

This is a splendid book, well grounded in the sources and informed by the best of recent secondary literature. It contributes much to our understanding of the shifting dynamics of the Roman church in late antiquity and the efforts of its bishops to establish their authority in this volatile environment.

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MATTHEW GABRIELE. *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 202. \$99.00.

Why did people go on the First Crusade anyway, and what determined who went? Matthew Gabriele offers, among other things, an answer to this question. His slender book argues that it was a concatenation of fortunate events, if one can take ideas as events, for this is an argument about ideas and their power across the centuries.

The first of these ideas was that by the mid-ninth century Charlemagne's reign was considered a golden age of the Franks and Charlemagne himself a useful figure to his successors, who used him to legitimize themselves, and to monasteries, which created foundation legends linking themselves and their relics to him. It was in the interest of both parties to portray the Frankish ruler as casting a shadow as far as Jerusalem. By the later tenth century there were witnesses to a tradition that he went all the way there himself. Three texts, from monasteries where the memory of Charlemagne was particularly strong, tell versions of the story, variously that he met cozily with Harun al-Rashid (a tenth-century chronicle from Mount Soratte), received the Holy Foreskin by the hand of God in Jerusalem (the eleventh-century *Historia* of Charroux), or conquered Jerusalem at the request of the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarch of Jerusalem and returned bearing relics of the Passion (Gabriele accepts the argument that this source was written at Saint-Denis around 1080). These and less voluble witnesses drew on widely shared memories of the Carolingian golden age.

The second component idea was Jerusalem. Constantine's buildings, particularly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, gave the city a terrestrial Christian foundation, but the Muslim conquest left the terrestrial city remote, if not unreachable. Interest in the holy city ebbed and flowed, but it underwent a notable uptick in the eleventh century as many new churches drew on the dimensions and design of the Holy Sepulchre, and as changes in the Easter liturgy worked to re-enact the holy city in holy times. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem not only expanded sharply as the land route reopened because of the Byzantine revival, but began to feature very large groups of people traveling as a cohort.

The third component idea was that of *imperium*, which Gabriele argues meant authority and power as wielded by a man proven worthy of it to the authors of

the sources, rather than empire. *Imperium* meant rulership over Christendom, and the notion of it was found all over Western Europe. *Imperium* was the right of the "last emperor" who would rule in end times and surrender his crown to Christ in Jerusalem. While Beno of Alba might write to the Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) arguing that he was the last emperor, other traditions held that it would be Charlemagne, who rested at Aachen but would come again. This was not surprising given the increasingly sacralized treatment of Charlemagne, his working of miracles, and his legendary and historical defense of Christendom.

Finally, a fourth idea was crucial: that where Charlemagne led and would lead, the Franks followed and would follow. By the eleventh century, many people embraced the identity of Frank, and with it notions of Christian fidelity and warrior prowess. Norman writers called their people Franks and even considered them more Frankish than the French. They were therefore susceptible to addresses aimed at their heritage, such as Pope Urban may have delivered (and was remembered to have delivered).

Gabriele argues that the coalescence of these trends can help explain the outpouring of support for the First Crusade. The crusaders came from lands where the "empire of memory" of Charlemagne was current and thought of themselves as Franks, as they came to be called in texts like the *Gesta Francorum*, wherever they had come from. The memory of empire paved the way for the new enterprise.

Gabriele does not intend his argument to displace other explanations but to supplement them. This is a plausible argument, eruditely rooted in a wide range of primary and secondary sources, including liturgical studies, art history, "literary" and "historical" texts (which he argues were all simply texts to medieval contemporaries), crusade histories, and current arguments about orality, history, and memory. If his claim to originality based on the interdisciplinary nature of his work is somewhat overstated, the book nonetheless exemplifies that methodology. The writing is clear and accessible, free of obnoxious jargon, and frequently lively. Although half of most pages consist of footnotes, the reader who is not interested in the notes can read without reference to them. The book itself is an attractive object, as it ought to be given its slightly hair-raising price.

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CHRISTIAN RAFFENSPERGER. *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 177.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 329. \$55.00.

Kievan Rus' was the medieval Eastern Slavic polity with a capital in Kiev (present-day Ukraine). In most accounts of medieval European history, it is consigned to

the margins of a narrative that focuses on Western and Central Europe. In accounts of Russian history, Kievan Rus' figures as a conduit for Byzantine influence to the later Muscovite and imperial Russian states that emerged to its northeast. Christian Raffensperger challenges both of these frameworks in his boldly conceived first book.

Unlike most of his predecessors, most notably the late Dimitri Obolensky, Raffensperger does not situate Kievan Rus' within the political and religious orbit of the Byzantine Empire. Instead, he argues that the Rus' related to the Byzantines in very much the same way as their Western European neighbors. They sought Byzantine recognition and Byzantine imperial brides and appropriated its emblems of legitimate government, but without granting it political or ecclesiastical hegemony. In this way, Raffensperger both magnifies and diminishes the significance of what he terms the "Byzantine Ideal": he points out its pervasiveness across Europe while downplaying its impact in Kievan Rus'. He does not deny that the Rus' converted to Christianity as part of Byzantine diplomatic efforts, but he notes that they borrowed more directly from Bulgaria than from Constantinople. Additionally, Raffensperger emphasizes that the schism of 1054 initially had limited impact outside of high ecclesiastical circles, so that Western Christianity also inspired the Rus'. Borrowing Peter Brown's concept of "micro-Christendoms," Raffensperger argues persuasively that the leaders of Kievan Rus' deliberately developed a linguistically and culturally distinct version of Christianity in order to assert their independence from Byzantine authority. The replication in Kiev of prominent sites in Constantinople represents not subservient imitation but rather appropriation: the creation of a "locus of worship inside Rus'" to obviate any need to turn outward to the Byzantine Empire (p. 184).

In an effort to show how Kievan Rus' fit solidly within the political system of medieval Europe, Raffensperger devotes two chapters to tracing the royal marriages that bound the Riurikid princes of Rus' to their western European counterparts. These marriages confirmed alliances, either to conclude hostilities or to advance common strategic interests. For the princes of Rus', the natural allies were first in Scandinavia, from whence the Riurikid line arose, and secondarily in the kingdoms of Eastern and Central Europe. Yet some reached further, to England and France. Raffensperger describes the brides and their entourages as "a complete embassy in the heart of another realm . . . centered in a foreign potentate's own household with its leader in his own bedchamber" (p. 68). Drawing on the insights of feminist scholarship, the author argues plausibly that these royal brides were not just pawns in male political strategies but active players who influenced events through their personal ties to husbands and children, and by remaining loyal to their natal families and lands. But direct evidence of their impact remains elusive; neither Rus'ian nor European sources provide extensive evidence of female power. Raffensperger devotes half of

the chapter on Rus'ian dynastic marriages to the choices of names for the children born of these marriages in order to demonstrate how foreign brides "were able to affect an aspect of royal power," but ultimately such evidence shows only respect for the bride's family rather than her own agency (p. 113).

Raffensperger also notes the prevalence of commercial connections between Kievan Rus' and the rest of Europe, highlighting in particular overland trade to the West as a counterpoint to the more familiar focus on the Baltic/Byzantium route. This is, however, the shortest chapter. It is tantalizing in its allusions to the wide array of products that were exchanged and merchants who traveled back and forth, but it is insufficiently developed. Further, as Raffensperger proposes in the conclusion, Kievan Rus' was not only integral to Europe, but it also served as "the preferred route" to the exotic lands of the Silk Road (p. 188). It is key to contextualizing Europe within world history during that era.

Given the paucity of primary sources, Raffensperger often must depend on slender evidence and the power of analogy. Consequently, at many points his arguments remain speculative, a point he acknowledges from the start. He does marshal an enormous secondary literature to complement the contemporary (or near-contemporary) texts in an impressive variety of languages, inviting scholars to retrace his steps.

Raffensperger aimed to address two audiences: Russianists and scholars of medieval Western Europe. He largely succeeds, although specialists in Russian history may grump at the long (but purposeful) digressions into episodes in Western European history, and Western medievalists may lack sufficient familiarity with the narrative of Kievan history to appreciate his innovations. Everyone who teaches the early period of Russian history ought to read this book before beginning a new semester, and historians of the medieval West ought to place it at the top of their list of works to broaden their perspective on Eastern Europe.

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MEGAN CASSIDY-WELCH. *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150–1400*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Pp. xi, 192. \$80.00.

Medieval Europe propagated many forms of physical privation, yet there was none subject to such frequent refinement as the prison. The development of the environment and the equipment of incarceration between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries is a marker of the elaboration of medieval governance, its growing industrial capacity, and, of course, its increasing fragility. If the spectacle of the prison only strengthened its hold on public attention in this period of change, so too, suggests Megan Cassidy-Welch, did the idea of imprisonment. Earlier readings suggested that the concept of confinement lost something of its force from the twelfth