passing in ch. i) and its very tangible transformation of the inner as well as the social lives of individuals and the institutions that they embodied. This higher view might have given the book what it fundamentally lacks: a thesis, a unifying idea. Instead of this, we have descriptions, analyses, erudite parallels, tidily and conveniently summed up at the end of each chapter. This is a book for Marian scholars and Hispanists, especially those interested in Berceo. The neophyte, however, would do better to ease into these subjects by turning first to Mireille Lamy (whose main work is strangely absent from an otherwise extensive bibliography), to Marie-Louise Savoye (whose 2009 doctoral thesis, ‘De Fleurs, d’or, de lait, de miel: les images mariales dans les collections miraculaires romanes du xiiie siècle’, is available online) or to Miguel Ibáñez Rodríguez. This is, in short, a useful, learned, at times engaging, very often perceptive book, regrettably marred by an occasional lack of historical judgement and by a modesty of design that ultimately falls short of both the scholarship of its author and some of the complex questions that she raises.

Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Medieval studies in honour of Peter Linehan. Edited by Francisco J. Hernández, Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras and Emma Falque. (Millennio Medievale, 115; Strumenti e studi n.s. 44.) Pp. x + 934 incl. frontispiece, 32 colour and black-and-white ills and 18 tables. Firenze: Sismel, 2018. €130. 978 88 8450 858 4

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‘Medieval studies’ gives little away. ‘In honour of Peter Linehan’ offers a major clue. This splendid collection of essays is dedicated to a scholar who has profoundly influenced the study of the ecclesiastical history of the medieval Iberian Peninsula. Mindful of the themes of The Spanish Church and the papacy in the thirteenth century (Cambridge 1971), Ayala Martínez offers two unpublished crusading bulls of Honorius III from the cathedral archive of Toledo, while Jerez publishes annals from the archive of Segovia which confirm just how few Franci were at Las Navas in 1212, as well as indicating the extent of the famine in Castile in the aftermath of victory. The brilliantly sophisticated if not downright foolhardy arguments presented by Archbishop Martinho Pires of Braga to Innocent III in his battles with Compostela are carefully edited by Branco in an exquisite article which has broad implications for how papal power was viewed in the provinces. The failure of the post-Lateran IV papacy to part the Iberian clergy from their concubines, famously described by the honoree, is brought home by Paravicini’s publication of the Dominican savant Guillaume de Moerbeke’s authorisation of the absolution of one such culpable cleric. Many of the chapters here treat the concerns of History and the historians of medieval Spain (Oxford 1994). On the basis of palaeographical evidence, Henriet skilfully dates the Cluniac sections of the Liber cantorum et horarum to the time of Sancha, wife of Ferdinand I of Castile, and in doing so suggests that the Hispanic and Roman rites may have then lived happily together at court. Martin argues that the Carmen Campidoctoris was composed in the lifetime of the Cid, and not by a Catalan but rather by the celebrated Bishop Jerónimo
himself. In similar fashion, Rodríguez Porto, using its illustrations, re-dates the *Codex Calixtinus* to the period of the Second Crusade and the growing Compostelán rivalry with Toledo. Alonso Álvarez explores how theological changes during the twelfth century concerning Christ’s recovery, after the Resurrection, of his shed blood, may have transformed the relics of the holy blood in the cathedral of Oviedo into relics of the blood of the image of Christ Beirut. This article is complemented by García Avilés and Martínez Ruípérez’s examination of the manner in which the Aristotelian philosophy of the schools altered the depiction of nature in art from the thirteenth century onwards. Happily, and necessarily, Don Lucas of Tuy makes an appearance through Falque’s study of a manuscript of the Castilian version of the *Chronicon mundi*, used by Puyol in his edition. Hijano looks at the composition of the influential *Crónica particular de San Fernando* and its probable authorship at the court of Fernando iv, while Benítez Guerrero provides the first edition of the prologue of the *Crónica de tres reyes*, based on the twenty-seven manuscript copies. Other contributions, such as Conde’s description of the dispute between the nuns of Las Huelgas and the Hospital de Rey call to mind the morally and politically fraught world of *The ladies of Zamora* (Manchester 1997). Dupont-Hamy edits a sermon of the late thirteenth-century Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora which appeals to the powerful to love justice in times which, from his description, appear as iniquitous as our own, while Ladero guides us through medieval treatises on vice, culminating in Hernando de Talavera’s *La Breve forma de confesar*, where sins are assiduously matched to the corresponding Commandments. Linehan’s interest in the history of the Portuguese Church (*Portugalia pontificia*, Lisbon 2013) and his various forays into the later Middle Ages, most recently in *At the edge of the Reformation: Iberia before the Black Death* (Oxford 2019), are also treated. Vilar plots the path to power through family and court of Martinho de Oliveira, archbishop of Braga. Nickson and Cros Gutiérrez uncover the cuaderno in the Toledan archive which demonstrates Gil de Albornoz’s efforts to set up a confraternity to raise funds after the collapse of the south tower in 1345. Hernández Farelo provides a detailed itinerary through Portugal of the papal collector Bertrand de Mazel from 1368 to 1371. Hernández describes the extraordinary intricacies of the propaganda war between Juan Manuel and Alfonso xi during the crisis of 1336 as they aimed to manipulate the historical record. Zutshi’s masterly analysis of the international and local background to John i of Castile’s decision at Medina del Campo to back the antipope Clement vi during the schism also provides much of value on the expansion and extent of the influence of Romano-canonical procedures in the Peninsula. Carmona Ruiz’s study of the disputes, across centuries, between the concejo of Baeza and the bishops of Jaén over the village of Canalejas remind us that while people may come and go the rights of corporations are forever. Peter Linehan has not given so much of his time to the affairs of the Crown of Aragon but when he has done so, for instance in *Spain 1157–1300: a partible inheritance* (Oxford 2008), he has been content to use the sixteenth-century chronicler Jerónimo Zurita, whose remarkable work as historian and philologist is here scrutinised in the articles of Bautista and Torra. No less industrious than Zurita, although less well-organised, was the dedicated historian of the Bellpuig school, Jaume Caremar, whose work, Freedman argues, was of significance for
the development of Catalan historiography and provides us with much information on documents lost from the Napoleonic wars onwards. And while Caresmar conserved the history of the Premonstratensians and the Catalan Church, far away at Compostela, as Sánchez Ameijeiras reveals, the canons, worthy successors to Diego Gelmírez, were fighting new battles with old forgeries as Santiago and King Ramiro rode to the rescue against the duke of Arca, who had cast doubt on the validity of the ex-voto. This whole collection leaves one in no doubt that there remain riches galore in the Iberian archives which Linehan has so effectively mined for the reconstruction of the past, as well as historians with the ability to exploit them.

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY


In contrast to some other countries in the rest of Europe, where Jews continued to practise their religion and were clearly recognisable, from the late fifteenth century on there were, officially at least, no Jews in Spain or Portugal. The conversions to Christianity amongst the vast Jewish communities said to have inhabited the Iberian peninsula since time immemorial had gathered pace with the pogroms of the late fourteenth century and had reached a peak after the fall of Granada in 1492 when the Spanish Jews were faced with conversion or exile. Those who sought refuge in Portugal were given the same choice five years later. Some of the conversions, especially the earliest ones even before the pogroms, may have been sincere, but many of the later ones can probably be attributed to expediency. The converts, at all events, formed a new social category, the conversos, also known as Cristianos nuevos or New Christians (as opposed to the category of Old Christians), or even Judeoconversos to distinguish them from the Moriscos, the converts to Christianity from Islam. It was mainly in order to test the sincerity of their conversion and to establish whether or not they continued to ‘Judaize’ that the Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478. In reality the situation of the conversos was highly complex and hardly lends itself to generalisations. Many of the converts had married into Old Christian families, some of which came from the highest nobility. The conversos, who could frequently count on the protection of the aristocracy and the Crown, distinguished themselves in trade, the liberal professions and the arts, ‘accumulating’, as H. C. Lea, the greatest historian of the Spanish Inquisition, wrote, ‘honours, wealth and popular hatred’. The reaction of resentful Old Christians was to introduce the estatutos de limpieza, statutes of purity of blood, on which certain religious orders as well as military and secular foundations could insist as a condition of preferment or even of admission.

François Soyer shows that the measures adopted against the conversos were accompanied by an intense defamatory campaign intended to inform the Old Christian population of the Iberian peninsula of the dangers entailed by the ‘elusive enemy’. Arguing against Karl Popper, who regarded conspiracy theories