

authority. Thus “good” women who used violence were seen as honorary men, while “bad” violent women succumbed to the feminine vice of pride.

Chapter 3 explores William’s view of appropriate sexual behavior. Unsurprisingly, he regarded marriage as the proper location for sexual activity. William typically echoed the views of eleventh- and twelfth-century reformers in emphasizing the importance of marriage. Yet his views were also tempered by political and patriarchal realities. While he advocated marital fidelity, he accepted that aristocratic laymen would not always manage to avoid temptations. Adulterous laywomen, on the other hand, were more likely to be condemned. William reserved particular praise for clerics who resisted women’s charms, and he disapproved of churchmen who could not restrain their lust (as Fenton explains, he was less comfortable in discussing women’s sexuality).

Chapter 4, the briefest and perhaps least successful chapter, introduces intersections between William’s conceptualizations of national identity and those of gender. While he characterized the crusaders as manly, for instance, he implicitly emasculated the Turks with gendered symbolism. The city of Constantinople itself, Fenton suggests, was represented as a woman through the alleged dream of Emperor Constantine. Gendered language and imagery thus became ways to convey approval or disapproval of various peoples. While this argument is intriguing, more examples would make it more convincing.

Chapter 5, focusing particularly on moments of conquest within William’s narratives, has more to offer. In his tale of the Anglo-Saxon invasion in the fifth century, William emphasized the lust, lechery, and laziness of the traitorous British king Vortigern. He lacks the restraint and reason that William saw as critical to manliness. The Angles and Saxons, on the other hand, are manly and powerful. A wily usurping woman plays a key role in the second major conquest of England described by William: Ælfthryth engineers the succession of her young son Æthelred, who is in turn incapable of defending England from Danish invasion in 1016. Æthelred’s weakness contrasts with the manliness of St. Dunstan. And in the third major invasion—that of 1066—King Harold loses in part because of his failure to correct the sins of his people. The English nobility, according to William, had become soft and womanly (William’s manly hero, St. Wulfstan, objects particularly to their long hair). Situations of conflict and invasion also involve gender insofar as they involve political marriages, as with Vortigern and a daughter of Hengest, Emma and Cnut, Henry I and Matilda II, and the failed alliance of King Harold to a daughter of William of Normandy. Inappropriate adherence to proper gender roles and rules could thus have disastrous consequences for a nation.

Fenton’s close reading of William of Malmesbury is often thoughtful and effective. But her sources, both primary and secondary, are relatively few, and she seldom moves far beyond William’s texts. She thus misses opportunities not only to enrich her own work but also to make a more substantial contribution to scholarship. Fenton’s work is interesting, but it could offer us so much more than it does.

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JÖRG FEUCHTER, *Ketzer, Konsuln und Büßer: Die städtischen Eliten von Montauban vor dem Inquisitor Petrus Cellani (1236/1241)*. (Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation, 40.) Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007. Pp. xiv, 607; tables, 2 graphs, and 3 maps. €119. doi:10.1017/S0038713410000229

If this book had been written in English, it would be the talk of the hour, for it is one of the most impressive studies of medieval heresy and inquisition since the work of Henry Charles Lea. To a significant degree Feuchter picks up where Lea left off. In 1887 the latter discovered an extremely rich source for the study of Occitan Catharism in the Collection Doat of

the Parisian Bibliothèque nationale and published extracts from it in his massive *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. But since then nothing noteworthy had been done with it. To take up such a lead, as Feuchter has done here, is not unusual, but his skill and thoroughness in pursuing it certainly are. That alone, however, would still not be worth the encomium of my first sentence. Rather, Feuchter's accomplishment lies primarily in interrelating his analysis of the Doat source with the analysis of another rich source he discovered himself.

I will be more specific. The Doat source is an assemblage of 653 "penitences" (findings) recorded during an inquisitorial campaign of 1236 in Quercy, of which 256 concern individuals associated with heresy in the city of Montauban. In every case the offense to which an individual confessed is noted, as well as the consequent penance. Sheerly in quantitative terms this is the richest known extant documentary source for medieval Occitan heresy. Yet there is more, for the penitences from Montauban, the city Feuchter has chosen for his study, relate to individuals associated with both Catharism and Waldensianism, whereas Waldensianism does not appear in any other Occitan inquisitorial documents. This evidence allows him to draw numerous illuminating comparisons between two heresies existing in the same time and place. And Feuchter's new source provides more still. The "*Livre Rouge*" that Feuchter located in the municipal archives of Montauban is a cartulary of 116 folios, replete with detailed prosopographical data concerning the city's governing class, which enable him to match names from the Doat penitences. Identifying families and pursuing family fortunes, he is singularly successful in writing a microhistory of the society that was visited by the inquisition of 1236.

Lest eyebrows be raised about my use of the term Catharism without quotation marks, Feuchter's work comfortably permits me to do so. This author is methodologically attuned. He is aware of the objection that inquisitors might have found what they were looking for by putting words in peoples' mouths but has a control for that. As he demonstrates, names and details in depositions of a Cathar *perfecta* from Montauban dating from 1244 and 1245, found separately in Toulouse MS 609, match names and details found in the penitences without any possibility of one source having contaminated the other. Feuchter is not striving to reconstruct doctrine. Nor could he do so, for the inquisitors took Cathar doctrine for granted and aimed instead at establishing names and places toward the goal of exterminating the perceived menace. But the Doat penitences do include references to Cathar traits familiar from other sources: "adoration" of heretical leaders, common ritual meals, and ceremonies that clearly amount to the Cathar *consolamentum*. We learn, too, of what was evidently a Cathar diacönite, notice several individuals who were implicated in the alternative religious practices for long periods of time, and hear of a sermon that concerned Creation, a crucial Cathar theme.

Feuchter does not leap to the conclusion that all who confessed to having had contacts with Cathars can properly be considered Cathars. On the contrary, he is careful to distinguish between those who joined in liminal rites and those who were merely sympathetic bystanders. Drawing the same distinction for Waldensians, he adduces statistical comparisons. Whereas the number of those who confessed to having had contacts with Waldensians was considerably larger than those who confessed to having had contacts with Cathars, more people were real Cathars in terms of the liminal rites test. The larger number of "casual" Waldensians interrelates with Feuchter's finding that Waldensian ministers still preached publicly in Montauban, even in the market square, allowing the merely curious to drop by and listen, whereas Cathar preaching took place in private. Waldensian public preaching as late the 1230s seems unexpected, but authorities evidently were lax about stepping in; indeed Feuchter's evidence shows that some citizens of Montauban did not even know that Waldensians had been condemned by the papacy about half a century earlier. The content of the sermons does not emerge from the Doat records, but we do learn that Waldensian ministers were such Gospel literalists that they refused to accept coins as alms.

Feuchter's prosopographical findings are equally revealing. The penitents in Montauban came exclusively from the city's elite. Astonishingly, out of 134 sworn witnesses from Montauban to the peace of Lorris of 1243, chosen because they were members of the governing elite, 58 had just recently confessed to the inquisitor and another 51 bore cognomens that revealed membership in the families represented in the Doat data. By the use of the *Livre Rouge* Feuchter is also able to show that despite the public shaming and demeaning pilgrimages imposed on the penitents, they and their lineages remained dominant in the government and economy of the city for many decades afterwards.

The fact that five of Feuchter's chapters virtually amount to freestanding books obliges me to omit much. Suffice it to say that he offers a meticulous account of the urban history of Montauban from its founding as a planned city in 1144 to the end of the thirteenth century, as well as an account, with new documentation, of the decades-long career of the Dominican inquisitor Petrus Cellani, who was one of the earliest colleagues of St. Dominic.

If there are errors, I do not know of them. But I may reflect on one conclusion. According to Feuchter the circumstances that the inquisitorial campaign of 1236 was conducted by an Occitan, was leveled at the governing class, and did nothing to destroy the dominance of that class call into question the thesis that Occitania at this time witnessed "the origins of a persecuting society." This position is strong in terms of a historiographical debate: at least in this instance one group did not replace another. Yet what about the human terms? Thirty men from Montauban were sentenced to leave home to defend the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople for periods of one to three years and to wear foot-long penitential crosses sewn to their clothing; eight women were sentenced to wear enormous penitential crosses of roughly a foot and a half—six for a year, one for two years, and one for seven years; a woman who reduced the size of her cross was warned about her disobedience. On the fifteenth of September, 1941, Victor Klemperer wrote in his diary: "[the] star of David comes into force on the nineteenth: Frau Kreidl was in tears, Frau Voss had palpitations. . . . I only want to leave the house for a few hours when it's dark" (*I Will Bear Witness, 1933–1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers [New York, 1999], p. 429). Certainly there are many ways of defining a persecuting society.

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STEVE FLANDERS, *De Courcy: Anglo-Normans in Ireland, England and France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Dublin and Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press, 2008. Pp. 205; 5 black-and-white figures and 9 maps. \$75.
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Steve Flanders presents a thorough prosopographical study of the Courcy family from their first traceable ancestor, Baudri the German, a retainer of Duke Richard II of Normandy in the early eleventh century, down through the career of their most famous son, John de Courcy, who carved out the Anglo-Norman lordship of Ulster with a daring winter campaign in February 1177. The first chapter sets this story in the context of the world of eleventh- and twelfth-century northwestern Europe, especially the warrior aristocratic society that emerged during that period and in which the Courcys moved, and discusses the somewhat meager stock of sources, mostly charters, from which the history of the family can be written. The second chapter examines the origins of the family as trusted military retainers of the Norman ducal family from around 1000 until the aftermath of the Norman Conquest. Like many Norman families of the time, the Courcys divided into two branches as a result of the conquest. Chapter 3 disentangles, fairly convincingly to this reviewer, the complicated genealogical lines this division created, a problem exacerbated by the family's limited stock of personal names (no fewer than six Robert de Courcys and another six