are equally as important as the agenda. And while Withers has done this in the articles in which some of the ideas for this book first appeared, the fruits of this labor are not fully in evidence in this volume.


Drawing on an important but underutilized body of source material, the articles in *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe* set out to explore the “ways in which the writing of history of heresy contributed to the understanding of the term and its related concepts” (1) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a brief but stimulating general introduction, John Christian Laursen notes that heresy and orthodoxy were constantly shifting terms, mutable over time and place and always subject to debate; the authors’ proclaimed goal is not to construct a definitive account of the historiography of heresy, but instead to spur further research. The result is a rich and suggestive volume.

The book is divided into five parts, each with a separate introduction by Laursen. The fourteen articles are arranged thematically but proceed in roughly chronological order. This organization allows the reader to trace broader trends in attitudes toward heresy and toleration. While some of the writers or works under discussion may not be familiar to non-specialists, others—such as Hobbes, Bayle, and Gibbon—need no introduction. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given its lesser experience of heretical belief and practice, southern Europe does not get much attention here; most of the articles concern French or English topics. As a result, this is an unusually cohesive volume. One of its real strengths lies in its frequent cross-references linking chapters and allusions to the same historical figures.
Three contributions are especially outstanding. Martyn P. Thompson’s chapter, “Hobbes on Heresy,” is an incisive rebuttal of recent scholarship that has sought to portray Hobbes as an advocate of toleration. Drawing on two lesser-known works, An Historical Narration Concerning Heresy and the Historia ecclesiastica, Thompson focuses on the interplay between two of Hobbes’s contentions: that a sovereign was obligated to establish uniformity of religion in a Christian commonwealth and that, no matter what one’s inner beliefs, “outward obedience was always required” (83). Public—and uniform—worship of God was an essential component of the well-ordered state. Thus, Thompson contends, “to argue from Hobbes’s notion of freedom of conscience to even a minimalist program for religious toleration is to mistake Hobbes’s point” (83). Thompson situates Hobbes’s writings firmly in their “historical moorings” (94), thus underscoring Hobbes’s belief that lack of religious uniformity would only lead to civil wars. For the creator of Leviathan, the specter of civil unrest was to be vanquished at all costs.

Richard Popkin’s contribution, “Two Jewish Heresies: Spinozism and Sabbatianism,” offers a lively and informative look at two seventeenth-century belief systems that persist today. Sabbatianism, a messianic movement centering on the charismatic figure of Shabbatai Zevi, generated widespread enthusiasm across Europe (especially in the Ottoman Empire, Poland, and the Dutch Republic). Although Shabbatai Zevi converted to Islam in the face of official pressure, the movement that he founded declined only gradually. Even today Sabbatianism remains a hot-button issue in Turkey. Likewise, the ideas of Baruch de Spinoza continue to polarize contemporary Judaism. Two of his controversial views—that Jewish ceremonial law had “lost any validity or meaning and should be dispensed with,” and that since God was inherent in everything, there was “no special providential history going on but only a divine natural history” (176–7)—made Spinoza a divisive figure in his lifetime and ever since. Popkin’s wide-ranging discussion outlines a number of avenues for further research.
Finally, with his customary erudition J. G. A. Pocock analyzes Edward Gibbon’s stance toward heresy and orthodoxy, which, Pocock argues, Gibbon saw as “phenomena of the same order, produced by the same set of workings of the human mind and by the same historical processes” (206). Yet Gibbon was “no deist Mercutio, professing a hearty contempt for both houses” (216); despite his profound reservations about the influence of ecclesiastical authority in a civil society, he concluded that “an established and undemanding Church subordinate to the state was the best guarantee of civil liberty against the twin dangers of clericalism and fanaticism” (217–8).

While these three contributions stand out, the other chapters are worthwhile as well. In their essays, Sammy Basu and Stacey Searl-Chapin focus on “hard-line” reactions to heresy. Basu analyzes the rhetoric of English Presbyterian divine Thomas Edwards’s *Gangraena* (1646), a catalog of contemporary heresies intended to “sway public opinion against toleration, shock Parliament into punitive action, and further solidify a Presbyterian settlement of the Kingdom” (13); ironically, Edwards’s meticulous discussions of contemporary heresies led to charges that he was disseminating dangerous information that only fostered heterodoxy. Searl-Chapin studies Francis Lee’s implicit attack on the French Prophets, a millenarian Huguenot sect, in his *History of Montanism* (1709).

Several articles focus on defenders of heretics and calls for toleration. Maryanne Cline Horowitz traces variations among the editions of Gabriel Naudé’s *Apology for Great Men Suspected of Magic* (first edition, 1625). Luisa Simonutti addresses the ways in which Philipp van Limborch’s 1692 *History of the Inquisition* (a heavily annotated edition of thirteenth-century Toulousian inquisition records) was used to justify religious toleration. Sally Jenkinson discusses the public context of heresy, focusing on published exchanges between Pierre Bayle (a Huguenot), Louis Mainbourg (a Catholic), and Jean LeClerc (a Dutch Remonstrant).

In the section entitled, “Radical Heretics on the Offensive,” Anthony McKenna examines early eighteenth-century clandestine
manuscripts in light of their debt to the writings of Bayle, while Martin Muslow looks at Socinian “counter-histories” that challenged accepted fault lines between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the prevailing cultural winds shifted against spiritual enthusiasms. Heinrich Corrodi’s Critical History of Chiliasm (1781–3) is the subject of Simone Zurbuchen’s analysis; she ably traces how he adopted the criteria of “‘reasonable’ religion and ‘true’ revelation” to come up with “his own, original concept of history” (200).

The final section, “Enlightened Orthodoxy,” is especially tightly knit; all three contributors address attitudes toward heresy in the Enlightenment, particularly in reference (or reaction) to the anti-Catholicism of Diderot’s famous Encyclopédie. Patrick Coleman charts the “enlightened orthodoxy” of the Abbé Pluquet’s Dictionnaire des hérésies (1762), while Clorinda Donato discusses heresy in the Swiss Encyclopédie d’Yverdon (1770–80) and Kathleen Hardesty Doig investigates the abbé Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, author of many theological articles in the Encyclopédie methodique.

This volume has its roots in a conference at the University of California at Los Angeles in 2000, in which scholars from a number of different fields—including history, philosophy, political science, French, and Italian—participated. If the resulting articles are any measure, the conference must have been a splendid success.