Reviews


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Because it includes Theology and its subdivisions this volume has weighty material on the history of doctrine in general, together with the nature of Tradition, the idea and practice of Tolerance, Christian attitudes to death (Tod) and to the use of capital punishment and, as part of doctrine, the history of the devil (Teufel). The Christian idealists are prominent in Transzendentalphilosophie. There are unexpected titles, Aquinas and Bradwardine both under Thomas, while there is an able article on the Apostle Thomas, which includes his various apocryphal documents. A study of Thomas à Kempis concludes that he was the author of the Imitation, but more as a compiler than an original mind. Several of the most interesting articles are modern – Teilhard de Chardin, Paul Tillich (important study), William Temple, Thadden-Trieglaff where his life seems less exciting under the Nazis than we imagine it must have been. As in all volumes we are given a useful history of a German Land, here Thuringia. Two articles on important moments of German history are included, one on Christian Thomasius and the making of the Enlightenment and the ending of witch trials and of torture, the other on Tholuck where his part in Revivalism sounds more weighty than the studies which still survive on earlier Lutheran history. Liturgically there is a clear-headed treatment of the origins of the Te Deum, and for the early Church we have Tertullian.

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Owen Chadwick


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There is a genuine tide of interest in the ‘mystics’ flowing at present in the world of religion and Steven Fanning’s book provides an introduction to the Christian aspects of these enticing but dangerous waters. He has chosen to write about people rather than theories and has abbreviated his work into a one-volume introduction to ‘two millennia of Christian mystics’ (p. 4). He begins with a chapter on the Graeco-Roman and the biblical basis for this tradition, then offers a section on the eastern Church from the earliest times to Russia in the twentieth century; the next chapter covers the vast and varied centuries of the western Church in the Middle Ages; the fourth section deals with mystics of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation and
a final chapter provides an introduction to mystics in the twentieth century. There are several illustrations, a time-line, a glossary of terms and a bibliography, all of which help to make this book a useful introduction for students. It would be churlish to criticise a sound, attractive and sensible work which contains so much of value but there is one warning that should be given to potential readers. Beginning with a well-chosen quotation from the Bampton lectures of Dean Inge on Christian mysticism, Fanning shows that he is as well aware of the ambiguities involved in the use of the words ‘mystic’ and ‘mysticism’ today as of those of a hundred years ago, where it can be so easily equated with ‘magic’. He states that his choice of the hundred mystics he describes is based on a modern understanding of the word mystic, that is, one who has written about entering, or been described as having entered into, a special psychological state, ‘along with the alone’, which they have described as union with God. This has the advantage of enabling him to make links through this experiential approach between Christian mystics and those of other religions, seeing it as a fundamental source of unity between religious paths. But this may sound as if the ‘mystic’ is outside normal Christian life, in a world of feeling and emoting. This would blur the characteristic Christian understanding of ‘mystical’ as having to do with the hiddenness of God, about the way in which the mystery of God in Christ is continually being revealed within the created order. In the Christian mystical tradition, far from being an isolated psychological experience, the indwelling of divinity is apprehended with the mind as well as the heart; it has a basis in both theology and in corporate liturgical prayer and issues in that grace-filled living by which a whole life is transfigured by the spirit of God, with or without special moments of ‘experience’. As Anselm of Canterbury put it, it is ‘faith seeking understanding’ on many levels. Many of the mystics chosen in this book do in fact illustrate this truth, in spite of the claims of the publicity on the cover that it is about ‘divine visions and self tortures’. With this caveat, this book should provide a lively and readable introduction for students and general readers alike.

OXFORD

Benedicta Ward Slg


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Ever since Balthasar wrote his famous Glory of the Lord, the topic of aesthetics has fast become a bandwagon in theology; this book is the latest in a growing line. The author, who is South African, and has been much occupied in his earlier publications with matters of social justice, is here concerned to use the same context in order to discuss aesthetic questions. In a three-part study, divided between ‘historical trajectories’, ‘theological reflection’ and ‘aesthetic praxis’, he examines the connection between Christianity and the arts by looking at their historical and contemporary relationships. He treats important themes such as the power of images, the relationship of aesthetics to ethics, the redemptive power of beauty, Christian aesthetic existence and the role of art in public life and in the life of the Church, in a very densely written way. His theological standpoint, though ecumenical, is essentially that of the Reform. Since, as can be seen, the range is very wide and the scope
ambitious, it inevitably leads to difficulties, both historically and systematically. It will not do, for example, to take the views of Gregory the Great, who lived in the late sixth century, and whose world was essentially European, as typifying the opinions of the fourth-century Roman popes in matters of art. And there is no indication of acquaintance with the various current reinterpretations of historical periods such as the Renaissance. But it is the systematic discussion which is the most unexpected. Despite the focus on reformed theology, there is no treatment of the pioneering work done in the art field by Paul Tillich, and yet Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who never made aesthetics or art a major consideration in his work, is given a whole chapter, in a treatment which must be regarded as highly speculative. The most helpful and interesting part of this book is the study of and analysis of South African art and society, which is a new and original and a very welcome addition to the subject.

MARY CHARLES-MURRAY

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This is the third volume in an ambitious attempt to provide a survey of all western hagiographical literature prior to the Reformation. The editor has obviously had to accept contributions as they came in and hence there is no particular thematic unity to any volume. This one covers acts of early Latin martyrs (excluding Africa), the hagiography of northern Italy 950–1130, and—covering the whole medieval period—the Latin and vernacular hagiography of Poland, the Latin hagiography of England and Wales, the Latin and vernacular hagiography of Ireland and the vernacular hagiography of Iceland and Norway. Although, according to the editor’s preface, some of the contributions have been slumbering for years since they were submitted (the penalty paid by the prompt), bibliographies at least have been updated. More than one publication of 2002 is listed in this publication of 2001. Scope and approach vary, as one might expect. F. Scorza Barcellona, in ‘Agli inizi dell’agiografia occidentale’, is interested particularly in the historical authenticity of early martyr accounts, and attempts to assemble a corpus of ‘authentic’ passions, while most other contributors view hagiographic writing as a cultural and literary product that needs to be set in institutional and ideological context. All the contributions are of value and some outstanding, notably Michael Lapidge and Rosalind Love’s excellent 120-page summary of Latin hagiography in England from its beginnings with Aldhelm and Bede to the printing of the Nova legenda Anglie in 1516. Interesting juxtapositions highlight important cultural differences. Although Poland and Iceland and Norway were converted to Christianity around the same time (c. 1000), hagiography began to be written in Old Norse two centuries before there was any in the Polish vernacular. English authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries composed lives of contemporary saints but Irish authors did not. This enterprise has, as it should, the virtues of careful inventory, with full repertories of texts and long bibliographies. Yet it is more than that. Analysis of hagiography (as of the cult of the saints more generally) has been among the most exciting areas of historical and
literary scholarship in the last generation or two, and that animation and energy are reflected here, as Maire Herbert explores the implications of Richard Sharpe’s 1991 revisionist views of the textual history of Irish hagiography, Steinunn Le Breton-Filippusdóttir describes the new interest in Old Norse hagiography among Nordic scholars and the editor himself sketches out future projects and looks forward hopefully to the appearance of *Hagiographies*, iv, in 2003.

**University of St Andrews**  
**Robert Bartlett**


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The scope of these two volumes, even after having rigorously limited the field according to political rather than linguistic borders, is huge. The volumes are packed with interesting information and lend themselves to casual browsing as well as to consecutive study and the index makes scanning the volumes for references to particular individuals or movements a relatively easy task. However, readers looking for a discussion of Celtic spirituality or of the work of Thomas Merton will be disappointed – neither receives more than a scant mention. The volumes are made up of a collection of extended essays, each with its own endnotes and bibliography, discussing developments in spirituality in England in chronological order. The text has copious notes, extending the discussion beyond the confines of the immediate context and directing the reader to further reading. My own preference would have been for footnotes and a consolidated bibliography, but the editorial decision to place the notes and the bibliography at the end of each chapter rather than at the end of the volume is understandable given the number of works cited and the range of topics covered. The geographical limit does not prevent some interesting comparisons being made, especially in the notes. For example after remarking on the conservative character of much late medieval English spirituality in the context of the English preference for recluses over continental experiments in communal living such as beguines, the note discusses differences between the original and the Middle English translation of Suso’s *Horologium* – referring to the elevated rhetoric of the former and the practical prosaic piety of the latter. The scope of these volumes is such that the choice of authors covered must to some extent be idiosyncratic especially in the later periods. For example in the section on ‘Spirituality and science’, one wonders why Richard Dworkin is mentioned but not John Polkinghorne. It is splendid, however, to find in the section on ‘Spirituality and the Arts’ a discussion of the work of Cecil Collins who must be counted among the most spiritual and inspired painters of the twentieth century. Sadly the costs of production precluded the inclusion of an example of his work. There is nevertheless much to enjoy and to discover in these volumes for the specialist as well as the non-specialist reader.

**Robinson College,**  
**Saskia Murk Jansen**  
**Cambridge**

The early Christians were surprised by their own story. To Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century it seemed a success wholly unforeseeable by natural judgement. A few years later the pagan Celsus felt that the Church was becoming a threat to Roman society while to the cynical Lucian it was additional evidence of human irrational folly. Already by Justin’s time believers were looking forward to having a converted emperor. Tertullian at the end of the century thought that if an emperor really grasped the essence of the Christian ideal for society and the individual, he would himself wish to be a member of that society but would be deterred only by the secular duties necessarily attaching to his office and his responsibility for the defence of the empire, and for repressing crime.

Professor Rousseau has written highly respected volumes on early monasticism and St Basil the Great, a related subject. His present paperback is sure of a warm welcome with a sensitivity to natural human feelings and aspirations. We are not given a dry historical narrative marked by dates but there is care in noting the order of events. A series of sympathetic portraits ends with Pope Gregory the Great, one of the most likeable and rational of the great bishops of Rome though less aggressive than Gregory VII (Hildebrand) or Innocent III. Along the way we are given a lucid account of the differences between the Monophysites and the pro-Chalcedonian west.

The book is enriched by admirable bibliographies.

CHRIST CHURCH,

HENRY CHADWICK
OXFORD


Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians is one of the texts of the so-called ‘Apostolic Fathers’ which has not been as minutely dissected as some others. Nevertheless, it has attracted a fair amount of attention, and in this published version of a 1999 Chicago dissertation, Paul Hartog provides a valuable analysis and survey of past debates on practically all aspects of the Epistle. Despite the title of the book and the author’s statement in the introduction, the focus of attention is primarily on the letter itself and its own problems, rather than on the specific problem of its relation to the New Testament, though the latter issue is fully treated and leads to some interesting results. Hartog argues strongly for the unity of the letter (contra Harrison), pleading too for a relatively early date c. 115: the well-known apparent contradiction between chs ix and xiii on whether Polycarp presupposes Ignatius’ death is to be resolved by positing that Polycarp knew that Ignatius had died (ch. ix) but had little concrete information and wanted more (ch. xiii). Hartog argues too that the main problem is one of ethics, that any ‘heresy’ addressed is not necessarily that of Marcion, and that the ‘sin’ of Valens (attacked in ch. xi) was probably some financial irregularity, not
doctrinal heresy. Further, Polycarp’s method of citing many (mostly Christian) authorities to bolster his ethical exhortations should not be seen as the work of an unoriginal thinker: the creative use of earlier traditions should be seen as just as significant in terms of originality. In relation to the New Testament texts, Hartog argues that Polycarp shows clear knowledge and use of a wide range of New Testament texts. These include the Pastoral Epistles (though interestingly not John), and at one point Polycarp may refer to Ephesians as Scripture. All this may have important repercussions for theories about the development of the New Testament canon and about some individual New Testament texts. It shows that a developing New Testament ‘canon’ (in some sense) was already in existence at an early date: hence theories about the importance of Marcion as providing the impetus for the development of a New Testament canon may be wrong. It also shows that the Pastoral Epistles were already in existence at a time well before Marcion and hence cannot have been written to counteract him. Other theories that Polycarp himself might have written (or commissioned) the Pastorals are shown to be unlikely in view of the differences between them. Further, Polycarp witnesses to the existence of a fairly well-developed collection of Pauline letters, including at least some of the Pastorals, at a relatively early date. This book thus provides a number of interesting proposals in relation to a range of important issues concerning the ‘dark’ period of early second-century Christianity; in addition Hartog’s study provides a valuable resource for all those studying Polycarp himself and will undoubtedly be an important reference work for all future study of this slightly neglected text.

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This edition came out in the same year as D’Anna’s Pseudo-Giustino, and shortly after the Marcovich edition.¹ It is characterised by important, exhaustive philological research, including the collation of fourteen manuscripts: it not only contains the four fragments from John Damascene’s Sacra parallela (fr. 1–4 Heimgartner = 107–10 Holl), another fragment from the anthology of the codex Vatopedi 236 (fo. 116v = fr. 5 H., restored in De res. 7, 10bis: pp. 118–31), but also the testimony of Procopius on Justin’s De resurrectione. There follows a copious commentary on the significance of the treatise (pp. 133–92) and on its authorship (pp. 193–232). Finally, Heimgartner proposes a presentation of the anthology of the codex Vatopedi 236 (pp. 233–85), and the edition of Procopius’ fragment on Genesis iii. 21, in which he mentions Justin’s De resurrectione (pp. 286–96). Two questions that are particularly interesting are the opponents of [ps.]Justin and the authorship of the De resurrectione. As for the polemical context of the treatise, Heimgartner points out the kinds of opponents that might be targetted (pagans such as Celsus, Gnostics and so on), but does not really want to choose between them or identify any one group, leaving open...
the question of the controversial circumstances (pp. 169–90). As for the authorship of the treatise, Heimgartner attributes it boldly to ... Athenagoras. Heimgartner bases his argument on a comparison between the style and doctrine of the *Legatio* of Athenagoras and of the *De resurrectione* attributed to Justin. The reader may refer to this reviewer’s recent (and complete) review of Heimgartner’s edition in the *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* of Louvain. There I expressed my scepticism about the thesis: the stylistic arguments put forward do not seem sufficient to invalidate the testimonies, on the one hand of John Damascenus (d. c. 650), corroborated by the *Vatopedi* anthology (written before Procopius’ death, between 518 and 536), ascribing to Justin the former *De resurrectione*, and, on the other, of Arethas in the codex Parisinus gr. 51 (a. 914), ascribing the latter to Athenagoras.2

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BERNARD POUDERON


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Although early Christian devotion to Thecla has received some recent attention, this popular, albeit controversial, figure is usually considered as but one in a constellation of female saints. Davis’s welcome monograph goes a long way toward filling sizeable scholarly gaps. Davis seeks to ‘reconstruct traditions of women’s piety associated with her cult’ (p. 4) in Asia Minor and Egypt during the second through sixth centuries. In part I, ch. i, he analyses the major literary sources and outlines three themes that, he argues, are shared by Thecla and her devotees: asceticism, itinerancy and charismatic function. Chapter ii examines Thecla’s cultic centre in Seleucia and the development of a literary tradition to support the site. Part II concerns the Thecla tradition in Egypt, including texts from Alexandria (ch. iii), the pairing of Thecla with popular St Menas near his pilgrimage site (ch. iv) and Thecla devotion in Egypt’s oases and Nile Valley (ch. v). Two appendices catalogue published Thecla *ampullae* and Thecla’s namesakes in Egypt. Davis’s research is thorough and meticulously documented. The most intriguing aspect of the book is his integration of texts, art and archaeological evidence. This is done most effectively in chapter v, where Davis links art and inscriptions in the Kharga Oasis to Alexandrian texts addressed to virgins devoted to Thecla and embroiled in theological controversies between Athanasius and his adversaries. A scene from a wall painting in a chapel in a Kharga necropolis features Thecla engulfed in flames above a procession of virgins into a temple (heavenly Jerusalem), an anonymous *orans* and two people leading camels. To interpret the painting, Davis uses writings of Athanasius that reveal the devotion of Alexandrian virgins to Thecla and that describe the attempted burning and exile to the Kharga and Dakhla Oases of virgins loyal to Athanasius’ cause. Davis hypothesises that the chapel was a focus of Thecla devotion for displaced Alexandrian virgins. They narrated their exile (the figures with the camels), death (the *orans* as the decedent) and entry to heaven (the processing virgins) in a scene crowned by Thecla. Although Davis’s conclusions are often tenuous (as he admits),

many are compelling interpretations of the evidence. He certainly deserves room to manoeuvre as he enters new territory, but points in part I and about gender more broadly require further interrogation. Davis grounds the book in an argument for a clearly gendered model of piety: the Thecla tradition and cult empowered women in a misogynistic society. This proves an unsteady anchor. Although acknowledging scholarship that challenges the reading of texts about women as straightforward evidence of female piety, he chooses to do so anyway. Davis’s evidence attests to Thecla’s popularity among men, but he does not ask why such a saint would appeal to men too. Does this popularity indicate a more complex understanding of gender in antiquity than the one with which Davis is working? Despite these issues, the book is an important contribution to the field of early Christian studies, particularly for scholars of asceticism or those seeking models of interdisciplinary research.

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This is a fascinating and new portrayal of the development of orthodoxy in the early Church, which heavily emphasises theological, often at the expense of historical, detail. At one level it functions as a thorough and soundly based introduction for undergraduate and postgraduate theological courses in early Christian doctrine. Behr is well aware, however, how problematic the concept of orthodoxy is in the light of historical criticism. How are we to explain as more than accidental the survival of the patristic texts that contribute to a canon of orthodoxy?

Behr’s solution is that what is orthodox conforms to the apostolic Gospel according to the Scriptures, and since the development of the New Testament canon had a long historical gestation, the controlling scriptural influence on the formation of the kerugma was originally, primarily, the Old Testament. The Christ events that are declared hermeneutically to be the fulfilment of the Old Testament indeed reshape the meaning of those Scriptures, and yet they in the process set limits to that reshaping. At this point Behr believes that he has established phenomenologically the distinction between heresy and orthodoxy on the grounds that not only Marcion, but Valentinus and other Gnostics, in using one kind of allegorical method of exposition, did not operate with the same schema of prophecy and fulfilment used by orthodox writers. They became involved ultimately in portraying the kerugma as psychodrama.

Behr is however more subtle than such a claim first implies. He appreciates that when Irenaeus, for example, refers to Gnostic theologies as ‘fabrication’ (plawma) and ‘myth’ (mu`qo), he is using concepts within a discourse of revelation not conditioned by time and culture. Such terms, as well as mimesis and, indeed, kanwvn itself, are derived from the discourses of literary theory and of Stoic and Epicurean epistemological debate. As such, and far more than Newman or Pelikan before him, Behr is prepared to acknowledge the problematic character of the development of orthodoxy derived from the cultural relativism of its hermeneutic. Nevertheless, it is this acknowledgement that gives his description of historical orthodoxy considerable
critical force in that it can claim to be descriptive of a historical phenomenon whilst leaving what prescriptive grounds can further be derived as a matter for continuing theological discussion.

In this respect Behr is clearly hostage to some contemporary historical and literary critiques of early Christian writings. Clearly he could not be deflected into a detailed consideration of these, given his intended audience of theological students. One such example is his treatment of the text of Ignatius of Antioch (ch. iii), which he regards as an early second-century work, a conclusion with which I am in substantial agreement. Hübner’s thesis that the Ignatian letters are anti-Noetic or even anti-Valentinian forgeries, were it to succeed, would blight, I feel, Behr’s account of the Ignatian antitheses of flesh and Spirit, begotten and unbegotten, as testifying to an embryonic theology of Christ’s two natures on the basis of kerygmatic Old Testament fulfilment. Students will nevertheless need to be made aware that the historical–critical defence, successful though I believe it to be, is a necessary support to such an account of orthodoxy. The Council of Antioch (AD 268/9) and its various currents are carefully charted in a useful and original way. We await with interest Behr’s account as he progresses in the next volume to Nicaea and beyond.

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ALLEN BRENT

Augustine. Political writings. Edited by E. M. Atkins and R. J. Dodaro. (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought.) Pp. li + 305 incl. map. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. £42.50 (cloth), £15.95 (paper). 0 521 44172 2; 0 521 44697 X


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Contemporary theologians are reminded that no one surpasses Augustine of Hippo in importance for the construction of western European culture; their preoccupying endeavours to escape its supposed onto-theologism cannot avoid the question as to whether he gave it this character. These two books show that he is equally central for understanding the history of western political thought and how we constituted the self.

The mere existence of Augustine: political writings in this Cambridge series is indicative. This tome joins The city of god against the pagans where only Cicero (whose importance for Augustine’s political thought is noted), Hegel, Hobbes, Locke, Marx, Ockham and Plato also rate two volumes. And, indeed, Atkins and Dodaro have produced the complement to Dyson’s translation of the Civitas Dei. This was Augustine’s own explicitly ‘political’ writing (supposing civitas to be the equivalent of polis), setting the political within theological, anthropological and cosmic paradigms: ‘Two cities, then, have been created by two loves: that is the earthly by love of self ... and the heavenly by love of God’ [xiv. 28 (p. 632)]. In contrast, the selections in this volume are chosen by Atkins and Dodaro from outside the Civitas Dei and come from the letters, sermons and Commentary on the Gospel of John. In constituting these as ‘political writings’ our editors intend to give us a bottom-up account.
Augustine appears as ‘flexibly pragmatic’ (p. xxv), dealing with a complex ‘actual experience’ in terms of *ad hoc* responses which leave unresolved opposed tensions. His method ‘prevents him from treating his conclusions as closed to the possibility of revision in the light of changing experience or further scriptural reflection’ (p. xxvi). Augustine’s own *Retractationes* and the near endlessness of his many-sided, repeated and self-reflexive considerations (which at present often attract those who cannot bear his conclusions) show that he had a marked sense of this openness. Of the successive Augustinianisms, which have filled western history, define some of its periods, and continue to emerge, all select, close or systematise. In reaction, the empiricism of contemporary scholarship reopens the process of his thought and acts as apologetic for our psyches. Doubtless Augustine himself is beyond both.

Part of a ‘student textbook series’ in which explanation is by contextualisation, the exactitude and precision of the scholarship will also make this book welcome to scholars who work frequently with Augustine. The translations are new and lucid, the texts crucial, judiciously chosen by editors with an extraordinarily wide knowledge both of the immense corpus and of the scholarship. We are well served by an introduction which deals with the genres into which the texts fall, their contexts and Augustine’s methods. In addition, there is a useful translator’s guide to the Latin terms and an annotated bibliography of mostly English works. The very valuable chronology, and the biographies of the persons named, modestly conceal the difficulty of the labours which produced them and the complexity of the scholarly knots they untie. Together with the identification of quotations, the notes contain precious information about Augustine’s legal knowledge. In consequence, it is regrettable that we have endnotes instead of footnotes, that they are forced to be so compact and to employ such complex cross-referencing. Dyson had an enormous advantage over our editors for ‘very extensive annotation’ of the *Civitas Dei*, he was able simply to refer his readers to ‘the edition of J. E. C. Weldon’. Atkins and Dodaro were required to create their own apparatus for a diverse collection of very specifically contextualised texts within a series which sets narrow limits on annotation. They have done an outstanding job, but I often wished for more extensive annotation than the series allows.

In contrast to the modest and careful empiricism of Atkins and Dodaro, the claims Cary makes for Augustine are unsurpassed and his judgements are of astonishing breadth. This bishop is supposed to have invented western inwardness: ‘the private inner space is in fact something Augustine made up’ (p. viii). Moreover, his crucially transforming intellectual invention emerged from a notion of the divine intelligibility both unique to him and setting eastern and western Christianity against one another. Augustine was ‘last in West or East to believe that the substance of God is intelligible’ and his ‘idiosyncratic commitment to divine intelligibility’ is ‘the key strain of theological difference between East and West’ (p. 55). Cary’s case is set out step by step with a persuasive clarity, close reading of crucial texts, wide learning in respect to relevant scholarly literature, remarkably shrewd judgement on many very difficult and much controverted cruxes of interpretation. In the end, however, it depends upon constructions composed out of oppositions so one-sided as to result not only in fundamental misrepresentation but also in self-contradiction.

The first indication of how Cary’s argument will go wrong in his false contrast between Plotinus, for whom the soul moves inward but not upward because it is divine, and Augustine adapting Platonic inwardsness to the Christian soul, which
must ascend because created. Only a predetermined reading of the *Enneads* could miss the relentless logic of their ascending. In ch. 1 Cary both contradicts himself and the texts of Plato he quotes when he tries to contrast Augustine, for whom the ideas are in the soul, and Plato, for whom they are not. Their sharing of the doctrine of recollection thus becomes incomprehensible. Here we are also introduced to Platonism characterized by intelligibility, a representation which sets Cary both against Plotinus, who found his unknowable Principle in the Platonic Good of the *Republic* above being and knowing, and also against the retrieval of Platonism in our time precisely because it draws us by love to the Good beyond thought. This one-sided representation of Platonism is unfortunate because so much of what the author tells us about Plotinus (for example his Aristotelianism) and the central and positive role he plays in Augustine’s thought (for example the overcoming of materialism and crude dualism) is helpful. With Augustine as a convert to Platonism understood as intelligibility, we are relentlessly driven to Augustinianism as ontologism and to locating it at the origins of what both Eastern Christianity and post-Heideggerian philosophy and theology find fatal in the west. Happily, the binary oppositions out of which Cary constructs his narrative turn many of its elements into their contraries and the whole story could be told quite otherwise. Unfortunately, the inch-by-inch struggle with his argument which this retelling would require is not possible here. It is a necessity for every reader; for those not capable of this engagement, the book is misleading.

Wayne J. Hankey

*Historia de sancto Cuthberto*. A history of Saint Cuthbert and a record of his patrimony. Edited by Ted Johnson South. (Anglo-Saxon Texts, 3.) Pp. x + 158 incl. frontispiece and 1 fig + 1 doubled-sided pull-out map. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002. £45. 0 85991 627 8; 1463 6948

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In Cambridge University Library, ms Ff.1.27, the *Historia* is rubricated ‘a history of St Cuthbert and a record of the places and regions of his ancient patrimony from the beginning up to the present time’. In this volume, Johnson South provides an edition of the *Historia*, a parallel English translation and an extended commentary. A fold-out map locates the places named in the text and the sometimes-extensive early medieval composite estates that they may represent. In his introduction, Johnson South discusses the contents of the *Historia* and gives a brief history of the community of St Cuthbert which produced it. Much of the text itself is concerned with recording the acquisition of the estates in northern England and southern Scotland, which together made the church of St Cuthbert one of the most powerful political as well as ecclesiastical institutions in early medieval England. As the editor points out, much of the remarkable post-Conquest historiography produced at Durham, especially its traditions of the migration of the community of St Cuthbert from Lindisfarne to Durham, by way of Chester-le-Street, can be traced to this text. Johnson South discusses what he considers to be the unusual nature of the text as an historical source, that is the interweaving of an ostensibly historical narrative with records of land grants, purchases and other donations to St Cuthbert. Similar texts surviving from
other eleventh-century monasteries, such as the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* for Ely, or ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’ for Worcester, suggest to him that the *Historia* is a product of the eleventh-century monks’ anxiety to define the rights and possessions of their saint’s see or abbey, given some shape by being attached to a hagiographic core text. Here, the question of whether incidents from the patron saint’s life and posthumous career acted as a mnemonic device for his or her community, might have been worth discussing further. In a lengthy review of scholarly opinion as to the date of the text’s composition, Johnson South examines two models, the first proposing that it is basically a tenth-century text with some eleventh-century additions, and the second that it was composed after 1016, perhaps in the mid to late eleventh century. The Latin text retains the divisions imposed by Thomas Arnold, the Rolls Series editor of works associated with Symeon of Durham, and these divisions form the basis of the accompanying commentary. Much of the commentary either discusses the *Historia’s* sources or the significance of the estates granted to St Cuthbert. Many of these comments might, perhaps, have been more useful (and more readily accessible) as footnotes, and further editing might have reduced the repetition in the commentary. That said, this is a useful addition to the growing number of editions of sources relating to the early history of the church of St Cuthbert. There are, however, some surprising omissions from the bibliography, and these may explain why the editor did not take full advantage of this opportunity to examine more fully how early medieval communities constructed, preserved and transmitted their institutional memories.

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**Bill Aird**


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This is a worthwhile addition to an already large body of scholarship on Theodore of Stoudios (759–826), one of the most influential abbots and churchmen of the Byzantine age. It is only the second monograph of any importance to appear in English, and its scope is intentionally limited to Theodore’s theological concerns. These concerns are not treated systematically and comprehensively, even if there are good discussions of Theodore’s view on *oikonomia* and relations between Church and State. Rather Cholij wants to draw attention to select aspects of Theodore’s thought as a way of understanding some of the major positions that he took over the course of his long, eventful and often controversial career. Dividing his study into three parts, Cholij dedicates part I to the principal events of Theodore’s life and a study of sources. Both tasks are handled well, although a more extensive evaluation of the particular qualities of the sources in question would have been useful, given that Theodore produced works for different occasions and across various genres, and further that much of his *corpus* has either been lost or re-edited and rearranged by later generations. A deeper understanding of this literary context would have been particularly welcome in a work whose subsequent analysis depends so much upon a close reading of word definitions, the cross-referencing of ideas over the length and breadth of Theodore’s *corpus* and subtle judgements about the abbot’s supposed
intentions as an author. The analysis proper occupies the balance of the book. Part II, which gives the work its subtitle, is essentially concerned with Theodore’s ideas about order and authority in the world, beginning with his own experience in the monastery. Faith was realised through discipline in a monastery, in Theodore’s view, and discipline was reinforced through a well-ordered faith. The basic claim is that scholars have failed to appreciate the extent to which this and related convictions shaped Theodore’s thinking (and ultimately, actions) as he undertook various challenges outside the monastery. This thesis is hardly a new one, as Cholij’s own notes demonstrate, but his treatment of it is detailed, well-substantiated and instructive. Part III completes the study with what is essentially a group of essays, the most important of which addresses a much-discussed passage in one of Theodore’s letters identifying six mysteries (mysteria) of the Church, one of them being monastic consecration. Whereas previous scholars have gone so far as to interpret the passage as an actual exposition of the sacraments, Cholij doubts that Theodore had any such specific definition in mind, denies that sacraments ‘in the modern sense’ are indicated and views the inclusion of monastic consecration on the list with suspicion. Two related chapters about the abbot’s thought follow, the first concerned with the mysteria of baptism and the eucharist, and the second treating ascetic theology. The book concludes with a summary of Cholij’s conclusions and some reflections on both the historical importance of Theodore and the relevance of his ideas for modern Christians.

Peter Hatlie
University of Dallas, Italy


This is an ambitious attempt to describe hundreds of Romanesque fonts, thereby updating Pudelko’s Romanische Taufsteine (Berlin 1932) and Bond’s Fonts and font covers (1908). In so doing Drake has created a catalogue raisonné dividing fonts firstly by their country of origin and secondly by their form and type of decoration. It is to be recommended to all those interested in the history of art and religion. The catalogue is prefaced by a brief introduction (an ‘amputation’ as Drake puts it in the preface), which is a summary of the original part I of the book, in which the history and symbolism of baptism is considered. Although Drake purports to direct the book at both specialists and non-specialists alike, the basic issues of the history and development of fonts and the problems and analysis of the iconography associated with fonts and baptism are relegated to a brief and uncritical introduction. If one looks towards the individual sections of the catalogue for such penetrating analysis and insightful comparisons, the reader is left somewhat disappointed. Perhaps abbreviated descriptions of each font, confined to main points, would have left more room for the thoughtful analysis of individual fonts, and allowed the author to place individual fonts in a meaningful historical and theological context. In addition, Drake could have made significant references to comparative iconographic material from different media. The result might then have given the specialist and non-specialist alike a more rounded and penetrating understanding of the importance of the fonts
in theological and historical terms and within the broader artistic context. However, those criticisms aside, the book represents a significant attempt to arrange and describe an important body of medieval visual material. Furthermore, the 383 plates, seven appendices, two indices and extensive bibliography enable the book to be used as a basic research tool.

DOMINIC MARNER


As clearly stated at the very beginning of this engaging book, ‘between the late eighth and mid-ninth century a series of doctrinal conflicts brought Christ’s passion into the focus of Carolingian theological discussion with an intensity that, like so many other phenomenon of the era, was unprecedented in the medieval west’ (p. 1). These theological debates over the role of images, Adoptionism, predestination and the nature of the eucharistic presence forced some of the leading Carolingian intellectuals to think through the theological consequences of Christ’s passion in an attempt to harmonise the mystical significance of this event with other elements of Christian doctrine. In her search Chazelle examines a wide range of artistic and literary sources, such as exegetical and theological tracts, liturgical texts, poetry, hagiography, letters and homilies, and thus provides a broad spectrum of Carolingian thought regarding the doctrine of the passion and the crucified Christ.

The book is divided into six chapters (apart from an introduction and a short conclusion), each of which discusses different sources which were produced in different circumstances. In the first chapter Chazelle examines the so-called Libri carolini, which were directed against the seventh ecumenical council of Nicea (787) that restored image worship in the east after the first period of Iconoclasm, and various other contemporary tracts attacking Hispanic Adoptionism, all of which offer essentially a Christological perspective on the crucifixion. The Gellone Sacramentary and Hrabanus Maurus’ In honorem sanctae crucis stand at the core of the discussion in the second chapter, and a plethora of later Carolingian sources (mainly from the time of Louis the Pious) form the basis for the third chapter. Various writings which were produced as part of the two most heated ninth-century theological controversies, that is, the quarrels over divine predestination and the eucharistic presence, are examined respectively in the fourth and the fifth chapters. And finally, the last chapter reviews some later Carolingian images from the Utrecht Psalter, the Drogo Sacramentary and the Pericopes of Henry II.

The crucified god in the Carolingian era is an interesting and thorough book, full of insights. Chazelle’s careful, perceptive and engaging discussions, and her firm grasp of the sources, both primary and secondary, make this book an important contribution to the burgeoning literature on the so-called Carolingian Renaissance.

YITZHAK HEN

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

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The military religious orders of the Middle Ages were a curious hybrid of militarism and monasticism. They do not lack for historians, but their institutional history often seems to focus on the central structures, the politics and the warfare. The fruits of a conference held in 2000, this collection of twenty-two articles (twelve in French, the rest in English) look more closely at the bottom rung of the military orders’ organisational structure, the commandery, as both an economic and an administrative entity. The geographical coverage is broad. French material provides the main focus of attention and analysis, with several articles concerned specifically with the French experience; in addition, three articles deal with Spain, three with Germany and the Baltic, one with England and one with Hungary. The remainder draw their evidence from more than one country. The essays are grouped under five headings: ‘Histoire de l’institution et typologie des commanderies’ (five articles, although Jonathan Riley-Smith’s ‘The origins of the commandery in the Temple and the Hospital’ perhaps functions partly as a general introduction); ‘Le Personnel des commanderies’ (four essays); ‘Vie et fonctions des commanderies’ (five pieces); ‘L’Economie des commanderies’ (six); and finally ‘Une Commanderie rurale: la commanderie de Sainte-Eulalie’ (two articles dealing very precisely with the commandery at Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon, the site of the 2000 conference, and one of them straying beyond the medieval limits imposed on the other contributors). The range of issues addressed is impressive: beyond the concern with basic institutional evolutions, the articles exploit the evidence to consider among other things estate management (Benoit Beaucage, Michael Gervers), women in the commanderies (Helen Nicholson), military architecture (Joan Fuguet Sans), the aged (Alan Forey) and even the role of Hungarian commanderies as authenticating authorities for private documents (Zsolt Hunyadi). Some of the articles reflect work in progress, most obviously in Alain Demurger’s description of his prosopographical project on the French Templars. Well-produced and well-illustrated (with several colour plates) this is a useful collection; its rather narrow title belies the range and wider value of the contents.

University of Birmingham

R. N. Swanson


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Over the course of his long and distinguished career, Kenneth Levy has made seminal contributions to the study of Latin, Greek and Slavonic liturgical music. In recognition of his achievements, Levy’s students and colleagues held a symposium representing all of these areas at Princeton University on 21–23 February 1992 entitled ‘Three worlds of medieval chant’, the proceedings of which were described
by Alice V. Clark in a ‘Report’ published in Current Musicology liv (1993), 84–7. With the exception of Don Randel and Sysse Engberg (the latter of whom is nevertheless listed on the dust jacket), all the speakers at the symposium are represented with articles in this impressive and unusually well-integrated Festschrift. Despite the gap of nine years between the 1992 conference and the publication of its papers (many in considerably expanded versions), the material contained in this volume has lost none of its relevance. The unusually comprehensive view of the current state of inquiry into history, form and function of Christian chant offered by this book is immediately apparent in Peter Jeffrey’s general introduction. Jeffrey not only prepares the reader to see connections between the eastern and western repertories under discussion, but also makes clear the degree to which the authors’ contributions reflect the methodological innovations and shifts of scholarly perspective that have radically altered the field of chant studies since the 1904 Gregorian Congress in Rome.

The main body of the book is divided into four sections, each of which Jeffrey prefaces with a lucid introduction. Part I (‘Emerging and converging textual traditions’) begins with a thorough investigation of references to liturgical psalmody in the sermons of St Augustine by the late James McKinnon, who finds that these texts are witnesses to ‘no more than the uncertain beginnings of a tendency to associate the same epistle, psalm or gospel with a particular date in the [still embryonic] liturgical year’ (p. 18). Homilies are also subjected to intense scrutiny in the article by Margot Fassler which follows. She examines them alongside liturgical texts in order to investigate the origins of public devotion to the Virgin Mary in Constantinople and Jerusalem. The final two articles in this section, by Michel Huglo and Nicolas Schidlovsky, discuss the cross-cultural processes of transmission underlying the formation of, respectively, the Carolingian Cantatorium and the Slavonic Sticherarion, two chant books of fundamental importance for their respective traditions. The introduction of notated sources in these latter two essays facilitates a smooth transition to the book’s second part (‘Mode and melos’), in which specifically musical problems assume greater importance. Keith Falconer and David Hughes offer insights on the tonal organisation of Latin chant prior to the importation of the system of the eight modes (‘Oktoechos’) from the Greek east through, respectively, an analysis of the melodic formulas linking antiphons with their Psalms and the discussion of stylistic characteristics transcending the boundaries between modes. Jeffrey takes a wider view in his magisterial study of ‘The earliest Oktoechoi’, incorporating material from Latin, Armenian, Syriac and Georgian, as well as Greek, sources. In the process of tracing the origins of the eight-fold system of modal classification to the cathedrals and monasteries of eighth-century Palestine, he helps to dispel the outdated notion of a homogeneous ‘Byzantine east’ by distinguishing carefully between the forms of chant cultivated in the urban and monastic rites of Constantinople and the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Liturgical issues recede into the background for most of parts III (‘Turning points in the history of the neumatic notations’) and IV (‘Case studies in melodic transmission’). After noting that an alternate medieval definition for the term modus was ‘interval’, Charles Atkinson proceeds to uncover hitherto unnoticed links between the practical art of the cantor and the theoretical concerns of the musicus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Questions of terminology are similarly prominent in Miloš Velimirović’s introduction to the seventeenth-century Russian musical azbuki, primers on chant notation in which Byzantine, picturesque native and borrowed
western terms are juxtaposed in a curious synthesis that facilitated the codification of the received repertories of Slavonic chant.

Each of the concluding set of four case studies takes a particular aspect of Levy’s work as its point of departure. Working on the basis of a previously inaccessible thirteenth-century manuscript in St Petersburg containing syllabic versions of prooimia, the late Jørgen Raasted tests Levy’s hypothesis that quotations of kontakion texts in stichera might preserve fragments of the ancient melodies of kontakia. Although Raasted discovers that the melodies of the Stichararion differ significantly from those in the thirteenth-century source, he finds that the latter are echoed in the received chant tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church. Dimitrije Stefanović, on the other hand, discovers that quotations of the Trisagion in Byzantine and Slavonic stichera assigned to different modes share a ‘common melodic shape’, leading him to suggest their derivation from an orally transmitted version of the famous hymn. Ruth Steiner’s analysis of the verses to the offertory Elegerunt also confronts the vagaries of oral tradition, showing how the transmission of these verses rendered them susceptible to melodic change. The extended final study by Alejandro Planchart of proses and their alleluias in the sources of (Old) Roman chant throws new light on relations between the regional liturgical traditions of Italy, locating remnants of the lost Old Beneventan chant repertory among the Roman sources’ propers for Christmas and Epiphany. The book, a fitting tribute to Levy, which will be of interest to a wide variety of scholars working on the music and liturgy of the Middle Ages, concludes with some brief remarks by Jeffrey and a series of helpful indices.

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY


The basic problem facing anyone tackling this subject is the dearth of medieval depictions of women writing. The only anonymous nun found to be actually writing is a Cistercian in a manuscript of c. 1310, well after the period covered here. Hence the book takes in representations of authors, donors, scribes and artists, indeed, any woman who took any part in the production of illuminated manuscripts. Part I deals with the search for such images, from Charles the Bald’s Bible of 845 to the early thirteenth century. Female donors and supplicants are far more common than scribes, but the close examination of iconographical details leads the author to conclude that many of those thought to be recipients are in fact donors. For example, the woman in the dedication miniature of the Admont manuscript of Anselm’s Prayers and Meditations, interpreted by Otto Pächt as the recipient, Mathilda of Tuscany, is here identified as the scribe, holding the book with two hands and presenting it to the author. Not everyone will agree with all these reinterpretations, but they go some way towards restoring to women a visual presence as book producers, an activity for which there is at least some documentary evidence. Part II of the book deals with two specific female writers: Baudonivia, author of a life of St Radegonde, and, at much greater length, Hildegard of Bingen. Indeed, about one third of the book is devoted to three Hildegard manuscripts: the lost Ms, formerly
in Wiesbaden, of the Scivias (c. 1165–80), the Liber divinarum operum at Lucca (c. 1220) and, more briefly, the Scivias at Salem (c. 1200). Two themes raised by these manuscripts – the eye-witness through a curtain of Gregory the Great’s inspiration by the Holy Ghost, and the use of wax tablets by female authors – are treated in great detail in two separate sections. Learned and fascinating though these are, they do somewhat obstruct the main thread of the argument. The last section is concerned with sibyls in general and, in particular, with three images in which they are shown with writing implements. One of these, contained in the Montecassino manuscript of Rabanus Maurus De universo (1023), shows two sibyls writing on parchment on their knees, a common position for women and seen as a major difference from male authors usually shown writing on a lectern. This was the classical tradition for poets and other inspired authors and it is here cogently argued that women were seen as inspired visionaries rather than as partaking in male auctoritas. The use of round topped tablets, modelled on those of Moses, lead to the same conclusion. Wax tablets contain the original inspiration, the beginning of literary composition, of which the bound volume is the end product. This is an important book on an under-explored subject and the associated themes discussed make it a valuable contribution in areas beyond its immediate scope. The lack of an index for such a weighty and densely argued tome is greatly to be regretted.

C. M. KAUFFMANN

Essays on Anglo-Saxon and related themes in memory of Lynne Grundy. Edited by Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson. (King’s College London Medieval Studies, 17.) Pp. xviii + 590 incl. frontispiece, 4 plates and 6 tables. London: Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, King’s College London, 2000. £30. 0 9522119 9 8; 0953 217X

Lynne Grundy will be remembered as a significant Anglo-Saxon scholar, who worked on the theology of the homilist Ælfric, collaborated on the Thesaurus of Old English and, as the first person to hold the post of Lecturer in Humanities Computing, was a pioneer in the use of IT for research in the Humanities. Her former colleagues at King’s have assembled a wide-ranging collection of essays that reflect the diversity of Grundy’s intellectual interests and contacts. The volume opens with a paper by Lynne Grundy herself on the conjunction of grammar and theology in the writing of Ælfric, showing that both reflected facets of Ælfric’s desire to teach and to give people access to the means of salvation. Several of the twenty-three other essays deal with aspects of Old English, linguistics and Thesaurus-projects, but many touch on theology and church history so will be of interest to readers of this JOURNAL. Among these one might single out particularly the papers on Ælfric: Stewart Brookes’s analysis of the sources for Ælfric’s adaptation of the Book of Esther; Mary Clayton’s exploration of Ælfric’s attitudes to King Æthelred (‘the Unready’); and Joyce Hill on the different perspectives of Ælfric and Wulfstan on the first millennium. Historians will be keen to read Janet Nelson’s latest reflection on King Alfred’s attitudes to power and authority, which focuses on the problems Alfred had with power, seeing it both as a God-given responsibility and as ‘frail, fleeting and equivocal’. She locates these ideas in a contemporary Carolingian thought-world,
but also within the king’s reading of Gregory the Great. Relic- and book-collecting at Exeter are analysed by Patrick Conner; Hugh Magennis explores the theme of conversion in Old English saints’ Lives; and Gopa Roy offers a fascinating study of Anglo-Saxon views of the shape of the world, showing (with examples of the use of metaphors of eggs, wheels and millstones) that it was accepted in Anglo-Saxon England that the earth was a sphere. Not all the essays are on Anglo-Saxon themes: Janet M. Cowen has looked at taunts and jibes in The book of Margery Kempe; and Lucy Perry at the recurrent theme of treachery in Lazamon’s Brut. Óamonn O’Carraighín has traced the liturgical topos connecting the Annunciation and the Passion from the monks of St Martin’s on the Vatican hill in the seventh century to the anonymous Anglo-Saxon poets and artists responsible for the vernacular poem The dream of the Rood and the Ruthwell Cross, and has demonstrated the continuity of the same topos in Cranmer’s Book of Common Prayer and in the poetry of John Donne. This stimulating collection is an admirable memorial to Lynne Grundy, a scholar who is missed as much for her own vitality and enthusiasm as for her perception and clarity of thought.

University of Sheffield

Sarah Foot


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Two series, English Episcopal Acta and Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicaena, are destined to provide indispensable information for ecclesiastical historians of the period between the Conquest and 1300. The Hereford volume of Fasti follows the established pattern, but in this instance with an invaluable appendix: a new edition of the Hereford obit book from Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.328. This records legacies by individual canons to ensure commemoration of their anniversaries, as well as (in some cases) prayers for the salvation of the souls of relatives and friends. A pity that these gifts – churches, manors, lands, rents, tithes, precious objects or books – are not included in the index, which confines itself to names. Particularly interesting is the legacy (p. 109) of a late thirteenth-century canon, M. Alan de Crepping, a dcl, possibly of Oxford, who had studied at Bologna. It comprised six volumes of canon law, which are duly itemised. Apparently not one has survived. The compiler of this book, Julia Barrow, provides an excellent prosopographical tool. A scholarly introduction is followed by a list of references cited and a discussion of sources. These comprise unpublished cartularies, a mass of individual charters, principally from among the chapter’s muniments, and episcopal registers, notably those of Bishop Cantilupe and Bishop Swinfield. Then come summary biographies of bishops, cathedral dignitaries, archdeacons of Hereford and Shropshire and, finally, of prebendaries, who occupied one or more of the twenty-eight prebends. A well-produced book with an arresting jacket: it will be warmly welcomed.

Clare Hall, Roy Martin Haines

Cambridge
Jean Flori’s latest study of the First Crusade appears just a year after his substantial La Guerre sainte: la formation de l’idée de croisade dans l’occident chrétien. The principal difference between the two volumes lies in the comparisons which are pursued here between the developing idea of crusade and the jihad. In part I Flori surveys the way the pacifism of the early Church was eroded after Constantine’s conversion and during the period of the barbarian invasions in the west. In part II early Islamic doctrines on holy war are examined, and there is a chapter on the growth of an anti-Islamic polemic in Christian Europe. This is followed by a review of the origins of the First Crusade from Pepin the Short to Pope Urban II. Appended are thirty-one translated documents which illustrate what has been explained from both the Christian and the Muslim perspectives.

Flori is very much at home with this historical terrain and he writes lucidly and with authority. The comparison between the crusade and the jihad is sound, though the points made are hardly original. His French readership will find in this book a succinct account of its subject. An English-speaking one will find the same ground covered, over a much broader period, by Peter Partner in his God of battles: holy wars of Christianity and Islam (1997).

NORMAN HOUSLEY

University of Leicester


In this well-researched monograph, a dissertation presented at the University of Mannheim, Regine Birkmeyer examines the medieval practice which allowed married persons to enter the religious life of the cloister. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with which this study is principally concerned, the issues became clarified and crystallised, resulting in a fixed canonical teaching. The problem posed by such a practice concerned not the indissolubility of marriage – this was now commonly accepted – but the matter of the consequent obligation to live together. Married couples could not just separate casually; their separation required an ecclesiastical procedure. Although local synods addressed the question of the entry of the married into the religious life, it was the popes, particularly Alexander III (1159–81), who shaped the canon law. Papal letters were drawn together in the Liber extra (1234) in a title of twenty-one chapters, De conversione coniugatorum (bk iii, tit. 32), which became the accepted teaching on the subject. The author provides a thorough explication of these texts. Essentially, a married couple had to agree mutually and freely to live separately and to renounce the right to the conjugal debt. Also, they both had to agree to enter the cloister, although in the case of old age one of the parties might continue to remain in the world, provided that party swore to live continently. In addition, it was necessary to receive the permission of the bishop. Focusing attention on the higher orders of society in Frankish and German lands, Birkmeyer is able to cast substantial doubt on the extent to which practice conformed with the requirements of the decretals, particularly with respect to the simultaneous entrance of the
parties into religion and also with respect to the receiving of episcopal permission. Questions about motivation, always difficult, are discussed here as satisfactorily as the evidence allows. One especially noteworthy feature of this study is that, drawing on actual cases, it treats the role of married women and how they fared in these matters. A valuable list of the cases which were found is appended: seventy in all (twenty-three from the Cluniac nunnery at Marcigny-sur-Loire alone), the earliest from 1041 and the latest from 1182. Wider nets will undoubtedly capture more instances of this practice and perhaps reveal regional variations. We may then be able to have a firmer sense of its incidence. Regine Birkmeyer has provided the model.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE, Boston

F. DONALD LOGAN


We need a good book on the relationship of law and theology. This book does not fulfil that need. A book that treats the relationship of theology and law would begin in the twelfth century and stay there a long time. The jurists in the twelfth century knew a lot of theology. Law and theology had not yet separated into two disciplines. A theme of such a book would be the separation of law from theology during the twelfth century. It would examine the use of theological terms and texts by later jurists. Instead Evans wanders through a labyrinth without a map. The chapter headings would lead us to believe that we will get splendid treatment of the use of theology by jurists. When readers enter each chapter they find that Evans skips from idea to idea, from century to century, without many connecting arguments. The Summa ‘Elegantius in iure divino’ (Cologne c. 1170) is used as a source of legal thought more often than any other work. In doing so the author is giving a very marginal voice with no influence on later jurisprudence primacy of place. The voice of the anonymous jurist is preserved in a splendid modern edition, but this is no reason to give his voice precedence over almost every other jurist of the period. The first half of the book discusses law and legal institutions but is burdened with interpretive problems. One example: Gratian (who should have occupied centre stage), she says, states that ‘Human [sic] laws are made up of customs (humanae moribus constant)’ (p. 37). Gratian does not ‘say’ that. Isidore of Seville, whose text Gratian included in his Decretum (D.1 c.1), wrote it. Isidore’s entire sentence reads: ‘Divinae natura, humanae moribus constant’. The sentence should be interpreted as ‘Divine laws are established or determined by nature; human laws are established or determined by the usages of human beings.’ Gratian never thought that human laws are ‘made up’ of customs. Gratian did say much about human, natural, ecclesiastical and secular law in his dicta with which he interpreted the chapters that he included in D.1-D.20, his tract De legibus. He put together this treatise on law that had no precedent in the canonical or in the Roman law tradition and placed it at the beginning of his Decretum. If one wants to explore the idea of law at the very beginning of the Ius commune, this is where the quest would begin. Instead of Gratian we learn about law in many fragments taken from the Summa ‘Elegantius in iure divino’. The author constantly jumps from this obscure jurist of the twelfth century to Baldus de Ubaldis.
Baldus is certainly important, but Evans gives almost no attention to jurists between Gratian and Baldus. The second half of the book treats the rules of procedure in the medieval *Ordo iudiciarius*. She makes almost no attempt to connect the rules to theological thought. Consequently, the reader learns very little about the relationship of law and theology in this book. Perhaps Evans was unclear about her audience. Scholars will find the book superficial. The ideas about law in the book are not new or her own. They are all taken from the work of other scholars. I think that students will be thoroughly lost in the labyrinth she has created. From the number of misspellings in the text, incomplete citations and the inelegant formatting of the notes I concluded that the copy-editors at Routledge were on strike when the book was in production.

**The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.**

**Kenneth Pennington**

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The letters of Peter of Celle were first published by Sirmond in 1613 and were reprinted at least six times, including in the *Patrologia Latina*. There were originally two collections: the first of early letters, mostly written while Peter was abbot of Montier-la-Celle (c. 1145–62) and arranged according to the rank of the recipient, and the second of later letters, dating from Peter’s abbacy at St-Remi at Reims (1162–81). These two collections were combined in the manuscript used by Sirmond, which is now lost, but parts survive in several manuscripts, on which, together with Sirmond’s edition, the present edition is based. There are in all 184 letters, of which 177 derive from the sender’s archive and seven from copies preserved by recipients and in individual collections (p. xxxv). The letters range widely in character. Some are in effect spiritual and theological treatises. Those to Peter’s own community of Montier-la-Celle and to the Cistercians of Mont-Dieu (*ep.* xlii, liv) show the serious intellectual interests of the monks. Many are letters of friendship, which Peter says should be ‘refreshed by daily greetings, indeed watered by mutual conversations, and perhaps renewed with the reciprocation of gifts’ (*ep.* lxxix), but others are critical and severe. There are several letters of introduction and at least one recruiting letter. Practical affairs are often mentioned, including loans and their repayment, marriage, burial rights, alien priories, transfers from one religious house to another, buildings and gifts. A surprising letter to Louis VII concerns the king’s request for a palfrey and complains at hearing nothing about two previous *servitiae*, one in cash and the other of a three-horse carriage (*ep.* clxxx). The letters naturally throw light on many aspects of monastic history. Peter occasionally remarked on the hypocrisy, deceit and negligence of contemporary monks, as in *ep.* xlix, lviii and lxxvii, where he told the pope that the ‘religious life of our entire Christendom has cooled’, but he also expressed admiration (not always unmixed with criticism) for some of the older monasteries and for the new religious orders, including the Cistercians (whose rigour, justice, severity and discretion he praised especially in *ep.* clxi), the Carthusians and the Grandmontines. There are many interesting details on the writing, sending and delivery of letters. Their style is often elaborate and
allusive, with many biblical and other citations and extensive use of metaphors concerning water and the sea, fire, cooking and eating, and other topics. He makes some amusing remarks about the differences between the French and the English as they were seen at that time. The translation is for the most part smooth and accurate, though *Cluniacensem* in *ep. xxiv* surely means ‘Cluny’ rather than ‘Cluniac’, and a few terms are translated inconsistently. There are fourteen appendices on particular points, a concordance, three indices of dates, quotations and allusions, and recipients, and a somewhat meagre general index in which almost all the entries are proper names.

**INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY,**

**GILES CONSTABLE**

**PRINCETON**


This book is a pioneering study of the place of Latin in the schools of medieval and Renaissance Italy. It is firmly grounded in an examination of 1,300 manuscript schoolbooks, over 300 of which have been selected for more detailed study, and its conclusions are substantiated by copious quotation from these texts, and by a wealth of detail drawn from glossed notebooks. Black examines which Latin texts were read in schools, the new school grammars that were produced in the thirteenth century, the training given in syntax and morphology, and the consequences for school study of the rise of professional Italian universities and the introduction of the vernacular as a medium for teaching. Yet behind the changes thus introduced a basic conservation remained: ‘the fact is that methods of reading and using school authors hardly changed over this long period’ (p. 275). Black processes the mass of information he has assembled with great care and accuracy. Any scholars interested in the technicalities of Latin grammar and its connections with the disciplines of philosophy and rhetoric, in latinity, the history of Latin teaching and the reception of classical authors, in the commentary tradition and in the rise of humanism, will find much to interest them in this admirable volume, which clearly results from years of labour. This ground-breaking book has a full bibliography, extensive appendices of manuscripts and a detailed general index, all of which should serve to advance further studies in this important area of scholarship.

**UNIVERSITY OF YORK**

**J. W. BINNS**


Relations between the Greek and Latin Churches on Cyprus were a thorny matter and clear publications on the subject are naturally helpful, especially on Cyprus itself where few late-medieval documents survive and published Latin texts may be hard to find or understand. In 1997 Nicholas Coureas published *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312*, and in 1997 he and Christopher Schabel re-published *The cartulary of the*
Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia with English summaries of the Latin texts. Schabel now presents a recompilation of fourteen Latin texts assembled from different sources and publications, the original manuscript of the *Synodikon* being lost, and he provides an English translation on facing pages. This compilation constitutes a corpus of official Latin legislation on the Church in Cyprus. The second part contains sixty-one papal and other texts, many taken from the Nicosia cartulary, given in English translation. There are notes, a bibliography and an introduction which is sensible as well as lengthy. There were practical questions, about tithes for example, and much theological debate and dispute over relations with the Greeks. How far these rules and regulations were accepted by the Greeks and actually put into practice is a separate matter, as is the question of how the situation on Cyprus compared to that in other Latin lands in the east where similar questions arose.

ANTHONY LUTTRELL


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A reviewer’s sins can sometimes prove trying. A delayed review of Tim Tatton-Brown’s elegant survey – *Lambeth Palace* – has meant that writing has coincided with the announcement that the Church of England is planning major changes to its episcopal residences. Lambeth will not be sold, and the archbishop will remain in his own apartments, but there are proposals for its conversion into a conference and meeting centre. So the ‘900-year near-continuous use as a residence for the holder of a unique English office’ will continue, but there will be an inevitable sense of glory and power departed. Tatton-Brown’s book celebrates that power, and its translation into bricks and mortar, both at Lambeth, and in the Kentish and Surrey manors that were part of the Canterbury inheritance. In the early chapters the reader is led through a rapid survey of the Anglo-Saxon archbishops. Here the architectural interest is limited, and the text waits on the arrival of the great Norman builders before achieving its distinctive focus. In London Ralph d’Escures (promoted 1114) seems to have been the first archbishop to have a ‘hospice’ at Lambeth, presumably a modest dwelling because within a generation it was being enlarged by Theobald. Thereafter the leaders of the English Church sought to embellish and extend their London base with remarkable regularity, but five names stand out as particularly significant. Stephen Langton, of Magna Carta fame, built on a grand scale, including the surviving chapel; Henry Chichele and John Morton constructed much of the domestic accommodation, the towers and gatehouse, and, after the great divide of Reformation and civil war, William Juxon rebuilt the great hall in a style fit for the leader of the restored Church of England. Finally William Howley proceeded with characteristic nineteenth-century ambition to build a vast block in the ‘Gothic perpendicular’ style. Lesser status symbols abounded: Thomas Cranmer had a unique summer-house in his garden, built by his chaplain, John Ponet, later bishop of Winchester. Tillotson had a greenhouse ‘one of the finest and costliest about the town’. Although there were inevitable periods of difficulty and decay no archbishop
could afford to neglect display at Lambeth. Elsewhere was another matter, and Tatton-Brown traces the retreat from property-ownership first forced on the archbishops at the Reformation and then undertaken voluntarily in the interests of economy. This is a polite history of the archbishops and their property, perhaps too little reflective of the tensions and conflicts inherent in displays of wealth and power by the Established Church, but it is a pleasure to read and an invaluable insight into the architecture of a unique London residence.

JESUS COLLEGE,
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FELICITY HEAL

Die Bischo¨fe des Heiligen Ro ¨mischen Reiches, 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon.

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In medieval historical study, prosopography is quite the thing. Encouraged by meticulous research into coherently understandable groups such as women, armies, townsfolk, children, peasants, churchmen and more, historians have been enabled to build up credible profiles of people at their tasks in society. One thinks of the villagers in Montaillou, the widows of medieval London, the soldiers of the Hundred Years War, and so on. The periodical Medieval Prosopography has advertised the diversity of approach. Now Erwin Gatz’s biographical lexicon recording the bishops of the German empire from 1198 to 1448 adds profitably to the treasury. It is a co-operative work by fifty-four scholars under Professor Gatz’s direction. The cited sources fill 125 pages, and the short biographies of the bishops of nearly seventy sees occupy 900 pages or so. Each entry carries a short bibliography, and each see is preceded by an up-to-date history of the foundation and evolution of the bishopric. The whole compendium provides a formidable accessory for understanding ecclesiastical history over a long time span. Long ago I was afforded the opportunity to research the archives of the Franconian bishoprics of Bamberg, Eichstätt and Würzburg. In the current volume Helmut Flachenecker was assigned these sees, and it was gratifying to read his examples of impeccable scholarship. For example, the nine pages on the series of six bishops who converted the see of Eichstätt from a dependency of the Bavarian counts of Hirschberg into an autonomous principality between the 1260s and the 1320s not only give us all the biographical detail but also comprise a short history of the political transformation of Eichstätt. But one must also recognise this volume’s debt to hard workers in the past; Erich von Guttenberg on Bamberg, Franz Heidingsfelder on Eichstätt and Alfred Wendehorst on Würzburg, to cite only those cases I chose to look at in detail.

UNIVERSITY OF READING

BENJAMIN ARNOLD
The monumental work of the Austrian Historical Institute in editing the registers of Pope Innocent III is now approaching the half-way mark of the pontificate as there is no register for the pope’s seventeenth year. In a climate where editions are not welcomed in all historical circles, it is heartening to see that an enterprise that produced its first volume nearly forty years ago in 1964 is still continuing with the same high standards. Much of the credit lies with Professor Hageneder who has been involved in the project from its inception and has led an able team of younger editors into the new century. The eighth year of the pontificate of Pope Innocent III runs from 22 February 1205 to 21 February 1206 and the register for this papal year (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 7) consists of 218 letters directed all over Europe. About one-sixth of this total concerns England. These cover a variety of topics and include Innocent’s important decision on the exemption of the abbey of Evesham from its diocesan, the bishop of Worcester (letter 205). One of the most interesting letters is that to the powerful Geoffrey FitzPeter, earl of Essex and justiciar of England, of 7 July, the original of which survives in the Vatican archives and was not sent. The same letter, however, appears dated 16 December and was registered (letter 165). The only significant change is that the archbishop of Canterbury (Hubert Walter) who had been instrumental in the grant is described as of ‘bone memorie’ in the second letter. The letter directs two ecclesiastics to allow Geoffrey to postpone the performance of his vow to go on pilgrimage if they find his request justified. Geoffrey alleged that his presence was needed in England to prevent his children from being disinherited by his enemies and to protect his newly founded Gilbertine house at Shouldham. He also claimed that the war between the king of England and the king of France prevented his passage. Plates of both the unsent letter (showing correction and addition) and the registered copy of the later letter are included among fifteen colour plates. This letter well illustrates just how important this new edition is for both diplomatists and historians. The introduction to the edition includes a study of the manuscript, editorial details, details of the decretal collections incorporating Innocent’s decisions recorded in the register, a concordance with Migne, details of the hand changes (compare the previous volumes for the occurrence of some of the same hands), and certain common forms of the privileges. Indices of incipits, biblical citations, citations of canonical collections, and petitioners and addresses, are found at the end of the work, together with a general index. The volume is a worthy tribute to the dedicatee, Fr Friedrich Kempf sj, whose palaeographical and diplomatic study of Innocent’s register, published in 1945, broke so much new ground.
Douceline de Digne was the thirteenth-century founder of the beguines in Marseilles, and her *vita* is an important example of Occitan literature. Through her aristocratic connections she was probably responsible for the royal protection and patronage afforded the beguines in France. Her brother, Hugh, was a notable Franciscan theologian and adherent of the Spirituals. Douceline’s involvement in the history of the Franciscan order in southern France and her personal emulation of Francis is an interesting point of contrast with the beguines of northern France, Belgium and Germany who are more closely associated with the Dominican order. The text of the *vita* is accompanied by a lengthy interpretive essay as well as a shorter introduction. The interest of the essay extends beyond the text of the *Life* itself; for example it includes a discussion of the significance of tears and fasting in the prayer life of beguines, which provides a helpful context for the apparently excessive behaviour of Margery Kempe. There are details in the introduction with which I would take issue – for example recent scholarship has convincingly argued that, rather than beguines being ‘not the main target’ of William of St Amour’s vitriol, they became precisely that when he realised that the mendicant orders, his original target, were too highly regarded by the papacy for his antagonism to be effective. However, such quibbles aside, this book is a welcome addition to the field, and worth serious consideration even by those for whom Douceline is only of marginal interest.

**SASKIA MURK JANSEN**

**ROBINSON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE**

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The *poverello* of Assisi seized the imagination of contemporaries throughout Christendom and even beyond its borders. His life, based on a literal imitation of his divine master, bred admiration and a desire for imitation. The strength of his personality enabled him to live the Gospel in the most literal manner, regardless of whether he was in the company of paupers or cardinals. The way in which his followers strove to translate his insights into directives for as many as sixty to one hundred friars resident in a large friary stands at the centre of the fraternity and its catalogue of heroism and division. The history of the first 120 years of the Franciscans is narrated by one of the most eminent scholars in the mendicant cosmos, David Burr, emeritus professor of Virginia Tech, whose research has done much to illuminate the teaching of Peter Olivi. The fraternity is charted in thirteen chapters, which cover the key moments in its history, from its inception to the aftermath of Angelo Clareno. The subtle change which was taking place in the fraternity during the 1230s and 1240s is fully explored. The events of the Alleluia movement in 1233 saw friars entrusted with aspects of civic administration. Gerard of Modena was
appointed as podestà of Parma; some of his confères negotiated peace between cities which were at loggerheads, while others were promoted to the episcopate in growing numbers. Although the founder withdrew from his native city, his followers in later decades were drawn into civic activities and some of their names began to recur in testamentary dispositions. Lambertino Cazanimici, a novice of Bologna, seemed to be oblivious of the advice offered to aspirants to the fraternity contained in the newly published Vita secunda by Thomas of Celano. His will of 19 September 1249 gave money to the poor for the remission of his sins and to the friary of Bologna ‘pro libris … emendis post eius professionem.’ The deposition of Elias of Cortona in 1239 did not silence the plea for a more authentic witness to the founder’s vision and there were signs of friction and indiscipline in the 1240s and 1250s, some of which were tackled by John of Parma’s visitation of England in 1248. By the last quarter of the thirteenth century there was evidence that some friars were becoming less discriminating about bequests from their wealthy neighbours. Within the next fifty years the movement had grown immensely and started to diverge visibly from the vision of the founder. A salient feature of this invigorating study is the way in which major figures are thoroughly examined and not seen necessarily as part of a unified whole. Peter Olivi, Ubertino of Casale and Angelo Clareno receive close scrutiny and their differences of interpretation and emphasis are skilfully articulated. Their dealings with the incipient tradition of the Friars Minor Conventual are closely examined, particularly the first twenty years of the fourteenth century. The hopes for a measure of independence, which had flickered under Celestine V in 1294, were rekindled briefly by Clement V (1305–14), who set aside particular friaries for the use of the incipient Spirituals. This paved the way for the separate communities in the later 1330s and the beginnings of the Observant reform. The eighth chapter assesses the intervention of John XXII, whose dealings with the friars will form the subject of a forthcoming study by Patrick Nold. His monograph is about to be published by Oxford University Press and places weight on the intervention of Bertrand de la Tour, a friar and curial cardinal. The links between the reformers and beguins are examined in chapter x and inquisitorial sources are fully exploited. There are some minor blemishes. Celebrating or offering mass are more conventional terms than ‘conducting’ (p. 189). A typographical error states that the Fourth Lateran Council took place in 1214 (p. 72) and confère appears without an accent (p. 57). This admirable study forms a bridge between the events following the deposition of Elias of Cortona at the general chapter of Rome and the emergence of separate communities approximately a century later, which contained the seeds of the Observant reform.

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Michael Robson


If this extremely successful book makes one point plain, it is that the vast literature on the politics of English medieval kingship has tended until comparatively recently to obscure the delicate but fundamental role of religion in the shaping of the political
and cultural development of monarchy. The nature of royal devotion is a real gap. Professor Vincent’s study looks at first sight like a specialised investigation of one of the oddities of the medieval cult of relics—the belief, itself hotly contested, that relics of Christ of a more intimate nature even than ‘contact’ relics, indeed products of normal human biology, bodily emanations, might have survived the Resurrection. Christ’s blood, or Mary’s milk, somehow persisted on earth. In doing so they threatened the integrity of the doctrine of the Resurrection. The subject has become extremely fashionable in recent years in the wake of the enterprises of Caroline Walker Bynum. Nicholas Vincent’s approach is not self-consciously fashionable at all, and yet it succeeds brilliantly as a cogent and responsible account of a particular relic—that sent to Henry III in 1247 under the seals of the patriarch of Jerusalem, the masters of the Templars and various bishops from the Holy Land. Relics of Christ’s Passion had seldom been so fashionable as then, Louis IX having erected the Sainte-Chapelle to house the newly-acquired Crown of Thorns, and his brother-in-law Henry presumably eyeing him enviously. The story of the reception of this relic, as it were Henry’s reply to Louis, was well told and indeed portrayed by Matthew Paris in the Chronica majora, Henry processing the tiny phial through London to Westminster where it was paraded around the royal chambers, so sanctifying them, before being finally presented to the monks of Westminster. Vincent’s study of this striking—but ultimately futile—effort to promote the image of Plantagenet sacral kingship (for this is the history of a failed cult-object) is not only thoroughly documented but absolutely compelling in its account of the theoretical debates that framed such relics. This is a local subject that has much wider implications for the nexus of politics and religion in the period. Its only conundrum is the fate of the relic itself. So far as is known, no evidence at all survives for the manner of its display at Westminster, an extraordinary consideration when one reflects on the thoroughness of documentation of so much that went on there, and the theatricality of so much contemporary eucharistic display. In effect it disappeared, ignominious testimony as much to the unpopularity of monarchy as to the problem of such relics themselves.

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The Coronation Book of Charles V (BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B. VIII) is a singular survival of a limited but important type of ceremonial record, sometimes with illustrations, produced in the later Middle Ages: the illustrated coronation ordo. Examples come first from thirteenth-century France, such as the illustrated ordo in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms lat. 1246, and they are known in England too, as in the Liber regalis of c. 1390 at Westminster Abbey. Quite why such texts were produced in illustrated form remains obscure. Generally the illustrations are of a symbolic nature and fall into a limbo between the textual prescription and the ceremony of coronation as performed. It may have become easier to represent the ordines as the content of those of Reims and Westminster stabilised in the fourteenth century. But
these books remain problematical. The coronation ceremony was by its nature and intent adaptive to circumstances. Interest in ceremony and procedural nicety may explain why Charles V collected coronation *ordines*, and they certainly seem to have been the subject of inter-dynastic exchange: this particular example passed into the hands of the duke of Bedford presumably after Agincourt. On the whole they are rare; none is so fully illustrated as that of Charles V (1364–80), and for none can so much evidence be produced for direct royal editorial control of the illustration as this one. In this thorough and closely-reasoned (but also wide-ranging) study, the reader is provided with insights into the artistic context of the Coronation Book Master and the development and nuancing of the coronation process at fourteenth-century Reims, for the book proceeds on the reasonable assumption that this is by no means a neutral record, any more than the ceremony itself was ideologically innocent in its transformation and adaptation. It represents a comprehensive contribution to the mounting literature on the French *ordines*, including especially the work of R. A. Jackson, and also on the construction of French dynastic sensibility, as in Anne D. Hedeman’s 1991 study of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and their illumination. The manuscript has long been known in the form of Dewick’s now dreary-looking publication for the Henry Bradshaw Society (vol. xvi, 1899), but here it is reproduced splendidly.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE,
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PAUL BINSKI


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A new volume in this distinguished series deserves a warm welcome: the highest publishing standards are once again achieved by the editor, a master at the arts of unravelling, dating and presenting the diocesan legislation of thirteenth-century France. The main sources are later collections, surviving, for the texts edited here, either in late medieval codices (including a quite recent discovery at the Hospital of Kues-Bernkastel) or in a printed edition of 1541 or in early eighteenth-century transcrips. The volumes of the series are of necessity interlinked, and the present (concerned with texts for the dioceses of Bordeaux, Saints and Poitiers, Dax [province of Auch], Paris [province of Sens] and Rouen, Bayeux and Coutances) extends our knowledge of the influence of the *synodalia* in the previous four volumes, especially, that is, of the dioceses of Paris, Angers, Nîmes and the province of Reims. Following the lead of Odette Pontal (editor of volumes i and ii) and others, Joseph Avril has devoted himself to the episcopal, sacerdotal and pastoral life of the thirteenth century in a range of articles and books (for the latter, including his earlier editions of *synodalia*, see the reviews *ante* as listed in this JOURNAL’s *Cumulative index to volumes 1–50*, 1999). He wears his learning very lightly. Indeed, occasionally greater clarification would be useful of the (considerable) extent to which his work demands revision of the *Répertoire des statuts synodaux*, ed. A. Artonne, L. Guizard and O. Pontal.
What, for example, is the difference (if any) between the ‘1277’ decrees of Eudes Rigaud (Rouen), a date seemingly accepted by Avril on p. 183, and his newly edited and newly dated decrees of 1248 (pp. 189–90)? Also, we are offered little hint, beyond the listings in the Répertoire, of what further volumes are now needed, or planned. While synodalia form a discrete kind of legislation, the editor is keenly, and effectively, aware of the need to maintain and provide the contextual evidence: the contexts, that is, within which the decrees were preserved and circulated and the links with papal, conciliar and provincial constitutions and with the work of specific archbishops and bishops. These texts are not just—as they are often described—about the ‘pastoral’ work of the Church: they are about the power and authority of the Church, not only disseminating its legislative guidance on matters sacramental, administrative and disciplinary but also—more difficult to assess and thus too often overlooked—learning from and responding to diocesan conditions. The political importance of the decrees is often direct, witness the preoccupation (especially evident by the latter part of the thirteenth century) with a need for defence against secular alienations and interventions. Mention must be made, too, of the bishop of Poitiers’s detailed listing (pp. 123–31), in instructions in 1304 to the deans and archpriests of his diocese, of fifty-nine actions which result ipso facto in excommunication. It is sometimes argued that excommunication, within a political context at least, was by the thirteenth century a weakened force: the case is open.

University of Sheffield

J. H. Denton


The patronage of the Luxemburg Emperor Charles IV (1316–78) has long fascinated historians of medieval Europe, not least because the art and architecture this remarkable figure commissioned after his accession in 1346 represent so strikingly the cultural eclecticism and internationalism of the mid-fourteenth century. In Prague, Charles created a new planned city and studium generale and, together with the imperial treasury of Karlstein Castle, an astonishing array of new buildings, including the completion of the cathedral of St Vitus, in itself testimony to the major role played at this court by the cult of St Wenceslas. Here, if anywhere, we can speak of policy. As successor to the Bohemian patron saint, Charles self-consciously promoted both his and the saint’s image, but he did so in a way without exact parallel anywhere else in contemporary Europe, employing French, Bohemian and Italian artists who helped to shape one of the most well-preserved but odd court cultures of the period. This aesthetic inclusivity reminds us of fourteenth-century Avignon, like Prague a new and dynamic, but also somewhat evanescent, artistic centre. Charles’s religious sensibility, as manifested in the panel and wall paintings surviving in Prague, was distinctly apocalyptic in tone, his taste for smothering the interiors of Karlstein Castle and the Wenceslas Chapel in St Vitus with irregularly cut semi-precious stones invoking the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem. What Charles did, above all, was to insinuate his own image into his many religious representations, again to an extent anticipated perhaps only by Pope Boniface VIII. The literature on Bohemia at this time is dominated, inevitably, by Czech writings, as well as by the
notable exhibition catalogue *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsman und Mäzen* (1978–9). Iva Rosario’s investigation in English, together with its full bibliography, will therefore be welcome to students of medieval power and religion. Central to the study is the formation of Charles IV’s self-representation in portraiture, a comparatively new genre. The study thus continues the work of such authors as Claire Sherman on *The portraits of Charles V of France* (1969). Yet this is not an account merely of a genre, but of the way portraiture developed within the framework of religious and dynastic expectations. The text offers a sensible overview of all the imagery related to Charles IV. To the bibliography should now be added Paul Crossley’s study ‘The politics of presentation: the architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia’, in S. Rees-Jones, R. Marks and A. J. Minnis (eds), *Courts and regions in medieval Europe* (2000), 99–172.

**PAUL BINSKI**

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An intensive study of Dartford Priory, the single second order Dominican house, or Dominican nunnery, in pre-Reformation England, has long been a desideratum. From its foundation in 1356 by Edward III, Dartford continued to attract royal patronage under the next four kings, and at the time of its suppression, sometime after 1 April 1539, it was the seventh wealthiest of the English nunneries; the community, consisting of twenty-six nuns and lay sisters, was flourishing and, indeed, was among the six monasteries refounded under Mary Tudor. Since Dominican priories were exempt from episcopal control and under the jurisdiction of their provincial, the loss of all records of the pre-Reformation English Dominican province has limited the documentation for Paul Lee’s study.

Nevertheless, Lee has scrupulously investigated other relevant material, including royal records, Dominican registers in Rome (via C. F. R. Palmer), letters, wills and so on. The resulting account provides a picture of a highly devout and learned enclosed community whose spiritual needs were generally attended to by resident friars drawn from Kings Langley in Hertfordshire, supplemented when necessary by secular priests. Much attention is devoted to discerning possible connections between Dartford and the secular world, and, of particular interest, Lee finds evidence of a vowess (Alice Hompton, c. 1484), of boarders (the two daughters of the duke and duchess of Clarence from 1418 to 1421), of access of the laity to the conventual church, and of nunnery schools. From a detailed survey of the eight surviving manuscripts, added to recorded gifts and bequests, and what is known about continental Dominican nunneries, Lee speculates – quite convincingly – that there was a high level of learning at Dartford. At several key points, Lee, basing his approach on the excellent work of Roger Ellis, compares aspects of the Dartford community to Syon Abbey. The comparison is well founded, but had Lee fully understood the composition of the Bridgettine house and how it worked – with the priest-brothers, who, though enclosed, preached in the vernacular to the community and to the laity (in segregated parts of the church) on Sundays and acted as confessors and spiritual advisers, not only to the nuns, but to vowesses and others – he could have drawn even closer parallels. Surprisingly, Lee
seems to suggest that the Syon nuns themselves were responsible for book production (p. 143) when, in fact, there is no evidence even of their copying books before the Reformation. The brothers, however, did translate and write books for the nuns, as did the Carthusians across the river at Sheen, who also copied many of their texts. Though some reorganisation and judicious use of footnotes might have eliminated many of the book’s overly conscientious repetitions (for example, roughly the same information is given about friar Robert Stroddel on pp. 39 and n. 161, 44 and n. 187, 124 and n. 74, and 159 and n. 130), and more careful proof-reading helped avoid grammatical infelicities (for example, subject–verb agreement on pp. 33, 123 and 181), Lee has produced a carefully documented resource offering insight into the personnel, organisation and spirituality of an important nunnery in late medieval England.

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The theme of death continues to fascinate scholars of different disciplines, periods and regions, with an unabating stream of studies (most recently by Craig Koslofsky and Peter Marshall) dedicated to this liminal part of human experience. Judith Middleton-Stewart has little time for European or theoretical perspectives, but anchors her work all the more firmly in late medieval East Anglia. Historians of most other areas can only marvel at the wealth of primary and secondary material available for these eastern counties. Inward purity and outward splendour adds another gem to this collection. The book digests almost 3,000 wills (16 per cent by women) and much supplementary evidence from a deanery of fifty-two parishes and religious houses of five different orders. Whoever thought that Eamon Duffy had illustrated everything that could be shown about the region’s churches will discover yet more facets of flourishing pre-Reformation piety here. Furthermore, a quarter of the plates come in colour (making artwork like the Westhall rood screen even more striking) and there is a series of useful maps, plans and indices as well. The late medieval urge for post mortem remembrance, inspired by the doctrine of purgatory, fanned an immense variety of pious giving. Middleton-Stewart devotes entire sections to specific categories of bequests (books, glass, vestments etc.) and leaves no stone unturned to obtain additional information. The argument is arranged in four parts, dedicated, first, to the ‘realm of the living’, i.e. the topographical setting, the records and donations in support of the local church; second, the ‘kingdom of the dead’, nurtured by intercessory devices such as masses, obits, chantries and gilds; third, the range of ‘tributes and gifts’, enhancing musical and liturgical provision; and, finally, devotions to the ‘glorious company’ of saints and their images. The conclusion is less of a summary than a record of the dismantling of this religious edifice. Throughout, we are reminded of the uneven survival and pitfalls of sources, although it remains unclear why certain quantitative statements remain possible and others not.
The competing demands of kinship, charity, ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ concerns and the pivotal role of the parish are other recurrent themes. Two-thirds of testators left general bequests to the local church and the remainder supported specific projects. By the late fifteenth century there was a technical term (‘quetheword’) for this type of donation which the author – perhaps too unilaterally – identifies as the ‘bed-rock on which the churches’ finances were built’ (p. 110). Intriguing insights are offered through the juxtaposition of ‘developed’ and ‘planned’ churches and the topography of burial locations. Overall, this is an invaluable resource for anybody with an interest in the region, its heritage and will-making elites or – more generally – the manifold manifestations of late medieval religious mentality in a particular environment.

University of Warwick

Beat Kumin


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This is an engaging collection of eleven essays covering a time-span of almost two centuries from the mid-fifteenth, very loosely linked by the broad themes of vernacular culture and humanism. The book’s origins lie in the International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature held in Oxford in August 1996, the starting-point for five of its chapters. It falls to Sally Mapstone to perform the Herculean task of providing a focus for all eleven chapters. In an elegant introduction, she skilfully links Robert Louis Stevenson’s poem, which gives the book its title, with Pitscottie’s account of James V’s 1529 visit to ‘a palace in the wild’ in Atholl; and although she cannot resist citing the papal ambassador’s alleged description of Scotland as ‘the erse of the world’, she does so in order to refute this view and to explain why fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish literature, as she sees it, is characterised by a mixture of optimistic wish-fulfilment and self-doubt. These are themes which are touched on in some, though not all, of the subsequent chapters. Nicola Royan and Ulrike Morét provide sturdy defences of the histories of Hector Boece and Thomas Dempster respectively; Janet Hadley Williams gives fascinating insights into aspects of Sir David Lindsay’s expertise as courtier-diplomat for James V, while David Parkinson pursues some of the problems associated with Mary, Queen of Scots’ gender and the varied reactions of her subjects and courtiers to female rulers. In a tour-de-force of ground-breaking scholarship, Alasdair MacDonald not only provides new insights into James III’s chapel at Restalrig – suggesting links between this foundation, the Jerusalem church in Bruges, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the king’s familiar, Anselm Adorne – but goes some way towards a reassessment of King James’s role as artistic patron. The much later court of the indisputably artistic James VI is evoked in informative studies of Mark Alexander Boyd and John Burel by Ian Cunningham and Jamie Reid-Baxter respectively, while Clare McManus’s study of the Stirling baptismal celebrations for Prince Henry in 1594 – stimulating but also heavy going – describes these entertainments as ‘rites of royal birth and initiation resonant with the gendered structures
and identity of the self-performance of early modern courtly society’. Roger Mason’s forcefully argued study of the reception of humanism in pre-Reformation Scotland provides a fascinating context for the other early Renaissance chapters, and a welcome analysis of social change in the century after 1460; but the burden of proof still rests heavily on those who argue that this period witnessed seismic changes in Church and State due to a proliferation of lawyers and an increasingly literate laity.

University of St Andrews

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Among the conferences held to mark the opening to scholars of the historical archives of the Roman Holy Office, with their materials relevant to both inquisition and index, was one which met in May 2000 at Frankfurt. The German-language papers in this volume include, among others, the opening remarks of Cardinal Ratzinger himself. The editor also provides a substantial introduction in the form of an essay on German involvement in the evolution of the Roman index, either side of 1900. The majority of the papers however concern the early modern period, and are introduced by a concise survey of the surviving archives, related to their own history, by their director, Alejandro Cifres. In an essay which has also appeared in an Italian version, arising from a similar conference held in Italy, published in 2000, John Tedeschi augments his well-established researches in the Roman inquisition material to be found in Dublin in the light of the newly opened Roman archives themselves. Another leading scholar in the field, Massimo Firpo, exercises his usual critical care in reviewing the conclusion of the Roman trial of Pietro Carnesecchi, in 1566–7. Francesco Beretta, who has also contributed to other volumes similar to this, revisits again the famous or notorious case of Galileo. In this, as in another contributor’s examination of the Roman inquisition’s position in relation to witchcraft accusations, recent critical assessment seems to be confirmed rather than overturned. Other essays, on those serving in the Roman Holy Office and Congregation of the Index, or on local application of the authority of these bodies, do however strengthen the case for caution before accepting in too simple a form the assertion that the two tribunals were permanently and universally at odds with each other. The final section of the volume is devoted to the index and to book censorship. The summary introduction to this section is provided by J. M. De Bujanda, the expert editor of a modern series reproducing versions of the Index. A long essay by Ugo Baldini argues with care for the relatively limited effect of Roman restrictions on works which might be considered in some sense ‘scientific’ publications. The attempts of the Congregation of the Index to supervise amended texts, in relation to Italian literary works or Latin theological volumes, are also discussed in following papers. Finally an admirably clear contribution reviews the realities of book control and censorship in post-Reformation German-speaking Europe at local level.

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