

of the German apostolate, of Sturm, the first abbot of Fulda, of Leoba, one of those many women whose role in the whole story of the conversions is one of its distinctive features, and of St Lebuin, another English disciple of Boniface who had known the archbishop as a boy. The essential setting for all these pieces is provided by a selection of the correspondence of St Boniface with Popes, as his canonical superiors, consolidating and confirming his work, and with his English friends in the episcopate or in the monasteries and convents which provided him with so many of his books and liturgical requirements. Finally, for good measure, there is the intriguing narrative of St Willibald's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as a reminder of that extraordinary itch to travel which Boniface himself mentions in one of his letters as a factor in the working-out of his own vocation. Dr Talbot's introduction and notes are remarkably succinct and to the point, and for the rest the translations allow the writers to speak for themselves. They introduce us to an age in which the Scriptures *in extenso*, and particularly the psalms, were committed to memory in youth, and became the source of a militant strength which could face great hardships. Yet the impulse towards the development of the active virtues was controlled and balanced by that thirst for solitude which is eloquently typified in the account of St Sturm's search for the site of Fulda, lost in a wild and uninhabited place. 'There they made small huts roofed over with the bark of trees, and there they stayed for a long time serving God in fasts and watching and prayer.' Of that side of their lives, however, they are largely silent.

It is not very evident why these otherwise admirable volumes were published without any indexes.

ÆLRED SQUIRE, O.P.

THE GROWTH OF PAPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Walter Ullmann. (Methuen; 42s.)

This book is the result of an attempt to re-think and re-assess the evidence—for the most part familiar—relating to the development of the governmental authority of the papacy 'between Emperor Gratian and Master Gratian'. It seeks to build a bridge between the purely factual and the purely ideological treatment of the subject, and so to depict the growth of the medieval papal monarchy as it were 'in the round'. The project is an ambitious one; but Dr Ullmann disarms criticism in advance by acknowledging in the preface the temerity of his undertaking, and offering his apologies for certain of the more striking omissions. Of these perhaps the most obvious is the absence of any attempt to assess the influence of Augustinian thought upon papalist political doctrine. Many of the individual topics discussed are, and must remain, controversial; but the main thesis is coherently presented and convincingly maintained. In spite of its somewhat ponderous

style, and the frequent occurrence of un-English turns of phrase, the book is both interesting and stimulating. The formidable apparatus of footnotes is justified by the convenience of reference to the original Latin, where so much depends upon precision in interpretation.

Dr Ullman has been criticized for harnessing the development of papal hierocratic doctrine so closely to the struggle of *regnum* versus *sacerdotium* as to make it appear a mere by-product of the conflict. This stricture hardly appears to be justified. True, the arguments by which the hierocratic theories were supported might and did vary, and their modification or elaboration is often traceable to the need to provide a more adequate defence against the challenge of the temporal power, whether represented by the Byzantine *basileus* or the Western emperor; but Dr Ullmann insists upon the striking unity of theme and consistency of principle apparent in the papal pronouncements even from a time 'before the term pope or the term papacy were coined'. Thus, while he sees in Gregory VII the culmination and personification of the hierocratic idea, he deprecates the tendency to ascribe to any one pope—be he Gregory the Great or Nicholas I—the 'foundation' of the medieval papacy. 'The edifice', he writes, 'was built of many stones by many architects.' It is, in fact, all one story.

To the time-honoured charge that the claims of the medieval popes were inspired primarily by the lust for power, he retorts that the system can fairly be judged only in the light of its underlying purpose—its *telos*. 'The papal hierocratic scheme', he reminds us, 'is a gigantic attempt to translate scriptural, and quite especially Pauline, doctrine into terms of government', and a system of law. The popes claimed, in virtue of the Petrine commission, the *cura et sollicitudo* of the whole of Christendom; and it was for them, who alone were 'functionally qualified' for the task, to lead the *universitas Christianorum* to its predestined goal of eternal life. In such a scheme the only role that remained for the temporal ruler was that of *advocatus Ecclesiae*, the patron and protector of the Church. This limitation of the function of royalty bred resistance, which found its centre at first in the Empire, and later in France, and its first effective weapon in the revived Aristotelianism of the later thirteenth century. 'Aristotle supplied the roof under which anti-hierocratic thought found a shelter.'

HELENA M. CHEW

HANDWRITING IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By N. Denholme-Young. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press; 30s.)

This work should be known by everyone concerned, from any point of view, with medieval texts; and students of medieval art and archaeology will find much in it of relevance to their studies. It had its origins,