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séparer les revenus du capital des revenus du travail au sein de ces revenus mixtes, J. Hanus a malencontreusement généré des évaluations des diverses composantes du revenu qui manquent de robustesse. On peut en outre se demander si les parts des revenus « purs » du travail et de la richesse-propriété, qui ont servi à étalonner la part du profit, ont été correctement mesurées. À la décharge de l'auteur, on reconnaîtra volontiers qu'établir la distribution fonctionnelle du revenu était une opération semée d'embûches. Cela dit, la fragilité des évaluations des parts du capital et du travail dans le PIB ne ruine pas les conclusions de ce livre, car les niveaux des facteurs de production dans le partage de la valeur ajoutée ne sont pas les déterminants exclusifs de la croissance et des inégalités (en ce domaine, le rôle des institutions politiques et économiques n'est pas négligeable, au même titre que celui de l'inégalité de la propriété du capital et de la répartition des revenus). Relevons enfin que J. Hanus n'évoque pas les rapports de force ou les compromis sociaux qui ne sont pas sans conséquences sur la distribution du produit de l'économie.

Il y a des fautes plus vénielles. Les graphiques de la p. 82, illustrant la distribution rang-taille des villes des anciens Pays-Bas, ne sont pas correctement dessinés : l'axe des abscisses est gradué suivant une échelle arithmétique au lieu d'une échelle logarithmique. Dans le tableau 13, p. 186, l'estimation des revenus de la richesse-propriété inclut à tort les intérêts de la dette publique municipale ; ceux-ci ne font pas partie du revenu « national » de Bois-le-Duc, puisqu'ils sont un pur transfert et rétribuent un capital qui lui non plus ne fait pas partie du revenu national (la dette publique est un actif pour ses détenteurs privés et un passif pour l'institution qui a émis les titres ; actif et passif s'annulent au niveau global)⁽³¹⁾.

En dernier lieu, quitte à paraître trop exigeant, nous aurions souhaité que J. Hanus soit plus loquace à propos de la manière dont les habitants de Bois-le-Duc ressentaient les inégalités (les troubles sociaux et politiques qui éclatent vers 1570 n'ont-ils rien à nous apprendre à cet égard ?), qu'il expose plus en détail les règles successorales qui présidaient à la dévolution des patrimoines et précise le degré de ségrégation à l'intérieur de l'espace urbain (riches et pauvres vivaient-ils côte à côte ou résidaient-ils dans des quartiers distincts ?).

Ces bémols ne sauraient ternir l'impression générale. S'appuyant sur une collecte considérable de données interprétées en accord avec les orientations actuelles de l'historiographie, et insérées dans une perspective aussi large que possible, J. Hanus a réalisé une étude de grande envergure sur des sujets fondamentaux, controversés et, ce qui ne gâte rien, liés à des préoccupations contemporaines. *Affluence and Inequality* est une référence que ne pourront désormais ignorer les chercheurs qui scrutent l'histoire urbaine ou l'histoire socio-économique des anciens Pays-Bas. — Denis MORSA (membre du Comité directeur de la *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*).

LLOYD (Howell A.). *Jean Bodin. This Pre-Eminent Man of France. An Intellectual Biography*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017; one vol. 24 x 15 cm, XIV-311 p. Price: 75 £. ISBN 978-0-19880-014-9. — Jean Bodin

(31) Nous citons ici pratiquement mot à mot Th. PIKETTY, *Le capital*, op. cit., p. 320.

(1530-1596) is a giant of the history of public law and political theory. Yet, due to the linguistic obstacles and the colossal amount of literature on his magnum opus *Six Livres de la République* (1576)⁽³²⁾, ill-constructed arguments and commonplaces on this “pre-eminent man of France” clutter our understanding of the father of the concept of “sovereignty”⁽³³⁾.

Howell Lloyd’s “intellectual biography” of Jean Bodin offers a dazzling display of erudition and reasoning in a mere 262 pages. The author’s task was daunting: Bodin is a figure of humanism, an ambitious intellectual current encompassing all classical and medieval corpuses of learning, from moral philosophy, theology, mathematics, geography, astrology or economics to Roman civil law, canon law, political theory, customary law, feudal law and the law of nations⁽³⁴⁾. Howell Lloyd presents the various references in Bodin’s main works, the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1572) and the *République* (1576) as a thematic narrative of Bodin’s turbulent struggle to gain notoriety among the political elites of sixteenth-century France. The author’s emphasis is not on intellectual networks or a quantitative analysis of references (numbers are merely mentioned, but never turned into a relational display), but on Bodin’s responses to eternal challenges in political theory, against the backdrop of the French and European wars of religion.

Bodin’s upbringing in Angers, the capital of *Le bon roi René*, as a wealthy tradesman’s scion, led him to Paris, where the Carmelite training in classical languages, medieval Christian, Hebrew and Arab philosophy would form the bedrock of his later works. Bodin’s passage to Toulouse, capital of humanism, brought him in the circle of Chancellor Michel de l’Hôpital, one of the most renowned lawyers in the realm. In 1551, one of the city notables, Brandi, obtains royal permission to merge several smaller colleges into a new institution. Bodin holds an *Oratio*⁽³⁵⁾ to laud the benefits of teaching the *Artes liberales* in a commercial town: *utilitas* is not to be separated from *honestas* (p. 44). If Latin is the language of European intercourse, no (regional) metropolis could bereave its sons of it. Unless the city desired to see the future elites drift away from religious virtue. However, this was not Bodin’s sole point. In line with the broader ambitions of humanism, he advocated the use of history to uncover the true spirit of the laws. Not repetitive and futile medieval glosses, but a critical study of language and context would unearth the true principles of good government (p. 46). History was not a mere storehouse of *exempla*, or a narrative of particular events and facts, but a true *istoria* or method of inquiry. Primary sources, such as testimony, witness accounts and official records should uncover the universal mechanisms of society. Bodin couples his writings with other

(32) Jean BODIN, *Les Six livres de la République*, Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1576.

(33) Michel TROPER, “Sovereignty”, in Michel ROSENFELD & Andras SAJÓ, eds., *Comparative Constitutional Law*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 350-396.

(34) See also Xavier PREVOST, *Jacques Cujas (1522-1590): jurisconsulte humaniste*, Genève, Droz, 2015; Bruno MÉNIEL, ed., *Écrivains juristes et juristes écrivains du Moyen Âge au siècle des Lumières*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2015; Patrick ARABEYRE, Jean-Louis HALPÉRIN & Jacques KRYNEN, eds., *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français XII^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2015.

(35) Jean BODIN, *Oratio de instituenda in republica juventute ad senatum populumque Tolosatense*, Toulouse, Petrus Puteus, 1559.

disciplines – astronomy, mathematics – to demonstrate the natural harmony inscribed in institutions. In 1566, he calculated that the earth must have been 5000 years old (p. 74).

Although Jean Bodin was active as one of the 400 *avocats* at the Parliament of Paris from 1550 (p. 50), he was an unsuccessful lawyer. Erudite and learned, Bodin was solicited to write *consilia*, but he lacked the necessary verbal talent or business instinct to attract clients. Endless Ancien Régime trials between litigation-addicted wealthy citizens were a juicy source of revenue, but only for the most reputed and established practitioners (p. 90).

In 1566, his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566) appeared⁽³⁶⁾. In an attempt to uncover the *recta ratio* of all legal systems, Bodin distinguished thomist conceptions of law as objective justice from his own enquiry. Even if law is potentially present in every living human being, it can only materialize through subjective expressions. *Prudentia*, or rationally informed judgments by scholars and practitioners, was a necessary intermediary between God and the citizen. The distinction between private and public law, and the ensuing consequences for their historical study, is of paramount importance to the autonomisation of public law as a branch of doctrine⁽³⁷⁾. The *Methodus* demonstrates how the very nature of law and the impact of human intermediaries separate public law from the pure reason of private law.

Public law (p. 61) consists of commands issued by the sovereign, universally applicable through procedural forms, interpreted and observed through mechanisms of adjudication (p. 62). In other words, magistrates (*la vive loy*) were endowed with the monopoly, through their *officium*, to grant *vis et potestas* to the monarch's *ius*. They had the power to supervise civil servants, mere executors of the royal will, but could never become an autonomous source of law. With the Parliament of Paris in mind, Bodin granted the right to formulate remarks, but never the right to participate in legislation. For Bodin, the essential characteristic of a citizen was his belonging to society (*societas et coniunctio*), under the protection of the sovereign (*tutela imperii*). Security clashed with the inherent individual tendency to strife. The prince, as single protector, was the only guarantor of strength and justice, curbing selfish individual claims to the common benefit.

The sovereign ruled over several households, and *ce qui leur est commun* (p. 129). The model for the prince's rule was that of the *paterfamilias*, who held sway over his subordinate wife (p. 130). If the latter did not obey her husband absolutely, the whole structure of society would come down. Once the head of a household left his dwelling, he became an equal (*pair et associé*) to his fellow citizens. Yet, as a free subject, he was always *tenant de la souveraineté d'autrui*: no freedom without sovereign-imposed security. Hence, federations, where several levels of government separate citizens from their ruler, could only offer imperfect protection against anarchy. Even worse, democracies generated nothing but danger and strife. Citizenship did

(36) Jean BODIN, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, Paris, Martin le Jeune, 1566.

(37) Martin LOUGHLIN, *Foundations of Public Law*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

not derive from (universal, pre-existing) natural law, but from law within the state (*ius civile*) (p. 134). In the *Methodus*, Bodin distinguished five essential attributes of the *summum imperium* required to offer stability to society: the right to appoint magistrates and define their competences, to enact and abolish laws, to declare and end war, to act as supreme judge of appeal and to grant pardon in the most severe criminal cases (p. 83). These five will expand to ten in the *République*, but can be summed up in a sole elevated competence: lawmaking.

Between the *Methodus* (1566) and the *République* (1576), two major events occur. Firstly, the St Bartholomew's Night and the mass murder of Protestant nobles in a plot fomented by the Queen and the Catholic party (24 August 1572). Even Ramus, the humanist advocate of deductive reasoning and system-building, perishes (p. 108). Secondly, the candidacy of Henry of Anjou, the future Henry III, to the elective throne of Poland (11 May 1573). The Polish Commonwealth could only be governed by an unanimously acclaimed candidate⁽³⁸⁾. A staunchly Catholic Frenchman is not acceptable to Protestant Polish dignitaries. In an attempt to justify the attack on the Protestants as a pre-emptive strike, preserving the commonwealth, Bodin's patron Pibrac managed to safeguard the chances of the French candidate. Bodin was charged with the French translation of the pamphlet. To bolster the monarchy's cause, he devised *summa potestas* as the exclusive attribute of a *princeps, legibus solutus* (p. 110).

Mixed government, as advocated by Hotman's *Francogallia* (1573) (p. 112), is a true nightmare to the stability of the commonwealth. The Huguenot Hotman, building on the Romanist school of Orléans, the *légiste* Charles Du Moulin and Calvin, argued that France was historically governed by a mixed constitution, combining aristocratic, monarchical and democratic elements. The King's *Conseil* ought to guarantee the representation of all interests. If necessary, this organ should even be able to depose the monarch! The corrupt combined influences of an army of lawyers and clerics was held responsible for the deterioration of the medieval constitution. The Calvinist pastor Théodore de Bèze, an Orléans law graduate, went even further. His *Du droit des magistrats* (1574) pleaded for the election of Kings, by consent of their estates. If a sovereign deteriorated into a tyrant, even inferior magistrates had the *ius resistendi*. If 'sovereignty' as a concept was not a synonym for the person of the 'sovereign', the latter only ruled on the basis of a contract or convention.

A humanist from the *Collège Royal*, Louis le Roy, derided the 'monarchomachs' in his *L'Excellence du gouvernement Royal* (1575). Turning France into an elective kingdom (with reference to calamitous Poland) would bring nothing but chaos. The multitude was unable to govern (p. 114). Bodin, from his side, claimed that Aristoteles erred in mixing up state and government. A monarch could be tied by obligations to the state as a separate concept, without losing the monopoly to rule (p. 137). *Six Livres de la République* was his unique contribution in an eternal debate, crowning two millennia of scholarship with an interpretation uniquely fitted

(38) Olivier CHRISTIN, *Vox Populi. Une histoire du suffrage avant le vote universel*, Paris, Seuil, 2014.

to the crisis of French society in the wars of religion (p. 116-117). Whereas government could consist of a monarchical, aristocratic or democratic exercise of power, the core and permanence of the state could never tolerate division.

Sovereignty, however, is never unrestrained. The monarch, although he is the sole head of government, is only a caretaker, and can never dispose of the permanent patrimony of the state. This reasoning is in essence private law-based, and derived from Bartolus' definition of property (*usus-fructus-abusus*). Bodin equally refers to *dominium utile* and *dominium directum*, or the medieval romanization of feudal property between vassal and overlord (p. 136). Yet, Bodin only uses private law discourse as a metaphor. The next step consists of an autonomous public law-reasoning. Bodin echoes the traditional theory of the Parliament of Paris: the royal domain cannot be alienated⁽³⁹⁾, succession laws restrain the action of the sovereign, and royal succession is immediate, since the state is permanent. Any prince is subjected to the *loix fondamentales* of his realm, as well as to divine and natural law. As a guarantor, the ruler is obliged towards his subjects. The oath whereby the monarch pledges to respect citizen's fundamental rights can only be a promise by an individual to a multitude (*corpus quoddam universalis*). Self-government by the multitude is an aberration (p. 138). As a contracting party, the ruler ought to respect his international engagements, in good faith (p. 133). Yet, only the final judgment of God will determine whether he has observed these. Hence, Bodin demarcates himself from the 'douce poison' of Macchiavelli, adored by the mere courtiers of tyrants (p. 127).

Bodin does not advocate a radical breach with medieval *ius commune*-jurisprudence. References to Bartolus, Baldus, Azo and Accursius are numerous. Even more, the main legal order from which he drew arguments to sustain his thesis of sovereignty is... feudal law. This customary system created horizontal, private relationships between equals, but was gradually transformed to a vertical, real property-conveying order, whereby loyalty to the overlord permitted state-building⁽⁴⁰⁾. Bodin elaborates on the *fidelitas* enshrined in the homage, oath or liege fealty to construct the obligations of citizens towards both commonwealth and sovereign (p. 133). Further intellectual references in the *République* consist of Greek and Roman historiography and, to a lesser extent, philosophy (with a predilection for Cicero). Medieval theology (Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Jean Gerson) is almost absent (p. 125).

Bodin takes position against the rights of women, reduced to submissive creatures, guaranteeing the authority of their husband, whose reign by analogy to that of the sovereign over the commonwealth, should not be questioned. Gynaecocracy, or the rule of women, would be nothing but absurd and inconvenient (p. 141). He is a staunch defender of the sacred natural right to individual property, advocated by Seneca. Respecting a private

(39) Anne ROUSSELET-PIMONT, *La règle de l'inaliénabilité du domaine de la Couronne. Étude doctrinale de 1566 à la fin de l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, LGDJ, 1997.

(40) Dirk HEIRBAUT, *Over heren, vazallen en graven: het persoonlijk leenrecht in Vlaanderen ca. 1000-1305*, Brussel, Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1997.

person's property is the logical counterpart of the respect due to a prince's sovereignty, even if almost European monarchs abuse of their competences (p. 85). Bodin abhorred of collective property, and damned Thomas More for advocating commons (p. 126). The very impossibility of *promiscuos rerum usus* was the natural foundation for individual property.

In his *Response à Monsieur de Malestroït* (1568)⁽⁴¹⁾, a pamphlet on monetary policy, Bodin defends stability in official exchange rates, to protect private stipulations. Sixteenth-century hyperinflation is ascribed to the bullion flowing in from the New World, the brainless indulgence for luxury governing the court and aristocracy, waste and monopolies in certain areas of the economy. In accordance with Gresham's law, Bodin prefers stemming the flow of "bad" silver coins flowing into France to remunerate the export of valuable goods (p. 103), to balance the distorted proportion of "good" gold and silver.

Bodin favours the reduction of the number of civil servants (p. 145): tax collectors are *un mal nécessaire*, but should in no ways be recruited in too considerable a number. Magistrates, on the other hand, exercise the sovereign's power to command and are of a higher standing than mere executing civil servants. Nevertheless, in the state's own interest, all office holders should be removable at the expiration of their explicit commission (p. 146-147). Only officials of a lower rank can obtain tenure, since their actions do not usurp the sovereign's power. Likewise, Senators, whose advice is necessary but never compelling, can be granted a lifelong tenure.

As a defender of individual liberty, Bodin sustained that the monarch could only rule by consent of his subjects. Evidently, the seizure of individual property could only be permissible for just and necessary reasons. Consent to taxation was essential, since fiscal revolts could threaten state stability. The defense of property against confiscation was the hallmark of justice and the very basis of the *res publica* (p. 132). Individuals controlled their belongings as a *seigneur*. However, for all other matters, the prince could not be restrained in his legislative activity (*legem iubet*). It was the duty and natural role of magistrates to formulate remonstrances against royal legislative initiatives, but never their privilege to block legislation. Citizens and magistrates alike found their happiness in obeying the right reason, which always conformed to God's will, mediated by the sovereign.

Lloyd's masterful book on Bodin highlights the benefits of a deep and close reading of a seminal text, and the necessity to consider the international impact of the French tradition in early modern public law⁽⁴²⁾. The German Imperial chaos, the Dutch republican model or the English mixed constitution are the subject of frequent debate in international legal literature. Yet, the theory and legal practice of the so-called absolute state is not seen as an evident father of modern constitutional thought. However, as Olivier Beaud has amply demonstrated, the French Revolution is inconceivable without the

(41) Jean BODIN, *La Response de Maistre Jean Bodin advocat de la cour au Paradoxe de Monsieur de Malestroït touchant l'encherissement de toutes choses & le moyen d'y remédier*, Paris, Martin le Jeune, 1568.

(42) See also Howell LLOYD et al., eds., *The Reception of Bodin*, Leiden-Boston, Nijhoff-Brill, 2013.

essential contribution of Bodin ⁽⁴³⁾. The consecration of the legislator as the supreme source of law, against the competing authorities of medieval orders and estates. Law making, according to Bodin, is the first and sole *marque de souveraineté*, since all others are comprised within (p. 138). Citizen's consent (save for taxation) is irrelevant: the monarch is *imago spirans* (the breathing image) of God. He is the exclusive intermediary between the citizen and God. If he conforms to divine law, his legislative acts will reflect God's will. To sum up Bodin's theory of harmony and sovereignty, Lloyd quotes that 'the Republic is happy when the King respects the laws of God and nature, the magistrates the King, individuals respect magistrates, children honour their fathers, and slaves their masters' (p. 139).

As a practitioner of politics besides legal matters, Bodin was a member of the delegation of Vermandois in the Third Estate at the Estates-General of Blois (1576). He also accompanied the Duke of Alençon to England and the Spanish Netherlands (1583). It should not come as a surprise that the author of the *République* condemned the insurgents' mixed constitution (p. 192): the division of sovereignty between a prince and his subjects was a synonym for ruin, especially in the (Protestant) Netherlands, where the nobility was not numerous enough to balance the Third Estate.

After his adventure in the Low Countries, Bodin returned to the Vermandois as *procureur du roi*. He fruitlessly sought Scottish patronage. In Paris, the Catholic League of de Guise wanted to remove him from office, accusing Bodin of having subscribed to the 'new opinion' (p. 195). Under pressure in Laon, Bodin changed sides and claimed in a public letter to the first president of the Parliament of Paris that the Catholic insurrection against Henry III had become general to such an extent that the whole of the French nation was facing the monarch and the 'vermin' of his courtiers (p. 198). After the King's assassination (1589), Bodin was accused of sympathy for the Protestant Bourbon pretender Henry of Navarre, and only narrowly escaped conviction. Consequently, he changed sides again, and opted for Henry of Navarre, who laid siege to Laon and took the town in 1594. However, before opting for the Protestant candidate, Bodin had defended the right of his Catholic competitor, Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, to accede to the throne as Charles X of France. Since sovereignty was indivisible, only one collateral heir to Henry III could inherit the throne (p. 202). At this point, public law differed from private law. For the construction of the ensuing argument, however, Bodin borrowed from classical Roman real property law. France's ruler ought to be a Catholic, since that faith had been in peaceful possession of the realm for sixteen hundred years. A short period of Protestant control could not trigger *usucapio* (p. 203).

Lloyd emphasizes that religion was crucial to interpret Bodin's thinking.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Pibrac's defence of Henry III's candidacy in Poland did not mention God as often as Bodin's French translation did (p. 110). The *République* put the monarch above religious and ideological quarrels within

(43) Olivier BEAUD, *La puissance de l'État*, Paris, PUF, 1992 (Léviathan).

(44) See also Wim DECOCK, *Theologians and Contract Law. The Moral Transformation of the Ius Commune (ca. 1500-1650)*, Leiden-Boston, Nijhoff-Brill, 2012; Luise SCHORN-SCHÜTTE, *Gottes Wort und Menschenherrschaft: Politisch-Theologische Sprachen im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, München, Beck, 2015.

his realm, but subjected the same ruler to the judgment of God and natural law⁽⁴⁵⁾. For Bodin, the troubles of his own times were caused by a spiritual crisis. An 'intensified apprehension of the end of times' was the 'very antithesis of Renaissance exuberance'. Reestablishing concord could not be achieved by indulgence. As in the *République*, domestic order was Bodin's main concern. Even if freedom of conscience was admissible *in foro interno*, the legitimacy of the sovereign ruler depended on religion. Bodin would thus always favor external stability over individual expressions. The moral crisis of his age obliged him. Hence Lloyd's presentation of Bodin's *Démonomanie* as his most notorious work (p. 171-188), republished no less than twenty-one times, in French, Latin, German and Italian. Although less notorious today, the *Démonomanie*'s run was more important than the *République*'s (fourteen editions) (p. 262). Pope Innocent IX placed the work on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, since Bodin, in the eyes of the Jesuits, not only challenged papal authority, but also excessively relied on the Old Testament, ergo insufficiently on Jesus Christ (p. 211-212)⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Contrary to skeptical contemporaries as Erasmus or Alciato, Bodin enticed the Parliament of Paris to pursue witches with vigor (p. 174). Female malefactors copulated with the devil and rendered honest men impotent. In line with his misogynistic point of view, Bodin portrayed women as the malleable victims of demons, sent by an interventionist God to chastise mankind. God presented the bill for the excesses of human free will (p. 260). Satan, who perturbed societal order, could however be chased out by the contrary: music, representing harmony, or scared off by prayer, exemplifying trust in God and the Scripture (p. 178). If King Charles IX had died, despite his 'strong and hardy constitution', this was due to a lack of zeal in persecuting witches, at the heart of social unrest in France. Magistrates punishing witches only moderately deliberately exposed themselves to lapidation by the populace! Three independent witnesses, offering different evidence at every time, sufficed to condemn a witch. Bodin considered members of the fair sex 'always less credible than men' (p. 180), 'naturally subordinate to male authority in household and state', balancing the evils caused 'by the power of bestial lust' possessing these creatures (p. 187). However, Pierre Bayle characterized Bodin at the end of his life as a fundamental skeptic to every religion (p. 239). Bodin would have 'died like a dog, without any sense of piety, being neither Jew nor Christian nor Turk'. At the end of his intellectual journey, Bodin appears to have tried to distill a universal religion from all existing creeds, just as he had sought for universal law earlier in his career⁽⁴⁷⁾. A posthumously published work, the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*

(45) See also Arlette JOUANNA, *Le pouvoir absolu. Naissance de l'imaginaire politique de la royauté*, Paris, Gallimard, 2013.

(46) Bodin's predilection for Hebrew sources resurfaces in his dialogue *Universae Naturae Theatrum in quo rerum omnium effectrices causae & fines quinque libris discutiuntur*, Lyon, Iacobi Roussin, 1596. Lloyd counts 199 references to the Old Testament in the *République*, and only eight to the New Testament (p. 123). As to jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, Bodin preferred that they limit their interference in state affairs to a control of morals, in line with the Roman *censores* (p. 140), and abstain from stirring up troubles, as the clergy's notorious thrift had done too often.

(47) Jean BODIN, *Iuris universi distributio*, Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1578.

de rerum subliminium arcanis abditis (1857) (p. 239-256), features a debate between a Venetian Catholic, a skeptic, a Calvinist, a natural philosopher, a Lutheran, a Jew and a convert from Catholicism to Islam. Again, Bodin's writing evolved with the spirit of the time. As France moved to the Edict of Nantes in the late 1590s, ideas of religious tolerance became embryonically more acceptable, even if 'so outspoken a work as the *Colloquium*' could only be disseminated clandestinely (p. 256).

Lloyd's work has the merit to explain philosophical and theological quarrels in an accessible and straightforward way. The author avoids delving too deep into detail, but gives a manageable oversight of sources used and the main criticism of Bodin's working method. Whereas the latter seem forgivable for the *Oratio* or the *Methodus*, the *Démonomanie*'s method is called 'disingenuous', since Bodin 'cites authorities at second hand without acknowledging his real sources', uses 'arbitrary reasoning', relies 'massively' on Latin translations of Greek, Arabic or Hebrew sources, all amounting to the very denial of humanist ideals (p. 183). Likewise, Lloyd does not consecrate Bodin as the prince of learning: less 'conceptual originality' than 'depth of analysis, the weight of learning [...] and the vigor of his written style' single out the eclectic lawyer and intellectual. 'Misogynistic, arrogant and assertive', 'ambitious like Caesar', seen as the father of absolutist theory, Lloyd nevertheless defends Bodin's 'powerful sense of justice, or at least of law' to confront powerful interest. His engagement for societal stability through monarchical rule was sincere and did not vacillate during the multiple political turnarounds of his life. His quest for 'universals' in the mass of scholastic learning and dry facts remained unharmed. Hence his desire to compare 'actual politics' (p. 84) and his posthumous association with the comparative historical study of institutions⁽⁴⁸⁾. According to Lloyd, this cannot be isolated from Bodin's religious quest for harmony. Later theories of *raison d'État*,⁽⁴⁹⁾ according to the author, were 'corruptions' of Bodin's sincere wish to rein in the monarch, subjected to natural and divine law.

Lloyd's standard work gives an accurate portrait of Bodin as a man of his own time, but inevitably also challenges present-day thinking and teaching on law and history, legal doctrine and legal practice, and the place of the humanities in the legal curriculum. Bodin lived in a time of revolution in communication, thanks to the printing press and the religious division of Europe. Nowadays, lawyers are under pressure to integrate the digital revolution, both in professional practices and in their academic training. *Utilitas* seems the natural bride of monogamous progress. Yet, Bodin's scholarship and career teach us that engagement with history creates thinking lawyers and complete citizens, able to weather storms and changes in far more flexible ways than mere technicians do. – Frederik DHONDT (Vrije Universiteit Brussel & University of Antwerp).

(48) SOCIÉTÉ JEAN BODIN, ed., *L'individu face au pouvoir*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 4 vol., 1989.

(49) Lucien BÉLY, *Les secrets de Louis XIV*, Paris, Tallandier, 2013.