

130–2, 165–9). It might be argued that Cyprian is innovating, and that the Didascaliast's Ignatian precedent will support the household model cleansed of any taint of sacerdotalism. But I have argued that the Constitutionalist fundamentally misunderstands the Ignatian typology. Indeed it is not clear whether Ignatius (or later Polycarp) is τύπος πατρός because he is bishop or because he is a martyr, but what is clear is that he is τύπος not as οἰκονόμος but because he bears the image of the suffering God, like a pagan priest in an imperial procession. Cyprian may appropriate the theology of the martyr to that of the priest, but then so does the Didascaliast. In Didascalia xix Christ is to be seen in the martyr, and in viii the bishop is an imitator of Christ in taking sin away.

Models are not simply metaphors but systematically worked out metaphors. In consequence, their metaphorical character makes it notoriously difficult to exclude other metaphorical applications, and to maintain them in singular purity.

Nevertheless Schöllgen has produced a very significant and stimulating contribution to our understanding of the evolution of church order, which will repay reading and further discussion.

ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE

ALLEN BRENT

Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages. Continuity and change. By Debra J. Birch. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 13.) Pp. x + 239 incl. 3 maps. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998. £35. 0 85115 636 3; 0955 2480

This monograph examines the evidence for pilgrimage to Rome from its beginnings until the end of the thirteenth century through the study of those pilgrims who went there from all over Europe during this period. After discussing the journeys to Rome, the status of the pilgrims, the overall picture of the city and its welfare provisions for visitors, the author analyses the relative decline of the pilgrimage in the twelfth century, then its renewed success during the thirteenth century.

The book has the great merit of drawing together numerous studies previously devoted to the subject on a much smaller scale, giving an accessible and readable synthesis of them. It also presents some interesting conclusions in its two chapters devoted to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While the chapters on the pilgrimage until the eleventh century are largely derivative, the author comes very much into her own when dealing with the last two centuries. Her evidence is both interesting and sometimes most unusual, as in her use of a large representative sample of French monastic cartularies mentioning pilgrims. She argues that, increasingly after the tenth century, pilgrims to Rome wanted to see actual relics of the saints rather than just their tombs, and that rivalry with the Holy Land, notably after the success of the First Crusade opened the way to westerners, went against Rome and created a period of decline for the pilgrimage there: why trouble to visit the tombs of Peter and Paul when one can visit Christ's homeland? The negative perception of the Roman Curia as corrupt and greedy also kept pilgrims away, except those from the newly converted kingdoms in

Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, as did the political turmoil in Italy and the successful marketing of Compostela in Spain. Thirteenth-century popes put great efforts into making the journey to Rome more secure and developing resources for the pilgrims' welfare (the chapter on that subject is one of the most rounded and convincing in the book), highlighted the association with Christ of some Roman relics like the *Veronica*, and successfully promoted the policy of indulgences for the remission of sins, eventually drawing pilgrims back to Rome in great numbers during the 1300 Jubilee. One could regret some absent issues, such as the revival taking place in Rome itself in the twelfth century and observed notably through the refurbishment of churches like Sta Maria in Trastevere and San Clemente and the Cosmatis' work, which might have moderated the view of the city as essentially one of 'sound and fury', a view not entirely shared by R. Krautheimer, for example. One may challenge some arguments, such as the post tenth-century dating of the pilgrims' devouring interest in bodily relics: the stories related by Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great in the late sixth century show only too clearly how much earlier this became the norm. Nevertheless, we have here, with a useful bibliography, notably of primary sources, a clear, comprehensive and much needed work on a major aspect of medieval European life.

OXFORD

VERONICA ORTENBERG

Pilgrims and pilgrimage in the medieval west. By Diana Webb. (The International Library of Historical Studies, 12.) Pp. viii + 290. London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999. £39.50. 1 86064 191 1

Following a popular recent format, that of books which offer original sources in translation for student use, with contextualising introductions, Diana Webb's book is a collection of texts organised both chronologically and thematically with a concise preface. Part I surveys 'Pilgrimage down to the twelfth century'. Part II, 'European pilgrimage c. 1100–c. 1500', is divided into six sections: on penances, indulgences, hazards *en route*, souvenirs, pilgrims' wills and a case study of Pistoian pilgrims. Part III examines 'Pilgrimage in one country: England', with useful sections on 'Englishmen abroad' (surely this is a section which begs the use of inclusive language; the most famous medieval English pilgrim was, after all, Margery Kempe), pilgrimage within England, Scottish pilgrims and pilgrim sites, and European tastes in English pilgrimage sites. Part IV ends with a discussion of criticism of pilgrimage up to and into the Reformation. Some of the sources offer little scope for interpretation, such as the several entries from the *Inquisitiones post mortem*, since they are in no way exhaustive enough to offer quantifiable data on age distribution, but others are enticing. For example, the classificatory listing offered by that arch-inquisitor Bernard Gui of major and minor sites c. 1320 (p. 59), or the list of tariffs from Oudenarde of 1338, which quoted a price for the commutation of a pilgrimage vow for forty-six pilgrimage sites. The English material demonstrates from a variety of angles the political resonance of pilgrimage: not only that to 'political saints' but the effect of war on the movement of pilgrims (p. 189). Although neither exhaustive nor highly