included that are less than useful; pictures of watermelons in Damascus and modern multi-faith visitors to the Tomb of the Virgin could readily have been replaced by more useful illustrations of things mentioned in the text but not shown (like Titian’s “Presentation of the Virgin”).

One cannot doubt the role Islamic examples played in shaping the Venetian cityscape. That this book adds little to one’s understanding of how they did so may merely reflect the impossibility of the project, but it is less convincing because it provides no solid sense that a full investigation of the printed and archival evidence of eastern contacts was undertaken. Nevertheless, the author succeeds in providing a number of intriguing presentations of the life of a mercantile community situated at the border between two very different cultures.

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This is an unusual book — a historian’s venture into historical theology — and for this reason a daring one. It tempts one to alter Dr. Johnson’s comment: it is done very well, and you are surprised to see it done at all.

James M. Stayer, Professor of History in Queen’s University in Ontario, is the English-speaking world’s leading authority on sixteenth-century Anabaptism. In this excellent book, he turns his learning and skills to a twentieth-century subject: Luther studies in Germany between the two world wars. Stayer seeks to expose the shapes of, and the reasons for, the post-1918 shift of Reformation studies from history to theology, from the Reformation to Luther, and from liberalism to radical post-modernism. He maps the movement that held sway over Reformation studies until the 1960s and aims (too modestly) to explain to English-speakers why it happened at all.

Stayer follows three stories at three distinct levels. The stories are those of the “Luther Renaissance” of Karl Holl (1866–1926) and his school, represented by Emanuel Hirsch (1888–1972) and Erich Vogelsang (1904–1944); the Dialectical Theology represented by Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Friedrich Gogarten (1887–1967); and the “confessional Lutheranism” represented by Werner Elert (1885–1954) and Paul Althaus (1888–1966) at Erlangen. All of the scholars who set the agenda for Reformation studies in Germany, and to some extent abroad as well, are either on this list or associated with those named here.

On the level of theology, the post-war movement’s three streams show common tendencies in theology, scholarship, and politics. First, differences aside, they participated in the massive shift away from a historical-anthropological to a systematic-theological approach to religion. In Protestant theology, as in all other fields, the crisis of liberal thought had begun well before 1914. In this story, its
two chief representatives were Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), behind both of whom stood Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889). They stood for the view that Christianity was one monotheism among others and could not claim, especially not on the basis of a now-discredited revelation, superiority to all other religions.

Secondly, on the level of scholarship, all participated in the reduction of Reformation studies to Luther studies, in which they sought the hermeneutical vantage point from which to rescue Christianity from the collapse of bourgeois thought and values. Holl initiated in 1921 what became a manic search for “the moment” of Luther’s “breakthrough,” when the latter’s “tower experience” led to an understanding of the Christian faith that was absolutely anti-medieval and either radically modern (the Dialectical Theology), comfortably ancient (the Lutheran confessional theologians), or both (the Holl School).

Finally, on the third level, politics, the three theological parties sought to formulate a program of Christian redemption for the national community, the desire for which war and revolution had greatly intensified. Karl Barth is an exception, of course, but, as one is tempted to conclude from Stayer’s study, he was cut out of the flock by virtue of being Swiss and Reformed, rather than German and Lutheran. Between Holl in the van and Vogelsang in the rear, the theologians Stayer presents were a generational cohort born between 1886 and 1888. They mostly studied under liberal theologians, and the war’s end, which came in their mid-40s, convinced them that their teachers’ doctrines had become worthless or worse. They struggled for the renewal of theology, of the church, and of a Protestant Christian civilization against what one editorialist in March 1919 called “the black-red-gold International” — the Catholics, the Social Democrats, and the Jews.

From this third, political dimension comes the movement’s reputation as a vanguard of Nazism, a view widely held in the United States. It is not undeserved. Holl was a conservative nationalist convert from liberalism, and most of his disciples threw their loyalty to the National Socialist cause in one way or another. Hirsch and Gogarten joined the NSDAP, but all (except Barth, of course) took some part in what Althaus heralded in 1933 as “the German hour of the church.”

Stayer nonetheless argues, and cogently, that the political situation of the Protestant middle classes, deprived of their self-evident cultural supremacy and their churches’ royal head — like the Catholic Church without a pope — formed the movement’s Sitz im Leben but did not fully determine its content. The roots lay deeper, for the heavily secularized pre-war religion provided neither solace nor adequate defenses to a Protestant Germany weakened in power and prestige. Most interesting in this respect are the Erlangen theologians, whose stubborn christocentrism and loyalty to the Lutheran confessions enabled them to support without absolutizing the politics revealed to them in 1933.

Luther’s occupation of the center of their concern enables Stayer to find lasting value in their debates and to enhance both Reformation studies and our understanding of Protestant culture during the Weimar era. He wants to replace legends with an informed reading of the movement’s leaders. Some of the legends
contain gross distortions of the record. One of them holds that the Luther Renaissance arose from Karl Holl’s privilege of being the first major scholar to have full benefit of the Weimar edition (est. 1883) of the reformer’s writings. This legend reduces Holl to, at best, a “mere scholar,” something he escaped by turning to Luther; and it reproduces, at worst, the treatment of Luther as a new, “third” revelation, through the lens of whose teachings those of Paul and, more distantly, Jesus could once again be regarded as true. Another legend holds that Barth represents the antithesis of what the others, especially the Luther Renaissance, stood for. This is true only at the political level, and only from the rise of Nazism in the early 1930s. During the mid-1920s, when the Dialectical Theology was riding high, Barth fully participated in its lutherocentricity.

Stayer’s excellent book should be read by everyone who studies either the Protestant Reformation in Germany or German culture and politics under the Wilhelms and Weimar. It is intellectual history of the best kind.

THOMAS A. BRADY, JR., University of California, Berkeley


Written by the single hand of the local vicar, Sir Christopher Trychay, who served in office for the fifty-four years between 1520 and 1574, the Churchwardens Accounts of the rural Devon parish of Morebath have served as a unique source for the history and operation of a single parish since they were first published in 1904. Historians familiar with this remarkable document have resorted to it time and again for its insights into parish life, its local colour, and its ample store of apt quotations. But no one yet has given it the extremely close attention provided here by Eamon Duffy. Moreover, no other scholar has seen the document as a subject unto itself, as well as a source for other subjects; or assessed the early Reformation as thoroughly and imaginatively through the experience of a single parish community.

It must be said at once that this is not a conventional “thesis book” as such; nor is it a conventional history of Morebath as reconstructed from this single source. Rather, it is a “pendant,” in Duffy’s own words, to his real thesis book, the magisterial Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–1570 (1992), in which he provided the fullest and most persuasive discussion yet of the tenacity of pre-Reformation religious belief and practice in England. In Duffy’s capable hands, The Voices of Morebath provides ample and extended documentation for many of the perspectives of that larger work.

Before using them as his principal source for other matters, Duffy takes us carefully through the accounts themselves. He shows us how Trychay’s verbose yet meticulous record incorporates the activities, intentions, and very voices of Morebath parishioners. The events and actions recorded thus offer over fifty years