his deep sense of the Mystical Body of Christ.<sup>48</sup>

Heinrich Bornkamm has collected an anthology of texts from prominent historians and theologians of the last two centuries that indicate their estimate of Luther.<sup>49</sup> The list includes Nietzsche, Harnack, Burckhardt, Troeltsch, Ranke, and Kierkegaard. Collections of this kind are helpful in illustrating how the principles of Evangelicalism were grounded within Lutheranism. Ten years ago Ernst Walter Zeeden published a similar work that offered the opinions of Luther from his death to the beginning of the age of Goethe. The first of the two volumes was translated in 1954 with the title, *The Legacy of Luther*.<sup>50</sup>

#### *Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon*

The works of Calvin and Bucer, the Strassburg reformer, are being edited in careful translation. Under the direction of John T. McNeil, selections

<sup>47</sup> Hubert Jedin, "Zur Entwicklung des Kirchenbegriffs im 16. Jahrhundert," *Relazioni* 4, ed. G. Sansoni (Florence, 1955; pp. 59 ff.).

<sup>48</sup> Gordon Rupp, "Luther and the Doctrine of the Church," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 9 (1956) 384-92.

<sup>49</sup> Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther im Spiegel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1955; pp. 357).

<sup>50</sup> Walter Zeeden, *The Legacy of Luther*, tr. Ruth Bethell (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1954; pp. xiii + 221).

from Calvin's *Institutes* have a new, greatly improved vernacular version in which the patristic citations have been identified.<sup>51</sup> Joseph Haroutunian and Louise Pettibone Smith have done the same with the *Commentaries*.<sup>52</sup> The passages chosen are from the *Corpus Reformatorum* and become a helpful guide to the thought of Calvin as biblical commentator.

Of the hundreds of letters by Bucer, forty-seven are edited by J. V. Pollet with bibliographical notes and guides to the caches in archives he visited.<sup>53</sup> This correspondence is important in readjusting the accepted views on Bucer and his attempts at doctrinal compromise.

The stature of Philip Melancthon is usually diminished in this story of religious revolt, partially because he progressed through it behind the large shadow of Luther. In the reconstruction of his career by Clyde L. Manschreck he comes forth not only as a gentle scholar but as a large cipher in the doctrinal development of Lutheranism.<sup>54</sup>

#### *English Protestantism*

The effect of English Protestantism upon university intellectual life has usually been studied with the focus upon Oxford. Now two books arrive that bring light to sixteenth-century Cambridge. H. C. Porter studies Cambridge from the time of St. John Fisher to the 1650's, when Cromwellian Puritanism fell upon England.<sup>55</sup> In his narrative appear the scholars who gathered about the hearth of the White Horse Inn to discuss the progress of Lutheranism in Europe and to read the Bible in English. Later they moved to the common rooms of the colleges from whose halls the interest in Continental Protestantism spread widely. The objective of the author is to show how Cambridge shaped these revolutionary forces into new forms of belief that would later be considered English.

Interest in the curriculum at Cambridge directed William Costello, S.J., on a search through contemporary notebooks, thesis forms, verse, and "the seventeenth century student's wastebasket." The project seems dust-dry, but by a type of literary sorcery the author restores pulse to veins of re-

<sup>51</sup> John Calvin, *On the Christian Faith: Selections from the Institutes, Commentaries, and Tracts*, ed. John T. McNeil (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958; pp. xxxiv + 219).

<sup>52</sup> John Calvin, *Commentaries*, tr. and ed. Joseph Haroutunian and Louise Pettibone Smith (London: S.C.M. Press, 1958; pp. 414).

<sup>53</sup> *Martin Bucer: Etudes sur la correspondance avec de nombreux textes inédits 1*, ed. J. V. Pollet, O.P. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958; pp. xi + 356).

<sup>54</sup> Clyde L. Manschreck, *Melancthon: The Quiet Reformer* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958; pp. 350).

<sup>55</sup> H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958; pp. x + 461). See also Vol. 3 of *A History of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: The City and University of Cambridge*, ed. J. P. Roach (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1959; pp. xx + 504 + 56).

search that have lain quiet for centuries. The book becomes a delightful adventure, disclosing how integral a part Scholasticism still held in the plan of education, even though it had lost much of its medieval vigor and by a process of overrefinement had become often mere logomachy.<sup>56</sup>

The Bull *Apostolicae curae* of September 13, 1896, with its negative judgment on the validity of Anglican orders, ended any effective discussion among Catholics. It also provoked resentment among those Anglican churchmen who believed themselves possessors of a genuine priesthood. In the debates that went on during the next sixty years, Leo XIII's case was often misconstrued or buried beneath layers of digressional arguments. To bring the problem again into perspective has been the task of Francis Clark, S.J.<sup>57</sup> He examines several interpretations of "intention" and explains that the insufficiency of intention in such ministers as Barlow was heightened by the principle of positive exclusion, where "the will of the minister elicits a *positive and explicit intention* to reject what is in reality (whether he knows it or not) an essential element or property of the sacrament as Christ instituted it."

A significant episode in the history of this question occurred on July 5, 1955, when the bishops of the Church of England assembled officially in the Upper Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. There, with no dissenting voice, they declared the orders of the Church of South India as valid as their own. This led Anthony A. Stephenson, S.J., to write a series of articles in the *Month* during 1955 and 1956, and engage in discussion on Anglican orders with Dr. E. L. Mascall. These articles, with the reply of Dr. Mascall, have been gathered into a book.<sup>58</sup> In an appendix are the comments of Hugh Ross Williamson, onetime Anglo-Catholic priest, who examined the Constitutions of the Church of South India and found that they exclude unequivocal adherence to Christian doctrine—and, specifically, belief in Catholic orders. This induced him to abandon the Church of England, for "the whole Anglican episcopate officially attached to the rite a specific meaning which destroys every vestige of orthodox intention."

#### CATHOLIC RESTORATION

In the first part of the seventeenth century Paolo Sarpi published an antipapal account of the Council of Trent. It was condemned at Rome and

<sup>56</sup> William T. Costello, S.J., *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. 221).

<sup>57</sup> Francis Clark, S.J., *Anglican Orders and Defect of Intention* (London: Longmans, Green, 1956; pp. xx + 215).

<sup>58</sup> Anthony A. Stephenson, S.J., *Anglican Orders* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1956; pp. 76). The story of Hugh Ross Williamson's road to conversion is found in his apologia, *The Walled Garden* (New York: Macmillan, 1957; pp. 321).

refuted by Pietro S. Pallavicino, S.J., in a work that eventually was accepted as the official history of the Council. For three centuries these volumes have supplied reliable assistance, though complicated sometimes by the polemical tone that gave them special contemporary value but now irritate the twentieth-century reader. However, no one seems to have tackled the gigantic task of constructing a new objective study to replace Pallavicino until Hubert Jedin dreamed of a history of the Council "that would be other than an accusation or a defence." In 1939 he made his initial research and a few years later began writing the first chapters "amid the thunder of the guns at Anzio." When the first volume of the *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* appeared in 1949, it was acclaimed as one of the most significant projects of this generation. The second volume, published in 1957, confirms the impression that Msgr. Jedin is at home in history, canon law, and theology, and gifted with a facile expression in all these areas.<sup>59</sup> The work will extend through eight books (in four volumes) and carry the story up to the reform measures of Pius IV. Of special note is the translation into English of the first volume, also appearing in 1957, and performed with distinction by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B.<sup>60</sup> In fact, it is so well executed that the reader forgets that the work was originally conceived in German. As a welcome feature of the English version, the footnotes, which measure a third of the book, are found at the bottom of the page.

One of the Council's boasts was its legislation regarding the training of clerics. James A. O'Donohue contrasts the inadequate recommendations made by the first commission gathered by Paul III in 1536 to the final measures of the twenty-third session, inspired in great part by the theories of the Jesuit Claude Le Jay and the synodal acts of Cardinal Pole in England, 1555-56.<sup>61</sup> Jedin also gives attention to Pole and finds the origins of some of his ideas in the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* of Edward VI, the *schola acolytorum* of the reform bishop of Verona, and the successes of the Jesuit program of fundamental guidance in the moral formation of their students.<sup>62</sup> The role of Charles Borromeo in transferring the Tridentine

<sup>59</sup> Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient 1: Der Kampf um das Konzil; 2: Die erste Tagungsperiode, 1545-1547* (Freiburg: Herder, 1949, 1957; pp. xiii + 643, x + 550).

<sup>60</sup> Ernest Graf, O.S.B., *A History of the Council of Trent* (London: Nelson, 1957; pp. xi + 618).

<sup>61</sup> James A. O'Donohue, *Tridentine Seminary Legislation: Its Sources and Its Formation* (Louvain: Univ. of Louvain Press, 1957; pp. vi + 187).

<sup>62</sup> Hubert Jedin, "Domschule und Kolleg: Zum Ursprung der Ideen des Trienter Priesterseminars," *Trierer theol. Zeitschrift* 68 (1958) 210-23. See, too, his tribute to Tommaso Compeggio, whose writings to Paul III, Paul IV, and Pius IV emphasize plans of reform: *Tommaso Compeggio (1483-1564): Tridentinische Reform und kuriale Tradition* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1958; pp. 79).

legislation into practical success is told by Roger Mols, S.J., who refers to Borromeo quite aptly as the *pasteur complet*.<sup>63</sup>

In studies of the popes of this period, notice is ordinarily given to their influence in the politics of Europe or to their labor in the large plans of reform. Light cast upon their local government has been dim. Now two volumes are at hand by Jean Delumeau that fill in the picture.<sup>64</sup> They record the details of administration at Rome, including measures to control the inundations of the Tiber, building programs, attempts to promote industrialization, and a system of floating loans to meet public debt. These books with their graphs, statistics, and diagrams, all drawn from sources, form a treasury of encyclopedic proportions for future researches in this field.

Our knowledge of the exploits of religious groups active in reform plans during these times grows. Alberto Ghinato, O.F.M., describes the internal organization of the *monti di pietà* and *monti frumentari* that aided in curbing usury and putting off economic hardship.<sup>65</sup> The social work of the Capuchins is told in a stimulating account that includes the preaching successes of Girolamo da Pistoia, Mattia da Salo, and the fated Bernardino Ochino.<sup>66</sup>

The impetus for reform in Northern Italy came in large measure from Catherine of Genoa. The life of "la buona Caterina" was written in 1551 by Genuti. This is now re-edited by Valeriano da Finalmarina and in its new form illumines her attempts to revive Catholic spirituality in this section of Italy.<sup>67</sup>

The place of Ignatius of Loyola and his Iniguists in the cause of reform has been told and retold. But the year 1956, the anniversary of his death, raised a small mountain of books and articles. Some of this work is biographical; much is typical of the commendatory essay for such occasions; more, however, digs into sources and supplies new light on Ignatius, his

<sup>63</sup> Roger Mols, S.J., "S. Charles Borromée, pionnier de la pastorale moderne," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 79 (1957) 600-622, 715-47.

<sup>64</sup> Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (2 vols.; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958, 1959; pp. 1038).

<sup>65</sup> Alberto Ghinato, O.F.M., "I primitivi monti frumentari di fra Andrea da Faenza," *Antonianum* 33 (1958) 423-42; 34 (1959) 32-72; "Primi tentativi per la fondazione del monte di pietà a Terni, 1464-1472," *Archivum Francis. hist.* 50 (1957) 278-440; "I Francescani e il monte di pietà di Terni da fra Agostino da Perugia al B. Bernardino da Feltre, 1471-1489," *ibid.* 51 (1958) 95-160.

<sup>66</sup> Arsenio d'Ascoli, *La predicazione dei Cappuccini nel cinquecento in Italia* (Loretto: Libreria S. Francesco d'Assisi, 1956; pp. 598).

<sup>67</sup> Valeriano da Finalmarina, *Libro de la vita mirabile e dottrina santa de la beata Caterinella da Genova* (Genoa: Vita Francescana, 1957). This re-edition contains, besides the *Vita*, also Catherine's *Trattato del purgatorio* and the *Dialogo*.

companions, and the formation of the Spiritual Exercises. For those interested in Ignatiana, two excellent bibliographical lists must be recommended. The first, prepared by J. F. Gilmont, S.J., and P. Damen, S.J., is a chronological inventory that includes all the literature on Ignatius from the first volumes of the *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu* up to July, 1957.<sup>68</sup> There are 2872 titles with indices of authors and materials. The other is compiled by Ignatius Iparraguirre, S.J., a name well respected in Ignatian studies.<sup>69</sup>

#### MISSIONARY EXPANSION

Lewis Hanke, Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, has been interested in the disputes among Spanish intellectuals of the sixteenth century and the attempts to justify the conquest and spoliation of the Indians. In a new book he points to the wide acceptance of Aristotle's doctrine of natural slavery as the basic support for colonial practice, and the fiery opposition to it made by the missionaries.<sup>70</sup> It became a battle between the humanist philosopher Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and the Dominican Las Casas. The former held that the Indians were equivalently animals and could find improvement only with the aid of the culturally superior Spaniards. Las Casas was the convincing apologist of the Indians, recounting examples of their high morality and industry. The debate brought Charles V to set up a committee of arbitration in Valladolid in 1550. No decision was handed down and the issue remains quite alive today.

A fine critique of the theory of royal vicariate by Antonio de Egaña, S.J., inspects the legal side of these disputes.<sup>71</sup> The Spanish crown, in view of concessions granted from Alexander VI to Leo X, considered itself a quasi-vicar of the pope in the New World. It extended the *real patronato* to rights of episcopal appointments, arbitration in disputes between bishops and regulars, and the transfer of parishes. By 1619 the government of Spain had adopted the theory as fact and was soon deep in dispute with the newly-created Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.

Some of the figures prominent in the record of missionary expansion are reliving their story in biographical studies. Of marked interest is the long-

<sup>68</sup> J. F. Gilmont, S.J., and P. Damen, S.J., *Bibliographie ignatienne, 1894-1957* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958; pp. xxix + 251).

<sup>69</sup> I. Iparraguirre, S.J., *Orientaciones bibliográficas sobre San Ignacio de Loyola* (Rome: Institutum Hist. S.J., 1957).

<sup>70</sup> Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1959; pp. x + 164).

<sup>71</sup> Antonio de Egaña, S.J., *La teoría del vicariato español en India* (Rome: Gregorian Univ., 1958; pp. xx + 315).

awaited first volume of the life and times of Francis Xavier by Georg Schurhammer, S.J.<sup>72</sup> This project was undertaken, or at least conceived, some fifty years ago, and since then every source and relevant material has been assembled. The author is arranging this vast wealth into what will certainly become the classic reference work on Xavier. Besides this first volume that deals with his thirty-five years in Europe, there will be seven more treating his missionary career, his letters, miracles, cult, iconography, and bibliography.

Among the other figures is Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O.S.A., who arrived in Mexico in 1536 and is traditionally accepted as the founder of the University of Mexico. From new archival materials Arthur Ennis, O.S.A., is able to judge his writings and his involvement in the disputes between the Augustinian General and the royal patronate over missionary policy in the New World.<sup>73</sup>

John Leddy Phelan had given similar consideration to the writings of the Franciscan friar Gerónimo de Mendieta and his strongly eschatological views of the history of the Americas.<sup>74</sup> The author sees influences of Joachimist mysticism in Mendieta's thought, a point that invites controversy, although he seems to have shared the common belief of other mendicants of the time that the Age of Discovery with its opportunities for evangelization had a bearing on the beginning of a millennial era.

José de Anchieta, S.J., though little known to the English-reading world, has long been a folk hero in Brazil. Frail and handicapped by a hunchback, he moved vigorously through a career of forty-five years, outliving and outdistancing his companions. Helen G. Dominican has written his life, based primarily upon the *Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* by Serafim Leite, S.J.<sup>75</sup>

The standard history of the Society of Jesus in that part of the New World

<sup>72</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit 1: Europa, 1506-1541* (Freiburg: Herder, 1955; pp. xxx + 743). A bibliography of the works of Fr. Schurhammer published from 1907 to 1957 has been compiled by Hugo Rahner, S.J., and Ladislaus Polgár, S.J., in *Arch. hist. S. J.* 26 (1957) 424-52.

<sup>73</sup> Arthur Ennis, O.S.A., *Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O.S.A. (1507-1584): A Study of His Life and His Contribution to the Religious and Intellectual Affairs of Early Mexico* (Louvain: E. Warny, 1957; pp. viii + 210). This is an offprint from *Augustiniana* 5 (1955) 52-124, 241-67, 362-99; 7 (1957) 149-95, 367-88.

<sup>74</sup> John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta, 1525-1604* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1956; pp. 159). See, too, his account of colonization in the Philippines: *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1959; pp. xi + 218).

<sup>75</sup> Helen G. Dominican, *Apostle of Brazil: The Biography of Padre José de Anchieta, S.J. (1534-1597)* (New York: Exposition Press, 1958; pp. xvii + 346).

which is now Mexico was written two centuries ago by Javier Alegre, S.J. It begins with the first arrival of Jesuits in La Florida with Pedro Menéndez in 1566 and reaches the year 1767, when 678 members of the Society were expelled from Mexico. Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., and Félix Zubillaga, S.J., are producing an annotated edition of this rare work, of which two volumes have been published.<sup>76</sup>

The Mogul Empire arrived at greatness and power in the sixteenth century under Emperor Akbar and his son Jahangir. Its religion was Mohammedan and its language Persian, and under Akbar, an apostate from Islam with ideas of religious tolerance, it was a singularly promising field for missionary movement. Jerome Xavier, S.J., spent two decades in this kingdom and wrote extensively of court customs, debates, and efforts to introduce Christian literature. Arnulf Camps, O.F.M., gives an account of these times, including the activities of Franciscan missionaries.<sup>77</sup>

Conspicuous among the general histories to appear is the *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*.<sup>78</sup> As a work of collaboration under the direction of Msgr. Simon Delacroix of the Institut Catholique in Paris, it includes contributions from the pens of Henri Daniel-Rops, Francis Dvornik, J. Daniélou, S.J., A. Rétif, S.J., H. Marrou, H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., H. Vicaire, and several others. The first two volumes carry mission history from its origins up through the eighteenth century and witness the Ibero-Catholic colonial system lose ground to English-Dutch imperialism. The last two volumes focus upon the efforts of the Holy See to revitalize mission work from its time of decline in post-Napoleonic Europe to contemporary crises.

China is also the subject of a special synthesis by Columba Cary-Elwes, O.S.B.<sup>79</sup> In a broad view he scans four periods of expansion: the Nestorian (seventh to ninth century), the Franciscan with John of Montecorvino as

<sup>76</sup> Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España* 1: 1566-1596; 2: 1597-1639 (Rome: Institutum Hist. S. J., 1956; pp. xxxii + 640: xxxii + 747). See also the statistical study of these early missionaries by Ernest Burrus, S.J., "Pioneer Jesuits among the Indians of New Spain, 1572-1604," *Arch. Hist. S. J.* 25 (1956) 575-97.

<sup>77</sup> Arnulf Camps, O.F.M., *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity* (Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland: Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire suisse, 1957; pp. xviii + 260). Also "Franciscan Missions to the Mogul Court," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 15 (1959) 259-70.

<sup>78</sup> *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques* 1: *Les missions des origines au XVIIe siècle*; 2: *Les missions modernes (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Simon Delacroix (Paris: Grund, 1956, 1957; pp. 365, 421). Volumes 3 and 4 appeared in 1958 and 1959.

<sup>79</sup> Columba Cary-Elwes, O.S.B., *China and the Cross: A Survey of Missionary History* (New York: Kenedy, 1957; pp. xi + 323).



central hero (thirteenth and fourteenth century), the Jesuit (from death of Francis Xavier to suppression of the Society of Jesus), and the modern. According to Malcolm Hay, the moment of decision that led to the failure of the mission in China lay with the dispute over rites. His account of the circumstances and personal feuds that brought this to an issue is told with pungent observations well worth attention.<sup>80</sup>

In 1941 a lengthy monograph on the Syro-Malabar Christians by Eugene Cardinal Tisserant appeared in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. This is now enlarged with chronological lists and appendices and translated into English by E. R. Hambye, S.J.<sup>81</sup> The history of this ancient Christian community is told from the apostolate of St. Thomas to the present.

#### THE RELIGIOUS WARS

In dealing with France's religious wars historians are frequently puzzled when they attempt to account for the great growth of Huguenots in the middle of the sixteenth century. By 1562 they numbered about 3,000,000 out of a total population of 20,000,000 and possessed 2,150 churches. To find reasons for the size of this minority, Robert Kingdon tests the hypothesis that during the previous decade the Geneva Company of Pastors conducted a missionary campaign in France, sending trained agents to the Calvinistic churches there. As a case history he views the careers of eighty-eight missionary pastors, supplying new data that point to his extensive research.<sup>82</sup>

A witness to the later phases of the wars, especially as they affected Paris during the reign of Henry of Navarre, is the diary of Pierre de l'Estoile. In fact, he can be said to be for Paris what Samuel Pepys was to London a century later. His writings fill eleven volumes in their French edition. These are now abridged and translated by Nancy Lyman Roelker and add to our scanty source material in English.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Malcolm Hay, *Failure in the Far East: Why and How the Breach between the Western World and China First Began* (Wetteren, Belgium: Scoldis Publ., 1956; pp. ix + 202).

<sup>81</sup> Eugene Card. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India: A History of the Syro-Malabar Church from Earliest Time to the Present Day*, tr. E. R. Hambye, S.J. (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1957; pp. xviii + 266).

<sup>82</sup> Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1956; pp. 163). Cf. also J. W. Thompson, *The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576* (London: Constable, 1958; pp. 635). Michael Roberts gives a fine study of Gustavus Adolphus after the Religious Wars reached their German phase: *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden, 1611-1632*, Vol. 2: 1626-32 (New York: Longmans, Green, 1957; pp. xiii + 848).

<sup>83</sup> *The Paris of Henry of Navarre as Seen by Pierre de L'Estoile: Selections from His Mémoires-Journaux*, tr. Nancy Lyman Roelker (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958; pp. 321).

## JANSENISM

Our knowledge of Jansenism, especially in Belgium, continues to brighten under the research of scholars that include Jean Orcibal and Lucien Ceysens, O.F.M. Orcibal, whose multivolumed *Les origines du Jansénisme* and equally imposing study of the Abbé Saint-Cyran have established his ability to reconstruct the figures who featured in this movement, has shifted his interest to the study of personalities in the later phases of Jansenism. These are beyond the limits of this bulletin. L. Ceysens is also exploring this later field, although one book pertinent to our period should be mentioned. It is a collection of 618 documents from June 8, 1640, just before the appearance of the *Augustinus*, to December 31, 1643, six months after the delayed promulgation of Urban VII's Bull *In eminenti*.<sup>84</sup> The author has increased the usefulness of this collection by adding a summarized title to each document and including a sixty-page introduction that presents the characters of both parties.

## CONCLUSION

Of the great quantity of recent publications that have pushed back the boundaries of our knowledge of the past, these seem to the compiler of this bulletin to be notable. Since research cannot be forced well into a timetable, even a five-year timetable, it is not surprising that light in some areas is more pronounced. Conciliar history, for example, through the careful work of Joseph Gill, S.J., Hubert Jedin, and others, has brightened considerably. The history of the Inquisition, on the other hand, in its medieval, Spanish, or Roman phase, still awaits an objective synthesis.

Any bibliographical listings that came to my attention I have mentioned within the various sections of this survey. Now, however, as I approach the finish of this project, three more have appeared, and while they do not touch Church history exclusively, I believe they are of considerable value. The first is Paul Oskar Kristeller's inventory of Latin MSS before 1600.<sup>85</sup> The author visited Europe, especially Eastern Europe, in search of uncatalogued MSS, and received generous help from the librarians in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Russia. A register of his findings, which were rich and in some cases supplemented sources in Western collections, is now printed.

<sup>84</sup> Lucien Ceysens, O.F.M., *Sources relatives aux début du Jansénisme et de l'anti-Jansénisme, 1640-1643* (Louvain: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1957; pp. lxvi + 694).

<sup>85</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Latin MSS Books before 1600: A List of the Printed and Unpublished Inventories of Extant Collections* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1960; pp. xxii + 234).

The second is a bulletin on the progress in medieval and Renaissance studies in the United States and Canada by S. Harrison Thomson.<sup>86</sup> It lists scholars who have been active in medieval and Renaissance studies during the last three years, together with their individual and joint projects, reports on the microfilm and photostat materials now at hand or desired by colleagues, books in press, doctoral dissertations, papers read at learned societies, and so on.

The third is the revised edition of the bibliography of Tudor England by the late Conyers Read.<sup>87</sup> This revision is larger by a half, indicating the lively interest that continues to grow for this period of history. Lacey Baldwin Smith has made an estimate of Tudor scholarship of the last two decades that is a special aid for Church historians.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> S. Harrison Thomson, *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada* (Boulder, Colo.; Univ. of Colorado Press, 1960; pp. 139).

<sup>87</sup> Conyers Read, *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603* (2nd ed.; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1959; pp. xxviii + 624).

<sup>88</sup> Lacey Baldwin Smith, "The 'Taste for Tudors' since 1940," *Studies in the Renaissance* 7 (1960) 167-83.