and of the reasons why his reign failed. Thus, her description of the coronation oath in 1308 focuses more on defending Edward against charges of ignorance because he took it in French and not Latin than it does on the content of the new fourth clause and what he and his subjects took it to mean—surely worth exploring further given the centrality of the oath in the Articles of Accusation of 1327. The Statute of York of 1322, which revoked the Ordinances and established the legal foundation of Edward’s tyranny, is not even mentioned by name. Warner references several times the ‘extraordinarily difficult legacy’ that Edward II had inherited, but, beyond a simple list of the supposed problems he had to face, there is no attempt to analyse their scale and scope. Any such attempt to understand Edward’s position in 1307 is hampered by her decision to devote just nine pages to his life before his accession—we get more detail on his supposed escape and afterlife than on the years which formed the backdrop to his reign. For all her understanding of Edward the man, then, Warner’s failure to engage with issues beyond the personal means that her book ultimately does not convince either as a biography or as an account of the reign. Warner’s best work is not here but online and her blog will doubtless be of immense utility to the author of the, as yet elusive, definitive biography of one of England’s most disastrous kings.

ANDREW M. SPENCER


This book is about a paradox: the experience of the Muslim communities of Latin Christendom, which, given the ideological spheres of Latin Christendom and Islam, should not even have existed. Given this premiss, the author, Brian A. Catlos, sets out to survey the history of the Muslims of Latin Christendom, examining the experiences of the various regional communities, and the circumstances that contributed both to their survival and to their demise. His purpose is to shed light on the relations between Muslims, Christians and Jews who lived in medieval Europe in terms of how they imagined each other, how they structured their relationships, and how they interacted in various contexts.

There are two precise concepts assumed by Catlos which are fundamental for the understanding of this book. The first is that of frontiers and boundaries, which, as the author points out, have been frequently overemphasised (p. 44). Undeniably, the divisions between Islam and Latin Christendom were malleable and imprecise. The second concept is that of the ‘Islamicate’ (p. 311), coined by Marshall Hodgson (by whom Catlos is clearly influenced). It refers, not directly to religion, but to the social and cultural palette that emerged from Islamic rule, encompassing and influencing non-Muslims as well as Muslims. At the World Council of Middle East Studies Conference in 2014, Huricihan Islamoglu, one of Hodgson’s most distinguished students, summarised her erstwhile professor’s vision in four essential points which included the importance of the pragmatic. As we will see, pragmatism is one of the key words in Catlos’s book.

The first part of the book, ‘Static diasporas: Muslim communities of Latin Christendom’, presents a diachronic narrative of the Muslim minorities
living in Christian regions from the mid-eleventh century through to the beginning of the sixteenth. It consists of seven chronological-geographical chapters, each of which focuses on a particular region of Latin Christendom (from Iberia to Hungary) and particular Muslim communities at a particular time. Several phases can be discerned: the period to the mid- to late twelfth century was characterised by early Christian advances into Muslim lands in Iberia, southern Italy, North Africa and the Holy Land, and, to a lesser extent, by voluntary Muslim immigration, particularly in Eastern Europe. The thirteenth century was characterised by a normalisation and regularisation of the relations between the Islamic subject minority and Christian society in some regions, such as Iberia, or the disappearance of Muslim minorities or Latin lordship in others, such as the Holy Land or Sicily. In the fourteenth century, the situation of the communities of the Iberian Peninsula entered a new phase as a consequence of a conjunction of political circumstances and shifting socio-economic and cultural contexts that evolved finally into what Catlos calls the failure of mudéjarism (p. 226) around the turn of the sixteenth century, a period marked by forced conversions.

The second part, ‘Living in sin: Islamicate society under Latin dominion’, adopts a thematic approach to discuss the ideological-religious, administrative and quotidian aspects of the interaction between members of the different religious groups, in terms of the Augustinian ternary of transgression: thought (ideology), word (administration), and deed (practice). While the ideologies that underpinned Christian–Muslim relations were made from opposition, and the legal and administrative institutions that defined Christian society were predicated on the subjugation of the Muslim minority, the reality of daily life in Latin Christendom was one in which Muslims and Christians were engaged in interdependent relationships—measured by their ‘ritual content’, a useful tool introduced by Catlos (p. 510)—that often blurred the boundaries that were intended to divide them. In the final chapter of the second part, this malleability of boundaries is explored through a series of diverse and thought-provoking topics, such as the practice of religion, love and sex, song and dance, fashion and adornment, gender, and the world of women.

Physics of scale is the theoretical framework used by Catlos to explain the phenomenon of Muslims in medieval Latin Christendom (p. 525). Medieval society, as a complex system, consists of three different modes of self-identification. The ‘macro’, or (in Catlos’s term) ‘ecumenian’, scale relates to dogma-informed religious identity (‘thought’), the mode in which people imagined themselves as ‘Christians’ or ‘Muslims’. The ‘micro’ or ‘local’ scale corresponds to individuals and informal collectives. It is the sphere of syncretism, of cross-communal solidarity as well as of unorganised communal violence; the realm of action, or ‘deed’. In the middle, the ‘meso’, or ‘corporate’ scale is that of the formal collective, the stratum of law, regulation, and institution (‘word’). Each of the three modes has a corresponding register of expression relating to communal identity and religious diversity and every individual is involved in each of these modes of identity simultaneously, evoking each in specific circumstances.

With an excellent management of secondary literature, seasoned with details drawn from primary sources, what Catlos tries to highlight across this book is the fact that pragmatism—conveniencia and not convivencia—was the key that allowed the existence of Muslim communities under Christian rule. The author shows numerous examples of rulers, such as Roger II of Sicily
(pp. 102–12), who opted more for approaches based on realpolitik and self-interest rather than on ideological, religious and doctrinal discourses. It was a ‘principle of conveniencia’, says Catlos, that operated to establish the Muslim communities as semi-autonomous, legitimate entities within Latin society (p. 522).

It seems ungrateful to ask for more from a book that deals with so many topics, but it would have been interesting to learn more about processes of conversion, both forced and voluntary, and how they affected the Muslim minorities and their self-identity, and also about how concepts such as ‘nation’ were developed and engaged with ethnicity and religion. At a more theoretical level, it seems risky for Catlos to suggest that, in some circumstances, individuals could voluntarily relinquish the ideological discourses that shaped them consciously or not. Additionally, the model disregards the importance of the very human characteristic of spontaneity.

Nevertheless, this is a book that successfully opens a window into a topic that no scholarly monograph has previously attempted, shedding light on these often obscure Muslim minorities and providing, to the general public and scholars alike, an original and innovative narrative of the history of medieval and early modern Europe.

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doi:10.1093/ehr/cev382

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Among the issues which troubled medieval Latin Christian western European leaders in their dealings with Muslims, other non-Christians and heretics, trade proved particularly awkward. While St Augustine had argued that contact with non-Christians offered a prospect of conversion, the high medieval consensus adopted a more constrained attitude. On the one hand, commerce across confessional boundaries was inevitable in frontier regions, such as the Mediterranean, and could bring material profit to Christians and to Christendom. On the other hand, economic exchange could not only benefit and strengthen non-Christians without accruing any reciprocal benefit in terms of spreading Christianity, but also actively harm Christian attempts to recover territories lost to the infidels, as in Spain, Syria and Palestine. The expansion of international trade and its concomitant, the crusades, forced a new urgency in such considerations onto academics, military planners and merchant elites alike. One obvious response to fears of providing material advantages to an enemy was the economic embargo, a device familiar from classical policy, Roman Law precept and, to a limited extent, early medieval practice.

As developed by the later twelfth century, such embargos possessed a distinctive moral as well as economic dimension, associated with the need to maintain the purity of Christian faith. Wickedness as much as profiting Christendom’s opponents informed the first unequivocal papal trade embargo (the decree Ita Quorundam, promulgated at the Lateran Council of 1179), and underpinned its development between 1179 and 1234. As Stefan Stantchev