

motivator is less clear, however, and perhaps limited by the available sources. Overall, Rubenstein has added a further dimension to our understanding of the crusades and of medieval apocalyptic thought, and for this his book should be welcomed.

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*Crusading Europe. Essays in honour of Christopher Tyerman.* Edited by G. E. M. Lippiatt and Jessalynn L. Bird. (Outremer, 8.) Pp. xiv + 344 incl. 3 tables. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019. €79. 978 2 503 57996 2; 2565 8794  
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This collection of articles is devoted, above all, to crusading to the Holy Land. The first essay in the book is very general and offers a re-thinking of Henri Pirenne's classic *Muhammad and Charlemagne*. In this Pirenne suggested that Islamic conquests in the Mediterranean dissolved the harmony which existed there in Roman times and even afterwards. Mark Whittow, by studying scholarship on the question which appeared after Pirenne's work, suggests that the latter was right, and that the harmony was not restored by the crusades. On the contrary, this was rather a sort of Latin colonisation than a recreation of the unity. Nothing much new as a conclusion, but a good and useful summary showing the place of crusading in the medieval history of the Mediterranean world.

Two papers deal with the military history of crusading to the Holy Land. The paper by Guy Perry specifies some points on the Tunis crusade of St Louis which were not sufficiently covered in Michael Lower's recent *The Tunis Crusade of 1270: a Mediterranean history* (Oxford 2018). This article is mainly focused on some amendments to the question widely discussed by Lower: why was it Tunis and not any other part of the Islamic world that was the first point of attack? Peter Edbury's paper is focused on the siege of Tyre during the Muslim advance in 1187.

The contribution of John France is a re-thinking of the role of Urban II's Clermont speech (1095) in the history of Western attitudes towards the war. According to France, the distinction between the use of violence against Christians and against those of other religions was the main point of Urban's speech, which 'broke through the doubts surrounding the place of violence in Christian society'. And this has almost nothing to do with theories formulated by Augustine. Before 1095, as described by France, there were doubts on the issue of violence, even when obeying orders: penitentiaries demonstrate that even on the eve of the First Crusade a murder in war required penitence, even though it was much less important than for an ordinary murder. However, it is not specified whether this situation changed after 1095. At the same time the situation was contradictory, because many saints had been militarily active at some point in their lives, and that posed no problem for their sanctity. Furthermore, before 1095 wars between Christians and Muslims were generally described without any special hostility towards Islam. Though the article focuses on an issue which has been widely discussed in the historiography, it will certainly be of interest in attempts to understand the nature of the idea of holy war promulgated by Urban II.

A very interesting contribution is made by Kevin James Lewis. He provides a curious summary of medieval perceptions of circumcision in the Middle Ages, including Jewish and Muslim circumcision and the circumcision of Christ. He demonstrates that a relevant characteristic of the AntiChrist was that he too was circumcised, which served as an imitation of Christ. At the same time, although Muhammad was sometimes deemed to be the AntiChrist, Lewis does not argue that there was any emphasis on the circumcision in medieval descriptions of him. It seems to me that this issue has very little direct connection with crusading; Lewis gives only one example, which is in Urban II's Clermont speech, where he relates how the wretched Muslims forcibly circumcise Christians. The main conclusion is rather ambivalent *re* medieval attitudes to circumcision – a characteristic of the AntiChrist, but also of Christ, and in the latter case therefore worthy of commemoration. This paper should probably be considered with that of Nicholas Vincent, who offers a case study on an unpublished thirteenth-century letter from a manuscript originating from Burton Abbey in England. This, published as an appendix to the article, offers a curious prophecy with reference to Joachim of Fiore. This text is somehow connected to the crusades, directly because it predicts the fall of the Latin empire of Constantinople, and indirectly because of the mention of the coming of the AntiChrist. Vincent suggests that it was just a satire, but taken seriously afterwards and even 'updated' to take into account the realities of later periods. It is difficult to say whether this hypothesis is certain, but an extensive transmission of the information from this text is clearly demonstrated.

G. E. M. Lippiatt's article is a very curious piece which sheds light on the question whether the crusades to the Holy Land and that against the Albigensians at the beginning of the thirteenth century actually hindered one another. Lippiatt argues that the two crusades were seen by the papacy and participants as two complementary activities, since there were preachers and crusaders who were subsequently involved in both, and encountered problems but not because of competition with each other. There were some critics because of the potential conflict of two directions, but some supporters too. Unfortunately this paper lacks references to some important statements, but all in all the argument seems to be convincing. A further study on the individual trajectories of crusaders and the phenomenon of a subsequent participation in different crusades would be really very useful.

Three papers in this volume are devoted to the implementation of crusades in their different aspects. The paper by Jessalynn Bird thoroughly examines the involvement of the canonries of Saint-Victor of Paris and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes of Soissons in crusader-related juridical cases. The article by Helen Nicholson examines the management of Templar estates in England and Wales which served to nourish crusading to the Holy Land. Both contributions are made with the use of a rich unpublished material. The paper by Timothy Guard is a summary, using the evidence of published sources, of the different ways of crowd-funding the crusades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by means of vow redemptions, collection of donations, indulgence fees, punitive fines and wills.

Finally, there is a paper by Edward M. Peters dedicated to the episode in the *Divina commedia* where Dante meets his great-great-grandfather, Cacciaguida, a participant in the Second Crusade known only from this text. According to

Peters, such a figure of family memory was used to demonstrate that in the good old days people from Florence went on crusade.

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*Remembering the crusades in medieval texts and songs.* By Andrew D. Buck and Thomas W. Smith. (Special issue of the *Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture* v [2019]). Pp. xii + 120. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019. £24.99. 978 1 78683 504 8

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This collection of seven articles, all related to ‘remembering crusades in medieval narratives’, medieval reception and remembrance of crusading, is dedicated to the memory of Bernard Hamilton, a prominent historian of crusading and the Latin East and former president of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, who died last year.

Memory of the crusades is currently an intensively studied topic: several monographs and collections of studies have appeared over past ten years. The present volume is concentrated on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, i.e. the period when the crusade movement to the East was still active. Thus, the main focus of the collection is how the first crusades were remembered in the time of the later ones in order to serve different purposes, including recruitment of new crusaders and construction of family memories. In other words, most of the papers are aimed at explaining how different authors wanted to ensure that the crusades would be remembered in a way that they wished.

The first article, by Andrew D. Buck, is focused on the memory of the capture and siege of Antioch. The very fact that this event of the First Crusade was relevant for remembering the expedition is evident: one could expect that, as the author demonstrates, very considerable attention would be given by the chroniclers to the sufferings of crusaders during this longest siege of the First Crusade. At the same time – curiously – chroniclers sometimes try to justify the deserters: sometimes they avoid mentioning some names, which was probably done in order not to cast shame on some noble families. The second paper, by Thomas W. Smith, is related to the first, in that, among other things, it also stresses the place of Antioch in the memory of the First Crusade, this time by studying a famous letter from crusaders given at Laodicea in 1099. In this letter the battles of Antioch and Ascalon receive much more attention than the siege of Jerusalem. Smith points out that afterwards, in chronicles, the situation was different, but at the same time he is right to say that the heavy focus on Antioch remained. It should be probably added that the siege of Antioch is always witness to the densest concentration of miracles described in chronicles. Smith also analyses and accurately demonstrates that the key roles in the composition of this letter were played by Archbishop Daibert of Pisa and Raymond of Saint-Gilles. We can see the crucial influence of the first, for example, when we observe that the martial merits or the contribution of individual crusade leaders are never the focus of the narrative. It should be also noted that Smith has recently published two papers on neglected manuscript versions of this letter, and the present paper is a logical continuation of that work.