

women and saints in late medieval Europe, London 2002, 86–100), yet the author fails fully to acknowledge the Confessor's role during Richard's reign. This is problematic because the late fourteenth century was a period when Edmund and Edward increasingly were presented together, and so the author's favouring of Edmund gives the reader the wrong impression of his importance in this period.

Another problematic aspect is the author's reference to Edmund as the embodiment of Englishness. This is part of a minor argument about Edmund's potential role in contemporary England, but it appears throughout the book. Unfortunately, the author does not set down from the beginning how the term Englishness is to be understood, or what it has meant at various points in England's tumultuous history. Thus the argument does not go anywhere and rests on emotion rather than a scholarly discussion.

There are further errors and shortcomings to be found, but the three highlighted here should suffice to point to both methodological and factual flaws that compromise the overall quality of the book. These flaws do not in any way detract from the book's valuable contribution in chapter v, but they do mean that this book is not – even though it appears to be – a comprehensive study of the cult of Edmund. It is therefore best suited for readers who are already familiar with the subject. The book does not shed any new light on the historical Edmund or the trajectory of the medieval cult – these aspects have all been covered more comprehensively by previous scholars. It does, however, widen the chronological scope of the study of Edmund and it also brings exciting new sources to the table, and for these reasons alone it is a welcome addition to the ever-expanding library of scholarship on St Edmund.

ODENSE

STEFFEN HOPE

The papacy and the rise of the universities. By Gaines Post (ed. William J. Courtenay). (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.) Pp. xii + 263 incl. 1 colour ill. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2017. €124. 978 90 04 34726 7; 0926 6070

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Gaines Post (1902–87) was a historian of medieval thought, particularly adept at mapping the interface between scholasticism and law. His Harvard PhD thesis was presented in 1931 as one of the last supervised by Charles Homer Haskins (1870–1937). It is here brought before a wider public as a result of the enthusiasm of William Courtenay, like both Haskins and Post before him a distinguished professor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Post himself published only two of its ten chapters. The other eight have until now languished in typescript. As here revealed, not only is this work of the highest scholarly refinement, but an important witness to the transmission of ideas from the age of Haskins and Hastings Rashdell (1858–1924). Rashdell's *Universities* (1895) is cited by Post on virtually every page. Equally ubiquitous, albeit as target as much as model, Heinrich Denifle's *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters* (1885) serves as the antithesis against which Post's argument is constructed. Put simply, Post argues that the papacy, although central to the growth of the universities, acted more as accidental midwife than as in any sense institutional 'founder'. In response to the emergence

of the schools, above all of Paris, popes, from Alexander III onwards, sought to control the licensing and provision of teaching, to protect doctrinal truth, to encourage theology in competition with more marketable skills such as law or medicine, and to prevent the sale for undue profit of learning that should be made freely available to all. By transforming the cathedral's chancellorship into what was essentially a papally sponsored office, successive popes helped to smooth the path by which the University of Paris, and subsequently Oxford, broke free from local or episcopal control. The emergence of the *licentia ubique docendi*, to begin with a more or less casual development, in turn provoked a canonical distinction between merely local schools, *studia particularia* and true universities such as Paris, Bologna or Oxford. Only in such *studia generalia* did the full range of dispensations apply, allowing students and teachers to absent themselves from benefices elsewhere. All of this might be considered caviar to the general, were it not for the forensic way in which Post deploys his evidence, in particular from the canonists. Here he made precocious and in many ways unsurpassed use of decretal commentaries, for the most part from manuscripts in Rome. Behind all of this lay the paradox of an essentially centralising and anti-communal institution, the papacy, supporting the creation of powerful new corporations that in due course were to challenge the very authority that had first encouraged their emergence. When Post wrote, much of the early institutional history of the schools, even of Paris, remained obscure. Subsequent researches have brought to light a wealth of detail, not least the earliest statutes of the University of Cambridge (as revealed by M. B. Hackett in 1970, from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Angelica, tantalisingly close to Haskins and Post's Roman stamping grounds). For Oxford, as for most other *studia generalia*, there is now a magnificent multi-volume history. For Paris, thanks to the researches of John Baldwin and others, the current state of play is best set out in Ian Wei's *Intellectual culture in medieval Paris* (Cambridge 2012). The broader trajectory that Post traces here, none the less, remains unchallenged, with the papacy not as proud parent but as the universities' sometimes absentee, sometimes sinisterly attentive godfather. Dry and precise as Post's findings appear, they stand in welcome contrast to the *laudatio parentum* and naming of parts with which most modern PhD theses are encumbered and offer a wealth of detail, particularly in the footnotes, that can still be mined with profit. As editor, Courtenay supplies an index, and tidies up various inconsistencies. There are misprints, some minor (*stadium* for *studium*, p. 157), some more alarming (Clement III for Nicholas III, p. 235). More generally, one regrets that Courtenay, a towering figure in his field, contributes so brief and reticent an introduction. A modern reader might have appreciated advice on the chief advances made since 1931, not least by Pierre Michaud-Quantin's *Universitas* (Paris 1970), a book still shamefully underrated outside France, placing the oath at the centre of all things communal and hence corporate, in ways that Post might have been fascinated to discover. Notice might have been supplied of the autobiography of Gaines Post Jr (*Memoirs of a Cold War son*, Iowa City 2000), not least because it answers, in personal detail, a question posed in Courtenay's introduction: why did Post fail to transform his thesis into a book? We might also speculate, more broadly, on the unrivalled contribution made by American scholars to the history of the medieval universities. From Henry Adams and Henry Charles Lea

onwards, this was a topic of contemporary rather than purely antiquarian concern. Both on American campuses and in the governmental circles to which such campuses enjoyed privileged access, there was and remains an unresolved dilemma. Were universities to be officially monitored or controlled, or should they be permitted as self-governing, and essentially self-financing entities, both to think and to develop freely? In the age of Taft and Woodrow Wilson, relations between medieval university and papacy, universal and specific corporate authority, agency and investigation, were of immediate relevance. In the compromises achieved here lay much of the impetus for Post's research. Those compromises remain central to a controversy (in the UK more urgent than ever) over the extent to which state or market sponsorship of the universities should involve either financing or control. As Gaines Post or Haskins himself might have put it, amongst university administrators and those entrusted with the guardianship of knowledge 'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?'

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA

NICHOLAS VINCENT

From learning to love. Schools, law, and pastoral care in the Middle Ages. Essays in honour of Joseph W. Goering. Edited by Tristan Sharp with Isabelle Cochelin, Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Abigail Firey and Giulio Silano. (Papers in Medieval Studies, 29.) Pp. xviii + 775 incl. frontispiece and 13 colour plates. \$110. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2017. 978 0 88844 829 3
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This mammoth volume is an impressive tribute from a number of points of view. There are thirty-five contributors, for example, including more than a few of the former students of the honorand, Joseph Goering. Moreover, this collection of essays bears witness to the gratitude and devotion to a mentor and colleague, who has taught many of them and has been an inspiration to all of them to persevere in their own research and writing. In so doing, as the introductory tribute affirms, the beneficiaries of Goering's guidance and example are already giving rise to a new generation of medieval scholars who are continuing to question and explore the medieval records and to acquire further insights and understanding.

In his tribute John Van Engen has described Goering as the true heir to Leonard Boyle and his project of identifying '*pastoralia* as a central feature of the literary, intellectual, cultural, and religious landscape of the High Middle Ages'. His teaching, like that of Boyle, he goes on to say, was grounded in the 'connections between university teaching and parish-level practice'.

Both respect and affection are much in evidence in these pages, and these have found expression in the felicitous choice of title which, from one point of view, can be seen as skilfully linking the education received by the future clergy in the schools and nascent universities with its practical application at the parish level, where relationship with the laity was meant to be governed by love. On a more personal level the editors themselves describe the essays as reflecting the charism in their mentor's teaching and his invitation to them to continue their progress along the path of learning that leads to love.