

encountered Augustine's (and Gregory's) ideas far removed from their original presentation. Keskiaho argues convincingly that repeated redactions of the work of patristic authorities on dreams and visions shows a sustained and often creative interest in the topic throughout the early Middle Ages. Moreover, the 'cutting and pasting' of these texts for Carolingian audiences provided compilers with the occasion to simplify difficult concepts and eliminate troubling ambiguities in patristic works. The repackaging of equivocal opinions as binding maxims in the early Middle Ages is, Keskiaho claims, an important and overlooked aspect of what made these authors authoritative in the first place. Unfortunately, there are some flaws in the execution of this innovative study. Following an introduction, the book comprises three very long and unwieldy chapters on attitudes to visions in early medieval hagiography (chapter i), the reception of ideas about the nature of dreams in the works of Augustine and Gregory the Great cited above (chapter ii), and the reception of Augustine's theory of vision as presented in his literal commentary on Genesis, *De Genesi ad litteram* (chapter iii). A firmer editorial hand could have made the chapters more incisive and less repetitive, while improving the sometimes stilted prose. A very useful appendix ('The pre-tenth-century manuscripts of the main works discussed') rounds out the volume.

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*Liturgical subjects. Christian ritual, biblical narrative, and the formation of the self in Byzantium.*

By Derek Krueger. (Divinations. Rereading Late Ancient Religion.) Pp. xi + 311 incl. 17 figs. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. £49 (\$75). 978 0 8122 4644 5

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Krueger makes short work of the received idea that the introspective conscience, mediated by Augustine's reading of Paul, was unique to the Latin West. He discerns in Byzantium a development of the self that is none the less distinct from the inward regard in the medieval West. Krueger's book sets out to discover the Byzantine self, not from the inside out – as a work such as Augustine's *Confessions* might purport to do – but rather from the outside in, by examining the models of a penitent self presented to Byzantine lay and monastic audiences in liturgical texts. Most of the texts in question take the form of hymns: the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist (sixth century), the *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete (c. 660–740) and the *kanons* of the Stoudite *Triodion* (ninth century). Two major examples fall outside the realm of poetry: chapter iv examines the use of biblical exemplars to provoke compunction in the Anaphora of St Basil, while chapter vii focuses on a 'liturgy' of a different sort, the ritual self-accusation and self-administered corporal punishment prescribed for his monks by Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022). All of these texts rely heavily on biblical archetypes of repentance, bringing to bear on them the rhetorical technique of *ethopoieia*, or speech in character. The use of these models, however, shifts over time. Between the sixth and ninth centuries, the hymns move away from an in-depth exploration of the scriptural exemplars through their own imagined experience of biblical events to the more litany-like rehearsal of these figures as keys to inducing compunction in the hearers. While this shift parallels the oft-remarked decline in

Byzantium of original scriptural exegesis in favour of the *florilegium* of patristic sources, Krueger makes the important point that the replacement of the earlier forms was not complete or absolute. The earlier mode of exegetical hymnody continued to be performed through this period in conjunction with the newer *kanons*. The increasing convergence of the ‘cathedral’ and ‘monastic’ rites in Byzantium after the ninth century meant that lay audiences were also exposed to *kanons* written originally for monastic communities. Although the main evidence presented here is textual, the author integrates Byzantine works of art into the discussion at several points in a way that both enhances the argument for the formation of the penitent self and points indirectly to the dissemination of these models beyond the texts under discussion. Krueger’s lucid text is supported by ample and up-to-date documentation. While contemporary theorists make only occasional appearances by name, their impact is evident throughout as an aid to the sustained focus on the way in which the liturgy both scripted and reflected the Byzantine self. This book opens up new perspectives within liturgical scholarship, asking not only what the Byzantines heard and saw in the liturgy, but how what they heard and saw shaped their own view of themselves. It is thus a work of enormous value to anyone seeking a deeper understanding of Byzantine religious experience.

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*Liturgy and society in early medieval Rome.* By John F. Romano. (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.) Pp. xii + 308. Farnham–Burlington, Vt: Ashgate, 2014. £70. 978 1 4094 4393 3  
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The Church of Rome in the early Middle Ages arguably shaped ecclesiastical life for all of medieval Christendom, so it remains the focus of intense scholarly activity. Given the apparent centrality of Roman liturgy to the rest of the world, it remains puzzling that its analysis has not hitherto been a key tool for examining medieval Roman history. Historians often eschew liturgy as a source, perhaps because it requires such technical knowledge, or maybe because some think that it remained marginal to daily life or the workings of power. Romano’s book, developed out of a 2007 PhD dissertation, boldly attempts to promote liturgy as a source. He claims that prayer and liturgical ritual were the primary means by which the bishops and priests of Rome communicated with Romans and the world. The core of the book is the analysis and translation of *Ordo Romanus I*, the first extant liturgy of the papal mass at Rome, dating from the late seventh century. Romano has published research on this document before, but here it receives robust treatment – not a revision of M. Andreiu’s critical edition, but a ‘rereading’ calibrating the weight given to certain manuscripts and a circumspect study in the light of broad historical questions. Romano is clearly correct to lament the insularity of early medieval liturgical studies and to stress the need to study Rome and its liturgical development as part of a larger process of constructing authority for the bishop of Rome. His study, however, avoids engaging with the social history which would help us make sense of all this liturgy – laity as audience (mostly as