

ing to Howe, who incorporates evidence from material culture in these chapters. In chapters 4 through 6, Howe describes efforts to inspire religious devotion throughout the “millennial Church,” discussing church ornamentation, new types of reliquaries, the growth of use of crosses and crucifixes, lavishly decorated manuscripts, the cult of the saints and relics, the production of saints’ lives and promotion of new saints, the Mass and liturgy, ecclesiastical processions, and the appearance of the crowd. In chapter 6, Howe discusses the growth of schools and learning as well as the curriculum of studies, both the traditional liberal arts and other disciplines, and the value of learning to the religious life. Chapter 8 examines the social order, kings and bishops, priests and monks, and the great mass of the laity and the various networks connecting them.

One of the most important sections of the book is the last chapter, in which Howe draws upon his own impressive research to demonstrate the numerous contacts between the Roman and Greek churches. He correctly notes that the mutual excommunications of Humbert of Silva Candida and Michael Cerularios and the related schism of 1054 seem of greater significance to scholars today than they did to those at the time. More important in the tenth and eleventh centuries were the numerous exchanges between the two churches, exchanges that included ideas of asceticism and eremitism, manuscripts of classical Greek culture and philosophy, religious texts, and even monks and other clergy who traveled from east to west or west to east. These contacts are often neglected by scholars, and as a consequence, a variety of issues concerning church and society are not completely or correctly understood.

The book’s value is also reflected in the wealth of anecdotes concerning the “millennial Church” and broader social developments giving shape to the church, and as a result the book presents a rather comprehensive description of the church at that time. The many stories, however, do not fully hang together, so the picture that emerges is not quite as clear as Howe hoped, and the approach to these anecdotes is more descriptive than analytical. As a result, the implications of the new apostolic cults, the Peace of God, and the appearance of the crowd, among other topics, are never fully developed. Howe also never addresses the emergence of popular heresy in the early eleventh century, a development that reflects in many ways the reform and resurgence Howe argues occurred in the “millennial Church.” Moreover, his use of the term “millennial Church” is a bit problematic, as it is unfocused, since Howe draws his examples from a chronological framework stretching from the ninth to late eleventh century. He writes, as well, of the post-Carolingian period, but again without chronological specificity. He also fails to appreciate the truly “millennial” character of the period. Noting that contemporaries could not determine whether the millennium of the Incarnation or of the Passion was the more significant moment, Howe rejects the reality and extent of apocalyptic expectations in this period, even though he often refers to Rodulfus Glaber, one of the most important rep-

resentatives of these expectations. Many scholars working on this period, most notably Richard Landes, whose work is generally ignored by Howe, have demonstrated the reality of apocalyptic expectations at the time, and Rachel Fulton Brown, in her excellent *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (2002), has demonstrated the significant influence of apocalyptic expectations on matters of spirituality in the eleventh century. Howe’s sense of the “millennial” character of the period would have been reinforced had he more fully engaged with the many writings of Adémar of Chabannes, whose history, written in the 1020s, is cited on occasion but is never explored in any depth or integrated fully into Howe’s narrative. Finally, Howe’s argument is perhaps not quite as original as he suggests. Many scholars have moved beyond the paradigm of Augustin Fliche and of other earlier historians Howe discusses, and have rejected the notion that the Gregorian reform marked a sudden, dramatic break with earlier developments of the late tenth and early eleventh century. Although marked by significant weaknesses, Howe’s book nonetheless offers a useful overview of an important but often underappreciated period.

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REBECCA RIST. *Popes and Jews, 1095–1291*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xxi, 323. \$110.00.

In the imposing work *Popes and Jews, 1095–1291*, Rebecca Rist aims at a fine-tuned definition of the changing “place of the Jews” (16) in Christian societies of Europe during the age of the Crusades (1095–1291). In the period considered, Jews’ relationships to the societies around them depended on the emergence of national dynastic states and their model of authority; the church’s acquisition of this model starting from Innocent III’s papacy; the relationship that came into being between the national states and the church; and the constant dialogue that the papacy and the canonists kept with the late antique and early medieval sources of Western theology and law (268).

The author carefully follows and outlines the multifarious threads of this complex warp. A relevant twentieth-century historiographical tradition—represented first and foremost by Solomon Grayzel—argued that popes kept a consistent policy toward Jews, aiming at making them the living proof that God had rejected Israel and that Christendom and the Church were the new, true Israel. Such a policy was rooted in the thought of Augustine, who considered the fact that the Jews had survived their national catastrophes at the hands of the Roman Empire as a symbol of God’s mercy toward sinners and as a proof that the scriptures that had prophesied the coming of the messiah were not Christian forgeries. Rist convincingly argues and richly documents that papal policies toward Jews differed depending on the pope and on historical circumstances. On the one hand, there were physical persecutions of Jews, and restrictions were placed on their activity as moneylenders; on the other hand, in the

twelfth and thirteenth centuries alone, popes reissued at least sixteen times Gregory the Great's bull *Sicut Iudaeis* in defense of the Jews. Similarly, Innocent III's very restrictive policy toward Jews was followed by the more flexible policies of his near successors Gregory IX and Innocent IV. Further, even if the doctrine of the Church formally delegitimized Jews' role as lenders of money on interest (a role that authorities in fact repeatedly confirmed and granted), otherwise authoritarian and anti-Jewish popes such as Innocent III and Honorius III showed a considerable degree of flexibility in their enforcement of the obligation to wear distinctive clothing imposed on Jews by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 (173). In this perspective, the author, recollecting the charge of ritual murder leveled against the Jews of Lincoln in 1255—when the friars actually protected the Jews (218)—usefully circumscribes the common historiographical view that the mendicant orders' attitudes toward Jews were mainly if not uniquely determined by the orders' conversionary zeal.

Rist also carefully shows how the papacy's shifting attitudes were reactive rather than proactive, answering from time to time to individual requests for normativity about Jews that came from the base of Christian societies. Also, papal provisions in this respect only amounted to quite marginal ones within medieval ecclesiastic politics: for instance, only thirty-odd of Gregory IX's approximately two thousand decretals explicitly dealt with Jews (217 n. 79). Were we to sketch the global attitude of the church toward Jews in the age of the Crusades through a single convenient and plausible formula, we could resort to the catchphrase "protect and marginalize": an effective mix of realpolitik and Pauline-Augustinian anti-Jewish tradition—the carrot and the crozier, one could say.

The author devotes consistent attention to the Talmud as a core concern of the papacy in the period considered. From Christians' discovery of it in the years around the Paris trial of 1240, the second sacred book of rabbinic Judaism has been recurrently confiscated, censored, or burnt. As the increase in anti-Judaism during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is surely connected with the rediscovery of Aristotle and the diffusion of philosophical rationalism (52), it is worth recalling that the Jewish refusal of Jesus as the messiah and of Christian truths came to be seen not as sheer spiritual obduracy, but rather as a lack of rationality and conformity with the new standards of European culture and theology.

Another strength of Rist's work is the systematic consideration granted to the evolution of canon law regarding Jews and to Jewish points of view about the papacy. For example, Jewish sources usually represent the popes as reliable protectors against oppression by feudal suzerains and secular monarchs. This was a largely imagined construct that medieval Jewish authors often applied to the sovereigns of the emerging national states, and that Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi famously defined as the "myth of the royal alliance" (*The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah* [1976], xii). Also very useful is the attentive analysis in chapter 8 of pontifical rhetoric about Jews and of the semantics of expres-

sions such as *perfidia*, *duritia*, and *caecitia* referring to Jewish attitudes toward Christian truths—expressions that even today are too often misunderstood and theologically overloaded in common discourse.

A work of such ample perspective cannot but contain some assumptions that need detail or correction. As for Nicholas Donin's credentials as the accuser of the Talmud in the Paris trial (196), ms BNF Lat. 16558 (f. 211r) does inform us that Donin was "purportedly of immense erudition in Hebrew even according to the testimony of the Jews themselves." The diffusion of the Talmud in the Christian West did not depend on Arab doctrine nor on intensified contact with the Byzantine Levant (13); nor is it possible to argue that it "had been known about in the West for centuries" (47), Petrus Alphonsi having been the first Western author to explicitly quote it, not earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century. Its diffusion was actually part of a wider phenomenon of textualization of early medieval cultures. Though the author duly lists several meaningful occurrences of the definition of popes as "kings" in Jewish sources (54, 61), I still think, with Grayzel, that "the king who governs all kings" (46) mentioned in Ya'aqov ben Eliyahu's epistle is more likely to have been the emperor Frederick II than the pope Gregory IX. The expression *libere preponatur ancilla* from Innocent III's bull *Non minus pro* of 1205 is translated with "the handmaid is *openly* preferred" (126, following Grayzel, emphasis added), whereas it means "the handmaid [i.e., the Synagogue] is preferred to the free woman [i.e., the Church]." The largest university press in the world ought to devote greater care to the editing and proofreading of future reprints or new editions of this important volume: the transcription of Hebrew in the book is inconsistent and sometimes wrong (Kimi for Kimhi, Yacov and Jacob, 46); a variety of mistakes are also found in spellings (appealed, 186), dates (1147 for 1247, 264), and names of historical figures (Dandalo for Dandolo, 119), of modern scholars (Yerushalmi, 135, and Kanerfogel, 297), and of places (Cincinatti, 135; German *Neudruck*, "reprint," is not the name of a place of publication, 178 n. 83, 280).

With its xxxviii + 323 pages, this monograph is a challenging read: it is a rather encyclopedic work, with some comings and goings and repetitions (see, e.g., 154–158), but is not inconvenient for use and reference thanks to its clear general outline and detailed index. This, along with the enormous amount of information collected and insightfully analyzed and organized, makes Rist's book an indispensable starting point for the next scholarly generation in Judaic studies, church history, and medieval history at large.

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SUZANNE LAVERE. *Out of the Cloister: Scholastic Exegesis of the Song of Songs, 1100–1250*. (Commentaria, no. 6.) Boston: Brill, 2016. Pp. viii, 194. \$135.00.

Of all the books of the Hebrew Bible, perhaps none was more stimulating to the imagination of medieval com-