médiévale, mais avec d'autres méthodes, avaient lieu, semble-t-il. une fois par semaine, sans doute à l'auditoire de la cathédrale illustré par la prédication calvinienne. Elles suivaient, mais après des semaine ou même des mois, l'enseignement reçu dont on se servait, tant le commentaire biblique que les cours particuliers dispensés sur les "lieux communs": la prédestination, la justification, etc. . . A cet effet les étudiants dressaient certaines positions, les communiquaient à leur professeur, c'est-à-dire à Bèze lui-même, à Colladon, le biographe de Calvin, et à Perrot, et devaient les soutenir contradictoirement, sous la présidence d'un des professeurs.

Ce volume est donc une publication de textes. Si les éditeurs suggèrent qu'on y trouve "une théologie où la question du vrai sacerdoce et celle des trois offices du Christ prennent une place importante à côté de celle de la justification" (p.11) et si on voit bien au fil des annotations une intelligence minutieuse des enjeux théologiques en cause à l'intérieur même de l'apparat critique, on ne trouvera pas dans l'introduction ni ailleurs de présentation générale des positions défendues par Bèze dans ses cours. Le travail reste à faire et peut s'appuyer sur un texte parfaitement rendu, compris, annoté et muni d'un précieux index des thèmes théologiques. On ne peut que souhaiter que soit adjoint bientôt une étude complémentaire d'analyse théologique et scripturaire qui tire parti de ce matériau de premier choix pour la connaissance de la théologie et de la Bible à cet endroit stratégique que fut Genève au milieu du seizième siècle sur des textes bibliques essentiels. Bèze ne considère-t-il pas lui-même au début de son cours que l'Epître aux Romains "comme celle aux Hébreux" est comme un "épitomé de toute l'Ecriture" et, même si l'une est adressée aux Gentils et l'autre aux Juifs, elles sont toutes deux "des épitomés de toute la religion chrétienne" (p.19)?

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Peter S. Donaldson. *Machiavelli and Mystery of State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. xiv, 224.

This study deals with aspects of Machiavellian ideology that informed political discourse in Renaissance Europe, with particular emphasis on the sacredness of kingship and on the secret knowledge of statecraft, or simply *arcana imperii*. Most appropriately, the discussion proceeds from the notion that for Machiavelli political precepts were "secrets" to be imparted by the adviser to the prince, as Chiron taught young Achilles in "secret" ("copertamente"). Machiavelli's reputation as a purveyor of secret political counsel was enhanced by the cautious and surreptitious manner in which his ideas and his texts were propagated. The *Prince*, in particular, was thought to be so secretive that Machiavelli perhaps did not want it to be known publically. Donaldson follows the development of these two major themes both in

their historical and theoretical manifestations, starting with Cardinal Reginald Pole's conviction that the appearance of the *Prince* was the manifestation of the *mysterium iniquitatis*, which signalled the approach of the Antichrist. For Pole, the treatise was also a satanic work, a source of evil advice which Cromwell secretly communicated to Henry VIII. He firmly believed that the *Prince*, of which he had limited knowledge, was the basis for Henry's moral relativism, contempt for the law, and usurpation of papal prerogatives.

Unlike Pole, Bishop Stephen Gardiner did not view Machiavelli's works as satanic, although he too considered Machiavellism as secret political doctrine. In fact, he intended his *Ragionamento*, which rests on some of Machiavelli's most "amoral" precepts, as a *breviarum* of secret advice to King Philip II of Spain. The idea of secrecy is underscored by the suspicion that the manual was perhaps not meant for publication, since it supported the terms of the marriage treaty in accord with Habsburg dynastic interests, and proposed to show Philip how to secure his hold over England (48). Gardiner, however, moves away from the Machiavellian notion that political life is under the rule of fortuna, arguing for the sacredness of kings, the "viceregents of God" (74). This major departure notwithstanding, Gardiner considers Machiavelli a potent source of advice to rulers, best handled in a secretive manner.

The shroud of secrecy enveloping Machiavelli's thought contributed to the restating and the manipulation of his ideas, eventually allowing for mutually exclusive interpretations: some saw him as the Chiron of kings, other as the unmasker of tyrants. This last view first promoted by Gentili in the seventeenth century and later sung by Foscolo in *I Sepolcri* (1806), finds its historical expression in the wheeling and dealing of John Wolfe, a cunning, and unscrupulous printer. Wolfe's fight against the English patent system is taken to exemplify a stance against the tyrant, whose ruthless, secret methods Machiavelli had laid bare. Here, Donaldson's argument connecting Wolfe with the notion of republican arcana is rather weak, since the evidence linking this ambitious printer to Machiavelli rests mostly on his surreptitious print of Machiavellian texts, and on the invitation by his rival printers to "leave your Machiavellian devices" (98).

Moving from historical context to plain theory, Donaldson surveys major representatives of the *ragion di stato* upon which rests Clapmar's distinction between *arcana* (good reason of state) and Machiavellian *flagitia* (bad reason of state) or simply *consilia Machiavellistica* (133). Clapmar based his distinction of various types of *arcana* on his elaboration of ancient terminology, which, in turn, reinforced the notions of secrecy and sacredness of kingship, already proposed by the *ragion di stato* tradition. These views were shared by Gabriel Naudé, who, although embracing the idea of sacral monarchy, insisted that Machiavellian precepts ought to be reserved for a select company or communicated only to the prince.

Donaldson concludes his study with an analysis of Louis Machon's attempt to connect divine *raison d'état* with Machiavelli. Focusing on several Machiavellian

"amoral" precepts, such as the necessity of violence, cruelty, and dissimulation, Machon justified their righteousness by showing that similar political tenets are found not only in ancient history, but also in the Bible. Convinced of the sacredness of kingship, he combined, like Naudé before him, Machiavellian ideology with the principle of *imitatio dei*, suggesting that the so-called Machiavellian *flagitia* were necessary means employed by kings who, as rulers, enjoyed divine exemption from ordinary laws.

Donaldson expertly guides the reader through a series of Renaissance perceptions, interpretations and misinterpretations of Machiavellian ideology. Although the book consists primarily of essays published separately thematic coherence and clarity of style guarantee a most profitable reading. However, in the first few pages the reader may be somewhat distracted by the author's penchant for repetition: "mysteries of state or *arcana imperii* (viii). . . political mysteries or *arcana imperii* (xi). . . *arcana imperii* or mystery of state (xii). . . *arcana imperii* or secrete of rule (9). . . *arcana imperii* or mysteries of state" (86), or ". . . Kantorowicz, from whom I draw my title" (x). . . Kantorowicz's article from which I draw my title" (xiii), or "Pole claimed that this speech was the result of the satanic influence of Machiavelli on Cromwell (18). . . "Pole believed, then, that this speech was the result of the satanic influence of Machiavelli or Cromwell" (19). While there are relatively few and minor errors in the body of the work, more than half of the Index has been omitted, ending abruptly with the letter I. I should hope that the oversight occurred only in a few samples, for it would be difficult to understand how a reputable university press can allow such a lapse to go undetected.

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Dix conférences sur Érasme, Études réunies par Claude Blum. Paris-Genève, Champion-Slatkine, 1988, 178 p.

Ces *Dix conférences* ont été prononcées lors des journées organisées par l'Université de Bâle et le Centre Culturel Suisse, les 11 et 12 avril 1986, à Paris, pour célébrer le quatre-cent-cinquantième anniversaire de la mort d'Érasme. Les organisateurs des journées Érasme avaient retenu, dans l'oeuvre immense du Prince des humanistes, les deux sujets suivants: *l'Éloge de la Folie* et les *Colloques*. Certes, ces deux livres sont parmi les plus représentatifs du génie d'Érasme, et en tout cas parmi les mieux connus.

Dans sa préface, Léon-E. Halkin souligne que la renommée des *Colloques* et de *l'Éloge* repose sur un étrange malentendu. Les lecteurs, le plus souvent, ont apprécié la veine satirique de *l'Éloge* et le talent du conteur des *Colloques*; ils ont ainsi