

pertaining to properties in Vézelay, France. Several letters were from Beza's nephew Jean Beza, who had spent a good portion of his youth in the household of Beza, and the reformer continued to be involved in his life. Beza did not have children of his own, but he helped raise and support extended family, particularly the children of his younger siblings. The letters pertaining to the Beza family illustrate the continued relationships between Protestants who had sought refuge in Geneva and their families who remained in France.

This final volume also includes a funeral oration by Gaspard Laurent, Professor of Greek in Geneva, delivered just days after Beza's death. The laudatory piece highlights Beza's role in critical moments of the French Reformed movement including the establishment of the Academy of Geneva in 1559, the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561, and the Synod in Nîmes in 1572. There is also selected poetry written across Europe in memory of Beza. The pieces are appropriate for the final volume of a series that provided so much primary source material on the life and influence of Beza. While less dense than earlier volumes, the correspondence from the final years of his life help place Beza among the other Protestant reformers who had passed before him. Beza was not John Calvin, but he was critical to the spread and influence of the Reformed tradition beyond Geneva.

This series has proven invaluable to scholars researching Geneva, the Reformed faith, and the later Reformation. The meticulous footnotes included with each letter place Beza's correspondence within the wider context of Reformed scholarship. There are still vast amounts of material to mine from Beza's life and work, and he has yet to receive the attention from scholars that other Reformation figures have received. This volume completes a project that has made the work of one of the most important men to International Protestantism widely accessible. Hopefully there are scholars out there that will put this valuable collection to use and provide a fuller interpretation of Theodore Beza and his contribution to the early modern world.

Nicole Reinhardt. *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. xviii + 419 pp. \$110.00. Review by BRIAN SANDBERG, NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY.

Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France explores the problem of conscience and political counsel in the early modern Catholic world. This subject is novel, since political historians and political theorists have rarely delved into the theory and practice of confession. Indeed, Nicole Reinhardt indicates that “the rise of confessors as political councilors in the early modern period has been often noted, but its social and political meaning has not been adequately explored” (67).

Reinhardt constructs an intellectual history of early modern Catholic notions of the confession and its implications for the royal person. Drawing on Marc Bloch’s analysis of sacral kingship and the royal touch, Reinhardt probes a largely unexamined aspect of the intimate life of the king: the royal confession. Her analysis of the discussions of the monarch’s public sins and private sins by Catholic confessors and theologians evokes Ernst Kantorowicz’s classic study of the king’s two bodies. The author might have adopted a history of emotions to consider the intimate dimensions of the royal confession, but the book instead focuses on the figure of the royal confessor in the rival monarchies of Spain and France during the seventeenth century.

Reinhardt offers an in-depth portrait of the royal confessors by “embedding the confessor’s role in a broader counselling culture which, contrary to the overwhelming focus of intellectual history, was not exclusively moulded by an allegedly secular humanist culture” (14). The analysis concentrates on the most famous royal confessors: Gaspar de Córdoba, Luis de Aliaga, Antonio Sotomayor, and Tomás Carbonell in Spain; and Pierre Coton, Jean Suffren, Nicolas Caussin, François Annat, and François de La Chaize in France.

Reinhardt exploits a range of manuscript and printed sources written by and about royal confessors: confession manuals, theological treatises, confessors’ writings, and polemical pamphlets. The book’s chapters present a series of close readings of these largely unfamiliar theological and polemical texts. As a result, despite the introduction’s

engaging opening discussion of a West Wing episode, the book will appeal primarily to an audience of specialists in seventeenth-century Spanish and French history. Nonetheless, these sources provide fascinating evidence of the intersections of religion and politics in early modern monarchical states. Martín de Azpilcueta's *Manual de confesores & penitentes* (1552) provided a list of public and private sins, which was particularly influential in forming confessors' notions of their practice. The collection of the *pareceres* (manuscript advice statements) by Luis de Aliaga, royal confessor to Philip III, is particularly revealing, since "we almost hear the confessor speaking in his own voice," as he assesses candidates for royal *mercedes* (church benefices) (161–62). In addition to such pragmatic spiritual advice, some of the confessors' writings stressed spiritual renewal and spiritual exercises (309).

Cardinal Robert Bellarmine articulated an influential model for royal confessors in his *Duties of a Christian Prince* (1619). Bellarmine envisioned the royal confessor as simultaneously judge and doctor, tending to the public and private sins of a monarch (69). Royal confessors were expected to engage with court society, but Bellarmine stressed that they should never act as courtiers. Instead, confessors should take Biblical prophets as models for action. Nicholas Caussin's *La Cour Sainte* (1646) presented a gallery of exemplary prophets—including Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, and Jeremiah—who had delivered sage advice and divine truth to the kings of Israel. Royal confessors, Caussin believed, had to remain confident and firm in the face of royal power, since monarchs might or might not accept their prophetic advice. At times, he argued, confessors might even have to oppose tyrannical monarchs who threatened the polity.

Royal confessors were immersed in the field of moral theology, examining theological questions and engaging in pragmatic discussions of conscience. According to Reinhardt, "moral theology aspired to be a meta-discipline, which, unlike mere technical *knowledge* (law), conferred comprehensive *science* that provided superior insight and allowed intervention in all spheres of human action" (74). Reinhardt argues that the rise of a particular branch of moral theology, known as probablism, shaped royal confessors' approaches to counseling monarchs in the seventeenth century. A "grammar of moral theology"

pervaded confessors' writings and structured their counsel on matters of conscience (159).

The Spanish and French monarchies both relied on royal councils to provide them with advice and formulate policies. Royal confessors sometimes served directly in royal councils, such as the *consejos* and *juntas* in Spain or the *conseil privé du roi* in France. Even if they were not councilors, however, the confessors always had a duty to counsel the monarchy on matters of conscience. Confessors regularly offered advice on how to use royal powers such as declaration of war, taxation, official appointments, and distribution of favors. Theological contemplations of doubt seem to have raised new moral questions about just war, but the book does not consider the evolving concepts of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*. Theologians actively discussed new methods of providing counsel of conscience, as France experimented with a *conseil de conscience* in the mid-seventeenth century, and Spanish ministers debated instituting a general confession.

The positions of royal confessors were clearly affected by sweeping religious transformations in early modern Europe. *Voices of Conscience* begins after the Reformations of the sixteenth century, which had already altered the theory and practice of confession considerably. The book examines how royal confessors engaged in expansive theological debates within the Catholic world, which involved Dominicans, Jesuits, *dévots*, Gallicans, and Jansenists. The book could have also considered the complex relationships between royal confessors and the other Catholic institutions (such as bishoprics, cathedral chapters, colleges, diocesan assemblies, religious orders, assemblies of clergy, and the Papacy) that were involved in early modern political culture. Comparison with confessors in the Holy Roman Empire, Portugal, Savoy, Tuscany, Poland, and other Catholic realms might provide diverse perspectives on confessors' roles in Catholic political culture.

Royal confessors also intervened in major policy debates to advise kings on key decisions such as the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, intervention in the Valtelline Crisis, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the Unigenitus Affair. In the case of the Moriscos, Juan de Ribera argued that Philip III "was 'obliged in conscience' to take swift action and to eradicate all enemies of God and country from Spanish soil" (199). Père de La Chaize influenced Louis XIV's decision

to revoke the Edict of Nantes in 1685 (331–32).

A new trope of the scandalous royal confessor emerged in the seventeenth century, according to Reinhardt (322). Royal confessors interacted closely with kings, but also with their courtiers and royal favorites such as Richelieu, Mazarin, Lerma, and Olivares. The growth of the state and the expansion of royal offices created new conflicts, as “the problem of venality tested the limits of reasoning in moral theology” (152). Reinhardt examines in detail the principled stand of Nicolas Caussin and his resulting dismissal by Cardinal Richelieu. “The ‘scandalous confessor’ came to enter the imaginary repertoire of early modern political culture that could mobilize and capture a wide audience, but he was not a fixed or trans-historical topos” (345). One wonders how polemical attacks directed against the two cardinal-ministers in France, and particularly at Cardinal Mazarin during the Fronde Civil War, may have affected anti-confessor attitudes. A broader discussion of anti-clericalism might have deepened the analysis of scandalous confessors. Molière’s *Tartuffe* curiously never makes an appearance in the book.

Reinhardt perceives a major transformation in moral theology during the course of the seventeenth century, as “the notion of ‘royal conscience’ came to be limited to the private person, losing its original political contours” (303). She observes that royal confessors were gradually restricted from providing public counsel and limited to attending to the monarch’s private conscience. “I would like to suggest that ideology and institutions developed more coherently than has hitherto been recognized, and that together they lay the ground for a ‘privatization’ of royal conscience” (347).

This argument relies significantly on a Rise of Absolutism narrative of state development. Reinhardt describes absolutism “not as a socio-political fact, but as an ideology or juridical fiction to (re-)construct royal authority in the early modern period” (16). But, this narrative nonetheless portrays absolutism as gradually displacing confessors by linking the concepts of “reason of state” and “good counsel.” Certainly, the confessors’ roles in royal councils and state institutions evolved during the early modern period, but an examination of court politics and state development would be needed to investigate fully the position of confessors with monarchical states.

The proposed narrative of “privatization of conscience” also employs a rather Habermasian notion of the “public sphere.” The distinction between public and private sins had been employed as early as the sixteenth century. But, Reinhardt utilizes Max Weber’s “vocation of politics” and Habermas’s conceptualization of the “public sphere” to assess the changing roles of the royal confessors: “At the turn of the eighteenth century the king’s private sins, traditionally of no great concern to the moral theological concept of ‘royal sins,’ came into focus to a degree unknown before. ‘Privatization of royal conscience’ thus operated in two directions: the first was one by which the royal conscience was increasingly defined and explored as a sphere of the king as a private man” (371).

Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France makes a significant contribution to political theory and to the history of early modern European political culture by demonstrating the entanglement of religion and royal politics in early modern states and court societies. Far from being confined to obscure theological debates, royal confessors shaped morality at the Spanish and French royal courts and provided monarchs with direct advice on matters of conscience, both personal and public. This is a welcome reminder that religion and politics can never be separated, since conscience constantly shapes decision-making.

Dalia Judovitz. *Georges de La Tour and the Enigma of the Visible*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2018. xiv + 158 pp. + 25 color illus. + 4 figs. \$30.00 (paper) Review by HEATHER MCPHERSON, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AT BIRMINGHAM.

The enigmatic paintings of Georges de La Tour (1593-1652), rediscovered by Hermann Voss in 1915, have continued to fascinate and perplex art historians and the modern public. Beyond his surviving pictorial corpus, almost nothing is known about La Tour’s artistic training or professional life. Although scholars have traditionally distinguished the daylight works from the nocturnes and profane and sacred subjects, the division is not absolute and his works fall outside conventional genres. Compounding the lack of historical evidence, La