attempted to hide the reality of a coming apocalyptic denouement, yet neither did any focus on the coming of Antichrist in any given year.

But despite its strengths this book is too slender in both content and method to bear the weight of its title. The obvious deficiency concerning content is Hughes's exclusive concern with exegesis of 2 Thessalonians. He never defends his decision to choose just one biblical book for the tracing of Antichrist traditions, and he is silent about the fact that the book he has chosen contains no use of the word "Antichrist." Surely Hughes knows that patristic and early medieval exegetes treated Antichrist copiously elsewhere: preeminently in commentaries on Daniel, 1 Thessalonians, 1 John, and Revelation. He acknowledges this reality once when he refers to Haimo of Auxerre's commentary on Revelation, but his motive here is merely to rescue his thesis about the balancing of "imminence" and "immanence": Haimo sees Antichrist as "imminent" in his commentary on 2 Thessalonians but as "immanent" in his commentary on Revelation. With the cat out of the bag about diverse exegetical approaches even within the work of a single author, one worries about the many omissions. Indeed Marcia Colish (in an analysis Hughes ignores) shows that Peter Lombard's Antichrist exegesis makes sense only if we look at his treatments of Paul on 1 and 2 Thessalonians together.

The methodological weakness to which I refer is that Hughes is averse to employing manuscripts. Criticizing him for this might be a quibble were he able to depend preponderantly on good modern editions. But such is not the case. The lack of manuscript study is most troublesome when he arrives at the three weighty twelfth-century monuments, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the "*media glosatura*" of Gilbert of Poitiers, and the "*magna glosatura*" of Peter Lombard, all of which lack modern editions. For the first he uses a copy of the *editio princeps* of 1480 without any consultation of other manuscripts even while admitting that "the *Glossa Ordinaria* is best conceived as an extended work-in-progress" (209). When he adds in regard to the *Glossa Ordinaria* that "there appears to be no set rule or rationale for attribution, and I suspect that there is considerable diversity among the various manuscripts," one really wonders why he never made any effort to test his suspicions. Regarding Gilbert of Poitiers, the problem is yet greater: admitting that "Gilbert's expanded gloss was considered well-nigh 'miraculous' by his contemporaries," Hughes excludes it from consideration because it has never been published. Finally, whereas it is known that Peter Lombard's exegesis underwent several redactions, and whereas Hughes's argument for a balance of "imminence" and "immanence" here depends entirely (and I think weakly) on the placement of glosses, he relies for his evidence of placement on the notoriously poor edition handed down by the Abbé Migne. *Tolle, lege*: in 2 Thessalonians St. Paul tells not only of the Man of Sin but holds up a model for imitation of "toil and labor."

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***Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade***. By **Jeremy Cohen**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. xvi + 209 pp. $37.50 cloth.

Jeremy Cohen's new book raises profound questions about the narratives that recount the massacre of Jews in the Rhineland during the First Crusade.

These Hebrew texts, assembled for the generation of survivors of the attacks and their children, have long been a crucial collection of documents for scholars of the medieval Jewish experience. The texts recount how crusader bands in the summer of 1096 forced Jews in Mainz, Speyer, and other towns to convert and murdered many who refused summary baptism. They also record the suicide and sacrificial slaughter of many of the Jews by their co-religionists. These episodes are recounted in such shocking detail that generations of readers have made the texts a central focus of their understanding of Christian anti-Judaism. Many scholars have used these accounts to argue that Christian toleration of the Jews turned to an unrelenting persecution during the First Crusade and that this animus continued for the remainder of the Middle Ages. Cohen provides a useful introduction to the historiography surrounding the texts, in particular how nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish historians understood the chronicles.

His most important contribution is to take up the challenge of the historicity of the texts and to reframe the question of what can the texts tell us about the experience of medieval Jews. Instead of dwelling upon the question of whether the texts provide an accurate historical record of the massacres, he asserts that the chronicles can tell us much more about the world of the generation in which they were written than about the experience of the Jews who endured the actual attacks. This approach may seem obvious, but Cohen has to struggle against a long tradition that has made the texts crucial elements in the construction of Jewish memories. If the texts do not represent a factual account of what happened to the Jews when the crusaders came to the Rhineland, then what purpose do they serve? Accepting the argument that these texts are literary creations that cannot be seen as solely factual accounts, Cohen brings to bear a wide array of contemporary theoretical reflections on the nature of historical memory and narrative in the medieval period to support his repositioning of the Crusade texts. Given the Byzantine nature of these theoretical models, it may have been more efficient for Cohen to rely on his own instincts for this insight into the new truth-value of the chronicles.

The second half of the book offers case studies of several episodes or vignettes from the chronicles to try and capture the mentality of the authors and audience of the texts. It is here that Cohen reads—in some cases perhaps over-reads—the texts to catch a glimpse of what the survivors' generation felt about the traumatic past. The accounts of a community leader killing his own followers, a mother slaughtering her four children, and the brutal murder of a young woman before the crusaders arrive become a tapestry of language, symbols, and references that Cohen seeks to decode. In each episode Cohen identifies a multiplicity of possible meanings and allusions. Cohen emphasizes first the degree to which Christian culture had penetrated Jewish sensibilities. It was to struggle against these dominant Christian values and images that the authors of the Crusade chronicles shaped their accounts. In this he follows other historians such as Ivan Marcus and Yisrael Yuval, who have argued that Jews shared basic cultural and religious attitudes with medieval Christians. Cohen sees this struggle between the two religious communities in the rhetoric and images of the Crusade chronicles. The mother who slaughters her children is not just Rachel but supplants the image of Mary. The sacrifice of the children is not just re-enacting the Temple sacrifice but is a more efficacious sacrifice than that of Jesus.

Cohen is surely right that the Jewish authors of the text and their medieval readers found solace in the notion that they remained God's chosen people and supplanted Christian ideals of holiness. Cohen gently suggests, however, that some of their responses may have been intended to do more than simply to enhance group solidarity. The authors and audience of the text, after all, were survivors or the children of survivors who had not embraced martyrdom. How to reconcile their admiration for the heroes of the accounts without undermining their own religious identity and the choice for survival that they had made? He suggests that there may have been a quiet critique of some of the martyrs' actions. "Careful reading reveals characters less than perfect, characters depicted with ambivalence, characters who at one and the same time embody both the perfection of the deceased martyr-hero and the misgivings of the survivor who had submitted to baptism in order to go on living as a Jew" (80). Several of the episodes can be read not just as descriptions of righteous martyrs but as portraits of human beings uncertain of which path to choose. And in some cases the depictions of suicidal violence seem to challenge the rightness of the martyr's choice. For the generation that survived through luck or conversion, such an ambivalent portrait of the past may have been a comforting vision.

Cohen's interpretation is a very welcome chance to enlarge our vision of the mentality and self-perception of medieval Jews. It allows us to consider that Jews may have reacted to the traumas of the past as individuals. Jews of the twelfth century lived in a fast-changing world that offered many of them real hope for the future. Cohen alludes to the remarkable resilience of the Rhineland communities and the relatively stable relations with Christians that reasserted themselves in the twelfth century. Against this background, it becomes more difficult to be sure of how Jews understood the Crusade massacres. Were they trapped in a well of mourning and anger, or did the suffering of their ancestors become only one part of their religious identity and outlook? Could they indulge in these dramatic memories of the past because they had a reasonably stable present? Were the ambiguities and doubts about the martyrdoms that Cohen sees in the texts the expression of this struggle between the present and the past?

Now, the question is of course, did medieval Jews hear the multivalent messages that Cohen finds in the texts? I do not know. Some of his readings are ingenious, and they reflect a deep immersion in biblical and Talmudic language. It is possible that the audience for the narratives was equally versed in all of these traditions. It is possible too that perhaps the authors were engaged in a scholarly virtuosity that would have been meaningless to most readers. Whether each reading that Cohen offers is correct or not, he still has opened up a new way of thinking about these important texts. Cohen's book will be part of the ongoing attempt to understand the diversity of Jewish experiences in medieval Europe.

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***Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching, Performance, and Gender in the Later Middle Ages.*** By **Claire M. Waters**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. xi + 282 pp. $55.00 cloth.

This provocative study explores the contradictions that characterized preaching and preachers in medieval thought: admonished to bear them-

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