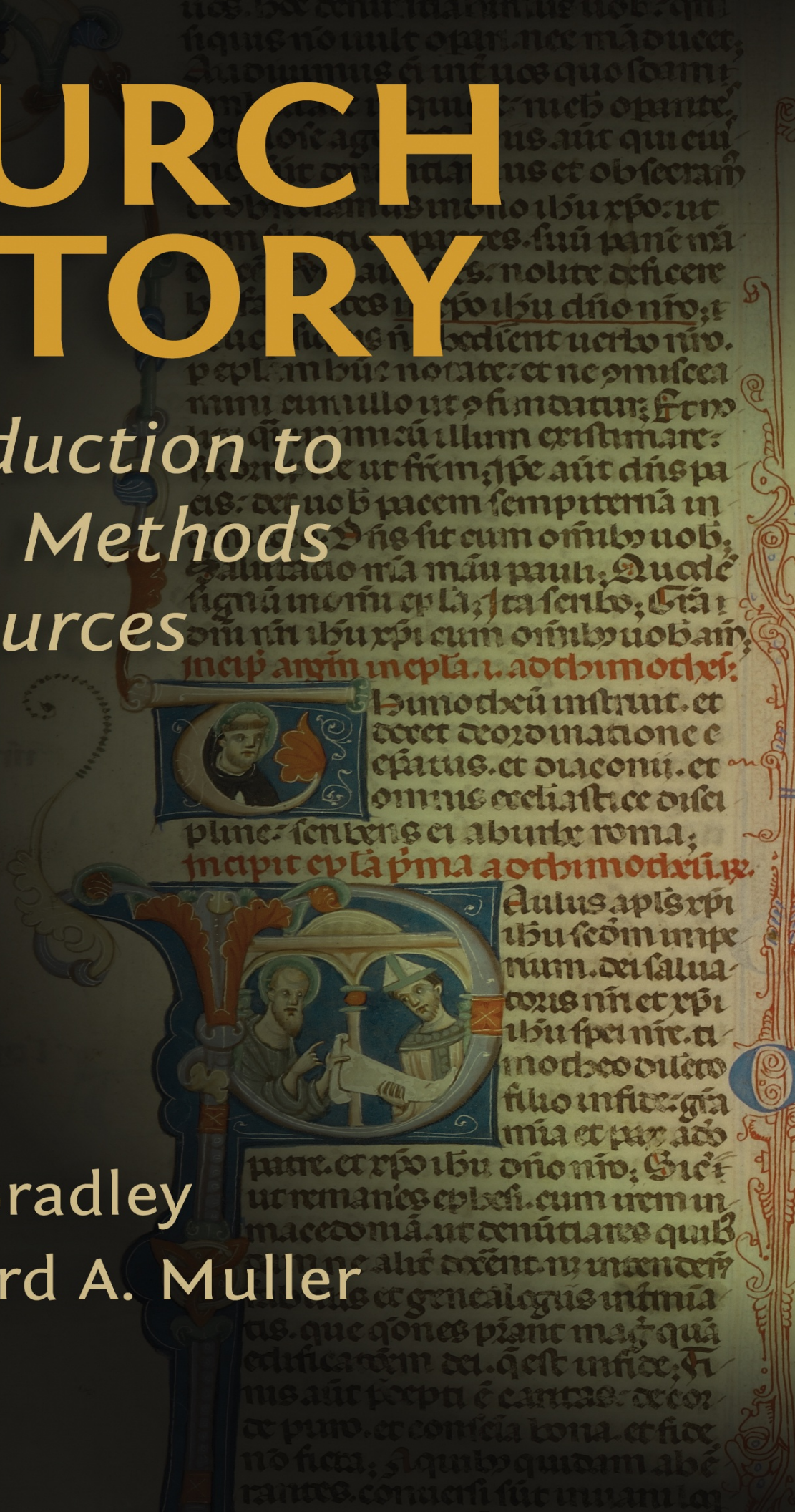


CHURCH HISTORY

*An Introduction to
Research Methods
and Resources*

James E. Bradley
and Richard A. Muller

Second Edition



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Research Methods and Resources*

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SECOND EDITION

James E. Bradley & Richard A. Muller

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Preface to the Second Edition

We have been pleased by the positive reviews of the first edition of this book and reassured by the number of research students who have found the guidance offered here to be useful. While the overall aim of this second, revised edition remains much the same as the first, a brief sketch of the main changes in the present volume may be desirable. The new edition includes the latest information on primary source materials in the fields of church history and historical theology. In addition, new and revised studies of secondary reference works and research tools have almost doubled the number of titles in our bibliography since the first edition. The most sweeping changes since 1995 continue to be in the area of the digitization of texts and greater access to both primary texts and scholarly books and articles on the Internet.

Our assumptions about processes of research, approaches to collation and analysis of materials, balance of primary and secondary sources, and organization of essays remain largely unchanged in fundamental principle, but are now nuanced by further reflection on the implications of the increasing availability of new and more detailed sources. Hence the discussion of research on the Internet, digitized texts, the electronic form of research tools, and their use accounts for the most substantial additions to the present volume. In the following paragraphs we note in brief a few of the more important scholarly projects that illustrate the ongoing revolution in the availability of primary source materials in digital form, along with some of the more important new scholarly tools specifically for students of church history.

In 1995 we were impressed with the comprehensive listing of primary printed source *titles* and their library locations worldwide in such works as *The Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalog*. We knew that scanning texts and optical character recognition would gradually make more full-text sources available, but at the time we did not fathom the scale of the

change or the rapidity with which it would occur. Early English Books Online had already rendered all important English texts in digital facsimile from the beginning of printing through 1700 (about 125,000 works), but because of the sheer mass of printed sources for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries similar treatment seemed beyond reach. However, the physical process of handling books for digitization was transformed in 2004 by robotics (Kirtas Technologies), so that primary printed English texts for virtually the entire eighteenth century and much of the nineteenth century soon appeared. In very short order, Thomson/Gale's commercial project, the Eighteenth Century Collections Online, made 205,000 primary printed English texts available for all important titles for the eighteenth century. Between 2005 and 2008 Microsoft Corporation, in collaboration with the British Library, digitized 750,000 mostly nineteenth-century books. During this period and since, the global reach of Google Books and its vast libraries of texts rendered by optical character recognition has become proverbial.

Scholars had long recognized various problems with optical character recognition, including matters of its accuracy and the inability to fully search scanned texts. Additionally, many online projects were commercial in nature and remain prohibitively expensive and available only through major research libraries. The Text Creation Partnership has set out to remedy these drawbacks by actually "in-putting" through key--boarding the text of each unique English title through 1800. This alliance of some 150 universities worldwide will not only eventually make all these texts fully searchable, but also allow open access. It may be worth noting that what was begun in English-language primary sources has now extended to western languages generally. The short title catalog for books published in German-speaking lands for the period 1501-1600 ("VD 16") was completed in the year 2000, and in 2007 *French Vernacular Books* offered a short title catalog for books printed in French before 1601. These efforts gave birth to the modestly entitled "Universal Short Title Catalog" project hosted by the University of St. Andrews, which aims ultimately to offer a pan-European technical bibliography of early books, many in full text, in a single online open access platform. Since 2007, early modern books published in the Iberian Peninsula have been added, as well as Latin books published in France. In addition to providing the researcher with complete technical bibliographies, the

German project, as one example, has already digitized more than thirty percent of sixteenth-century books and promises that by 2020, the entire corpus of books published in German-speaking lands through 1800 will be digitized, all with open access.

The accessibility of manuscripts also represents an important development since our first edition. A few manuscript collections were available in the mid-1990s in digital form via the Internet, and web searches of at least the listing of the holdings of a limited number of archives were possible through OCLC and RLIN. Presently, however, there is a growing effort to make unpublished manuscript sources readily available to scholars. Major manuscript collections such as the unpublished works of Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin (both projects hosted by Yale University) are now accessible as fully searchable exact replicas, with marginalia. In short, open access to primary source materials in the field of history, whether in the form of print or manuscript, is unquestionably the trend of the future. As the older technologies that involved the use of microfilm and CD-ROM recede in importance, our revised edition of this book aims to take account of these new developments and provide students with guidance in the access and use of primary source materials.

Beyond primary sources, our bibliography has added about 450 titles of reference works, research tools, and sources, most published since 1995, and we have annotated about one in six of these titles. Many reference works, especially older ones that are out of copyright, have been digitized by Google Books, Project Gutenberg, and the Internet Archive, among others, but it proved to be impossible for us to list all reference works that are now available online. We have noted, however, some of the most important, enduring scholarly tools and where to locate them. "Journals and Series" now run to over 100 entries in our bibliography, which represents a threefold increase over the first edition. The proliferation of series of scholarly monographs and texts is especially notable, in that more than twenty new series that are pertinent to the study of church history and historical theology have appeared since 1995. Publishers of both series and journals have deepened and expanded the amount of information that they offer online. Even when full access to articles is denied, and it typically is, the titles of most journal articles with abstracts are freely available, and while Journal Storage (JSTOR) is

still the first avenue for research, the trend to move journals online and make articles available for purchase is unmistakable.

The availability of powerful scholarly tools online continues to expand in sometimes surprising ways, and the influence these efforts will have on the discipline of history broadly, and church history in particular, is notable. The Clergy of the Church of England Database is a good example of a major project that seems to threaten the reigning supremacy of the earlier, and ongoing, hard-copy *Fasti* of John Le Neve. But as noted in the first edition, numerous important sources are still available only in book form, and they must be consulted. In the treatment of more traditional sources, we have added some annotations to recently published reference works, and we attempt to cover the more important recent editions of older works. Numerous important multivolume reference studies have also appeared since the first edition.

We have added a new section on World Christianity in the bibliography, but the sheer vastness of the subject demands a highly selective approach. Here we have included single-volume surveys of continents, but we have not, with some important exceptions such as India, parts of Africa, and the Philippines, reached to individual countries within those broad geographic areas. The nations that are included were chosen to illustrate significant bibliographical work done in the field of church history, and denominations are occasionally noted where their role was especially important to Christianity in general, as with the Anglicans in Australia. We have given attention to source books and collections of documents, where available, and some aspects of the newer methodology are addressed. In keeping with that methodology, our selection reflects the growing emphasis on indigenous expressions of the church rather than mission history. On the whole, however, monographic literature on various themes, just as with individual countries, denominations with their journals and series, and the study of individual leaders, were largely excluded. In addition to a sampling of older standard works, in this section we have given most of our attention to recent studies, particularly those that have appeared since 1990.

Our revisions of the 1995 edition began almost as soon as the book was published, and over the ensuing years we have turned to a number of people for assistance with various tasks. Early in the process John Barkman tracked down numerous altered or errant URLs, for which we

are grateful, and more recently several colleagues have looked over our work and made significant suggestions. We offer our thanks to Joel Carpenter and Lugene Schemper for their bibliographical expertise and to David Sytsma for a careful final read-through and many helpful suggestions concerning recent online resourcing.

Finally, both of the authors of this book have enjoyed a long and collegial relationship with John L. Thompson involving several collaborative scholarly projects, and in the one case, teaching historiography together at Fuller Seminary since 2001. His influence may be detected at numerous points in the revisions of the book, including the greater attention we give to issues surrounding the “new historicism,” his insistence that we needed new sections in the bibliography on canon law and technical hagiography, and refinements in emphasis and detail too numerous to list. It is a pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness to him and all the others who have assisted with the new edition.

JAMES E. BRADLEY
RICHARD A. MULLER

Preface to the First Edition

This book arose out of a methods seminar given in the Graduate (Ph.D./Th.M.) program at Fuller Seminary. The seminar provides an introduction to methods for research and writing, both for history and for the more systematic and philosophical disciplines in the theology division, on the assumption that historical method is common to all of these fields and that the basic tools of research used in historical study are necessary for the study of the other disciplines as well. The course was developed primarily to introduce new Ph.D. students to historical method at the very beginning of their doctoral work. It is our hope, in moving from a course outline to a book, that this study will serve as a practical resource not just for students beginning graduate programs primarily in the fields of church history and history of doctrine, but also for students in the areas of systematic and philosophical theology. We also trust that the bibliographic aspect of the book will be of use to established scholars, whether for the identification of traditional research tools with which they may not previously have been acquainted, or for the identification of newer tools and approaches to the many film and electronic databases now available.

Underlying many of the discussions and much of the bibliographical interest evidenced by the book is the distinction that one of our colleagues pressed on us between professional and amateur historians and the intention to further the case for professionalism in church historical studies. While granting that there is a fine line between the best of amateur historiography and the nominally “professional” essay, in this study we assume a commitment to regularity and precision in method, particularly in the identification and use of resources and tools, the critical use of theory, the placement of a particular research project into the contemporary scholarly dialogue through attention to the history of scholarship, and the careful construction of conclusions based on, and

limited by, the evidence investigated — a commitment that must be an aspect of the work of the professional historian but which may often be excluded on grounds of genre and even literary style from the works of amateur or popular historians, no matter how well executed. The point is perhaps best illustrated by our emphasis on an analytical survey of previous scholarship — which we believe is a necessary element of a professional historical essay, but which may not be suitable to the more popular literature. The purpose of the original seminar and, now, of the book, is to offer guidelines to the graduate student who plans to become a professional historian.

It may also be worthwhile at this point to take note of an issue confronting the world of scholarship that has direct implications for the work of the church historian. Current debate over the character of scholarship, particularly the scholarship produced by teachers and researchers based in seminaries and graduate schools of religion, has fastened on the issue of commitment to a particular religion and the relationship of that commitment to scholarship. In short, can a Christian produce reasonably objective studies of the history of the church and its teachings? As we will argue further in our discussion of objectivity, we assume not only the possibility but also the duty of the Christian historian to develop a stance of methodologically controlled objectivity. The key issue here is method. Given the high probability that a scholar's personal religious interests will provide at least the existential reason for selecting a given topic for study, it will be the case that a sound method in the shaping of the research, in gathering resources and identifying issues, and in assessing previous scholarly opinion will be the primary basis for reaching an objective, although obviously not detached, result. We remain committed to the belief that the results of an investigation reached by a Christian historian ought not to differ appreciably from the results of a similar investigation reached by a purely secular historian — at least not because of the fundamental religious or spiritual commitment of the investigator.

Some comments about the use of this volume in the context of a graduate methods seminar are in order. The course itself is intended to introduce Ph.D. and Th.M. students to graduate-level work and to give them some sense of the methodological rigor required of scholars who operate beyond the level of the M.A. or M.Div. degrees. The book,

therefore, assumes a basic acquaintance with church history and history of Christian doctrine and certain basic skills in research and writing. The Fuller Ph.D. was originally conceived on the pattern of the European tutorial approach that presupposes a close working relationship between research supervisor and student, and though recently modified, the program still retains a larger component of independent research than most American degrees.¹ But whether the student is engaged in research for one year or three, we have found that the same sequence of stages in research must be observed if a satisfactory result is expected. We believe, therefore, that the following study contains sufficient matter of common interest to guide advanced students in all theological disciplines that utilize historical sources, and it should also serve in a wide variety of situations and programs.

Accordingly, the book is organized with the needs of the research student primarily in mind; it follows a logical searching sequence that will enable the student to define and narrow a topic, locate secondary literature in the chosen field, move into the relevant source materials, and turn finally to the dissertation. Following the lead of G. R. Elton,² we also include short sections on lecturing and the preparation of scholarly articles. We begin, however, with basic definitions of the disciplines and a rudimentary review of the nature and problems of studying the past.

The Bibliography and the Appendix that conclude this volume should be considered an integral part of the book. (Cross references to the Bibliography and the Appendix in the text of the book will appear in parentheses.) The principles for including items in the Bibliography are directly related to our purposes in writing. In the first section of the Bibliography, reference tools that must be examined by every student, irrespective of their specialization or interest, are included, as are major, well-known bibliographies and guides that may or may not be needed in some areas. When we turn in the second section of the Bibliography to specific areas that are chronologically, geographically, and topically defined, the authors' own research specializations come into play, and we apply an alternative principle of listing items that are representative of an area, or illustrative of the types of reference works that are available. Since our own work has concentrated on the Reformation, early modern Europe, and modern Britain, these fields will undoubtedly be overrepresented by illustrative material, and other areas, for example,

modern French history, neglected. We believe, however, that sufficient guidance is given in most fields to enable the enterprising student to find a way into the most obscure topic.

Beyond the needs of the beginning student, this book also seeks to address the concerns of the established scholar by drawing attention to new sources and techniques in historical studies. We address the topic of computer applications in research and the new sources in microform, both in the text of the book and in the Appendix. It is noteworthy in this regard that the last comprehensive guide in church history was published in 1931 by Shirley Jackson Case; more recent surveys of secondary literature have appeared, and many specialist bibliographies exist, but recent developments in the storage, retrieval, and manipulation of historical data require a new approach to the discipline and its methods of research and writing.³ Established scholars will probably find the sections on microform collections and major collaborative projects like the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* most useful. Modern techniques of micro-reproduction are revolutionizing historical studies, and the computer has greatly enhanced both the ease and the speed with which students may search primary and secondary literature. Beginning students and mature scholars alike must come to terms with these new methods and tools because in virtually every field of inquiry, advances in the past decade have transformed the traditional approach to research. This is more than a matter of convenience; in the last analysis, thoroughness of research can no longer be defended on the grounds of having visited a reasonable number of archives. Whereas in the past, an examiner during an oral defense of a dissertation might have asked whether a student had looked at a certain collection, it is now far more likely that the discerning examiner will wish to know if all relevant materials found, for example, in the *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalog*, have been studied.

Of course, convenience and time are important, and the new sources and techniques clearly enhance one's powers of research. One scholar compared the basic search for materials for an extended project by traditional methods to the searching power of a well-known database; formerly the project would have demanded eight months compared in the new circumstance to a matter of hours.⁴ We have found that in practice, an approach that utilizes both traditional and computer searches is best,

and we encourage this balance throughout the book. For example, students need to be able to use the database of the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalog as well as *The National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* in order not only to identify but to locate holdings.⁵ In the midst of exciting new possibilities for research, the beginner in particular must never lose sight of the fact that the latest technique will not take the place of sound deductive reasoning and good historical judgment.

The authors of this book have had the advantage of teaching the discipline of church history together, but from two very different standpoints: the history of doctrine and the history of the institution of the church. Conversations over the years have illumined each other's point of departure, and in addition, our various research projects have each been typified by an emphasis on integrating the ideas of the church within their respective social and cultural contexts. We believe that in the study of church history, the time has arrived for a more systematic and self-conscious attempt to unite institutional and social history with the history of doctrine and ideas. The immediate social context for this argument is the new sensitivity to religious differences and the new emphasis on ethnic studies and women's history that have given rise to entire new fields of historical enquiry. The following chapters therefore attempt to counteract the traditional orientation of church historians toward the exclusive concentration on either the dominant ideas, or the leading institutions, that have shaped the entire tradition of the church, or specific confessional branches of the church. The convergence of the present intellectual and social climate with the development of recent technologies appears to offer us an unusual opportunity for integrating the several disciplines of church history that have heretofore been unduly isolated.

1. One of the best short guides for students of history is G. Kitson Clark's *Guide for Research Students Working on Historical Subjects*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

2. G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (New York: Crowell, 1967).

3. Shirley Jackson Case, *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931). G. E. Gorman and Lyn Gorman, *Theological and Religious Reference Materials: Systematic Theology and Church History* (Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies 2; Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985).

4. Peter Hogg, "The Abolition of the Slave Trade: A Bibliographer looks at the ESTC," in *Searching the Eighteenth Century*, ed. M. Crump and M. Harris (London: British Library, 1983), 93-104, here 96.

5. Scholars with the greatest experience recommend that keyword searches on machine-readable files be combined with traditional bibliographical work.

Acknowledgments

We wish to acknowledge a debt to our graduate students, especially those who have served as partners in dialogue and criticism over the years. We are particularly appreciative for the energetic editorial assistance provided by Rory Randall, Richard Heyduck, and Phil Corr. We have also received a great deal of help from the Librarian of McAlister Library, John Dickason, and two of his staff, Olive Brown and Shieu-yu Hwang. A number of people read the manuscript at various stages of its preparation, and we would like to thank them for their suggestions, many of which we have incorporated into the book: David Bebbington, Henry Bowden, Robert T. Handy, D. Bruce Hindmarsh, Julie Ingersoll, Mark Noll, Susan E. Schreiner, Susie Stanley, David C. Steinmetz, Harry Stout, and John L. Thompson.

1. Introduction to Church History and Related Disciplines

In recent years, historians have observed a growing rapprochement between institutional church history and the history of doctrine, and this development has occurred at a time when the disciplines of church history are increasingly influenced by new methods of research, particularly those of the social sciences.¹ This rapprochement is arguably the wave of the future. The point can be illustrated in a variety of ways: for example, one finds an increasing tendency in modern church historiography to place ideas in a wider intellectual context, sometimes broadening the latter even further, with attention to cultural symbol or “mentality.” Similarly, the new areas of research opened up for us by the study of women and ethnic and religious minorities in church history have oriented us to a wider social context. Both developments are linked to new methods of investigation, and both have contributed directly to the need for reconceptualizing the traditional taxonomy of church history and its subdisciplines.² Ecumenical issues and the opportunities offered by religious pluralism and concerns for justice and equality have led us to become more sensitive to differences of opinion and approach, even as we discuss the progress of nominally orthodox dogma.

Despite these developments, historians of ideas, including many church historians, have continued to espouse older methodologies, while the social scientists have adopted a variety of new analytical tools to advance research and analysis. Increasingly, the more innovative techniques have revealed the inadequacies and imprecision of the traditional approaches, whether institutional or intellectual, when considered alone. We will argue that the traditional bifurcation of the field into institutional church history and history of theology or history of dogma is no longer adequate because this division itself establishes a topical grid into which the materials of history are pressed.

We will also argue for a necessary distinction between the “history of ideas” and “intellectual history,” the former approach tending to reify ideas and isolate them from their cultural and social context, the latter approach attempting to locate thought in its contemporary contexts. The methods as well as the subject matters of church history will, of course, continue to be contested, because conceptualizations of the past bear so directly upon matters of our self-understanding, including our individual, social, and ecclesiastical identities. But the older arguments concerning the proper subjects and methods of the church historian, and the relationship of the social sciences to the study of history, seem increasingly irrelevant; the important question for the church historian today is the suitability of the technique to the specific task of research, which in turn is determined by the overall goal of the project and the nature of the evidence at hand. In this new context, the student should be prepared to adopt any method that appears likely to elicit the desired result, and such an eclectic approach will often require an appeal to more than one technique of analysis. The present atmosphere of diversity and freedom of investigation presents us with the need to reevaluate the traditional divisions and methods in the general field of church history and to test their compatibility with contemporary needs and outlook.

In spite of the promise we find in contemporary academic and social settings, recent trends are also laden with no little difficulty; the broad field of church history is increasingly complex and highly fragmented. While the scholarly competence and reputation of church historians generally has never been greater, the danger of overspecialization, as in all related disciplines in the humanities, remains very real. Competing claims with respect to methods of investigation have also resulted in a widespread malaise concerning the possibility of generally agreed upon standards in scholarship. Issues of epistemology, the nature of historical evidence, and the nature and use of language have also been the subjects of vigorous debate. Evidently, the increasing number and complexity of research methods is partially a product of recent innovations in technology and partially a result of the need for delicate and unconventional instruments to discern the voices of those who have left no traditional records behind them. But unless the connections between these developments are brought to conscious awareness and addressed, this complexity, and the growing suspicion of any form of objective

understanding, have the potential to fragment historical studies even further. It is with these considerations in mind that we encourage students to imaginatively consider those research topics that have the greatest potential for drawing intellectual and social history together. We have observed that the new information sources and techniques of analysis have already proven to be a strong solvent in breaking down the older distinctions between the study of “sacred” and “secular” history.

Definitions of the several church historical disciplines are also related to the question of the objectivity of knowledge, and given the new methodological climate, this is an unavoidable question to which we will often return. The history of doctrine, for example, when construed as an independent discipline, was sustainable only on the grounds of objectivistic presuppositions. Institutional church history and the history of doctrine now demand a more holistic approach that takes full cognizance of the subtle social, political, and philosophical influences on theology. But recognizing the social location of ideas does not, in our view, necessitate the social determination of knowledge, nor does it lead inevitably to epistemological or methodological relativism. Church historians should aim at objectivity even as they acknowledge that it demands as broad and comprehensive a perspective in the analysis of ideas as it does in the depiction of complex events in the institutional or political life of the church.

The theoretical grounding for our emphases arises from reflection on the historical nature of Christianity and from considerations that are parallel to those of Wolfhart Pannenberg, who rightly observed that “no branch of history is under such pressure from its particular subject-matter to consider the whole of history as church history.”³ We have also derived some insight from the modern *Annales* school, and in particular, the influential work of Mark Bloch and Lucien Febvre, who, in their unrelenting quest for a more complete reconstruction of the past, proved the truth of the maxim that “the deeper the research, the more the light of the evidence must converge from sources of many different kinds.”⁴ Christianity, Bloch observed, is a religion of historians, and the concerns of the historian must be as comprehensive as the history of the human race, because Christianity places the great drama of Fall, Redemption, and Judgment on the wide canvas of world history.⁵ But if the universal implications of Christianity are important for the church historian,

methodological considerations necessarily follow. In a distinguished series of writings, historians of the *Annales* school have convincingly shown that the wide scope of the historian's subject matter is inevitably connected with an eclecticism in method.⁶

The new environment we have briefly surveyed will not yield its full potential apart from a close analysis of the traditional definitions of the discipline of church history and its related fields; to the extent that past definitions of the discipline have unduly contributed to the separation of contiguous and closely related fields, these definitions must be carefully scrutinized and recast. The following survey of the conventional boundaries of the field of church history will reveal that the researcher's initial orientation determines a great deal about the methods of investigation that he or she eventually adopts. We will also need to give serious attention to the history of church historical studies in order to estimate the considerable limitations of past conceptualizations. At the very outset of research, students of church history in particular need to recognize how confessional differences, when uncritically imported into the study of history, have invariably narrowed our field of vision and distorted the past.

Preliminary Definition of Terms

“Church history” is the broadest of all the traditional disciplines dealing with the church’s past.⁷ The discipline of church history encompasses the practice of the church as well as the thought of the church; it studies both dogma and the intersection of the church with society and the larger world. In this broader discipline we examine such matters as the church’s liturgy, sacraments, and polity; one might even include the subjects of homiletics, church architecture, and music. Church and state is also a topic of interest to the church historian, ranging from matters of persecution in the early church to toleration and secularization in the modern period. Anything that the church does in the world is arguably a part of church history. But we also look at what the church teaches, and thus historical theology is a subset of the broader discipline. Most narrowly conceived, the church historian might study the teaching of individuals, but inevitably one will also examine the teaching of the church universal, its creeds and councils. Finally, the discipline of church history embraces such topics as the mission and expansion of the church.

Like church history, “historical theology” is a general term indicating a broad area of study. The term itself is somewhat misleading. To some, it indicates the study of the history of Christian doctrine primarily for the sake of theological formulation in the present. To others, it means the analysis of the great dogmas of the church in relative isolation from the events of church history. Some definition and qualification of the term is therefore in order.

In the first place, the documents of historical theology are, with few exceptions, the same as those of church history, particularly in the patristic period. The difference between the disciplines lies in the approach the historian takes to the documents and the kinds of information that are elicited from them. For example, the works of the second-century Apologists Athenagoras and Justin Martyr can be used to understand the way in which the church conducted its mission to the pagan world. In fact, recent scholarship has tended to view these works as missionary tracts rather than as pleas for tolerance addressed to the emperor. There is no evidence that the emperor ever received these apologies and a good deal of evidence that they had considerable impact

on the thought of the early church itself. In addition, they can be used as documentation of the role, the place, and the perception of Christians in Roman society, i.e., as evidence for the construction of Christian social history. All of these areas are the proper subject matter of church history.

By the same token, these treatises can be used to illuminate sacramental and liturgical practice, at least to a certain degree. The best documentation that we have of sacramental practice in the second century is Justin Martyr's *Second Apology*. Finally, the works of the Apologists, in particular the *Plea for Christians* by Athenagoras, offer some of the earliest speculations leading toward the doctrine of the Trinity. Similarly, Justin provides one of the earliest examples of a technical use of the concept of *logos*. His use of *logos* language, drawn both from the Gospel of John and from Stoic philosophy, points toward the trinitarian and christological discussions of the third and fourth centuries. "History of doctrine" focuses, in other words, on very narrow, albeit significant, slices of these documents. In fact, the great burden of writing historical theology is to do justice to the sources — to the intention of their authors — while eliciting from them the materials that belong to one, somewhat artificially defined, part of this history. Historical theology or history of doctrine must be done in such a way as to not lose sight of the original location of the ideas and the original purpose behind the documents in which the ideas are found.

The "history of dogma" is the history of those particular doctrinal themes that have received normative definition from the church. There are barely three theological topics that have received this kind of definition. The Councils of Nicea and Constantinople moved toward a full dogmatic definition of Trinity, while the Council of Chalcedon offered the church its orthodox definition of christology. Formulated in a basic form in the patristic period, these dogmas were further elaborated in the subsequent history of Christian doctrine without any intentional alteration of the basic conciliar decisions. The other topic is the doctrine of grace. On this subject, the patristic era failed to offer a final formulation, but it did determine that salvation cannot occur apart from grace. It is orthodox to define salvation in terms of the mutual interrelationships of grace and will. But it is also within the bounds of ecumenical orthodoxy to define salvation as occurring by grace alone prior to any acts of the will. What falls outside of these bounds is the

“Pelagian” assumption that salvation can arise by acts of human will apart from grace. There is, to this day, no final definition of the doctrine of grace except in the broad sense of a legitimate spectrum for the language of theological formulation. With these limitations in mind, the classic historians of dogma Adolf von Harnack and Reinhold Seeberg⁸ were able to construct tightly argued histories of the fundamental dogmatic tenets of Christianity, focused on the Trinity, christology, and grace that presented the development of Christian doctrine from earliest times to the Reformation. The Reformation, understood both as the end of a united Christendom and as a return to Scripture as a norm prior to tradition, concludes the history of dogma, except for the dogmas later enacted by the Roman Catholic Church and discussed by Harnack and Seeberg as limited after-growths.

While the history of dogma does not look beyond these basic issues, the history of doctrine discusses the entirety of the body of doctrine as it moves through the life of the church in any given period. In a sense, the elements of a larger body of doctrine are capable of being identified in any period in the history of the church. It would be impossible, of course, to build a whole system of theology out of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers (A.D. 95–155). Their writings do, however, provide a body of teaching that is larger than the trinitarian, christological and soteriological issues that typically occupy the mind of the historian of dogma: These broader elements are the proper subject matter of the history of doctrine.

The “history of Christian thought” identifies a still broader field of inquiry, inasmuch as it claims as its field of investigation the entire range of Christian thought, including those topics nominally beyond the bounds of theology. What is sometimes called history of spirituality would fit into this category, including discussion of the character of Christian life and piety, though arguably this is the subject of the church historian. Similarly, philosophical topics and the relation of Christian thought to the rise of modern science belong to this larger discussion.

Although it is the broadest field of the three, history of Christian thought functions as the basic discipline of historical theology, without which neither history of doctrine nor history of dogma can really function. This is because the doctrines themselves (and dogmas as a special case of doctrine) can only be understood in their fundamental

religious context and in relation to the way Christians were living, thinking, and acting in society, that is, in relation to a broad Christian history of ideas. It is, for example, impossible to discuss the Trinity and christology coherently without some sense of the religious life or the philosophical inclinations of the age. The doctrinal issues become clear only in the light of the interaction of the church with the surrounding culture and in view of the interrelationship between the doctrinal formulations and the life of the church in its historical and cultural context. The history of Christian thought is the preferred term for the larger context of intellectual history in which history of dogma and history of doctrine must be understood, and, in view of the methodological assumptions present throughout this introductory discussion, it must also be the basic or preferred discipline for the presentation of the teachings of the church.⁹ As the broadest category, the history of Christian thought presses on the limits of what is “Christian” or “orthodox”: the history of Christian thought would also include thinkers who were only marginally related to the church, and subsequently may have actually been disenfranchised by the church, such as Faustus Socinus.

When historical theology is thus defined in terms of the history of Christian thought, it is sometimes nearly identical with, and always has strong points of contact with, the discipline known as “intellectual history.” Western intellectual history, by way of example, is the discussion of the life of the mind in the development of Western civilization. Learning the history of thought is essential to doing theology and church history, inasmuch as theological literature has occupied a large segment of the great literature of the West. Learning the history of Christian thought, and even the history of dogma, cannot occur apart from this larger sense of the movement of Western intellectual history, not only because of the specific documentary overlap, but also because of the interpenetration of ideas and issues. For example, the impact of Aristotle on the West, beginning in the late twelfth and on into the thirteenth century, is a crucial issue in the history of doctrine, but it is also crucial for Western intellectual history in general, as is the loss of Aristotle (not, of course, to everyone) in the seventeenth century. The failure of Aristotelianism as a world system and cosmology in the seventeenth century has theological repercussions, but it also affects the

beginnings of modern science, the changes in political philosophy, and the changes in ethical thinking that have occurred. There is little possibility of separating the two, just as one is unable to engage in the history of doctrine or the history of Christian thought without a grip on general intellectual history. Western intellectual history provides a foundation for studying the history of the church, the history of Christian thought, and systematic theology as well. Even when one moves beyond the early-modern into the modern world, where there is a separation of the two major traditions (the theological tradition and the Western intellectual tradition), the earlier history shapes the nature of the discussion, if only by raising the issue of the authority of theology in its relation to the other aspects of post-Enlightenment Western thought.¹⁰

The Emergence of Critical Church Historiography

Before the mid-eighteenth century, the study of church history was uncritical; it was invariably written from a confessional viewpoint and it was anything but detached or neutral.¹¹ In the Roman Catholic Church, the tradition of the church played a far more prominent role as a norm for doctrine and theology than in Protestantism. This perspective had the effect of pressing historians toward an emphasis on continuity; there was a distinct and pervasive tendency to interpret later developments as occurring earlier than they in fact occurred. The theological assumption that links authority with antiquity has thus had a longstanding, deleterious effect on historical investigation. The Catholic understanding of the church meant that for many older Catholic historians (including writers as recent as Schwane and Tixeront,¹² the authors of two of the more important early-twentieth-century histories of dogma), the matter of finding meaning in the past was not even posed as a question. The entire viewpoint was dominated by the concepts of a controlling providence and the uniformity of the tradition, granting the normative character of tradition for the contemporary expression of the church.

When we turn to the Protestant Reformation and its seventeenth-century aftermath, we find a more critical approach to the past, but this reorientation was laden with its own problems. The principle of *sola Scriptura* profoundly influenced the Reformers' understanding of church history as well as theology. For Protestants of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, the Middle Ages were a particularly troublesome era, and the temptation, frequently indulged, was to view the period of church history from St. Augustine, or at least from the thirteenth-century dawn of scholasticism to the sixteenth century, in terms of apostasy. Luther's *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* critiqued far more than the Avignon papacy; indeed, he polemicized against the abuses in "this Thomistic . . . Aristotelian church," pointing directly to the captivity of the church to scholasticism.¹³ Protestant dogmaticians, beginning with Andreas Hyperius (d. 1564), consistently argued a decline of thought in the era of scholasticism, a view repeated by Protestant writers throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who distinguished their "scholasticism" from that of the Middle Ages.¹⁴ The great Protestant chronicle, the *Magdeburg Centuries*, scanned the Middle Ages for a few faithful forerunners of reform. The Radical Reformers embraced this approach as well, but pressed it to its extreme conclusion: the *Chronicle* of Kaspar Braitmichel (1542) placed the fall of the church at A.D. 150. In this view, the entire church, including the first three centuries after the apostles, fared very ill, and the promise of Christ that the gates of hell would not prevail against the church was conveniently ignored.

Church historians throughout the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries, then, viewed the church's past either in terms of orthodoxy or heresy. In Catholic thought, the crucial idea of development was present; but in the polemical atmosphere of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was vitiated by a providential view of superintendence that allowed for little or no error in the past. (The great exception to this generalization is the historian of doctrine Dionysius Petavius, who recognized, for example, that the trinitarianism of the first three centuries was quite different from that of Nicea.) The Anabaptist view denied the possibility of development and had little patience with the study of the past at all, while various anti-trinitarian heretics of the day looked at the pre-Nicene era as a source for their views, leaving the orthodox of the day, Protestant and Catholic alike, with little sympathy for careful, historical examination of the earliest church such as had been done by Petavius. The major Lutheran and Reformed churches also tended to view developments that were not in some way related positively to Protestantism in an excessively negative light. These three approaches to historical understanding, represented by Catholic

theologians, the Radical Reformers, and the Magisterial Reformers, are of more than merely passing interest; even today it is not uncommon for students of church history to be controlled by one of these viewpoints.

Two basic alterations of perspective were necessary to produce the modern, critical church historiography of the mid-eighteenth century: First, a greater scientific concern for the analysis of original documents, and second, the freedom to interpret these sources in a way that did not lead to a predetermined, or at least predictable, goal. The latter of the two developments emerged in part from the Pietist distinction between piety and doctrine which, despite its inherent difficulties, did allow for a positive evaluation of a group or movement with which the historian did not agree theologically. Thus, the Pietist historian Gottfried Arnold's *Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics* (1688) defended a number of medieval sects on the strength of their religious experience. Since the heart of religion for Arnold was subjective, experimental piety rather than strict orthodoxy, he strove for a fair presentation of the religious motives of various heretics and schismatics. The corollary of this generosity, however, was that Arnold frequently treated the orthodox with undue severity.¹⁵ A similar emphasis is found in the works of Joseph Milner, an Anglican historian of the eighteenth century who wrote *The History of the Church of Christ* in three volumes. For Milner as for Arnold, sects frequently provided significant examples of Christian piety. Milner, however, was not as polemical as Arnold and, indeed, he avoided church controversies almost altogether. His object was even more popular and practical than Arnold's and he omitted everything from his history that failed to edify. Milner wrote, "Nothing, but what appears to me to belong to Christ's kingdom shall be admitted; genuine piety is the only thing which I intend to celebrate."¹⁶ Such "celebration" entailed selectivity with a kind of vengeance, and neither Arnold nor Milner really grasped the need for an objective handling of original sources. Clearly, an appeal to piety and a generous, or, in the case of Milner, an indifferent approach to orthodoxy, could be as problematic as the earlier narrow confessionalism. But in both, a new approach to the past freed them from arriving at a predetermined, predictable conclusion.

The beginning of the Enlightenment, concurrent with the rise of Pietism, had a profound impact on historical studies. The Enlightenment brought both a more tolerant atmosphere and a more empirical approach

to the source materials.¹⁷ The genuine objectivity that was lacking in Arnold was fully developed in the work of Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1694-1755), for much of his career chancellor of the University of Göttingen. On the grounds of his incredibly erudite, detailed, and balanced four-volume *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, Mosheim is often called “the father of church history.”¹⁸ Mosheim’s work was the preeminent text for more than a century and, in its English translation, was used in most American seminaries throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Although the critical, objective use of documents was not new in Mosheim’s work, his *Institutes* made this critical objectivity a central methodological concern. “My principal care,” he wrote, “has been to relate events with fidelity and authority. For this purpose I have gone to the very sources of information, the best writers, that is, of all ages, and such as lived in, or near, the times which they treat of.” Mosheim was dismissive of many of his predecessors who had simply rested their work on the chronicles of earlier writers. Such a practice, he continued, “is attended with this evil, that it perpetuates the mistakes, which are apt to abound in very large and voluminous works, by causing them to pass from a single book into numerous others.” Mosheim not only went to the original documents for information, he also was careful to cite his sources in order to aid his readers in evaluating his work. Mosheim’s attempt to attain methodological objectivity, in contrast to virtually all of his predecessors, including Arnold, is most evident in his comments on the treatment of heresies: “The history of these commotions or heresies, should be full and precise.” And, since the leaders of religious parties “have been treated with much injustice,” the term “heretic” should be used only in the general sense of a person who, by their own, or “by another’s fault, has given occasion for wars and disagreements among Christians.”¹⁹

Mosheim’s approach to the materials of history also went considerably beyond the mere narrative or chronicle to attempt historical explanation. The historian, he argues, “must not only tell *what was done*, but also *why this or that thing happened*, that is, *events* are to be joined with their *causes*.” As far as Mosheim was concerned, “naked facts” only served to amuse readers, while the explanation of the “reasons” behind the facts, with due care not to “fabricate causes,” serves readers by

“sharpening discriminating powers, and rendering them wise.” Even so, this practical goal of historical studies must be subordinated to the tasks of research, and Mosheim remained acutely aware of the characteristic dangers that face the historian, such as anachronism, undue reverence for authority, and bias.²⁰ The period of the Enlightenment, thus, witnessed a critical, analytical approach to historical study. In their enthusiasm for their own enlightenment, however, many of Mosheim’s contemporaries and successors evinced a certain contempt for the past, or, alternatively, were tempted to view all history as progressing toward the goal of enlightenment.

In very short order, the eighteenth century saw the development of the historical-critical method in the works of Baumgarten and Semler²¹ and the beginnings of the historical approach to biblical theology and to Christian doctrine in the writings of Gabler and Münscher, respectively.²² Gabler and Münscher were able to perceive that the materials of the past, whether biblical or churchly, could only be brought into the service of contemporary formulation if they were first understood in their own right and independently, without the interference of modern theological categories and opinions. This perception, refined considerably beyond the views of Gabler and Münscher by biblical and historical scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is fundamental to modern theological scholarship and provides the primary rationale for the study of history in seminaries and in graduate programs in religion.

The Romantic movement took a different avenue to the study of the past. Generally speaking, it was typified by a deeper appreciation for the past understood on its own terms and by a greater recognition of the way that the historical environment shapes individuals. Johann Gottfried Herder’s *Ideas toward a Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784-91) was especially influential in this respect. Whereas the Enlightenment preferred mechanical analogies, Herder stressed the analogy between history and living things. By viewing history organically, he engendered a love for the past in its entirety, since presumably one cannot destroy part of a living organism without destroying the whole.

The impact of Herder’s ideas on the study of church history can be seen in August Neander (1789-1850). Neander was a student at the University of Halle in 1806, and there he fell under the influence of Schleiermacher; later, at Göttingen, he studied under Gesenius, the

Hebrew scholar. In 1813, having published a monograph on Julian the Apostate, he was called to the University of Berlin as professor of church history where he worked until his death in 1850.²³ Neander is most well-known for his multivolume *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* (1826-52).

Neander's indebtedness to the Romantic movement is seen explicitly in the dedication of the first volume of his *General History* to Friedrich von Schelling, wherein he expresses the hope to serve "a spirit which may claim some relationship" to Schelling's philosophy. Neander's indebtedness to Schleiermacher is made explicit when he discusses the purpose or the end of church history and the leading aim of his own scholarly work, namely, "To exhibit the history of the church of Christ, as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice, sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and of reproof, for all who are disposed to listen."²⁴ In keeping with the Romantic movement, organic metaphors and the theme of development are found throughout his work.

Neander's hermeneutical sophistication and his relation to Schleiermacher are noteworthy. He works as a historian out of a conviction concerning the inner connection between spiritual life in Christ and scientific inquiry. "Our knowledge here falls into a necessary circle. To understand history, it is supposed that we have some understanding of that which constitutes its working principle; but it is also history which furnishes us [with] the proper test, by which to ascertain whether its principle has been rightly apprehended."²⁵ His organization of the materials of history is superior to Mosheim's. He casts all of his evidence on a single topic, for example, persecution, together in one place, and then covers an extended time frame, within reasonable bounds. Then he treats different topics in their relation one to the other; for example, the structure of the ministry or the clerical hierarchy is followed by a discussion of the doctrine of penance in relation to the hierarchy and the institution. One finds in Neander the adoption of vitalistic, organic categories as a way of construing historical development; there is, in addition, a stress upon the importance of primary sources and accurate documentation. As with those who have preceded him, he adopts a separation between piety and doctrine that enables him to judge a movement favorably without agreeing with it

theologically. These features, combined, bring the study of church history into the modern world.

The enormous influence of Neander is documented in the work of Friedrich A. G. Tholuck (1799-1877), friend of Neander and professor of theology at the University of Halle. Tholuck delivered a series of lectures at the University of Halle in 1842-43 that were translated and published in *Bibliotheca Sacra* as “Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology.” Edwards A. Park, the translator, noted that the system adopted by Tholuck “was in some respects, far more scientific and extensive than that adopted in other lands.”²⁶ In this lecture Tholuck lays out the major tasks for one who wishes to be “a worthy historian” of the church. First, building on the earlier insistence of Mosheim and others, the primary sources are essential: “one must consult the original authorities.” The second prerequisite for a historian who would be master of the art is that he or she exhibit individual facts “with individuality of style”; the historian “describes times and persons in detail rather than in general.” This requirement amounts to a plea for the historical analysis of details that moves beyond a simple narrative and attends to explanation. A third prerequisite is that the historian have no “party prejudices,” though “party preferences” are important, since without a point of view, history will be colorless and lifeless. A primary example is found in Neander, who, however, “is sometimes too desirous of exhibiting impartiality, and is therefore more favorable to the heretics whose character he describes, than the truth will warrant.” Finally, in indicating how far he would take “party preferences,” Tholuck ventures into the difficult realm of causation and insists that the church historian accompany the narration of events “with a reference to their causes and consequences,” and that these connections be made “on psychological and religious grounds,” and by “religious grounds” (and in keeping with the thought of Neander), Tholuck was willing to appeal to the “directing providence of God” as a final cause.²⁷ Neander and Tholuck clearly viewed “scientific” historical method as compatible with non-empirical religious causes and an appeal to providence.

Philip Schaff (1819-93) is sometimes considered the father of American church history, not because he wrote much on the American church, but because he brought together the best advances in the study of church history and set new standards for the discipline in the United

States. In 1846 he published an essay entitled *What Is Church History?*, subtitled *A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development*.²⁸ Here he chronicled his dependence on Herder, Neander, and Tholuck (in addition, the views of Hegel are everywhere evident) and set forth his own understanding of church history, called “The Reformed-Catholic Perspective.” Schaff’s essay is still valuable today, and it will probably never be superseded as a stimulus to the sympathetic reading of church history. Yet while Schaff represented the best in post-Enlightenment historiography, the influence of Hegel was so pervasive that the work suffers from at least three characteristic weaknesses, all related to Hegel’s schema and the optimism typical of the nineteenth century. Schaff understands history in terms of steady improvement, but he is, in the first place, naively optimistic. While on the one hand he clearly sees how differently the idea of organic development can be used (compare, he suggests, Neander to F. C. Baur), on the other, he believes that Christianity never loses, nor *can* lose, anything of real value. Second, the historian is able to truly comprehend past events, and to unfold them, just as they originally stood, before the eyes of the readers. Finally, like Neander and Tholuck, Schaff is overly optimistic about the historian’s ability to discern the hand of providence and the guiding spirit of Christianity in history. Since the mid-nineteenth century, historians have generally become a good deal more sober about the likelihood of discerning the final outcome, the factual accuracy, and the inner causes of historical events. Nevertheless, historical scholarship reached a level of maturity by the mid-nineteenth century that, in many respects, has not been surpassed to this day. In terms of the utilization of primary sources, energy in accumulating these sources, critical power in comparing them, and detachment in their interpretation, it is the case that the accomplishments of a hundred and fifty years ago, particularly in Germany, are seldom surpassed today. And much that is written today falls far below those standards.

In the discipline of church history in the nineteenth century these emphases on the possibility of detachment and the discovery of the actual truth about the past became increasingly central. One finds a growing optimism about what the historian could actually hope to accomplish and the scientific status of the discipline. In 1851 Henry Boynton Smith could write an article entitled “The Nature and Worth of the Science of Church

History.”²⁹ Smith demonstrated a tremendous confidence in the possibility of historical objectivity: the first duty of the historian “is to present the facts themselves in the order of their occurrence.” The next task of the historian is to verify the past; the past is to “live again upon the historic page.” In fact, according to Smith, the historian can so present the past that we may read of the events “better than did the very actors in them.” Besides facts, the historian must discover and set forth the events “in the light of their principles and laws.” These principles are sought out with “a patient, a sympathizing, a reverential, and a truly inductive spirit.” Finally, the historian is to discern the ends that the general laws or principles produce.³⁰ Thus the general laws of history are to be deduced from the facts, and from these one may infer the ends that are to be accomplished by them — such are the major ingredients of “scientific history.” This was a confident, not to say audacious, outlook that characterized many of Smith’s colleagues. Scientific church history seems here to be excessively confident about both the nature of research, that is, getting the “facts” straight, and the outcome of the results, which meant establishing general laws of development. E. H. Carr’s comment about nineteenth-century historians in general applies equally to church historians: “Historians walked in the Garden of Eden, without a scrap of philosophy to cover them, naked and unashamed before the God of history. Since then we have known Sin and experienced a Fall.”³¹

The scientific preoccupation with objectivity was characteristic of much of the late nineteenth century as well.³² For example, in 1884, in an article entitled “Church History as a Science,” John De Witt, professor of church history at Lane Theological Seminary, called for movement beyond a series of historical laws and principles to the identification of “the single law which binds together this uncounted multitude of cause and condition.”³³ By the turn of the century the emphasis on objectivity and ascertaining the facts had led many church historians toward an explicitly secular understanding of church history. Here, all theological presuppositions were to be eliminated from the study of church history, and though this was a large step away from what Neander, Tholuck, and Schaff had envisioned, it can be construed as the logical extension of the emphasis upon objectivity and detachment.

There were a handful of church historians who continued to accept the possibility of discerning spiritual causes and would talk about God’s

activity in history. But those who did so from the 1880s forward spoke with less confidence than their mid-nineteenth-century forebears. In Williston Walker's *History of the Christian Church*, first published in 1918, one detects "the absence of any sense of his writing from the interior of the Church."³⁴ From roughly 1900 through the 1930s American church historians ceased to talk about providence or general laws that could be deduced from factual data. There was still, however, an abiding confidence in history as a science and the ability of the historian to get the facts straight. One finds a few exceptions to this generalization, as with the historical writings of Walter Rauschenbusch. But even in the case of Rauschenbusch, the exception was not so much in the area of how he interpreted church history, as in how he applied it. Rauschenbusch wanted to apply the lessons of history, especially the social lessons, to the present. Scholars at the University of Chicago, in particular, emphasized the social aspects of Christianity in the early decades of the twentieth century, and they were especially interested in discovering the natural, environmental causes for developments in the church. Through 1930, even in the books of such an obviously devoted churchman as William Warren Sweet (University of Chicago Divinity School), there was very little theological and interpretive content.³⁵

In surveys of more recent trends, scholars have observed changes in this approach beginning about 1930, and these changes are related in part to new developments in theology and in part to innovations in the wider discipline of history. Henry Bowden, for example, found that following 1930 some of the new emphases in church history were more or less theologically motivated, and he grouped these new departures under four general categories: a new emphasis on cultural influence; a greater stress on the theological significance of the church in history; an appreciation of the church's role in preserving cultural values; and a fresh emphasis on the importance of ideas in explaining the church's past.³⁶ Of these four points, the new theological interest in the church and the recognition of the importance of ideas might arguably be accounted for by the influence of the biblical theology movement and neo-orthodoxy.

One important example of the influence of the wider discipline of history on the field of church history appeared in France at about the same time the impact of neo-orthodoxy began to be felt. The *Annales* school actually anticipated many of the concerns expressed more recently

by proponents of the “new historicism,” though with less epistemological skepticism than is typically found in treatments of theory since the “linguistic turn.”³⁷ For example, in their quest for a “total” reconstruction of the past, Bloch and Febvre insisted upon the use of interdisciplinary approaches; two or more disciplines might be indispensable to any attempt at explanation, or the evidence itself at some point of transition might require that it be yielded up to yet another discipline. They gave detailed attention to material culture and practices in which people’s religious lives and their economic interests not only coexisted, but were “blended together.” The psychological and self-interested complexities of human motivation, both in the past and in the lives of historians working today, were carefully weighed and critiqued. Bloch explored the ways that historians borrow “tints” and “hues” from their own daily experience and by “shading” them endeavor to “restore the past.”³⁸ The school’s interest in the corporate “mentalities” or the “psychological states” of cultures or eras was particularly stimulating to students of church history. In the same year that the first issue of the *Annales* appeared, Febvre published an article that is now considered one of the more famous essays on the origins of the Reformation in France and the problems surrounding its causes. Institutions, politics, and the reaction to ecclesiastical abuses could not fully account for the protean nature of the movement, according to Febvre, but rather one must come to terms with a “profound revolution in religious sentiment” and the broad, significant shifts in people’s religious aspirations. These changes in turn could only be understood by “drawing up an inventory of piety and devotion” in sixteenth-century France.³⁹ In a recent evaluation of Febvre’s work, John O’Malley judges that the essay first helped move historians’ interests from institutional church history to religion and its popular, multiple expressions.⁴⁰

In brief, both theological and methodological innovation influenced the discipline of church history in the period following 1930. Historians John T. McNeill (Union), Sidney E. Mead (Chicago), James Hastings Nichols (Chicago, then Princeton), and Cyril Richardson (Union) all defended the importance of addressing meaning in church history.⁴¹ Cyril Richardson, for example, wrote that the church historian should not be content to confine the narrative “to that bare record of events which we know as *scientific* history. . . .” Rather, historians should “tell the story

against the background of ultimate meanings.” In other words, the events with which the historian deals “are transfigured by the holy.”⁴² But at about the same time that we find a new interest expressed in the meaning of history, specifically church history, fresh reservations arose in some quarters about the possibility of an objective view of the past. In 1933 Charles Beard’s presidential address before the American Historical Association was entitled “Written History as an Act of Faith.” He and Carl Lotus Becker provocatively challenged the idea that there were such things as “facts” at all.

In the period since 1950, there is some evidence to suggest that there was yet another reaction to this emphasis on meaning among historians, and a new preoccupation with objectivity seems to have arisen from the growing impact of the social sciences on the discipline of history. Almost immediately, however, claims of objectivity and detachment by those who adopted social-science techniques led to yet another response by historians who took the quest for meaning and morals to new heights.⁴³ But the historiography of the church from the 1950s to the early twenty-first century is yet to be written in detail. Provisionally, we can say that this sixty-year period is typified by several important developments. First, the emergence of the study of women in history, though traceable in its origins to earlier in the twentieth century, was undoubtedly the most important feature of the historiography of these years. The related fields of the study of African Americans and ethnic minorities and their institutions took major steps forward during the same period. Since the 1990s in particular, world Christianity with an emphasis on indigenous expressions of the church has come to be an important new area of study. In secular history, the years 1950 to the present were dominated by the “new” history, that is, by the introduction of quantitative techniques, heretofore applied only in the social sciences; we also find in this period the beginnings of such new techniques as psychohistory. This rich multiplicity of approaches and techniques not only allows the scholar to choose an appropriate technique for a given topic, whether psychology, sociology, or statistical analysis, but some of the best works combine a number of them in a single project. Because of this attention to detail, and because of the introduction of empirical tests of statistical significance, some scholars have expressed a renewed optimism about obtaining a true, objective understanding of the past. Critics, however,

have charged that these approaches tend to minimize the influence of ideas in history and drain the past of meaning. In the discipline of church history, the use of the new techniques has been introduced reluctantly, in part, we must suppose, because of the reigning paradigm of church history as preeminently the history of Christian thought.⁴⁴ Given the tremendous variety of methods and new topics, the historian is now challenged with the perplexing question of whether there remain any viable norms in scholarship; in Henry Bowden's words, "The troubling element is that historians of all kinds now tacitly accept the fate of being dismissed by those who do not share their perceptions and priorities."⁴⁵

Because of the exacting demands of these new techniques and the isolating tendencies of the new fields, the historical monograph that dissects a very small period or topic of history continues to dominate the field. Very few scholars belonging to the present generation of church historians have worked at general history because of the dominance of the historical monograph, and as a result, we have tended to become isolated in our specialties. If the church historian's slowness to embrace the social sciences is related to a reluctance to subject the church to the profane techniques of science, our inability to write general histories is probably related simply to the enormity of the task, given the present conditions of the discipline.

The ecumenical environment in which we presently work is a favorable one, and it represents a final characteristic of the historiography of the period. The interest in the history of minorities and women's history complements this intra-confessional context, since both favor freedom of investigation. The diversity of method noted above is related in part to this welcome diversification in topic, with an ever-expanding interest in the "underside" of history. The present atmosphere is clearly conducive to a more thorough, less biased, approach to investigation in a wide range of fields. A Protestant author cannot write today about the history of the doctrine of justification without consulting what is being said by Catholic and Orthodox scholars in relation to history, and among themselves. The ecclesiastical and social contexts in which we work demand an empathetic, sensitive study of other traditions, and presumably, this may be accomplished without compromising one's own confessional distinctives.

Finally, the ecumenical context, combined with the interdisciplinary,

technical, and highly specialized nature of research in church history, may offer a partial solution to the problem of overspecialization. It seems clear that in the future, church historians will only be able to address the need for general studies through collaborative efforts. The understanding of fragments of the human past is necessary, but “will never produce the knowledge of the whole; it will not even produce that of the fragments themselves.”⁴⁶ The goal of the historian will remain the same: the reintegration of the parts that must be disentangled for the sake of analysis. Moreover, historians have always collaborated in an informal sense, since no one historian is able to “seize the whole.” But given present trends, the need for formal collaboration will make itself increasingly felt. Large-scale cooperative scholarly projects now appear to be the only satisfactory way of producing general church histories.

Methods and Models in the History of Doctrine

If the church historian’s point of view with respect to providence, meaning in history, and confessional loyalty has often significantly shaped the outcome of research, so, too, specific methods of construing the materials of history, as distinct from the specialized techniques of analysis, have had a profound influence on the general contours of the disciplines we study. Students who hope to make a genuine contribution to historical understanding must consider the various ways in which historical materials have been used and, in the process, sometimes removed from their essential context and thereby distorted. It is surely the case that the history of doctrine lends itself to a more systematic development, and builds more upon previous methodological analysis, than the history of the church broadly construed. Even so, the discipline of church history has never produced lengthy methodological prolegomena like those found in the classic histories of doctrine. Church history typically takes a more fully chronological, episodic approach to an extended narrative than the history of doctrine. In church history, topics need to be developed at length, sometimes parallel to other topics, without a perfectly clear or consistent relationship between them.⁴⁷ By contrast, in the history of doctrine, there has been considerable methodological debate, comparable to the debate over topical, integral, and chronological approaches found in works on biblical theology and

the history of the religion of Israel. Since the late-eighteenth-century beginnings of the discipline several patterns of exposition have emerged, each with its own logic and each with some merit.

There are, accordingly, several approaches to the method and organization of the history of Christian doctrine. (As will also become more evident below, the various methods noted here in detail for the history of doctrine are of fundamental importance for an understanding of systematic theology as well.) At least four basic patterns have been used for the presentation of the history of doctrine: (1) the general/special, (2) the special, or systematic, (3) the great thinker, (4) and the integral, developmental model.

The General/Special Pattern

There is a historical trajectory of meditation on the history of doctrine that began in the late eighteenth century and extended into the nineteenth. The first historian to worry profoundly about the method of historical theology was Wilhelm Münscher. His basic approach was followed by most of the historians of doctrine in the nineteenth century. Two major examples of the method are the histories by Neander and Karl Hagenbach, both of which were translated into English in the nineteenth century and exerted a major influence on British and American studies of the history of doctrine.⁴⁸ All three followed a method which has come to be known as the general/special method because it divides into two distinct discussions, one offering a general outline of thought, the other a discussion of particular issues. The first step that these writers took was to break the history of doctrine down into periods for the sake of identifying historical types of theology. Then, within each period, they provide a general survey of authors, their ideas, and the forces that impinged on the history of doctrine. As the second part of their exposition, remaining within the same period, they present the “special history of doctrine.” This “special history” typically took the form of a system of theology, beginning with preliminary thoughts on the nature of the theological task in a particular period, moving on to the doctrine of Scripture and the sources of theology, and then to the doctrines of God, creation, providence, and so forth, as far as the last things. Neander and Hagenbach offer this outline for the period of the Apostolic Fathers, the

era of the pre-Nicene theologians, of the post-Nicene theologians, and then of various periods, down to the present.

The model has the advantage of very neatly lining out the ideas from an individual period and showing in considerable depth the various theological and systematic ramifications of the thought of the church at different times in its history. This model is also a useful preparation for doing systematic theology. If a theologian needs to understand the patristic reflection on a particular issue, he or she can look to Hagenbach or Neander for a clear presentation.

The problem with the method concerns its location of meaning. The location of meaning is, moreover, a basic issue to be addressed in all historical endeavors. Where does the historian's method locate the meaning of what has happened, of what has been stated and intended in a particular time and place? The general/special method quite pointedly locates meaning in a view of a theological system virtually contemporary with the historian. Hagenbach and Neander knew and debated the theological systems of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Protestantism, most of which began with prolegomena and moved on to the doctrine of Scripture and the doctrine of God and concluded with the doctrine of the last things. The problem with the method, bluntly stated, is that Ignatius of Antioch, who lived in the early second century, never imagined such a thing as a theological system. The general/special method operates under the profound disadvantage of wedging the thought of particular periods of the history of the church into a model that was unknown in the period and is not reflected in the writings of the time. Neither Ignatius of Antioch nor Clement of Rome, nor even the second-century Apologists, ever considered such a thing as theological prolegomena. They did not ask rudimentary questions such as, "How do I go about doing theology?" and "What are my presuppositions?" It is not historically accurate to consider the documents of the second century in a way that is unrelated both to the structure and the intention of the documents and to the intellectual and spiritual milieu of their authors. This does not mean that the method completely lacks usefulness, but it does delineate a major methodological problem.

The problem is, moreover, inherent to the method. It is legitimate to take a thinker or a group of thinkers who belong to the same era and culture and to ask what body of doctrine is taught by them. But once this

is done, however, the topics must be elicited from the documents and the thinkers, and never imposed on them from without. Such an approach is particularly useful in the discussion even of the ages of the church before the beginnings of systematic theology when, for example, an author like Cyril of Jerusalem can provide an entire body of doctrine in the form of catechesis. Cyril of Jerusalem's catechetical outline, or Gregory of Nyssa's, can be used as the basis of an examination of a particular period in theology. In following a model such as this, issues and topics that were not discussed or were not understood as distinct issues and topics in the fourth century would not be imposed on the materials. At the same time, central doctrinal issues such as the Trinity and christology would not be discussed in isolation from the rest of Christian thought.

The Special or Systematic Model

An outgrowth of the "general/special" model is the "special" or systematic model for examining the history of doctrines. Examples of this model are the histories by W. G. T. Shedd, Louis Berkhof, and Bernhard Lohse. Each of these treatises, particularly Shedd's, discuss individual doctrines in detail. Indeed, Shedd's history could almost be composed out of Hagenbach's by drawing together each of the sections of the special history that deal with one doctrine into a continuous history of the doctrine. The result would be a history of apologetics and prolegomena, followed by a history of the doctrine of God, a history of christology, and so forth. The histories appear in a topical order and in the shape of a theological system. Louis Berkhof's follows the same pattern, and ought, in fact, to be understood more as a prolegomenon to his *Systematic Theology* than as an independent historical exercise. Both Shedd and Berkhof were, after all, primarily systematic theologians searching out the historical roots of their theologies.

This model has the same failing as the general/special history: it imposes a modern, systematic grid on the subject matter. This failing or problem belongs to all histories of individual doctrines, like R. S. Franks's *History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ* or Cave's *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ*. All such books abstract a doctrine from its context and then cease to examine the larger context as a basis for understanding the doctrine. They can address the person of Christ quite

independently from the work of Christ, and vice versa, which is something that is really quite impossible given the character of the historical materials. Or, similarly, they can discuss the doctrine of the person of Christ apart from a sacramental context, an illegitimate endeavor whether one is working in the period of the early church or in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, if this method is utilized with a candid recognition of its limitations, it does serve as a useful approach to particular doctrines and a good prologue to the study of systematic theology.

[The Great Thinker Model](#)

The third, and by far the most problematic, of the methods can be identified as the “great thinker” method. An example of this model is A. C. McGiffert’s often brilliant *History of Christian Thought*.⁴⁹ McGiffert was a fine historian and it needs to be stated that the problematic character of his method does not give contemporary students of history permission to ignore his work. Justo Gonzalez’s three-volume history of doctrine also tends toward the examination of individual thinkers. The problem with this method is that it locates meaning in individual persons; but meaning, arguably, does not reside in individuals. Meaning resides in the materials and ideas used by individuals and mediated by them to others after further meaning and significance have been added by their own efforts. Thus, a chapter on the teaching of Bonaventure as representative of thirteenth-century theology, followed by another chapter on the doctrine of Aquinas as also representative of the thirteenth century, followed by other almost identical chapters on other thinkers, loses sight of the fact that both of these writers live out the results of a long tradition, interacting with one another and with any number of other writers, and using the same ideas but in somewhat different ways. It is far more useful (and methodologically justifiable) to follow the history of ideas and the way those ideas develop and change in a particular time, noting the contributions of the various writers who contributed to the development, than it is to discuss a host of similar thinkers individually or to claim that one writer can represent an entire age.

Besides locating meaning in the wrong place, this method adopts a

culturally and chronologically imperialistic view of the past. Historians of philosophy are far more guilty of this than historians of doctrine. They tend to move through the materials of history by thinker as if, for example, the thirteenth century can be reduced to Bonaventure, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, and Duns Scotus. The approach is inappropriate because the thinkers themselves did not share such an assumption. A still more extreme example (in a generally superb survey) is Frederick Copleston's treatment of seventeenth-century continental philosophy as moving from Descartes through Geulincx and Malebranche, to Spinoza, and then to Leibniz. Copleston failed to ask the question, "What was really important to the seventeenth century?" This question leads to the investigation of such writers as Francis Suárez and Clemens Timpler, and to the recognition that Descartes was virtually without influence until the second half of the century. Timpler is unknown only because of the intellectual imperialism of modernity. The great thinker model loses track of the interrelationships of ideas and, indeed, of the host of "lesser" minds whose work may have been far more important to their contemporaries than the "great thinkers" identified by later generations. The great thinker method remains extremely useful because it is a way of understanding how ideas cohere in one person's thought. A history of doctrine or a history of philosophy must offer such cohesion, although, surely, not at the expense of the interrelationships of thinkers and ideas in the context of a larger intellectual development.

It is worth noting that a well-trained historian of doctrine or of philosophy ought to be able to follow an idea through its development throughout history (the "special" model) and to focus on an individual thinker in an almost systematic way (the "great thinker" model). At the same time, the well-trained historian will also be able to look for the optimum pattern for the organization of materials and to search out the best location of meaning for the sake of understanding the larger body of materials or sources.

[The Integral, Developmental Model](#)

The best model for the history of doctrine is certainly the integral or organic model that attempts a synchronous understanding of the

development of the central ideas of Christianity. While it was developed primarily by historians of doctrine, this model holds the most promise for reconceptualizing the task of the church historian on a broader scale. The foremost practitioners of this model were Adolf von Harnack and Reinhold Seeberg, although their histories do evidence occasional acknowledgment of the great thinker or the special model. By and large, however, it is the matrix of ideas in a particular period that controls the exposition of the history of doctrine in Harnack's and Seeberg's works. Both writers were concerned primarily with the development of the doctrine of God as Trinity and of Jesus Christ as one person in two natures in the early church, granting that these doctrines were the major foci of debate. Other doctrines (which Seeberg in particular examines) are laid out in subsidiary relation with some discussion of individual thinkers. The major methodological issue for both was to trace out the large issues addressed by groups of thinkers and to indicate how those issues were brought to a conclusion.

In many cases the guiding force in the development of a doctrine is not the inner logic of the doctrine itself, as might be gathered from the special history model, or the force of personality of one individual thinker. A broader dialogue took place with other theological topics and other issues, such as social concerns, politics, and the interaction of parties in the church in confrontation with one another. This approach provides a more complex view of history, but the complexity belongs to the materials themselves and ultimately yields a clearer sense of why ideas developed as they did. In the final analysis, the integral method provides a firmer basis for answering even the more systematic questions at the root of the other methods, particularly when attention is given to the contexts in which the doctrines developed and attention is paid to the forms of theological statement and, indeed, for the maintenance of certain forms and the rejection of others. The underlying danger in the use of this or any of the other methods followed by historians of Christian doctrine is that it might fall into a history of ideas model and ignore historical context.

Students can usefully think in terms of employing several different grids or what might be called mental retrieval systems. A periodizing grid, for example, will recall Christian thought in the thirteenth century as distinct from Christian thought in the sixteenth or eighteenth centuries.

A topical grid might retrieve information about the doctrine of God in its historical development. Yet another grid might recall the thought of Thomas Aquinas on a variety of different topics. In addition to that, some sense is needed concerning the intersection of different grids: Thomas Aquinas stands as a thirteenth-century thinker who examined the doctrine of God together with a series of other theological and philosophical problems in a particular context. Each of the methods noted contributes something to our larger understanding, but the integral, developmental method offers the greatest potential for bridging the subdisciplines of church history and embracing the actual complexity of the past. The location of meaning lies in the interaction of ideas, in a particular period as understood by particular individuals, but always as contributory to the larger development.

The Distinction and Interrelationship of Intellectual, Political, and Social History

One of the near tragedies of twentieth-century historiography was the fairly open antagonism of some proponents of intellectual, political, and social history to one another's work. This antagonism was generated in part by the well-deserved critique of an older, idealistic history of ideas by proponents of social history, and it was solidified by the rather trenchant critique of the methods of the history of ideas offered in a series of essays by the political historian Quentin Skinner.⁵⁰ The central issue addressed in such critiques is, as adumbrated in our own comments on the methods and models of the history of Christian doctrine, the suitable location of meaning in and in relation to the materials being analyzed.

In response to that critique, many historians have either abandoned or repudiated the idealistic history of ideas approach in favor of a more carefully contextualized intellectual history. Some distinction needs, therefore, to be made between the "history of ideas" and "intellectual history." The former term refers to a methodologically problematic approach to history that tends to disembody and decontextualize ideas, while the latter term identifies a more contextual and textual exercise. "History of ideas," in its more extreme manifestations, is little more than *Geistesgeschichte*, with its identification of "motifs" or "spirits" of the

various eras and periods of history. In such an approach the generalization of a “period” in history, itself fraught with difficulties, becomes attached to more or less philosophically construed assumptions and individual texts, persons, events, and the varieties of life are swept up into an idea or, indeed, simply swept aside by it.⁵¹ A fundamental rule of competent historiography is broken: when the generalization does not fit the evidences, it is not the evidences that one discards. In its extreme form, social history can fall into the same trap as the older history of ideas: the removal of the discrete and not altogether harmonizable evidences and actors of history in favor of disembodied ideas or laws — and, ironically, at the same time that sociological constructs or economic theories are pressed as explanations, the reduction of the concepts actually expressed in a particular era to epiphenomena.

The approach and method offered in the present volume intends to propose a paradigm for basic research and writing that functions equally well in intellectual, political, and social history — namely, a paradigm that does justice to issues of text, detail, and context, and that moves toward the presentation of conclusions firmly within the bounds of the materials analyzed in one’s research.

1. For the best recent overview and analysis of theory in history, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), and for a wide-ranging discussion of the relation between intellectual, religious, and church history, see Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

2. For illustrations from the Reformation, early modern, and modern periods, see A. G. Dickens and John M. Tonkin, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); Frederick Krantz, ed., *History from Below* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); and Sherna Gluck and Daphne Patai, *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

3. Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Theology and the Philosophy of Science* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), p. 395. See also Pannenberg et al., *Revelation as History* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), especially chapter 5, pp. 161-81.

4. Febvre and Bloch founded the journal *Annales d’histoire économique et social* in 1929.

5. Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), pp. 67, 4-5.

6. For example, see Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie, *The Mind and Method of the Historian* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 1-9.

7. Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, *Historical Theology: Continuity and Change in Christian Doctrine* (New York: Corpus, 1971), pp. xiii-xviii.

8. N.B. Despite Seeberg’s somewhat broader scope and title (*History of Doctrines*), his outline and closure parallel Harnack.

9. There exists no careful methodology of church history, such as is available for history of doctrine and history of dogma, where there is a prologue to the larger essay that describes the method. General discussions of the proper subject matter of church history are found in the classic “encyclopedias” of

theology like Philip Schaff, *Theological Propaedeutic: A General Introduction to the Study of Theology, Exegetical, Historical, Systematic, and Practical* (New York: Scribner, 1894); and George R. Crooks and John F. Hurst, *Theological Encyclopaedia and Methodology, on the Basis of Hagenbach*, rev. ed. (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1894). In terms of history of dogma and its limits and history of doctrine and its limits, see the first chapters on the subject in Adolf von Harnack's *History of Dogma*, Reinhold Seeberg's *History of Doctrine*, and Jaroslav Pelikan's *Historical Theology*.

10. For convenience, we are using conventional terms and accepted periods of history here, but we are not implying, for example, that there was a single, unitary "Enlightenment," for which see Nicholas Hudson, "What Is the Enlightenment? Investigating the Origins and Ideological Uses of an Historical Category," *Lumen* 25 (2006): 163-74.

11. Philip Schaff helpfully outlined the modern emergence of church historiography in the terms presented here of Catholic, Radical Reformers, Magisterial Reformers, and Pietism, but in much fuller detail. Philip Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Church with a General Introduction to Church History* (New York, 1854), pp. 55, 63, 69-72.

12. Joseph Schwane, *Histoire des Dogmas*, trans. (from the German) by A. Degert, 6 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1903-4); and J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, trans. H.L.B., 3 vols. (St. Louis: Herder & Herder, 1910-1916).

13. Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehman, eds., *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press, 1955-1986), 36: 29.

14. Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 1: *Prolegomena* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1987).

15. Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Church*, pp. 69-70.

16. Joseph Milner, *The History of the Church of Christ*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: 1794-97), p. iv. Additional volumes were published by his brother, Isaac Milner. Milner's approach resulted in a great many errors. S. R. Maitland wrote an entire book entitled *Strictures on Milner's Church History* (London: 1835). Maitland admits that Milner's work is typified by piety (pp. 8, 79), but while Milner claimed, in his own words, to consult the "original record," and to eschew the statements of "modern historians," Maitland shows just how partial and slipshod a job he did (pp. 15, 51). The value of Maitland's critique of Milner is that it illustrates how far competent criticism of sources and modern assessments of the relative weight of ancient authorities had come by 1835.

17. John Stroup, "Protestant Church Historians in the German Enlightenment," in *Aufklärung und Geschichte: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1986), p. 169.

18. Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern*, trans. J. Murdock, ed. H. Soames, 4 vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1841). The first edition, in Latin, appeared in 1726-55.

19. Mosheim, *Institutes*, 1:10, 18.

20. Mosheim, *Institutes*, 1:18, 20-21.

21. See the discussion in Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 88-91, 111-12, 157-61, etc., and for Baumgarten, David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 113-63.

22. On Gabler see Frei, *Eclipse*, pp. 159, 163, 165-67, 248-51; for a discussion of Münscher, see Adolf von Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. Neil Buchanan, 7 vols. (repr. New York: Dover, 1961), 1:13, 31-32.

23. Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) was also at the University of Berlin at this time. His work as a modern historian is noteworthy primarily for his emphasis upon the original sources. Von Ranke brought a

strong objective attitude to the study of history. As reported by Schaff, it was said of his famous *History of the Popes* that though written by a German Lutheran, it pleased many Catholics.

24. August Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, trans. Joseph Torrey, 5 vols. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1872), 1:xxxv, xxxvi.

25. Neander, *General History*, 1:1.

26. Introductory comments by Edwards A. Park on Friedrich A. G. Tholuck, "Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology: From the Unpublished Lecture of Prof. Tholuck," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 1 (1844): 178-217, 332-67, 552-78, 726-35, here 178.

27. Tholuck, "Theological Encyclopedia," pp. 570-72.

28. Philip Schaff, *What Is Church History?* in *Reformed and Catholic: Selected Historical and Theological Writings of Philip Schaff*, ed. Charles Yrigoyen Jr. and George M. Bricker (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1979), pp. 17-144. For the influence of Philip Schaff and a series of excellent historiographical surveys, see Henry W. Bowden, ed., *A Century of Church History: The Legacy of Philip Schaff* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988).

29. Henry Boynton Smith, "The Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 8 (1851): 415-26, here 429. Here he acknowledges his indebtedness to his "venerable and beloved teacher," Neander.

30. Smith, "Nature and Worth," pp. 415, 417, 421.

31. Edward H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage, 1961), p. 21.

32. For the late nineteenth century, see Henry W. Bowden, *Church History in the Age of Science: Historiographical Patterns in the United States, 1876-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

33. John De Witt, "Church History as a Science, as a Theological Discipline, and as a Mode of the Gospel," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 41 (1884): 95-131, here 105.

34. George H. Williams, "Church History: From Historical Theology to the Theology of History," in *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century: Whence and Whither?* ed. Arnold S. Nash (New York: Macmillan, 1951), p. 154.

35. Williams, "Church History," pp. 159-60, 162.

36. Henry Warner Bowden, *Church History in an Age of Uncertainty: Historiographical Patterns in the United States, 1906-1990* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), pp. 222-26. See also Williams, "Church History," pp. 162-63, for a similar evaluation.

37. For a fine overview and the criticism that the *Annales* school neglected epistemological concerns, see Clark, *History, Theory, Text*, pp. 63-70.

38. Compare the assumptions of the new historicism in H. Aram Veese, ed., *The New Historicism* (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. ix-xi, with Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, on disregarding disciplinary boundaries (p. 25); on material culture and practices, including expressions of art (pp. 153, 156); on the subtle analysis of "psychic realities" (pp. 110, 116, 133); and on using one's own experience as an interpretive tool (pp. 44, 161).

39. Lucien Febvre, "The Origins of the French Reformation: A Badly-put Question?" in *A New Kind of History from the Writings of Lucien Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 59-60, and on religious sentiment or mentality, pp. 46-47, also 80-81, 85-88.

40. John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 94-97.

41. Williams, "Church History," pp. 170-73.

42. Quoted in Williams, "Church History," p. 173. Italics added by Williams.

43. Evidence from conferences and articles in the 1970s and 1980s suggests a reaction to a perceived objectivism; these include Clyde Manschreck's presidential address before the American Society of Church

History, “Nihilism in the Twentieth Century: A View from Here” (*Church History* 45 [1976]: 85-96); Gordon Wright’s presidential address before the American Historical Association in December, 1975, entitled “History as a Moral Science” (*American Historical Review* 81 [1976]: 1-11); and Lee Benson’s address at the spring 1981 annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians. Benson, a leading proponent of cliometric history, urged historians to act as moral philosophers and went so far as to say that scholars should organize themselves into “communities of historians” that would “work with nonscholarly activist groups to solve social problems” (as cited in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 6, 1981).

44. A rigorous defense of this observation would prove difficult: it is based on the relative lack of quantitative research in the leading journals of church history. See the further discussion in chap. 3 below.

45. Bowden, *Church History in an Age of Uncertainty*, p. 228.

46. Bloch, *Historian’s Craft*, p. 155.

47. It is worth noting, however, that the dominance of the monograph identified in the preceding discussion of church history is also characteristic of contemporary historical theology — and that some recent projects in the field have moved toward the multi-author model: e.g., Hubert Cunliffe-Jones et al., *A History of Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1978).

48. August Neander, *Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas*, trans. J. Ryland, 2 vols. (London: Bohn, 1858); Karl R. Hagenbach, *A History of Christian Doctrines*, trans. E. H. Plumptre, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1880-81).

49. A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought*, 2 vols. (New York: Scribners, 1932-33), surveying the history of doctrine from the early church to the Reformation, to be supplemented by McGiffert’s *Protestant Thought before Kant* (London: Duckworth, 1911; repr. New York: Harper, 1962) and his *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), which conclude the history up to the twentieth century.

50. Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 3-53; available in a revised form in Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1:57-89.

51. Cf. the comments of Heiko Oberman, “The Reformation: The Quest for the Historical Luther,” in *The Reformation: Roots and Ramifications* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 1-2.

2. Perspective and Meaning in History

The Problem of the Past

The relationship of present-day account to past event raises the question of the meaning of “history.” Just as with the case of the basic definitions of the historical disciplines, the answer is more complex than one might imagine. The term “history” itself is ambiguous. Initially, there are at least two histories that we must consider: past event and written contemporary account. But it requires little reflection to realize that even this is an oversimplification, because the past is never simply the past. When we talk about the past, for example, we inevitably project our present perspectives into the past; we encounter the problem of what Carl Becker called the “specious present.” Historians cannot simply block off the past and study it objectively as if it were an object under the microscope, because we ourselves are a product of that past. There is thus a complex, ambiguous boundary between past event, our present circumstance resulting in part as a product of the past, and our interpretation of the event.

Students of history sometimes assume that the recent past is more accessible than the distant past, and this viewpoint is grounded in the common belief that the passage of time makes understanding more difficult. But a case can be made for the opposite viewpoint as well. Arguably, the ancient or early modern world may be studied more objectively because we have a greater distance from those periods of time. On the other hand, the study of past cultures raises the question of the unfamiliarity of the habits and customs of those cultures, and hence a heightened inability to understand them because of a greater distance between the observer and the thing observed.

The tension we find between our too facile understanding of the familiar, on the one hand, and the objectivity associated with our

attempts to understand the unfamiliar, on the other, probably means that it is easier to study reasonably distant history rather than very distant history or the very recent past. If the events are too recent, although the documentation may be easy to come by because either written evidence or oral reports are still accessible, nonetheless the level of personal involvement in the events may be so great that it is difficult to step back toward objective interpretation. In fact, the level of one's own involvement may be so great that stepping back is impossible. In addition, we will find that even the most recent historical events sometimes present us with types of evidence that are extremely difficult to interpret. But if the event is too far distant, not only have we lost an enormous amount of material about the event, but the social, political, and intellectual contexts may be so far from our own approach that we have difficulty understanding and reconstructing what happened. In the middle, arguably, the past becomes more accessible, granting that patterns of thought and patterns of society are not altogether different than we find in the present. Biases, particularly our own involvement in the issues, are reduced. In addition there is a reasonably large amount of material still surviving. Nevertheless, biases can never be completely suspended, and modern historiography has properly concluded that the issue of interpretation begins the moment that we think about the past.

The problem of the past is not only related to the subjective question of the present interpretation; it is also related to the nature of historical evidence. The minute you say that history is "what happened" it begins to dissolve between your fingers, because we no longer have "what happened." All we have are scattered traces left by "what happened" or people who were involved in "what happened." In the history of Christian thought there are many ways in which the student must reckon with an idea as an event. In one sense we can say that the idea happened. It was generated in a person's head. At least in terms of that person's life or the lives that the person touched, it is the generation of that idea and the liveliness of that idea that had a particular effect. Nonetheless, all that we have is the written record that resulted at some distance from that idea being generated. It is very much the same with other events belonging to "what happened." All that we have are results and traces. From those results and traces we then construct something that we call history, which is no longer so much "what happened" as the way we construct

connections between the surviving traces. The work of the historian is incredibly difficult granted that the connections between the traces are the points at which meaning is inferred — whether it is meaning for us or meaning for whatever happened in the past. And yet, those are precisely the points that do not appear in the documentation.

Historians deal without exception (if we are dealing with human history) with human remnants and human artifacts, much of which falls into the category frequently identified as “brute fact” or simple data. Nonetheless, virtually all such forms of evidence are products of the mind. Perry Miller, the noted American intellectual historian, has said that history is the history of the human mind and no more. The past does not exist, and all we have is a set of surviving traces of the past. All traces of evidence already reflect some level of interpretation — perhaps in the character of the documentation, the style, or the design. If you use a coin from the Roman Empire and you view that coin as a hard datum, you must recognize that the design of that coin says something. What is on the coin reveals something about the mind of the designer. Far from being a “brute fact,” it is already filled with interpretations of the meaning of the empire. The mind of the emperor, or the public image desired by the emperor, or even a particular artist’s conception of the image of imperial Rome, is seen in the way the face on the coin is portrayed. Similarly, the words on the coin are intended to convey a meaning.

Another example of physical evidence that is not quite “brute fact” is the grave marker of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the one hand, a grave marker may offer information about the birth and death of an individual that is just as accurate as the later state bureau of vital statistics. And in the case of very old cemeteries, grave markers may well offer information not found in the state offices. The grouping of graves may offer information about families, not merely the size of family, but also evidence of problems of infant mortality and disease. The high infant mortality rate in colonial America is often graphically evidenced by numerous small graves — many of which bear sorrowful carvings of little animals, sometimes even of dead birds. Beyond this kind of information, there is also the highly subjective aspect of grave monuments: an inscription on the grave of a dishonest shopkeeper might read “Dear Husband and Beloved Father.” Or, also on the subjective side,

information may be given about likes and dislikes of the deceased — or perhaps of relatives, granting that the deceased have no control over mottos or verses of hymns inscribed on their monuments.

What appears at first glance to be hard, factual evidence from the more recent past can be equally difficult to interpret, as illustrated by the voting records of parliamentary elections in England which are voluminous for the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Before the introduction of the secret ballot in 1872, the full names of individual voters in national elections were recorded in poll books, along with their occupations, their choice for Members of Parliament, and occasionally even their places of residence. Poll books would, on the surface, appear to offer us objective and readily accessible access to voter behavior, but upon consideration the appearance of hard data unravels and issues of interpretation multiply. Votes were cast *viva voce* before bailiffs who heard and recorded the vote, making the voter susceptible to influence, including bribery; hence questions of intent and motive are imbedded in the very process of casting a vote. In elections in which a voter might choose two candidates, what was implied (if anything) about an elector's intention when the voter chose to vote for only one candidate? The meaning of a single vote cast in elections in which voters possessed two choices but used only one remains the subject of considerable scholarly debate in the study of modern electoral behavior, but the event itself is only the beginning of many interpretive issues. Does a voter's occupation indicate anything about his social status or wealth — social status and wealth are themselves two issues that must be disentangled — and if one can establish a link between occupation and wealth in some cases, is occupation a secure predictor of wealth in all cases? The study of political *behavior* can thus be construed as a study of the mind, since the hard quality of quantifiable data found in poll books invariably reflects elements of motive and interpretation. Hence, even in more recent history, seemingly hard evidence is not obliging, it does not interpret itself, and understanding it requires imagination, skill, and insight.¹

On the other hand, some historians are more interested in the development of thought than in human behavior, and clearly, different forms of evidence yield up different aspects of written history. A written document in the form of a narrative is, of course, from one perspective just as much a datum as a coin, a grave monument, or a poll book, and it

is just as likely to mix more or less objective data with interpretation. The document is, at one level, an evidence of the thought of its author and of the various cultural, religious, social, and political forces that had an impact on his or her mind.

A written document will also be capable of chronological placement in the life of its author given the changing context of his or her thoughts. Thus, the writings of Tertullian that offer little direct evidence of their date can be placed in some order given his interest in and eventual espousal of Montanism, ca. A.D. 207. The treatise *On Modesty*, for example, argues that sins such as apostasy, murder, fornication, and adultery cannot be pardoned by a bishop and will not be pardoned by the Spirit. Tertullian gives as one of his grounds of authority the presence of “the Paraclete himself in the persons of the new prophets.”² The treatise can, on the basis of these statements, be dated in Tertullian’s Montanist period, granting both that the statements are typical of the prophetic perspective of Montanism and that they are not characteristic of treatises known to have been written by Tertullian before his conversion to Montanism.

Nonetheless, the critical historian must recognize that documents can and sometimes will intentionally or unintentionally stand in the way of a clear understanding of their author’s mind. For example, Arminius’s negative comments about scholastic theology as antithetical to true and apostolic Christianity and his statements that he never recommended works by the Jesuits but consistently encouraged students to read Calvin’s *Institutes* and Scripture commentaries mask his significant appreciation and use of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Francis Suárez, and Louis Molina — all scholastics, and the latter two, Jesuits.³ Given his historical context, Arminius could not have openly advocated Roman Catholic authors without bringing considerable condemnation on himself, but his adamant denial of interest in such works has led generations of historians to ignore their impact on his thought.

The upshot of what we have been saying is that history is not nearly so concrete as we would like to think it is. As Carl Becker observed, the so-called “facts” of history are not objects like bricks that can be readily handled and manipulated. There are numerous problems inherent in the documents that demand critical reading and analysis and, most importantly, the document itself may point only indirectly toward the

event or action that inspired it. The document, in other words, is not an event but a trace, a result from which the historian attempts to identify and describe a historical occurrence. A series of documents and other traces is, then, not like a neat row of matched bricks that fit together with precision. Each document or trace may well be unique and replete with distinctive problems.

If the traces of history are not concrete, neither are they complete. We preserve what we view as important. The history of the church is filled with the fragmentary remains of individuals and movements that have been regarded as heretical and almost the complete remains of individuals and movements that have been viewed as orthodox (minus of course the potential remains that the individuals in the movements decided to exclude).

Individuals frequently decide which of their works they want to have survive and which they do not: we have, for example, no musical compositions from the pen of the late Romantic composer Gustav Mahler from a time before 1880, although we know of an early complete opera, two other operas at least partially sketched out, and a piano quintet for which the young Mahler had won the composition prize at the Vienna conservatory in 1878. Mahler destroyed all of these works and identified his *Das klagende Lied* of 1880 as opus 1.⁴ Early influences on Mahler's style are, therefore, impossible to identify. Historians very often attempt to discover precisely what people unaccountably left behind, and distinguish these remnants from what they intentionally retained. Unintentional remains of the human record are obviously considered more valuable for understanding human motivation, but such records are comparatively rare, and this fact, of course, heightens the problem of interpretation. The field of oral history provides a contrasting example. Oral history is by its very nature necessarily intentional with respect to what is recorded, and it is this characteristic that has necessitated the use of unusually rigorous safeguards in the practice of oral history.

A healthy skepticism concerning the factual quality of historical data should be balanced, however, with some confidence concerning what can be learned about the past. E. H. Carr concedes that it would be misleading to call history a "hard core of interpretation surrounded by a pulp of disputable facts" (inverting a statement of Sir George Clark), but Carr's own emphasis fell too heavily, at times, on the side of

interpretation.⁵ While the evidences the historian examines are always fragmentary and have elements of interpretation imbedded in them, these very qualities can often lead to greater clarity concerning motivation and direction in human events, and the masses of evidence that do remain can be examined and, often, clearly understood from the perspective of the present. In some areas of study it can even be shown that we now know more about certain aspects of the past than the contemporaries who lived in the past. For example, today we know more about how people voted in eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century England and how their religious persuasion influenced their vote than did contemporary observers who lived at the time. Before the advent of the computer it was simply impossible to crunch thousands of bits of data into a coherent picture of what was actually going on in the electorate. No individual or group of individuals was capable of cross-tabulating religion or occupational status with voter preference, but today this task is readily accomplished. The historian can thereby accurately corroborate or discount the vague impressions of contemporary political observers with a far greater degree of certainty than they possessed at the time.

Historical Sources — Their Use and Assessment

An initial criterion used in the assessment of evidence is the quality of the source. Distinctions must be drawn between primary, secondary, and even tertiary sources, between unwritten and written sources, between intentional and unintentional evidences, and, in addition, between manuscripts, printed sources contemporary with the author, and subsequent editions, critical and uncritical.

“Primary” and “secondary sources” are sometimes distinguished from each other as the data or traces are distinguished from an account based on them — or as Barzun and Graff state, the historian uses primary sources to produce a secondary source.⁶ This definition is correct as far as it goes, but it does not cover all of the cases, nor does it allow that historians do, also, use secondary sources in compiling an account. In addition, it omits reference to sources that fall so far below the level of primary reference that they can be called “tertiary.”

The “primary source” is a document, datum, or artifact that belongs to the era under examination and that offers the most direct access to the

person or issues being studied. This definition does not, of course, exclude modern editions of older works. Thus, a manuscript copy of an original transcript of one of Calvin's sermons is surely a primary source — but so also is the sixteenth-century printed text of the sermon, the sixteenth-century English translation, a digital version of any of the sixteenth-century forms of the text, and any modern edition or translation. Modern critical editions may often be more accurate than old uncritical editions, or even more accurate than an old transcript of a sermon. Translations must always be checked against the original, if possible, but they do fall into the category of primary sources. An old translation — such as the sixteenth-century translations of Calvin — may very well offer fundamental documentation about the reception of Calvin's thought in England and, indeed, about the importance of translations in conveying or, perhaps altering slightly, a person's thoughts. The relative value of original manuscripts, printed texts, critical editions, and translations will also figure significantly in the construction of proper footnotes.⁷

By the same token, electronic media forms of a text, such as Migne's *Patrologia* on the Internet, are also primary sources, although here, as with printed editions, careful scholarship may often demand recourse to early printed texts or modern critical editions. The *Patrologia* itself is not the best critical text; much of it was taken from the better text of the Benedictine edition of the Fathers and in the transcription process some problems crept in. Yet another transcription, even one done as carefully as the digital version, removes the reader from immediate contact with the original text of the author and, therefore, despite the incredible research advantages of the Internet, will sometimes require examination of a critical edition or at least an earlier printed edition.

This definition of primary sources does, moreover, allow for the existence of "secondary" sources dating from the era under examination: Theodore Beza's *Life of Calvin* is a secondary source for Calvin's life even though it is a sixteenth-century document written by a close colleague of Calvin. A letter by Calvin is a primary source for examining the life of Calvin, but it would have to be regarded as a secondary source when it describes events in Strasburg or Zürich to which Calvin was not an immediate party. Indeed, any description of an event, even one written later by a contemporary, has a certain secondary character when

contrasted with remains or evidences of the event itself — such as a transcript or a juridical record.

Secondary sources, therefore, are sources that offer information about an event but stand removed from it either in time or by a process of transmission of information. The secondary source is not a direct result of an event but itself rests on other sources such as documents, oral reports, or historical investigation of artifacts. In other words, a secondary source is *secondary to* or in some sense removed from the event in question; it is not a direct or primary trace of the event. Thus, secondary sources include not only such older works as Beza's *Life of Calvin* or Brandt's *History of the Reformation . . . in the Low Countries*, but modern histories, scholarly monographs, articles, and dissertations.

The “secondary” character of such works gives them a substantively different place in the work of research than that occupied by the primary sources. Secondary works are, of their very nature, indirect sources of information. They must be used with care inasmuch as they embody elements of selectivity and interpretation beyond the interpretive tendencies already present in the primary documentation. Secondary works also introduce their own errors and misconceptions into narrative accounts.

In addition, some works are so indirect in their relation to materials and so reliant on secondary works themselves that they ought to be designated as tertiary sources. This category of source includes historical surveys so broad that the author cannot be well-acquainted either with the documents underlying his or her inquiry or even with the development of scholarly literature in a field. Will Durant's *Story of Civilization* and Walker's *History of the Christian Church* fall into this category. So also do standard encyclopedias with unsigned articles, like the *Britannica*, *Americana*, or *Collier's*. Tertiary works, while often valuable sources of information at an introductory level, cannot typically be used to good effect in scholarly research.

A very important rule, therefore, in the research and writing of dissertations, monographs, and scholarly articles is that *secondary and tertiary sources must not be used to fill gaps in one's knowledge of the primary sources*. Of course, all rules must occasionally be broken; this particular rule is consistently broken in the writing of survey texts, granting that the author of a survey or general history cannot be a

specialist in all of the areas covered and must, of necessity, rely on secondary sources in the construction of a narrative. The exception, however, proves the rule. Survey texts and general histories are often notoriously out of date and unreliable on particulars.

The proper use of secondary and sometimes tertiary works in scholarly research leads not to the construction of arguments based on evidences gleaned secondarily, but to the development of an educated context for argument about the meaning and implication of the primary sources. If they have any place at all in scholarly work, carefully chosen tertiary sources provide a generalized background of knowledge — but it is a background that the researcher will frequently find inadequate not only in detail but also in accuracy and will need to modify constantly under the impact of both primary documents and scholarly essays and monographs. The secondary sources, ideally, become the basis of a scholarly dialogue about the documents and ideas of history and, insofar as the history of scholarship on a point is mastered by the researcher, a beginning for further discussion. When the secondary literature is used in this way the researcher becomes part of the ongoing history of scholarship and contributes substantively to the investigation of a subject. Conversely, when the secondary literature is not analyzed or reviewed, the researcher may fail to contribute anything new either to the current scholarly dialogue about a historical topic or, indeed, to the general fund of human knowledge. When the secondary materials are not mastered, a researcher is in danger either of accidental duplication or a naive approach to conclusions, or both.

As a corollary to this rule, it is unwise to cite texts as quoted in secondary sources (and, of course, quite improper to cite such texts as if they had been taken from the original source itself). Secondary sources frequently edit, misquote, and abbreviate sources without giving any indication of the liberties taken with the text.

By way of example, one recent historian of Christian thought, in attempting to prove that various post-Reformation Reformed and Puritan writers held a voluntaristic soteriology, has argued that the Puritan theologian William Ames placed repentance (an act of the will) definitively prior to faith (which necessarily involves the intellect). He cites Ames as follows: “While repentance is indeed an ‘effect’ of faith, ‘Repentance in respect of that carelessness, and anxiety & terror arising

from the Law which it hath joyned with it, doth goe before Faith, by order of nature, as a preparing and disposing cause.’ ”⁸ The sentence in which the citation occurs itself raises questions. If Ames could say that repentance was an “effect” of faith, does Ames think that effects can precede causes, and how does this statement relate to the sentence apparently cited in full by Kendall? When the citation is checked out against Ames’s actual text, however, all becomes clear. In the first place, what appears to be a full sentence is in reality only the first of three independent clauses in a single sentence. In the second place, the sentence, when cited in its entirety, actually proves the opposite point: the “order of nature” to which Ames refers occurs only in the unregenerate and it relates to the so-called second or pedagogical use of the law. Understood, however, as an effective and genuine turning from sin, repentance, Ames makes clear, must follow faith as an effect follows its cause. Contrary to Kendall’s conclusion, this rather neatly mirrors Calvin’s view. Woe to the unsuspecting writer who trusts the secondary source for citations of primary sources!

There are also, of course, numerous forgeries and impostures available to befuddle the historian. This problem is somewhat different from that of the mistaken secondary account; it is instead a problem of fabrication, either at the primary or the secondary level. The “Cardiff Giant” and the “Piltdown Man” are cases of primary fabrication. Both were produced before the modern development of the science of paleontology, but at a time when people were first entranced with prehistoric archaeological discoveries. The Cardiff Giant began as a five-ton block of stone ordered by George Hull of Binghamton, New York, to be carved out of the gypsum deposits near Fort Dodge, Iowa, and sent to Chicago to be fashioned into the shape of a ten-foot tall man. Hull then had the statue transported to Cardiff, New York, and buried in the ground for a year. In 1869, it was unearthed by well-diggers and displayed by Hull as a petrified prehistoric “giant.” After touring for several decades and amazing hosts of spectators, the Cardiff Giant was shown to be a hoax in 1900 by Othniel March of Yale University.

The “Piltdown Man” had a longer and far more successful history. In 1912, Charles Dawson reported his discovery of cranial fragments and a jawbone on Piltdown Common, near Lewes, England. Near these fragments were other humanoid bones and the remains of various

animals not extant in England. In addition, the animal remains showed evidence of having been worked on with tools made of bone and flint. At the time, the Piltdown Man was hypothesized to be an ancestor of modern *Homo sapiens* dating from the Pleistocene age. Although the gravel in which the remains were found was eventually dated from a later era, the Piltdown Man entered textbooks and standard encyclopedias as a genuine human ancestor. Thus, in the 1944 edition of *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* we read that "Piltdown" is "a prehistoric station in Sussex, England, yielding remains of an extinct species of man, Piltdown man (*Eoanthropus dawsoni*), characterized by a retreating, apelike chin and thick cranial bones, but a humanlike cranium." It was only in 1954, as scientists found and studied genuine ancient remains and became more adept at identifying bones and at reconstructing and restoring humans and animals from partial skeletal remains, that the hoax was exposed. The cranial fragments were human, but not ancient; the jawbone was from an orangutan. Together with these and the other bones, various primitive tools had been buried in the gravel of Piltdown Common. Although the discoverer of Piltdown Man, Charles Dawson, has been suspected as the perpetrator of the fraud, no final proof has ever been offered.

Such frauds lie at the edge of historiography and responsibility for their exposure falls into the hands of paleontologists. Nonetheless, fraud belongs to the study of history on two counts and establishes the dependence of historiography on collateral fields of study. The existence of an unexposed fraud relativizes the worth of essays on the subject of prehistoric humans from the era in which the remains were accepted as genuine. Subsequent generations of researchers, including historians of the period, must be careful to take into account the state of knowledge at the time of the fraud, and, second, they must be careful to balance their accounts with a critical recognition of the findings of later scientists.

Chatterton's *Rowley Papers* and MacPherson's epic *Fingal*, attributed to the bard Ossian, are notable examples of imposture — both of which have maintained their place in English literature for their contribution, not to the eras from which they purported to come, but to the beginnings of romanticism in the late eighteenth century. James Macpherson (1736-96) was a schoolmaster whose literary talents were stimulated by old Gaelic poems that he heard in the Scottish highlands. In 1760 he

presented to the literary public *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands*. Not only was the work a success, but the interest in ancient lore, bards, and heroes typical of the beginnings of Romanticism was such that money was raised to send Macpherson to the highlands to find more of these wonderful fragments. In 1762, Macpherson published his *Fingal* and in 1763, *Temora*, two epic poems attributed to the bard Ossian.

When Samuel Johnson and others demanded that Macpherson produce the manuscripts, he refused and was condemned in literary circles as a forger. Despite these accusations, Macpherson gained renown as a student of ancient poetry and was given a government post with a lifetime salary for his efforts. On his death he was interred in Westminster Abbey. Then, in 1807, after Macpherson's death, the Gaelic text of the epics was published, still without any trace of manuscripts. The Gaelic text was quickly judged to be a translation of parts of Macpherson's work back into the ancient language of Scotland. From the perspective of history, we can allow that Macpherson's critics were partially correct; the epics were indeed forgeries, but, contrary to the claims of his detractors, Macpherson had considerable talent and his works had an enormous impact on the rise of Romantic poetry. William Blake, Thomas Gray, and Robert Burns were admirers of the Ossianic poems, and Goethe read the German translation with admiration. In this case, the forgery did not lose its value on discovery, but took a place in the history of literature slightly different from the one intended by its author.

Of a somewhat different order are the *Rowley Papers* by Thomas Chatterton (1752-70). The incredibly gifted young Chatterton began, at about the age of eleven, to produce medieval ballads, family histories, and other documents relating to Thomas Rowley, a priest, and to William Canynge, a merchant, both from the era of Henry VI. The explanation given for the documents was that they had been found in an old English church. As in the case of the Ossianic poems, the ancient style brought immediate interest and the papers were a considerable literary success. Here again, Thomas Gray took an interest, but this time of a more critical nature. He recognized that, despite the usually fine style of the papers, there was occasional misuse of a fifteenth-century word and an occasional anachronistic usage. Here again, however, the imposture had

its effect and, like *Fingal* and *Temora*, contributed to the rise of English Romanticism. The young Chatterton was, undoubtedly, a literary genius of the first order. His early and tragic death is mourned in the forty-fifth stanza of Shelley's "Adonais."

Even more significant among the ranks of forgeries are the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* and the *Donation of Constantine*. In the mid-ninth century, pope Nicholas I appealed to the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, a collection of the letters and decrees of the church of Rome falsely attributed to bishop Isidore of Seville (d. 636), in which the "chair of Peter" was identified as the seat of power in the church, the bishops of Rome as the convener of councils, the final appeal in all controversies and the "universal bishop." The *Decretals* also contained the so-called Donation of Constantine in which Constantine reputedly gave all power in the West to the pope. From the time of Nicholas to the close of the Middle Ages, these documents were viewed as genuine and used as the basis of papal claims to ecclesiastical and civil supremacy. The validity of the documents was questioned in the later Middle Ages by the British scholar Reginald Pecock and finally disproved on linguistic grounds in the Renaissance by Lorenzo Valla. Here again, the identification of the forgery in no way lessens the impact of the documents on history — and the historian becomes responsible both for the understanding of the documents and their impact and for the knowledge of their later exposure as well as their decreasing impact on later generations. The historian also becomes responsible, generally, for the critical examination of evidences for the sake of identifying forgery and imposture.

One less famous but quite insidious imposture is the contribution of one of the anonymous writers for *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Presumably, he became aware that the editorial board of the *Cyclopaedia* was more anxious to receive short biographies of interesting individuals and to improve their style editorially than to check the veracity of the research that had produced the essays in the first place. In addition, writers were paid for each short biography. This particular writer went so far as to invent interesting lives, such as that of the French scientist, Nicholas Henrion (1733-93), who studied medicinal plants in South America, served as physician during the plague in Callao, Peru in 1783, and surveyed the silver and sulphur mines of Peru before returning to France in 1793. Henrion was rewarded by the governor of Peru for his

work against the cholera with “letters of nobility,” but executed on his return to France for suspected royalist sympathies. So detailed is the essay that it notes even that Henrion’s *Herbier expliqué des plantes du Pérou* was published in 2 volumes, quarto, in 1790.

The problem here is that Henrion, like the explorer Bernhard Hühne and some forty other entries in the encyclopedia, is pure fabrication.⁹ Not only might one wonder how his several books on South America were published in French before his return home — but more careful research would reveal that he battled cholera in Peru nearly a half century before its first reported occurrence there. The unwary student’s life is immeasurably complicated by the presence of a genuine Nicholas Henrion in French biographical and bibliographical sources of the time; the real Henrion was a military engineer during the Revolution who published several treatises on that subject. The genuine Henrion is in danger of being reduced to yet another of the accomplishments in the already distinguished career of his non-existent namesake. In this case, there is little useful historical impact of the imposture and much potential harm. At very least, students must be warned of the careless use of secondary sources and reminded of the rule that secondary and tertiary sources ought not normally to be used in dissertations, monographs, and scholarly articles as sources of information not available from primary sources. When the rule is not observed, Henrion’s exploits become a significant part of the history of Peru and other details from the essay embellish the works of careless scholars.

The close examination of these episodes in the history of hoax and fraud show us once again how the social and cultural assumptions of an era influence our thinking and contribute to various forms of credulity. Hoaxes, however, reveal less about credulity at the individual level than they do about what the majority of people in a given age were prepared to see and what they expected to understand. The Piltdown Man was accepted in an age that was enamored with the advances of science and the perception that evolution possessed an uncanny power to make sense of things otherwise mysterious. In this regard, it is well to remember that the specific cases of hoax and fraud we have examined in this chapter pale in significance when compared to the unveiling in the mid-twentieth century of several of the greatest hoaxes of all time. We now know that the histories of at least half the human population and many ethnic

minorities and others without a voice have been neglected or distorted for centuries. It has taken the work of women historians and African American theologians to really convince us that a person's socio-political setting and their personal history profoundly shape both the content and the methods of their scholarship.¹⁰ The rapid maturing of the new fields of women's history and the history of ethnic and religious minorities has raised in an acute form the question of whether it is possible for historians to attain any reasonable degree of detachment and objectivity in reconstructing the past.

The Problem of Objectivity in Historical Study

In specific cases, historians today may attain to a more objective, accurate understanding of the past than either the individual participants in history or earlier historians, but the question naturally arises, is entire objectivity ever attainable, and, more importantly, how may we approach it methodologically? There are, in the first place, several barriers to total objectivity, or what might be called impartiality. Renier correctly notes that "absence of bias is not the same thing as secure knowledge," granting that "the historian's narrative cannot possibly be a faithful and total reproduction of a section of the past."¹¹ The selective nature both of the traces and of the historian's reconstruction stands in the way of total reproduction, and selectivity, whatever its source, stands in the way of totally secure findings. History is continually being rewritten through the use of newly discovered or previously neglected sources; it is of the very essence of sound historiography that it be selective. Renier observes: "no story can be told till a selection has been made among available events, and . . . the selection of facts is a judgment passed upon their importance."¹² With selection and individual judgment comes partiality.

Nonetheless, most contemporary scholars have also resisted the inclination of some early-twentieth-century historians and of some modern hermeneuticians to become lost in a mire of subjectivity and relativism and to claim that the materials of the past mean whatever can be made of them. Certainly, the significance of materials changes over time and new levels of significance are added as materials are carried forward in a tradition of interpretation, but the meaning of the document in its original situation not only does not change but also continues to

limit the significance of the document in the present. Objectivity arises out of a willingness to let the materials of history speak in their own terms while the historian, at the same time, exercises a combination of critical judgment and careful self-restraint. Her objectivity is not measured by a canon of absolute truth; it arises as a standard of the relationship between data and its interpretation.¹³

This objectivity, so important to the understanding of both past and present, results neither from an absence of presuppositions, opinions and existential involvement, nor from an ability to set aside such biases. Rather it results from an honest and methodologically lucid recognition and use of the resident bias as a basis for approaching and analyzing the differences between one's own situation and the situation of a given document or concept. In other words, involvement in the materials of history can lead to a methodologically constructed and controlled objectivity that is quite different from, and arguably superior to, a bland, uninvolved distancing of the self from the materials that must, ultimately, remove the importance from history.

The goal of the student is to attain to balance and objectivity without abdicating one's personality or losing entirely one's sense of involvement in and with the events of history. It is, after all, involvement with past events that engenders continued historical interest. Objectivity in historical study does not, and cannot, exist if it is defined as an absence of involvement with or opinion about the materials. Instead, historical objectivity results from a methodological control of the evidence, of the various levels of interpretation both inherent in and related to the evidence, and of one's own biases and opinions concerning the evidence and the various known interpretations.

The issue of objectivity can be understood, initially, in terms of a balance between what is considered to be a concrete datum and questions of interpretation — ours and someone else's — together with a personal evaluation of the question of empathy and bias. On the one hand, we move toward the creation of a methodological distance between ourselves and the sources. We encounter sources. We write about the sources and deal with them, usually because of a root issue of empathy or bias. We are attracted to writing about something either because we like it or dislike it, because it moves us positively or negatively. The issue in

writing is to try to transcend that basic problem of motivation, and in many ways to *use* the motivation to understand the materials.

For example, the historian may study Jacob Arminius because he or she wishes to understand more about one's own tradition. But the student should not ask whether or not Arminius is ultimately doctrinally right or wrong. Rather, the question is, "Why does he say what he says?" One can find out a lot about why he says what he says by comparing his thinking to the Reformed thinking of his day, and then asking the objectivizing questions, "What is the reason that he moves in one particular direction as opposed to another? What is going on in his mind that leads him in this other direction?" These questions raise the further question of what is fact and what is interpretation. Several elements of the written record are data and fact. We have (1) Arminius's own comments about his own theology, what it is and what it is not, including his comment that he did not read Roman Catholic authors and that he admired John Calvin as much as anybody else. We have (2) the printed catalogue of his library as auctioned off by his widow after his death. In his library we find a wide selection of Roman Catholic books, by authors that he said he did not read and did not recommend to his students. Finally we have (3) his own writings, which are virtually unfootnoted, a fact that while typical of the time, makes it very difficult to analyze the documents. The absence of annotation means that one has to have a hands-on knowledge of a whole series of potential sources in order to check them out against what one is reading. Granting his library and his statements about his work and his theological intentions, and granting the material, so to speak, in the middle — mediating between the books of the library and Arminius's intentions and offering a basis for our interpretation — his own writings, plus (4) the comments of his adversaries, plus (5) the larger theological and philosophical context, one then attempts (very painstakingly) to match his statements with statements in the literature. The result is an Arminius who is very different from the Arminius defined by his opponents, very different from the Arminius that Arminians have wanted to find, and very different from the public Arminius created during the theological debates by Arminius himself. One finds a modified Protestant Thomist, a scholastic thinker, who did indeed read Catholic materials.

The historian, thus, always has to deal with the questions of

interpretation that are lodged in the sources themselves, questions of interpretation that are present in the writings about these materials, and a hard core of data in which there is already interpretation, all of which provide the historian with clues for directions in his or her own thinking. On the one hand, we do not ever want to say that there are facts, or a past, without interpretation. On the other hand, we do want to say that there really are hard data, hard data that have some level of interpretation already in them that has to be critically examined, but data nonetheless.

The approach to objectivity can be enhanced by a candid recognition of the fact that empathy and bias belong to our work, from beginning to end. But the issue of objectivity, empathy, and bias does not rest with a simple discussion of our own empathies and biases, but the empathies and biases that are detectable in the materials themselves, and in the way that our own feelings relate to the empathies and biases in the materials. All of these issues have to be brought to the level of critical consciousness as one is writing.

It is methodologically important that one's empathy or one's bias be registered as an initial issue in method at the very beginning of research, so that the method can begin to cancel out its effects. In research on a doctrinal issue, if you find yourself in disagreement with the teaching of the writer who is the object of your research, your disagreement ought to be drawn into conscious relation to the analysis of the document and methodologically controlled. In research and writing, rather than registering disagreement, what one should register is the way in which one's own understanding of the reasons for a particular intellectual construction are different from the reasons for someone else's intellectual construction. This understanding can then become a tool for asking the question, "Why does this other person formulate the way he or she does?" What one writes about is not the difference of opinion, but what has been discovered about the logic of the other person's formulation, by asking the basic question, "Why is that formulated differently from the way that I have been accustomed to seeing the issue formulated?" One's own writing should not register one's own theological opinion, pro or con. Rather, whatever that opinion was, it merely serves as part of the method in encountering what the other person is thinking or doing. As a historian, one makes no judgment about the rightness or wrongness of the person's teaching.

Finally, the success with which a historian attains objectivity is often related to the specific type of task in which he or she is engaged. When the historian works at the level of simple description, a high degree of objectivity is often possible. It is not difficult to describe certain events in history, or to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that a person acted in a specific way. To return to the example of poll books and electoral behavior, let us say that although England had an Established Church, we know beyond a doubt that Presbyterians voted in parliamentary elections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Objectivity becomes more difficult when we move from the realm of description to that of explanation. Here we are interested in the cause or motivation of a certain behavior; we wish to know why Presbyterians voted and whether or not they were motivated primarily by religion or by economic elements, or what is more likely, by both. Thus establishing the fact of a particular behavior is relatively easy, but determining whether or not the action was intrinsically religious is far more difficult. A third step that the historian often takes removes the goal of objectivity even further from reach, namely, when historians address the question of significance, or larger historical meaning, they engage in a task which will almost inevitably invite debate. If the Presbyterian merchant who voted during the American Revolution was motivated primarily by his socio-economic status, can we conclude more broadly that economic elements were more significant in determining voter preference than ideological or religious elements? In this case, a conclusion one way or the other at this level of generalization will almost certainly be contested, and the possibility of actually proving the case will remain highly unlikely. The historian's dual tasks of assigning causes and construing significance thus put the greatest strain on the goal of objectivity, and yet these tasks are by far the most interesting aspects of the discipline.

[Meaning in History](#)

The question concerning what difference it makes for historians to write from a Christian or non-Christian perspective has been a vital issue in the history of historical writing, and it is properly construed as a particular case of the larger problem of objectivity. Wolfhart Pannenberg has rightly observed that "Church history faces in a way no other branch of

history does the question of the relevance of the religious concern to the understanding of history because it deals with the history of a religion the essence of which is belief in a God who acts in history.”¹⁴ In the past, historians who wrote with Christian convictions wrote very different kinds of things from those who wrote from a non-Christian perspective. We have seen that in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Christians in one tradition had a difficult time understanding Christians in other traditions, to say nothing of those who stood outside these traditions. Since the eighteenth century, great advances have been made along the lines of detaching our Christian commitment from our writing of history, and yet the degree to which one can or ought to interpret texts along the lines of one’s own confessional viewpoint provides grist for an ongoing debate.

In a helpful article on this topic, Harry S. Stout distinguishes between method, empathy, and point of view.¹⁵ One could start at the most objective level and ask, “Does Christian commitment or a Christian perspective have anything to do with the methods we use?” In other words, does a Christian perspective have some intrinsic connection with methodological distinctives? Few people today would wish to argue in favor of this proposition. Then we might ask, “Does a Christian perspective have any bearing on our empathy for the subject of study or bias against it? Does a Christian historian, for example, write about the Christian church with more empathy than the non-Christian?” Some historians have argued that a Christian scholar may write with deeper empathy when treating Christian subjects than the non-Christian; a great deal of attention has been paid of late to the so-called “participant--observer” model of writing church history. Empathy or existential involvement may well account for a historian’s initial interest in a particular subject, but such involvement can as easily create barriers to understanding as avenues for interpretation: the unwary participant--observer can all too easily fall prey to a version of the “Whig interpretation of history,” according to which the forward march of events comes to fruition in his or her own group, theory, or program.¹⁶

Clearly, a non-Christian may write with more understanding than Christians have ever previously written, depending upon how good a historian he or she is and the current state of research and level of sophistication in the secondary literature. The classic case used by Stout

in this regard is Perry Miller and the writing of Puritan history in the early twentieth century. Seventeenth-century Puritans had suffered a great deal of grief at the hands of nineteenth-century historians; as late as the early part of the twentieth century, Puritans were still commonly considered humorless, repressive, and tyrannical. While he could do nothing about the Puritans' characteristic lack of humor, Miller, writing from an agnostic viewpoint, examined the minds of his chosen subjects with remarkable empathy, and he thereby resuscitated the entire reputation of three or four generations of Puritans in colonial America. Evidently, a person writing from a non-Christian perspective can have a powerful impact on reviving an entire segment of the Christian tradition.

We might put the matter rather differently and think of the religious perspective of the scholar as an undesirable handicap, rather than a potentially desirable asset. In this case we should ask whether it is even possible for Christians to write objectively about Christianity. Can Christians deal with their own history in such a way as to discern accurately and responsibly its meaning, even when that meaning does not oblige their preconceptions? If so, can they build on what they have found? The answer to these questions must certainly be "no" if providential or supernatural causes are assigned to events that will never, by their very nature, submit themselves to the methods of the historian. On the other hand, if the religious element is entirely excluded from church history, the historian's conclusions might become so many arguments for atheism.¹⁷

One could argue that Christian faith *might* lead to greater empathy for a subject and thereby greater understanding than a non-faith perspective, but this is clearly not a necessary corollary of faith. What may be claimed at a safe minimum is the ideal that the Christian scholar, granting that he or she possesses sufficient analytical gifts and literary abilities, may bring a point of view to a topic that a non-Christian might not bring. If we return to the basic question of the way that the historian goes about selecting materials, a Christian might bring a perspective to the selection and to the organization of those materials that a non-Christian would not bring, simply because a person's own history and training ultimately do say something about how the materials are selected and ordered. But the entire question of the role of Christian faith in writing history must be examined at different levels. Methodologically, there does not appear to

be much of a debate. Similarly, when we consider the matter of empathy in the modern climate of rigorous analysis and detachment, few, if any, differences between a Christian and a non-Christian approach to scholarship should appear. Even when we put the question in terms of one's point of view, it is not at all obvious that a Christian historian's faith will have a positive bearing upon the work that is done.

While it is not unlikely that the point of view the Christian historian brings to the study of the past will shape what is finally produced in subtle ways, it is impossible to determine ahead of time whether the result will be salutary or not. We have seen the deleterious effect of nominally "Christian" convictions in our study of the slow emergence of critical historiography, and students who are anxious to locate providence in history should be ever mindful of, and loath to return to, that long and tortured process. The theological element that may find its way into the narrative and analysis of the church historian must be recognized as such and introduced only tentatively, and one would hope, winsomely. Adopting for our purposes the contention of Wolfhart Pannenberg concerning the theologian's religious convictions, we believe that these convictions properly belong to the heuristic, not the probative, context of historical analysis and argument. Conclusions that are sympathetic to religion, no matter how great the sincerity of the historian, can only be recovered for church history "when they are studied as a disputed theme in history itself."¹⁸

[Understanding the Past](#)

Students who are eager to find traces of providence in history from which they may elicit personal meaning have commonly failed to consider the long and problematic tradition of history written from a confessional or denominational viewpoint (see chapter 1, above), and they have not given sufficient attention to the historical problem of the discipline of history in relation to theology. The scholarly or objective study of the history of the church and Christian doctrine is a relatively new phenomenon in theology. The discipline is barely two hundred and fifty years old in an intellectual community that has been studying theology for more than seventeen centuries. Before the early eighteenth century when Mosheim wrote his *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History* and Walch

produced his introduction to the religious controversies both in and beyond the Lutheran Church,¹⁹ the history of Christian teaching and religion was, typically, a function of dogmatic theology. A portion of each locus of the dogmatic system was devoted to a polemical description of the “state of the controversy” in which the views of opponents of all sorts, ranging from the perpetually refuted arch-heretics of the patristic period, to various writers of the Middle Ages, to contemporary adversaries, were ranged in chronological order as part of an etiology of error. The construction of such etiologies is, of course, a time-honored practice, dating back to the classical period and observed by the fathers of the church from the late second century onward. Hippolytus dispensed with the gnostics by arguing the origins of Gnosticism in the errors of Greek philosophy, and Athanasius expounded the virtues of Nicaea in his survey of the materials and debates of subsequent councils during the battle against Arianism.²⁰

The object of all these early attempts at the history of Christian doctrine or of heretical opinion was not history as such, but rather a nonhistorical truth standing outside and above the chronology of a problem. History, in other words, has always been recognized as having some importance for the identification of truth, but only in recent times has history been recognized as having an importance in itself as the embodiment of a kind of truth. This latter recognition was, in its initial form, the contribution of Mosheim, Walch, and the historians and theologians of the eighteenth century who followed in their steps.

The importance of history and the dominance of historical method in the contemporary study of religion and theology bear witness, therefore, to the realization that a right understanding of the documents and of the concepts with which theology works is a historically defined and historically governed understanding. The fact that this is a comparatively recent realization means, however, that very few of the documents and concepts of theology will themselves contain or, in their fundamental intellectual direction oblige, a historical model for understanding their own contents or implications. At one level, then, the importance of history is that it provides a context of meaning that was not immediately or even fully available to the creators of the documents.

The people of the fourth century, for example, certainly knew collectively more about the events of their time than we today can ever

reconstruct. Much of the past is lost to us forever. Nonetheless, when we pose the question of the meaning and implication of recorded events, we are in a position, today, through the use of historical method, to know more about the fourth century — or about any past century — than any individual who lived at that time. It is not simply that we know the course of events beyond the life span of individual people. We also are able to understand trajectories of ideas and patterns of debate free from the blinding biases of the moment.

We can draw, by way of illustration of the point, on one of the previously mentioned examples: Athanasius's chronologically organized analysis of the fourth-century councils has little understanding of either the Arian or the Nicene or the non-Nicene, non-Arian views of the relationship of the Father and the Son as growing out of and dependent upon an earlier history of developing Christian God-language. It never occurred to Athanasius that the Arian and the various non-Nicene views of the Godhead had roots in the undeniably orthodox teachings of such writers as the Apologists of the second century, Hippolytus of Rome, and Irenaeus, and even had some affinities with the pronouncements of Tertullian. Tertullian, after all, saw no difficulty for Christian theism in the statement that "there was a time when . . . the Son was not," the very sentiment for which Arius was condemned.²¹ It also most probably never occurred to Athanasius that the gnostic and hermetic use of the term *homoousios*, still remembered by the church at the time of Nicea, may have exerted a positive influence on ecclesiastical usage — or, indeed, as Ambrose later testified, that the primary reason for selecting the term was not its positive theological worth but the fact that Arius and his followers held it to be anathema.²²

History and Self-Understanding

Historical understanding of documents and ideas will, therefore, frequently be rather different than the self-understanding of those who held the ideas and who produced the documents, although it will try to analyze and to grasp that original self-understanding as part of the task of historical interpretation. These two elements of historical understanding are crucial to the work of reconstructing the past, whether for the sake of an accurate representation of the past in and for itself, or for the sake of

the present-day use of the materials of the past. On the one hand, accurate reconstruction entails the establishment of a legitimate vantage point for the analysis of an idea or document. This vantage point will allow the historian to take into consideration the cultural context, antecedent to, contemporary with, and subsequent to, the particular object of study.

In the study of the history of doctrine, the methods of intellectual history demand attention to the development and use of particular vocabularies and to the way in which those vocabularies function in a specific, historically discerned and reconstructed context of meaning. The past, in other words, cannot mean what we want it to mean — its ideas cannot be forced, certainly not at an initial stage of interpretation, into our contemporary context of meaning. The very terms of an argument, even if they continue to be used in seemingly identical arguments today, will have changed in meaning, if ever so slightly, with the result that our contemporary understanding of those terms will stand in tension with our right understanding of the way in which they functioned in a different time and place.

On the other hand, present-day use of the materials of the past also requires a clear sense of the difference and distinction between the setting of the document and the contemporary setting, as well as a knowledge of the historical path that connects the document with the present and that, in addition to enabling it to speak with a continued relevance to our situation, accounts for the differences between the perspective of the document and our present-day perspective. In those cases when the contents of a document are totally or nearly totally strange to us, the cultural context of the document in its social, religious, political and linguistic particularity will most certainly provide the best, if not the only, corridor of access to the meaning and implication of the document. Without a grasp of that context, the contents of the document will either remain utterly puzzling to us or they will be assimilated to, and therefore misinterpreted by, our own cultural and intellectual milieu. The point is particularly telling when a specific document or set of ideas, despite the remoteness of its situation from ours, so belongs to the foundations of our own thinking that its right interpretation is necessary to our own self-understanding.

An example of this latter dilemma (again, remaining within the

bounds of the historical problems already noted) is the attempt of a fairly well-known contemporary theologian to argue that the Nicene or Athanasian *homoousios* means “that God himself is the content of his revelation in Jesus Christ” and that the “Gift” is “identical” with the “Giver.”²³ In the first place, the term *homoousios* implies no particular theory of revelation, most certainly not a theory of revelation as “personal” rather than “propositional,” such as appears to underlie these statements. In the second place, although the term certainly does indicate the essential (although not the individual or personal) identity of God the Father with the divine Logos incarnate in Jesus Christ, it in no way implies either the identity of God with Jesus Christ, who was both divine and human, or the identity of Jesus Christ with the entirety of God’s revelation. After all, Athanasius strongly affirmed, in agreement with virtually all of his predecessors in the patristic era, the revelatory work of the Logos *asarkos*, that is, of the Logos apart from the flesh, in and through the created order. Moreover, inasmuch as revelation is the work and not the being of the Logos, the Logos itself cannot be identical with revelation. In addition, Athanasius’s clear distinction of divine persons, together with his assumption that the Logos, as second in order, serves a mediatorial function, precludes any theory of a total revelation of the transcendent Father — and, therefore, once again, any thought of an identity between God and his self-revelation.²⁴ Whatever the merit of a twentieth-century theory of the identity of God with his self-revelation, it is an example of badly done history to thrust the theory upon Athanasius. It is also exceedingly unlikely that badly done history can be the basis of well-done theology.

[The Importance of History](#)

The point of this discussion is not that history “teaches lessons” about the good and the bad, the moral and the immoral. Such lessons are the province of ethics, not of history. The importance of history lies instead in the realm of the identification and definition of issues and of the cultivation of objectivity in judgment. The assignment of value — whether ethical, philosophical or theological — to the ideas and events of the past is not, per se, a historical task. Where the ethicist, the philosopher or the theologian judges crime or error or heresy, the

historian reports analytically with a view toward meaning in the original context. When a historian does write of crime or error or heresy, those judgments arise not out of the opinion of the historian but out of the clear presentation of the views of the contemporaries of the individual, idea, or event in question. Thus, Arianism is not a heresy and the teaching of Athanasius not orthodoxy because a contemporary historian says so, but because the church of the fourth century, represented in two ecumenical councils, offered that opinion.

When, moreover, historians reappraise decisions of the past, they do so on the basis of evidence drawn from the past, not on the basis of present-day assumptions. Thus, several twentieth-century scholars have argued that Nestorius was, at least in his intentions, essentially orthodox. Their point is not that the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon were incorrect in their assignment of boundaries to christological orthodoxy in the fifth century — and certainly not that the twentieth century can claim, on historical grounds, that what was once heterodox can now be appropriated as useful teaching. Instead, these scholars have examined a recently rediscovered treatise by Nestorius and have reexamined the evidence from Nestorius's debate with Cyril of Alexandria and have concluded that Nestorius's views may have been misconstrued for political reasons. In other words, the theological rectitude of the councils is not an issue, but the accurate representation of the views of the historical Nestorius and of his relationship to the views known as Nestorianism is an issue for the historian.²⁵

The importance of history, therefore, in general and in its specific relationship to the graduate study of the Christian church and its tradition, can be found both in the importance of the remains of times past and in the importance of the cultivation of an objective approach to the materials of religion and theology. If Leopold von Ranke's maxim concerning the reconstruction of the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen" (as it really was) is understood not as an attainable object but as the description of the fundamental intention of historical method, it ceases to be an unattainable dream and becomes a practical guide. More than that, it becomes the first step in a process of education or, perhaps, a hermeneutical circle, that moves from the materials of history to the historian or theologian in the present-day context and then back again to the materials; that creates a perspective for understanding the materials

themselves, the larger tradition to which they belong, and in addition one's own situation in the present; and that provides an attitude and a set of intellectual tools for the better evaluation of all of the ideas and materials of theology.

If the graduate study of the Christian church and its tradition is to be designed to train teachers and leaders for service in seminaries, universities, and churches, the balance and the objectivity, together with the understanding of materials, past and present, and of one's self that are to be gained from historical study, are indispensable. History provides, on the one hand, a source of breadth for contemporary theology inasmuch as its vast resources of ideas and perspectives manifest a variety and a range of insight quite beyond the reach of an individual mind or of a community of minds at a particular time. When approached by means of a balanced and objective historical method, these resources, simply by reason of their breadth and of their cultural and intellectual relation to our present, lend a certain balance and objectivity to our own discourse.

On the other hand, history offers a source of limitation inasmuch as its resources frequently manifest the failure of plans, projects, ideas, and systems, or demonstrate the inability of certain teachings to bear an intellectual freight for which they were not designed. It has sometimes been said that the modern church, usually because of its ignorance of the patristic period, has tended to duplicate in its theology most of the errors and problems of the first five centuries of Christian thought. When approached in a balanced and objective manner, history provides insight into the limitation of our powers, if only by preserving the reasons for the failures of the past and, in the case of the theological tradition, showing the boundaries within which the community has chosen to formulate its views.

The importance of objectively recounted history lies, therefore, both in the task itself and in the use of its result. From the task itself not only is there gained a knowledge that has its own value as knowledge, but also the mind of the investigator is trained in an approach to materials that yields balance and solidity of judgment as well as clearer self-understanding. From the result of objective historical investigation comes an indispensable tool for the exercise of critical judgment and for the formulation of ideas in the present. Theological and religious

understanding have profited immensely from the revolution in historical thinking that took place during the eighteenth century. Training in theology, especially at the advanced level of a graduate program, whatever the field or sub-discipline, gains its substance and its perspective from history.

1. J. R. Vincent, *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 1-33.

2. Tertullian, *On Modesty (De Pudicia)*, chap. 21, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts et al., 10 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1899-1900), 4:99.

3. Cf. James Arminius, *The Works of James Arminius*, trans. James and William Nichols, 3 vols. (1825-75; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1986), 1:299-301; cf. Geeraert Brandt, *The History of the Reformation . . . in and about the Low Countries*, 4 vols. (1720-23; repr. New York: AMS, 1979), 2:49-50; and see the discussion in Richard A. Muller, *God, Creation and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1991).

4. Kurt Blaukopf, *Mahler* (London: Futura, 1974), pp. 20, 25, 31.

5. Edward H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage, 1961), pp. 7, 26.

6. Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 4th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), p. 124 n. 18.

7. See below, chapter 4.

8. R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 160, citing William Ames, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London, 1643), p. 128.

9. See the discussion in Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (New York: Heath, 1938), pp. 131-32.

10. James H. Cone, *God of the Oppressed* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1975), p. vi.

11. G. J. Renier, *History: Its Purpose and Method* (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), p. 249.

12. Renier, *History*, p. 250.

13. Carr, *What Is History?* pp. 158-59. The best sustained discussion of the distinction between neutrality and objectivity and the viability of maintaining a standard of objectivity is found in Thomas Haskell's vigorous rebuttal of Peter Novick. See Thomas L. Haskell, *Objectivity Is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

14. Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Theology and the Philosophy of Science* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), p. 396.

15. Harry S. Stout, "Theological Commitment and American Religious History," *Theological Education* 25 (1989): 44-59.

16. Note the now-classic essay by Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: Norton, 1965).

17. Pannenberg, *Theology and the Philosophy of Science*, p. 396.

18. Pannenberg, *Theology and the Philosophy of Science*, pp. 321, 399.

19. Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern*, trans. James Murdock, ed. H. Soames, 4 vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1841, originally published in 1726-55); Johann Georg Walch, *Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 5 vols. (Jena, 1730-39); and idem, *Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten, welche sonderlich ausser der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche entstanden*, 5 vols. (Jena, 1733-36).

20. See Hippolytus of Rome, *The Refutation of all Heresies*, Book I, *prooemium*, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 5:10; Athanasius, *De Synodis*, in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 14 vols. (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900), 4:448-80.

21. Tertullian, *Against Hermogenes*, chap. 3, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 3:478; cf. Arius, *Letter to Alexander*, in Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 16, in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4. (N.B. Tertullian's language is clearer in the Latin original: "Fuit autem tempus . . . et filius non erat" in PL, 2.200.)

22. On the history of the term *homoousios*, see G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: SPCK, 1952), pp. 197-201; and for its usage in the hermetic literature see *Hermetica*, ed. and trans. Walter Scott, 4 vols. (repr. Boston: Shambhala, 1985), 1:118 (Poimandres, 10).

23. Thomas F. Torrance, *The Trinitarian Faith: The Evangelical Theology of the Ancient Catholic Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), pp. 138, 305.

24. Cf. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, pp. 214-18, especially p. 218; with Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Faith 100-600*, vol. 1 of his *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971-1989), pp. 202-6.

25. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrine*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 310-17.

3. The Initial Stages of Research and the Use of Bibliographic and Reference Sources

We proceed from a formal consideration of the various subject matters and their subdisciplines to the practical task of research itself. Once a student has chosen to work in the broad field of church history or theology, he or she will soon encounter the need to select and narrow a viable topic of research. In some respects, the mental processes of choosing and limiting a topic are time-honored and traditional; in other respects, the use of computer-assisted searches has influenced even our preliminary considerations. This chapter sets forth the methods by which students may delimit a topic; we then introduce a wide variety of bibliographical tools, including those that utilize the latest techniques of storage and retrieval, and we show how the judicious use of these tools and techniques should contribute to a successful outcome. We will find that traditional resources and guides, when used in conjunction with computer databases and the Internet, offer advantages in both the method of selecting a topic, and in the creation of new areas of research.

Selecting and Narrowing a Topic

When the research student first considers selecting and narrowing a field of study, personal interest in the topic is an important beginning point, because in most cases, engagement with the field will extend considerably beyond the three- or four-year period of graduate studies. Students will commonly continue academic work well beyond the completion of the degree and may thus be involved in the general area of research chosen for the dissertation topic for ten or even twenty years. An individual's personal interest in the research topic raises once again the issue of bias and the theological and/or Christian commitment of the researcher. Indeed, the student's own theological or scholarly pilgrimage ought to come into play at some point, since an investment in the worth

of the topic is often necessary for sustaining an interest in an area for a long period of time. This chapter will show, however, that the problem of bias and personal interest can be brought into fruitful tension with the process of narrowing and selecting a topic.¹

Students should be able to answer with some sophistication the question of why they are engaged in advanced historical or theological studies. The specific reason that one finds a topic interesting is less important than the interest itself. Everyone should take the time to ponder the wide variety of circumstances that lead to the decision to study a particular topic, ranging from objective matters largely beyond one's control, to highly personal and subjective choices. If, for example, a professor's advice about a topic is alone determinative, the student may not fully adopt the topic as his or her own possession. On the other hand, a degree of tentativity about the viability of a subject should be cultivated, especially in the early stages of research, because it is imperative that the particular shape of the project be determined primarily by the evidence, rather than by a predetermined notion about the results of research.² The best approach is characterized by a healthy tension between genuine commitment to the value of the subject and the integrity that comes into play when one examines a topic with detachment. Nothing is more difficult for the researcher than maintaining a balance between interest and detachment, and yet nothing is more valuable in the quest for objectivity.³

It is not uncommon for a student to begin on a topic, only to find after a significant investment of time and energy that it is less compelling than originally thought. In such a case, it is essential that both mentor and student be sufficiently flexible to start afresh on a new topic. Even six months or more of time spent on a topic that ultimately proves abortive is not lost, because by this time the basic method of research is well-established and the student will have acquired a working knowledge of a number of scholarly tools. The fact that much of the energy that is devoted to an advanced degree is properly focused upon developing the skills of research is in itself a salutary motive for the endeavor. Indeed, almost any topic will serve this purpose, even those for which the student can muster little enthusiasm. But without a positive interest in the field, students are not likely to be able to maintain sufficient interest in a long-term program of research. Thus a willingness to turn to a different topic

at a relatively early stage in scholarly production may actually help preserve a career of scholarship that would otherwise be jeopardized. It is also well to remember that if the general area of the dissertation does not carry a scholar for a decade or more beyond the Ph.D., the area of research can serve as the point of departure for writing articles and monographs in adjacent areas. Students should not be intimidated by the consequences of their choice, but they should think seriously about how their topic will bear upon the whole future of their academic career in one way or another.

The value of staying with the original topic for several years beyond the Ph.D. is revealed by the second book that will begin to show what a person can really do in their chosen field. To make a significant breakthrough in any scholarly field it is necessary to move past one's dissertation. Only *after* the dissertation does one finally learn the discipline well enough to play with the materials, and it is the long-term investment in a field of research that is really productive. Not infrequently, students will produce a good dissertation only to turn to other things, but it is the long-term cultivation of a specialized area that will produce lasting results.

The long-range view of scholarly activity we are advocating here is important for another reason. At the beginning of a research project, when supervisors require a student to narrow the topic down, the common fear is that the subject will become so narrow as to lose all relevance. Thus existential interest in the area seems to be threatened by the need to find a heretofore unexamined field of primary research. This tension between relevance and originality is highly salutary, and if at times the first is sacrificed to the second, the student will have the assurance that at least he or she is acquiring a proper methodology. But it is at this point that a consideration of the long-term perspective can help alleviate the student's anxiety. In time, the narrow study will broaden in scope, and if at the outset of one's career the first piece of research examines only a decade, the second book may cover the period of a generation. Only mature scholars should attempt to write the history of a century or an era, or a system of theology, and thus the inculcation of a proper method at the outset will one day lead to a much broader scope with even greater relevance.

If some students worry about the narrow focus of their dissertation

topic, others may feel that their course of study is too broad and not directly germane to their primary purpose of producing a publishable piece of research. These people may need to be reminded that they are not only learning the methods of technical research, but acquiring the skills of comparison, balance, and a due sense of proportion — in a word, the characteristics of a teacher.⁴ These are qualities that can only be acquired by wide reading and broad-ranging reflection. The greatest benefits in graduate work thus come to those who expend considerable effort in both detailed, close reading of texts that cover perhaps merely months of time or a single doctrinal locus, and reading that ranges at least across the decades of the century in which they work.

The second step in selecting a topic involves asking the question, “Does it exist?” and this question should be put at the same time we ask, “What is it?” Is the topic the student wishes to write about a real topic, or is he or she moving into an area that by its very nature will not sustain research. For example, one might consider the topic “The View of the New World Reflected in Dante’s *Inferno*.” Granting that Dante died in 1321, there cannot be views of the new world reflected there. It is not uncommon for students to imagine topics that are in fact not topics, because they may believe there are sources available for a topic that in fact do not exist. Once it is clear that a topic is viable, then one has to ask, “Is what I have thought of as a topic something that everybody in the field already knows about? Is my chosen topic covered exhaustively in somebody else’s monograph, or in a major article in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*?” and if so, the topic must be abandoned. One might then ask the question, “Can I deal with a subtopic of this issue that appears to be common knowledge, the subtopic not being common knowledge? Is there a ramification of it that no one else has seen?” From the very outset of research, students must think about the distinction between a discovery that is new to them and a discovery that makes a genuine contribution to a field. The majority of one’s early insights will fall into the former rather than the latter category, and in one sense, the entire goal of the search in secondary literature is to enable the student to make this critical discrimination with certainty.

These questions raise the issue of the scope of the topic. “The History of the Necessity and Extent of the Atonement from the First Century to the Present” is not a dissertation topic, but a multi-volume series,

probably written by more than one established scholar. The question must be asked, “Am I choosing a topic that can be examined in some 200-350 pages?” That may be hard to do at the beginning, and one has to be aware of the need to adjust as progress is made on the project. A person might begin a doctoral dissertation on “Spiritual Gifts in the Early Church,” assuming that there was just enough material in the sources to sustain the dissertation. After several months of research, it might become evident that the materials were rich to the point of embarrassment, and thus it should be admitted that the early church was far too great a period for the scope of the dissertation. The doctoral advisor should be able to help with the matter of scope and the general outside parameters of a topic. But students themselves should constantly ask, “What is the extent of this topic? How can I narrow it down?” One of the ways of doing this in dissertation research is to think about the various parts of the dissertation and ask, “Is this piece of research a thirty-page chapter? Or is this piece a two-hundred-page topic? Do I need to re-adjust?” These are questions that should be asked at the outset, but they also need to be asked over and over again. Selecting a topic is not a separate matter from narrowing a topic; these tasks actually interrelate and one should keep on asking such questions as the project develops.

We have alluded to a number of ways of narrowing a topic. The most obvious way for the historian is chronology. It is not uncommon today for dissertations in modern British political history to be confined to a single administration that may extend to only three or four years. A student may also narrow their area by means of a subtopic. This approach allows one to examine the broader field while concentrating in more detail on specific aspects that have heretofore been neglected, and for this reason, it holds great promise for maintaining a connection with the student’s interests. Within the chronological period of the eighteenth century, for example, one might concentrate on a single denomination or movement. Another way of narrowing a topic is to focus on a particular method that has not been used before. Today this often involves quantification. A researcher begins with certain impressions about an area of historical study, but these impressions are based upon qualitative, impressionistic evidence. It is then useful to look at that data and say, “Is there a way of quantifying this?”

A topic may also be narrowed by the specific type of subject matter to

be studied (which is closely related to method, but somewhat different). Is there a possibility of bringing a new set of documents or source materials to bear on a topic that has already been examined? One example of this is found in the distinction between printed and manuscript sermons. In colonial America, printed sermons have been quite thoroughly examined, but the study of manuscript sermons is currently an active area of research. In late-eighteenth-century Britain, however, neither published nor unpublished sermons have been examined in sufficient detail. In this case, a student would probably wish to select a representative sample of sermons of either the published or unpublished variety, though it might well make sense to draw from both types of sources. In any case, the type of source examined may serve as one method for narrowing a topic. This method is particularly useful in light of the vast new collections of source material that are available on the Internet.

Finally, one may narrow geographically. Suppose one wished to study the relationship of church and state through the medium of preaching during the period of the American Revolution. The topic could be studied in the North American colonies, or it could be confined to England. One might also choose to study church and state in Wales or Scotland and have a legitimate topic, assuming that the conclusions one draws are geographically as well as chronologically specific. But by the same token, we should note that it is probably not a valid dissertation topic to examine all four of these countries. The examination of two countries might be desirable, and we thereby arrive at yet another principle of delimitation in research, namely, comparative analysis. If, for example, other dissertations have already been done on each of two countries, there is the possibility of a dissertation arising from a comparative study of the two through an investigation that looks at parallels, influences, and differing outcomes. On the other hand, a dissertation that is historical in orientation and that deals with institutions or movements, as distinct from ideas, will not often be attempted on both America and Britain. Of course, there are exceptions. One might realistically address the transatlantic community, a topic of recent high interest among scholars, but if the geographical spread is too broad, it will commonly take the beginning student too far afield. Even in the case of North America alone, it would be critically important to distinguish between New

England, mid-Atlantic, and Southern regions; attitudinal differences will be found related to the different political contexts, and the difficulty of handling the vast body of literature and attending to the need for properly nuanced distinctions might require that the student narrow the topic to two, or possibly even one, of these three regions. Much attention has also been given to religion and political authority in local studies that deal with one or more towns within a single colony.

In philosophy, the history of ideas, or the history of doctrine, there are additional ways to limit a topic. No one will be able to write a dissertation on the entire philosophy of Thomas Aquinas or the entire thought of David Hume. When we consider the philosophy of a great thinker, then we begin to ask about the impact of other materials on that writer. Naturally, we are limited by which materials the person had access to, which may not be geographical. But then again, the question of the influences on a person's thought may have certain relationships to geography. At different periods in history the flow goes in different directions. It is obvious, for example, in late-seventeenth-century British philosophy that the impact of Cartesianism must be registered somewhere after 1660, and we should ask, "How is Descartes's thought coming across the Channel and how is it being interpreted?" At the same time, we must begin to register the impact of British philosophy on the continent. For example, one can observe the impact of Hume on Voltaire. But there is far less impact of German philosophy on the French in the eighteenth century than English philosophy on the French. Christian Wolff does not significantly impact the French, but Hume definitely does. In the history of thought, it is not so much the geographical limitations as the lines of communication that are important, and these have to be clearly traced out.

It is entirely legitimate to discuss late-seventeenth- or eighteenth-century British philosophy, or nineteenth-century British philosophy, on the condition that the student is careful to note continental influences. That is a proper limitation in that it permits one to restrict the main lines of analysis to British thinkers and not have entire chapters on individual continental thinkers. A student can build in geographical limitation, even in those areas, as long as the lines of influence are defined. By the same token, one might discuss late-eighteenth-century German biblical criticism, as long as one carefully notes the impact of the English deists,

but this does not necessitate having separate chapters on the deists. The student can take for granted a whole body of research that has already been done on the deists and focus instead upon their impact on the Germans. Proper footnoting handles the comprehensive survey of secondary sources, rather than exposition in the text. In this case, then, the geographical distinction does work, as long as one is careful about it.

In the process of selecting and narrowing a topic, research students may now take advantage of the powerful new tools available on the Internet. The new techniques and databases are so important that they already have become, in and of themselves, one means of finding and delimiting a viable topic. On the one hand, this technology simplifies certain aspects of the initial search process, but on the other hand, because of the comprehensive and extensive bibliographic reach of these vast databases, it adds new and sometimes daunting complexity to the task. Neither the possibilities nor the pitfalls of these new sources can be adequately grasped apart from a thorough acquaintance with the traditional tools of research.

Current Research Techniques and New Bibliographic Databases in Church History and Theology

Major methodological advances in the humanities are usually not as frequent, nor as dramatic, as advances in the natural sciences. Two notable exceptions to this rule are found in the period of the Enlightenment and in the current revolution in the storage and retrieval of information. For over 200 years the basic methods of historical investigation have remained essentially the same, but while the mental tools of the Enlightenment have not been superseded, they are no longer sufficient for critical historical study. Advances in technology are currently influencing the humanities on a scale comparable to the impact of the scientific method during the Enlightenment, and scholars are now talking about the influence of the computer on the study of history as a *paradigm-defining* change. This change was adumbrated two decades ago at a time prior to the massive impact of electronic books, online journals, and above all digitization projects of major collections of rare books and archives. Given the florescence of these projects, historiography in all fields has undergone a massive paradigm shift.⁵

Thirty-five years ago it was commonly thought that the use of computers and sources in microform applied to only certain types of historical investigation, such as economic and social history, or more narrowly, to those areas that were susceptible to quantification. Research on the impact of religious belief on voting behavior is one example of the use to which quantitative data was often put. But a number of well-known scholars resisted the so-called “new history” with a passion that bordered on paranoia. They feared that the new methods would drain history of meaning; most of the critics worked in the field of intellectual history, and in their apprehensions, the specter of economic determinism was always standing in the wings.⁶

Church historians have been even more reluctant than historians of ideas to embrace the new technology, and apparently for the same philosophical reasons.⁷ Innovations in storing and searching documents have simply passed these critics by and placed the debate on an entirely new footing. It is now evident that scholars in all areas of history and theology must become thoroughly acquainted with the new techniques. The revolution in the manipulation of information made possible by the computer and the Internet is clearly transforming the nature of research, though, to be sure, the mental habits of disciplined study and critical judgment remain unchanged. The areas in which students can safely ignore the new methods and source mediums are becoming fewer, and even those scholars working in areas as yet untouched by this technology can still benefit from an exposure to the conceptual elegance of unimpeded research and exhaustive, near-perfect bibliographies.

In many, if not most, fields of historical and theological inquiry, the nature of critical study today thus necessarily entails the utilization of new searching techniques based on the Internet. The new techniques and sources have considerable relevance for research students in a variety of ways. For example, given the ease of access to full text databases on the Internet, the need for students to locate themselves near large research libraries is definitely lessened. Above all, however, the new technology bodes well for the creation of new research projects alluded to throughout this book. Indeed, old topics can now be reexamined, but with more extensive documentation and, hence, greater precision. New areas of research are opening rapidly as the capabilities of the new techniques are recognized. It is now possible to study the number of editions of

religious pamphlets and the place where they were published, and this in turn will allow us to offer new interpretations concerning the influence of religious ideas. The entire written corpus of less well-known persons can now be examined, and these works will often provide enough new material to sustain a thesis or dissertation. Clearly, the use of the new techniques for identifying people in the past has implications for the study of minorities and women's studies in church history. The power these tools offer the historian in primary research is simply unparalleled in history, and the same observations apply to searches of secondary literature, both unpublished (dissertations) and published (articles and monographs). Clearly, traditional hard copy bibliographies, particularly in specialized fields, will remain essential, but given the current rate of proliferation of monographic literature, computerized searching has become mandatory.

Researchers on the Internet need to understand a basic distinction between the public and the hidden web — or as also identified, the visible and invisible or the surface and deep web. Recent estimates of the amount of material on the worldwide Internet web have claimed that nearly five hundred times as much material exists on the hidden web as on the public or surface web that is searched by such standard engines as Google and Yahoo. The difference between the public and the hidden web may be compared to that between fast food and fine dining: with your automobile as a search engine, you will be able not only to locate a fast-food vendor, you will also be able to get your meal at a drive-through window without ever leaving the car — but with the same search engine, you can only manage to locate fine dining. In the absence of a drive-through window, accessing fine dining will mean setting aside your first search engine and using another, namely, your feet. Google and Yahoo deal in fast food; they do not provide the fine dining of online research bibliographical tools and online library access. Moreover, inasmuch as these public search engines do not access the hidden or deep web, they do not come close, by themselves, to serving the needs of even a beginning researcher.

Nearly all major bibliographical tools and nearly all significant text resources, the portals of which can be located by standard public search engines, belong to the hidden or deep web: the online catalogs of major universities, the Online Computer Library Center's (OCLC) FirstSearch,

the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) Religion Database, and Journal Storage (JSTOR) discussed below, as well as sources discussed in chapter 4, such as the *Patrologia*, Early English Books Online (EEBO), and so forth. These resources of the hidden web also need to be distinguished into unrestricted and restricted databases.

Most online library catalogs belong to the unrestricted databases: one can access the libraries, for example, of the University of California system, Duke University, Princeton University, Oxford University, Leiden University, and so forth, either directly by finding and entering their library home pages on the Internet or by using a tool such as LibWeb that provides a convenient portal to most of the major library sites (<http://.lib-web.org/>). These resources classify as hidden but unrestricted inasmuch as Google and Yahoo will not enter their databases, but — once the entry point to the database is located, including through Google or Yahoo — the database may be used by anyone without need of a log-in or password. Some online libraries not only offer their catalogs for bibliographical purposes, but, like the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the Jan Laski Bibliothek in Emden, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, also offer select holdings in digitized form to the public.

By contrast, such resources as OCLC FirstSearch, the ATLA Religion Database, and JSTOR (all bibliographical), and the *Patrologia* and Eighteenth Century Collections Online or ECCO (both text libraries, the latter two digitized and word-searchable), not only cannot be accessed directly by means of a Google or Yahoo search, but once a prospective user has found the home page or portal, a log-in and password will be necessary.⁸ Typically, access to these databases can be gained by way of the websites of major research libraries — available to all users within the library (using the library's own system that includes proper log-in) and to regularized users like faculty and students by way of external access (using a library card or other identification for access).

There is also a middle category, of which the British National Maritime Museum at Greenwich is an example: it is a hidden database that asks for a log-in and password, but allows anyone the privilege of requesting a log-in and password for entrance. Subsequent entrance to the site is governed by the log-in and password, which typically expire after a term or after a period of non-use.

Church History and Theology: Research in Secondary Sources

Dissertations and Theses

One of the first steps in doctoral research is to determine whether the proposed topic of one's dissertation has been researched by someone else at the doctoral level and whether her or his dissertation covers the topic in such a way as to make further research unnecessary. Logically, one might begin with a bibliographical search for scholarly monographs, or even with a search of the periodical literature. By far the best approach, however, is to begin with a search of the dissertation literature.

This is a simple piece of advice that offers several advantages to those who follow it. It is, in the first place, a salutary exercise because it leads the student to think about the character and scope of dissertation topics and to begin to look at what other students have done at other seminaries and universities across the land. The dissertation search ought to lead to conclusions about what can be accomplished in a dissertation and about the length and breadth and depth of research topics at the doctoral level. In the second place, granting the exhaustive cataloging done by University Microfilms for *Dissertation Abstracts International*, now available online through ProQuest's Digital Dissertations and OCLC's FirstSearch (both by subscription), the current character of the listing of titles and abstracts, and the careful bibliographical work required in most doctoral research, together with the availability of all cataloged dissertations from University Microfilms, the dissertation search can offer the most convenient access to recent work, whether in the form of dissertations or in the form of references to the monographic and periodical literature. It is not a crime — in fact, it is a prerequisite to good research — for a student to pay close attention to the bibliographical work of previous scholars.

The Bibliography at the end of this book lists several older hard-copy searching tools that offer a comprehensive listing of dissertations for the earlier period, but these have now been superseded by the online databases, and in particular, the new Open Access Theses and Dissertations (<http://www.oatd.org>), which, unlike the commercial ventures, provides unrestricted access to dissertations, many in full text (Bib. I.A). Master's-level theses typically need not be consulted; there are very few cases when a master's thesis ought to give anyone pause for

concern. This observation would be less true in the case of British commonwealth countries than it is in the United States; M.Lit. theses from Oxford or Cambridge, for example, are usually of high quality. Most American master's theses, however, will be fairly superficial treatments of a topic, and even if they cover precisely the topic that one is dealing with, the Ph.D. dissertation should supersede any master's work considerably.

Students should be alert to the problematic nature of the older title "*Dissertation Abstracts International*," and the current online resources, because the term raises the issue of the difficulty of estimating the exact geographic and retrospective extent of the database coverage. Although it is referred to as an "international" guide, its coverage of dissertations for the period before 1976 is limited almost exclusively to dissertations produced in North America. Moreover, the online versions of some of the abstracts were truncated by UMI (when compared to the older, hard-copy versions), and very few listings provide any abstract at all for dissertation titles before 1980. For the earlier period, only authors and titles are listed, and hence the search parameters that one adopts for dissertations completed before 1980 need to be thought through with even greater than normal care. Once the appropriate dissertations are chosen, they may typically be ordered in either soft, unbound copies or obtained in electronic PDF files. Many dissertations by UMI may also be borrowed on interlibrary loan through local library services (see below under Library Networks and Online Libraries).

Several ancillary tools are also of use in obtaining titles of dissertations in history, and specifically in church history and historical theology. The American Historical Association allows open access to dissertation titles completed in history departments in North America and supports a separate search for some history dissertations *currently in progress* (<http://www.historians.org/dissertations/>). The British counterpart to *Dissertation Abstracts International* is the ProQuest Dissertations and Theses — UK & Ireland, available by subscription (http://www.proquest.com/products-services/pqdt_uk_ireland.html). Many dissertations completed in the U.K. can be obtained in full text from the British Library's Electronic Theses Online Service (<http://ethos.bl.uk/>), and retrospective digitization is ongoing. Researchers who are working on topics centered in other foreign

countries will have recourse to the specialized dissertation guides for those specific countries. Harvard University provides a fine guide for obtaining dissertations around the world, and it organizes the web page by the dissertation's country of origin (<http://guides.hcl.harvard.edu/dissertations>), but the searches for some countries are by subscription only. An indirect avenue to dissertation searches may be taken by identifying doctoral advisors and their students. For example, the American Historical Association's site, noted above, allows one to search dissertation titles by doctoral advisor and by departments of history. Similarly, directories of scholars (which are often arranged by century or era) can assist in locating dissertations by determining the advisors' areas of interest and their current research. The International Directory of Scholars, members of the Renaissance Society of America, and the Directory of Scholars of the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference are all available online, though access is by subscription (<http://www.itergateway.org/>). The International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies also maintains a directory that allows searches by scholars' names and research interest with open access.

The question of the retrospective extent of these volumes raises a further issue: the dissertation search can safely be concentrated upon the last forty years, or fifty years at the most. Dissertations that were written before 1960 are usually of much less concern. Given the technological and methodological advances typical of most disciplines in the humanities in the last generation, one can be fairly certain that a dissertation written before 1960 is not going to pose a major threat to current research efforts. In addition, the best dissertations of the past have typically either been published in book form or consistently noted in subsequent studies of the same topic.

The main scholarly achievements of older dissertations, whether they are good dissertations or not, will thus commonly have already been brought into the history of research between the date of the writing of the dissertation and the present. The topic will have been covered in some way, and most often the dissertation will be superseded by someone else's research. But occasionally one finds older dissertations that have not been entirely superseded. The existence and quality of such works become readily apparent from the rest of one's research in the other forms of secondary literature. The exceptions to the "fifty year rule" will

therefore easily be dealt with in the subsequent stages of one's literature search. Almost without exception, students will find ways to cover the literature examined in dissertations more than fifty years old without difficulty, and they will readily improve upon them.

As with almost every kind of search that will be discussed in this chapter, one should start with the most recent references and work back in time. The briefest experience in theological or historical research reveals the logic of this procedure. The more recent studies will have many references to previous dissertations as well as to recent monographs and articles. Students will, therefore, save themselves a good deal of time and energy if they begin with the most recent references.

An examination of recent scholarly bibliographies will make it very clear that the relative ease of this initial search process in no way diminishes its importance for the final product of one's own research and certainly in no way implies that the reading of dissertations belongs exclusively to the dissertation-phase of scholarship. We are in the midst of a bibliographical revolution that has as much to do with unpublished as with published materials. Those of us who went through graduate school in the early 1970s used many scholarly books that failed to refer to a single dissertation, but because of the publication program of *University Microfilms International*, this is becoming less and less true. Good books and good contemporary dissertations will almost always refer to at least a half dozen dissertations. Indeed, references to dissertations in a scholarly monograph are one indication of the currency of its research.

Students must not assume that dissertations that have not been revised for publication are of no value. Graduate schools make and retain their reputations on the quality of their dissertations. The vast majority of dissertations are never revised for subsequent publication as books, and this occurs for a range of reasons. Sometimes scholars move on to other topics, sometimes the dissertation is too long to be turned into a book, and sometimes the extent of the changes necessary to induce a publisher to accept the dissertation as a monograph is not appropriate to the subject. (The advantages and disadvantages of turning dissertations into books will be the subject of a subsequent discussion.)

Undoubtedly the most important reason today that dissertations are

not published is that University Microfilms has rendered publication unnecessary. The assumption is commonly made that contemporary dissertations ought to be the final product of advanced research. ProQuest/UMI provides copyright services and, in effect, an on-demand publication service. In a sense, the form of citation frequently used in references to doctoral research — “Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of X” — no longer accurately represents the case. Word-processing, desktop publication, and the photolithoprinting of so-called “camera-ready copy” have resulted in dissertations that are more like books and books that look more and more like visually improved dissertations.

When a dissertation is published, it becomes a monograph, and then it belongs to a different literary genre that requires different searching tools. Monographic studies in series thus need to be noted separately because many, if not most, revised dissertations that are published will be placed in such series. Monograph series relative to one’s research interests are readily identified since they are typically well-defined by era or topic, and although the vast majority are now listed by publishers on-line, they remain an underutilized resource for research students. The Bibliography provides a guide to the most important monograph series in church history and historical theology listed by period in chronological order (see Bib. I.C, II.A.4.b, and so forth). Whether working on-line or at the library shelf, one can frequently scan the list of titles in a series and find useful works that might otherwise have been missed in a bibliographical search that used key words only or that was narrowly focused on dissertations. For example, the major series on Reformation studies published by Neukirchener contains several groupings of volumes on related topics. When a series is catalogued on-line or shelved as a set, it is therefore frequently worthwhile to examine the set as a whole, particularly when searching for works that first appeared as dissertations.

In addition to the main guides, we have listed a few indices in the Bibliography that deal with specialized fields. These references are to be understood only as illustrative of a vast host of specialized bibliographies of dissertations.⁹ For example, V. F. Gilbert and D. S. Tatla, *Women’s Studies: A Bibliography of Dissertations, 1870-1982*, would be a critical source for anyone working in women’s studies, albeit necessarily supplemented by more recent resources. Michael Montgomery’s

American Puritan Studies: An Annotated Bibliography of Dissertations, 1882-1981 was also a significant bibliographical effort. Both of these works used *Dissertation Abstracts International* extensively, and most of the annotations in Montgomery's book are from *Dissertation Abstracts International*. Montgomery has added a few annotations of his own, but the main contribution of this book is its convenience; though it must be supplemented by a search for the past three decades, in Puritan studies it is the best initial point of entry.

Constant vigilance is required to ensure against the chance that others are working on the same topic, and this is not a concern that can be settled definitively in the early stages of one's research. However, if a student does find that another scholar is working on the same body of literature, it may well be that the specific topic or methods of research are sufficiently different to justify several monographs. Open discussion is required, and much can be accomplished in this respect by a candid exchange through correspondence.

Once a student has determined that his or her subject has not been treated by someone else's dissertation, or, if it has been the topic of someone else's dissertation, that its thesis is capable of modification or reappraisal either in whole or in part, the bibliographical search moves on to the next stage, i.e., to published discussions of the particular subject and its collateral subthemes. Just as one's topic can be ruled out at the dissertation level, it can also be ruled out at the level of scholarly articles and published monographs. Commonly, one gathers materials in the two categories of articles and monographs at the same time, but we have chosen to examine articles before monographs because periodicals are themselves an excellent tool in the search for pertinent books and because recent articles often provide the most up-to-date research available on a given topic.

[Periodical Indices and Online Databases](#)

Simple convenience dictates that the search for secondary sources in the form of journal articles and books in one's area of research (including indices, hard copy guides, bibliographies, and monographs) will almost invariably begin in the electronic catalog of a single research library. But even within the confines of one local library, detailed attention must be

given to the conventions of the specific library and to the relatively complex nature of author, title, and key word searches. A working bibliography of articles and books is then gradually built as one combs through and assimilates the relevant titles from the footnotes and bibliographies of individual items. Journal articles and dissertations combined are themselves the most substantial, if initial, resource for developing an acquaintance with the relevant secondary literature, and they often provide valuable insights into the nature and location of primary source material as well.

In the search for relevant articles, however, one will soon turn to the online databases and indices that concentrate on a wide range of journals under single or multiple subject areas. In the general field of religion, including Church History, History of Christian Doctrine, and Systematic or Philosophical Theology, probably the best single source for references to articles in the field is the ATLA Religion Database online. This database, along with ATLASerials, is the standard reference work used by all scholars in a wide variety of fields having to do with religion.

Such indices do, however, have their limitations, both in the number of journals indexed and in the system of topics and cross-references used. It would be worthwhile for the beginning student to scan the list of indexed periodicals supplied, for example, by ATLASerials (search "Title Lists") and notice the fact that the years of coverage vary dramatically from journal to journal. Students who use the topical section of the index should recognize that the researcher's topics and the indexed topics will not always be identical in definition or parameters; the index will often use a different name for a topic and proceed on different assumptions than the researcher. Continental Protestant theology in the seventeenth century, for example, can be identified as "Protestant Scholasticism," alphabetized with other things Protestant, as "Scholasticism, Protestant," listed as a sub-category of "Scholasticism"; it could be listed as "Protestant Orthodoxy" or "Orthodoxy, Protestant," with the same qualifications, or, alternatively, as "Lutheran" or "Reformed Theology, Seventeenth Century," or, somewhat differently again, as "Post-Reformation Protestant Theology, Reformed" or "Lutheran." The researcher must be aware of all of these possibilities and be prepared to look for *all* of these terms, *even after* a preliminary search under one of them yields some useful references.

A further limitation of the ATLA Religion Database relates to the word “religion” itself. A student can be very seriously misled if she uses this index as the only source for articles and essays in the field of religion. There will be numerous articles with titles that conceal the fact that they contain crucial religious content that, for one reason or another, was not indexed under “religion.” Virtually everything that was published in the fields of Western history and philosophy before the eighteenth century — politics, economics, recreation — has some kind of religious content or implication, and articles on these topics will also have religious implications. It is entirely possible that the journal that has published the key article for one’s own research in “religion” may not be indexed by ATLA, and hence no researcher can safely depend exclusively on the use of a single online tool.

The search for pertinent periodical literature can often be helpfully delimited by an appeal to specific denominational guides, disciplinary areas, and topical indices. Among the tools that might be consulted are the *Catholic Periodical and Literature Index*, now a subset of the ATLA Database, *Elenchus Bibliographicus*, and the *Philosopher’s Index*. *The Philosopher’s Index* (<http://philindex.org/>), with coverage beginning in 1940, deals with nominally religious topics, such as the existence and attributes of God, the problem of evil, and so forth, but it references primarily philosophical periodicals and frequently identifies important essays not listed in the ATLA Database. *The Philosopher’s Index* is available online, on CD-ROM, and in print, thus placing the information of some 1400 journals from eighty-five countries before the bewildered student. Thankfully, tutorial guides are available for searching such databases as *The Philosopher’s Index* (see App. below, under the Philosopher’s Information Center). Project Muse is also valuable for listing many periodicals in philosophy. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* (<http://poj.peeters-leuven.be/content.php>) is known to scholars as the larger publication that includes *Elenchus Bibliographicus*, a massive bibliographic tool from the University of Louvain that indexes both articles and books and offers very fine year-end cross-referencing. It appears as two of the four quarterly issues of the larger journal and currently lists some 15,000 entries annually. All of these reference tools should be consulted regularly for current bibliography in the field.

“Journal Storage,” or JSTOR, is a scholarly journal archive of vast

extent, comprised of full-text journal articles in numerous modern languages. Membership in some professional history organizations, such as the American Historical Association, allows one access to JSTOR, but with access limited to searching the *American Historical Review* alone. This critical tool illustrates both the power of online searches in journal articles and the pitfalls of partial retrospective coverage. Basic searches in JSTOR provide full-text reviews of pertinent books and articles, and, notably, the key word searches extend into the full text of the articles, not just the titles. However, one needs to carefully note the retrospective extent of such tools. The searchable volumes of *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, for example, are available in JSTOR, but do not contain the last five years, and hence this “archive” must be supplemented with the ATLA Database, which offers online access to *Church History from 1934* to the present.

In addition to such broadly defined topical databases as those noted above, there are also online indices that are publisher-specific, like Cambridge Journals & Books Online, IngentaConnect, Brill Online Journals, and Wiley Online Library. Journals that have been indexed in these databases typically do not appear in the more generalized topical databases. Students and researchers need to develop a sense of which of the many extant online databases reference periodicals that contain studies relevant to their projects. Some libraries also offer an Electronic Journal Locator tool that can be used to identify in which database a particular journal may be found. A final line of defense is the advanced search tools found in Google Scholar and Google Books. Google Scholar will frequently locate articles and, even when the article itself cannot be retrieved from Google Scholar, provide a usable reference or even an identification of which subscription-only database carries the journal in which the article was published.

Students should adopt some means of checking on the completeness and accuracy of their online search of periodical literature. Hard copy reference tools and the footnotes of journal articles themselves are important means of cross-checking one’s online searches. For example, *Recently Published Articles* was one of the best hard copy tools available, but it has, unfortunately, ceased publication. Published by the American Historical Association in three fascicles per year from 1976 through 1991, it was based upon a compilation of hundreds of periodicals that

drew together all the materials on world history and organized them by country and then by standard periodization, such as, Britain, 1714–1815. In a given year, some 200 articles would typically appear in that one section alone. *Recently Published Articles* was a truly international index, listing articles in all languages, and it might still be used as a means for cross-checking one's online searches in the area of church history (as distinct from theology).

Students at the doctoral level should not only regularly consult major journals in their field, they should also subscribe to one or more of those journals (Bib. I.C). Those doing advanced work in church history should think seriously of taking *Church History*, the standard and best journal for the study of church history, broadly understood, in this country, or the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, which is the British counterpart. Regular consultation of scholarly journals is the only way to maintain a truly current knowledge of articles and monographs in one's field: the standard indices are seldom able to list an article within a year of its publication, and the review sections of the journals will frequently offer the first available notice of new books in a field.

The best international church-historical journal is *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, which, like *Ephemerides*, is published at Louvain. *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* appears three times annually in a large volume of about 450 pages. Though written primarily in French, it covers literature of all countries, the majority of articles being in French or in German. It is the bibliographical breadth of the *Revue*, however, that is stunning. It does far more than any other journal with reviewing research, including work in progress at various universities in Europe. It reviews articles and frequently offers critiques, and it reviews a greater number of books than any other journal of church history. It is, therefore, the standard work, although written in languages other than English, for virtually all scholars working in church history.

In addition to using indices to find articles in one's field, it is a worthwhile practice to simply survey several of the major journals in the discipline by working one's way back in time from the most recent issue. This is the only way to find major articles in a field before they are listed in the standard indices. As in the case of the dissertation search, the journal search provides a helpful sense of the kinds of articles and the styles of research found in various fields of study. Often the website for

individual journals will supply the table of contents for at least some back issues, even when the articles themselves are not available in full text form. One of the most valuable contributions that journals make to scholarship is the bibliographical essay that appears from time to time. Most of the articles that fall under the heading of “bibliographic essay” will identify and analyze the literature in a given field, including monographs, dissertations, and articles written during the past twenty years or so. Bibliographical essays can also be of significant value when one arrives at one’s first teaching position. The specific topics around which lectures are formed can be greatly strengthened by reviewing the recent literature found in these essays. The bibliographic essay can thus save a considerable amount of time; students should remain alert to its value for both research and teaching.

One of the major specialized bibliographies that is made available in a journal is the exhaustive Calvin bibliography published yearly in *Calvin Theological Journal*. The editor of the bibliography is presently collating the various yearly bibliographies into a single cumulative bibliography. A further advantage of this particular bibliography is that approximately ninety percent of the articles and monographs cited are available at the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and copies are available from the center on request. Up-to-date cumulative indices are typically available for most other major periodicals as well. After databases, current periodicals remain the best means of identifying pertinent monographs through their book reviews sections, notices of books received but not reviewed, and publishers’ advertisements of new and forthcoming books.

[Library Networks and Online Libraries](#)

We have previously alluded to the Internet databases of University Microfilms and the American Theological Library Association.¹⁰ Just as with dissertations and articles, bibliographic databases comprised of monographic literature must be investigated, and appropriate tools that increase the searching power of individual libraries are available in all research libraries.¹¹ Online networked libraries, however, should be used with the same cautions in mind as the more specialized databases.

The value of these networks is limited in part by the still vast reservoir

of unentered materials, even in the libraries belonging to the networks. For example, the Online Computer Library Center is cataloging new books daily by the member libraries as the works are accessioned, but it is taking some libraries a long time to enter their entire old catalog into the database. A research project of 2005 sampled the proportion of records found in the 754 bound volumes of the *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* in comparison to those that appear in OCLC WorldCat and found that over one-fourth of the contents of the *National Union Catalog* (27.8%) did not appear in OCLC. The authors rightly concluded that the *National Union Catalog* remains an indispensable resource.¹² Efforts at retrospective conversions of materials to machine readable form are impressive, but some libraries in the country will probably never belong to one of the networks, and thus the larger holdings nationwide represented in the *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* will still need to be checked manually. Using a database, therefore, does not make it possible for a researcher to avoid manual work in printed indices: *computerized searches of a database must still be used in conjunction with standard reference works*. This is not to say that OCLC ought not to be consulted: OCLC WorldCat statistics available online at <http://www.oclc.org/worldcat/catalog.en.html>, as of August 2013, contain 203 million bibliographic records and reference 72,000 member libraries.

In addition to library networks, all major research libraries, both nationally and internationally, have online catalogs that may be searched for specific holdings. For example, such major European universities as Oxford, Cambridge, Leiden, Utrecht, Tübingen, Leipzig, Geneva, and Zürich have online catalogs that are distinctive. A superficial acquaintance with a single online library catalog may leave the student with a sense that they are all the same, but the riches of individual collections can sometimes be discovered without too much difficulty. The Speer Library at Princeton Theological Seminary illustrates the importance of considering the distinctiveness of each library when used as an online resource. The Sprague Collection at Princeton is an extremely valuable body of nineteenth-century American sermons and religious pamphlets comprised of some 20,000 items published mostly before 1866. By using the search term “Sprague Collection,” and then sorting the results by date (related to events) and title (such as

“addresses”), one can locate a vast collection of commencement addresses delivered at American colleges and seminaries that offer commentary upon such pivotal nineteenth-century events as the Civil War. Both the collections of individual libraries and the nature of their accessibility should be weighed on a case-by-case basis.

In addition to networks and individual library databases, there are a few well-organized disciplinary areas that are moving toward comprehensive databases of secondary monographic literature (App.). One of the most impressive projects is found in Patristics. The *Bibliographical Information Base in Patristics* stores information from books and articles in the field, and it currently has an inventory of the abstracts of articles from more than 930 journals. The retrieval software of this database is designed specifically to serve patristic scholars in obtaining ready access to summaries of secondary works that are pertinent to their research.

Since each library and online database is structured differently, students should be alert to the need to change searching strategies when they change databases or libraries. The attempts of a rank novice will produce some results with any database, but excellent results will require serious investigation of the searching methods of each discrete database, and often the best results will only be achieved with practice. Students would thus be well advised, especially at the outset of their research, to rely on the expertise of librarians who have had considerable experience in using online databases. Once the database has been used to develop an initial bibliographical survey, then one should go on from his or her basic list to the more traditional references and continue to fill out the bibliography. Of course, the bibliographical search is not something that happens once and for all at the beginning of one’s work on a dissertation. Building a comprehensive bibliography of secondary literature not only takes a lengthy period of time initially, it continues in the addition of dissertations, articles, and monographs that appear during the entire length of one’s research.

Students occasionally wonder whether all of these indices are in English. An index will characteristically cite all articles and books in their original language, unless the language is one not normally used in the scholarly community addressed by the index. For example, articles written in Eastern European languages will typically be cited with

translations of their titles. A quick glance at *Ephemerides* will serve to underline the importance of the use of several modern languages in almost all areas of religious, historical, and theological study, particularly English, French, and German. Students in advanced studies need to come to grips with the fact that modern languages are not an “official” problem. They are the necessary means of obtaining essential information and there can be no excuse for not using them. However, one does not need to be an expert in several foreign languages in order to use most of the tools discussed in this book. A biographical essay in a German dictionary can, for example, be read to find out when an individual was born and died, where the person studied, and so forth, without great linguistic skills. It is also worth noting that particular fields of study are dominated by specific languages; the French virtually own patristic and medieval theological and philosophical studies. Similarly, German scholarship has tended to dominate Reformation and biblical studies, and naturally the tools reflect these areas of emphasis and strength.

Besides general knowledge of a broad field, students need to accept the fact that specialized knowledge, such as foreign languages, quantitative techniques, or skill in reading handwritten manuscripts is often required. It might be discovered, for example, that vital records, such as birth and baptismal registers, have a great value in identifying the social strata of individuals, a datum which in turn has relevance for questions of religious motivation. Vital records, however, especially in seventeenth-century handwriting, are difficult to read without training, and a student might be tempted to either avoid the difficulty altogether or muddle along without acquiring a technical understanding of early--modern handwriting. The acquisition of specialized knowledge for the purpose of research must be taken in stride, at whatever cost, and this rule applies to the newer techniques as well as to the old.

[Handbooks, Bibliographical Guides, and General Surveys](#)

The most extensive handbook on church history is G. E. Gorman and Lyn Gorman, *Theological and Religious Reference Materials: Systematic Theology and Church History* (Bib. I.D).¹³ The organization of this volume leaves much to be desired, and though it does not include

Internet sources it remains the best, most comprehensive annotated bibliographical guide to research reference tools in church history and theology presently available. A more accessible guide, though covering the broader field of history in general, is the recently published *Reference Sources in History: An Introductory Guide*.¹⁴

Yet another kind of bibliographical tool is the bibliography of bibliographies, such as the recent volume on women by Patricia Ballou. These are unique tools whose value might not be immediately recognized by the student researcher, but they are a very important genre of reference works. If a scholar wants to find a bibliography on their particular topic, one of the first places that she should look is a bibliography of bibliographies. This advice is particularly germane to the search for primary materials, because even the best most recent article on any given topic will commonly not cite the scholarly bibliographies that contributed to the location of primary documents. Such bibliographical guides, as helpful as they are to the researcher, tend to remain deeply layered in the research process and hence uncited in the scholar's final published product.

[Dictionaries and Encyclopedias](#)

The use of dictionaries and encyclopedias in scholarly work can be a source of trouble and dismay to the uninitiated (Bib. I.E). An initial necessary distinction must be made between the encyclopedias and topical dictionaries written for the general public and those written by scholars for students in scholarly fields and for other scholars. The former, including such famous and prestigious works as the *Britannica*, *Americana*, *Colliers Encyclopedia* and the *World Almanac*, ought to be avoided as conceived on a level below that of graduate scholarship. The latter, some of which follow, are of considerable value and worthy of citation in scholarly studies.

Basic language dictionaries like Webster and Cassell are not cited in our Bibliography, but are also excluded from the above caveat. Similarly, certain encyclopedias of a more general scope are also capable of being cited in scholarly work: one is the 1911 edition of the *Britannica* which has signed articles by major scholars of its day, including, for example, a major article on Gnosticism by Adolf von Harnack. It is, of course, out--

of-date. The basic rule for the use of dictionaries and encyclopedias in scholarly work is that only those ought to be cited that relate to specialized areas of research — like dictionaries and encyclopedias of church history, philosophy, theology, and so forth. These specialized works can be divided into several distinct categories.

Linguistic Tools: Dictionaries and Paleographic Aids

The briefest survey of linguistic tools shows that even the best modern language dictionaries do not always serve the purposes of research (Bib. I.E.1). For example, the language of a medieval Latin source may be illuminated by the definitions in Cassell's *Latin Dictionary*, but particular medieval words or usages might not be found in a classical dictionary. Or if the word is present in the classical dictionary, the meaning may not fit the context in the medieval document. In these cases, specialized dictionaries must be consulted, such as Albert Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* ("A Lexicon of Medieval Latinity") or Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, which is a glossary of Middle and Later Latin. An increasing number of these major tools are becoming available online. Thus, Du Cange is available in a digitized, word-searchable format that renders it even more useful than the original hard copy (<http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/>). Similarly, the great classical lexica of Liddell and Scott (Greek) and Lewis and Short (Latin) are both available at the Perseus Digital Library of Tufts University (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>). In these two latter cases, the searchability also serves to render these two fine tools into English-Greek and English-Latin dictionaries, respectively.

As the titles and annotations indicate, many of these dictionaries are written in languages other than English and all have limitations, whether linguistic, topical, chronological, or geographical, that ought to be noted by the careful researcher. Thus, French is needed to use Blaise and Latin is required to use Du Cange. Roy J. Deferrari's superb *A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas* is an English language lexicon limited to Thomas Aquinas's theological and philosophical language that, nevertheless, has broad application for the study of medieval theology, although it cannot illuminate the highly technical or particularized language of other medieval theologians.¹⁵ The *Medieval Latin Word-List* is in English and

references only British sources; Souter is in English and does not reference usages after A.D. 600; Niermeyer is English-French, with a less-specific frame of reference than either the *Medieval Latin Word-List* or Souter. These, as their titles indicate, are very specific lexica that deal with temporally and geographically defined usages. The *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* is also a case of a very important historically oriented dictionary. It is the French equivalent to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which is itself a crucial reference book for all scholars working in the English language. The range of meanings of a word in the sixteenth century in French or English can be determined from these dictionaries, including meanings that have been lost over the course of centuries. By way of example one might wonder why the title-page of the published works of a seventeenth-century English minister would identify him as a “painfull preacher.”¹⁶ A bit of work in a historical dictionary will indicate that the preacher did not torment his hearers’ ears but was merely “painstaking” or “diligent.” This definition may appear in a large modern dictionary as an archaism, but it will be identified as a standard meaning in a historical dictionary of English or in a seventeenth-century English dictionary. There are also words, some once common, that have simply dropped out of the vocabulary. Thus, a recent version of Webster’s *International Dictionary* will identify “centesimo” as a foreign currency, but will not note “centesm” as an English term for a “hundredth part of any whole thing,” nor will it indicate that “centinel” was once the standard spelling of “sentinel.” Both of these definitions appear in eighteenth-century dictionaries.

Beyond these modern historically grounded dictionaries and lexica, researchers also should be aware of the numerous early printed dictionaries relevant to their fields of research, many of which have in recent years been made available online. By way of example, there are numerous highly useful seventeenth-century lexica: Randle Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1632); Henry Hexam’s *Copious English and Netherduytch Dictionarie* (1648); Francis Gouldman, *Dictionarium Etymologicum* (1669), a Latin dictionary including Greek roots and English definitions; Gouldman’s *Copious Dictionary* (1674), an English-Latin, Latin-English dictionary compiled from four predecessor dictionaries; and William Robertson’s *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (1676), based on the earlier work of Schrevel. Among

the major eighteenth-century dictionaries note: Pierre Richelet, *Le Grand dictionnaire françois et flamand* (3rd ed., 2 vols., 1739); Thomas Dyche and William Pardon, *A New General English Dictionary* (1760); A. F. Prévost, *Manual lexique, ou dictionnaire portatif des mots françois* (new edition, 2 vols., 1767).

Another example of the specificity of language tools is Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Patristic Greek is different from classical Greek and incredibly different from the *koine* Greek of the New Testament. Separate dictionaries must be used in each of these fields — although the classical and the patristic lexica will serve fairly well for the study of *koine*. The study of NT Greek in seminary is not sufficient preparation for research in patristics, particularly the patristic Greek of the third century and following.

Paleographical aids must be noted separately as a distinct class of linguistic tool. Late medieval and early modern printed books do not oblige the standard twenty-six-letter modified Roman alphabet of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Not only does one find the standard long “s” at the beginning and in the middle of words, the identity of “u” and “v,” and the use of “vv” in the place of “w,” one also finds an enormous number of abbreviations. Thus, *Xpus* in a Latin text is a Latin version of *Christus*, slightly abbreviated. Similarly, a cross-tailed “p” in a Latin text stands for “per.” In addition, vowels and common syllables, like declension endings, are frequently replaced by superscripted dashes and other sigla. There is an excellent online resource for learning early modern English handwriting, with bibliography and links to other resources at the *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (<http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk>).

The high cost of parchment and rag paper, together with the need to find an expeditious way to print long books by hand, led medieval copyists to write in shorthand. Early printed books followed the same shorthand patterns. The systems of shorthand were quite intricate, involving some hundred sigla and varying from century to century and country to country. In other words, just knowing Latin does not necessarily qualify a person to read a medieval or early modern document — even one that has been done in a fine hand or set in print. The abbreviations are indexed and defined in such works as Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine* (now available at

<http://www.hist.msu.ru/Departments/Medieval/Cappelli/>), or Chassant, *Dictionnaire des abbreviations latines*. The abbreviations are offered, first in alphabetical, and then, within the alphabetical listing, chronological order. Not only is the abbreviation defined, it is also identified in terms of the century or centuries in which it was used with a particular meaning.¹⁷

[Biographical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias](#)

Virtually every country has its own biographical dictionary (Bib. I.E.2). If one knows the birthplace of an individual, one can usually find a good biographical essay in one of the major national biographical dictionaries. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is, of course, the leading reference work for Great Britain. The *Dictionary of American Biography* is now superseded by the *American National Biography*, and both national biographies are available online by library subscription. The Bibliography contains a list of dictionaries for most of the western European nations.

There is also a large number of older general biographical dictionaries of which researchers ought to be aware, such as the forty-five-volume *Biographie universelle* (1845-65) and various older biographical works like the *Dictionnaire historique, littéraire et critique* of Barral (6 vols., 1758-59) and John Noorthouck's *Historical and Classical Dictionary* (2 vols., 1776). These volumes, like the works of Zedler and Jocher discussed below, often will be found to reference persons viewed as important at the time at which the dictionary was published but forgotten in more recent times. Nor can a researcher afford to ignore the web-based biographical resources: there are numerous older biographical lexica like Barral and Noorthouck available on the web through Google Books. With the caveat that the OCR digitization of books printed before 1800 can be quite unreliable, references in these older lexica can often be retrieved by a general name search — and failing in that, their pdf versions can be searched with that more reliable optical scanner, the human eye. Beyond these older sources, there are also the new web-based dictionaries and encyclopedias like Wikipedia. These works are often criticized for their inaccuracy, but it is worth noting that Wikipedia is no more unreliable than popular hard-copy encyclopedias like Collier's

or the Americana and it has the distinct advantage of being very recent and capable of being corrected.

Some libraries now provide a bio-base available on microfiche that indexes several hundred different biographical dictionaries. A project is also presently under way to conflate all major biographical dictionaries in the world and reproduce them on the Internet. The World Biographical Information System Online published by de Gruyter is the most comprehensive biographical database presently available (<http://www.degruyter.com/view/serial/35520>). Included in this compilation are American, British, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin American biographies. De Gruyter's "British Biographical Archive Online," for example, draws upon 324 sources and includes a third of a million biographies (though it is available only by subscription). The value of such compilations is that the biographies of the individual being referenced are put together on the same page, resulting in a comparative source that retains all of the details and virtues of each separate biographical dictionary. There are also specialized topical-biographical tools, like the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*.

[Theological and Church-historical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias](#)

The note of caution sounded above concerning the use of dictionaries and encyclopedias in general applies in a more specific way to this section of the Bibliography (Bib. I.E.4). Some of the works are genuinely scholarly and some are not. Asterisks in the Bibliography identify several of the genuinely eminent works. In the main, one-volume dictionaries are not as useful as the multi-volume works. Similarly, multi-author dictionaries that do not have signed articles should not, with a few exceptions, be trusted; one notable exception is F. L. Cross's *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, originally published in 1913, is to be distinguished from the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, which, beginning in 1967, was designed to supersede the 1913 work. The 1913 *Catholic Encyclopedia* was indeed a fine resource containing basic information on Roman Catholic theology, medieval, Renaissance, and Counter-Reformation figures, and so forth. It is, of course, bibliographically a century out of date and its scholarly perspectives reflect the tendencies of

the early twentieth century. Given those qualifications, it is now online and remains a resource full of significant information, albeit one that must be used carefully and critically as any out-of-date encyclopedia (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>).

Some comments concerning individual works are in order. The *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* is a work of some thirty volumes (each “volume” is published in two parts). It is also printed in narrow line, double column folio, and is an enormous project. Many of the articles in this dictionary are full-fledged monographs and go on for one hundred to two hundred folio columns. This is a tool that will not be superseded in the foreseeable future. It remains the standard source for medieval church history and history of doctrine; it is a fine source for the patristic period and for Catholic theology in general. In addition, it should be consulted for topical essays: it contains, for example, an essay that discusses the history of the concept of theology in monographic detail. (This essay and several others have actually been translated into English as monographs.) The *Dictionnaire* is not to be ignored; it is a beginning place for virtually all study of medieval theology. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* is another excellent resource and should be consulted with the *Dictionnaire*, particularly for bibliographical references, inasmuch as it is a more recent work and will tend to cite major English-language monographs.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge is also a fine tool, but it does not really replace the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. Many of the entries in both of these older works have been superseded by entries in the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Haag, *La France Protestante*, is also an older but non-superseded reference work; it contains biographies of French Protestants from the Reformation and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Other specialized biographical and topical works that should be singled out for mention are the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, and the *Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses*. All of these works should be noted as potential sources of data and bibliography in research. The shorter one-volume dictionaries tend to exclude (or roughly duplicate) one another, and it is seldom useful to consult more than one of them. But one ought to survey as many of the longer multi-volume pieces on a subject as possible.

There are several important issues in the method of research that bear directly on the use of biographical and topical dictionaries and encyclopedias. Particularly in past ages, individuals have been regularly known by different names, often because of references to them occurring in different languages. The medieval theologian named Hervaeus Natalis, for example, was also called Hervé Nédellec and Hervaeus Britto. A careless reader might conclude that the three names indicate three different people. The fact is that Hervé was a French theologian who was known in Latin as Hervaeus Natalis or Hervaeus Britto.

Knowledge of such variations of names is crucial to the construction of a bibliography. There is at least one extant bibliography on the study of seventeenth-century Protestantism that lists the early-twentieth-century work (c. 1908) of Emil Weber separately from the work of Hans Emil Weber, written after 1920 — leading several students to conclude that there were two different Webers, perhaps father and son, engaged in related research. The fact is that Emil and Hans Emil are the same person. Such problems of identity continue right up to the present. Virtually no library in the country has a main catalog reference to Emil Brunner: he is cataloged, not as he wrote, but as he was born, Heinrich Emil Brunner. The correct attributions for anonymous and pseudonymous works will be found in the numerous specialized works that have painstakingly traced these books to their source (Bib. I.E.3). In addition to these specialized works, researchers should be aware of the *Consortium of European Research Libraries* or *CERL* (<http://www.cerl.org>) which offers an online research tool now including over 600,000 records for the period 1450-1830. The *CERL Thesaurus* references variant “forms of imprint places, imprint names, personal names and corporate names as found in material printed before the middle of the nineteenth century — including variant spellings, forms in Latin and other languages, and fictitious names.”

Along the same lines, we have to recognize that our present-day convention of translating everything but the name of an author was not the typical usage of the Middle Ages or of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: translators and even the thinkers themselves sought out foreign-language translations and equivalents of their names. It was even typical of writers in the age of the Renaissance to translate their names into Latin or Greek: thus the rather lowly sounding German theologians

Buchmann, Goldschmid, and Schwartzerd became Bibliander, Aurifaber, and Melanchthon. The easiest way to identify the various names of a person or various spellings of a person's name is to look in a good specialized dictionary of the period.

From the very beginning of research one must recognize that the English version of a medieval thinker's name, like Giles of Rome or Albert the Great, will not be found in medieval sources or in contemporary resources written in other languages: there one would find Aegidius Romanus (sometimes Aegidius de Columna) and Albertus Magnus. In order to find out the Latin form of a medieval thinker's name, one could look in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Then, knowing the individual's name in other forms, the various major research tools can be searched with some confidence of finding references to the individual. In other words, all forms of a name must be searched — Giles of Rome, Aegidius Romanus and Aegidius de Columna, or Nicholas of Cusa, Nikolaus von Cues, Nicholas of Cues, and Nicholaus Cusanus. Some library catalogs will index the latter under "Cusanus, Nicholaus," others under "Cues, Nicholas of" and so forth.

Finally, some comment is necessary concerning hierarchies of value and use in the consultation of biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias, and topical, theological and church-historical dictionaries and encyclopedias. Some of these works are oriented toward very specific tasks and should be consulted on the basis of certain kinds of initial information about an individual. In the case of the various national biographies, the obvious initial information is the country of a person's birth or primary historical residence. A search for information concerning American and British thinkers would naturally begin with the *American National Biography* for America and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* for Britain. An online version of the new *ODNB* requires subscription. The original *DNB* is now available online through Wikisource (i.e. it does not require access through a subscribing library). Details about the life of a German figure would be found in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (originally, 1875-1912, and now brought up to date with the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* at <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/>) and so forth.

If, however, the figure in question can be identified as a relatively significant Protestant theologian, the biographical search process can

begin with the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* and its English-language equivalent, *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, or, in the case of more recent European thinkers, with *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, presently being rendered in English as *Religion Past and Present*. Both the *Realencyklopädie* and *Schaff-Herzog* are excellent resources, despite their age. Many of the articles in the original *Realencyklopädie* were written by major scholars of the nineteenth century and have not yet been superseded. *The New Schaff-Herzog* is a translation of the *Realencyklopädie* which both expands and reduces the original. On the one hand, it augments the encyclopedia with British and American materials. On the other hand, it deletes large sections, typically theological detail and citation of old sources, from some of the major articles that were in the original German. *The New Schaff-Herzog*, then, does not render use of the *Realencyklopädie* unnecessary for English-speaking scholars: major articles in *The New Schaff-Herzog*, particularly those dealing with the theology of the European Reformation or with the development of Protestant theology on the continent, are typically abbreviated, sometimes with problematic results. In the hierarchy of value and use, the *Realencyklopädie* takes precedence over the *New Schaff-Herzog* for the continental European references, while *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* precedes both, particularly on recent topics or on topics that have undergone historiographical revision since the time of the earlier encyclopedias.

If reference to a Protestant theologian cannot be found in any of these sources, a series of questions narrowing the search ought to be asked: “Should the person be discussed in a national biographical dictionary? If not, would this individual be discussed in some other kind of biographical dictionary, i.e., a dictionary with a different set of organizational limits? Granting the parameters of the search, what dictionary is useful?” If the research is concerned with a sixteenth-, seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century *author*, then Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon der Wissenschaften und Künste* or Christian Gottlieb Jocher’s *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexikon* are very useful. Zedler was printed between 1732 and 1754, while Jocher was first issued in 1750 and consists of one full encyclopedia and a fragmentary second encyclopedia: there is a complete alphabet for Jocher

from the mid-eighteenth century and an added set of volumes that reach the letter “S” dating from the late nineteenth century. Zedler’s lexicon is certainly the more significant of the two works, running to some sixty--eight folio volumes, 68,000 pages, with approximately 270,000 references! The eighteenth-century printings of Zedler and Jocher provide a very important resource because many people viewed as significant in the early to mid-eighteenth century were no longer viewed as important in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when such resources as the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the Herzog-Plitt *Realencyclopädie*, and *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* were published. From the point of view of critical historical method, Zedler and Jocher stand lower in the hierarchy than the other encyclopedias: searches ought to begin with the best sources and note the relevant materials in those sources, although the most information may eventually derive from a source that is lower on the list. Zedler, moreover, is recently online in a digitally searchable form that permits searches for names and places that do not occur in the main alphabetical run of the lexicon (<http://www.zedler-lexikon.de>).

In Roman Catholic studies, the first place that one might want to look is *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, or if one’s French is good, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. If the person is not found in either of these resources, then the search might proceed to the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* or the *Dictionnaire apologétique*. Failing in all of these places, the process can continue with works like Hurter’s *Nomenclator litterarius theologiae catholicae*, which is poorly organized, uncritical, and difficult to use, but is also a goldmine of information.

[Historical Atlases and Guides to Historical Geography](#)

One of the things that a person learns very quickly in studying history is that the political geography of the world has changed (Bib. I.F). It changes constantly. The map of Europe and the map of Asia were very different even forty years ago. Boundaries have shifted, countries have appeared and disappeared. Place names have changed as the vernacular of various European nations has replaced Latin, as revolutions alter national self-understandings, and as nations in the majority world replace

the European names of their cities and geographical features with transliterations that more accurately reflect local pronunciations.

By way of example, several of the scenes in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* take place in the palace of the Duke of Illyria. Many of those who enjoy the play in the twenty-first century — including some of the benighted authors of program notes, have assumed that Illyria is an imaginary place, simply because it is no longer on the map. Such program notes would have been quite distressing to the sixteenth-century Lutheran theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who was born and reared in the country in question — known in the late twentieth century as Yugoslavia, more recently as a grouping of smaller countries including Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia. Similarly, the River Ister was an important river in the history of Europe, but the student will not find it on any European map because now it is called the Danube. These and other Latin place names can be identified using Theodor Graesse's *Orbis Latinus*, which is the definitive dictionary of Latin place names (online with open access at <http://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/orbis-latinus>). Latin place names can also be identified via the *CERL Thesaurus* (<http://www.cerl.org>). *Webster's Geographical Dictionary* can serve a similar purpose, in addition to being a source for other details concerning the countries of the world.

More recently, Peking has been replaced by Beijing, Bombay by Mumbai. What was once Burma is now Myanmar. In the former Soviet Union, Leningrad has become what it was in the past, namely St. Petersburg; Stalingrad is now Volgograd; Gorky has regained its ancient name of Nizhniy Novgorod. For such recent changes, only newly published atlases will suffice — and historical atlases become necessary for identification of even the recent past.

Historical atlases and works like Graesse's *Orbis Latinus* are also important for the identification of the places of publication of older books. Quite a few seventeenth-century theological books were published in Trajecti Ad Rhenum, present-day Utrecht; a proper citation would indicate Utrecht as the place of publication. Not only is it important that the citation be formally correct, it is also significant to most research to identify major centers of publication and the places of publication of the works of particular authors: this kind of data often has intellectual and political significance, such as the publication, in 1582, of

the “Rheims” translation of the New Testament into English at Rheims in France and the publication of Socinian works in the seventeenth century in Amsterdam.

By the same token, if one wishes to find out the location and geographical features of the Frankish kingdoms of Neustria and Austrasia, one would obviously not look at the most recent Rand McNally Atlas. A historical atlas must be consulted. The works of Hartmann, McEvedy, and Palmer are noteworthy. Hartmann offers a specifically church-historical perspective; McEvedy is especially useful for visualization of economic and demographic issues; Palmer is significant for its worldwide scale. The *Anchor Atlas of World History* is also highly useful, given its scope (from the Stone Age to the American Bicentennial) and for its running commentary on the maps. Websites such as the National Geographic Society’s “Map Machine” (<http://maps.nationalgeographic.com/maps/index/>) and the University of Texas Libraries’ “Map Collection” (<http://lib.utexas.edu/maps>) offer up-to-date resources, historical maps, and printable maps that can be downloaded and used for classroom purposes.

1. The following paragraphs reflect similar concerns to those expressed in G. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students Working on Historical Subjects*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 10-22.

2. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students*, p. 12.

3. Carl Becker rightly observed that the “really detached mind is a dead mind”; *Detachment and the Writing of History: Essays and Letters of Carl L. Becker*, ed. Phil L. Snyder (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 24.

4. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students*, p. 11.

5. Janice L. Reiff, *Structuring the Past: The Use of Computers in History* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1991), p. 4.

6. Jacques Barzun, *Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History, and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); G. R. Elton, “Two Kinds of History,” in Robert W. Fogel and G. R. Elton, *Which Road to the Past?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987). Recent quantitative research in popular religion and popular politics has in fact demonstrated the influence of ideas on behavior, but with far greater authority than the analysis of literary sources alone.

7. The briefest survey of major periodicals like the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* and *Church History* suggests the lack of interest in these topics.

8. Public access to major databases is in a state of flux and rapidly expanding. The Text Creation Partnership, originally at the university libraries of Michigan and Oxford, now involves some 150 libraries worldwide and will eventually place all of the texts of EBBO, the Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), and Evans Early American Imprints in the public domain. See <http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/>.

9. See for example, chapter 7, “Dissertations and Theses,” in *Reference Sources in History: An*

Introductory Guide, ed. Ronald H. Fritze, Brian E. Coutts, and Louis A. Vyhnanek, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2004).

10. The databases we discuss here are ones the authors have used or investigated; they are merely suggestive of what is available and we by no means provide a comprehensive coverage. Students should be aware of *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*, both by EBSCO; Thomson Reuters has produced, online, the *Social Sciences Citation Index* and the *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, for which, see the Appendix.

11. Our comments provide only the briefest of introductions to these vast resources. We concentrate here, for example, on the search of secondary literature. The data in OCLC, for example, actually falls into numerous categories including books, periodicals, maps, manuscripts, music scores, visual materials, audio recordings, and a variety of other files.

12. Jeffrey Beall and Karen Kafadar, "The Proportion of NUC Pre-56 Titles Represented in OCLC World Cat," *College & Research Libraries* 66 (2005): 431-35. After the integration of RLIN into WorldCat the figure was still around 25% according to Christine DeZelar-Tiedman, "The Proportion of NUC Pre-56 Titles Represented in the RLIN and OCLC Databases Compared: A Follow-up to the Beall/Kafadar Study," *College & Research Libraries* 69 (2008): 401-6.

13. Many older reference works listed in the bibliography at the end of this volume are now available on the Internet through Google Books, Project Gutenberg, or the Internet Archive. Our discussion here assumes the use of these sources and attends instead to works and websites that will be less well-known.

14. Note 9 above and see Michael J. Galgano, J. Chris Arndt, and Raymond M. Hyser, *Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age* (Boston: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008).

15. Note Fernandez Garcia, *B. Joannis Duns Scoti Doct. Subtilis Grammaticae Speculativae*, new edition (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1902); and Léon Baudry, *Lexique philosophique de Guillaume d'Occam* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1958).

16. Thus, *The Workes of that faithfull and painfull Preacher, Mr. Elnathan Parr*, 4th ed. (London: Griffin and Hunt, 1651).

17. Olaf Pluta has developed an online database of medieval manuscript abbreviations that is supported by many platforms with links on his web page to the ongoing project (<http://olafpluta.net/software/software.html>).

4. Research in Primary Sources and the Use of Text Databases and Materials in Microform

A research topic cannot be defended solely on the grounds that it has received insufficient attention in the secondary literature; at this early stage of research, such an argument for the topic's viability is only half convincing. Every topic must also be defended by showing that it can be adequately grounded in primary sources. Therefore, while a student must have a sufficient acquaintance with the general contours of his or her field of study to defend the preliminary viability of the topic, a time will come when it is necessary to turn to primary documents. Too much time spent in acquiring background material can be dangerous, for as one experienced mentor put it, "you may become hypnotized by a sense of your own ignorance."¹ Kitson Clark offers good advice for those who may begin to feel depressed or overwhelmed by the thought that they will never know enough about their topic: "you must, if you are working on secondary authorities, turn at once to work on primary evidence, and if you are working on primary evidence, you must start to write and risk the dangers of ignorance." The wise research student is conscious of the fact that one's work is always done in ignorance of much that one ought to have known.²

While the distinction between primary and secondary sources cannot be rigidly maintained, we turn in this chapter to a more or less chronological treatment of the reference tools of church history and historical theology with a greater focus on primary research. Here we will discuss the use of the new text databases on the Internet and the more traditional storage techniques in microform for locating and searching primary source materials. We begin, however, with a brief survey of standard reference works for primary research. Students who acquire a thorough understanding of the use of traditional resources, such as specialized handbooks and concordances, will work with greater

confidence and hence benefit most from the newer methods of searching and retrieval. Researchers in any specialized field ought, moreover, to keep in mind that, inasmuch as others have previously investigated the same or similar materials, there are probably specialized tools available in even the most arcane disciplines. A great deal of time can be saved and numerous mistakes and delays avoided if a researcher makes an effort to identify the relevant tools in his or her field as a first step in graduate study.

Church History: By Period

Beyond the important general sources mentioned in the preceding chapter, there are numerous specialized bibliographies that cover more limited time frames and topics. Typically, these works do not offer much biographical information, but they do provide very detailed bibliographical material. Researchers need to identify the specialized bibliographies and research tools that pertain directly to their particular field of research. The listing offered in our bibliography is far from complete, but it does provide an overview of the most important works of historical bibliography. These and other specialized bibliographies can be found in the bibliography section of most libraries and in what ought to be the most obvious source: the subject catalog of major research libraries.

Early Church

“Patristics” is the term given to the study of the church fathers of the first centuries of the Christian era. It is one of the best organized fields of research in the whole of church history — with most of the documents available in good editions and translations and with a vast array of monographic and periodical literature available to the student or researcher. The best and most expeditious access into this field is through the standard manuals of “Patrology” which offer, usually by period, a series of biographical, topical, and bibliographical studies of all of the writers of the early church.

By far the most valuable patrology in English is Johannes Quasten’s work, now in five volumes, that brings the survey of the patristic era to completion with John of Damascus in the mid-eighth century (Bib.

II.A.1). It is an unusually valuable work because of its superb organization. Quasten offers basic information on the life and work of an individual, provides a comprehensive listing of extant editions and translations, and then discusses the various doctrines that the person wrote on, with relatively up-to-date bibliographies. Fulbert Cayré's *Manual of Patrology* is distinctive not only because it extends the scope of patrology through the sixteenth century and into the modern period, but because it focuses on the history of spirituality.

The recent completion of a massive scholarly endeavor deserves special attention. The *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* represents the work of more than one hundred and fifty patristic scholars from some seventeen countries, and it reflects a truly ecumenical range of Christian traditions. This work summarizes several recent decades of patristic scholarship on a truly comprehensive scale and must be used as a guide for anyone seeking a way into the field for the first time.

The bibliography lists a number of tools that function much like a concordance of the Bible. *Biblia Patristica* provides students with references to all biblical texts and allusions to texts in the Fathers and is now available online (Bib. II.A.3, <http://www.biblindex.mom.fr/>). Edgar Goodspeed does something a little different in his *Index Patristicus*. The "index" is a concordance of words that are found in the Apostolic Fathers with every word in this body of literature listed in Greek. There is nothing available in traditional sources that accomplishes the same thing for the entire body of patristic literature, but the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (discussed below) offers us a far more powerful searching tool than the traditional concordance.

Students should be especially alert to the value of both the contents of and the indices to the two major series edited by Jacques-Paul Migne, the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Patrologia Graeca*. The *Patrologia Latina* extends from the earliest church writings in Latin up to the death of Innocent III in 1216. This date is a significant terminal point because it closes the *Patrologia* at the beginning of the great era of scholasticism: the *Patrologia* does not contain all of the large systems written in the thirteenth century, the *Sententiae* commentaries and *Summas*. The *Patrologia Graeca* reaches from earliest times up to the eighth or ninth century. Both sets, but particularly the Latin set, are very well indexed (at least for their day); the sets are indexed by doctrine, by title, by century,

by author, and by Scripture reference. The index will indicate, for example, who wrote treatises on Christology in the fifth century.

Another feature of the *Patrologia Graeca* worth noting is that it contains a Latin translation of the whole Greek patrology on a facing column. Similarly, *Sources chrétiennes* offers a French translation on the facing page. Both are very useful for purposes of interpretation as well as translation, and the Latin translation, in particular, provides a guide to the technical theological understanding of the language of the Greek fathers by western writers.

[The Medieval Church](#)

General resources that all researchers in medieval studies ought be familiar with are Louis Paetow's *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History* and its sequel, Gray Cowan Boyce's *Literature of Medieval History, 1930-1975*. These were superb references works for their time, but unfortunately now bibliographically out of date (Bib. II.B.2). Of continued usefulness in all fields is Everett Crosby's *Medieval Studies*.³ The present standard work in print is Caenegem's *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale*.⁴ The later Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation are well covered in the *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600*.⁵ Farrar and Evans's *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources*, for its time an exhaustive effort, is continued in Mary Anne Ferguson, *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources, 1943-1967*. Ferguson, in turn, has been continued online at Stanford University's *Medieval Studies* site (<http://library.stanford.edu/guides/introduction-medieval-studies-resources>), and arguably students ought to begin with the resources at this well-maintained and often updated site. Students are often surprised to discover how much material is available in translation and how many series of translated sources are readily available. A good example is the Liverpool University series entitled "Translated Texts for Historians." On the other hand, numerous critical tools which are indispensable remain untranslated. For example, Manitius's *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* is old, but it has never been totally superseded. More recent is Brunhoelzl's *Geschichte der lateinischen*

Literatur des Mittelalters, with added bibliography in the French translation.⁶

Not all of the resources in this bibliography will be used regularly. We have included a number of highly specialized entries, for example, Berkhout and Russell, *Medieval Heresies: A Bibliography 1960-1979*, and Cosenza's unparalleled *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*. A well-catalogued library will put virtually all of the books on the same subject very close to one another on the shelf. For example, there is a whole section in the reference room of major libraries that gathers together bibliographies of books printed in the sixteenth century. One will find large subject-area bibliographies and extremely narrowly defined bibliographies, such as bibliographies of the publications of individual printers. The six-volume *Bibliography of the Plantin Press of Antwerp 1555-1589*, published in Amsterdam in 1980, is particularly valuable because it contains lengthy descriptions of each book printed by this major Renaissance press. This kind of resource is located primarily by shelf reading the bibliography section of a major research library in one's particular area of specialization. Many online library catalogs, such as the Library of Congress, Harvard's Widener Library, and the Hekman Library at Calvin College and Seminary allow one to browse the books shelved near the one originally requested, on screen, by using the item's call number.

Two sources offering a minimal amount of bibliographical information, but unparalleled in their specific frame of reference, are the works by Friedrich Stegmüller, the *Repertorium Biblicum* (rendered in digital form by Klaus Reinhardt at <http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl/>) and the *Repertorium Commentariorum* (Bib. II.B.4). Both works provide basic data about the individuals they reference, and then proceed to indicate in exhaustive detail what these people wrote and the location of the sources. Both are alphabetically arranged by author. Stegmüller lists all known editions and the locations of virtually every Bible commentary and every commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* written in the Middle Ages. In addition, the volume lists holdings of libraries all around the world; although Stegmüller lived and worked in Würzburg, he records items as distant from him as McGill University in Montréal or Harvard or Yale. Students need to begin, very rapidly, to

identify the specific sources and tools, including the specialized bibliographies, relevant to their narrow research fields.

Many of the works cited in our bibliography, however, will not be chronologically defined. For example, under the section on the Reformation and Post-Reformation (Bib. II.C.1), we find the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, the general catalog of printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France. This work extends to 231 volumes. It is a major source for bibliographical information about older authors and their work, but unlike a lot of catalogues, including the *National Union Catalog*, it does not simply list books: it describes them at length. Under “Thomas Aquinas,” for example, it will list sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of the complete works of Thomas Aquinas, and then identifies the contents of each volume of each of those sets of Thomas Aquinas’s works. The work thus goes considerably beyond just a primary bibliographical reference. It is a detailed description of the individual volumes and sets of volumes that are available.

An extended example of how one might use such resources may be valuable. One could research the works of medieval doctors in print in the sixteenth century by extracting relevant information from Stegmüller and then moving onto the catalog of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and its supplement; from there one would look at the *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries* and the Bodleian catalog from Oxford, *Catalogus librorum impressorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi*. Next, one might examine Graesse’s *Trésor* for other listings of the same books and after that the British Museum catalog. Each of these catalogues was compiled with different resources at its disposal and each has a different scope. Some on-line databases may also allow refined searches of the same materials; the Post-Reformation Digital Library (PRDL) (<http://www.prdl.org/>), for example, enables searches that are limited to medieval or early modern authors that can also be limited by dates, places or publication, and publisher. A composite list drawn from the whole group of catalogues and databases will show whether there was any one city, university, or printer that specialized in editions of a particular theologian or if there is a concentration of publication of

scholastic theology in any one place. Such information is useful historically, and in fact may provide the basis for an article or book.

[Reformation and Post-Reformation](#)

The vast range and extent of the secondary literature on the Reformation means that students of this period face a serious obstacle at the very outset (Bib. II.C.1). The *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* offers a solid recent survey of issues and materials,⁷ as does the *Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*,⁸ and the relevant sections of the Brady, Oberman, and Tracy, *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600* should be consulted. On the general level, periodicals like *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, and *Sixteenth Century Journal* offer important resources, and Bainton's little volume is a possible place to begin for older materials; more specialized are Bourilly and *Calvin Theological Journal's* annual Calvin bibliography mentioned earlier. The *Reformation and Renaissance Review* will include bibliographical articles. Of course, with Luther, Calvin, and other major figures of the Reformation, one should go directly to the primary specialized bibliographies. In addition to *Calvin Theological Journal* and Niesel, *Calvin — Bibliographie*, and in addition to the *Lutherjahrbuch* and Schottenloher's *Bibliographie zur Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-1558* (a limited early German Reformation resource), students will need to become familiar with the standard editions of the primary sources; in the case of Calvin, the *Calvini Opera* (CO) in the *Corpus Reformatorum* (CR), now available in a searchable CD-ROM version, but editorially superseded by the *Ioannis Calvini Opera denuo recognita*, and in the case of Luther, the Weimar edition of his collected works. CR, CO, and Weimar are now available online in pdf format through Google Books and Internet Archive. A full-text version of Zwingli's works in CR (vols. 88-93) is available online from *Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte: Huldrych Zwingli Werke: Digitale Texte* (<http://www.irg.uzh.ch/static/zwingli-werke/>). There is also a full-text version of the Weimar available to subscribing libraries. Recent microform editions of primary sources, discussed below, provide ease of access to the works of the minor as well as the major figures of the Reformation, as do the finding guides that are provided by the

libraries that hold major collections. Students should also be aware of the online text resources at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the Johannes à Lasco Library in Emden, the Bavarian State Library, and the Swiss Electronic Library (<http://www.e-rara.ch/>), and the numerous smaller German libraries, which are available in the meta-search engines *Zentrales Verzeichnis Digitalisierter Drucke* (ZVDD) (<http://www.zvdd.de>) and *Europeana* (<http://www.europeana.eu/portal/>).

[Sixteenth- through Eighteenth-century Sources in English](#)

Under “Modern British Sources” we have placed the *British Museum General Catalog of Printed Books to 1955*, a critically important resource for anyone working in church history (Bib. III.C). The same point can be made concerning the *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, a source for books in the United States that in some ways parallels the *British Museum General Catalog* (Bib. IV.D.1). The *National Union Catalog* cites every printed book in all languages available in this country in the libraries belonging to the National Union and notes, in abbreviated form, the libraries in which the source may be found. It is available both on microfiche and in hard copy and is a basic research tool, particularly for materials published prior to 1956; it is so extensive that it almost takes on the character of a primary source. The importance of this reference work for research is indicated by the fact that in the past bibliographies have been compiled from it and published separately.⁹ The *British Museum General Catalog* cites all holdings of the British Museum (now known as the British Library), and like the *National Union Catalog*, is not limited to books published in English. Since many of the sources that were published in England were simultaneously published in this country and since both catalogues list all holdings, regardless of place of publication, these catalogues ought to be used in virtually all areas of research — they are not, in other words, specific to any particular country.

Both this set and the pre-1956 imprint catalogue can be used effectively in tandem with the *American Library Directory* (<http://americanlibrarydirectory.com/>), a listing of all U.S. libraries, alphabetized by state and city. It is refined to the point of identifying

librarians for such things as special collections in virtually all major libraries.

One way to obtain a book is to look it up in the *National Union Catalog*, find where it is located, and then if it cannot be obtained through normal inter-library loan procedures, write to the particular library. Frequently, for example, rare books have been microfilmed and the location of the film will be listed either in OCLC's WorldCat or the European Register of Microform and Digital Masters (App.) or in the *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*. The address of the library and of the librarian most likely to be of assistance will be found in the *American Library Directory*. Many libraries are willing to provide single copies of extant microfilms at a minimal cost to researchers. It is well to remember that as much as one-quarter of the materials identified in the *National Union Catalog* are still not listed by OCLC WorldCat. In short, a great many rare books that are crucial for historical and theological research in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries will be readily located through the *National Union Catalog*.

As in every field, however, there are more specialized, technical bibliographies that must be consulted. Pollard and Redgrave is far more extensive in its listings than the British Library catalogue: Pollard and Redgrave provides a "short title" for all English books, i.e., all books printed in any language in England and all books printed anywhere in English from the beginning of printing to 1640 (Bib. II.C.1). Until very recently students of early modern England used Pollard and Redgrave, and for the second half of the seventeenth century, its sequel, Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641–1700*. Pollard and Redgrave and Wing remain essential tools, though they are now deeply embedded (and hence, invisible) in the digitized version of the database, now complete through 1800 in the English Short Title Catalogue.

Students of eighteenth-century church history and theology until very recently were dependent on the catalogs of major libraries, and the more specialized guides to unique collections, like the *Catalogue of Dr. Williams's Library*, for English Nonconformists. General guides to the literature of the century, such as that of Stanley Pargellis and D. J. Medley, were helpful, and significant strides in comprehensive listings

were made by F. J. G. Robinson, et al., in *Eighteenth-Century British Books: An Author Union Catalog* (5 vols.). These single and multivolume works have now been superseded by the digital, online version of the English Short Title Catalogue discussed below.

[American Church History](#)

Just as specialized bibliographies are needed to supplement the major catalogs in British sources, students of American church history will not be satisfied with *The National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*. All scholars who work in colonial American history will be acquainted with Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* and the supplements by Roger Bristol (Bib. IV.D.1). The work of Evans and Bristol is continued into the nineteenth century by the multivolume work of Shaw and Shoemaker under the same title. One will, however, eventually turn to even more specialized bibliographies. If, for example, the topic is the American Revolution, in the holdings of every major research library, under the heading "American Revolution," one will find Thomas R. Adams's *American Independence: A Bibliographical Study of American Political Pamphlets*. The term "pamphlet" in eighteenth-century parlance was understood to include printed sermons, and hence, the use of Adams is one convenient way of obtaining information on the political engagement of the American and British pulpits.

In American church history, studies in the past have often been confined to denominations, and there are numerous tools that will guide one into the literature of specific religious bodies (Bib. IV.D.2). Particularly notable in this regard are the guides by John Tracy Ellis and Robert Trisco on American Catholic history and the massive "register" of Baptist source materials compiled by Edward Starr. Just as with bibliographies that deal primarily with secondary sources in a specialized topic area, there are specialized guides that will lead one into primary source materials, as for example, we find in the research bibliographies for Black Studies and the history of Evangelicals in America.

Garland Publishing Incorporated has undertaken a significant publishing endeavor in order to preserve and make more readily available a wide range of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American religious materials. Protestant source materials are organized into a small number

of specific categories. The series of reprints, for example, entitled “Women in American Protestant Religion, 1800-1930,” runs to thirty six-volumes. Facsimile reproductions of books on the topics of Fundamentalism, and another series on the Pentecostal-Holiness movements, each extend to more than forty volumes, with some of the individual volumes containing numerous rare tracts and pamphlets. Experts in each of the areas covered by the series provide important bibliographical and contextual guidance on the most recent scholarship.

Internet Databases and Primary Research

To this point in the present chapter we have been examining mostly traditional guides to resources. Increasingly, students will have recourse to open access online resources that will supplement, and in some cases replace, conventional hard-copy bibliographies and guides. Currently, the most important bibliographic reference works for all topics in the English language are the online versions of the earlier hard-copy Short Title Catalogues. Pollard and Redgrave, Wing, and The Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue have now been combined into a single open access technical bibliography called the English Short Title Catalogue, or ESTC (<http://estc.bl.uk/>). The English Short Title Catalogue provides an exhaustive listing of all known titles, mainly in English, from the beginning of printing in England (ca. 1473) through 1800, and it is comprised of about 470,000 imprints, including all known editions of the same title. The ESTC is a genuinely comprehensive, international union catalog based on British Library holdings and the collections of more than 2,000 libraries worldwide. It indicates all physical locations of books, pamphlets, and some serials, and all known microfilm and microfiche copies, and while largely complete, it is continuously updated with new information, mostly on the location of additional copies.¹⁰ All forms of searching are supported by this database, and specific records even provide further suggestions for subject searches. Internal URLs have been added for digitized full texts as well as microform copies, and hence the ESTC presently serves as the initial and indispensable research bibliography for all topics in the English language before 1800. Works in Latin and other languages that were *published* in England and the British colonies in this period will appear in the ESTC, but generally speaking,

one cannot rely upon the ESTC for investigating non-English-language sources.

The Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue, by contrast to ESTC, is a commercial venture owned by Chadwyck-Healey and is accessible only through purchasing a web service or compact disks and hence can typically only be used on-site at university libraries. The NSTC comprises some 1,200,000 records drawn from eight major research libraries for the period 1801 through 1919.¹¹ It aims to index all works published in Britain, the British colonies, and the United States, and all works in English wherever they were published, and like the ESTC, it provides some coverage for serial publications. However, as with the ESTC, the NSTC does not pretend to provide a comprehensive listing of books other than those published in English, and hence for a more comprehensive coverage one needs recourse to other online catalogs, such as OCLC, or the older national library catalogs (such as the *British Museum General Catalog* and the *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*).¹²

For books in western languages other than English, the Universal Short Title Catalogue hosted by St. Andrews University should be consulted (<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>). The USTC gathers information on all European books published from the beginning of printing to the close of the sixteenth century, including Eastern Europe. As of 2011 the USTC included references to 350,000 editions of some 1.5 million books in over 5000 libraries. While the USTC offers the greatest ease of access, the individual Short Title Catalogues for Dutch, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese books should also be examined for research that is language specific. For example, the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN) is the standard bibliographical database for 1540-1800 (<http://www.stcn.nl> and <http://www.kb.nl/>). The Verzeichnissen der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16./17. Jahrhunderts (VD 16 / VD 17) (<http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/index.php> and <http://www.vd17.de/>) and Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts (VD 18) (<http://vd18.de/>) survey German imprints (Bib. II.C.1).

The online versions of the Short Title Catalogues have the potential for greatly enhancing the accuracy of all historical investigations, to say nothing of the convenience and comprehensive breadth they offer. These

critical bibliographies put incredible searching power at the fingertips of the historian; in addition to locating all of the published works of individual authors, it is possible to search any word or combination of words in a title. Important contemporary topics such as toleration, secularization, religious pluralism, and spirituality can now be examined in detail, exhaustively tracing their roots in the early modern period. For example, in a matter of minutes one learns that the output of Anglican sermons three years into the French Revolution (1792) was almost double the number of sermons published in England at the height of the American Revolution (1778). A very small investment of time thereby yields a valuable comparative datum that may lead to a working hypothesis concerning the influence of the pulpit and the timing of secularization in the age of revolution.

In addition to these powerful searching tools, a number of full-text databases are now available online, though they are typically restricted to on-site searches at university libraries. Four interdisciplinary collaborative efforts, three of which are a little more than two decades old, and a fourth which is more recent, have already transformed the way church historians and theologians study the past. The first pertains to the early history of the church (and in the East, through the fifteenth century), the second to the middle ages, and the last two to the Reformation and modern periods, and each of these major undertakings offers the student unprecedented ease of search and stunning breadth of bibliographical coverage. These projects are so revolutionary in their implications for research that they each deserve a brief introduction.¹³

The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) project provides online access to the texts of all Greek authors who wrote from the time of Homer (ca. 750 B.C.) to A.D. 600 and to the majority of Greek works from 600 to the fall of Byzantium in A.D. 1453 (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>). This massive database comprises some 12,000 works by 4,000 Greek authors, making it one of the largest collections of machine-readable texts in the world. The works of all of the Greek fathers of the early church may now be examined and compared in ways heretofore thought impossible. All of the occurrences of a word or a phrase or a combination of words and phrases may be located in minutes.

The Thesaurus is the classicist's dream come true, but it offers perhaps even greater potential for the church historian. Studies of

theological terms and phrases in the large corpus of the works of Athanasius, the Cappadocian fathers, or Eusebius of Caesarea, will undoubtedly bring many new insights to light. For example, a search of all references to women would reveal the precise usage and intent of the fathers, and examination of terms related to ascetic practices will give us new insights into the spiritual disciplines. Study of early Christian usage with respect to the Romans and the state should result in clearer understanding of church-state relations. Comparative studies will be equally useful; the comparison of Christian and non-Christian authors may show new ways in which the early Christians related to the surrounding culture.

Scholars will still find the published text of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* useful, but it will only be a matter of time before the new medium will force such traditional sources, when used in isolation, into obsolescence. However, when the Thesaurus is used in conjunction with the *Bibliographic Information Base in Patristics* for secondary literature (see chapter three, above), the ease of access to the entire field of Patristics, including both primary and secondary sources, is perhaps without parallel in any other specialization (<http://www4.bibl.ulaval.ca/bd/bibp/english.html>).

Chadwyck-Healey Inc., a major supplier of scholarly source materials in microform, has done for the Western, Latin Church what the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae has provided for the early church and Eastern Orthodoxy: it has produced the *Patrologia Latina Database* on CD-ROM and for online access by subscription (<http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>). The project makes the complete edition of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* available, including text, notes, prefatory material, and indices. The original edition of 221 volumes includes all major and minor Latin Fathers from Tertullian in A.D. 200 through Pope Innocent III in 1216. As with the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, the retrieval software of the *Patrologia Latina* can revolutionize research through the use of Boolean delimiters, as well as single word, phrase, and proximity searches.¹⁴ A similar, albeit still less-extensive database, is the *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts*. Since this patristic and medieval database rests on the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* and its medieval continuation, the quality and accuracy of the text surpasses the *Patrologia* — it is, unfortunately, not as complete as Migne. Since

the corpus of individual authors may be isolated, new studies of aspects of a single author's thought will proliferate, and with the possibility of word studies, as well as concepts related to phrases, newly conceived projects on subjects that span a wide range of Western authors (from Augustine to Boethius to Alcuin to Anselm) will yield a tremendous number of new research topics. Scholarship on such pivotal theological terms as nature and grace, virtue, the soul and the spirit, Christ and the Trinity can now be extended over a much greater chronological sweep with a precision heretofore impossible. In addition, Scripture references, phrases, and even vague allusions can be traced with tremendous speed and accuracy.

The full text database that is associated with the Pollard and Redgrave and Wing short-title catalogs of English books, extending from 1473 to 1640 and 1641 to 1700, respectively, is known as Early English Books Online, or EEBO. EEBO provides a refined keyword, author, title, and subject search of all books published in any language in Great Britain from 1473 to 1700, plus all books published anywhere in English during the same period. The search engine allows both multiple word and specific phrase searches together with an ability to search between specific dates. Though still accessible in some libraries in microfilm, these texts have been converted into downloadable PDF files and are available in subscriber-libraries. Note that the PDF file can be moved through with considerably more ease and speed than the film version and can, in addition, be magnified or reduced by use of the "zoom in/zoom out" feature of the viewer.

The Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) effectively extends the chronological reach of Early English Books Online by one hundred years. ECCO was produced by Thomson/Gale (now Gale Cengage) as a digitized edition of approximately 200,000 printed volumes from 1701-1800, offering a fully searchable collection of almost every significant title published in the United Kingdom as well as many published in America.¹⁵ Texts appear in facsimile format, but as with EEBO, the capacity for name and key-word search virtually invites the creation of new research projects. Questions that have vexed historians for years, such as the influence of the writings of John Locke, can now be investigated with a degree of rigor heretofore virtually impossible. Beyond new research on the so-called canonical authors, less well-known

writers who worked at what might be called the middle level of importance, but who clearly deserve more detailed treatment, will now become the subject of study.

The new project by Gale Cengage (ECCO), and the older project of UMI/ProQuest (EEBO), while essential for research and impressive in scope, do not presume to reproduce every printed text that is in fact available in libraries. The number of English works in EEBO and ECCO total about 325,000, and so while a reasonably complete search of specific authors or topics can be done with the search engines of the text databases, these sources should always be supplemented with a careful use of the English Short Title Catalogue. To illustrate the difference between critical online bibliographies and full-text databases, we may appeal to a notorious eighteenth-century sermon preached by the Bishop of Bangor, Benjamin Hoadly. Hoadly's sermon on "The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church of Christ" (1717) produced an uproar, and the subsequent "Bangorian Controversy" arguably defined an era of Anglican church history. With fourteen copies of the sermon reproduced digitally in the Eighteenth Century Collections Online (all from 1717), and with very few differences between editions, one might plausibly conclude that ECCO offers a remarkably comprehensive coverage of the text. The English Short Title Catalogue, however, lists twenty-two different imprints for 1717, and the 2nd, 4th, and 12th through 14th editions that do not appear in ECCO are found in the ESTC. Given the importance of the controversy and the likelihood that Hoadly's opponents referred to specific editions of his sermon, the more technical listing of all known copies provides essential information for students of the period.¹⁶

A major step forward in making available for general online access books on all subjects from the entire range of the history of printing is being made by major European libraries, the Internet Archive, and the Google Books digitization project. By far the broadest and most promising set of projects are those presently underway in the Europeana "Connecting Cultural Heritage" project, which promised to reach 10 million items by 2010 and to be capable of multilingual search. The main online site includes links to virtually all major European national libraries and archives which are in the process of making available readable texts of many of their holdings. By way of example, the project links to the

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Deutsche National Bibliothek, and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek of the Netherlands. A full list of partners to the project is available in the main Europeana site. Other major European efforts include the digitization project of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel and the Bayrische Staats Bibliothek. These two last, together with Gallica project of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, have already made available vast resources of late medieval, early modern, and more recent out of copyright volumes for either online reading or download. The Internet Archive is a North American, nonprofit organization and member of the American Library Association that hosts a growing online digital library including many rare and out of print works from the beginnings of printing to the present, photographed at major American libraries, plus major image and audio collections. The digital library is available in a “flip book” page format, downloadable PDF, and a fully searchable full text. The Internet Archive has taken steps toward permanence by having a mirror site at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina in Egypt and establishing permanent URLs.

The Text Creation Partnership, involving some 150 libraries worldwide, is presently keyboarding in virtually all first edition texts published in England and America from the beginning of printing to 1800, including ProQuest’s EEBO, Gale Cengage’s ECCO and Readex’s Evans Early American Imprints, all previously digitized by Optical Character Recognition. The goal is to place these standardized electronic texts in the public domain, and as of 2014, 48,000 of the 70,000 unique texts in EEBO have been completed, and some 8,000 in ECCO and Evans combined.¹⁷ The move to standard text markup language (XML/SGML) means that the errors inevitably involved in texts produced through OCR will be virtually eliminated, and more importantly, that the entire corpus of texts from 1473 through 1800 will be linked into one massive document in which word and phrase searches (including proximity searches and the use of Boolean logic) can be done at one time.

The importance of these full-text databases for the research student can hardly be overstated because it means that the bulk of church historical and theological materials for the patristic era and the middle ages, plus the entire corpus of English literature (and, increasingly, most other western languages) from the period of the Reformation through the

early modern period is presently available online at major research libraries. One has at one's fingertips — in Los Angeles, Riverside, or Irvine, California (!) — a better library of historical materials on many subjects than at Oxford or Cambridge or the British Library. All that is lacking — from an aesthetic point of view, a considerable loss — is the ethos of the old-world setting and the aroma of the rare books.

Because of the wide geographical dispersion of sources, in the past a scholar was physically limited to the collections of a relatively small number of major libraries. Commonly, the scholar who cast the widest net commanded the greatest authority. But a library's holdings are ordinarily established on the haphazard basis of the availability of primary sources, not on the rational grounds of collecting all the sources pertaining to an individual scholar's narrow interests. Thus even a tolerably complete search would sometimes result in serious lacunae; and since the process of interpretation begins with the selection of sources, we cannot construe the old approach of examining collection after collection as genuinely critical. Today, for the first time in history, thanks to the efforts of the scholars working on the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, the *Patrologia Latina Database*, *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, and various more specialized projects like the *Albert Hardenberg library at Emden* and the selected works available at the *Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel*, the researcher enjoys the possibility of perusing nearly all the extant literature in a field. Where the bulk of sources is too great, samples can be chosen on the grounds of a rational selection rather than simply one's ability to travel the distance. In this case, the method is thus genuinely critical and not dependent on haphazard collecting.

Internet Resources and Their Limitations

Since the publication of the first edition of this volume, the Internet has emerged from what were then rather tentative patterns of resourcing, from a scholarly perspective largely confined to major libraries' initial efforts in online catalogues, then available in the form of Telnet accessible files, to become a vast, multi-faceted research tool with sophisticated search engines and an enormous number of sites and databases of widely varying merit. In general, the text and

bibliographical resources that are available on the public or surface web will not be the best resources for research, while those on the hidden or deep web (i.e., open sites that are not searched by the standard search engines like Google or Yahoo) will frequently provide the best materials of their kind available.

A good example of a superior web-based bibliographical resource is found at the Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (<http://crrs.utoronto.ca/>) and other sites listed in the Bibliography and Appendix. History sites include the excellent Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Sourcebooks, gathered into the *Internet History Sourcebooks Project*, edited by Paul Halsall and located at Fordham University (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/>). The texts and maps made available at this site are all public domain or copyright permitted. The complete text of the works of Thomas Aquinas in the digitized (and quite accurate) Busa edition are now available in text-format at <http://www.corpusthomicum.org/>. There is also a website offering both the text and a translation of Bonaventure's commentary on Lombard's Sentences (<http://www.franciscan-archive.org/bonaventura/>), which, as it moves toward completion will provide not only the first translation of the Bonaventure text, as well as an accompanying translation of Lombard. The presence of the parallel column Latin text is also a significant service.

Also to be mentioned are the growing online collections presenting the history of art. *Artcyclopedia* at <http://www.artcyclopedia.com/> is probably the largest site, with links to other online art resources. It includes art searchable by artist, subject, title, medium, and museums, plus links to other art resources. *Art History Resources on the Web* (<http://arthistoryresources.net/ARTHLinks.html>) is organized by era, from paleolithic to modern and has numerous links. Many of the world's major museums also have provided online access to their collections: for example, the Louvre (<http://www.louvre.fr/>), the State Hermitage Museum (<http://hermitagemuseum.org/>), and the State Russian Museum (<http://rusmuseum.ru/>) in St. Petersburg. The latter are particularly well photographed.

But a few caveats concerning these and related materials are in order because not all databases are equally reliable. The European libraries and the Internet Archive are producing a high quality product that is linked to

their already excellent bibliographical work. Internet Archive is especially to be praised for its full cataloguing format and its identification of the location of originals. More recent material, including some eighteenth-century texts, but mostly out of copyright works from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, can be accessed through the online full-text resources of the Google digitization project. Google Books offers PDF versions of books with imbedded digitization capable of being word-searched and often downloaded in the PDF format. On the positive side of the project, an enormous number of volumes have been and will continue to be made available, free of charge on the Internet. Author, title, topical, and key-word searching is possible. Unfortunately, the quality of the project is highly variable and its bibliographical aspect ill-conceived. Due to the rapidity of the automated process in which the volumes are scanned and photographed, many pages have been copied imperfectly. This imperfect copying is also associated with problematic scanning of text. The scanning itself becomes increasingly less accurate in the case of early-nineteenth-century, eighteenth-century, and seventeenth-century volumes, all of which contain fonts that are easily misread by scanners — and, of course, words that have been erroneously scanned cannot be searched. Bibliographical format is not standardized, full references have not been extracted from the catalogues of libraries in which the original copies of the volumes were found, and often no distinction is made between a second or third volume in a series and other editions of the same volume.¹⁸

Research students, therefore, will need to exercise great care in evaluating Internet resources and come to terms with their limitations. Search engines will retrieve references to nearly any kind of topically identifiable materials, often ranked with a view to the closeness of correspondence between the terms searched and the use and frequency of those terms in a document. What the search engine does not do is assess the research usefulness or the quality of the document.

Many of the documentary materials on the Internet are out of date. This problem arises from the fact that much of the material in the public domain is older, out-of-copyright material. Good examples of this problem are the standard, older translation of the church fathers (ANF and NPNF) and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The danger of such resources is that a student will be seduced by the fine, up-to-date appearance of the

Internet version of the resource and forget to apply the same kind of critical judgment that ordinarily would be applied to a printed book that is a century or more old.

The ANF and NPNF translations of the fathers were, at the time of their production in the late nineteenth century, an exceedingly fine effort, including introductions and annotations representing the state of scholarship at the time. The translations and the scholarly annotations are, however, hopelessly out of date today. In addition, however, the web-versions of these works, although to be commended for making these classics of the church available to a very wide audience, have the further disadvantage of minimal copy-editing, failure of the scanner to identify letters with absolute accuracy, loss of insertions in Greek or other languages not using the Roman alphabet, and a variety of other problems caused by electronic scanning. Scans also add the further problem of supplying a new and different pagination for the same text — a pagination governed by the 8.5 x 11 inch format of the scanned page. In the case of the ANF/NPNF text, the original page numbers have been scanned in, and (if this resource is used at all) ought to be followed out to the original hard copy for proofing purposes and ought to be used in the final footnote citation of the text. These generalizations apply to all projects that have been scanned using Optical Character Recognition software. As a test case to illumine the problem of Internet texts, scholars examined the accuracy of OCR software for the Burney Collection of early English newspapers digitized by the British Library and found that word accuracy was only 65%, and “significant” words (content words the researcher is likely to be interested in) a mere 48.4%. The digitized version of the nineteenth-century collections was slightly better with a 78% word accuracy and a 68.4% significant word accuracy. While OCR will improve over time, these facts obviously bear directly on the quality of search results. Tellingly, OCR has the most trouble with place and proper names, the very information that the researcher is likely to be seeking in searching an online database.¹⁹

The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, originally published in 1913, is to be distinguished from the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* which, beginning in 1967, was designed to supersede the 1913 work. The 1913 *Catholic Encyclopedia* was indeed a fine resource containing basic information on Roman Catholic theology, medieval, Renaissance, and Catholic--

Reformation figures, and so forth. It is, of course, bibliographically a century out of date and its scholarly perspectives reflect the tendencies of the early twentieth century. Given those qualifications, it remains a resource full of significant information, albeit one that must be used carefully and critically as any out-of date encyclopedia (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>). The online version, however, suffers from the same problems of pagination as the ANF/NPNF collections noted above, but the problem is exacerbated in this case because the original page numbers are entirely absent.

Another major problem belonging to the new electronic media concerns their long-term viability. We have noted a somewhat analogous problem in comments on the history of the printed book: whereas, generally, books printed prior to 1850 were printed on unbleached rag paper and have an estimated life span of seven hundred to nine hundred years, those printed after ca. 1850 on bleached wood-pulp paper have a life span of fifty to seventy-five years. There are, in other words, the problems of built-in obsolescence, self-destructibility, and loss of the resource. In the case of electronic media, we have already seen the obsolescence of computer “punch-cards” and 5.25 inch floppy disks: data stored on such once “state-of-the-art” resources is now largely irretrievable except in museums harboring the dinosaurs of electronic hardware. Beyond this, these means of data-storage have not proved exceedingly durable in the long run. Significantly, the punch-card and the 5.25 inch floppy had shorter life spans than the book printed on bleached wood-pulp! The problem of long-term durability also obtains for 3.25 inch disks and the phenomenally useful 100 and 250 MB “Zip” disks, and the seeming solution of the multi-gigabyte DVDs awaits only the advance of the field and the development of newer software that will not read the files which were so precisely and permanently burned onto our present CD-ROM libraries. Editors of major projects like the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and the former *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* have determined they will no longer support CD-ROM versions of their online full text databases, and the same applies to the older CD-ROM version of the *ATLA Database*.

These issues of obsolescence relate directly to a problem with the online database or documentary resource: the means of data storage and the software used on the sites will either need to be updated in fairly

short order or the site will become unusable. In addition, websites appear and disappear with greater rapidity than punch-cards and floppy disks. Whereas the book printed on rag paper in 1520 brings with it the potential difficulty of access, given that it may be available in only several rare book rooms in the world, it will, apart from war or natural disaster, still be available for use several hundred years from now — and it will be readable in the same form of data-storage in which it was originally conceived. The up-to-date electronic database form of the same book, scanned both in facsimile and digitally searchable forms, available anywhere in the world to anyone with a computer and Internet access, may drop out of availability tomorrow when its web-site disappears, next month when an electronic problem develops in the medium on which it was stored, or next year when its software has become obsolete or unreadable. Finally, we face the problem that website addresses, the electronic equivalent of the familiar “Place: Publisher, Date” information, change without warning. Even physical copies of texts may face a similar fate over time. A leading example of the increasing obsolescence of an earlier medium of text duplication and its diminishing importance today is found in the massive number of historical records preserved in microform.

Primary Sources in Microform

In order to provide some sense of the range of materials now available in microform (including microfilm, microfiche, and microdot cards), we will survey in rough chronological order several pertinent collections of the more important publishers.²⁰ But first we must take account of the widespread shift away from the production and use of primary sources in microform. Changes in the American Theological Library Association’s preservation program clearly illustrate the general reorientation from microfilm and microfiche as the preferred media to digitization and the Internet. Before the twenty-first century, ATLA and its member libraries were heavily invested in the preservation of monographs and serials in microform, with specific emphasis on works printed on acid-bleached wood-pulp paper in the latter two-thirds of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The acid remaining in the pages had long since rendered most of these works incredibly brittle and, in many cases,

nearly impossible to use without major damage. The fiche series not only made many rare items readily available, it also prevented the total loss, literally to the dustbin of history, of the contents of many of these works. But while tens of thousands of highly vulnerable titles were salvaged, presently ATLA is no longer pursuing microform projects, but directing its main focus instead to digitization and the Internet. Readex is another major producer of microform resources, that, while retaining its old film and fiche editions under the heading “classic” microform, has now turned all of its efforts to digital reproduction.

The trend is further illustrated by the consolidation (and occasionally the disappearance) of formerly thriving microform companies. For example, Primary Source Media, an imprint of Gale Cengage Learning, has assimilated at least four major microfilm companies that had strong collections of primary sources pertinent to the field of church history. Brill has taken over Inter Documentation Company (IDC); ProQuest, formerly University Microfilms International, has acquired General Microfilm Company, among others. A few companies, such as Microform Academic Publishers and World Microfilms have held out, but their assurances of commitment to the older media, emphatically expressed on their own web-pages, are sounding less and less convincing. Since single items in microform cannot be accessed by more than one person at a time, and since searching in these media cannot be automated, almost all of the emphasis is currently falling on the value of microform materials for preservation rather than accessibility, and many publishers are even questioning the medium’s future in the realm of preservation.

Microform materials, however, will still be of use to the researcher in a number of areas. If the digital copy of a document reveals lacunae, or if one suspects errors in a text that might have arisen through the process of digitization, recourse may be found in the microfilm or microfiche record. The most ready access to medieval illuminated manuscripts and other artistic expressions, both ancient and modern, might well be a microform copy. Some entire classes of records such as newspapers and periodicals may still be accessed most readily by microform copies, though the move to digitization even in these cases is now well under way. The British Library, for example, restricts access to the original copies of newspapers due to their fragility and prefers that patrons use

microfilm copies. Finally, some projects involving the quantification of information may still benefit from the massive collections of census data and the vital records of births and baptisms that are available on microfilm. Guides for major collections in microform are offered in the Appendix, and individual items in microform may be identified and located through several avenues online, including the English Short Title Catalogue, OCLC's WorldCat (which has assimilated the earlier National Register of Microform Masters), and through the European Register of Microform and Digital Masters (<http://www.eromm.org/>).

A few of the leading publishers of microform, their collections, and the potential uses to which they may be put will be mentioned here, with fuller descriptions found in our Appendix. This overview is by no means intended to be comprehensive, but rather illustrative of the types of collections that support church historical and theological research. A number of microform publishers have concentrated their efforts on the Western world before the Reformation. World Microfilms specializes in microfilming medieval manuscripts with an accent on illuminated manuscripts. The manuscript collections of Trinity College, Cambridge, Lincoln Cathedral Library, and Lambeth Palace Library are available, including many biblical, patristic, and theological studies. Microform Academic Publishers has a large collection of both printed and manuscript materials on British history, including, for example, the Holkham illuminated manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Both World Microfilms and Microform Academic Publishers have recently launched programs to digitize some of their holdings and make them available online through subscriptions. Primary Source Media, an imprint of Gale Cengage Learning, now holds the microfilm of the literary and historical manuscripts in the Cotton Collection in the British Library. Additionally, the medieval manuscript collections of Pembroke College, Cambridge, the manuscript collections from St. John's College, Oxford, through 1700, the Society of Antiquaries, London, and literary manuscripts, chronicles, and documents from Cambridge University Library are all found in the microform collections of Primary Source Media.

With the advent of printing in the late fifteenth century, the bulk of available source materials becomes daunting, and yet enormous strides have been made in rendering these sources in microform. Inter

Documentation Company, now an imprint of Brill, has produced major microfiche collections on Reformed Protestantism, sixteenth-century pamphlets in German and Latin (1501-1530), the Radical Reformation, the Hungarian Reformation, Dutch Protestants (ca. 1486-1684), religion in Latin America, and massive missionary society publications. To give an idea of the magnitude of these collections, the German and Latin pamphlet series alone comprise approximately 5,000 separate documents, and at least some of these materials have been digitized and made more accessible by Brill. Other fiche collections produced by Inter Documentation Company will still be found at major research libraries cataloged under "IDC." The collections formerly available at the Center for Reformation Research in St. Louis, now housed in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary, total some 12,000 printed books and ca. 500,000 manuscripts in microfilm (<http://www.csl.edu/library/the-center-for-reformation-resources-collection/>), and Concordia has an impressive range of fiche collections from IDC as well. The finding guide that describes these materials runs to eight volumes, and many of the items found in these collections are not available in any other microform version.

The *Nineteenth Century* project, located at the British Library under the direction of Chadwyk-Healey, an imprint of ProQuest, is considerably more massive in size than other similar endeavors, simply because of the bulk of primary material that is available; the number of imprints in English language sources for the period 1800 through 1815 is roughly equivalent to the whole of the previous century. Primary Source Media now possesses major microform collections on nineteenth-century American literature and history (over 4,000 vols.), the anti-slavery collection from the Oberlin College Library, and theology and church history collections for Britain, the United States, and Canada (a basic library of about 2,000 vols.).

Several additional publishing ventures that bear upon modern church history and theology deserve mention. The Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives holds printed and manuscript Baptist materials in microform from North and South America, England, continental Europe, Africa, and Russia. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English Baptist materials from the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Angus Library at Regents Park College, Oxford, are especially voluminous. The

library accepts requests for the filming of specific documents that have not been filmed before. Typically, denominational archivists have been assiduous in the collection and production of microform libraries, and therefore if a project can be defined denominationally, the historical branch of the church should be carefully investigated.

Students need to be aware of the fact that just as scholars have compiled bibliographies of secondary literature in specialized fields, there now exist large collections of primary materials in microform in a number of specialized fields of study. Two areas illustrate such efforts particularly well: women's studies and newspapers and religious periodicals. One of Chadwyck-Healey's clearly defined subject areas in their microfiche collection is "Women Writers." Primary Source Media's History of Women project comprises a vast microfilm collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and manuscripts on women before 1920. Other reference works, already mentioned, have been utilized in a special way for those interested in women's studies. For example, Hilda Smith and Susan Cardinale have compiled *Women and the Literature of the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography Based on Wing's Short Title Catalogue* (Bib. III.C).

Newspapers have demanded the special attention of archivists and librarians, in part because of their fragile character, especially in the nineteenth century, and in part because the early numbers (seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) are so rare. Primary Source Media has filmed Charles Burney's and John Nichols's large collections of English newspapers, 1662-1820.²¹ This collection of "Early English Newspapers" brings an unprecedented number of English provincial papers together in one place, and many major research libraries subscribe to this series. Thus, for any given year, the microfilm collection offers the scholar a geographical sweep of public opinion that rivals the holdings of the British Library's newspaper collection. The British Library itself has digitized the entire Burney Collection of more than 1,200 individual newspaper titles in a full-text searchable archive, but it is available only onsite. In American studies, a great many nineteenth-century religious periodicals that are essential for the history of the period are now available through Chadwyck-Healey's Microform Library (ProQuest). In addition, World Microfilms has a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Quaker and Methodist periodicals.²²

The strategic implications of some of these collections for new research projects should be readily grasped. The history of nineteenth-century primary, secondary, and college education, for example, cannot be understood apart from the contribution of Protestant Evangelicals, and the vast collection of religious periodicals now available in microform will greatly facilitate research in this field. Another illustration is found in the English provincial press. Broadly speaking, local English newspapers have not been read closely by modern historians, and this generalization may apply to other Western countries as well. Yet many important questions regarding religion and public opinion remain to be answered. The question of the relationship between the religious content and influence of the press, on the one hand, and popular forms of religious expression, such as the printed sermon, on the other, are begging to be addressed. A detailed comparative examination of the two should shed light on the highly debated issue of the secularization of the West and help illumine such matters as the timing of “de-Christianization” and the mechanisms of this phenomenon as well. One study utilized the medium of microfilm to examine English newspapers outside of London, looking at some twenty-nine newspapers for a six-month period of the American Revolution, without recourse to a single archive in Great Britain.²³ The sample was rationally constructed on the basis of the geographic distribution of the papers and provided more information than any other work that had been done to date on public opinion concerning the war. The study challenged long-held assumptions about the popularity of the war in England simply because a wide variety of local papers were available in the same medium and all at the same place. While the newspaper digitization program of such powerful online products as the British Newspaper Archive is impressive (see Appendix), nearly two-thirds (eighteen) of the newspapers required for this geographical survey of public opinion are currently not available in the digital archive. In other words, microfilm is still a valuable medium, and new topics can occasionally be defended on the grounds that microform materials may provide a comprehensive overview that is otherwise unattainable.

The duplication of modern source materials has not been limited to the reproduction of printed materials alone; major archives of manuscript material have been rendered in microfilm or microfiche. For example, the

Genealogical Society of Utah (now Family Search) has created the largest collection of filmed manuscripts in the world (Appendix). Many of these records are in the form of vital statistics (birth and baptismal registers), but there are numerous church records from a wide variety of denominations as well, including records of parish vestries, church wardens, and some Sunday School records. Microfilm archives are thus of value for anyone interested in the various ways in which quantitative or comparative techniques may be applied to church history, and they have value for the denominational historian as well.

Research in Archives, Special Collections, and Rare Book Facilities

As indicated previously, the contemporary efflorescence of online resources must not be allowed to obscure the continued importance of great libraries and archives for certain kinds of research projects. Not only is there a high aesthetic factor involved in the use of original sources in their original form — such as the correspondence of Abraham Lincoln, the handwritten minutes of the Consistory of Geneva, or a late medieval manuscript or printed book — there is also the fact that many such resources are not now, and may never be, made available in microform or scanned for use as an online resource. And even when such a source is rendered in electronic format, issues such as the correct reading of a sixteenth-century hand, the examination of a watermark, the proper understanding of marginalia, and so forth, can only be resolved from the original.

On the other hand, full text archives in major European, British, and American libraries are now available on the Internet, as are the manuscripts of well-known individual authors, including marginalia, and this shift of archival materials to the Internet is likely to become a trend. For example, digital reproductions of manuscripts from Oxford University's Bodleian Library can be ordered online through the library's imaging service (<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley>). The British Library permits online search of its archive collections (<http://searcharchives.bl.uk/>) and offers digitized manuscripts online (<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>). The British Library will also digitize manuscripts on request at <http://www.bl.uk/imaging/>. The Swiss Electronic Library (e-rara) is now augmented by an online manuscript

offering (<http://www.e-manuscripta.ch>). The massive papers of Jonathan Edwards are fully searchable at the open access Edwards's project site at Yale University (<http://edwards.yale.edu/archive>); and the Yale Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library will also digitize manuscripts on request (<http://beinecke.library.yale.edu>). The *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (<http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk>) both offers manuscripts and provides a tutorial on reading early modern English handwriting. Many other major libraries also now provide digital copies of manuscripts for a fee.

In some ways, research that utilizes unpublished manuscripts differs only marginally from that involving published books, especially when the books are dated before 1800 and hence considered rare (Bib. III.F; IV.G).²⁴ Manuscripts are often very delicate and must be handled with the same care as rare books and pamphlets. Incunabula, and in many cases, particular editions of early printed books, survive in single copies. Individual manuscripts of sermons, diaries, and correspondence are almost without exception unique, and thus irreplaceable. This places an even greater burden of care on the person who wishes to examine them. Each archive has its own conventions and set of protocols; each has its idiosyncrasies that the student can only successfully navigate by exercising great patience. It is thus difficult to make general rules that apply to all circumstances alike, but there are a few stipulations that are universally applicable and should be strictly observed.

Research that involves manuscripts requires that students pay particularly close attention to the various printed guides that accompany the collection. In fact, it is highly advisable to study the guides to manuscript collections even before seeking permission to examine the collection, and the same applies to the introductory guides for readers provided by almost every major research library. We have known students who have failed to prepare themselves for research and then proceed to waste the time of librarians who have much more important things to do than tutor lazy students. Admittance to research libraries is commonly gained only by permission, and obnoxious research students reflect ill, not only upon themselves, but upon the school they represent and upon their primary supervisor. If their inconsiderate behavior contributes to difficulty for future applicants who request the privilege of access to manuscripts and rare books, they have not only hurt

themselves, they have also, as one veteran put it, committed a “serious offence” against scholarship.²⁵

If the first step of careful preparation is neglected, the result may be utter bewilderment and days of lost time. This advice is readily confirmed by the experience of many beginning students, and a few experienced ones as well, when they encounter new situations and fail to make the necessary adjustments. The Public Record Office in the United Kingdom (now the National Archives) offers a useful illustration of the point.²⁶ This repository is, as the name implies, a record office; that is to say, it is not a library, nor are its holdings organized in a fashion that the uninitiated will recognize, much less fathom. Directories list classes of papers by government department, and this in itself can be daunting, because the system of classification necessitates some knowledge of the history and functioning of the British government. The beginner is frustrated further by the vastness of the collections and, until recently, their division into two entirely separate locations. Though research on a single topic may necessitate the use of papers under the classification R.G. (for Registrar General) and H.O. (for Home Office), for many years the former were located at the P.R.O., Chancery Lane, in central London, and the latter were at the new facility in Kew, Surrey. After the energy expended to learn such things and the inevitable accompanying discouragement, there is some consolation in having an excuse to travel to Kew and visit not only the archive, but the world-famous gardens as well. Happily, the new facilities at Kew are modernized and the time required to requisition documents is now much less than it used to be at Chancery Lane.

The specific method by which manuscripts are requisitioned differs from library to library; the Students’ Room at the old British Museum differed from the Rare Book Rooms in the University Library, Cambridge, and they are as different from each other as the Bodleian Library at Oxford is from the John Rylands University Library at Manchester. In some settings, such as Dr. Williams’s Library in London, the atmosphere is relaxed and the staff unusually helpful; in other settings, the ambiance may be depressing and the assistance unfriendly, possibly even hostile. Manuscripts are normally paged with a definite limit to the number of documents that one can examine at once, and the waiting period will vary between twenty minutes to two or more hours.

In every case, proof of one's serious intent as a scholar is required, and the use of ink in any form is absolutely forbidden.

Students should first familiarize themselves with the general guides that provide broad overviews at the national level and then proceed to the guides of specific archives and libraries. For example, chapters five and six of the *Harvard Guide to American History* on public documents and unpublished sources is helpful at the most general level and will provide a good initial orientation for students working in American history.²⁷ We have listed several guides under "Archives and Manuscripts" in the Bibliography (Bib. IV.G) that are important resources for Americanists, such as the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* and Hamer's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*. For the United Kingdom, the second edition of Janet Foster and Julia Sheppard's *British Archives: A Guide to Archive Resources in the United Kingdom* should be examined (Bib. III.F). The Historical Manuscripts Commission in Britain (now a department of the National Archives) published guides for a large number of manuscript collections, but older hard-copy guides have now been superseded by the National Archives online. Students requiring information on the addresses, services and holdings of local record offices in Great Britain should consult the National Archives at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/browse> and browse the alphabetical list of the archives. A crucial resource for the use of archives in the U.K. is the Institute of Historical Research at Senate House Library, University of London. In addition to offering a gateway to historical sites and datasets, it provides guidance for the use of such major repositories as the Public Record Office and the Guildhall Library. In addition, guides to assist historical research in the UK in more general terms are available through the Institute's web page (<http://www.history.ac.uk/>).

In the search for pertinent manuscript materials for research, we are no longer limited to hard-copy guides, but in many cases the older guides will remain useful, and major research libraries will typically supply hard-copy guides for its manuscript collections. *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: A Location Guide* from the North Carolina University Library is noted in our Bibliography as a random sample of a guide to manuscript holdings, and we have supplied several listings for the Huntington Library to further illustrate the point. The John Rylands

University Library of Manchester has a small booklet entitled “Theology and Church History: A Guide to Research Resources,” with separate sections on “Aids to Research,” “Manuscripts and Archives,” “Printed Books,” and “Microforms.”²⁸ Dr. Williams’s Library, London, provides similar guidance with its “Guide to the Manuscripts.” Nevertheless, Internet resources are rapidly replacing these older guides. In the previous chapter we have alluded to the fact that OCLC can facilitate research in archives as well as in printed sources, and hence, networked libraries ought not be thought of as useful only for secondary literature. Many of the major research collections have developed online catalogues, and increasingly, archives that contain materials in broad subject categories are offering full descriptions of their entire collections on the Internet. The Catholic University of America is a good example of one such archive with extensive finding aids and indices on Catholic history (<http://archives.lib.cua.edu/>). A researcher can now, prior to visiting a library, examine such facilities as the Bodleian Library, the Huntington Library, or the Leiden and Utrecht University libraries in order to identify holdings relevant to highly particularized investigation. Such Internet resources as OCLC WorldCat can also be used to identify concentrations of rarities in those archive and rare book facilities that have online catalogues.

Given the availability of online catalogues of rare materials, plans to do research in distant libraries ought to be made in considerable detail in advance. Researchers will do well not only to plan their time and travel itineraries, but also their research itinerary. If a researcher can identify clearly (including full bibliographical references, call numbers or shelf-marks when possible) which manuscripts or rare books he or she would like to examine, detailed correspondence can be initiated with the librarian or curator of the facility. Often librarians and curators will cooperate with researchers, making available study-desks, carrels, and even individual rare items for particular time periods, enabling a researcher to maximize a stay even of short duration. Major research facilities often also have access to accommodations for visiting scholars that are both relatively convenient to the facility and of considerably less cost than a hotel.

Students should always be alert to the desirability of innovative approaches in obtaining necessary information, and they should let

nothing stand in the way of acquiring the sources they need. The complaint, sometimes heard, that the needed materials were unavailable is not a legitimate excuse. Several different sources, for example, can often be used in conjunction to find a reference. One can start with a bibliographical source for a particular century and then find out that the individual being researched has written something of significance. Granting when and where it was published, there may very well be a particular collection of materials that makes it readily available. Or, if that is not the case (i.e., if an older source is not found either in the Early English Books — either the original microfilm series or the online resource — or in fiche sets from Inter Documentation Company), then the next step may be to go to various bibliographical tools available electronically in most major libraries or to one of the many tools freely available on the Internet, such as the online catalogues of major research libraries, the collections of which are known to cover one's area of interest, such as the Oxford University libraries, Leiden University, major North American university systems such as the University of California, and finally such global tools as WorldCat or the Universal Short Title Catalogue. When major electronic search tools fail, a researcher may still consult the *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* to see whether a copy of the document exists in some other place. Good research technique is not just a matter of knowing individual sources; it is a matter of knowing how to move between the various sources to resource oneself.

Students should not overlook the fact that a considerable amount of research can be carried on by mail and by e-mail. There seems to be simply no end to the kind of materials that can be obtained on written request — from printed books that can be microfilmed to xerographic copies of rare archival materials. When requesting copied materials it is advisable to inquire in advance not only about the price of the copying process but also which of several processes may be available. The old standby 35 mm positive film is increasingly less likely to be used by libraries; many will supply fiche and some will even produce electronic copies in PDF or similar formats readable on a computer screen. Normally, archivists will not allow unpublished manuscripts to be xeroxed, although we have obtained the correspondence of several leading eighteen-century figures in this medium, via the Royal Mail.

Additionally, if the needed materials cannot be obtained by post, or if the situation demands research in its own right, it is entirely possible to contact local researchers who will do some basic elements of the research for you, or who are willing to help with preliminary identification of materials and judgments concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the resources. In one small part of a much larger project, for example, it became necessary to obtain occupational information from a number of Anglican baptismal registers in Bristol, England. A letter of inquiry to the librarian at the Bristol Central Library resulted in a list of several local researchers. Armed with the names and addresses of these local historians, it was not a great deal of trouble to make the necessary arrangements for the work to be done. The expense, of course, was much less than the cost of travel to Bristol, though there was a commensurate loss in pleasure.

Finally, it is essential that students recognize from the beginning the need to have hands-on access to their entire bibliography, either in the form of careful notes or in the form of hard copy or electronic materials. A scholar's library will contain, in addition to books and journals, xerographic and microform copies of articles and documents. Typically, one will have a considerable library of secondary literature on hand as well. After having worked through periodical indices, a researcher will often make xerographic copies or download digital copies of every article that has a direct bearing on his or her topic and have them filed in a coherent order, coordinated with the research bibliography. Then, as one works through the bibliography for a dissertation or monograph, he or she will have almost instantaneous hands-on access to virtually every needed source, except, of course, the really rare items that can be found only in a specialized library. In some cases, depending on the importance of the source, even rare materials, in the form of xerographic or microform copies, will be immediately at hand.

1. G. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students Working on Historical Subjects*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 17.

2. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students*, p. 18.

3. Everett U. Crosby, C. Julian Bishko, and Robert L. Kellogg, *Medieval Studies: A Bibliographical Guide* (New York: Garland, 1983).

4. R. C. Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale*, trans. (from English) B. van den Abeele, new edition (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997). An earlier edition is in English.

5. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994-95).

6. Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Munich: Fink, 1975-92); French version: *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, trans. Henri Rochais, additional bibliography by Jean-Paul Bouhot, 3 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990-).

7. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

8. *Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. Jonathan Dewald, 6 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 2004).

9. For example, we find *Freemasons and Freemasonry: A Bibliography Extracted from Volume 184 of "The National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints"* (London: Mansell, 1973). With some added material, this bibliography ran to about 5,000 items.

10. For example, some 12,000 new holdings from the New York Public Library were added in 2007, but the vast majority of these titles were already listed.

11. The libraries include: the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Cambridge and Newcastle University Libraries, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the National Library of Scotland, Harvard University Library, and the Library of Congress, and in the case of the last two, with holdings only from 1816-1919.

12. Some titles in Welsh and French and a few other languages are listed.

13. See the appendix for further information on these projects.

14. The publisher has adopted the well-established Text Encoding Initiative version of Standard Generalized Markup Language. Such care, while expensive and time-consuming, will undoubtedly guarantee the long-term durability of the project.

15. As with EEBO, licensing agreements require that the database be used on site, but since the vast majority of university libraries allow access to the collections, students will typically find this resource available within a sufficiently convenient geographical radius. While ECCO contains much Americana, the standard database for North American materials is Readex's Evans Early American Imprints at <http://www.readex.com/>.

16. It is estimated that between a third and a half of all 470,000 entries in the ESTC are different editions of the same work.

17. Full access is presently available only for ECCO and the first phase of EEBO (about 25,000 books); it is currently limited to subscribing institutions for EEBO phase two and Evans. Naturally the priority is given to first editions of unique texts (<http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/>).

18. Beyond problems of scanning and the absence of correct information on editions and volumes, there are massive errors in the metadata, including publication dates, wrong or misleading classifications (categories that were designed for large chain bookstores) and mismatches of titles and texts. See Geoffrey Nunberg, "Google's Book Search: A Disaster for Scholars," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (August 31, 2009).

19. See Simon Tanner, Trevor Muñoz, and Pich Hemy Ross, "Measuring Mass Text Digitization Quality and Usefulness: Lessons Learned from Assessing the OCR Accuracy of the British Library's 19th Century Online Newspaper Archive," *D-Lib Magazine* 15 (July/August 2009) at <http://www.dlib.org/dlib/july09/munoz/07munoz.html>.

20. For a good, brief introduction to the use of microform materials in history, see Frank Freidel, ed., with Richard K. Showman, *Harvard Guide to American History*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1974), 1:109-12.

21. The collection runs to some 6,600 reels of microfilm. Primary Source Media provides guides for this specific collection, but for guidance in the broader area of newspapers, students should consult the National Digital Newspaper Program of the Library of Congress (see the appendix).

22. OCLC is cataloging holdings for U.S. newspapers dating back to the beginning of printing in this

country. Projects like the Subject Index to Pre-1800 British Periodicals undertaken by James E. Tierney and supported by Research Publications will transform the efficiency of the researcher. See *The Clark Newsletter: Bulletin of the UCLA Center for 17th and 18th-Century Studies* 20 (Spring, 1991): 10. As of 2007, Tierney's project is ongoing (<http://www.stoa.org/archives/716>).

23. James E. Bradley, "The British Public and the American Revolution: Ideology, Interest, and Opinion," in *Britain and the American Revolution*, ed. H. T. Dickinson (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 153-54.

24. An excellent book for recent works on searching archives is Ronald H. Fritze, Brian E. Coutts, and Louis A. Vyhnanek, eds., *Reference Sources in History: An Introductory Guide*, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), esp. chapter 13.

25. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students*, p. 25.

26. See the excellent article by Geraldine Beech, "Historical Research in the Public Record Office, London," *Perspectives* (the American Historical Association Newsletter) 29 no. 9 (Dec. 1991): 13-14, 16. The online guide is at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/atoz/>.

27. See also the brief but helpful discussion of foreign archives on pp. 100-105 of vol. I.

28. In addition, there are more specialized guides for the John Rylands Library: for example, "Methodist Archives: Catalogues, Handlists, Bibliographies and Some Important Reference Works."

5. The Practice of Research and the Craft of Writing

As the scholar moves further into research, the various stages of a proper method of investigation blend with one another. After a decade of research and writing, one will not spend a lot of time identifying the topic. One's area of specialization and its sub-themes become so familiar that the nature and extent of future research projects are easily anticipated. In addition, the work of gathering materials merges with the tasks of writing and outlining. Assuming a broad continuum in one's general area of research, materials that have been gathered in the course of previous projects are added to a basic research bibliography while, at the same time, the focus of research is changed slightly to adapt to a new project. There is, moreover, no hard and fast rule for drafting an outline or developing a pattern of approach: researchers must think about all aspects of their work continuously, even though they tend to move from a gathering and an evaluating stage to a collating stage and finally to the work of writing and redrafting.

Thus, as we conceptualize a thesis or dissertation, our thoughts naturally range over the entire project, from beginning to end, often (and rightly so) without a clear sense of all of the issues at play or a firm grasp of the ultimate shape of the project. Nevertheless, at the outset of research, once a topic is selected, we must begin by gathering materials and arranging them on the basis of a preliminary outline. Earlier chapters have provided a survey of scholarly tools that enable the researcher to take the very first step of acquiring a working knowledge of the bibliography that pertains to his or her specialization. It may be intimidating, but it is nonetheless true, that research students are responsible for being aware of everything that has been written in their field up to the point of their own approach to the topic. Eventually, they will master the entire bibliography of a field, as represented by the most recent and/or the best writings in their specialization. This mastery,

however, is not accomplished by simply multiplying references; the basic bibliographical task always involves a process of sifting and evaluation. We turn in this chapter, therefore, to examine basic techniques and skills in research and writing.¹

Evaluating Resources and Materials

Students need to cultivate the ability to identify the important books and articles on a topic and distinguish them from the unimportant ones. This process of identification, moreover, must occur at the level both of primary and of secondary sources. Once the basic bibliographic search is completed, we move toward a process of increasing selectivity. At the level of primary sources, the explosion of documentation brought about by the proliferation of online resources not only raises the issue of narrowing a topic for the sake of finding a legitimate subject that can be addressed at the requisite level of detail, it also raises with considerable intensity the issue of distinguishing materials of greater relevance and significance from those of less importance among the available sources. A researcher must make an effort to identify authors, assess their impact on their contemporaries, and locate their work in its historical context. Not all of the documents produced by presumably important or influential individuals are important documents — and some of the documents produced by presumably insignificant individuals may be important documents. At the level of secondary materials, books that are written at a popular level, or are not documented well, or are not respected in the field, should be identified and set aside. Age can say a lot about the strength of a work, particularly with respect to its bibliographical apparatus. But one cannot simply presume that the older book or dissertation is weak; each must be examined on its own merits. An ill-documented popular work may actually document a significant moment.

We have already discussed hierarchies of value in the use of reference works, such as encyclopedias and dictionaries. The same general rule applies to journal articles. The best, most recent articles will often add additional bibliographical material that will lead one into the subject in more detail, and thus it is helpful to always work from the most recent articles backward. It is also desirable to start with the most important

journals, a datum that is sometimes determined by the breadth of the journal's coverage. The journal *Church History*, for example, would commonly possess a higher priority than *Methodist History* (unless, of course, one's topic was specifically Methodist history). Articles on Methodism in *Church History* (if the authors have done their work) will undoubtedly refer to articles in the denominational magazine. Research students should start as broadly as possible with the more authoritative journals and then work their way back, both in time and in detail, as that will save considerable effort along the way.

One should also be alert to the distinction between archival and antiquarian work, on the one hand, and critical scholarship on the other. For example, journals like *Notes and Queries* contain edited primary texts, but very little scholarly apparatus or critical interaction. In this regard as well, the distinction between primary and secondary sources must always be kept in mind, a distinction that depends a great deal on the intention behind the creation of the evidence and the use to which the evidence is put. We have argued that Williston Walker's *History of the Christian Church* is a good example of a secondary, or in fact, even a tertiary source, granting that it does not deal directly with the materials of history and in many places is itself based on what we would call secondary sources. But if one is studying the life and thought of Williston Walker, then it is no longer a secondary source. It is a document that needs to be dealt with differently, in light of the fact that one is going to it, not for the information that it was designed to convey, but for information about the mind of Williston Walker and his various redactors.

Students should also be aware of the distinction between the critical editions of documents that we have come to expect in current scholarship and those found in earlier edited works. Critical editions commonly contain an elaborate editorial apparatus that explains in precise terms the degree of liberty that was taken in collecting, compiling, and editing the documents. Many older edited works, however, especially of diaries, correspondence, speeches, and sermons, leave out entire documents or parts of documents, and sometimes they conflate documents in such a way that the chronology is confused, or even misleadingly altered. We thus distinguish between original sources, whether in manuscript or in print, whether presented in their original form or on film, fiche, or

electronic format, that remain unedited, carefully edited critical editions that reveal their editorial process, and more or less uncritical editions in which undocumented alterations (whether textual or typographical) have been made. We similarly distinguish between denominational and antiquarian journals that often contain primary sources and major journals that seldom do, and we use these sources differently. Research students will also gradually develop a sense of which journals are refereed by specialists and this knowledge will help place a journal in an implicit hierarchy of authority. Some journals will almost always accept an article, while others require the review of two or even three scholars in the field, and the latter commonly reject more articles than they accept. In time, a person will gradually acquire a sense of which are the standard scholarly journals and which articles are definitive in their field.

Taking Notes

The specific method of note taking will inevitably be tailored to the individual and to the precise requirements of one's own research project, but certain general guidelines can be laid down. The cardinal rule is to always record notes in exactly the same way and to follow an approach that performs the basic task of identifying sources and resources correctly and in a usable manner. One may use discrete and well-identified files on a computer or an older, hard-copy method such as blank sheets of paper cut to the size of file cards or $6 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ narrow-lined loose-leaf paper which goes into standard one-inch and two-inch notebooks.

Whatever the mechanics of one's research, the important thing is to be consistent and to record information with exceeding care. With any system that is adopted, and with any medium that is utilized, the materials that one chooses must be designed so as to fit into an overall filing system that can store several projects in good order, suitable to the delineation of discrete units of text and amenable to the conflation of the units of text into larger sections. In the older, hard-copy model, consistent use of sheets of paper that are all one size allows notes taken for one project to be conflated with notes for another. For example, a sheet taken out of one's church history lectures should ideally be able to fit directly into research on a book. The same principle applies even with the use of lap-top computers and databases: the consistent use of a

standardized pattern of naming and organizing files is absolutely necessary. Files need to be named in such a way as to be capable of retrieval and use — i.e., one needs to know where, in an increasingly vast memory space, one's files on a particular subject are kept. And one's computer folders need to be as carefully organized as hard copy folders in file drawers. Each distinct project ought to have its own distinctively named folder and each section or chapter of a project ought to have its distinct name, related to the topic of the project. If, for example, one were writing a book on Luther's understanding of marriage and divorce, there ought to be a main Luther folder and there ought to be files within the folder named accordingly, for example, "Luther-marriage01" and "Luther-marriage02." A file named "marriage01" could all too easily be copied by accident into another folder, say, dealing with Bucer's views on marriage, and copied over a Bucer file named "marriage01."

In the old manual method, one would never put more than a paragraph or a single idea on one sheet and would never work on the back of pages. On a computer, one ought to maintain discrete files for discrete subjects: notes taken on one volume ought not to be included in the same file as notes taken on another volume. In the case of the more traditional method of note taking, the reason for using standard paper or paper cut to size and not the commercial 5×8 index cards is that with the latter the bulk of paper soon becomes too great. Index cards are probably three times as thick as twenty weight plain bond. It is also a great deal less expensive to use standard blank or lined paper, and there is an important psychological rationale to this technique as well.

If notes are to be collated easily, there must be no more than one basic idea or paragraph on each piece of paper or, in the case of files on a computer, the researcher should attend to careful paragraphing within a file. Those who use index cards, however, will be inclined not to waste them. Scholars should be willing to waste paper, and if they must err, they should err on the side of using an excess of paper, because it will enable them to avoid the time-consuming task of using scissors and paste and cutting up the note card. Ideally, paragraphs written one year should be able to be inserted between paragraphs of materials that were recorded in other years, or at another stage of research. This is also the reason for using paper that is no larger than 5×8 or $6 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ and for not working on the back of notes. This logic carries over directly into research and note

taking on a computer. There is, of course, no issue of physical bulk, but there is the issue of discrete bits of information that can be maintained and managed as discrete bits, identified easily by the name of the file in which they have been saved, and then retrieved for the sake of collation with other discrete bits of data. A large number of ill-named and badly organized files is the electronic equivalent of a mass of unorganized sheets of paper. When files are well-organized and careful paragraphing done at an initial stage, the “scissors-and-paste” approach to collating is easily adapted to the block moving of text from a research file into an outline.

Notes must also be properly documented. Some scholars utilize a footnote apparatus on each page. Others use a slug with the author’s last name and short title in the upper left hand corner. All scholars, however, use separate file cards, usually 3×5 , for complete bibliographical information — author, title, place of publication, publisher, date — and file them separately. In a computer model, each quotation or paraphrase taken down as notes on a single source ought to be footnoted precisely, as one would do in the final draft, including a full reference in footnote-form in the first note taken and standardized short references in subsequent notes. Do not use “*ibid.*” for short references. Always use a standardized short reference, preferably containing the author’s last name and a first key word or shortened form of a title. This rule is of particular importance when taking notes or writing on a computer, inasmuch as footnotes travel with the block of moved text and the source of an “*ibid.*” detached from its original context may be very difficult to identify.

Cultivating the habit of taking bibliographical information down in proper bibliographical form is essential, with the last name first, then the first name in as full a form as possible, the title, and so on. A strict regime developed in the initial stages of research will serve one well when the final stages of the bibliography and dissertation or thesis are reached. The very first thing to record on the individual sheet of note paper is the author and a short title of the book or article that can take one back to the full reference — just as the first thing to be recorded in research done on a computer is the full bibliographical reference. If this is conscientiously done on each initial sheet or at the beginning of each discrete file, the painful and discouraging task of being forced to redo one’s work can be avoided. In addition, as first references are taken

down, a bibliographical file ought to be started in which the primary and secondary sources for the project are listed alphabetically in full references. Given that most projects begin with proposals, the researcher will most probably have a preliminary bibliography at the outset of research that can simply be augmented as the research progresses and new resources are identified.

When working with Internet databases, bibliography should be up- or off-loaded in a text format that can be edited and moved into one's bibliography. In the case of drawing bibliography from the online catalogs of major research libraries, the "full text" or long-form reference should be taken, not the short reference, given the considerable amount of useful information found in the former. A long-form reference will often include secondary authors, indications of problems in a text, and comments concerning variant editions, anonyms, pseudonyms, and other significant information compiled by librarians, archivists, and catalogers. The long-form reference can be kept in a bibliographical file and the short reference extracted for one's own bibliography.

The distinction between an accurate quotation from a work, a paraphrase of a work, and one's own analysis is also crucial. At the very outset of an encounter with a document, the question should be put, "Is this worthy to be quoted in full or not?" The usual answer should be "not," in that the number of absolutely memorable quotations is few. Then as one studies the document and begins to take notes, it is useful to ask, "Am I best served with a paraphrase, or analysis, or both?" and "To what extent am I borrowing the phraseology of the source?" Notes must make the answer to these questions very clear, because a year from the time the note is recorded, it may be impossible to recall whether the words are the student's own, or whether they are those of the source.

Generally, fewer notes are taken on secondary sources than on primary ones since the principal arguments and main conclusions of secondary sources, such as articles in the field, should already be very familiar. In the case of scholarly articles, which can easily be downloaded in "pdf" or "gif" format or simply xeroxed when the electronic form is not available, the researcher can literally own the materials and consciously reduce the bulk of notes. In the case of primary sources, even though these too can often be downloaded, note taking on a larger scale is necessary: notes on the primary sources will become the

core of one's final essay. While taking notes, whether from primary or secondary sources, discipline is required to avoid a pattern of passivity. It is a great temptation to put off creative writing until a segment of research is completed, but the temptation should be resisted by requiring oneself to record any insights that have arisen in the course of research. These insights often become the nucleus of a thesis, or part of an introduction or a conclusion, when the project matures to the point of serious writing.

In addition to the temptation to be passive in research, there is also a tendency to overquote material. Beginning students often feel an internal pressure to get the whole text in hand and get it right, but they should steel themselves to put the matter in their own words, being careful, as already noted, to record what level of generalization they have already adopted. Inevitably, the day will come when a needed quotation is missing, and the only alternative will be to go back to a document and pull something out. But slovenly habits that necessitate such retracing of one's work should be noted and avoided. Part of the skill of research involves developing the ability to interact analytically with a document, rather than simply reproduce it. The task of the historian is not to reproduce some old document; that is the work of the antiquarian; rather, it is a matter of discovering what is really important in the evidence and eliciting a few supporting phrases or quotations. Decisions need constantly to be made concerning the nature of one's representation of a source: is a quotation necessary; ought one to paraphrase, summarize, or allude — with, of course, a proper footnote identifying the source. If there is a document-specific or period-specific or topic-specific technical vocabulary in the document, one needs to understand it and reflect that understanding in the way one handles it. In some cases it may be that the vocabulary in the document will need to be reproduced very closely. But by and large, the main endeavor will involve analyzing the evidence and critically dealing with the content of the document. Even at this first stage of research, students should move toward an informed dialogue with the primary evidence and the secondary authorities.

[Collating Notes: the Preliminary Outline](#)

Besides attending to insights that arise in the very process of research,

one should constantly be giving thought to how the material will be ordered. While engaging in basic research, reading the so-called “primary” and “secondary” materials, historians and theologians should be thinking all the time, “How does this fit together?” The preliminary outline both for individual chapters and the entire dissertation arises from at least three places. First, the initial consideration of the boundaries of the topic offers some guidance. Second, the outline emerges from the materials themselves and what they provide concerning their chronological or logical flow. Third (and less importantly), the outline arises from secondary sources and other people’s opinions about the materials. The last is the least satisfactory place to obtain an outline, although it is going to have some value and influence, particularly since we are entering a discussion about the material that has been going on for some time.

In the beginning stages of research, it is highly desirable to make a clear decision about the best kind of outline to adopt and its suitability to the materials. Is it a chronological/historical outline? Is it a logical/topical outline? Or does it combine patterns? One may opt for a primarily logical model and then, within the topic and its subsections, proceed chronologically. Or one may choose a logical model and simply move systematically through the topics. On the other hand, a predominantly chronological model may well be best, with logical sections in it. The outline may also be arranged in a third pattern: it may arise from the argument that has been joined with previous scholars. If one chooses the third pattern, then research becomes pieces of evidence for and against a case. In most scholarly work, at some point, these three forms are combined or converge. The one question that must be asked at the very beginning is, “How is this material best organized?” In some fields, such as the history of philosophy or intellectual history, a purely chronological pattern does not often work, granting that (to disagree with some famous general) history is not just “one damn thing after another.” A simple attempt to move from a document written in 1595 to a document written in 1596 to a document written in 1597 will almost certainly fail. The important line of investigation may lead from the document written in 1597 and then to its antecedent in 1596, along with other documents written in close proximity, and finally to a heretofore unappreciated author who wrote several years later. In intellectual history

and theology, chronology is not necessarily the best way to proceed, although one must always be sensitive to it, granting that influences normally happen in roughly chronological order.

The first outline is necessarily preliminary because in the process of working on additional documents, further secondary materials, and even writing the essay, one's sense of the shape of the project is going to change, sometimes more and sometimes less substantially. The outline is a kind of skeleton statement of a working hypothesis. The hypothesis is about how the materials fit together, and it can, and indeed should, be changed even up to the very end of the project. As a method for structuring complex material, the outline is absolutely essential, but the importance of one particular form of the outline should not be overestimated. A carefully thought through preliminary outline, however, must be in place at the beginning of one's work because the outline gives shape and direction to one's entire effort. It will also provide the basis for one's discussion with his or her primary mentor.

As the outline develops and expands, one is then in a position to organize notes around the outline as the research proceeds. Every note card should reserve the upper right hand corner for a slug that indicates the part of the outline into which the material fits. In the very first stages of research this may be little more than an informed guess, and one should not expect too much certainty about the placement of some bits of material until the research has progressed considerable distance. But the process should be started as soon as possible. When the outline reaches a more complete form, one should go back through all of the research files or, if the research was done manually, the file cards, entering on them their location in the outline with Roman and Arabic numerals. This process will be repeated for each chapter. The last step involves taking the whole roster of files or the stack of note cards and organizing them according to the outline. Computer files can easily be renamed or, if original filenames are maintained for the sake of overall clarity in the project, prefixed with a numerical system to determine their new order.

One is then in a position to begin writing. The steps in this process are essential, since it is really the only way to control vast amounts of material. There are, however, several possible variations to the pattern. There is a traditional manual method that worked well in the days before computers that can easily be adapted to use on a computer. The main

divisions of the outline can be expanded onto individual sheets. With the heading of the outline on these sheets without anything else on the paper, the materials of the chapter or section can be collated behind those sheets. The sheets become the place where one writes down an introductory paragraph to that particular section, or a transition from the previous section. A word processor makes the process simple and elegant: a copy of the entire outline of the project can be coded as headings for a table of contents, so that generation of the table will produce an identical outline. Then the materials, primary and secondary, can be copied from the original research files into their proper places in the outline. (The original research files should be left intact for future reference.) The coded outline becomes the shell of the whole project. Pieces of research can be moved at will, including whole sections and sub-sections of the project, together with their coded headers. The table of contents feature of the word processing program can then be used to generate a new table of contents that includes revisions of the section and sub-section titles and rearrangement of sections and sub-sections. In such a process, it is wise to retain not only daily backup files of the entire project as it is developed and expanded, but also to retain old backups, both of the original form of the outline and of earlier forms of sections and sub-sections — just in case one regrets a change and needs to reconstruct an earlier version or shape of the project, whether in whole or in part.

When writing chapters that extend to forty or fifty pages in length, one simply has to have a method for connecting the complex materials of research coherently to the overall project of the dissertation. The outline not only serves this purpose, but as continually revised to account for new insights into the meaning and interrelationships of materials, it will aid in the process of developing a coherent argument. The skillful use of a well-conceptualized outline is the only convincing way to relate a thesis to its supporting data. In fact, if the outline has been conceived as a skeleton or as a summary form of the thesis and argument, its alterations and refinements will consciously reflect alterations and refinements of the thesis and argument of the project.

Survey of Secondary Literature and Paradigms: Writing the First Paragraph or Chapter

The formal and conceptual difficulties encountered in framing and writing a good first paragraph to an essay or first chapter to a dissertation or book are substantially the same. In the latter case the first chapter is just developed on a larger scale. In both cases, the fundamental task of the writer is to offer a preliminary conception of the whole project framed by a clear summary-analysis of the present state of the scholarly question (often constructed as a history of scholarship), a concise statement of the thesis or argument to be presented in view of the history of scholarship and the researcher's own insights into the primary sources, a statement of the specific way in which the project proposes to advance the scholarship and alter the state of the question, and, optimally, an indication of the method or approach to be taken in the project. In the case of a lengthy and involved project, an analytical statement of the shape of the project or an analytical prospectus of the chapters may be desirable. Of course, the project may change — it probably will change — in the course of writing. Still, a preliminary draft of a first paragraph or chapter is as essential to framing a project as the careful rewriting of that paragraph or chapter will be to its completion.

In the introduction of any topic, questions of secondary literature and paradigms arise, and they bear directly on how the first paragraph should be written. The most compelling way of writing a first paragraph or framing a first chapter is to commence the argument by engaging with other writers in the field. Once the outline is in place and the note cards are collated, a person should have a good grasp of the larger meaning of the topic and its overall shape. By this time one will also have a preliminary sense of the way the thesis fills a gap in the literature and the precise nature and location of the disagreements that have arisen in the course of research with what other people have said about the topic. These considerations yield up the material for a very sound first paragraph of a scholarly article, or the entire first chapter of a dissertation. The first paragraph or chapter should lay out the secondary literature in an analytical form. The case, of course, will be argued on the basis of one's own first-hand acquaintance with primary source materials, but while these materials are implicitly present in the opening paragraphs, they are not displayed in detail at this point.

The history of scholarship should be ordered paradigmatically. At a certain stage in research, leading towards the first paragraph or chapter,

one should be able to say that certain lines of scholarly argument can be identified and separated. Certain authors fall into place with one line of argumentation or method and other authors with another. The first paragraph or chapter will show that there are several different ways of looking at this material. Having established that there are numerous different treatments of the material in the past, one proceeds to say how these different approaches disagree and which ones have particular insights, and which ones miss issues. After the entire paradigm of previous research is surveyed, one can say, "Granting that scholars have seen this group of issues but have missed these other questions individually, we now have something further to say about this, which moves us off in another direction covering the areas that have been missed." The thesis of the article or dissertation thereby arises directly from critical engagement with the history of scholarship and the knowledge of new or differently construed primary evidence.

Constructed in this fashion, the first paragraph accomplishes a whole series of different important effects. Effect number one is that it crystallizes in the student's mind their own purpose for writing and the distinctive character of their own approach. Previously, it is entirely possible that one may not have fully recognized the value of their own research and its place in the history of scholarship, since to that point they had not articulated it in detail. Secondly, in terms of persuasiveness, this paragraph or chapter proves to the reader that the author knows the material. When submitting a dissertation to a committee, or an article to a journal, or a book to a publisher, beginning scholars face the difficult task of convincing critical readers that what they are saying needs to be said. Those readers, if well chosen, will know the literature and will know the field. The longer it takes one to convince the referee, the less likely it is that the essay will be accepted. If, however, readers are convinced in the first paragraphs of an article that the author understands the literature in the field, that he or she has seen a gap in it, and that there is something important that can be said to fill the gap, then one can be assured of the acceptance of an essay or article. If one expertly surveys the literature in the first sections of the first chapter of a dissertation, one can most probably rest assured that both internal and external readers will approve it. The paradigm of past scholarship demonstrates that the student has not only exhaustively covered previous research in a specific

area, but the compelling way that this material is ordered suggests that the author also possesses a commanding knowledge of the field. Scholarly authority is firmly established, both on the grounds of comprehending an area of research and on the basis of the intellectual power that orders the material.

Once the first paragraph or paragraphs are completed, one not only has a good introduction to the essay or dissertation, but also the beginning of a sound methodology for writing — namely, rigorous interaction with secondary materials in the text of the essay. The body of the essay or chapter should recognize the secondary literature specifically; one should not have to go to the footnotes to locate dialogue with other scholars. This discussion with other authorities arises directly from the introductory paragraph where the issues are set up initially, and this, once again, demonstrates a student's competence throughout the essay. But it does something even more than that. It proves a scholar's own grasp of the material by forcing us to enter into conversation with other people who have written about the topic. This needs to be consciously done. The initial survey of scholarship introduces the topic and the issues surrounding it, but the discussion with other authorities is something that must be carried on throughout the entire project. Otherwise a student may end up writing a monologue that does not necessarily add anything to the history of scholarship.

Some final advice on the first paragraphs pertains to the initial efforts of written expression. Authors commonly agree that the opening paragraph or two is the most difficult part of any project to write (for each chapter or for each article). It is conceptually the most difficult part of writing because the whole project must be held in the mind at once, and at the same time, the discrete parts of the work must be described and an effort made to order them in a compelling way. One may have completed their research and come to write the first paragraph and be seized with a tremendous case of writer's block. Recognizing the conceptual difficulty of constructing the first paragraph may help, and it is also an aid to composition to gather together in one place the insights written out during the process of research and see how they may bear upon the introductory sentences. If progress is seriously stymied for any length of time, it may be best to pass over the first paragraph and begin writing out the evidence that supports the thesis. Once the various parts

of the argument are written, one will often return to the first paragraph with greater clarity.

As one begins to write the first chapter, research notes are folded into the discussion with the secondary sources. We begin to draw together in one place the discrete units that become the basis of paragraphs. Most of the time, the order of writing will follow the subsections of the provisional outline. It may, of course, be desirable to rearrange the outline a bit after the introduction is finished. Then we proceed to write through the outline, usually starting with the first sub-topic. As one progresses, the bits of information on note cards or in files on one's computer (or in whatever medium employed) are rewritten and put into decent English. By this point one should have a sense of how these single pieces of research can best be fit together, either through the logical or historical connections between them, or by means of the arguments that are joined with other scholars.

Students who have undertaken advanced research are sometimes overwhelmed by the thought, "How do I write a book?" The answer is, "You do not." Nobody writes a book. All scholars do is write little pieces of a book, and they keep on writing little pieces with some sense of the whole given by the outline. Finally, after writing a whole series of small sections, they assemble them into a cohesive whole and make a book. The object is to take a discrete portion of research or writing at a time, engage it rigorously in the light of one's sense of the whole, then move off of that topic and do more. If a student writes one subsection every week or every two weeks, then in a year or so the result is a book-length manuscript. The task involves moving through the individual elements, never losing sight of the larger whole, and hopefully allowing those smaller units of information to shape and alter the project in the process.

The Body of the Essay

As they progress through the various chapters, research students should give conscious attention, not only to the substance, but to the tone of their work and what they are attempting to prove and why. Their work should be primarily constructive, rather than destructive, though in most fields there will undoubtedly be some underbrush that needs to be cleared away. Attacking previous authorities, however, is often needless, and as

one experienced teacher put it, such attacks are “both irritating and boring to read,” to say nothing of being a waste of space.² Undue criticism of past scholarship, besides being ungracious and distasteful, is a certain sign of vanity, a quality that young scholars in particular should seek to avoid.

The body of the essay ought to be constructed with clear reference to the developing outline of the study. First and second level subheadings from the outline can and ought to serve as explicit markers throughout the essay. Subheads are invariably preferable, for both brevity and clarity, to transitional sentences or paragraphs inserted only for the sake of indicating transitions to the reader. (In a word-processed document, all such headings ought to be coded for a table of contents and the table of contents generated anew as a revised outline whenever sections of the essay are rearranged.)

Maintenance and use of a clear and suitable outline will also be of service in the establishment of a narrative or line of argument in one’s essay. The logical or chronological flow of materials adopted in the process of organizing and outlining the materials of research ought to provide a foundation for argumentation — and argumentation should flow smoothly between the introductory paragraphs and the conclusion. Attention not only to style but to the larger structure and flow of argument is indispensable: each section or subsection of the essay should read as a focused unit with its own proper beginning, middle and end, and all of the sections should be arranged in such a way as to facilitate the argument and to draw the reader in a convincing manner through the body of the essay toward the conclusion.

There are several ways to achieve a fairly unified and coherent narrative line. A historical essay can observe chronology and follow out the historical line of a series of events or documents. Care must be used in this approach, however, inasmuch as mere chronological precedence does not indicate the kind of relationship that may exist among documents or even that there is a relationship. Thus, a researcher must consider such questions as whether the writer of one document actually knew of an earlier document, and if he or she knew of the earlier document, how or if that knowledge actually impinged on the writing of the latter document. Another approach, of a more topical nature, useful for the creation of coherent subsections, involves the use of a particular

document as the basis for a narrative line. This approach, too, must be used with care. The researcher must ask whether the document itself, in its contents and organization, supplies all of the key issues needed to interpret it: must other elements for the narrative line be drawn into play from the historical, cultural, or social context of the document and of its writer? Are there issues that were self-evident to the writer of the document that are not self-evident to the present-day reader? In sum, the historian must step past the basic question of the meaning of a text to the question of how a text, texts, or other evidences ought to be presented to the end of constructing a line of narrative or argument that is both interpretive and coherent.

A word of caution and advice is also due to those who have never made the transition between research and writing by hand in pen or pencil and research and writing on a computer. Although the computer facilitates moving and editing text in a marvelous way, it also brings certain dangers and drawbacks. The traditional manual methods enabled (or perhaps forced) the mind to work through materials with great care at several different stages in a project. The entire rewriting or retyping of a page, although tedious, typically served as a moment in which the materials were reexamined, insights gained, composition smoothed, and the project advanced in subtle ways. With a computer, however, entire pages are virtually never redone, certainly not for the purpose of minor rearrangements or minor typographical corrections. The researcher must take care that the ease of the editing process does not short-circuit the necessary work of rethinking a project on the way to second and third drafts.

Writing the Last Paragraph

When one has finished writing the body of a chapter or article, the last paragraph should generally understate the importance of one's discoveries. Modesty in conclusions is the best rule. At the end of a long, costly research project, students are characteristically enthused about their accomplishments; they may be tempted to think that they have determined the field for ages to come or broken significant new ground. Such enthusiasm commonly leads one to conclude more than he or she has actually proven. On the first attempt, therefore, one should exercise

restraint and put the question, “What are the minimal conclusions that I can draw from this?” Understatement is an art, but it is an art well worth cultivating.

Secondly, while framing the last paragraph, ask specifically, “Exactly what did I argue in the essay?” Never draw conclusions for a larger field than the field of study that has actually been surveyed in the chapter. If the study was on “The Doctrine of God in Reformed Protestantism 1570-1640,” do not conclude anything about the doctrine of God from the early Reformation. Do not conclude anything about the doctrine of God for later Protestantism or about Lutheranism. Do not conclude anything about the whole system of theology from arguments about the doctrine of God, except insofar as that doctrine obviously relates to it. Or if one is studying church polity in Geneva at the time of Calvin, do not draw conclusions for Presbyterian polity in general. The conclusions should fit exactly the bounds of the topic examined; the research itself thus sets the boundaries for the conclusion. The generalizations made in the conclusion are the generalizations that apply directly to what was attempted. Otherwise students are liable to be wrong — very wrong, possibly even absurd. It greatly devalues research if beginning scholars do not deal expertly with their conclusions, and readers will be quick to notice this failure of discipline. Seldom, if ever, will modesty be criticized.

Conclusions may state implications for further research, but great caution should be exercised in this regard as well. It is best to deal with the possible implications for further research in an identifiable subsection, or simply hold these materials for future projects, since the motive for stating the possibility of further implications is often indistinguishable from the motive that leads to sweeping generalizations. This advice is directed primarily to young and beginning scholars. As one matures, judgment matures, and when a person’s general command of a field becomes highly competent, then more may be claimed. This is one of a number of things that change over time. For example, beginning students often tend towards monocausal explanations of historical events. As their judgment matures, they begin to see the complexities of historical causation, and this leads them to become more tentative. Time spent in an area of research thus leads to maturity which in turn produces more modesty and tentativeness than is often true of beginners. Similarly,

one's command of the bibliography in a field will grow with time and this will broaden a student's preliminary survey of scholarship and their initial sense of the issues to be addressed and what has been said previously and what has been missed.

Conclusions, in short, should be "analytical" or "analytically descriptive." The student moves beyond the evidence to make an attempt at saying what the evidence means in a particular context. One can look at an individual writer or a group of writers on a topic, and then say what the structure and the various sources reveal about the breadth, the limitation, and the implications of their thought — where it came from, what it was doing, where it was going. But one should never say that this is the only way to describe the area, nor imply that the field is now exhausted, in a kind of prescriptive definition of what must be noted about the phenomenon. Rather, one moves off of the description analytically, in terms of what can indeed be said about the shape of the phenomenon. The conclusion does remain somewhat open-ended, although one should have achieved a level of analysis that has not been attained before. The goal is to move off of the material, throw new light on the evidence by means of a different set of antecedents and new material, and then say what this means for the phenomenon in brief, rather than make a strictly prescriptive statement about what must have happened.

Footnoting

The purpose of footnoting is to enable a reader to retrace accurately, if not always in every detail, the steps of a scholar's research; the reader should be able readily to find the evidence upon which the argument is based. Most research students will be familiar with this principle. It is less likely that beginning students will have given any thought to the structure of footnotes. In writing essays, articles, and chapters there is a fairly predictable structure of footnotes that is related to the way that we set up the initial paragraphs. The initial footnotes, to borrow a military metaphor, will provide a basic deployment of forces to be used in argument while the following sequence of notes that runs throughout the essay ought to evidence a tactical use of those forces, both primary and secondary.

An article will therefore be very heavily documented in the first few pages because we are dealing with an entire field of literature. It is not uncommon for the first footnotes to take up more space than the text of the first two paragraphs. In surveying the field, one is dealing mainly with secondary sources. Once the current state of research is laid out and the thesis stated, the discussion moves on to primary sources. Generally speaking, in the ordering of materials, one moves from secondary sources into primary sources. As one begins to deal with primary documents, the chapter may once again require heavy documentation because of the initial citation of these sources, or perhaps the need to mention technical matters of method. Having examined the primary sources, the argument commonly turns to the substantive results of research, and typically, one will be documenting less and less along the way, because more attention is given to analysis. By the time the conclusion is reached, the documentation will dwindle to the vanishing point, and one is then able to state the conclusions on the basis of the material examined. In most well-written articles and chapters, one can discern this basic, predictable structure of footnoting and documentation. At the beginning of their research, students would do well to carefully examine the structure of a scholarly article, or a chapter in a well-received book, and consciously emulate these models.

It may happen that following the introductory paragraphs, and after surveying the scholarship with an extensive apparatus of secondary documentation at the beginning, one discovers, toward the middle of the chapter, that they have accumulated another large body of secondary documentation. In this case, the student or reader should ask whether his essay is in fact two distinct pieces, each with a separate apparatus. If it is one piece, has it been badly organized? Why does a new line of scholarship suddenly appear? Why did I not discuss these matters in my introductory paragraph and fold these references into the initial survey of scholarship? If the answer is that there are two basic issues addressed in sequence in the essay and the form of the essay is clearly reflected by the division of the bibliography, or if there is some other logic that explains the anomaly, then the problem is solved. Such structural oddities, however, are often an indication that the student has inadvertently omitted something from the introductory discussion and inserted it at a later point, or that a second, unrelated topic that really does not belong in

the chapter may have been added. Questions such as these should be asked throughout the process of constructing an essay.

The standard work on research by Barzun and Graff may justly be criticized on the question of what goes into a footnote. Barzun and Graff disagree with the maxim that if one wishes to elaborate a point in a footnote, it is either worth saying in the text (and not in the footnote) or it is not worth saying at all.³ They cite several examples of where it is useful to elaborate a theme in a footnote, but the very nature of the exception, and the kind of exception that has to be shown, demonstrates the validity of the rule. In most cases it is inadvisable to develop long excursions in footnotes; if they are really important, they belong in the argument in the text of the paper. Less experienced scholars in particular tend to analyze primary sources in the text of their essays and to dialogue with secondary sources in the footnotes. This approach leads to long footnotes about the patterns and approaches of scholarship — and to a corresponding lack of dialogue with scholarly opinion in the context of the analysis of sources. Observations about the tendencies of scholarship, however, if they are really substantive, frequently belong in the text of an essay as part of the basic analysis of sources, with the footnote indicating where the secondary reference may be found. Kitson Clark was right to suggest that a long, argumentative footnote is often a symptom of mismanagement, and that part of the argument has been displaced from where it naturally belongs.⁴

Even so, footnotes should reflect the flow of the argument and normally not add new pieces to the essay's line of reasoning. It is just as important to engage other scholars in the argument as it is to present primary sources and analyze them: the line of reasoning in a scholarly essay, thus, extends the line of the history of scholarship. Foreign language quotations are an exception to the rule and do belong in footnotes, especially when a new translation of an original source appears in the text. Lengthy, untranslated passages may be a sign of erudition, but they also tend to disturb the line of argument, particularly granting that the translation itself is part of the interpretive process of the essay. Citation of the original text in the note offers readers the opportunity to check both the translation and the argument of the essay. A similar exception is properly made when a sentence or two is required to explain a necessary technical point, or to defend the choice of one

edition over another acceptable edition of a primary source: these issues belong in a footnote.

This advice cuts against the characteristic temptation of the beginner. Graduate students wish to show that they are comprehensive, and while this is a good basic instinct, the discipline of excision needs to be exercised. One of the hardest things for a young writer to do is to blot out what needs to be blotted out, and to reduce what needs to be reduced. If it is not important enough for the text, students are well advised to transcend their instinct to preserve their work in a footnote. The fact that the student is acquiring information that is new to him or her, but that is by no means new to specialists in the field, means that invariably a large body of notes, and possibly even long, well-crafted sections of a chapter, will have to be left out of the final draft. Certain elements of background material can, of course, be utilized, but the distinction between what is new to the student and what is new to the field must constantly be kept in mind.

The question of whether or not to footnote material that is used for general or background information is not easily answered. Commonly, we footnote discrete bits of information, but if the task is focused on one particular source in detail, then the footnote can come at the end of the paragraph, because the whole paragraph identifies a unit of information. If, however, the paragraph is a compilation from an analysis of a whole series of different documents, then each discrete bit should be footnoted. Matters of general information, or matters of common knowledge, will often be covered in an introductory paragraph where the field and what has already been written about it are identified. If background material is extended over several pages, it is probably best to footnote it by saying, "The general content of this and the following three paragraphs are drawn from" — and then cite several of the best, most recent secondary sources on the topic. This form is to be preferred to citing those sources over and over again with a string of "*ibids.*"

As a general rule, all sentences that include quotations from sources, either primary or secondary, ought to be footnoted. This practice prevents a confusion of sources or a question about the identity of sources from arising. When a document is being paraphrased, a useful practice is to add a footnote when the paraphrase passes from one page of the document to the next, but to also offer at least one footnote per

paragraph. A paragraph without footnotes, to borrow a rabbinic maxim about the vowel points of the Hebrew Bible, is like a horse without a bridle.

When citing primary sources, it is important to indicate whether the source is an original printing, a standard edition, or a translation, with priority being given to the original printing or standard edition. Thus, an initial reference to Calvin's *Institutes* should first cite either the Latin text in the *Corpus Reformatorum* or in the *Opera selecta* and then indicate which of the standard translations, if any, has been followed or may be used by the reader. If the translation has been followed, the author should indicate this and indicate, as well, if he or she has made emendations of the translation based on study of the original. Subsequent references may simply cite the *Institutes* by book, chapter, and subsection. In the case of citations from Calvin's commentaries, in which there is no standard system of citation apart from the pagination of various editions, the first reference should indicate both the edition cited (again, probably, the *Corpus Reformatorum*) and the translation used. Subsequent references should include, first, citation of the relevant volume and column in the *Corpus Reformatorum* and, if the translation has been followed or emended, a reference to the volume and page of the translation, as a courtesy to the reader. Scholarly essays typically should not cite only the translation: this is acceptable only if the point being made does not depend on a close exegesis of text and, in addition, if the essay is not a closely argued commentary on the particular source in question.

Footnotes ought also to be constructed with careful consideration of the method and logic of the work being cited. The practice of citing Calvin's *Institutes* by book, chapter, and section, for example, is not unique to Calvin but is the standard practice for the citation of classic texts organized into such patterns and available in many editions and translations. It would hardly make sense to have a footnote that read, "*The Bible* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 510," when the purpose of the reference is to direct the reader to Psalm 23:3 in the so-called "American Translation" of Smith and Goodspeed. Book, chapter, and verse must be used in citations of Scripture, granting the vast number of texts and translations. The principle also applies, however, to such works as Calvin's *Institutes*, Augustine's *City of God*, Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*, and so forth — although, in the case of the

latter two works, each reference ought also, as a matter of courtesy, to include a citation of the volume and page or column of the edition or translation being used.

By way of summary, there are at least four distinct functions of footnotes, each of which will be found in a well-organized and argued essay. First, the footnote apparatus will reference the history of scholarship or “state of the question” section of the essay and serve as the basic deployment of primary and secondary sources. These initial footnotes provide the full references to all or virtually all of the materials of the essay, indicating previous scholarship on the subject of the essay, significant studies of the background of the essay, and the primary sources to be examined, whether archival, original printed texts, or critical editions. Second, footnotes function to identify the sources or grounds of the argument of the essay, namely, short form references to the specific locations of cited, paraphrased, or analyzed texts within primary sources. Third, they serve to identify locations in secondary sources that are referenced in argument, pro and con, or as confirmations of a point: these secondary references function either in relation to the argument of the text or body of the essay or in relation to primary documentation concerning the argument and are cited in the same note together with the primary source. Fourth, footnotes serve to identify materials either primary or secondary that represent and offer either amplificatory materials not discussed in the body of the essay or collateral lines of argument not drawn out in the essay. Note that this last use stands as a sound alternative to the use of footnotes for excurses.

Finally, in all footnoting, there is an aesthetics of form and consistency that ought to be observed. Old forms of reference like “*op. cit.*” and “*ibid.*” ought to be avoided, not only in the final form of one’s text, but also in the process of taking and collating one’s notes. These forms are particularly dangerous in an age of word processing, in which sentences and paragraphs can be moved at will, including coded references: a stray “*ibid.*” removed from its original location and proper antecedents can cause much difficulty! It is advisable and a courtesy to the reader to use standardized short form references for repeated sources, e.g., “Calvin, *Institutes*, . . .” or “Luther, *De servo arbitrio*,”

It has become standard form according to many manuals to omit “p.” or “pp.” when referencing pages. Notably, the major periodical database,

JSTOR, has rejected this particular alteration of traditional format and continues to note “pp.” for pagination. There is, moreover, a good reason to follow the traditional pattern: omission of “p.” and “pp.” complicates matters when citing medieval or early modern texts, given that some are paginated, some are foliated, and others printed in numbered columns. At least in the cases of essays that cite medieval and early modern works and need to identify folios and columns, the abbreviations “fol.” and “col.” should be used and, for the sake of clarity, “p.” or “pp.” as well. Citation of a foliated volume, moreover, should recognize that the folio is a full leaf, having a front and a back, with the front or “recto” being the side on which the number appears, typically the side to the right of the gutter, and the back or “verso” being the side after the numbered side of the folio. Usual citation of folios will, therefore, read, for example, “fol. 32r” for the front or recto of folio 32, “fol. 32v” for the verso. There are also many early modern printings that either lack page or folio numbers entirely or lack them in the prefatory materials. In these cases, there will usually be printers’ marks at the bottom of the recto sides of at least the first several leaves in a quire of pages: e.g., “Ai” or “a*” followed by “Aii” or “a**” and so forth. In these cases, the printers’ marks are taken as foliation and the reference would read “fol. a* r” or “fol. a* v” — etc.

The availability of so much material on the Internet raises the issue of proper patterns of citation for works made available electronically either for viewing or for download. If the source to be cited is a PDF or GIF version of an extant hard-copy, whether of a book or journal article, the simple solution is to offer a standard footnote to the author and title, and either place of publication, publisher, and date or to the journal location, without any indication that the work is a PDF or GIF download. For example, a citation such as “Thomas Halyburton, *The Great Concern of Salvation*, second edition (Glasgow: Robert Urie, 1751), p. 67,” would serve whether one was citing a copy from a rare book room, from Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO), or from Google Books — inasmuch as a full bibliographical footnote would not normally indicate the library from which one had obtained a volume (citations of archival materials being the exception that proves the rule). Similarly, citations of a journal article from the original hard copy and from a database PDF version would be identical. This logic also applies to the case of on-line journals that are not published in hard copy but follow the

standard model of successive issues appearing annually or semi-annually with a standardized page-format. Thus, Anthony Dupont, “Continuity or Discontinuity in Augustine? Is there an ‘Early Augustine’ and What is his View of Grace,” in *Ars Disputandi*, 8 (2008), pp. 67-79, is a suitable citation, even though *Ars Disputandi* is a purely online journal in downloadable and printable PDF format. Note that in many libraries, the catalogue references to periodicals will include the URL as a life link in cases where the periodical is available online. In addition, many libraries have ceased to subscribe to the hard-copy versions of journals that are available online in electronic form. In other words, written works that retain the standard identifiers including pagination, need not be cited differently when the mode of access varies.

This traditional bibliographical approach does not, of course, obtain for works available online as websites with unnumbered web pages, whether in the form of essays, encyclopedias, monographs, or digitalized text. Such works need to be cited as Internet sources, with the full “http://www . . .” URL, preferably giving the date of most recent editing or updating from the source on the web or, lacking that, the date of access, given the likelihood that the entry will change. Thus, e.g., Anonymous, “Philipp Melanchthon,” in *Wikipedia*, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_Melanchthon, accessed 11/4/2015.

Above all, the form of initial and subsequent references should be standardized and maintained throughout an essay. Typically, a researcher will follow the patterns recommended by standard manuals of style such as *The Chicago Manual of Style*, or Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*, or the *SBL Handbook of Style*. Various publishers supply their own manuals. All such works, however, provide only a beginning basis for footnote and bibliographical forms: researchers will find that not all of their referencing needs will be covered in any given manual. What is more, manuals — perhaps most notably the *Chicago Manual of Style* and its half-sister, Turabian — are irritatingly inconsistent from edition to edition, making not only unnecessary but often unwise, barbaric, and arbitrary alterations of forms. By way of example: the time-honored pattern for citation of multi-volume works in a footnote is to place a comma after the title, note the number of volumes (“vols.”) and then to proceed with the publishing information within parentheses. One particular edition of the *Chicago Manual* altered this pattern without any

justification, placing the volume referencing within the parentheses together with the publishing information — and in the very next edition reverted to the original pattern! The scholar must exercise judgment in such matters, strive for consistency, and simply ignore the current idiosyncrasies. A well-constructed first reference footnote will read like a sentence, with the author as the subject, followed by the title as a predicate, and concluded by various specifications (volume number, journal issue, title and publishing information in the case of an essay included in a book, concluding with section reference or pagination). At least one of the authors of the present volume views the current practice of placing pagination after the title, followed by a period and a capitalized “In” to introduce further publishing information, as a significant loss of the grammar of citation and a descent into barbarism.

Bibliographies

An enormous bibliography at the end of a chapter that bears little relationship to the footnotes is unacceptable. On the other hand, a direct correlation between footnotes and the bibliography makes a separate bibliography for each chapter entirely gratuitous. The first footnote reference should be a full bibliographical reference; after that, the item will be referred to in a shortened form. As a rule, students should not add bibliographical references to the volumes that are cited in the footnotes (except in very rare circumstances).

The sole purpose of a bibliography in a dissertation is to provide readers with ready access to the sources used in the work without having to go through all the footnotes. Or it gives the reader the possibility of finding a full reference on the basis of a partial reference in a footnote, without going through the whole book to find the first reference. The bibliography provides a service primarily at that level. It is even justifiable to have a “Select Bibliography,” granting that some of the items cited are cited only once and may play only an ancillary role in the thesis; such works need not be included in the bibliography. Furthermore, it is a common practice today to provide a bibliography of manuscript sources alone, without a bibliography of secondary sources. If a full bibliography is required, it should be organized systematically under the two broad categories of primary and secondary sources. Under primary

sources, one should list manuscripts and printed primary sources separately. Under secondary sources it is common to break a bibliography down further into categories of books, dissertations, and articles. Sometimes these three categories are run together alphabetically and sometimes they are not, but in either case, it is a good idea to work in this order and to think along these lines. Some dissertations may have bibliographical essays rather than bibliographies, but it is not common to utilize annotated bibliographies. Generally, the sort of annotation found in the latter should occur in the first paragraphs of each chapter, or in the introductory chapter. This type of analysis is part of the work of producing the monograph or dissertation and belongs in the text itself.

Research with Computers

Currently a wide range of computers and other forms of hardware with supporting software are utilized in graduate study, including a variety of word-processing, text storage, text manipulation programs, optical character scanners, databases that assist in taking notes and in the formation of bibliographies, and statistical packages. This technology is ideal for research as well as for the actual production of a dissertation, article, or book. Each of these tools has its own technical vocabulary and some of them require highly specialized training and expertise. While in such short compass we will provide only the briefest of introductions to hardware options, leading technologies, and software packages, the references we include for further reading and exploration should be useful. Since all students will utilize a computer in the final production of their dissertation, we conclude with a separate, more detailed guide to word processing.

When one first sets out to purchase computer equipment, it is highly desirable to seek out the advice of a colleague or friend who has had some experience in the field. The technology in hardware is changing so rapidly that today's advice may be utterly passé tomorrow. Nevertheless, a few general guidelines may be offered. In order to utilize the best available software to its fullest extent, students who purchase computers ought to think in terms of a medium- to high-end PC or MAC with as much hard disk storage capacity as one can afford. The particular type of application, should, of course determine the exact configuration of

hardware. A student working in the field of art history will require optimal capacity in storage, for example, whereas someone utilizing quantitative applications would naturally attend to the speed of the processor.

When recording research notes with a computer, the same general principles apply as in the practice of taking traditional, hard-copy notes; a single unit of thought is separated as a distinct “file” from the preceding and the following materials. Units of data can be readily separated and identified and later organized by topic and subsection. Microsoft Office’s “One Note” and Corel’s digital notebook “Lightning” that is packaged with WordPerfect will admirably serve the task of note taking. In our experience, it has not been possible to avoid the use of hard-copy notes altogether, but we concede that a new generation of students may be able to develop the skills that will enable them to carry out the entire process of research and writing without paper and pencil, especially in some areas of research, such as the editing of texts. Programs such as ProCite and EndNote (both by Thomson Reuters) offer the additional advantage of ordering bibliographic data into a database format that can then be rearranged and resorted in a great variety of ways. Citation, published by Oberon, facilitates both the organization of research notes and the online acquisition and formatting of bibliography. All three programs support the downloading of individual bibliographical references from national databases and the importing of these references directly into a bibliography that can then be automatically reformatted for different university style sheets, or transformed through the use of key-words into footnote references that are readily inserted into word-processed documents. The labor of retyping references for both footnotes and bibliographies is thereby greatly reduced, if not completely eliminated.

Hand-held and full-page scanners seem, on the surface, to offer significant promise for collecting data and taking notes, but they are fraught with no little danger for the beginning research student. Given that bibliographical references and vast quantities of original text, both primary and secondary, can be downloaded from library catalogs and other databases on the Internet and never pass through the keyboard of a computer, masses of reference data and quoted material can now be entered into students’ word processors without passing through their minds. The new technology thereby threatens to produce a fatal short

circuit in the normal process of sifting and analysis, and because of this, it is a serious question whether or not the use of scanners and downloaded text will actually enhance a person's work or save them time in the long run. Since the beginning research student is already tempted to overquote material, the use of a scanner and downloads may result in a deadly glut of unassimilated, and finally unusable information. The one obvious exception to this concern would be in the case of scanning an entire class of full documents, such as sermons, which would then be searched by the computer with a pre-defined set of carefully formulated questions.

Most of the important databases that research students are likely to use, such as the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae or the English Short Title Catalog, have proprietary retrieval software that is written specifically for these databases. Some projects, however, may require the searching of texts and the use of statistical analyses in stand-alone applications, and there are a number of excellent software programs that will greatly facilitate such projects. If a project entails the close analysis of words and phrases in several thousand pages of primary printed texts, then a text-based management system will be required. Word processors, such as WordPerfect and Microsoft Word, have rudimentary forms of these programs, and words and phrases can be easily searched for and isolated. Students, however, should be aware that there are much faster and more efficient programs written specifically for this kind of task. The software known as "X1" by X1 Technologies finds and sorts text with much greater speed than standard word processors or the search engines embedded in operating systems (<http://www.x1.com/>). "Sonar Professional" is more sophisticated and supports virtually all forms of possible searches (Boolean, proximity, wildcard, synonym, and phonetic) and can search over 10,000 pages of text a second.⁵

For the organization and the manipulation of quantitative data, the PC or MAC version of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) is an essential tool. This program will require some study to use effectively, but it does not necessitate the expertise of a statistician. If a student will master the pertinent sections of a basic text-book, like Hubert M. Blalock, Jr.'s *Social Statistics*, they will soon be able to utilize the most important statistical procedures packaged with SPSS. Moreover,

one of the greatest advantages of this highly sophisticated program is the assistance it offers in organizing and displaying quantitative data.⁶

Word Processing the Dissertation

It was not very long ago that the greatest agony suffered by doctoral students in moving toward the completion of the dissertation was the production of a fine, type-written product. Either the student accepted the burden of typing the dissertation herself, learned the difficult technique of placing footnotes at the bottom of the page, and mastered all of the other niceties of formatting, and then re-typing whole pages or even sub-sections to accommodate corrections — or the student contracted with a typist for the work, and then still was responsible to see that the job was done properly. The personal computer has radically altered this situation and made possible the production of finely formatted and printed dissertations by students themselves. Indeed, the proper use of the word processor enables the integration of the work of research and writing with the production of the final printed form of the dissertation — and the adoption of a method of taking and collating notes on the computer such as that outlined above will greatly facilitate the transition between the early written draft of a dissertation and the final draft. Several issues need to be dealt with in this regard.

Students should acquaint themselves as quickly as possible with acceptable formats for footnotes, standard abbreviations, chapter headings and sub-headings, tables of contents, and so forth. Much of the specific information needed on these matters is provided by such standard works as *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Turabian's *Manual for Writers of Term-Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, which is based on the Chicago Manual.

The best word processing software available today will provide students with such capabilities as (1) the creation of different fonts (italics, underline, bold, larger and smaller size type, superscripted footnote numbers, etc.), (2) automatic placement of footnotes at the bottom of a page, (3) automatic re-numbering of footnotes, (4) generation of large (i.e., book or dissertation-length), continuously paginated master documents from a series of shorter files, (5) the ability to code headings and subheadings for the purpose of generating a table of contents, (6) the

ability to code headings, pages, and notes in order to create patterns of internal cross-referencing automatically targeted to page numbers, (7) the ability to introduce running heads for chapters and to suppress the header on initial or title pages, (8) the ability to code text to avoid widowed and orphaned lines and to attach section headings to paragraphs to prevent separation at a page break, and so forth.

The selection of a particular word processing program for use in the writing of a dissertation should be made on the basis of a clear knowledge of the program's capabilities. It is not our purpose or intention here to recommend any particular software package. We would strongly advise against any package, however, which is incapable of performing *any one* of the above noted functions; Microsoft Word, WordPerfect, and Nota Bene admirably satisfy all of these criteria. Microsoft Word has clearly become the dominant word processing program, but students and researchers need to be aware that other programs have features that are more directly adapted to the needs of researchers and writers of scholarly monographs. WordPerfect's "reveal codes" function, manner of coding font changes, and highly adaptable approach to document styles give it a distinct advantage. Recent reviews give Microsoft Word, TextMaker, and CorelWrite equal usability ratings but place WordPerfect higher. There are also solidly rated free programs such as Apache OpenOffice. Nota Bene in particular is very efficient with editing short-cuts, and the seamless integration between the text editor and the text database is probably superior to any other word processor (<http://www.notabene.com/>). Guides are typically included with these packages, but printed guides are also available and will offer an overview on such matters as sub-programs, built-in utilities, and macros that are not obvious to the uninitiated. In addition, students should be aware that major software programs are often available to students at considerable discounts.

Manuals and guides (whether in hard copy or online) will provide examples of how to code bibliographical references so that the text of the reference indents automatically below the first line of the reference — and does so in such a way that editing or changing the font size of the reference does not create any spacing or coding problems. If the first line of the reference is simply typed and then either indented or tabbed in for the second, the text will be unstable and any editing will destroy the neat

formatting. These manuals also offer clear and useful advice for such WordPerfect features as “Macros,” which will be of great service in the use, for example, of short titles in footnotes.

The continuous use of a good software program like WordPerfect will become a self-improving exercise, since the techniques that are required to improve the manuscript are readily mastered. The various niceties of WordPerfect or Microsoft Word can be learned easily and then used consistently without any great problem of forgetting the basic command-structure. Students should keep pressing on the limits of their knowledge of techniques in all of the areas discussed in this chapter, since they are all so logical that learning is incremental and becomes almost second-nature.

1. Many standard texts examine basic research skills and techniques. Two of the best are Norman F. Cantor and Richard I. Schneider, *How to Study History* (New York: Crowell, 1967); and especially, Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 6th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004). We will not dwell in this chapter on basic writing skills, but students are advised to read, and reread, William Strunk, Jr., and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*, 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 2000); and William Zinsser, *On Writing Well: An Informal Guide to Writing Nonfiction*, 5th ed. (New York: HarperPerennial, 1994).

2. G. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students Working on Historical Subjects*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 19.

3. Barzun and Graff, *Modern Researcher*, p. 258.

4. Kitson Clark, *Guide for Research Students*, p. 34.

5. Sonar is produced by Virginia Systems Inc. and its main drawback is its cost. <http://www.virginiasonar.com/>.

6. See the guide in the appendix.

6. Preparing Lectures and Writing Monographs and Articles

Most graduate schools offer no guidance whatsoever in sound lecture preparation and teaching methods, and as a result, a young teacher's first students may pay a heavy tariff for the privilege of studying under a well-qualified expert. In some cases, graduate programs seem to produce scholars who appear to know little outside the narrow confines of their concentration; alternatively, they occasionally result in people who are positively ill-equipped to teach undergraduates or master's-level seminarians. The challenge of preparing interesting lectures will often be compounded by the pressure to either complete the dissertation, or turn it into a monograph and then find a publisher. In addition, the experience of several years in a graduate program may yield up the materials for an article or other pressing research project, and the new teacher will soon find that there is now less time to pursue such projects than there was before. This chapter will provide some basic guidance for outlining lectures, turning the dissertation into a book, dealing with publishers, preparing articles for publication, and coping with the unremitting pressures that will inevitably be encountered in one's first teaching position.

Course Outline and Lecture Preparation

Most new graduates find that much of their energy in the first few years of teaching is directed toward the production of a series of lectures.¹ Beginning teachers commonly offer two major courses of lectures per quarter, at a minimum, and some smaller colleges and seminaries may demand as many as four or five series of lectures in a quarter. Without careful planning and some sense of method for the preparation of course outlines and lectures, the first years of teaching can be a devastating experience. The primary maxim of lecture preparation in teaching is,

“Great industry in your first preparation is the foundation for leisure later on”; this principle, if possible, should be remembered in the midst of the inevitable early disorientation and panic one experiences in his or her first teaching assignment. Less facetiously stated, this is a variation on the theme expounded in the discussion on research methods: “Do it right the first time so that you will have something to build on.”

In the first place, it is probably unwise and certainly repetitive (not to say boring), to lecture through the same material and to use the same approach as found in the assigned textbooks. The most significant and constructive classroom lectures are those that supplement the assigned texts by focusing students’ attention on the critical issues that emerge from their studies. A purely narrative approach that surveys long periods in history and effectively reproduces the textbooks is invariably deadening in effect. We prefer a topical approach that selects a pertinent and important aspect of history and emphasizes the details of that aspect or event in order to present a coherent view of the issues involved.² This topical approach does, however, result in a partial coverage of the period or subject under study, and it must be coordinated with solid textbooks and, preferably, with a well-selected reserve book list in the library, as well as support from Internet resources.

The old-fashioned notion that teaching history primarily involves conveying information is perhaps the single greatest cause for the widespread lack of interest in the topic. A certain amount of factual data is undoubtedly conveyed in the approach we are advocating, but in the teaching of history, and in particular church history, far more is at stake than the dissemination of even the most edifying information. Any significant course of historical studies properly seeks to assist intellectual formation primarily in two areas: sharpening the students’ analytical abilities and broadening their imaginative faculties.³ In the specific disciplines of church history and Christian theology, these two intellectual qualities will naturally be accompanied by the cultivation of other, additional dispositions; analytic ability needs to be augmented by a positive estimation of the Christian tradition, and imagination by discernment. But even faith and discernment are gifts that can be supplemented by clear reasoning, comparison, and sound deduction. In other words, historical analysis, while insisting upon a critical and hence somewhat skeptical use of evidence, will not seek to produce skeptics,

and nurturing the imaginative ability to grasp the larger whole of religious and churchly reality will not result in the reduction of all religious phenomena to the same bland indiscriminate level of meaning. Ideally, teaching history will help enable students to discriminate between the important and the unimportant, what should be retained in the tradition and what modified or discarded.

This approach to lecturing accomplishes several things; it enables students to observe a historian at work, collecting information, evaluating and ordering it, and interpreting it in discussion with other scholars. A teacher's candid display of excitement about some recent discovery or about a convincing new thesis in a book or article is one of the most important contributions that he or she can make to the educational process. Such personal involvement in lecturing invariably introduces an element of risk; a teacher's own favorite research projects should never be foisted onto a discussion of other issues, nor should they be allowed to dominate the discussion. Since a focus on issues invariably involves the evaluation of others' scholarship, it is also probably well to advise new teachers in particular to emphasize positive examples of scholarship rather than to dwell on the negative. Highlighting issues draws attention to the value of scholarly debate, it shows the way in which knowledge is advanced, and at its best, it can reveal the way in which a community of scholars functions. Conversely, when teachers are required to explain complex ideas and events to their students, their own powers of explication are enhanced, and hence teaching indirectly, but nevertheless truly, complements one's own program of research.⁴

In the actual preparation of a first set of lectures it is helpful to utilize standard textbooks, anthologies, and critical editions of collections of documents, in that order. One should begin by becoming fully conversant with several textbooks in the field, in addition to the one that is to be assigned to the class. This advice, while basic, offers several advantages that may not be obvious to the beginner. In the first place, it enables one to develop a general overview of the subject, a sense of sub-topics and divisions of the subject, and a grasp of the ways in which the materials can best be presented. A survey of the best manuals in a given field is highly valuable if it generates fundamental methodological questions about the discipline: What are the principles of organization in this text? What is sound and useful about the organization? What is less than

acceptable about it? What is useful in the author's basic outline? How does the outline have to be modified in the light of more recent scholarship, in the light of one's own attitudes about the material, or in the light of what other major scholars have done with the same material by way of organizing it? Once these questions have been asked, via the basic manuals, an outline can be generated for the course and a substantive series of lecture topics can be identified.

For example, a course outline for the history of Christian doctrine ought to rest, in part, on an initial examination of such works as Seeberg's *History of Doctrines*, Harnack's *History of Dogma*, and various more specialized examinations of various periods in the history of the church, like Otto Ritschl's *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*. A course outline on American church history should rest, in part, on an examination of the standard surveys by Ahlstrom, Hudson, and Gaustad. An outline of the general history of the Christian church ought to evidence some contact with the standard works by Walker and Latourette. The lectures themselves should proceed from the outline to the sources — often after careful notice of the sources cited (and, sometimes, omitted) by the standard texts. We have noted in a previous chapter the value of utilizing bibliographic essays in the preparation of a first set of lectures. It will usually be impossible to examine all the recent scholarly articles that have appeared on the topic of the lecture, but if one has at least a general sense of the current state of research on a given topic, the authority of one's presentation will be enhanced accordingly. Some elements of the current state of research should be introduced into the lecture to illustrate to the students the ongoing nature of scholarly discourse.

Once the basic series of topics and the general outline of the individual lectures have been determined, however, do not use secondary literature in the form of textbooks as the foundation for discussion, but turn to standard anthologies, and if possible, collections of documents. For example, Bettenson's *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius* and *The Later Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St. Cyril of Jerusalem to St. Leo the Great* can be used as a basis for an initial presentation of patristic theology; or for the history of Christianity in the United States, one might turn to the superb anthology

edited by Handy, Smith and Loetscher, *American Christianity* (2 vols.), or the more recent two-volume collection edited by Edwin Gaustad. Collections of texts and documents like these are available in almost every field. Used properly they offer a point of entry into the original sources and thereby increase the authority and accuracy of one's presentation, even in subject areas beyond one's research specialization. In addition, their use establishes a sound basis on which subsequent lecture preparations can build. If more time is available for preparation, then the actual documents can be consulted either in their original manuscripts or printings, or in standard collections like the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* or the *Patrologia*. While it is certainly desirable to seek out and utilize the best critical editions of the original sources, to insist on such a practice would probably bring us to an unattainable counsel of perfection. In either case, however, if there is not time to transcribe quotations, it is not a bad idea to bring the source into the classroom and cite it directly.

Careful forethought and a conscientious use of outlines should culminate in a commitment to a syllabus of lecture topics before the production of the lectures, even in the face of a heavy schedule and lectures in several different courses. Oftentimes newly appointed teachers must prepare lectures the night before they are to be presented. If an entire ten- or fourteen-week course has been outlined and the basic resources gathered (or at least identified) ahead of time, the topics will be clear at the point of preparation. This kind of commitment to a course syllabus is helpful both psychologically and emotionally: the pressure of preparation is usually assuaged by a clear definition of the task and a printed promise stated ahead of time in the syllabus.

Finally, as in the case of research notes, lecture notes ought to be taken very carefully, with accurate citation of sources primary and secondary, and with a view toward modification, expansion, and augmentation in the future. In the long run, a poorly prepared initial set of lectures will either linger on, unmodified, as the sum and substance of a particular class, resulting in extreme boredom on the part of both teacher and students, or it will have to be discarded. A well-prepared basic set of lectures can be expanded, new topics can developed and added, and thereby the learning process can be extended to the professor as well as to the students. In time, the examination of the best critical

editions of primary sources may become more than a pious wish, and the course of lectures may actually improve rather than degenerate.

In addition to supplementing lectures and expanding them into ancillary areas, lecture topics themselves should actually be changed from time to time, thereby providing an additional antidote to boredom with the subject, an experience that is almost bound to be translated directly to the students. The topic of the vitality and freshness of lectures leads us to a discussion of the equally demanding matter of style and presentation, though the two may never be entirely separated.

Lecturing and Teaching

When we turn to matters of style and the actual presentation of lectures, we recognize that there will be considerable variations between schools and teaching situations, and that many such matters are optional and properly suited to the taste and preference of the individual. For example, the intangible but essential quality of a teacher's commitment to the subject matter, his or her ability to display a high level of energy and to convey a sense of the worth of the endeavor, will have a great deal to do with the success or the failure of the teacher. While there is no substitute for this quality of passion, there is also no formula that will produce it and no set of exercises that will supply its absence. Similarly, a halting, dull form of lecture delivery will not easily be remedied by reading a few paragraphs in a book. Several issues that bear upon style, however, are universal, and some general guidelines concerning good form can be laid down.⁵

Lecture notes must be mastered before the lecture is given. If notes are read, the teacher must, at all costs, avoid the appearance of reading them, or being slavishly dependent on them. Eye contact with students is essential, even when students are dutifully taking down notes. If lectures are not fully memorized, it helps one avoid losing contact with the class to break the sections of a topic up with subheadings in one's notes that are grasped at a glance, with supporting points in the form of brief phrases. If lectures are written out word for word in longhand, sentences, on the whole, should be shorter than one finds in printed prose.⁶ Attaining a balance between useful generalization and concrete example is an art, but it is an art that, if attended to, can be developed to a high

and rhetorically powerful degree. A line of argument that is sustained too long without reference to a specific illustration will result in the loss of students' attention; conversely, a long series of stories or an undisciplined use of humor will lead students to conclude that the teacher is more interested in entertainment than the course of study itself. Both extremes will produce understandable frustration in the student.

If outlines are useful in the preparation of lectures, they are also useful in the delivery of lectures. The psychological effect of a carefully prepared outline may be as important as the pedagogical effect, for it immediately communicates to the students that serious preparation has gone into the course. We have found that students on the whole appear to value outlines that serve as a basis for lectures, in part, because they provide a sense of beginning, definition, and closure for the period spent in the classroom. Lecture outlines given to the class at the outset, or presented during the lecture via Microsoft's PowerPoint or Corel's Presentations, will relieve part of the tedium of attentive listening, and they will be conducive to students taking meaningful notes. If this technique is adopted, the lecture should follow the outline (since there is nothing more frustrating in a student's classroom experience than finding no relation between the outline and the lecture), but it need not be followed slavishly. Digressions, especially those involving brief forays into technical topics that inform the general theme under discussion, or aspects of one's own research interests, are entirely acceptable, and indeed, desirable.

We will not provide here an extended discussion of teaching aids and new techniques; other, more specialized sources will need to be consulted on these topics.⁷ However, we should note that the use of presentation graphics does offer the teacher a highly versatile and powerful set of tools for teaching, and there can be little doubt about the value of utilizing charts and maps in the teaching of history. Such well-used sources as Charles S. Anderson's *Augsburg Historical Atlas* and Edwin S. Gaustad's *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* can profitably be used to graphically display religious change and trends over time. Two pieces of advice concerning audio and visual aids apply to almost all circumstances. First, the use of such programs as PowerPoint must be carefully planned so that graphics and outlines are smoothly integrated with the overall goals of the lecture. If a mechanical device is

utilized, such as an overhead projector or a slide projector, it must be tested and the graphic display actually previewed ahead of time; there is no alternative method for assuring against disaster. Secondly, aids should always have the quality of transparency; the intended enhancement of a point must not be (though it commonly is) either a digression from the main point or a distraction. From a successful British source we find the following understated but pungent advice that well summarizes the essential points concerning teaching aids: “Fear your own preferences. Be ruthless in discarding. Strain always for simplicity, and plan your lectures as you would a campaign.”⁸

Perhaps the single most important aspect of successful teaching is the quality of conviction noted at the outset of this section. Conviction as an essential quality of teaching does not entail dogmatically defending a particular line of argument; rather it involves conveying a sense of the importance of the topic under discussion. This is not to suggest that a teacher should turn the lecture into a sermon; nor, conversely, do we mean to suggest that teachers should never own or advocate a position. But ownership of a position does not always need to be explicit; if it is always explicit, teaching may degenerate into propaganda. On the other hand, if a person’s teaching lacks the element of passion, it will produce boredom and indifference. If conviction concerning the importance of the topic must be evident, so too must the larger meaning of the topic and how it contributes to the educational goal of the curriculum, and this must be made explicit more than once. In the teaching of history, what a lecturer demonstrates about clear thinking, the art of historical inquiry, and the evaluation of sources will often be as important as the topic at hand. Engaging the minds and the emotions of our students with fresh and interesting ideas is part of our task. If students are not inspired by history, if their imaginations are not stirred and their minds set running in new directions, and if their perceptual horizons are not extended, then we may rightly question whether history has been taught. This means, in our view, that the way in which the teacher handles the subject compares in importance with the subject itself, and thus, just as the content of a course of lectures should be subject to periodic review, a teacher’s style should be regularly subjected to rigorous self-scrutiny.

Preparing the Dissertation for Publication

The revision of lectures should be an ongoing task, but the temptation to pour all of one's energy into improving course work must be resisted at some point. It is not a good idea to become so preoccupied with the polishing of lectures that one neglects the other tasks of writing that will, if done conscientiously, offer more substance to lectures than focusing solely on the teaching process. It is crucial for the beginning teacher to grasp that engaging in additional research and preparing the dissertation for publication and writing articles contributes in an indirect but powerful way to excellence in classroom performance. In our experience, teachers that concentrate solely on improving their lectures soon find that they lack in depth of insight and power of analysis. The intimate connection between disciplined writing and articulate speech is commonly acknowledged, but there is an additional, intangible quality of authority in teaching that can only be cultivated by primary research. The teacher that separates these disciplines will soon discover an insurmountable barrier of mediocrity and sameness that can only be overcome by returning to first-level research and writing.

We recognize that teachers in small colleges and seminaries may be almost overwhelmed with their early course preparation. Considerable effort will be required to find time to pursue research and writing, but since the expenditure of such energy is a good investment, not only in the research itself, but indirectly in their classes and students, movement toward the preparation of the dissertation for publication should begin as soon as the dissertation is complete. This task is complicated by the fact that the aggressive copying program of ProQuest/UMI has made it increasingly difficult to publish even first-rate dissertations without significant revision based on further research. The preparation of the dissertation for publication today, therefore, involves far more than simply redrafting the prose and simplifying the argument. With few exceptions, publishers will require that revised dissertations demonstrate that substantial research has been undertaken beyond the original thesis.

Armed with this knowledge, the wise mentor (or, for that matter, the student with foresight) will already have determined the way in which two or more chapters may be improved and reshaped. Ideally, this kind of planning should be done while the dissertation is perhaps only two-thirds complete. It may be that the chronological extent of the original work can be extended, or an entirely new genre of literature, properly

excluded from the dissertation, may now be investigated. A new or revised chapter might adopt a different technique of investigation, and occasionally, it may be possible to defend substantial revision simply on the basis of further research in similar sources. The basic method of revision advocated here is not unlike the method by which the topic was originally narrowed, though the process is now, as it were, done in reverse. The question is now one of how the work may be justifiably expanded, within reason, to qualify as a significantly revised piece of original research. One of the chief difficulties in this process is that substantial reworking must forfeit nothing of the originality of the project, while at the same time, the bulk of the project cannot be greatly extended. Publishers will generally resist a typescript of more than 350 to 400 pages for a first book.

The publication of a dissertation may take several forms, but the current availability of unpublished dissertations in various formats usually forces the discussion into two basic lines of argument. Some will advocate that the dissertation should be kept together as a single piece of research and published as a monograph. This advice is common in the humanities. Others, typically in those social sciences that are more quantitatively oriented, or in the sciences, will argue that a dissertation may be divided into several parts and published as a series of articles. One attraction of this second option is that it may require less reworking of the dissertation to turn at least some of the chapters into articles. But there is one major drawback to the second approach that must be carefully understood and weighed. Most academic institutions (and here we have in mind specifically administrators and committees of advancement and tenure in the humanities) will typically not weigh five scholarly articles with the same scales that they weigh a book. Although the amount of energy, insight, and sheer sweat that goes into an article, especially articles involving quantification, may actually exceed the effort put into a small monograph, the monograph tends to carry more weight than the article. It is for this reason that we think it wise, unless compelled by extraordinary circumstances, that research that has once taken the form of a dissertation should be retained as a monograph.

Several useful books and pamphlets have appeared on the topic of how to approach publishers with a book-length manuscript.⁹ The best single guide for all of the details of academic book publishing is the

Chicago Manual of Style, itself a model of what a scholarly book should be. The latest edition of the stylesheet of the Modern Language Association is also highly valuable. In all of this literature, and in our own experience, several useful admonitions bear repeating. Aspiring authors should give careful attention to matters of prose style and the mechanics of bibliographic citation and footnote apparatus. At this preliminary stage of preparation, it is acceptable to adopt the footnote style of a major publisher, such as the University of Chicago Press. But no opportunity should be given to an editor to reject the typescript out of hand because the arguments are poorly or ineptly phrased. The scholar who dispatches a typescript to a publisher with grammatical, stylistic, or mechanical errors deserves to have it rejected.

A second key to finding a publisher is to examine the kinds of titles that publishers are printing. The book list of university presses is actually more restricted than most people realize, and if a press has previously published no titles in the field of church history, it is unlikely that they will begin with a revised dissertation. Book catalogs and advertisements of books in major journals like the *American Historical Review* are the most convenient means of learning about the publishing parameters of various presses. In addition to university presses, beginning scholars may well want to look at the publishers who have adopted scholarly monograph series with limited press runs of several hundred copies of books, such as University Presses of America and Peter Lang Publishers. The monograph series by publishers such as Ashgate, Paternoster, Brill, and Brepols should also be examined.

Having determined the names of a half dozen or so publishers who are actively publishing in the area of one's specialization, the next step is to send a letter of inquiry to these publishers, along with the book's title page, table of contents, and one or two chapters, rather than the entire work. The cover letter should indicate that the typescript has been extensively revised from its earlier existence as a dissertation, and an attempt should be made to indicate to the editor the potential audience of the work. It is entirely legitimate, at this preliminary stage of inquiry, to send these materials to more than one publisher at a time. If the publisher indicates a serious interest in the manuscript, the editor will then declare whether house rules allow the simultaneous submission of entire typescripts to more than one publisher. (Simultaneous submissions are

never allowed in the case of articles submitted to scholarly journals.) If a publisher disallows simultaneous submissions, then one is ethically bound to either narrow the choice to the one publisher, or proceed with several others that may allow more than one submission. Since it is not uncommon in the process of evaluation for typescripts to be tied up for six months or more, the attraction of simultaneous submissions is obvious. On the other hand, it is usually the less well-established and hence less prestigious presses that allow the practice. If a publisher wishes to see the entire typescript, it may be wise to obtain the style sheet of the publisher or publishers that will be pursued, and then meticulously adopt the style and the recommendations of that publisher in detail.

Finally, even the most gifted and promising young scholar commonly faces the disappointment of having a typescript rejected, sometimes repeatedly. Most typescripts are refereed by two specialists in a field, but editors may unknowingly rely on referees who are constitutionally ill-equipped to appreciate the line of argument that the book espouses; the quirkiness of some evaluations, to our minds, remains absolutely baffling. The only redress that one has in this world of uncertainty is to take the rejections in stride and turn immediately to other publishers. Carefully done, well-written scholarship that does make a contribution to a field of study will eventually be rewarded with publication, assuming that the author can manifest sufficient persistence and courage.

Ongoing Research: Articles and Book-length Projects

In this chapter, we have been advocating the idea that there is a vital, creative, and sustaining connection between a teacher's ongoing research projects and the best classroom experience where students become excited about learning. On the one hand, lectures should contain information not only about the old issues and debates, but also new interpretations, and in some cases, new information, that bring fresh insights to bear on the perennial issues. This can only be accomplished by serious scholars who are working in the primary sources. On the other hand, interaction with students impresses upon us our own limited conceptual frameworks and thrusts us back into the sources with new and different questions. In a word, the most effective teachers are often the

most careful scholars, and the scholar's quality of work in the guild is formed in part by the experience of teaching.

No matter what one's own level of commitment to publishing, students of history who aspire to be good teachers should aim to research and write something, since the two enterprises properly nurture each other. One will occasionally meet scholars who only write books and never debate issues at the more discrete level of the journals; conversely, a few scholars never venture into the realm of writing books in the form of unified, book-length essays, but instead write a series of disparate, disconnected articles and yet somehow find a publisher to publish them as if they were in fact a book. Ideally, however, the two enterprises belong together, and something can be said for the way that articles and book-length projects are mutually supportive.

One key to the writing of articles is to think of them as smaller, ancillary projects that stimulate and feed a larger, long-term project, and these long-term projects in turn, should fit into an even broader pattern of a person's life-work. Occasionally, one will stumble across a perfectly self-contained topic that sparks one's interest and has little bearing on anything else, and yet it may deserve the time and energy required to turn it into an article. For the most part, however, articles should be viewed as smaller parts of the larger whole of one's research and writing program. It is at this point that long-term planning can be useful, and done well, it can save one from engaging in a series of disparate, and finally unrelated and useless projects. No hard and fast rules can be laid down, and an individual's style and his or her own particular way of arranging work will undoubtedly vary dramatically from person to person.

There are also several useful ways to approach the production of solid research articles that develop out of a broader research program. Research on a larger project will, almost invariably, result in a series of ideas for possible essays on related topics. These topics are not, typically, to be added to the outline of the larger project but instead to be treated as ancillary, shorter projects that do not fit into the larger project and cannot be completed at the same time. One way to manage these ancillary topics is to give them a title, state briefly what they entail, set down a preliminary bibliography, and then save the file. The idea is not lost and it can be reconsidered at a later time. If the topic appears to be fruitful, it can be very helpful to develop, for one's own use, a more or less formal

research proposal in several distinct sections: 1) a statement of one's thesis and of the problem to be examined and resolved; 2) a review of scholarship on the issue and "state of the question"; 3) a tentative outline of the essay; and 4) a tentative bibliography, properly formatted, of primary and secondary sources. This approach is quite similar to the presentation of a research proposal for a dissertation or of a prospectus for a monograph. Properly done, the research proposal can be expanded and developed into an article. The exercise of writing out the proposal for one's self, moreover, will serve to establish the feasibility of the project. Being able to identify a scholarly problem and a thesis will provide a sense of the usefulness of the project in moving a particular state of the question forward. Being able to indicate a preliminary outline will help to clarify and organize the project. The whole process may well improve the quality of the final product.

In conclusion, what we can state with confidence is that the best teaching and the best research are interdependent, and generations of past scholars have defined useful categories of discrete literary forms, such as the article and the monograph, that still provide the principal avenue for displaying the results of research and actually extending the scope of human learning. The scholarly guild properly demands a certain depth of investment in research for one's writing to attain a hearing, and these conventions are not likely to change. Much of the opposition that is expressed to the integration of scholarship and teaching arises from those who have never worked effectively in both fields, or worse, have failed in one or the other.¹⁰ Those who suppose that graduate level or seminary teaching can proceed without ongoing first-level research would sell the enterprise too cheaply, and the same applies to undergraduate teaching as well.

Given the reality and the utility of these structures, young scholars would do well to think carefully about the interdependence of research and teaching. It would be wise for them to consider that a dissertation left unpublished, or an article set aside half finished, is probably a sound indicator that a course of lectures will not be revised, and that it is likely to grow increasingly dull and cold. Similarly, the historian who only publishes with the denominational journal and refuses to risk public statements in the wider world of scholarship should wonder whether there is not a discernable sectarian slant in his or her teaching. In some

cases, of course, this kind of focus may be a matter of one's calling, but in other cases it may signal a loss of nerve or a failure of vision. In reality, the advantages of adopting the conventions and standards of the guild and attempting to work broadly within a variety of fora and scholarly genre far outweigh the risks, and for the historian of the church and Christian doctrine, this seems to us the only possible way to make a viable and lasting contribution to the field.

1. Several helpful guides on this topic have appeared, including G. R. Elton, "Teaching," in his *The Practice of History* (New York: Crowell, 1967), pp. 142-78; G. Kitson Clark and E. Bidder Clark, *The Art of Lecturing* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1970).

2. We have adopted an approach comparable to Elton, *Practice of History*, pp. 165-66, though developed independently.

3. Elton, *Practice of History*, pp. 149, 161. Elton provocatively links the teaching of familiar historical topics to the development of analytical rigor, and the teaching of the unfamiliar to the mental quality of imagination and vision, p. 158.

4. Elton, *Practice of History*, p. 143, on this complementarity.

5. We will not digress here on the rudiments of public speaking. Kitson Clark, *Art of Lecturing*, pp. 17-23, provides some very basic advice concerning one's posture, the use of the voice, gestures, blackboards, microphones, etc.

6. Kitson Clark, *Art of Lecturing*, p. 25, has further detailed recommendations.

7. *The History Teacher* is a quarterly journal that devotes the first of three sections to the "craft of teaching."

8. Kitson Clark, *Art of Lecturing*, p. 41.

9. Several useful pamphlets by the Modern Language Association have appeared, including Oscar Cargill, William Charvat, and Donald D. Walsh, *The Publication of Academic Writing* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1966); and R. B. McKerrow and Henry M. Silver, *On the Publication of Research* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1964). See also Howard S. Becker, *Writing for Social Scientists: How to Start and Finish Your Thesis, Book, or Article* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); and Norman Fiering, *A Guide to Book Publication for Historians* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1979).

10. Such statements include Robert W. Ferris, *Renewal in Theological Education: Strategies for Change* (Wheaton: Billy Graham Center, 1990); and Bryan Barnett, "Teaching and Research Are Inescapably Incompatible," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (June 3, 1992). Much of the literature on spiritual formation in theological education seems to work with similar assumptions.

Selected Aids to the Study of Church History and Historical Theology: A Bibliography

I. Church History: Reference and Research Tools

A. Dissertations and Theses

Searches for dissertations and theses should begin online through such databases as ProQuest and OCLC's WorldCat (for which, see the appendix below), but full-text access to both databases is limited, as is their international coverage. In contrast, Open Access Theses and Dissertations (<http://oatd.org/>) currently provides unrestricted access to 1.6 million theses and dissertations, mostly with full text and with significant international coverage. The best international *guide* for dissertations is found at Harvard University's website: <http://guides.hcl.harvard.edu/dissertations>. We retain a few of the older print indexes here to illustrate the importance of specialized annotated bibliographies of dissertations and to suggest the importance of topical and national categories.

Electronic Theses Online Service (EThOS) of the British Library (<http://ethos.bl.uk/>) is the best source for dissertations completed in the U.K. About one third of the 300,000 theses currently listed are open access with full text.

Gilbert, V. F., and D. S. Tatla, comps. *Women's Studies: A Bibliography of Dissertations, 1870–1982*. New York: Blackwell, 1985. Categorizes over 12,000 unpublished dissertations, from American and British universities.

Jacobs, Phyllis M., comp. *History Theses, 1901–70: Historical Research for Higher Degrees in the Universities of the United Kingdom*. London: University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1976. This is the British counterpart to Kuehl.

Kuehl, Warren F. *Dissertations in History: An Index to Dissertations Completed in History Departments of United States and Canadian Universities*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. Vol. 1, 1873–1960 (1965); Vol. 2, 1961–1970 (1972).

Kuehl, Warren F. *Dissertations in History, 1970–June 1980: An Index to Dissertations Completed in History Departments of United States and Canadian Universities*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1985.

La Noue, George R. *A Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations Undertaken in America and Canadian Universities, 1940–1962, on Religion and Politics*. New York: Published for the Dept. of Religious Liberty by the Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, 1963.

Montgomery, Michael S., comp. *American Puritan Studies: An Annotated Bibliography of Dissertations, 1882–1981*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984.

Reynolds, Michael M. *Guide to Theses and Dissertations: An International Bibliography of Bibliographies*. Rev. and enlarged. Phoenix: Oryx, 1985. This reference must be consulted for national guides to dissertations for non-English-speaking countries.

Young, Arthur P., and E. Jens Holley, with Annette Blum. *Religion and the American Experience, 1620-1900: A Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992.

B. Periodical Directories and Abstracts

Research for journal articles should begin with online tools such as the ATLA Religion Database, ATLA Serials, the Philosopher's Index, and the Bibliographical Information Base in Patristics, for which see the entries in the Appendix. Journal Storage (JSTOR) should also be consulted regularly. Some of the more notable historic guides and the more important online guides are noted here. For historical research on *early* periodicals dating from 1665, Periodicals Index Online (PIO) by ProQuest now supersedes older directories such as Ulrich's and Poole's. PIO is international in scope and currently extends to 1995 (see Appendix).

Alkire, Leland G., Jr. *Periodical Title Abbreviations*. 2 vols. 9th ed. Detroit: Gale Research, 1994. Vol. I is by abbreviation, vol. II by title. The work is international in scope and quite exhaustive.

Arts & Humanities Citation Index. Philadelphia: Institute for Scientific Information, 1976-. This international, comprehensive index covers all of the humanities, including religion, and it examines more than 200 journals in history. It is third in importance to *America: History and Life*, and *Historical Abstracts*, and like the latter, it can be searched online (see Appendix under Thomson Reuters and EBSCO).

Balay, Robert. *Early Periodical Indexes: Bibliographies and Indexes of Literature Published in Periodicals before 1900*. Lanham, MD, 2000.

Boehm Eric H., and Lalit Adolphus. *Historical Periodicals: An Annotated World List of Historical and Related Serial Publications*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1961.

Boehm, Eric H., Barbara H. Pope, and Marie S. Ensign, eds. *Historical Periodicals Directory*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1981-86. 5 vols. Vol. 1 covers the U.S. and Canada; vols. 2-3, Europe; vol. 4, Latin America; vol. 5, Australia and New Zealand. The directory examines some 8,200 periodicals, four times as many entries in the field of history as *Ulrich's International Periodical Directory* and *Irregular Serials and Annuals*. It supersedes the earlier work by Boehm and Adolphus.

The Catholic Periodical and Literature Index. 1930 to date. Haverford, PA: Catholic Library Association. Bi-monthly. This index was entitled the *Catholic Periodical Index* until 1968. Presently, the online version should be consulted through the American Theological Library Association.

Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus appears annually as issues 2 and 3 of the journal *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis*. Online searches are by subscription only. See below.

Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis. University of Louvain. 1924 to date. (<http://poj.peeters-leuven.be/content.php>).

Historical Abstracts: Bibliography of the World's Periodical Literature. E. H. Boehm, ed. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1955-. In two parts: Part A, *Modern History Abstracts 1450-1914*, and Part B, *Twentieth Century Abstracts 1914-Present*. Published four times a years, this is the leading index for history for the period after 1450 (excluding the U.S. and Canada, for which see under American History, Periodical Guides). The index abstracts and annotates articles from 2,100 journals published in some 80 countries utilizing 40 languages. A retrospective index published in 1988 is available and the entire database may be searched through institutional subscription (see Appendix under EBSCO).

The Philosopher's Index: A Retrospective Index to U.S. Publication from 1940. 3 vols. Bowling Green, OH: Philosophy Documentation Center, Bowling Green State University, 1978. A

- thesaurus was published for the index in 1979, and there is a separate index to non-English-language publications from 1940 (1980). See Appendix for online version.
- The Philosopher's Index: An International Index to Philosophical Periodicals*. 1967 to date. See Appendix.
- Recently Published Articles*. Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1976-91. Published three times a year, each issue was approximately 150 pages and provided a comprehensive up-to-date international listing of articles by country and time period.
- Regazzi, John J., and Theodore C. Hines. *A Guide to Indexed Periodicals in Religion*. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1975.
- Religion Index One: Periodicals; A Subject Index to Periodical Literature, Including an Author Index with Abstracts, and a Book Review Index*. Vols. 1-. Chicago: American Theological Library Association, 1949-. Superseded by ATLA FirstSearch and ATLASerials.
- Religion Index Two: Multi-Author Works*. Vol. 1-. Chicago: American Theological Library Association, 1976-. Superseded by ATLA FirstSearch and ATLASerials.
- Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory*. 28th ed. New York: Bowker, 1989. History, vol. 2, pp. 1853-1956. 3 vols. with quarterly updates. Superseded by ProQuest's Periodicals Index Online (Appendix).

C. Journals and Series

1. Journals

Publishers now typically list the titles of all journal articles on their web pages, and some offer abstracts as well, but not in every case is the entire back list retained, nor are the titles searchable. Some guidance regarding retrospective coverage is found in the following entries, and open access to the titles of articles may be assumed unless otherwise noted.

- Catholic Historical Review*. The Catholic University of America, 1915-. (<http://cuapress.cua.edu/journals/>). Beginning with the July, 2000 issue the journal is available online at Project MUSE (<http://muse.jhu.edu/>) and earlier issues are available through JSTOR (<http://jstor.org/>). Tables of contents, abstracts, and previews of pages are open access through Project MUSE and JSTOR.
- Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*. Cambridge, for the American Society of Church History, 1889-. (<http://www.churchhistory.org/church-history-journal/>). Three hard-copy cumulative indexes have been published (1889-1980). Tables of contents and abstracts from 1932 available at Cambridge, with most articles digitized from that date and available for purchase or rent (<http://journals.cambridge.org/chh>). Vols. for 1932-2002 are accessed at JSTOR by institutional and individual subscriptions, and vols. for 1964 to the present can be found at the ATLA/ATLAS aggregated database accessible only through libraries.
- Church History and Religious Culture* (formerly *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*). Brill, 1908-. Tables of contents available only from 2006 to the present (<http://www.brill.com/church-history-and-religious-culture>).
- Historisches Jahrbuch*. Karl Alber, 1880-. Access to all tables of contents at <http://www.digizeitschriften.de/> under Zeitschriften.
- Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*. J. Stauda, 1955-. Index of articles through 1996 (vol. 36); titles through 2010 (vol. 49) (<http://www.iah.unibe.ch/jlh.html>).
- Jahrbuch für Religionsphilosophie*. Alber, 2002-. Tables of contents for last two annual volumes (<http://www.verlag-alber.de/jahrbuecher/>).
- Journal of Church and State*. Oxford, 1959-. Individual articles for purchase

(<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/>).

Journal of Ecclesiastical History. Cambridge, 1950–. Articles for purchase or for rent (<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=ECH>).

Journal of Religious History. Religious History Association, 1960–. Articles for purchase ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1467-9809](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1467-9809)).

Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society. Canadian Church Historical Society, 1950–. Semiannual. Titles only. Cumulative index of papers and articles (1960–2009) at <http://churchhistcan.wordpress.com/>.

Orientalia christiana periodica. Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1935–. Semiannual. Tables of contents and abstracts in English for last five vols. at <http://orientaliachristiana.it/>.

Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France. Editions Brepols, 1910–. The full text of the journal is open access at the Persée portal (<http://www.persee.fr>) through 1984 and Brepols Journals Online (<http://www.brepolsonline.net/>) for vols. 87 and following (from 2001), with tables of contents, but articles by subscription or purchase only.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Brepols, 1900–. Tables of contents from vol. 96 (2001) forward; articles by subscription or for purchase (<http://brepols.metapress.com/journals/>).

Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia. Istituto grafico tiberino, 1947–. Tables of contents from 2003, with articles for purchase (<http://storiadellachiesainitalia.vitaepensiero.it/>).

Studia orientalia Christiana. Edizioni Terra Santa, 1956–. Articles by subscription or for purchase at <http://brepols.metapress.com/journals/>.

Theologische Literaturzeitung. Hinrichs, 1876–. Includes subject categories of church history and systematic theology; contents available by subscription only (<http://www.thlz.de/>).

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. Kohlhammer, 1876–. One sample table of contents only (<http://www.kohlhammer.de/>). Tables of contents and some abstracts can be found at <http://www.hsozkult.de/journal/page>.

[2. Series](#)

Most publishers of monograph series now provide tables of contents and many offer synopses or abstracts of the more recent monographs, with a few adding excerpted reviews. But it should be noted that out-of-print numbers are sometimes not listed, and hard-copy and paperback editions are occasionally counted by publishers as two separate numbers in the series. In order to provide a sense of the scale of the various collections, the number of titles (as of June 2013) are noted below for a few of the more important monograph series and a handful of minor series, but students should be aware that titles are regularly added to the more active series, sometimes many in a single year. Research students should also pay attention to the handbook and “companion” series on individual persons, movements, and eras. Oxford, Cambridge, Brill, Blackwell, and many other publishers have produced such series, but individual titles are far too numerous to list, though we have offered a few samples here as illustrative of what one may expect to find.

American Philosophical Society: Transactions. American Philosophical Society, 1771–. Currently, five scholarly monographs are published annually in the Transactions. Recent titles covering vast areas in history and philosophy, including some church history, are found at <http://www.amphilsoc.org/publications>. A guide up to 1940 is found in *Classified Index to the Publications of the American Philosophical Society: A List of Papers, Monographs, Treatises and Books Published by the Society, 1769–1940, Classified according to Subject*. Philadelphia, 1940.

Arbeit zur Kirchengeschichte. De Gruyter, 1925–. Founded by Karl Holl and Hans Lietzmann, this distinguished series of more than 125 titles includes some editions of texts but the majority are monographs (<http://www.degruyter.com/view/serial/16570>).

- Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies. Greenwood, 1984–2006. For a list of the 57 titles, search the British Library main catalog (<http://www.bl.uk/>).
- Blackwell Companions to British History. Wiley, 2002–. Summarizes recent scholarship on British history by century or era and topic (<http://www.wiley.com/WileyCDA/Section/id-324311.html>).
- Blackwell Companions to Religion. Wiley, 2000–. Titles of “companions” at <http://www.wiley.com/WileyCDA/Section/id-398214.html>.
- Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition. Brill, 2006– (<http://www.brill.com/products/>).
- Brill’s Series in Church History. Brill, 2004–. The series commences at vol. 22 as a continuation of *Kerkhistorische Bijdragen* vols. 1-21 (1970-2003) and now extends to more than 60 titles overall. See <http://www.brill.com/publications/brills-series-church-history> and, for the first series, <http://www.brill.com/publications/kerkhistorische-bijdragen>.
- Cambridge Companions to Philosophy, Religion and Culture. Cambridge, 1992–. Essay titles *within* the vols. of the series are listed online with access to indices. (<http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/companions/>).
- Church of England Record Society Publications. Boydell & Brewer, 1994–. Edited records of the Church of England (<http://www.coers.org/publications/index.html>).
- Eastern Christian Studies. Peeters, 1998–. The accent is on international congresses, their reports and papers, but also monographs, notably on liturgical themes and Syriac Christianity (<http://www.peeters-leuven.be/>).
- História Religiosa. Fontes e Subsídios. Universidade Católica Portuguesa/Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 1995–. The Center for the Study of Religious History, Lisbon, publishes three series, the two most important of which are Religious History. Sources and Grants with 12 titles including a bibliography of works on the church in Portugal, and Studies of Religious History, 1998– with 17 monographs. See <http://www.ft.lisboa.ucp.pt/> under Centros de Estudio.
- Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements. Scarecrow, 1996–. This series includes dictionaries on the Coptic Church, the Reformation, Anglicans, Puritans, Lutherans, Baptists, the Salvation Army, and so forth (<http://rowman.com/page/hdseries>).
- Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World. Princeton University Press, 2002–. <http://www.press.princeton.edu/series.html>.
- Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen. Neukirchener, 1985–. The series was originally edited by Heiko Oberman as a multivolume history of the church with primary documents in translation entitled *Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen: ein Arbeitsbuch*. The series title was shortened to its present form and extends to 12 volumes with new editions appearing periodically. Vol. 6 of the series (*Außereuropäische Christentumsgeschichte: Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika 1450-1990*) has appeared in English (<http://www.neukirchener-verlage.de/programm/zeige/4260/>).
- Orientalia Christiana Analecta. Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1923–. Replaces *Orientalia Christiana* in 1935 at vol. 100, of which about a third are listed under “other publications” (<http://www.orientaliachristiana.it/>). The entire list of nearly 200 titles of the second series of texts and monographs since 1935, embracing all aspects of the eastern church, is found at the same web address.
- Oxford Handbooks of Religion. Oxford, 2004–. Abstracts of all articles *within* the volumes are accessible, but full articles require a subscription or purchase at <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/>.
- Oxford Studies in Historical Theology. Oxford, 1994–. (<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/>).
- Sermo. Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching. Brepols, 2006–. The first number in this series is a 4-vol. *Repertorium* of more than 1,000 Middle English sermons (<http://www.brepols.net/Pages/Search.aspx>).

- Studien zur Außereuropäischen Christentumsgeschichte (Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika). Studies in the History of Christianity in the Non-Western World. Harrassowitz, 1998–. Monographs with synopses and some tables of contents for titles since 2002. Also note the sister series Dokumente zur Außereuropäischen Christentumsgeschichte published by Harrassowitz since 2010 at <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>.
- Studies in Christian Mission. Brill, 1990–. All titles are provided with synopses, but tables of contents only since 2007 (<http://www.brill.com/publications/studies-christian-mission>).
- Studies in Church History. Ecclesiastical History Society, 1964–. Proceedings of the bi-annual conferences at <http://www.history.ac.uk/ehsoc/publications>.
- Studies in the History of Christian Missions. Eerdmans, 2000–. (<http://www.eerdmans.com/Products/Series.aspx>).
- Studies in the History of Christian Traditions. Brill, 1966–. Formerly, Studies in the History of Christian Thought. Over 160 titles, and most from 1980 are listed with abstracts at <http://www.brill.com/products>.
- Studies in the History of Religious and Political Pluralism. Peter Lang, 2007–. (<http://www.peterlang.com/>).
- Studies in Women and Religion. Mellen, 1977–. List of 44 titles at <http://www.mellenpress.com/>.
- Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte. Gütersloher, 1966–82. Titles are listed by the Library of Congress (<http://catalog.loc.gov/>).

[D. Handbooks, Bibliographical Guides, and General Surveys](#)

- Armogathe, Jean-Robert, Pascal Montaubin, and Michel-Yves Perrin, eds. (vol. 1); Jean-Robert Armogathe and Yves-Marie Hilaire, eds. (vol. 2). *Histoire générale du christianisme. I: Des Origines au XVe siècle. II: Du XVIe siècle à nos jours*. Quadrige Dicos Poche. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010.
- Aston, T. H., ed. *History of the University of Oxford*. 8 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1984-2000.
- Baker, Derek, ed. *The Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*. Studies in Church History 11. New York: Harper & Row, 1975. A promising title, but in reality, a series of highly specialized studies.
- Ballou, Patricia K. *Women: A Bibliography of Bibliographies*. 2nd ed. Boston: Hall, 1986.
- Barnard, John, D. F. McKenzie, David McKitterick, and I. R. Willison, eds. *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000–11.
- Berkowitz, David S. *Bibliographies for Historical Researchers*. Waltham, MA, 1969.
- Bibliografía Teológica Comentada*. Vols. 1-. Buenos Aires: Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos, 1973-. An annual publication of approximately 5,000 books and articles on Latin American theology.
- Bibliographia internationalis spiritualitatis*. Vols. 1-. Rome: Pontificio Instituto di Spiritualità, 1966-. Published annually. The major resource for articles on spirituality, organized topically, with an author index.
- Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France*. 51 vols. Paris: La Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France, 1912-82. The collected conference papers of the society.
- Blevins, Carolyn D. *Women in Christian History: A Bibliography*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1995. Organized by period, ethnic group, and denomination.
- Blockx, Karel. *Bibliographical Introduction to Church History*. Louvain: Acco, 1982. This list is not annotated and it lacks a title index.
- Brooke, Christopher, ed. *A History of the University of Cambridge*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989-2004.

- The Cambridge History of Christianity*. 9 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006-9.
- Capelle, Bernard. *Travaux liturgiques de doctrine et d'histoire*. 3 vols. Louvain: Centre liturgique, Abbaye du Mont César, 1955-67.
- Case, Shirley Jackson, et al., eds. *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Rev. ed. New York: Smith, 1951.
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- Fritze, Ronald H., Brian E. Coutts, and Louis A. Vyhnanek. *Reference Sources in History: An Introductory Guide*. 2nd ed. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004. The best, most recent, comprehensive guide.
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- CT: Greenwood, 1985. This is the best recent guide for the literature of church history and historical theology, but the second volume in the series must be used in conjunction with the first, since there is much material on church history in the first volume. These two volumes provide detailed annotations for most reference works in church history, but the organization is poor. Standard denominational bibliographies are dispersed throughout the volumes, but can be located through the indices.
- Historische Bibliographie*. 1986 to date. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ausseruniversitärer Historischer Forschungseinrichtungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. An annual supplement to *Historische Zeitschrift*.
- Howe, George F., et al. *Guide to Historical Literature*. The American Historical Association. New York: Macmillan, 1967. A major topical bibliography to serials, series, bibliographical tools, books, articles, etc., in all fields of historical investigation, annotated. Covers intellectual and religious history but needs to be supplemented in the specific areas of philosophy and theology.
- Index Religiosus: International Bibliography of Theology, Religious Studies and Church History. A new reference bibliography published online by Brepols based on the bibliographies of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* and *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis*. Access by individual or institutional subscription at <http://www.brepolis.net/>.
- Janz, Denis R., ed. *A People's History of Christianity*. 7 vols. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005-8.
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- of University Education in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
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- Peirce, David Roland. *A Select Bibliography of History*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Perrie, Maureen, Dominic Lieven, and Ronald Suny, eds. *The Cambridge History of Russia*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Poulton, Helen J. *The Historian's Handbook: A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972. A standard work for years, it is now superseded by Ronald Fritze et al., *Reference Sources in History*.
- Ritchie, Maureen. *Women's Studies: A Checklist of Bibliographies*. London: Mansell, 1980.
- Rothbart, Margarete J., and Ulrich Helfenstein. *Bibliographie internationale des travaux historiques publiés dans les volumes de "mélanges." / International bibliography of historical articles in Festschriften and miscellanies*. Paris: Colin, 1955-. (Vol. 1 covers 1880-1939; vol. 2 covers 1940-50 plus addenda to volume 1.)
- Rüegg, Walter, ed. *A History of the University in Europe*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992-2003.
- Sawicki, Jakub Teodor, ed. *Bibliographia synodorum particularium*. Monumenta Iuris Canonici, ser. C; Subsidia, vol. 2. E. Civitate Vaticana: S. Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus, 1967. Guide to both primary and secondary sources related to church councils.
- Schreckenberg, Heinz. *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (I.-II. Jh.)*. 4th rev. and enl. ed. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Ser. 23. Theology 172. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999. Covers the entire Christian era to the present with full and up-to-date bibliographies.
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- Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte*. Witten, 1965-.

[E. Dictionaries and Encyclopedias](#)

The use of dictionaries and encyclopedias in scholarly work can be a source of trouble and

dismay to the uninitiated. An initial, necessary distinction must be made between the encyclopedias and topical dictionaries written for the general public and those written by scholars for students in scholarly fields and for other scholars. The former, including such famous and prestigious works as the *Britannica*, *Americana*, *Colliers Encyclopedia* and *World Almanac*, ought to be avoided as conceived on a level below that of graduate scholarship. The latter, some of which follow, are of considerable value and are worthy of citation in scholarly studies. Basic language dictionaries, like *Webster* and *Cassell* are not cited, but are also excluded from the above caveat.

[1. Linguistic Tools: Dictionaries and Paleographical Aids](#)

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- Blaise, Albert. *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi: praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*. (Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen-Age.) Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- . *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Reprint. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986.
- Bursill-Hall, G. L. *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts*. Grammatica speculativa, v. 4. Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1981.
- Cappelli, Adriano. *Lexicon Abbreviatarum: Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane usate nelle Carte e Codici specialmente del Medio-evo*. 6th ed. Milan: Hoepli, 1961. Reprint, 1985. <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Departments/Medieval/Cappelli/>. For medieval Latin abbreviations, students should now consult <http://olafpluta.net/software/software.html>.
- Abréviations latines médiévales: supplément au "Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane" de Adriano Cappelli*. 2nd ed. Paris and Louvain: Publications Universitaires / Nauwelaerts, 1966.
- Chassant, A. *Dictionnaire des abréviations latines et françaises du moyen âge*. 5th ed., 1884.
- . *Paléographie des chartes et des manuscrits du XIe au XVIIe siècle*. 8th ed. Paris, 1885.
- Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*. By Frédéric Godefroy. 10 vols. Paris: Vieweg, 1881–1902. Reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprints, 1965.
- Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens*. Edited by Albert Blaise and Henri Chirat. Strasbourg: Le Latin Chrétien, 1954. A theological dictionary in essence defining the vocabulary of Latin Christianity; useful for the middle ages.
- Du Cange, Charles. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*. 10 vols. Reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1954 (<http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/>).
- Fraser, P. M., and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987–. 6 vols. to date, per website, with four more in process.
- Grandsaignes d'Hauterive, Robert. *Dictionnaire d'ancien français, moyen âge et renaissance*. Paris: Larousse, 1947.
- Hector, Leonard C. *The Handwriting of English Documents*. 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1966. An essential guide for English medieval documents.
- Huguet, Edmond. *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*. 7 vols. Paris: Cyhampion, 1925-67.
- Lampe, G. W. H., ed. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961–68.
- A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas Based on the Summa Theologica and Selected Passages of His Other Works*. Edited by Roy Deferrari et al. 5 vols. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1948-53. Important not only for an understanding of Aquinas, but also for comprehension of medieval philosophical and theological vocabulary.
- Lindsay, W. M. *Notae Latinae: An Account of Abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700–850)*. Cambridge, 1915.
- Lutz, Liselotte, et al., eds. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. 10 vols. Munich: Artemis, 1977-98.

- Mantello, F. A. C., and A. G. Rigg, eds. *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996.
- Martin, Charles T., comp. *The Record Interpreter: A Collection of Abbreviations, Latin Words and Names Used in English Historical Manuscripts and Records*. 2nd ed. London: Stevens and Sons, 1910. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1969.
- Marucchi, O. *Christian Epigraphy*. Trans. J. Armine Willis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.
- Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*. Comp. James Huston Baxter and Charles Johnson. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.
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- Niermeyer, Jan F. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: A Medieval Latin-French/English Dictionary*. Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- . *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Abbreviationes et Index Fontium*. Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- The Oxford English Dictionary . . . A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Ed. J. A. H. Murray et al. 12 vols., plus three supplementary vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1933–76.
- Preston, Jean F., and Laetitia Yeandle. *English Handwriting, 1400-1650: An Introductory Manual*. Pegasus, 1992.
- Souter, Alexander. *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1949.
- Stelton, Leo F., ed. *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin. With an Appendix of Latin Expressions Defined and Clarified*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
- Stryker-Rodda, Harriet. *Understanding Colonial Handwriting*. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Genealogical, 1986.
- Thompson, E. M. *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography*. Oxford, 1912.
- Thoyts, E. E. *How to Decipher and Study Old Documents: Being a Guide to the Reading of Ancient Manuscripts*. 3rd ed. London, 1909.

[2. Biographical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias](#)

- Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. 55 vols. Leipzig, 1875–1912. Now online at www.deutsche-biographie.de/. See also *Neue Deutsche Biographie* below.
- Anderson, Gerald H., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999 (first publ. 1998).
- Biographie nationale, publiée par l'académie royale de Belgique*. Brussels, 1866-.
- Biographie universelle*. 2nd ed. 45 vols. Paris, 1845–65.
- Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*. 27 vols. Haarlem: Brederode, 1852–78.
- Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*. Ed. C. von Wurzbach. 60 vols. Vienna, 1856–91.
- Boudon, Jacques-Olivier. *Les Elites Religieuses à l'Époque de Napoléon. Dictionnaire des Évêques et Vicaires Généraux du Premier Empire*. Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions/Foundation Napoléon, 2002.
- Dictionary of American Biography*. Ed. Allen Johnson. 20 vols. New York: Scribners, 1928–36. 8 supplements, through 1970. Superseded by the *American National Biography*, available online by subscription.
- Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. Leslie Stephen, Sidney Lee, H. Milford, et al. London: Oxford University Press, 1986. Vols. 1–22 are pre-1900 covering A–Z with supplements for the twentieth century through 1996. Superseded by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available online by subscription.
- Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Ed. Charles Coulston Gillespie. New York: 1970-.
- Dictionnaire de biographie française*. Ed. J. Balteau, A. Rastoul, and M. Prévost. Paris: Letouzy

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- Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*. Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1920–34.
- Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. 32 vols. Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–.
- Emden, Alfred B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- . *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957–58.
- . *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501 to 1540*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.
- Farmer, David Hugh. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 5th rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1716–. Records of national church clergy throughout Western Europe are voluminous. We list here only a few examples of long-standing series (in the case of England and Scotland) and several recent additions (France and Portugal). See the Clergy of the Church of England Database in the appendix and the online, open-access index for the English and Welsh cathedral clergy at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/catalogue>. These records are typically found under the name of the first editor, John Le Neve, and arranged by diocese. The Anglican Fasti are published in three series, covering the periods A.D. 1066-1300, 1300-1541, and 1541-1857. A recent example is John Le Neve. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857. X: Coventry and Lichfield Diocese*. Comp. Joyce M. Horn. London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2003.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*. An example is Desportes, Pierre, and H el ene Millet. *R epertoire Prosopographique des  v eques, Dignitaires et Chanoines de France de 1200   1500. Dioc ese d'Amiens*. *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae, 1071-1325*. Begun in 2002 under the direction of the Center for the Study of Ecclesiastical History (Catholic University of Lisbon), the focus, as with other Fasti of episcopal churches, is on bishops and cathedral clergy. <http://www.ft.lisboa.ucp.pt/>
- Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*. New ed. by Hew Scott. 7 vols. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1915-28. Currently being published by T&T Clark. A recent volume is Finlay Angus John Macdonald (with Monica Stewart), ed. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. XI: Ministers of the Church from 1 January 1976 to 30 September 1999*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark (for the Board of Practice and Procedure of the Church of Scotland), 2000.
- Gobry, Ivan. *Dictionnaire des papes*. Paris: Pygmalion, 2008.
- Jocher, Christian Gottlieb. *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexikon*. 11 vols. Leipzig, 1750–1897. A major source for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century biographies not found in more recent dictionaries.
- Laffont, Robert, and Valentino Bompiana. *Dictionnaire biographique des auteurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays*. 2 vols. Paris: S.E.D.E., 1957-58.
- LeBlanc, Jean. *Dictionnaire Biographique des Cardinaux du XIXe Si cle. Contribution   l'Histoire du Sacr -Coll ge sous les Pontificats de Pie VII, L on XII, Pie VIII, Gr goire XVI, Pie IX et L on XIII, 1800-1903*. Instruments de Recherche. Gratianus. Montreal: Wilson and Lafleur, 2007.
- . *Dictionnaire biographique des  v eques catholiques du Canada. Les dioc ses catholiques canadiens des  glises latines et orientales et leurs  v eques. Rep res chronologiques et biographiques, 1658-2012*. 2nd ed. Instruments de Recherche. Gratianus. Montreal: Wilson & Lafleur, 2012.
- Neue Deutsche Biographie*. 24 volumes online to date; to “Stader.” <http://www>

- .deutsche-biographie.de/.
- New Century Cyclopedia of Names*. 3 vols. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954.
- Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*. 10 vols. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911–37.
- Nicol, Donald M. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire*. London: Seaby, 1991.
- Savvides, Alexis G., et al., eds. *Encyclopaedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization*. 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007-8.
- Sommervogel, Carlos. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. New ed. 11 vols. Brussels: Oscar Schepens; Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1890-1932.
- Walsh, Michael, ed. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2001.
- Watt, Donald E. R. *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1977.
- Who Was Who*. London: A. & C. Black, 1920-.
- Zedler, Johann Heinrich. *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon der Wissenschaften und Künste*. 64 vols. with 4 supplements. Halle/Leipzig, 1732-54 (<http://www.zedler-lexikon.de>).

[3. Dictionaries of Anonyms and Pseudonyms](#)

- Atkinson, Frank. *Dictionary of Literary Pseudonyms: A Selection of Popular Modern Writers in English*. 4th enl. ed. London: Bingley; Chicago: American Library Association, 1987.
- Barbier, Antoine-Alexandre, Olivier Alexandre Barbier, Paul Billard, René Billard, and J.-M. Querard. *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes. Supercherries littéraires dévoilées*. 3rd ed., rev. and augm. 4 vols. in 8 parts. Paris: Daffis, 1872-79.
- Coston, Henry. *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes*. Paris, 1961.
- Cushing, William. *Anonyms: A Dictionary of Revealed Authorship*. 1889. Reprint, Waltham, MA: Mark, 1963.
- . *Initials and Pseudonyms: A Dictionary of Literary Disguises*. 2 vols. 1885-88. Reprint, Waltham, MA: Mark, 1963.
- Franklin, Alfred. *Dictionnaire des noms, surnoms et pseudonymes latins de l'histoire littéraire du moyen âge [1100 à 1530]*. Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1875.
- Halkett, Samuel, John Laing, et al. *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*. Edinburgh, 1926-. 9 vols. 3rd ed., rev. and enl. Ed. John Horden. Harlow: Longman, 1980.
- Holzmann, Michael, and Hanns Bohatta. *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon, 1501-1850*. 7 vols. 1902-28. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1961.
- . *Deutsches Pseudonymen-Lexikon*. 1906. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1961.
- Kempenaer, A. de, and Jan Izaak van Doorninck. *Vermomde Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche schrijvers*. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1928. A dictionary of Dutch and Flemishonyms and pseudonyms.
- Melzi, Gaetano. *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani, o come che sia aventi relazione all'Italia*. 3 vols. New York: Franklin, 1960.
- Passano, Giovanni Battista, Gaetano Melzi, and Emmanuele Rocco. *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime, in supplemento a quello di Gaetano Melzi*. New York: Franklin, 1960.
- Querard, J.-M. *Les supercherries littéraires dévoilées. Galerie des auteurs apocryphes, supposés, déguisés, plagiaires et des éditeurs infidèles de la littérature française pendant les quatre derniers siècles: ensemble les industriels littéraires et les lettres qui sont anoblis à notre époque*. 5 vols. Paris: Lediteur, 1847-53.
- Sommervogel, Carlos. *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes publiés par des religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus, depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours*. Amsterdam: Israel, 1966.
- Stonehill, Charles Archibald, Andrew Block, and H. Winthrop Stonehill. *Anonyma and*

- pseudonyma*. 4 vols. London, 1926-27.
- Weller, Emil Ottokar. *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte: Repertorium der seit Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst unter falscher Firma erschienenen deutschen, lateinischen und französischen Schriften*. 2 vols. 1864. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1960. A unique and significant effort to identify falsely given places of publication.
- . *Lexicon pseudonymorum. Wörterbuch der Pseudonymen aller Zeiten und Völker; oder, Verzeichnis jener Autoren, die sich falscher Namen bedienen*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963.

[4. Theological and Church-historical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias](#)

An asterisk [*] precedes those items which represent the results of advanced research and which stand as suitable documentation of points made in scholarly research. Items without asterisk are useful general tools suitable for citation in introductory or survey footnotes. Note that all dictionaries here included may be cited at any time as sources of basic definitions.

- *Altenstaig, Johann. *Lexicon theologicum*. Köln, 1619. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1973.
- . *Vocabularius theologiae*. Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1517. Necessary for understanding the terms of late medieval and early Reformation theology.
- Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, eds. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. 3 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Benedetto, Robert, ed. *The New SCM Dictionary of Church History. I: From the Early Church to 1700*. London: SCM, 2008. U.S. edition: *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History. I: The Early, Medieval and Reformation Eras*. Ed. Robert Benedetto. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008. The second volume is in preparation. Designed as the successor to Jerald Brauer's *Westminster Dictionary of Church History*.
- Bowker, John, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999 (first published 1997).
- Brasher, Brenda E., ed. *Encyclopedia of Fundamentalism. Religion and Society*. A Berkshire Reference Work. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Brauer, Jerald C., ed. *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971. Emphasizes the modern church and the American church in particular. Sketchy bibliographies.
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- **Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*. Ed. Franz Joseph Dölger and Hans Lietzmann. 11 vols. to date. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-. With supplement, 1985. Keyword searches at Franz Joseph Dölger-Institut web page will indicate volume number and page of keyword use. The Institute also provides an annotated guide to the Internet sources that deal with late antiquity. See Appendix.
- **Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. 3rd ed. Ed. H. Campenhausen et al. 7 vols. Tübingen: Mohr, 1957-65. The 4th ed. through volume 10 (Pet-Ref) is now available in English; *Religion Past and Present* is projected to be completed in 13 vols. online by subscription.
- **Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology*. Ed. K. Rahner et al. 6 vols. New York: Herder & Herder, 1968-70.
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F. Historical Atlases and Guides to Historical Geography

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- . *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961. Both volumes are excellent for economic history and movement of populations, but weak on geographical features, detail of boundaries, cities, etc.
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G. Guides to Libraries and Archives¹

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II. Church History: By Period²

A. Early Church

1. Guides, Manuals, and Encyclopedias

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- Bengtson, Hermann. *Introduction to Ancient History*. Trans. from the 6th ed. by R. I. Frank and Frank D. Gilliard. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
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- Blasi, Anthony J., Jean Duhaime, and Paul-André Turcotte, eds. *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira, 2002.
- Carriker, Andrew. *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
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- Daley, Brian E. *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003. Reprint of the 1991 edition with corrections and bibliography updated through 2002.
- De Labriolle, Pierre. *The History of Literature and Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*. History of Civilization. London: Kegan Paul, 2006.
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- Drobner, Hubertus R. *The Fathers of the Church: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007. Trans. by Siegfried S. Schatzmann of *Lehrbuch der Patrologie*.
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- Gregory, Andrew, and Christopher Tuckett, eds. *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*. I: *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*. II: *Trajectories through the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Harvey, Susan Ashbrook, and David G. Hunter, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Hazlett, Ian, ed. *Early Christianity: Origins and Evolution to A.D. 600 — In Honour of W. H. C. Frend*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1991. Far more than a typical *Festschrift*, this book surveys current scholarship and provides guidance for further research on a wide range of topics.
- Hefele, Charles Joseph. *A History of the Councils of the Church: From Original Documents*. 5 vols. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871-96. The remaining volumes in French, never translated, carry the texts and history through A.D. 1449. They were digitized by the Internet Archive in 2009 and are available at the *Patrologia: Latina, Graeca & Orientalis* website at <http://www.plgo.org>. For a general survey of standard sources of church councils see the guide prepared by Paul Halsall at <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/index.asp>.
- Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 (first publ. 1949).
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- The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
- Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. New ed. Ed. Georg Wissowa. 33 vols. with supplements. Stuttgart: Drückemüller, 1894-. Frequently identified as “Pauly--Wissowa,” this resource remains a *sine qua non* in classical studies.
- Pratiques de l’eucharistie dans les églises d’orient et d’occident. Antiquité et moyen âge*. I: *L’Institution*; II: *Les Réceptions*. Ed. Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux. Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 45, 46. Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2009. Considered by reviewers to be a “standard reference tool” for research on the eucharist.
- Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology*. 4 vols. Utrecht: Spectrum; Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1950–86. With the addition of the fifth volume (see Di Berardino above), Quasten becomes the most complete English-language patrology — an excellent bibliographical resource, to be supplemented by more recent efforts.
- Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*. Ed. Theodor Klauser. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-.
- Tixeront, Joseph. *A Handbook of Patrology*. Translation based upon the 4th French edition. St. Louis: Herder, 1951.
- Tsirpanlis, Constantine N. *Greek Patristic Theology: Basic Doctrines in Eastern Church Fathers*. 3 vols. Monograph Series in Orthodox Theology and Civilization 3, 6, and 7. Ulster Park, NY: EO, 1979-87.
- Young, Frances, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth, eds. *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Covers the period through the Council of Chalcedon.
- Young, Frances, with Andrew Teal. *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and Its Background*. 2nd ed. London: SCM, 2010.

[2. Bibliographies](#)

- Bibliographia Patristica: Internationale Patristische Bibliographie*. Berlin: de Gruyter for the Patristische Kommission der Akademien der Wissenschaften in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, vols. 1–35, 1959–97. Completed with vol. 35; the bibliography includes books, articles, and dissertations.
- Braun, René, Frédéric Chapot, Simone Deléani, François Dolbeau, Jean-Claude Fredouille, and Pierre Petitmengin. *Chronica Tertulliana et Cypriana, 1975-1994. Bibliographie Critique de la Première Littérature Latine Chrétienne*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 157. Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1999.
- Halton, Thomas P., and Robert D. Sider. *A Decade of Patristic Scholarship, 1970-1979. The Classical World*, col. 76, #2, 6 (1982/3). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1982-83. Doubly useful because its pattern of organization follows Quasten.
- Kranz, Dirk Kurt. *Bibliografia delle bibliografie patristiche e materie affini. Un sussidio didattico e di ricerca. Sussidi e Strumenti Didattici 3*. Rome: Ateneo Pontificio Regina Apostolorum, 2005. A bibliography of bibliographies in patristics with some guidance on the Internet.
- Metzger, Bruce Manning. *Index of Articles on the New Testament and the Early Church Published in Festschriften*. Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1951.
- Rounds, Dorothy. *Articles on Antiquity in Festschriften, an Index: The Ancient Near East, the Old*

- Testament, Greece, Rome, Roman Law, Byzantium*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Runia, David, with H. M. Keizer. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography, 1987-1996*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 57. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Stewardson, Jerry L. *A Bibliography of Bibliographies on Patristics*. Evanston, IL: Garrett Theological Seminary Library, 1967.

[3. Editions of Texts and Concordances](#)

- Series which embrace both monographs and edited texts are found below under Series (4.2).
- Averst, David, and A. S. T. Fisher, eds. *Records of Christianity*. I: *In the Roman Empire*. II. *Christendom*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971-77.
- Benoit, André, et al. *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions Bibliques dans la littérature patristique*. 7 vols. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975-2000. All seven volumes with supplements are available online and fully searchable at <http://www.biblindeix.mom.fr/>. See also <http://theopro.unistra.fr/recherche/histoire-du-christianisme/cadp>.
- Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols. A CD-ROM project designed to incorporate the entire *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*.
- Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Ed. Mauritius Geerard. 5 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983-89. A bibliographical supplement to *Corpus Christianorum*, alphabetized by author, that lists editions and basic studies.
- Coleman-Norton, Paul Robinson, comp. *Roman State & Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*. 3 vols. London: SPCK, 1966.
- Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977-. The *Corpus Christianorum*, in its *Series Graeca* and *Series Latina*, is gradually superseding Migne as the best critical texts of the fathers, following the conspectus of Dekkers.
- Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-.
- Corpus Christianorum: Thesaurus Patrum Latinorum*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992-. A computer-compiled microfiche thesaurus of the entire *Corpus*, supplemented by separate volumes devoted to Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, John Cassian, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.
- Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. Ed. the Academy of Vienna. Vienna, 1866ff. A major effort, intended to supersede Migne's *Patrologia graeca* with a modern, critical text.
- Dekkers, Dom E. *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*. Steenbrugis: in Abbatia Sancta Petri, 1961. Published first in 1951, this remains an important guide to the manuscripts and edited texts of the fathers.
- Döpp, Siegm, and Wilhelm Geerlings, eds. *Lexikon der Antiken Christlichen Literatur*. Freiburg: Herder, 1998.
- Eckermann, Willigis, and Achim Krümmel, eds. *Repertorium annotatum operum et translationum S. Augustini. Lateinische Editionen und deutsche Übersetzungen (1750-1920)*. Würzburg: Augustinus, 1992.
- The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*. Ed. R. J. Deferrari et al. 70 vols. to date. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1947ff.
- Glorieux, Paléon. *Pour Revaloriser Migne: Tables Rectificatives*. Cahier Supplémentaire aux Mélanges de Science Religieuse 9. Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1952. This volume should be used in conjunction with Hamman's supplement (listed under *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*) for corrections and additions to Migne.
- Goodspeed, Edgar. *Index Apologeticus sive Clavis Iustini Martyris Operum Aliorumque*

- Apologetarum Pristinorum*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912.
- . *Index Patristicus sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum*. 1907. Reprinted with corrections, Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1960.
- Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*. Ed. the Academy of Berlin. Berlin, 1897ff. This series, despite its title, reaches beyond the third century and is designed as a complement to the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*.
- Guyot, Peter, and Richard Klein, eds. *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen. Eine Dokumentation*. 2 vols. Texte zur Forschung 60, 62. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993-94.
- Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*. 9 vols. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1969–.
- Kraft, Heinrich. *Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum*. Munich: Kösel, 1963. Supersedes Goodspeed on the Apostolic Fathers.
- Lenfant, David. *Concordantiae Avgvstinianae, sive Collectio omnium sententiarum quae sparsim reperivntvr in omnibus S. Augustini operibus. Ad instar concordantiarum Sacrae scripturae*. 2 vols. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965.
- Mayer, Cornelius, et al., eds. *Augustinus-Lexikon*. Basel: Schwabe, 1986-. Projected in five volumes and appearing in fascicles, vols. 1 and 2 are complete with vol. 3 through “Liber” in 2008. Something of the scope of the work is indicated by the first volume which covers “Aaron-Conuersio” and comprises approximately 200 articles by 75 scholars.
- Migne, J. P., ed. *Patrologia Graeca Cursus Completus*. 161 vols. Paris: Vives, 1857-66. Still a nearly exhaustive source, but superseded where more modern critical editions exist. A Latin translation accompanies the Greek text. An online, open-access reproduction of the *Patrologia* is available at <http://patristica.net/> and for a full-text, searchable database of all of the Greek fathers that extends considerably beyond the *Patrologia Graeca*, see the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in the appendix.
- Migne, J. P., ed. *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus*. 221 vols. Paris: Vives, 1844-55. Not the most critical text, but still the most exhaustive source, well indexed. Available on CD-ROM and online by subscription at <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>; the original edition as an open-access resource can be found at <http://patristica.net/>.
- Oxford Early Christian Texts. Oxford, 1983–. 13 vols.; titles with synopses and some tables of contents listed at <http://global.oup.com/academic/series/>.
- Patrologiae Cursus Completus accurante I.-P. Migne index locupletissimus*. Ed. Theodorus Hopfner. 2 vols. Paris: Geuthner, 1928-36. A significant work, granting the absence of indices from the original *Patrologia Graeca*.
- Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina: Supplementum*. Ed. Adalbert Gauthier Hamman. 4 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1958-1971. A revision of Migne organized by volume that summarizes more recent scholarship on authorship and texts.
- Price, Richard, and Michael Gaddis, trans. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*. 3 vols. Translated Texts for Historians 45. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005. See Schwartz, *Acta Concilium Oecumenicorum* and the series Translated Texts for Historians for other councils.
- Riedinger, Rudolf, ed. *Acta Concilium Oecumenicorum. Series Secunda*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 3 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984-2008. Lateran Synod of A.D. 649, leading up to Constantinople III, and the Second Council of Nicea, with full indices. The project is ongoing. See Schwartz.
- . *Index verborum Graecorum quae in actis Synodi Lateranensis a. 649 et in actis Concilii Oecumenici Sexti continentur*. *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ser. 2, 2). Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995.
- Schwartz, Edward, ed. *Acta Concilium Oecumenicorum*. Iussu atque mandato Societatis

- Scientiarum Argentoratensis. 15 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1927-84. The authoritative edition of the minutes of the proceedings of the Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople II. Full texts with critical apparatus. Excludes the first two ecumenical councils since only the creeds and canons survive for Nicea and Constantinople I. See Riedinger.
- Sources Chrétiennes: Textes, Traductions, Introductions et Notes*. Paris: Cerf, 1941-. Extending to more than 560 volumes, this series of Greek and Latin texts of the fathers has French translations.
- Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Irvine: University of California Press. A vast resource for the Greek fathers with limited, though significant, open access online; see annotation in Appendix.
- Translated Texts for Historians. Liverpool University Press. 1985-. Includes texts from the period A.D. 300 to 800 of such diverse figures as Ambrose, Cassiodorus, Bede. Full list of titles at <http://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/>.
- Wiles, James W. *A Scripture Index to the Works of St. Augustine in English Translation*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995.

[4. Journals and Series](#)

[a. Journals](#)

(See note under I.C.1. above.)

- Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*. Franz Joseph Dölger-Institut, 1958-. Titles with information on small series of supplementary volumes are online (<http://www.antike-und-christentum.de/>).
- Journal of Early Christian Studies* (incorporates *The Second Century*, 1981-92). Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993-. Access to full text is online by subscription through Project Muse via the Johns Hopkins website at <http://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/>. Tables of contents for *The Second Century* can be found at http://www.earlychurch.org.uk/articles_secondcentury-01.php.
- Patristica et Mediaevalia*. Universidad de Buenos Aires, Centro de Estudios de Filosofía Medieval, 1975-. Published annually, with tables of contents online through vol. 22 (2001) (<http://patristicamedievalia.ar.tripod.com/>).
- Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 1957-96. Incorporated into *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales/Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters*, for which see below under Medieval and Renaissance.
- The Second Century: A Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 1981-92. Incorporated into *Journal of Early Christian Studies*; see above.
- Vigiliae Christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language*. Brill, 1947-. Individual articles by subscription or purchase at <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/15700720>.

b. Series

(See note under I.C.2. above.)

- Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Wiley-Blackwell, 2003–.
<http://www.wiley.com/WileyCDA/Section/id-324320.html>.
- Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité. Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1954–.
Abstracts from 1992 at the Brepols web page. A second major series (Série Moyen-Âge et temps modernes, 1964–) has abstracts from 1993
(<http://www.brepols.net/Pages/BrowseBySeries.aspx?TreeSeries=EAA>).
- Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Peeters, 1903–. Over 650 vols.; early Eastern church and medieval monographs and texts. Titles listed at http://www.peeters--leuven.be/search_serie_book.asp?nr=94.
- Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia. Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity. Brepols, 1958–. The series emphasizes tools such as indices, bibliographies, and lexica on a wide variety of topics and texts, some with synopses (<http://www.brepols.net/>).
- Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford, 1993–. With tables of contents (<http://global.oup.com/academic/series/>).
- Studia Patristica. Peeters, 1957–. Initially by Akademie-Verlag; since vol. 15, published annually by Peeters. Titles and summaries for vols. 15-70 online at http://www.peeters--leuven.be/search_serie_book.asp?nr=51.
- Studia Patristica et Byzantina. Ettal, Buch-Kunstverlag, 1953-65. 12 titles in British Library main catalogue.
- Studia Traditionis Theologiae. Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology. Brepols, 2009–. Mostly monographs with equal numbers treating the early and medieval periods (<http://www.brepols.net/>).
- Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements: Brill, 1987–. (<http://www.brill.com/products/>).

5. Historiography

- Backus, Irena, ed. *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Duval, Yves-Marie. *Histoire et historiographie en Occident aux IVe et Ve siècles*. Collected Studies 577. Aldershot: Variorum, 1997.
- Ferguson, Thomas C. *The Past Is Prologue: The Revolution of the Nicene Historiography*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 75. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Holdsworth, Christopher, and T. P. Wiseman, eds. *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986.

B. Medieval and Renaissance

1. Surveys

- Bériou, Nicole, and Philippe Josserand, eds. *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au moyen âge*. Paris: Fayard, 2009.
- The Cambridge Medieval History*. 2nd ed. 9 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–.
- Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. 13 vols. Joseph R. Strayer, ed. New York: Scribner, 1982-89.

- Fossier, Robert, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. First published in English as *The Middle Ages. An Illustrated History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986-89. Trans. of *Le Moyen Age*. Paris: Colin, 1982-83.
- Fouracre, Paul, et al., eds. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. 8 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995-2005.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F., and Susan Marti, eds. *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Kretzmann, Norman, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg, eds. *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. The bibliography runs to 84 pages.
- Minnis, Alastair, and Rosalynn Voaden, eds. *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition, c. 1100–c. 1500*. Essays in European Culture 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Vauchez, André, with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge. Trans. Adrian Walford. *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Clarke; Paris: Cerf; Rome: Città Nuova, 2000.
- Wallace, David, ed. *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Winston-Allen, Anne. *Covenant Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

[2. Guides, Indices, and Concordances](#)

- Bellitto, Christopher M., Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, eds. *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa. A Guide to a Renaissance Man*. New York: Paulist, 2004. Topically organized to illustrate the wide range of Cusanus's writings with up-to-date bibliography of secondary works and glossary of terms.
- Berschlin, Walter. *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*. 4 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986-2004. Latin biography, including hagiography, from A.D. 202 to 1220 with attention to the sources of the Lives.
- Boyce, Gray Cowan, comp. and ed. *Literature of Medieval History, 1930–1975: A Supplement to Louis John Paetow's "Guide to the Study of Medieval History."* 5 vols. Millwood, NY: Kraus International, 1981.
- Boyle, Leonard E. *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and Its Medieval Holdings*. Subsidia Mediaevalia 1. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1972.
- Brubaker, Leslie, and John Haldon. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680-850). The Sources. An Annotated Survey*. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 7. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Chenu, M.-D. *Toward Understanding St. Thomas*. Trans. Albert M. Landry and Dominic Hughes. Chicago: Regnery, 1964. An excellent introduction, in the style of a patrology — with discussion of St. Thomas's milieu and works, with extensive bibliographies of texts, editions, collections, and periodicals.
- Classen, Albrecht, ed. *Handbook of Medieval Studies*. 3 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.
- Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. The British Library in association with the British Academy. 17 vols. to date, with earliest title published in 1990. List of published volumes at <http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/series/BRITL-CBMLC.html>.
- Deferrari, Roy J., and M. Inviolata Barry. *A Complete Index of the "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Baltimore, 1956. Note also Deferrari's *Lexicon*, above, under dictionaries (I.E.1).
- Evans, Gillian, ed. *A Concordance to the Works of St. Anselm*. 4 vols. Millwood, NY: Kraus

- International, 1984.
- Fawtier, Robert, ed. *Les sources de l'histoire de France, des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*. Vols. 1-. Paris: Picard, 1971-. Will be definitive when finished; see Molinier, below.
- Friedman, John B., and Jessica M. Wegmann. *Medieval Iconography. A Research Guide*. Garland Medieval Bibliographies 20. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 1870. New York: Garland, 1998.
- Gamberini, Roberto, ed. *Bislam: bibliotheca scriptorum latinorum medii recentiorisque aevi (Repertory of Medieval and Renaissance Latin Authors)*. 2 vols. + 2 CD-ROMs. Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003. A catalog of medieval and Renaissance Latin authors, with standard and variant forms of their names. Vol. 1 includes all authors registered in *Medioevo Latino* 1-21.
- Gatz, Erwin. *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1198 bis 1448: Ein Biographisches Lexikon*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001.
- Gilchrist, Roberta, and Marilyn Oliva. *Religious Women in Medieval East Anglia. History and Archaeology c. 1100-1540*. Studies in East Anglian History 1. Norwich: University of East Anglia, Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1993.
- Greatrex, Joan. *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c. 1066 to 1540*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Guide to the Sources of Medieval History*. By R. C. Van Caenegem, with F. L. Ganshof. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1978.
- Hall, Dianne. *Women and the Church in Medieval Ireland, c. 1140-1540*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2003. Studies all known nunneries and nuns.
- Halphen, Louis, and Jean Berthold Mahn. *Initiation aux études d'histoire du Moyen Age*. Paris: Universitaires de France, 1940.
- Hamesse, Jacqueline, ed. *Manuels, Programmes de Cours et Techniques d'enseignement dans les Universités Médiévales. Actes du Colloque International de Louvain-la-Neuve (9-11 Septembre 1993)*. Textes, Études, Congrès 16. Louvain-La-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1994.
- Hayden, J. Michael, and Malcolm R. Greenshields. *Six Hundred Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190-1789*. McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion. Ser. 2, 37. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. Research assisted by the CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research), the work offers catalogues of pastoral visits and synodal statutes.
- Index Thomisticus: Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Operum Omnium Indices et Concordantiae*. . . . Vols. 1-. Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1974-. The standard resource will be definitive when complete in ca. 30 vols.; coordinated with the Leonine edition of St. Thomas's works.
- Knowles, David, et al., eds. *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001-8. Lists the heads of religious houses (including abbots, priors, abbesses, and prioresses) for the years A.D. 940-1216 (vol. 1); 1216-1377 (vol. 2); and 1377-1540 (vol. 3).
- Lapidge, Michael, and Claudio Leonardi, eds. *C.A.L.M.A. Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500-1500)*. 2 vols. *Abaelardus Petrus — Agobardus Lugdunensis Archiep.; Elenchus Adbreviationum*. Florence: SISMEL/Galluzzo, 2000. Two short fascicles of an ongoing project to list all Latin authors for the period; these vols. are based on the comprehensive digital project *Bibliotheca scriptorum latinorum medii recentiorisque aevi*.
- Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, ed. *Die Patriarchen der ikonoklastischen Zeit – Germanos I. – Methodios I. (715-847)*. Berliner Byzantinische Studien 5. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999. A prosopographical study of the patriarchs that places factual, biographical data on a new footing.
- Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, Claudia Ludwig, and Thomas Pratsch, et al. *Prosopographie der*

- mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. 7 vols. to date. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998-. This comprehensive biographical dictionary covers the period 641-867; a second series will extend to 1025. An online version of all indices is planned.
- MacCoull, Leslie S. B. *Documenting Christianity in Egypt, Sixth to Fourteenth Centuries*. Variorum Collected Studies 981. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2011.
- Molinier, Auguste. *Les Sources de l'histoire de France: des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*. 6 vols. Paris: Picard, 1900-1904. Together with the multi-volumed works of Bourgeois and Hauser (below, under Reformation) a dated but, for its time, exhaustive guide to French historical sources. Will be superseded by Fawtier.
- Müller, Heribert, and Johannes Helmuth, eds. *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1449). Institutionen und Personen*. Vorträge und Forschungen 67. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007. Identifies the more than 600 people involved in these councils and surveys the latest themes and scholarship.
- North Carolina University Library Humanities Division. *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: A Location Guide to Selected Reference Works and Source Collections in the Libraries of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Duke University*. Chapel Hill, 1967.
- Möhring, Hannes. *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer Tausendjährigen Weissagung*. Mittelalter Forschungen 3. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000. This volume is a vast reference work treating the theme of an eschatological "last emperor" to include kings, dukes, and popes.
- Paetow, Louis J. *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History*. New York: Crofts, 1931.
- Petroff, Elizabeth A., ed. *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. Fine introductions by the author with thirty-two classic texts translated by specialists.
- Pfaff, Richard W. *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England*. Collected Studies 610. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998.
- Potthast, August. *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi. Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*. 2 vols. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1954. Also note the *Repertorium fontium historiae Medii Aevi*. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1962, based on Potthast.
- Powell, James M., ed. *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992.
- Riché, Pierre. *Dictionnaire des Francs: Les Carolingiens*. Bartillat, 1997.
- Roest, Bert. *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 117. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Sayers, Jane E. *Law and Records in Medieval England: Studies on the Medieval Papacy, Monasteries and Records*. Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 278. London: Variorum, 1988.
- Sayers, Jane E., ed. *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198-1304)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Examines over 1,000 documents; see Patrick Zutshi below. In the words of Martin Bertram, the work "constitutes an impressive monument of diplomatic erudition" (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 [2001]: 724).
- Sharpe, Richard. *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*. Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Smith, David M., comp. *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of Episcopacy in 1646*. Guides and Handbooks/Royal Historical Society 11. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1981.
- Sullivan, Thomas. *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229-1500: A Biographical Register*. Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 4. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

- . *Parisian Licentiates in Theology: A Biographical Register*. Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 18. Leiden: Brill, 2004–. Vol. 1 deals with religious orders, offering prosopographical information on about 600 religious for the period 1373-1500.
- Venard, Marc, comp. *Répertoire des visites pastorales de la France. Anciens diocèses (jusqu'en 1790)*. 4 vols. Paris: Société d'histoire religieuse de la France, 1977-85. Corrections et compléments; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- Venarde, Bruce L. *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society. Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Wagner, Wolfgang E. *Universitätsstift und Kollegium in Prag, Wien und Heidelberg. Eine Vergleichende Untersuchung Spätmittelalterlicher Stiftungen im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaft und Genossenschaft*. Europa im Mittelalter 2. Berlin: Akademie, 1999.
- Wright, J. Robert. *A Companion to Bede: A Reader's Commentary on "The Ecclesiastical History of the English People."* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.
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[3. Periodical Guides](#)

- International Guide to Medieval Studies; A Quarterly Index to Periodical Literature*. Darien, CT: American Bibliographic Service, 1961-. Alphabetical author listing.
- International Medieval Bibliography*. Minneapolis, and Leeds, England, by the University of Leeds, 1967–. Published semi-annually, this superb reference work includes articles, collections of essays, and essays in *Festschriften*, but not books.

[4. Bibliographies](#)

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- Bibliographie Internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*. Geneva, 1965–.
- Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*. 1941-.
- Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale*. Louvain, 1929-.
- Chevalier, Ulysse. *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Âge; I: Biobibliographie*. New ed. 2 vols. Paris: Picard, 1905–7. II: *Topo-bibliographie*. Paris: Picard, 1884–99.
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- Cottineau, L. *Repertoire Topo-bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieures*. Macon: Protat Brothers, 1935–70.
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- Fabricus, Johann A. *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*. Ed. J. D. Mansi. 6 vols. Florence, 1858–59.
- Farrar, Clarissa Palmer, and Austin Patterson Evans. *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources*. Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 39. New York: Columbia

- University Press, 1946. Gives full bibliographical details on nearly 4,000 translations of medieval documents. Extremely valuable for teachers.
- Ferguson, Mary Anne. *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources, 1943–1967*. Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 88. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974. Ferguson brings Farrar and Evans up to date; students, however, should begin with Stanford University's *Medieval Studies* site that extends these older bibliographies to the present (<http://library.stanford.edu/guides/introduction-medieval-studies-resources>).
- Ghellinck, Joseph de. *L'Essor de la Littérature Latine au XIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Brussels: Desclée, De Brower, 1955.
- Glorieux, Palémon. *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: Vrin, 1933-34. A significant survey of thirteenth-century theologians, listing works, editions and locations of manuscripts.
- Graves, Edgar B. *A Bibliography of English History to 1485: Based on "The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485," by Charles Gross*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975.
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- Incunabula Short Title Catalogue. The ISTC is a technical bibliography, international in scope, which embraces all known European titles printed from movable type before 1501. Initiated and hosted by the British Library, it is regularly updated with open access at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>.
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- Medieval Studies: A Bibliographical Guide*. By Everett U. Crosby, C. Julian Bishko, and Robert L. Kellogg. New York: Garland, 1983.
- Renaudet, Augustin. *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie, 1494–1517*. 2nd ed., rév. Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1953. Bibliographie: xix–lxiv.
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- Resnick, Irvn M., and Kenneth F. Kitchell. *Albert the Great. A Selectively Annotated Bibliography (1900-2000)*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 269. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004.
- Rouse, Richard H., et al. *Serial Bibliographies for Medieval Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Stegmüller, Friedrich. *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*. 7 vols. Madrid: Institute Francisco

- Suarez, 1940–51. Klaus Reinhardt provides a digital copy at <http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl/>.
- . *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*. 2 vols. Würzburg: Schöningh, 1947.
- Wilkinson, Bertie. *The High Middle Ages in England, 1154-1377*. Conference on British Studies Bibliographical Handbook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Williams, Harry Franklin. *An Index of Medieval Studies Published in Festschriften, 1865-1946, with Special Reference to Romanic Material*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951.

[5. Editions and Series of Texts and Translations](#)

[N.B. Given the vast number of editions and series, the following represents only a sampling: the researcher should consult the specialized guides of Paetow and Boyce, cited above, section 2. Series that include both edited texts and monographs are listed below under Series, 6.b.]

- Bird, Jessalynn, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds. *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*. The Middle Ages. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. 20 vols. London: HMSO, 1893-. The latest volume showing on the British Library record is v. 20, pt. 1, covering Leo X, 1513-1521, published in 2008.
- The Classics of Western Spirituality: A Library of the Great Spiritual Masters*. Ramsey, NJ: Paulist, 1978-. A series of translations, extending from the patristic to the modern period, with fine introductions, quite significant for its presentation of many previously untranslated works of medieval spirituality.
- Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-.
- Crusade Texts in Translation. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1996-. 26 vols. to date. <http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=2312>.
- English Episcopal Acta. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980-; 42 vols. to date. Arranged, naturally, by diocese.
- The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation*. Ed. R. J. Deferrari, et al. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1989ff.
- García y García, Antonio, and others, eds. *Synodicon Hispanum, IX: Alcalá la Real (abadía), Guadix Y Jaén*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2010. The ninth volume in the series Synodicon Hispanum documents the synods of Jaén (1478, 1511), Alcalá la Real (1542), and Guadix (1554).
- Kay, Richard. *The Council of Bourges, 1225: A Documentary History*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. The 600-page survey brings fifty years of research to completion.
- Keefe, Susan A. *Water and the Word. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*. I: *A Study of Texts and Manuscripts*. II: *Editions of the Texts*. Publications in Medieval Studies. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.
- Migne, J.-P., ed. For the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Patrologia Graeca*, see above under Early Church Editions of Texts (II.A.3). The *Patrologia Latina* includes medieval authors as far as A.D. 1216.
- Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Ed. G. H. Pertz, T. Mommsen, et al. Berlin, 1826ff. N.B. The *Monumenta* appeared in two distinct series, one bound in folio, the other in quarto. Most of these primary sources from A.D. 500 to 1500 are now digitized and open access (<http://www.mgh.de/>). See the appendix for progress on the online project.
- Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford, 1971-. The titles with contents of the 75 vols. listed at

- <http://global.oup.com/academic/content/series/o/>.
- Powicke, F. M., and C. R. Cheney, eds. *Councils & Synods. With Other Documents Relating to the English Church*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964. Covers A.D. 1205-1313. See Whitelock below.
- Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967–.
- Regesta pontificum Romanorum*. Ed. P. F. Kehr. 7 vols. Berlin, 1906-25.
- Regesta pontificum Romanorum, inde ab anno post Christum natum 1198 ad annum 1304*. Ed. A. Potthast. 2 vols. Berlin, 1874-75.
- Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores; or, Chronicles and memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*. 244 vols. London: 1858-96.
- Rolls Series*. See: *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*.
- Sackville, L. J. *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*. Woodbridge: Boydell (for York Medieval Press), 2011.
- Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Ed. J. D. Mansi et al. 31 vols. Florence, 1759-98. New ed., with continuation (vols. 32-53). Paris, 1901ff.
- Société de l'histoire de France. Publications*. Paris, 1835ff. Original sources; exceeds 250 vols.
- Sources Chrétiennes: Textes, Traductions, Introductions et Notes*. Paris: Cerf, 1941–.
- Whitelock, Dorothy, Martin Brett, and Christopher N. L. Brooke, eds. *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. Covers the period A.D. 871-1204. See Powicke.

[6. Journals and Series](#)

[a. Journals](#)

- Analecta Bollandiana; Revue critique de hagiographie*. Société des Bollandistes, 1882–. Vols. 1-40 (1883-1922) open access at the HathiTrust Digital Library (<http://hathitrust.org/>). Tables of contents for all issues from 1996 forward, with abstracts from 2004 at the society's home page: <http://www.kbr.be/~socboll/P-Analecta-scope.php> (URL may not function; website presently under construction).
- Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Francke, 1886-1922. 55 vols. in full text are at the Internet Archive (<http://archive.org/details/analectahymnicam50drevuoft>).
- Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge University Press, 1972–. Annual. Open access to tables of contents; the annual bibliography is a notable feature. The series includes the Records of the International Society of Anglo-Saxons and all articles within individual volumes for rent or purchase at <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=ASE#>.
- Archives d'histoire doctrinale de littérature du Moyen Âge*. Vrin, 1926–. Annual. Tables of contents from 1926 and abstracts from 1994 at <http://www.ahdlma.com>.
- Franciscan Studies*. Franciscan Institute at St. Bonaventure University, 1924–. Annual. Author and title index (1941-2011 only) (<http://www.franciscanpublications.com/>).
- Hagiographica*. Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino–Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1994–. Annual. All tables of contents at <http://www.mirabileweb.it/>. For the society's activities see <http://www.sismelfirenze.it>.
- Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. Duke University Press, 1996–. Triannual. Tables of contents from 2000; abstracts from 2008 (<http://jmems.dukejournals.org/>).
- Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. Duke University Press, 1971–95. Annual. Superseded by *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. Tables of contents for vols. 15-25 (1985-95) at <http://www.fordham.edu/magazinestacks/jmrs.html>.
- Journal of Medieval Latin*. Brepols, for the Medieval Latin Association of North America,

- Toronto, 1991–. Annual. Tables of contents for all past issues with first pages; abstracts for most recent issues (<http://medievallatin.utoronto.ca/>).
- Mediaeval Studies*. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies by the University of Toronto Press, 1939–. Annual. For vols. 1-72 (1939-2010), tables of contents arranged alphabetically by author with index of edited texts; for vols. 51-69 (1989-2007), indices of manuscripts, archival material, and principal subjects; for vols. 69-74 (2007-12), tables of contents (<http://www.pims.ca/publications/journal.html>).
- Medieval Philosophy and Theology*. Notre Dame, 1991-94; Cambridge, 1996-2003. Semiannual. The journal held great promise for open-access publications, but no issues since 2003. Full access for first 11 vols. at <http://cip.cornell.edu/webdocs/publications.html>.
- Millennium. Jahrbuch zur Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr / Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.* De Gruyter, 2004–. An interdisciplinary journal that aims to transcend the boundaries of geography and periodization. Table of contents with first pages of all articles; full articles for purchase or by subscription (<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/mjb>).
- The Monastic Research Bulletin*. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 1995–. Annual. Open access for all back issues up to the current year (<http://www.york.ac.uk/library/borthwick/publications/>).
- Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales / Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Thomas-Institute (University of Cologne); De Wulf-Mansion Centre (Catholic University of Leuven), 1997–. This semiannual journal, which incorporates the earlier title *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* (1957-96), examines all aspects of theology and philosophy from Augustine to late scholasticism. Tables of contents and abstracts from 1997; some (irregular) tables of contents from 1985 at <http://poj.peeters-leuven.be/content.php>.
- Renaissance Quarterly*. Supersedes *Renaissance News*. Renaissance Society of America, 1967–. Available through JSTOR; Society members may view the journal online at <http://www.rsa.org/?page=RQ>.
- Speculum*. Medieval Academy of America, by Cambridge, 1926–. All tables of contents with abstracts of articles are open access; articles for purchase or rent through Cambridge journals. The journal is rich in bibliographic studies such as the series on “Bibliography of Editions and Translations in Progress” (<http://www.medievalacademy.org/>).
- Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*. University of Nebraska, 1964–73. An annual journal (though now referred to as a series). Since 2001 the journal is edited under the auspices of the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Tables of contents online for most recent issues at <http://www.amspressinc.com/smrh.html>.
- Studies in the Renaissance*. Renaissance Society of America. 1954–74; absorbed by *Renaissance Quarterly* but still available through JSTOR.
- Thomist*. Dominican Fathers Province of St. Joseph, 1939–. Tables of contents for most recent issues (<http://www.thomist.org/>).
- Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Thought, History, and Religion*. Fordham University Press, 1943–. Annual. Tables of contents from 2006; author and subject indices through 2010 (<http://www.fordham.edu/traditio/>).

[b. Series](#)

- Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Aschendorff, 1891–. A significant series of texts and studies. Aschendorff (<http://www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de>) has reprinted selected numbers of the first series; the publisher lists all titles and synopses of the new series

- from 1970 forward. Limited numbers in full text may be found at the HathiTrust (<http://www.hathitrust.org/>).
- Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England. Cambridge, 1990–. Texts and monographs with tables of contents of titles available on site (http://www.cambridge.org/us/knowledge/series/series_display/).
- Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Cambridge, 1937–. <http://www.cambridge.org/gb/knowledge/series/bysubject/item1519>.
- Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology. Cambridge, 2000–. (http://www.cambridge.org/gb/knowledge/series/series_display/).
- Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700. Ashgate, 2004–. The series is interdisciplinary; the majority of titles deal with the church in the West. <http://www.ashgate.com/>.
- Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Monograph Series. University of California, Los Angeles, 1965-95. The earliest titles were published in three older series (see Past Publications at the website). The new series is Cursor Mundi: Viator Studies of the Medieval and Early Modern World, Brepols, 2007–, <http://www.cmrs.ucla.edu/publications/index.html>.
- Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Ashgate, 2002–. <http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=2301>.
- Cistercian Studies Series. Cistercian Publications, 1970–. Comprising more than 200 titles and now appearing in numerous individual series, Cistercian Publications fall basically into two broad categories: Cistercian Studies and the Cistercian Fathers series; both are typically cataloged in libraries under simply “Cistercian Studies” (<http://www.cistercianpublications.org/>).
- Corpus Christianorum. Hagiographies. Brepols, 1994–. Authoritative collections of studies (not texts) of Latin and vernacular hagiographical writings from the origins to 1550 in the west, arranged geographically. 6 massive vols. at <http://www.brepols.net/>.
- Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies. Liverpool University Press, 1975–. More than 60 titles, the majority of which are edited texts at <http://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/>.
- Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht. Böhlau, 1957–. The monograph series on canon law is comprised of over 30 vols. with titles only, beginning with vol. 14 (1984) at <http://www.boehlau-verlag.com/>.
- Medieval Academy of America. Medieval Academy Books, published by the Academy, 1928–. The series includes editions of texts and monographs, with over 100 titles; see also the Speculum Anniversary Monographs, begun in 1977 (<http://www.medievalacademy.org/>).
- Medieval and Renaissance Studies. University of North Carolina Press, 1966–84. Contains the annual Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University. The press is currently reprinting back issues (<http://www.uncpress.unc.edu/>).
- Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Arizona State University, 1978–. Originally located at the State University of New York, Binghamton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies is the oldest and most comprehensive of six series directed in whole or in part by the Arizona Center, with over 440 titles of editions and translations of texts, monographs, reference works, and collections of essays. Lists at <http://acmrs.org/publications/>.
- Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts. Brepols, 1999–. About 30 titles (<http://www.brepols.net/pages/browsebyseries.aspx>).
- The Military Orders. Ashgate, 1994-2008. 4 vols. with different editors for each.
- Monumenta Iuris Canonici. The International Society of Medieval Canon Law (Iuris Canonici Aevi Consociatio), 1965–. The Society was founded in 1988; congresses commenced in 1958 and meet every four years with the proceedings published in the Monumenta Iuris Canonici series (<http://medieval.utoronto.ca/icmac/>). See under Publications at <http://www.kuttner-institute.jura.uni-muenchen.de/>.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Toronto, Ontario. The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies publishes 13 different series, including both monographs and texts. “Studies and Texts” alone runs to 185 titles and “Medieval Sources in Translation” and “Subsidia Mediaevalia,” with vols. of reference works are especially notable (<http://www.pims.ca/>).

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions. Brill, 1966–. This distinguished series began as Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought with the series title change in 2004; it now extends to nearly 200 titles of monographs and edited texts, most with synopses since 1990 at http://www.brill.com/search?search_title=smrt.

Studies in the History of Medieval Religion. Boydell & Brewer, 1989–. (<http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/>).

7. Hagiography

Aigrain, René. *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*. New ed. by Robert Godding. Subsidia hagiographica 80. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000 (first published 1953). The new edition includes a 100-page bibliography.

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis. Subsidia Hagiographica 6. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1992. Reimpression of the original 1898-99 edition that lists the manuscripts of saints, brought up to date by Henricus Fros, ed. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis: Novum Supplementum*. Subsidia hagiographica 70. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. The Haskell Lectures on History of Religion. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Carey, John, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain, eds. *Studies in Irish Hagiography. Saints and Scholars*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2001. The critical aspects of hagiography, including methods and scholarship, are examined.

Coon, Lynda L. *Sacred Fictions. Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*. The Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Dubois, Dom Jacques, and Jean-Loup Lemaître. *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale*. Paris: Cerf, 1993.

Grégoire, Réginald. *Manuale di Agiologia: Introduzione alla Letteratura Agigrafica*. Fabriano, 1987. A standard introduction to hagiography.

Heinzelmann, Martin, ed. *L'hagiographie du haut moyen âge en Gaule du nord. Manuscrits, textes et centres de production*. Beihefte der Francia 52. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001.

Joassart, Bernard. *Aspects de l'érudition hagiographique aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. École Pratique de Hautes Études. Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 5. Hautes Etudes médiévales et modernes 99. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2011.

Luongo, Gennaro. *Scrivere di Santi. Atti del II Convegno di Studio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio della Santità, dei Culti e dell'Agiografia. Napoli, 22-25 Ottobre 1997*. Rome: Viella, 1998. Examines the interdisciplinary use of hagiographical sources in history and biography.

Nahmer, Dieter von der. *Die lateinische Heiligenvita. Eine Einführung in die lateinische Hagiographie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994.

Philippart, Guy, ed. *Hagiographies: International History of the Latin Hagiographical Literature in the West from Its Origins to 1550*. Corpus Christianorum. Hagiographies 5. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

, ed. *Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, de l'Occident des origines à 1550*. 4 vols. to date. Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994–. The essays deal with the hagiography of different regions. The website includes a “Base de données géographiques et chronologiques de la littérature et des manuscrits hagiographiques latins” that enables one to generate a list of BHL numbers for any saint, and a “liste des

datations des textes hagiographiques latins.”
http://www.fundp.ac.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h221.htm.

- Salih, Sarah, ed. *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*. Cambridge: Brewer, 2006.
- Sawilla, Jan Marco. *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch*. Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext. Frühe Neuzeit 131. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009.
- Stalmans, Nathalie. *Saints d'Irlande: Analyse Critique des Sources Hagiographiques (VIIe-IXe Siècles)*. Collection Histoire. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003.
- Thacker, Alan, and Richard Sharpe, eds. *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Studies 4th- through 11th-century practices surrounding saints in a comparative framework.
- Thomas, John, and Angela Constantinides Hero (with Giles Constable). Trans. Robert Allison and others. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*. 5 vols. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000.

[8. Canon Law](#)

- Austin, Greta. *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000. The Decretum of Burchard of Worms*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
- Baker, J. H. *Monuments of Endlesse Labours: English Canonists and Their Work 1300-1900*. Rio Grande, OH: Hambleton; London: Ecclesiastical Law Society, 1998.
- Blumenthal, Uta-Renate, Kenneth Pennington, and Atria A. Larson, eds. *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Washington, D.C. 1-7 August 2004*. Monumenta Iuris Canonica. Ser. C, Subsidia 13. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008.
- Brett, Martin, and Kathleen G. Cushing, eds. *Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages. Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda FowlerMagerl*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
- Briden, Timothy. *Moore's Introduction to English Canon Law*. 4th ed. London: Bloomsbury, 2013 (first published Clarendon, 1967).
- Cushing, Kathleen G., and Richard F. Gyug, eds. *Ritual, Text and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Donahue, Charles, ed. *The Records of the Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts: Reports of the Working Group on Church Court Records*. 2 vols. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989-94.
- Hartmann, Wilfried, and Kenneth Pennington, eds. *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*. History of Medieval Canon Law. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008.
- Kéry, Lotte. *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*. History of Medieval Canon Law 1. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999.
- Korpiola, Mia, ed. *Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law*. Helsinki: Matthias Calonius Society, University of Helsinki, 1999.
- Kuttner, Stephan. *History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992.
- . *Medieval Councils, Decretals and Collections of Canon Law: Selected Essays*. 2nd ed. Variorum Collected Studies. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992.
- . *Studies in the History of Medieval Canon Law*. Variorum Collected Studies. Aldershot: Ashgate

- Variorum, 1991.
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- Stjerna, Kirsi. *Women and the Reformation*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2009. Bibliographies of primary and secondary sources.
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- Typographia Batava 1541-1600. In ordinem digessit A. C. Schuytvlot. Repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600 (A Repertorium of Books Printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600)*. Ed. Paul Valkema Blouw. 2 vols. Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1998. A technical bibliography notable for its detailed analysis of printers in a period in which publishers' anonymity was often carefully guarded.
- Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC). Hosted by the University of St. Andrews, this massive online project draws upon the resources of all the existing STCs in Western European languages; it covers the period from the beginning of printing to the end of the sixteenth century, and commencing in late 2013 coverage extends to 1650. In addition to offering the bibliographic details of books and their locations, it serves as a database by indicating the availability of digitized and microform copies and redirecting researchers to those sources through hyperlinks. Each entry also provides links to the original STC, including, for example, the ESTC, FB, STCN, VD 16, VD 17, and GLN 15-16, but only through 1650 (<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>).
- Van der Walt, B. J. *Contemporary Research on the Sixteenth Century Reformation*. Potchefstroom, South Africa: Potchefstroomse University, 1979. A brief but useful survey of research centers, institutes, and societies worldwide.
- Venard, Marc, comp. *Répertoire des Visites pastorales de la France: anciens diocèses (jusqu'en 1790). Corrections et compléments*. Paris: Société d'histoire religieuse de la France, 2006.
- Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16). VD 16 began as a printed bibliography in the form of an STC that included all books printed in German-speaking lands in Europe. The project concluded with twenty-two volumes in the year 2000, and "VD 16" online and its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century counterparts now serve as both an STC and a full-text database. See below under Collections of Sources.
- Whitford, David M., ed. *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*.

- Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008.
- Williams, George Huntston. *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora 1601-1685*. 2 vols. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1980.
- . *The Radical Reformation*. 3rd ed., rev. and exp. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992.
- Wing, Donald. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*. 6 vols. New York: Index Society, 1945. The 2nd ed., rev. and enl., appeared in 3 vols. New York: Modern Language Association, 1972-88. Wing is now superseded by the online ESTC (above). See also Early English Books Online below.
- Wolf, Gustav. *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte*. 3 vols. in 2. 1914-16. Reprint, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965. Old, but still significant analysis of literature on the later Middle Ages and Reformation.

[2. Collections of Sources](#)

- Archiv für die schweizerische Reformations-Geschichte*. 3 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1869-75. Note that this and other similar local and national archives, *Aktensammlungen*, etc., are only representative samples: researchers should consult databases under such headings as “Reformation–Switzerland–Sources” or “Reformation–Germany–Sources.”
- Bujanda, J. M. de, Francis M. Higman, and James K. Farge, with the assistance of René Davignon and Ela Staneik. *Index de l’Université de Paris, 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556*. Sherbrooke, Québec: Éditions de l’Université de Sherbrooke, 1985.
- The Center for Reformation Research Microform Holdings*. 8 vols. St. Louis, 1977–79. See annotation in Appendix under Center for Reformation Research.
- Corpus Catholicorum. Werke katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1919–. Includes works by many of the important sixteenth-century Catholic authors, such as Eck, Cochlaeus, and Cajetan.
- Corpus Reformatorum*. Ed. Karl G. Bretschneider et al. 101 vols. Halle, Berlin, Leipzig, and Zurich, 1834–1962. Includes the complete works of Melancthon (vols. 1–28), Calvin (vols. 29–87), and Zwingli (vols. 88–101).
- Durr, Emil. *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Im Auftrage der historischen und antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel*. 6 vols. Basel: Verlag der historischen und antiquarischen Gesellschaft, 1921-50.
- Early English Books Online (EEBO). The collection offers most of the important titles (1473-1700) that are found in the short-title catalogs of Pollard and Redgrave, and Wing, in full text through subscribing libraries. See above, under Pollard and Redgrave, and Wing, and the appendix under ProQuest and Chadwyck-Healey.
- Early Printed Bibles and Bible Translations in the 15th and 16th Centuries and Philological Tools on Microfiche*. Ed. Fritz Büsser. Leiden: IDC Microform Publishers. See annotation in the appendix under Brill and Inter Documentation Company.
- Egli, Emil. *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533*. Zurich, 1879. Reprint, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1973.
- Estep, William R., ed. *Anabaptist Beginnings (1523-1533): A Source Book*. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1976.
- Fatio, Olivier. *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*. Geneva: Droz, 1962-.
- Fornerod, Nicolas, Philippe Boros, Gabriella Cahier, and Matteo Campagnolo, eds. *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin*. 13 vols. Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance. Geneva: Droz, 1962-2001. 13 vols. to date, covering the years 1546-1618.

- Franz, G., ed. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges*. Munich, 1963.
- Kidd, B. J. *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1911.
- Kingdon, Robert M., Thomas A. Lambert, Isabella M. Watt, and Wallace McDonald, eds. *Registres du consistoire de Genève au temps de Calvin*. 5 vols. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Geneva: Droz, 1996-2010. Five vols. to date cover the period 1542-51; includes introductions, transcriptions, and bibliographies. English-language trans. of vol. 1 in 2000 (trans. M. Wallace McDonald) published by Eerdmans and the H. H. Meeter Center for Calvin Studies.
- Lebeau, Jean, and Jean-Marie Valentin, eds. *L'Alsace au siècle de la Réforme 1482-1621*. Textes et documents. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1985.
- The Lutheran Reformation: Sources, 1500-1650 on Microfiche*. Ed. W. S. Maltby. Leiden: IDC Microform Publishers. Approximately 1,750 titles are projected for the series. See annotation in the appendix under Brill and Inter Documentation Company.
- D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–1987.
- Mellink, A. F. *Documenta anabaptistica Neerlandica*. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1975-85.
- Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae ex tabulariis secretioribus S. Sedis, 1521-1525*. Ed. Petrus Balan. Regensburg: Pustet, 1884.
- Pahl, Irmgard. *Coena Domini, I: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert*. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1983.
- Pfeilschifter, Georg, ed. *Acta Reformationis Catholicae ecclesiam Germaniae concernantia saeculi XVI: die Reformverhandlungen des deutschen Episkopats von 1520 bis 1570*. 6 vols. Regensburg: Pustet, 1959-74.
- Reformed Protestantism: Sources of the 16th and 17th Centuries on Microfiche*. 1.A. *Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Reformation*; 1.B. *Geneva*; 2.A. *Strasbourg*; 2.B. *France*; 3. *The Netherlands and Germany*. Leiden: IDC Microform Publishers. See annotation in the appendix under Brill and Inter Documentation Company.
- Reu, Johann Michael. *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600*. 4 vols. in 9. Gütersloh, 1904-35. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1976.
- Sehling, Emil. *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. 8 vols. to date. Leipzig: Reisland; Tübingen: Mohr, 1902-.
- Sixteenth Century Pamphlets in German and Latin*. Ed. Hans-Joachim Köhler. Part 1: 1501-30; Part 2: 1531-1600. Leiden: IDC Microform Publishers, 1978- . A major series of pamphlets reflecting political, social, and religious conflict. See the appendix under Brill and Inter Documentation Company.
- Stelling-Michaud, S. *Le Livre du recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559-1878)*. 6 vols. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Geneva: Droz, 1959-80.
- Strickler, Johannes. *Aktensammlung zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521-1532; im Anschluss an die gleichzeitigen eidgenössischen Abschiede*. 5 vols. Zurich: Theologische, 1989.
- Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte*. 4 vols. Marburg: Elwert, 1951-57.
- Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts. "VD 16" and its successors, "VD 17" and "VD 18," are hosted by the Bavarian State Library and provide open access to full-text books published in German-speaking Europe through the end of the eighteenth century. The collections for the sixteenth century are more than 30 percent complete, and digitization of books is ongoing in all three centuries (<http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/1681.0.html>).

[3. Journals and Series](#)

[a. Journals](#)

- Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. Archive for Reformation History. Verein für Reformationsgeschichte and the Society for Reformation Research, by Notre Dame, 1903–. Annual. The German site provides tables of contents from 1997. Since 1972 an annual review of books and articles appears in a separate Beiheft (<http://www.reformationsgeschichte.de/>). See also <http://www.reformationresearch.org/> and <http://arg.nd.edu/>.
- Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*. La Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, 1852–. Tables of contents from 1974 (irregular) and complete from 2000 forward; indices by author and subject from 2001-10 at <http://www.shpf.fr/bulletin/recherche.php>.
- Reformation and Renaissance Review: Journal of the Society of Reformation Studies*. Maney, 1999–. Triannual (<http://maneypublishing.com/index.php/journals/rrr/>). Most tables of contents since 2001 at <http://essential.metapress.com/content/122844>.
- Sixteenth Century Journal*. 1969–. Tables of contents for all vols. through 2008, with subject index for 2009-10; key-word search for titles and abstracts at <http://www.escj.org/>.

[b. Series](#)

- Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967. Most titles are listed from 1994. Tables of contents with leading articles for only 4 recent numbers (vols. 54-57) at <http://www.v-r.de/>.
- Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana*. Editions Valentin Koerner, 1959–. The omnibus title offers a crucial series of bibliographies and studies covering mostly the Renaissance to the early modern periods with some 240 vols., including the *Bibliotheca Dissidentium* below (<http://www.koerner Verlag.de/>).
- Bibliotheca Dissidentium: répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles*. Koerner, 1980–. The titles in this series include critical editions, studies, and bibliographies that deal mostly with continental nonconformists (<http://www.koerner Verlag.de/bibliographische/bd.html>). A second series by Koerner (now closed) on mostly sixteenth-century Radical Reformers, *Bibliotheca Dissidentium: Scripta et Studia*, includes 8 titles of conference papers and monographs (1983-2000). Lists at <http://www.koerner Verlag.de/bibliographische/ses.html>.
- Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica*. Hes & de Graff, 1971–. Some 60 titles, but the series are currently not accessible as a series at the publisher's web page. The titles are intermingled (though they can be identified by the series icon) with numerous crucially important bibliographies for the Reformation under "Theology and Church History — Reformation" (<http://www.brill.com/products/series/bibliotheca-humanistica-reformatorica>). The British Library main catalog offers a more accessible listing at <http://www.bl.uk/>.
- Pietismus und Neuzeit. Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des Neuern Protestantismus*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974–. Tables of contents from 2011 alone (<http://www.v-r.de/>).
- Protestant Nonconformist Texts*. Ashgate, 2006-7. 4 vols.; each vol. has a different editor (<http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=1272>).
- Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*. Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1911–. Titles listed from vol. 61 (<http://www.reformationsgeschichte.de/>).
- Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte*. Aschendorff, 1906–. Limited (but substantial) access to full texts at the Hathitrust (<http://www.hathitrust.org/>).
- Reformed Historical Theology / Reformierte Historische Theologie*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

- 2007–. Full-title list with abstracts and some tables of contents with first chapters at <http://www.v-r.de/en/>.
- Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World. Pickering and Chatto, 2006–. (<http://www.pickeringchatto.com/>).
- St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Ashgate, 1995–. Over 100 titles, most with synopses and contents at <http://www.ashgate.com/standrewsseries>.
- Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies. Truman State University Press, 1981-2008. Published originally under the auspices of the Sixteenth Century Journal, some with contents at <http://tsup.truman.edu/>.
- Spätmittelalter und Reformation. De Gruyter, 1972–. The old series focused on the “text” side of the series, subtitled “Texte und Untersuchungen.” The titles can be found at <http://www.degruyter.com/view/serial/16115>. The new series by Mohr Siebeck concentrates on “investigations,” with many published dissertations. Though cataloged in libraries under the old title, the new series, dating from 1990, was renamed Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation and runs to about 90 titles with abstracts at <https://www.mohr.de/en/monograph-series/spaetmittelalter-humanismus-reformation-studies-in-the-late-middle-ages-humanism-and-the-reformation-smhr>.

[4. Books and Printing](#)

- Bennett, Henry Stanley. *English Books and Readers, 1475 to 1557: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade from Caxton to the Incorporation of the Stationers' Company*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969. Bennett's second volume covering the reign of Elizabeth appeared in 1965, and the third, on the first two Stuarts through 1640, was published in 1970.
- Blair, Ann M. *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010. This wide-ranging book examines reference tools and their use from the Renaissance through 1700.
- Bowen, Karen L., and Dirk Imhof. *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. The Plantin--Moretus press, begun in 1555 in Antwerp, possesses “the finest archive in Europe of a press specialising in the publication of religious books” (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 [2009]: 833).
- Chrisman, Miriam Usher. *Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets 1519-1530*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1996.
- Clancy, Thomas H. *English Catholic Books, 1641-1700: A Bibliography*. Rev. ed. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996. First publ. Loyola University Press, 1974. See Blom for Catholic books for the period 1701-1800 under III.C below.
- Dane, Joseph A. *What Is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. First publ. 1983.
- Furet, François, and Jacques Ozouf. *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry*. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Gilmont, Jean-François. *John Calvin and the Printed Book*. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 72. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2005. Trans. Karin Maag of *Jean Calvin et le Livre Imprimé*. Geneva: Droz, 1997.
- . *The Reformation and the Book*. Trans. Karin Maag of *La Réforme et le Livre: l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v.1570)*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Paris: Cerf, 1990.

- Green, Ian. *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Higman, Francis M. *Piety and the People: Religious Printing in French, 1511-1551*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996.
- Kusukawa, Sachiko. *A Wittenberg University Library Catalogue of 1536*. Cambridge: LP Publications; New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995.
- Luborsky, Ruth Samson, and Elizabeth Morley Ingram. *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603*. 2 vols. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 166. Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998. Continues Edward Hodnett's *English Woodcuts 1480-1535*; an analysis of all woodcuts found in the entire Short Title Catalog of the period.
- Martin, Philippe. *Une religion des livres, 1640-1850*. Paris: Cerf, 2003. Studies some 2,230 editions of books of religious devotion.
- Milward, Peter. *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977.
- . *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources*. London: Scolar, 1978.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *The French Book and the European Book World*. Library of the Written Word 1. Handpress World 1. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Pettegree, Andrew, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner, eds. *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Rivers, Isabel, ed. *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*. London: Leicester University Press, 2001.
- Towers, S. Mutchow. *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England*. Studies in Modern British Religious History. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003.
- Welzig, Werner, ed. *Katalog gedruckter deutschsprachiger katholischer Predigtsammlungen*. 2 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984-87. A catalog of German-Catholic sermon collections for the period 1557-1848.
- Wheale, Nigel. *Writing and Society: Literacy, Print and Politics in Britain, 1590-1660*. London: Routledge, 1999.

[5. Libraries and Archives](#)

- Grafinger, Christine Maria. *Die Ausleihe Vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke (1563-1700)*. Studi e Testi 360. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993. Borrowing practices and use of the Vatican library; Grafinger's later work, below, carries the study through the end of the eighteenth century.
- . *Die Ausleihe Vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke, 18 Jahrhundert*. 2 vols. Studi e Testi 406. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002.
- Peach, Trevor, ed., with Béatrice Drecq. *Un Fonds renaissant: Catalogue descriptif des éditions françaises, néo-latines et autres 1501-1600 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Poitiers*. Geneva: Slatkine, 2000. An important municipal library; the study parallels Peach's earlier catalog of the municipal library at Versailles.
- Williams, John Anthony. *Sources for Recusant History (1559-1791) in English Official Archives*. Sutton Coldfield: Catholic Record Society, 1983.

[6. Historiography](#)

- Backus, Irena. *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 94. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Daniel, David P. *The Historiography of the Reformation in Slovakia*. Sixteenth-Century

- Bibliography 10. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1977.
- Dickens, A. G., and John M. Tonkin, with Kenneth Powell. *The Reformation in Historical Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Gordon, Bruce, ed. *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. 2 vols. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996.
- Scheible, Heinz. *Die Entstehung der Magdeburger Zenturien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der historiographischen Methode*. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationgeschichte 183. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966.
- Scheible, Heinz, ed. *Die Anfänge der Reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung*. Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966.
- Vidmar, John. *English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation, 1585-1954*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005.

[D. Modern](#)

[1. General Surveys and Guides](#)

- Alberigo, Giuseppe, and Joseph A. Komonchak, eds. *History of Vatican II: 1959-1965*. 5 vols. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995-2006.
- Alekseev, Vasilii I. *Materials for the History of the Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R*. I: *Russian Orthodox Bishops in the Soviet Union, 1941-1953*. II: *The Foreign Policy of the Moscow Patriarchate, 1939-1953*. New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R, 1954-55.
- Aubert, Roger, Michel Guéret, and Paul Tombeur. *Concilium Vaticanum I. Concordance, index, listes de fréquence, tables comparatives*. Informatique et Étude de Textes 9. Louvain: CETEDOC, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1977. See entry under Delhaye, below, for Vatican II.
- Beiser, Gerhard, and Stephan Wolf, eds. 'Pfarrer, Christen und Katholiken'. *Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR und die Kirchen*. 2nd rev. ed. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1992. The first of four massive volumes (*Der SED-Staat und die Kirche*, published 1992-95) on the Socialist Union Party of Germany (SED) in relation to the church until the collapse of the German Democratic Republic in 1990.
- Brecht, Martin, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäbler, and Hartmut Lehmann, eds. *Geschichte des Pietismus*. I: *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. II: *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. III: *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*. IV: *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993-2004. Comprehensive coverage of Pietism in all countries and defined broadly to include the beginnings of Methodism in vol. 2 and North American Evangelicalism in vol. 3.
- Cholvy, Gérard, and Yves-Marie Hilaire. *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine*. 3 vols. Toulouse: Privat, 1985-88. Covers the period 1800-1988.
- Corley, Felix. *Religion in the Soviet Union: An Archival Reader*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.
- Delhaye, Philippe, Michel Guéret, and Paul Tombeur. *Concilium Vaticanum II. Concordance, index, listes de fréquence, tables comparatives*. Informatique et Étude de Textes 9. Louvain: Publications du Louvain, 1974. See entry under Aubert for Vatican I.
- Holtrop, Peter, and Henk Slechte, eds. *Foreign Churches in St. Petersburg and Their Archives, 1703-1917*. Brill's Series in Church History 29. Leiden: Brill, 2007. The churches include Anglican, Dutch, Estonian, Moravian, Roman Catholic, Swedish, and Uniate.
- Kottje, Raymund, and Bernd Moeller, eds. *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*. 3 vols. Mainz: Mattias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1970-74.
- Lewis, Donald M., ed. *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*. 2 vols. Peabody, MA:

- Hendrickson, 2004. First published as *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*. Oxford, 1995.
- The New Cambridge Modern History*. 14 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957–79.
- Roach, John, ed. *A Bibliography of Modern History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968. A bibliographical supplement to the *New Cambridge Modern History* representing the work of 170 scholars.

[2. Journals and Series](#)

[a. Journals](#)

- Religion in the Age of Enlightenment*. AMS, 2009–. Annual, with contents at <http://www.amspressinc.com/rae.html>.

[b. Series](#)

- Christianity and Society in the Modern World. Routledge, 1994–. <http://www.routledge.com/>.
- Histoire religieuse de la France. Cerf, 1993–. Most are monographs on the modern period with a few volumes on the Reformation and early-modern periods (<http://www.editionsducerf.fr/librairie/rubriques/histoire-religieuse-en-france>).
- KDOC Studies. University Press Louvain, 1983–. The Documentation and Research Center for Religion, Culture and Society at the Catholic University of Louvain publishes four monograph series: KDOC Studies; KDOC Studies on Religion, Culture and Society; KDOC Arts; and Diverse Publications (altogether over 100 vols.). The first series deals with the nineteenth- and twentieth-century church and society, mostly in Belgium but including volumes on Western church history generally. The last three series are titles commissioned by the Center, thematically oriented, mostly on modern European church history, but extending to Catholic missions in China and Africa. Titles and tables of contents at <http://kadoc.kuleuven.be/eng/publ/index.php>.
- Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Paternoster/Authentic Media, 1999–. Full list of titles at the British Library main catalog, <http://www.bl.uk/>.
- Studies in Modern British Religious History. Boydell & Brewer, 1999–. With “modern” applied broadly to all periods from the Reformation forward, more than half of the current titles examine nineteenth- and twentieth-century themes. (<http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/>).

[III. Modern British Sources](#)

[A. Bibliographical Guides and Handbooks](#)

- Abraham, William J., and James E. Kirby, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Altholz, Josef L. *Victorian England, 1837-1901*. Conference on British Studies Bibliographical Handbooks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. All of the publications in this useful series include the most important books, articles, and editions of texts.
- Annual Bibliography of British and Irish History*. Brighton: Royal Historical Society, 1975–. Covers books, articles, edited works, and reference materials, categorized by period and topic. The project is now published three times a year online, but available only by subscription (<http://www.history.ac.uk/projects/bbih>).

- Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*. 1920 to date. Cumulated through 1969.
- Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*. London: Historical Association, 1910-. Unlike the *Annual Bibliography*, the *Bulletin* is not comprehensive with respect to Britain, but though selective, it is attentive to trends in historiography, particularly in Britain, and it covers other nations as well.
- Brooks, Richard S., and David K. Himrod. *Science and Religion in the English-Speaking World, 1600-1727: A Bibliographic Guide to the Secondary Literature*. ATLA Bibliography Series 46. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2001.
- Brown, Lucy M., and Ian R. Christie. *Bibliography of British History, 1789-1851*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1977.
- Cheney, C. R., ed. *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*. 2nd ed. Rev. by Michael Jones. Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Coffey, John, and Paul C. H. Lim, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*. Cambridge Companions to Religion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Cornell, Evelyn, and David A. Kerry, eds. *Guide to Theological and Religious Collections of Great Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: ABTAPL (with the Library Association), 1999.
- Crumb, Lawrence N. *The Oxford Movement and Its Leaders: A Bibliography of Secondary and Lesser Primary Sources*. 2nd ed. ATLA Bibliography Series 56. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2009.
- Davies, Godfrey. *Bibliography of British History, Stuart Period, 1603–1714*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1928. 2nd ed., ed. Mary Frear Keeler, 1970. Issued under the Direction of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.
- Davies, Rupert E., A. Raymond George, and E. Gordon Rupp, eds. *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*. 4 vols. London: Epworth, 1965-88.
- Earnest, James David. *John Henry Newman: An Annotated Bibliography of His Tract and Pamphlet Collection*. New York: Garland, 1984.
- Eisen, Sydney. *Victorian Science and Religion: A Bibliography with Emphasis on Evolution, Belief, and Unbelief, Comprised of Works Published from c. 1900-1975*. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1984.
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- Read, Conyers. *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485–1603*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.
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- Sykes, Stephen, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight, eds. *The Study of Anglicanism*. Rev. ed. London: SPCK, 1998.
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B. Periodicals and Newspapers: Guides and Indexes

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C. National Bibliography and Guides to Sources

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- Blom, F. J., F. Korsten, and G. Scott. *English Catholic Books 1701-1800: A Bibliography*. Aldershot: Scolar, 1995.
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- Crosignani, Ginevra, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier, eds. *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscripts and Printed Sources in Translation*. Studies and Texts 170. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2010.
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- Early Nonconformity, 1566-1800: A Catalog of Books in Dr. Williams's Library, London*. 12 vols. Boston: Hall, 1968.
- Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO). Gale Cengage Learning has digitized the most important titles of English-language primary sources for the eighteenth century. See Gale Cengage Learning in the Appendix.
- Fitzgerald-Lombard, Charles. *English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914*. Bath: Downside Abbey, 1993. Completes the work of Bellenger to 1914.
- Gillett, Charles Ripley, comp. and ed. *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology*. 5 vols. New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1927-30. Approximately 15,000 entries covering the period 1500-1700. The supplement, which adds about 3,000 titles, is entitled *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology; Acquisitions, 1924-1978*. New York: Hall, 1979.
- Hill, Christopher, and Edward Yarnold, eds. *Anglican Orders: The Documents in the Debate*. Norwich: Canterbury, 1997.
- Kanner, Barbara. *Women in English Social History, 1800-1914: A Guide to Research*. 2 vols. New York: Garland, 1990.
- Lenton, John. *John Wesley's Preachers: A Social and Statistical Analysis of the British and Irish Preachers Who Entered the Methodist Ministry before 1791*. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009.
- Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalog*. Series I, 1801-15, 6 vols.; Series II, 1816-70, 7 vols. to date. Newcastle upon Tyne: Averro, 1984-. The period covered by the first series (1801-15) listed as many titles as the total for the eighteenth century. This project draws only upon catalogs of the British deposit libraries, and many novels (and other ephemera as well) were not retained by the copyright libraries. See Appendix for Chadwyck-Healey's project to microfilm specified subject areas of titles in the catalog.
- Olney, R. J. *Manuscript Sources for British History: Their Nature, Location, and Use*. London: Institute of Historical Research, 1995.
- Rider, Philip R. *A Chronological Index to the Revised Edition of the Pollard and Redgrave Short-Title Catalogue*. London: Bibliographical Survey, 1978.
- Robinson, F. J. G., et al. *Eighteenth-Century British Books: An Author Union Catalogue Extracted from the British Museum General Catalog of Printed Books, the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, and of the University Library, Cambridge*. 5 vols. Folkstone, UK: Dawson, for the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981.
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- Ryan, James, ed. *Irish Church Records: Their History, Availability, and Use in Family and Local History Research*. New ed., 2nd ed. Dublin: Flyleaf, 2001.
- Smith, Hilda L., and Susan Cardinale. *Women and the Literature of the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography Based on Wing's Short Title Catalogue*. Bibliographies and Indexes in Women's Studies 10. New York: Greenwood, 1990.

D. Biographical Dictionaries

- Allibone, Samuel Austin. *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1891. 3 vols. with 2 supplements.
- Anstruther, Godfrey. *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*. 4 vols. Ware (Herts.): St. Edmund's College; Ushaw (Durham): Ushaw College, 1958-77.
- Binfield, Clyde, and John Taylor, eds. *Who They Were in the Reformed Churches of England and Wales, 1901-2000*. Donington: Shaun Tyas for the United Reformed Church History Society, 2007.
- Boase, Frederic. *Modern English Bibliography*. 6 vols. London: Netherton and Worth, 1892-1914.
- Dictionary of National Biography*. 24 vols. with supplements. See above under Biographical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, I.E.2.
- McNaughton, William D. *The Scottish Congregational Ministry, 1794-1993*. Glasgow: Congregational Union of Scotland, 1993.
- Parbury, Kathleen. *Women of Grace: A Biographical Dictionary of British Women Saints, Martyrs and Reformers*. Stocksfield: Oriel, 1985.
- Rogal, Samuel J. *A Biographical Dictionary of 18th Century Methodism*. 10 vols. Lewiston, DE: Mellen, 1997-99.

E. Atlases and Dictionaries

- Currie, Robert, Alan Gilbert, and Lee Horsley. *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1977.
- Gay, John D. *The Geography of Religion in England*. London: Duckworth, 1971.
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- Huggett, Frank E. *A Dictionary of British History 1815-1973*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1974.
- Steinberg, S. H., and I. H. Evans. *Steinberg's Dictionary of British History*. 2nd ed. London: Arnold, 1970.

F. Guides to Archives and Manuscripts

- "Accessions to Repositories," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. The January issue of *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lists the Accessions of Manuscripts in Church History to Repositories in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland for the preceding year(s). For example, the mere listing of manuscript collections for the year 2000 runs to twenty-five pages. For ongoing

- access to the acquisitions of repositories in the U.K., go to <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>.
- Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*. 1836-. Cumulated to 1945. London: British Library.
- Dissenting Academies Online (<http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/portal.html>). Hosted by the Dr. Williams's Library, this resource provides "information about dissenting higher education from the later seventeenth to the later nineteenth centuries. Drawing on long-neglected collections and records, this new resource documents over two hundred academies, as well as the hundreds of tutors they employed, thousands of students they educated, and tens of thousands of books held in their libraries."
- Emmison, Frederick G. *How to Read Local Archives, 1550-1700*. Helps for Students of History 82. London: Historical Association, 1967. Provides illustrations and typescripts of early modern handwriting, including vestry minutes and church wardens' accounts.
- Field, Clive D. "Sources for the Study of Protestant Non-conformity in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 71 (1989): 103-39.
- Foster, Janet, and Julia Sheppard. *British Archives: A Guide to Archive Resources in the United Kingdom*. 2nd ed. New York: Stockton, 1989. This indispensable guide includes major and minor depositories, including the county record office network.
- Guide to British Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1982. Almost every research library will publish its own guide to manuscript collections, and this is a good example.
- Hingley, Sheila, and David Shaw, eds. *Catalogue of the Law Society's Mendham Collection Lent to the University of Kent at Canterbury and Housed in Canterbury Cathedral Library*. London: Law Society, 1994. The catalog covers much controversial literature between Protestants and Catholics in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.
- Index of Manuscripts in the British Library*. 11 vols. Teaneck, NJ: Chadwyck-Healey, 1984-85.
- Kitson Clark, G., and G. R. Elton. *Guide to Research Facilities in History in the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965. A listing, by university, of major collections, including manuscripts and material in microform.
- Mullett, Michael. *Sources for the History of English Nonconformity, 1660-1830*. London: British Records Association, 1991.
- Papers of British Churchmen, 1780-1940*. Guides to Sources for British History 6. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1987.
- Pitschmann, Louis. *A Scholar's Guide to Washington D.C., for Northwest European Studies*. Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Greenland, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden. Scholar's Guide to Washington D.C. 10. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984.
- Purvis, John S. *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Records*. London: St. Anthony's, 1953. An introduction to Anglican ecclesiastical records and record offices, superseded on the local level by the latest edition of Tate.
- Record Repositories in Great Britain*. 6th ed. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979. A good, brief guide that provides the addresses, and lists the services, of many of the archives in Great Britain. The names and addresses of organizations that will help students locate specific records are also listed. Every repository listed is in a position to provide simple photocopies of materials, upon payment.
- Shorney, David. *Protestant Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism: A Guide to Sources in the Public Record Office*. PRO Readers' Guide 13. London: PRO, 1996.
- Tate, William E. *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

[G. Historiography](#)

- Elton, G. R. *Modern Historians on British History 1485-1945: A Critical Bibliography 1945-1969*. London: Methuen, 1970.
- Furber, Elizabeth Chapin, ed. *Changing Views on British History: Essays on Historical Writing Since 1939*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Kewes, Paulina, ed. *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2006.
- Looser, Devoney. *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Schlatter, Richard, ed. *Recent Views on British History: Essays on Historical Writing Since 1966*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984.

[IV. American Church History](#)

[A. Bibliographical Guides and Handbooks](#)

- Bass, Dorothy C., and Sandra H. Boyd. *Women in American Religious History: An Annotated Bibliography and Guide to the Sources*. Boston: Hall, 1986.
- Braden, Charles S. *These Also Believe*. New York: Macmillan, 1949, 1967. Appendix B: "A Brief Dictionary of Modern Cults and Minority Religious Groups in America."
- Brunkow, Robert De V., ed. *Religion and Society in North America: An Annotated Bibliography*. Clio Bibliography Series 12. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1983. Some 4,300 abstracts of journal articles, worldwide, for the period 1973-80.
- Burr, Nelson R. *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Ellis, John Tracy, and Robert Trisco. *A Guide to American Catholic History*. 2nd ed. Rev. and enl. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1982.
- Freidel, Frank, with the assistance of Richard K. Showman, eds. *Harvard Guide to American History*. Rev. ed. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1974.
- Gaustad, Edwin Scott. *American Religious History*. Washington: Service Center for Teachers of History, 1967.
- Haber, Barbara. *Women in America: A Guide to Books, 1963-1975, with an Appendix on Books Published 1976-1979*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
- Harrison, Cynthia Ellen, ed. *Women in American History: A Bibliography*. 2 vols. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio Press, 1979-85.
- Kelly, James. "Sermons and Addresses." *American Catalogue of Books, 1861-1866*. New York: Wiley & Son, 1866. Pp. 278-82.
- Lindley, Susan Hill, and Eleanor J. Stebner, eds. *The Westminster Handbook to Women in American Religious History*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008.
- Mead, Frank S. *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*. 9th ed. Ed. and rev. Samuel S. Hill. Nashville: Abingdon, 1990.
- Mode, Peter G. *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*. Menasha, WI: Collegiate, 1921.
- Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. *Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada*. 4 vols. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Religious Books, 1876-1982*. New York: Bowker, 1983. 4 vols. The most comprehensive

- bibliography of late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century books on religion in North America; approximately 130,000 titles organized by subject, with author and title indexes.
- Sandeen, Ernest R., and Frederick Hale. *American Religion and Philosophy: A Guide to Information Sources*. Detroit: Yale Research Company, 1978. This book surveys the literature that has appeared since Burr's work was published in 1961.
- Spiller, Robert Ernest, et al., eds. *Literary History of the United States*. 4th ed., rev. 3 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1974. Vol. 3 is a bibliography.
- Turley, David, ed. *American Religion, Literary Sources and Documents*. 3 vols. Helm Information Literary Sources & Documents Series. Mountfield: Helm Information, 1998.
- Yearbook of the American Churches*. 1916-.

B. Periodical Guides and Indexes

- Adkins, Nelson F., ed. *The Index to Early American Periodicals 1730–1860*. New York: Readex Microprint Corporation, 1962.
- America: History and Life*. Originally ed. Eric H. Boehm. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980. This leading index for the history and culture of the U.S. and Canada is no longer published in hard copy. See Appendix under EBSCO.
- Cameron, Kenneth W. *Research Keys to the American Renaissance: Scarce Indexes to the Christian Examiner, North American Review and the New Jerusalem Magazine*. Hartford: Transcendental, 1967.
- Cushing, Helen G., and Adah V. Morris, eds. *Nineteenth Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890–1899: With Supplementary Indexing 1902–1922*. New York: Wilson, 1944.
- Gohdes, Clarence L. F. *The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1931.
- The Guide to Catholic Literature*. Vol. I: 1888–1940. Haverford, PA: Catholic Library Association. Quadrennial.
- Index to Religious Periodical Literature*. 1949-85. This venerable index was reissued in 1985 as Religion Index One: Periodicals and is now assimilated into the ATLA Religion Database.
- Index to the Titles and Authors of Articles in the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 1901–1946*.
- Methodist Reviews Index 1818-1985: A Retrospective Index of Periodical Articles and Book Reviews*. Comp. and ed. Elmer J. O'Brien. Nashville: Board of Higher Education and Ministry, The United Methodist Church, 1989.
- Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1930*. 5 vols. Cambridge, 1939–1968.
- Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, 1802–1906*. With a Cumulative Author Index, ed. C. E. Wall. Ann Arbor: Pierian, 1971. The major resource for nineteenth-century English and American periodicals, although it lists articles only by subject (i.e., not by author and title). The problem has been remedied, however, by C. Edward Wall (see below). Poole's Index is now largely, if not entirely, superseded by Periodicals Index Online, for which see Appendix under ProQuest.
- Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature: An Author and Subject Index*. 1900-. Ed. Helen G. Cushing and Adah V. Morris. New York: Wilson, 1944.
- Richardson, Ernest. *An Alphabetical Subject Index . . . to Periodical Articles on Religion, 1890–1899*. New York, 1907.
- Roorbach, O. A. "List of Periodicals Published in the United States," *Bibliotheca Americana, 1820–1852*. New York: Smith, 1939. Pp. 644–52.
- Social Sciences and Humanities Index*. New York: Wilson, 1907-74. After 1974, this guide was

divided into the *Humanities Index* and the *Social Sciences Index*. The *Humanities Index* included citations of articles and book reviews on history, religion, philosophy, language, and literature. The earlier hard-copy index is now online as the *Social Sciences Citation Index* and the *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, for which see Appendix under Thomson Reuters.

Stroupe, Henry Smith. *The Religious Periodical Press in the South Atlantic States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1956.

Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada. 3rd ed. 5 vols. New York: Wilson, 1965.

Wall, C. Edward. *Cumulative Author Index for Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, 1802-1906*. Ann Arbor: Piernan, 1971.

Writings on American History: A Subject Bibliography of Articles. 1902-90 (excluding 1941-47). Index volume, 1902-40. This series, like *Recently Published Articles*, has been engulfed by the exponential increase in the number of publications, and it has yielded to computerized indices such as *America: History and Life*. The first series, concluding in 1961, listed books and articles; the second series, only articles. Separate cumulative sets were assembled for the years 1962-73, thereby covering an earlier gap between the old and new series, but in the period after 1976, there is much overlap on the topic of American history with *Recently Published Articles*.

C. Newspaper Guides

Gregory, Winifred. *American Newspapers, 1821-1936*. New York: Wilson, 1937.

New York Times Index. 1851-.

Schwarzlose, Richard. *Newspapers: A Reference Guide*. New York: Greenwood, 1987.

United States Newspaper Project: National Union List. 3rd ed. Dublin, OH: OCLC, 1989. Now superseded by the National Digital Newspaper Program listed in the appendix.

D. General Reference and Research Tools

1. National Bibliography and Guides to Sources

Bristol, Roger P. *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography*. Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of America, 1970. Index in separate volume. This adds over 10,000 items to Evans. The full texts of most of Bristol, Evans, and Shaw and Shoemaker (below) have been rendered in digital form and are available online through Readex. See Appendix.

A Checklist of American Imprints, 1820- . Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1972-.

Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and Including the Year 1820*. 14 vols. Chicago: Blakely, 1903-59. Evans lists over 39,000 titles.

Library of Congress Catalog: A Cumulative List of Works: Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards. Books: Subjects. Washington: U.S. Library of Congress, 1950-. Quarterly, with annual and quinquennial cumulations.

National Union Catalogue of Pre-1956 Imprints. London: Mansell, 1968-. An exhaustive listing, alphabetically by author, of all editions of every book printed before 1956 and held by libraries belonging to the National Union/Library of Congress system. Each listing indicates the libraries that have the book. The NUC exceeds 700 volumes.

Roorbach, Orville Joseph. *Bibliotheca Americana. Catalogue of American Publications, Including Reprints and Original Works, from 1820 to 1852*. 4 vols. Supplements to 1861. Reprint, Metuchen: Mini-Print Corp., 1967.

- Sabin, Joseph, with Wilberforce Eames and R. W. C. Vail. *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time*. 28 vols. New York: Sabin, 1868-92; New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1928-35.
- Shaw, Ralph R., and Richard H. Shoemaker. *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist for 1801–1819*. New York: Scarecrow, 1958–66. This series changed its title to *American Imprints* with the volume for 1820; it has been under the direction of various editors. There are author and title indices.
- Shipton, Clifford K., ed. *Early American Imprints, 1639–1800*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society. Readex Microprint Corporation, 1962. This edition of microcard reproductions of entire books and pamphlets (but not serials) includes about 30,000 of the items listed in Evans's bibliography and an additional 8,000 items listed in Shipton and Mooney's *National Index*. Most major research libraries have this series, some in the older microcard format, and others in a newer microfiche edition of 1981-82 that adds additional titles. These editions have been rendered largely superfluous by the digital project of Readex. See Appendix.
- Shipton, Clifford K., James E. Mooney, and John B. Hench. *Early American Imprints, Second Series, 1801–1819*. New York: Readex Microprint Corporation, 1964–. This is the sequel to the Readex Microprint edition of early books and extends to approximately 50,000 items.
- Shipton, Clifford K., and James E. Mooney, eds. *National Index of American Imprints through 1800: The Short-Title Evans*. 2 vols. Boston: American Antiquarian Society, 1969. This guide is arranged alphabetically to the microprint edition of *Early American Imprints, 1639–1800*, but it also updates Evans's bibliography for the period by adding 10,035 titles, most of which are from the labors of Roger Bristol.
- Waters, Willard O. "American Imprints, 1648–1797 in the Huntington Library, Supplementing Evans's American Bibliography." *The Huntington Library Bulletin* 3 (1933): 1–95.

[2. Denominations](#)

(For a more comprehensive listing of denominational bibliographies, see G. E. Gorman and Lyn Gorman, above, under I.D.)

- (Baptist) Starr, Edward C., comp. *A Baptist Bibliography Being a Register of Printed Material by and about Baptists*. 25 vols. Philadelphia: Published by the Judson Press for the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, Colgate University, 1947–76.
- (Brethren) Durnbaugh, Donald F. *Guide to Research in Brethren History*. Elgin, IL: Church of the Brethren Historical Committee, 1968.
- (Catholic) Ellis, John Tracy. *Documents of American Catholic History*. 3 vols. Wilmington: Glazier, 1987.
- (Catholic) Vollmar, Edward R. *The Catholic Church in America: An Historical Bibliography*. 2nd ed. New York: Scarecrow, 1963.
- (Congregational) Dexter, Henry Martyn. *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in Its Literature*. For the period, 1546–1879. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880.
- (Mennonite) Springer, Nelson P., and A. J. Klassen, comps. *Mennonite Bibliography, 1631-1961*. 2 vols. Scottdale, PA: Herald, 1977.
- (Methodist) Baker, George C., Jr. *An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism, 1789–1839*. Bibliography: pp. 85–138. Durham: Duke University Press, 1941.
- (Methodist) Little, Brooks B., ed. *Methodist Union Catalog of History, Biography, Disciplines and Hymnals*. Lake Junaluska, NC: Association of Methodist Historical Society, 1967.
- (Methodist) Rowe, Kenneth E., ed. *Methodist Union Catalog: Pre-1976 Imprints*. 6 vols. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1975-. The project will be completed in 20 vols.

- (Mormon) Kirkpatrick, L. H. *Holdings of the University of Utah, on Utah and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*. Salt Lake City, 1954.
- (Presbyterian) Parker, Harold M., Jr. *Bibliography of Published Articles on American Presbyterianism, 1901–1980*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985.
- (Presbyterian) Prince, Harold B., ed., comp. *A Presbyterian Bibliography: The Published Writings of Ministers Who Served in the Presbyterian Church in the United States . . . 1861-1961*. ATLA Bibliography series. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1983.
- (Presbyterian) Trinterud, Leonard J., comp. *A Bibliography of American Presbyterianism during the Colonial Period*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1968.

3. Specialized

- (African American Studies) *Dictionary Catalog of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History*. Boston: Hall, 1962–. 9 vols. with 5 supplements printed to date.
- (African American Studies) Jones, Charles E. *Black Holiness: A Guide to the Study of Black Participation in Wesleyan Perfectionist and Glossolalic Pentecostal Movements*. ATLA Bibliography Series. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1987.
- (African American Studies) Krash, Ronald, and Gail Juris, comps. *Black America: Research Bibliography*. St. Louis: Pius XII Memorial Library, 1970.
- (African American Studies) Leffall, Dolores C., comp. *The Black Church: An Annotated Bibliography*. Washington: Minority Research Center, 1973.
- (African American Studies) Smith, Dwight La Vern, ed. *Afro-American History: A Bibliography*. Clio Bibliography Series 2. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1974.
- (Evangelical) Blumhofer, Edith L., and Joel A. Carpenter. *Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: A Guide to the Sources*. New York: Garland, 1990.
- (Evangelical) Jones, Charles E., comp. and ed. *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement*. ATLA Bibliography Series 1. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1974.
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1. This section of the bibliography offers a very abbreviated sampling of available guides and inventories to major archives. For Modern British and American Guides, see below under III.F and IV.G.

Researchers should prepare themselves to run searches of library databases using the name of a country followed by the qualifier “archives and,” for example, in the case of Germany to find well over a hundred items in a major database.

2. We have refrained, for reasons of length and for fear of overemphasizing the obvious, from the inclusion of critical editions of the works of individual authors. We have, however, cited large-scale collections of works by many authors.

Appendix: Online Resources and Sources in Microform

A. Online Databases and Scholarly Commercial Database Projects

This directory represents merely a small sample of what is now available on the Internet. We are guided here by our own research interests and a knowledge of major databases and companies that we consider important, but it should by no means be considered comprehensive. Arranged alphabetically.

American Theological Library Association (ATLA) Religion Database

<http://www.atla.com/products/>

Index to journal articles, book reviews, and essay collections in the field of religion. The Religion Database, along with ATLA Serials and a full-text library of major journals, is accessible only through Association libraries. See also the ATLA Catholic Periodical and Literature Index and the collection of African-American journals. The ATLA Book Series includes a series of bibliographies (40 titles) published by Scarecrow Press.

Bibliographic Information Base in Patristics

<http://www4.bibl.ulaval.ca/bd/bibp/english.html>

The Information Base is produced by the Faculté de théologie et de sciences religieuses at the Université Laval under the direction of Professor René-Michel Roberge. This open-access database organizes and stores information on books and articles on Patristics; to date 47,000 records from about 930 journals may be searched with the aid of indices of subjects, terms, authors, and texts. Searches in English and other languages may be requested by contacting BIBP.

Brill and Inter Documentation Company

<http://www.primarysourcesonline.nl/>

Many major libraries still hold at least parts of the massive microfiche collection of Inter Documentation Company, but IDC is now an imprint of Brill, and it appears that new microfiche are no longer forthcoming, nor may individual fiche be purchased. Brill has a new digital archive as selections of the former microfiche collections are being scanned and made available online, but access is only through subscribing libraries. The database includes, among other things, Reformation Sources, Early Modern Pamphlets (in Dutch, German, and Latin), records and manuscripts relating to the Church of North India, and significant archives and manuscript collections from Russia. Brill's publishing program of secondary sources in the fields of church history and historical theology is impressive with some twenty-nine series in the area of religion generally (<http://www.brill.com/>).

British Newspaper Archive

<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>

260 titles are fully searchable, but unlike the National Digital Newspaper Program for American newspapers (see below), a monthly or yearly subscription is required. Searches can be "filtered" by newspaper title, date, and region, country, and city of publication. The collection is strongest on nineteenth- and twentieth-century papers, and digitization is by optical character recognition with its characteristic limitations regarding searches.

Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research

<http://cbsr.ucr.edu/>

The North American branch of the English Short Title Catalog project is located at the University of California, Riverside. In addition to ongoing bibliographic work on the ESTC, the Center is presently cataloging early English serials (from ca. 1620) and some 5,000 records of newspapers and periodicals have already been added to the ESTC.

Clergy of the Church of England Database

<http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>

The Clergy of the Church of England Database makes the records of clergy lives available for the period 1540-1835 and is fully searchable. The website supplies supporting research aids including maps and a glossary of terms. In addition to the vital and career data of individuals, there is information on parishes and schools making this open-access, regularly maintained site extremely important for research on the national church.

The Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts (formerly Ad Fontes)

<http://solomon.tcpt.alexanderstreet.com/>

The Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts contains Western European and British works, ca. 1500-1700, in Latin, English, French, and German, that are fully searchable as well as viewable in facsimile, but by subscription only. It currently includes a collection of 1,284 texts by some 270 authors. Biblical references have been tagged and works have been indexed topically.

The Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation

<http://solomon.dlcr.alexanderstreet.com/>

Slightly more limited in scope than the Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts, the number of works in this database presently extends to 845 titles. Part of the bibliography is listed on the publisher's home page [http://](http://alexanderstreet.com/products)

alexanderstreet.com/products (search "bibliographies" under Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation), but like its Protestant counterpart, it is available by subscription only.

EBSCO Publishing

<http://www.ebscohost.com/public/>

The online source is available only in libraries for the former ABC-Clio databases, including *America: History and Life* (which includes Canada) and *Historical Abstracts* (which excludes North America). Both databases are vast; the former draws upon some 1800 journals, the latter 2600 journals. *Historical Abstracts* is international in scope with

intellectual and social history subtopics from the fifteenth century forward, and it offers abstracts of journal articles published in some 40 languages. *America: History and Life* concentrates on abstracts of journal articles and dissertations; religious history is a subtopic. The retrospective coverage of both is only to the mid-1950s. Both databases have expanded versions entitled “With Full Text” that offer full texts of articles since 1990 (though these full-text subsets are far more limited in the number of journals covered).

The English Short Title Catalogue

<http://estc.bl.uk/>

The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) is an open-access catalogue hosted by the British Library. It offers full bibliographic information and library holdings for all printed sources in the British Isles and North America between 1473 and 1800. Information about ESTC acquisitions is constantly updated on the web page. Microfilmed items and those that are available through Early English Books Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online are noted in the bibliographic record. Much of the project for the period 1701-1800 was done at the University of California, Riverside, for which see the Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research above. For the Universal Short Title Catalogue and other Western-language STCs, see Bibliography II.C.1 above.

Gale Cengage Learning

<http://www.gale.cengage.com/>

First introduced in 2005, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) is the most important primary-source database for historians of English-language texts in the period 1701-1800. Fully searchable, the collection since 2010 embraces approximately 180,000 titles (over 205,000 vols.), mainly in English, but available only through institutional subscription. Gale Cengage also provides a vast database in its Nineteenth Century Collections Online, and offers access to a large library of digitized British newspapers and periodicals. For additional content, one should consult the Database Title List.

InteLex Past Masters

<http://www.nlx.com/home>

Access to this series is limited to institutional, mainly university subscriptions. It provides full critical texts of the works of such leading figures as St. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, John Locke, Martin Luther, George Berkeley, René Descartes, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, and Søren Kierkegaard, to name a few. IntelLex has produced electronic copies of Augustine's *Opera Omnia*, Anselm's major works, and Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* in English and Latin. Recent areas of text conversion focus on the correspondence of significant figures and women writers.

Internet Ancient History Sourcebook

<http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/ancient/asbook.asp>

Paul Halsall created and maintains three well-known, open-access sites of primary-source materials that are copy-permitted, but not in every case copyright-free. Materials located at Fordham are supplemented by a large number of links to other sites, and some general guidance is provided for historical research on the Internet. Links to images and maps enhance the overall value of this project. Church history is represented in the Ancient Sourcebook under the heading "Christian Origins." A supplemental series includes an "Internet Women's History Sourcebook."

Internet Medieval Sourcebook

<http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/sbook.asp>

Of Halsall's three main sourcebooks, the Medieval Sourcebook has the most extensive collection of texts and links. The pertinent sections for our purposes are those found under "Medieval Church" and "Byzantium." On Byzantine sources researchers should also visit the site that represents Halsall's own specialization (<http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/byzantium/index.asp>). The list of topics for the Medieval Sourcebook concludes chronologically with the Renaissance and Reformation so that both the Medieval Sourcebook and the Modern Sourcebook should be searched for the Reformation.

Internet Modern Sourcebook

<http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.asp>

This Sourcebook begins with the Reformation and a serviceable number of standard sources and links to other sites. Documents on religious groups are scattered throughout the remaining, well-organized outline of history, with one section dedicated to “19th Century Religion” and another to “Religion since 1945.”

Iter: Gateway to the Middle Ages and Renaissance

<http://www.itergateway.org/>

With the goal of developing and distributing online resources for the period 400-1700, Iter’s ten partners and associates include such distinguished centers and societies as The Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference, and the Medieval Academy of America. In collaboration with these and other organizations it publishes six journals, several monograph series, a Bibliography of English Women Writers, 1500-1640, and the massive, regularly updated Iter Bibliography of secondary sources, all by subscription.

Library of Congress: American Memory

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>

The digitized materials in the “American Memory” project of the Library of Congress are important for American church history. The open-access resource has “Nineteenth-Century Books,” mainly for the period 1850-80 (10,000 volumes produced in collaboration with Michigan State University Libraries). It also has collections of Sunday School Books, “The Church in the Southern Black Community, 1780-1924,” and a collection of materials on “American Women,” all with open access. These primary sources are supported by authoritative articles arranged by topic.

Medieval and Early Modern Data Bank

<http://www2.scc.rutgers.edu/memdb/>

This effort, though not directly related to church history as such, may have some applications related to the contexts of the Church and should

be applauded as an open-access site. It is sponsored jointly by Rutgers University and by the Research Libraries Group, Inc. and concentrates on quantifiable data such as monetary records, currency exchange rates, and prices of commodities and wages. MEMDB is co-directed by Prof. Rudolph M. Bell of Rutgers University and Prof. Martha C. Howell of Columbia University.

H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies

<http://www.calvin.edu/meeter/>

The center at Calvin College and Seminary is a resource for early modern studies housing a significant collection of rare books by sixteenth-century Reformers, including a major collection of first editions and early printings of Calvin's works, a vast collection of microform materials on all aspects of the sixteenth-century Reformed tradition, and a complete, searchable database of articles, essays, and lectures on Calvin and Calvinism. Links to the major scholarly databases such as EEBO, ECCO, JSTOR, ATLA, and Project Muse are available through the adjoining Hekman Library. The Meeter Center also offers fellowships for scholars and graduate students.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica

<http://www.mgh.de/>

The classic resource of critical editions of primary texts in Latin and German is in process of digitization and online at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: now includes the *Diplomata*, *Epistolae*, and the *Scriptores* sections, with large portions of the *Leges* and *Antiquitates* now completed.

National Digital Newspaper Program

<http://www.loc.gov/ndnp/>

Americanists who use any form of newsprint in their research should now begin with this massive searchable database maintained and regularly expanded by the Library of Congress with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. A guide for early colonial newspapers dating from 1690 is available, but the holdings for full-text

newspapers concentrate on the period 1836-1922, all open access. See also the entry for Readex below.

Online Computer Library Center (OCLC)

<http://www.oclc.org/en-us/home.html>

OCLC offers its own massive database of hundreds of linked libraries, nationwide and foreign, through ArticleFirst, FirstSearch, and WorldCat. Guidance for such things as manuscript and newspaper collections is found by limiting the type of resource to “Archival Materials,” but OCLC services are available only by logging into libraries. FirstSearch and WorldCat are vast, but have at times the disadvantage of abundance and ought to be used with carefully designed Boolean searches.

Persée

<http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home>

Persée is an open-access database that includes a vast array of French journals, proceedings, and series in the humanities and history. It includes entire printed runs of journals extending back into the nineteenth century.

Perseus Digital Library

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collections>

The collection at Tufts University is well known for its contribution to research on the Greco-Roman world and the Greek and Latin classics, and this brief note will hardly do justice to the wealth of research tools and support that are offered at this open-access site. The purview of the project, however, reaches well beyond the classics: Perseus has also seriously invested in nineteenth-century American collections, particularly the era of the Civil War, and it has a smaller collection of texts from the period of the Renaissance.

Philosopher's Information Center

<http://philinfo.org/>

Publishes the annual *Philosopher's Index*. The cumulative *Index*, dating

back to 1940, includes some 1500 journals from more than 139 countries. Available by subscription on CD-ROM, online, and in print.

Philosophy Documentation Center

<http://www.pdcnet.org/>

The Philosophy Documentation Center offers a vast, full range of services to support teaching and research in philosophy and the humanities more broadly conceived. It publishes journals and bibliographies and provides open-access searching of the titles of all indexed articles in series and journals. The Center is constantly expanding its program of digitizing the full texts of philosophy journals; for example, the titles and abstracts of the *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly*, *Augustinian Studies*, and *Philosophy & Theology* are open access with full text by subscription. The publication of important bibliographies includes *Thomas Aquinas: International Bibliography, 1977-1990*.

Post-Reformation Digital Library

<http://www.prdl.org/>

This open-access site embraces early modern printed sources of the Reformation and post-Reformation eras (1475-1800), including materials from the church fathers and medievals accessible in the early modern era. Subjects included are theology, philosophy, law, medicine, and arts. The site, developed as a project of the *Junius Institute for Digital Research*, organizes works alphabetically by authors, can be searched topically, and includes a feature, "Scholastica," that permits searching authors and their works by university faculty. The library references and links to nearly thirty North American and European digitization projects and includes over 5,000 authors and over 102,000 volumes to date.

ProQuest and Chadwyck-Healey

<http://www.proquest.com/en-US/>

University Microfilms International is the parent company of ProQuest, a leading vendor of online databases including the now well-established ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Database. Chadwyck-Healey, the

humanities publishing imprint of ProQuest since 1999, has recently introduced the Early European Books Collection (pre-1700 continental books) and the Periodicals Index Online (PIO) (1665-1995), all available only through library subscriptions. Chadwyck-Healey is the source for such important full-text databases as Early English Books Online (EEBO), the Patrologia Latina, the Acta Sanctorum (68 vols. of the work of the Society of Bollandists from 1643 to 1940 at <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk/>), and the African American Biographical Database, as well as crucial guides such as the Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalog, and C19: The Nineteenth Century Index. In light of the commercial nature of ProQuest, it is worth noting that Google's digitization project has made some of these sources available without cost. For example, the Patrologia Latina and the Patrologia Graeca have been organized by volume at <http://patristica.net/>, though these resources lack the searching software provided with the commercial versions.

Readex

<http://www.readex.com/>

A division of NewsBank, Readex is responsible for the Early American Imprint Series in microform and is the major supplier of Early American Newspapers (1690–1922). The web-based Archive of Americana now makes both series available online, including the Shaw-Shoemaker imprints through 1819. Readex also offers African American Periodicals and a World Newspaper Archive in full text, all by library subscription.

Text Creation Partnership

<http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/>

The Text Creation Partnership is currently keyboarding (as opposed to using Optical Character Recognition) all first editions of texts in the English language from the beginning of printing in England through 1800 and moving these books by degrees into the public domain. The consortium of 150 libraries began the project with the oldest texts that are the greatest challenge for accurate rendering through OCR. Currently, only a limited number of texts are open access, including the Eighteenth Century Collections and Early English Books Online, first phase, while EEBO, second phase, and the Evans Early American Imprints can

presently be viewed only through institutional memberships. Because of the use of Standard Markup Language, all individual texts will be linked allowing key-word, phrase, and proximity searches on the entire body of literature at one time.

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae

<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>

The *Thesaurus* includes virtually all Greek texts from Homer through the Greek church fathers down to A.D. 1453. The Online Canon of Greek Authors and Works and the Abridged TLG are open-access databases; the first reveals the contents of the entire TLG, and the second, while abbreviated, contains a large number of patristic texts. From the beginning of the project, the method of digitizing texts was by keyboarding rather than scanning. Some research libraries retain the older CD-ROM version of the TLG, but the online subscription-based version alone will be regularly updated.

Thomson Reuters

<http://thomsonreuters.com/>

Databases include the *Social Sciences Citation Index* and the *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*. Note that this is a database of the *citation* of scholarly articles by other scholars in yet other articles. Thomson Reuters also publishes *Current Contents / Arts & Humanities*, which reproduces the tables of contents of journals. These services are typically available only through major research libraries.

B. Societies, Institutes, and Useful Web Pages (arranged chronologically and geographically)

With a few exceptions, this section of the appendix is comprised of web pages with links to other sites, including links to databases, rather than the databases themselves. The sample of university and research library web pages noted here is merely suggestive of the emphases and guidance one may find in major libraries.

Art History Resources on the Web

<http://arthistoryresources.net/ARTHLinks.html>

Created and maintained by art historian Christopher Whitcombe, the site organizes the vast resources of the web in a compelling and accessible way ranging from the earliest prehistoric art to the modern period. The sections on Early Christian Art and Early Medieval Art include architecture and are especially valuable because of the number and diversity of the illustrations. Renaissance Art and Renaissance Art outside of Italy for the sixteenth century along with the Baroque section are finely done and can be used to provide illustrations of all forms of art from these periods. An excellent resource.

The North American Patristics Society

<http://patristics.org/>

The Society provides a comprehensive listing of online resources for the study of the early church and offers a wide selection of annotated web resources with links (see web page under Resources, Early Christian Texts, Early Christian Authors, among others).

Franz Joseph Dölger–Institut

<http://www.antike-und-christentum.de/>

Key-word searches at the Franz Joseph Dölger–Institut web page will indicate volume number and page of key word use in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt* (11 vols.). The Institute supports the interdisciplinary study of Christian, Jewish, and Pagan culture to the seventh century. An annotated collection of Internet addresses to late antiquity is especially valuable with links to ancient texts, translations, institutes and centers, bibliographies, and secondary literature.

The Labyrinth

<http://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/labyrinth/>

The Georgetown University resource center for medieval studies. With its focus on open-access resources, this is a valuable site for the early church and medieval studies. See the annotated guide to resources on the web under “Church History” and “Theology.”

The Orb: On-line Reference Book for Medieval Studies

<http://the-orb.net/>

The section on religion in the Orb Encyclopedia is valuable for church history and theology, as is the entry under Medieval Music. The articles with links are written and selected by medieval scholars. The heading designated “External Links” is quite limited, but the “Reference Shelf” is more extensive and includes links to sources in early church history. Evidently the site has not been updated since 2004, and there are numerous dead links.

University of Illinois Library

<http://www.library.illinois.edu/clx/medieval.html>

The Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has a nicely organized page of tools for research in the medieval period and resources with links. Charles Wright’s Bibliography on Medieval Latin Literature is especially valuable.

University of Warwick Library

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/subjects/arts>

The Library of the University of Warwick, Coventry, UK provides excellent guidance to web resources in history. For example, the library supports two well-maintained pages under the heading “Renaissance Studies.” “Key Electronic Resources” annotates some 20 projects, and “Useful Websites” provides about 37 links, all listed with brief descriptions and links to resources, some of them major, and many of which are pertinent for research in church history.

The Center for Renaissance Studies

<http://www.newberry.org/center-renaissance-studies>

The Center for Renaissance Studies, the Newberry Library Chicago. Programs, resources, and tools at this site promote the library’s holdings in the late medieval, Renaissance, and early modern periods.

The Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies

<http://www.crrs.ca/>

A working academic center at Victoria University in the University of Toronto that lists its own publications, fellowships, lectureships, and conferences, plus a vast number of well-chosen links for online research in all areas of medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation studies (<http://crrs.ca/library/resources/>). The Centre publishes three main series (two on texts and one on monographs) and a fourth on texts by women in collaboration with *Iter: Gateway to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*.

The Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies

<http://www.qmul.ac.uk/renaissance/>

The Centre is hosted by Queen Mary University of London and it is characterized by its collaboration with continental European universities on various projects. For example, currently the Centre is engaged in projects on pan-European news and newspapers, in addition to the historiographical problems of the so-called “long Renaissance.” The site provides links to the British Society for Renaissance Studies and numerous related societies in Europe and America.

European History Online

<http://ieg-ego.eu/>

EGO: European History Online. Edited by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG). The purview of this site is European history from the Renaissance with the emphasis on transnational networks and communication, richly illustrated with multimedia sources. Under the heading “religion” one finds more than 100 authoritative articles with such themes as “Orthodox Theology in Western Europe in the 20th Century,” “Wittenberg Influences on the Reformation in Scandinavia,” and the “Suppression of the Society of Jesus, 1758-1773,” all with impressive bibliographies.

British History Online

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

British History Online was created by the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, and the History of Parliament Trust.

The site has a section on Ecclesiastical and Religious history that offers open access to full-text, published resources, such as biographical information on the higher clergy of the Church of England and monastic and cathedral records. Local history sources can be found through the site's interactive map. For guidance with research in the UK in more general terms, see the Institute's web page (<http://www.history.ac.uk/>), and in particular, the Bibliography of British and Irish History, which is the most extensive single bibliography, updated three times a year (available only by subscription).

The National Archives, United Kingdom

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

The National Archives of Britain (which assumed the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 2003) is the key point of entry for researchers who need to examine materials held by the more than 2,500 local record repositories in Great Britain. The site also includes listings of overseas repositories with collections of manuscripts indexed by the National Archives. The section entitled "Religious Archives" is particularly pertinent. An alphabetical list for the contact information of all local repositories is found at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/browse>.

National Humanities Center: Diving America

<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/divam.htm>

The National Humanities Center's project "Diving America" provides essays by leading authorities on themes in American church history, and while it is principally intended to support the teaching of American religious history, the extensive links to online resources make it a valuable site for researchers as well as teachers.

Yale University Library on US History

<http://guides.library.yale.edu/ushistory>

Yale University Library provides an elaborate, beautifully organized and annotated research guide for US history with many sections that are pertinent to American religious history. The digitized primary source

collections that Yale subscribes to are extensive, and while “church history,” as such, is not prominently displayed, almost all the resources for the history of the United States will have significant religious content. Primary-source databases are organized under “Colonial America,” “The Nineteenth Century,” and “The Twentieth Century,” and indices and guides for secondary sources are also arranged well and in some cases reach to the level of individual states.

ATLA World Christianity Interest Group

<http://www.atla.com/members/divisions/interest/pages/world-christianity.aspx>

The ATLA World Christianity website serves as the key portal to existing collections for the study of World Christianity at ATLA libraries. It offers contact information regarding materials in foreign countries and it has extensive links to other, relevant websites.

Korean Christianity

<http://koreanchristianity.humnet.ucla.edu/>

Professor Sung Deuk Oak of UCLA has produced a stunningly beautiful web page for the study of Korean Christianity in all of its facets, including art and portraiture. It provides guides to extensive original resources including newspapers and diaries.

C. Microform Collections

The following directory of companies and organizations is not intended to provide an exhaustive survey of all the relevant publishers of research materials in microform. It does, however, offer the student some sense of the variety of documents now available and the changes that are taking place in the preferred types of media. Similarly, the descriptions of collections will not include every group of documents that are important to the study of church history and theology, though the annotations are designed to generally reflect the company’s strengths in these specific fields. For companies that have moved their resources largely to the Internet, please see the preceding sections of the appendix.

Center for British and Irish Studies

Center for British and Irish Studies

<http://www.colorado.edu/ArtsSciences/british/>

The Center at the University of Colorado at Boulder constitutes one of the strongest collections of British and Irish primary sources in microfiche/microfilm in the United States. Starting with a good reference library, the directors have assiduously collected many of the major microform collections mentioned in this appendix, as well as many others that do not bear on topics related to church history. One of the noteworthy strengths of the center is the vast collection of historical materials on sacred music. Finding guides are online, but the use of materials is on site only.

Center for Reformation Research

<http://www.csl.edu/library/>

In addition to its own substantial rare book collection on the Lutheran Reformation, the library of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, hosts the Center for Reformation Research with one of the strongest microform collections in the field. The microfilm collection alone includes about 12,000 books and the Archives of Philip of Hesse number some 500,000 manuscripts. Significantly, Concordia also retains many of the fiche collections of the former Inter Documentation Company. Besides the Magisterial Reformers, these collections include the works of some Catholic theologians and leaders of the Radical Reformation. The finding guide that describes these materials is found in the Sixteenth Century Bibliography series (vols. 12-19) published by the Center.

European Register of Microform and Digital Masters (EROMM)

<http://www.eromm.org/>

Registers such as EROMM are designed primarily to avoid duplication in the production of surrogate forms of written records. They are of significant use to researchers for determining whether a microform or digital copy exists and where it is physically located, but they do not provide digital copies, though it is noteworthy that EROMM will redirect the search to the digital copy if available. The European Register is not strictly limited to sources in European countries (compare the National Register of Microform Masters below) and unlike the NRMM, it includes

digital forms of material as well as microforms and is open access and fully searchable. WorldCat also lists some 400,000 records that are found in EROMM. When used in conjunction with OCLC's WorldCat, it is presently a preferred online source for searching for microform records.

Family Search (formerly the Genealogical Society of Utah)

<http://familysearch.org/archives/>

Family Search possesses one of the largest collections of filmed manuscripts in the world, and some 2.4 million reels of microfilm have now been digitized. The holdings are especially valuable for local history, since Family Search is oriented around vital records organized primarily with the needs of the genealogist in mind. Many denominations beyond the Latter Day Saints are represented, including the Society of Friends, Presbyterian, Congregational, Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic. Some states, for example, New York, are particularly well represented in their local church history collections. Some English non-parochial birth and baptismal registers of the Nonconformists, and many Anglican vital records as well, are digitized and viewable online, but virtually all such registers have been filmed. The acquisitions and digital conversion policies of Family Search is aggressive. The now dated but essential hard-copy guide is Arlene H. Eakle, Arvilla Outsen, and Richard S. Tomson, comps. *Descriptive Inventory of the English Collection*. Finding Aids to the Microfilmed Manuscript Collection of the Genealogical Society of Utah 3 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1979). Transcriptions of other parish and non-parochial registers are available at <http://www.freereg.org.uk/>, an unrelated site.

Microform Academic Publishers

<http://www.microform.co.uk/academic/index.php>

Microform Academic Publishers has launched British Online Archives, but is notable for maintaining its commitment to microform and publishing new series in that medium. It has a strong collection of missionary society records and Anglican parish registers, particularly for London and the southeast, and for Yorkshire. The company has both printed and manuscript materials on British and American history, including, for example, the Holkham illuminated manuscripts of the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many English newspapers, West Indies Mission Records of the Church Missionary Society, and the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The company possesses a wide variety of miscellaneous documents that bear upon the history of the church, such as diaries of clergy, sermons, registers, monumental inscriptions, catalogs, and a few more well-known medieval manuscripts. A new series that runs to over one hundred reels of film was completed on “Religion, Radicalism and Freethought in Victorian and Edwardian Britain.”

National Register of Microform Masters (NRMM)

<http://www.arl.org/>

The *National Register of Microform Masters* began as an annual hard-copy register in 1965 with retrospective conversion to digital form commencing in 1987, supported by the Association of Research Libraries, the Library of Congress, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. In 1997 nearly 600,000 records from the NRMM were made available through OCLC, and the NRMM as a separate entity effectively ceased to exist. Presently, the best approach for locating items in microform is through OCLC’s WorldCat, but WorldCat should be used in conjunction with the European Register of Microform and Digital Masters, for which see above. For the history of the NRMM and reports on other preservation efforts, go to the Association of Research Libraries web page.

Primary Source Media (formerly Research Publications)

<http://www.gale.cengage.com/psm/>

An imprint of Gale Cengage Learning, Primary Source Media has built one of the world’s largest microform archives of source materials in subject areas that include church history and theology. The online guides to the collections reveal the vastness of the collections (<http://microformguides.gale.com/GuideLst.html>), and the company has maintained and expanded its microform sources, such as the Eighteenth Century Collection, while at the same time it is rendering older materials in digital form. PSM has assimilated the microform collections of Harvester Press, Lost Cause Press, Scholarly Resources, Inc., and K. G.

Saur (and doubtless others), so that the items pertinent to church history formerly held by those companies now appear here. In addition to its substantial collection of microfilmed medieval manuscripts, PSM has “Incunabula: The Printing Revolution in Europe, 1455-1500” (Bibles and commentaries, theology, and sermons alone run to 5,000 fiche), and a major collection entitled “British Culture: Series Two, British Theology” with more than 12,000 fiche. The church court records of Ely and Chichester (1400-1660) and the most important items from the Tanner Collection in the Bodleian Library on church and state from 1550 to 1700 are available. The company has also filmed Charles Burney’s and John Nichols’s large collections of English newspapers (1662–1820) in their Early English Newspapers series. Searching guides for both the Eighteenth Century Collection and Early English Newspapers are available online with reel and item number. (See both “Primary Source Media Online Guides” and “Scholarly Resources Online Guides.”) Joseph Sabin’s *Bibliotheca Americana* is on microfiche (representing some 100,000 titles). A collection on Social Problems and the American Churches, and the missionary files of the Methodist Episcopal Church, along with many volumes of the papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and guides are available (for example, in the last case alone for 858 reels of film) that describe the nature of the materials. PSM’s History of Women collection includes a massive array of pamphlets, periodicals, books, and manuscripts. Since many major research libraries subscribe to some of these collections, reels and fiche may often be obtained through interlibrary loan.

ProQuest Research Collections in Microform

<http://www.proquest.com/en-US/>

ProQuest, formerly University Microfilms International, claims that its “Research Collections in Microform” constitutes the largest available body of microform materials in the world. The collection is based upon UMI’s microfilm holdings including its vast library of microfilmed dissertations and theses and its literary, cultural, and periodical series, and the microfilm series of Early English Books (1473-1700). The latter series alone runs to some 4,900 reels of film and is still being expanded in small ways. The African American Collection with 3,600 fiche and

reels of film is notable. The Research Collections in Microform includes Chadwyck-Healey's Microform Library with strengths in literature. "Christianity" may be searched in the Research Collections Online Catalog. Individual reels and fiche may be purchased.

Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives

<http://www.sbhla.org/>

The Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention has maintained their microfilm collections but have just begun to digitize a limited number of resources such as the Southern Baptist Convention Annuals. The Commission has taken a very aggressive approach to preserving Baptist materials on an international scale. Many dissertations as well as primary sources are available, and individual items are priced separately and very reasonably. The collections range widely in the type of document, from church minutes, to archival items, to associational and convention annuals, to rare books and pamphlets. The collections are not narrowly limited to the Southern Baptist Convention; rare books by and about Baptists of all branches have been copied from major depositories in both the UK and the US, and these collections range chronologically from the sixteenth-century Anabaptists to the modern period, including, most recently, the addition of materials from Soviet and other Eastern European countries. A vast array of Baptist periodicals, including Black Baptist and non-English periodicals, are available on film. The Commission actually invites requests for the filming of specific documents that have not been filmed before.

World Microfilms

<http://www.microworld.uk.com/>

This company is probably the largest publisher of medieval manuscripts in the world. Their considerable collections include the manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge (413 reels), Queens' College, Cambridge, Lincoln Cathedral Library (one of the most important manuscript collections in western Europe), and Lambeth Palace Library, including many biblical, patristic, and theological studies. Medieval and Renaissance manuscript collections at six Oxford colleges (the theology collection from Balliol alone runs to 55 reels) and at Trinity College

Dublin, and the early manuscript collection of the Westminster Abbey Library have been filmed. The illuminated manuscripts in the Victorian and Albert Museum are published. These projects are ongoing, so that new titles are added at regular intervals. The Archives of the Huguenot Community in London are available, as are the Society of Friends's "Digest of Registers of Births, Marriages and Burials," and "The Great Book of Sufferings" from the Friends House Library in London. In the Quaker collection one will find diaries of Quaker women. In addition, a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Baptist, Quaker, and Methodist periodicals are available. But World Microfilms has not limited its reach to nonconformist and dissenting denominations; it has also filmed many Anglican records as well. There are available many seventeenth- through nineteenth-century Anglican materials, for example, bishops' visitation returns, and the archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The company has also filmed the Fulham Papers of the Lambeth Palace Library and the Tractarian pamphlets at Pusey House. Partial sets on individual reels may be purchased.