too often mere shadows, their individuality dissolved into tenacious female stereotypes, which can be attributed, no doubt, to the scarcity of eloquent non-literary records. This (or careless editing) is made glaringly obvious by the fact that the well-documented pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela of Birgitta of Sweden and Isabel of Aragon, queen of Portugal, are described no less than three times (M. González Vázquez, J. A. Sottomayor Pizarro, D. Péricard-Méa and Päivi Salmesvuori). Or by C. A. González-Paz's article on Guncina González, which is more about the circumstances of her life and family than about Guncina herself, who expressed a wish to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem but may or may not have realised it. It is regrettable, moreover, that important questions regarding the transformation of popular devotion over a period of four centuries, the social rank of female pilgrims, the recreational and liberating side of pilgrimages (so perceptively deplored by Christine de Pisan: see p. 108) and the setting up of local *romarías de donas* are treated very much in passing (M. González Vázquez, D. Péricard-Méa and I. de Riquer) or not treated at all. A more thoughtful consideration of these issues and a less pronounced tendency to accumulate evidence that is then left to speak for itself would have made this a far more engaging and novel book, and a more suitable reflection of its authors' vast knowledge of a fascinating subject.

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM ANDRÉ VITÓRIA

A companion to John of Salisbury. Edited by Christophe Grellard and Frédérique Lauchaud. (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 57.) Pp. xi + 466. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2015. €169. 978 04 26510 3; 1871 6377
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For historians across a number of fields, this book by thirteen scholars from five countries (Australia, Denmark, England, France and the USA) will be a welcome addition to the scholarly literature on the many facets of John of Salisbury. Its multiple authorship is well suited to the complexity of its subject – a man who, in the words of his epitaph, combined the teachings of Paul, Aristotle, Plato and Cicero, and also, one should add, the juristic principles of Roman law. Following the editors' introduction, the book is divided into four parts: 'Historical Context' (three chapters: John and the schools, relations with Becket, John as ecclesiastical administrator); 'John of Salisbury as a Writer' (three chapters: John as writer, use of classical antiquity, as writer of history); 'John of Salisbury and the Intellectual World of the 12th Century' (five chapters: John and law, political theory, science and knowledge, ethics, theology); and 'John of Salisbury and his Readers' (one chapter, on the afterlife of *Policraticus*). Particularly stimulating are the chapters by Cédric Giraud and Constant Mews on the schools, Karen Bollermann and Cary J. Nederman on relations with Becket, Yves Sassier on law, Nederman on political theory, Christophe Grellard on theology, and Frédérique Lachaud on the influence of *Policraticus*. The approach throughout is critical and probing, always thought-provoking, but not always convincing in detail. On the dating of John's *Ex insperato* (*ep.* cccv), for example, Bollermann/Nederman are right to place it somewhat later than 'early 1171' (proposed by Millor and Brooke), but their arguments for 'late 1172–early 1173' (p. 85) are not persuasive. John's claim that Becket's murder was already well known does not require so late a date. Its probable recipient, John of

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Poitiers, is likely to have heard the news well before Easter 1171, since its details were known in the French kingdom by mid-January, proclaimed to the council assembled by William of Sens on 24 January, and carried south to the papal court in Tusculum, being publicised at every halt along the way; the phrase 'utramque prouinciam Anglorum' referred to the ecclesiastical provinces of Canterbury and York, not to 'Henry's continental domains, as well as the island kingdom proper' (p. 83); John's one-sentence list of generic miracles, suspiciously close to Matthew xi.5, contains no chronological markers; there is no reference to the so-called 'stalled canonization', and the unidentified 'bull' (p. 84 n. 86) could not have been known to John, since it was part of a *responsum* (July 1172) to the king of Sweden, which did not enter the legal tradition until the late 1180s. Neither these nor other questionable statements (for example, Winroth did not argue that the *Decretum* 'may have been composed earlier than one assumed for a long time' [p.21], but the opposite; St Bernard was not 'bishop of Clairvaux' [p. 223]) affect the overall quality of the anthology, however. Its purpose, to provide a *vade mecum* to lead readers into critical encounters with the paradoxes of the life, outlook and writings of the enigmatic John of Salisbury, is fully realised.

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON — ANNE J. DUGGAN

Église, richesse et pauvreté dans l'Occident medieval. L'exégèse des Évangiles aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles. By Emmanuel Bain. (Collection d'études médiévales de Nice, 16.) Pp. 475. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014. €60 (paper). 978 2 503 55296 5

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This is a fine, fine book, worth reading for its contributions to scholarship, and deserving a discussion of its conceptual framework. To summarise it chapter-by-chapter would be tedious; this review will therefore limit itself to highlighting its strong points and pondering, alas too briefly, on its theoretical limitations.

Notwithstanding the title, Bain reaches back to late antique and early medieval commentaries, which enable him to show how far twelfth- and thirteenth-century exegesis was different. During the Middle Ages, the several Gospel passages dealing with wealth and poverty tended to be commented upon independently of one another. They thus had their own traditions of interpretation, and provided different models for different status groups, including clerics, monks, laymen and the actual poor. Exegesis very much erased the latter group until the twelfth century, which was also the point when voluntary poverty was 'invented'. In the earlier period, an individual monk's renunciation of wealth signalled obedience and grounded lordship in heaven. Poverty was not in itself a value, for what mattered was the inner attitude to possession, nor were the actual poor a real topic. Clerical possession, from initially being allowed, soon became a right.

In the twelfth century the category of the 'voluntary poor' makes an appearance (the Cistercians in particular so self-define themselves) and upon this ground a claim to superiority *vis-à-vis* older monasticism and powerful laymen. Simultaneously, the schools insist anew on actual poverty (including Christ's), and yet extend the approval of clerical administration of wealth to rich laymen. In dialogue with Giacomo Todeschini, Bain reveals that while high medieval

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