

(144). The satirical remarks of Chaucer in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*—the good Parson, unlike other priests, did not leave his souls in the mire and run off to London “to seken hym a chaunterie for soules” (line 510)—clearly need revision. Rousseau has published separately a valuable register of these 810 chantry priests in *Medieval Prosopography* 26 (2005): 218–314. It is a matter of some regret that the demands of publication apparently precluded the inclusion of the register in this book, where one might expect it to be.

The story ends with the dissolution of the chantries, the disbursement of the endowments, and the fate of the chantry priests. Once the doctrine of purgatory fell out of favor, gradually over the 1530s and 1540s, there was no future for chantries praying for souls in purgatory, and in December 1547 Parliament dissolved them all in the Second Chantry Act. Their properties, like those of the religious houses before them, were seized by the Crown and sold. And the chantry priests, like the dispossessed religious before them, received pensions from the Court of Augmentations; these ranged from £4 to £6. The “perpetual” chantries were no more. The Marian revival of Catholicism did not witness the return of chantries to St. Paul’s. And the once chantry altars themselves perished with the cathedral in 1666.

The appendix lists all eighty-four chantries and the vital information about each. It is a fitting coda to this scholarly book. The great merit of this study is that, using a very wide range of original source material in the London Guildhall and elsewhere, always with care, it gives the reader a seldom-seen glimpse of the life—devotional, liturgical, communal, and more—of one of the great medieval cathedrals. It deserves a wide audience.

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JAY RUBENSTEIN, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*.

New York: Basic Books, 2011. Pp. xiv, 402; 8 color plates, 6 black-and-white figures, and maps. \$29.99. ISBN: 9780465019298. doi:10.1017/S0038713413002571

This new study of the “First” Crusade argues that “apocalyptic fervor” (305) was the driving force of the expedition, as well as the Crusade movement. Previous studies, the author, Jay Rubenstein, contends, have failed “to capture how precisely apocalyptic the First Crusade was” (xii). The remedy Rubenstein offers is a relentless focus on apocalypticism that ignores any weaknesses inherent in this approach and overlooks alternative explanations.

Although we cannot be certain that Pope Urban II framed the Jerusalem Crusade in the way that twelfth-century narrative accounts say he did, the author finds that “there is no reason to think that he did not.” What is even “less certain is whether the pope used . . . apocalypticism [in his call to crusade],” yet Rubenstein asserts that “it would be surprising if he did not” (27). If these arguments fail to convince, a fallback position is at hand: “Urban II essentially surrendered control of his message” to the masses, so that “whatever the pope may have chosen to emphasize at Clermont, the crusade over the next several months would become an aggressive and apocalyptic institution” (31).

The key to understanding “the Jerusalem-based madness” (17), as Rubenstein refers to the first great Crusade to Jerusalem (1095–99), lies in understanding a folk piety imbued with an “apocalyptic vision” (78, 233) that was capable of overriding all other considerations: political, social, economic, and military. At every turn, “the apocalyptic First Crusade” (320, 325) displays “an apocalyptic mind-set” (264). By placing apocalyptic prophecies in the forefront of the Jerusalem Crusade and the crusading movement, Rubenstein transforms the incidental and changing features of the expedition and the enterprise into necessary and permanent features. Thus, he claims, without any supporting

evidence, that “the anti-Jewish violence in 1096 [in the Rhineland] was an integral part of the call to crusade,” spurred by millennial ideas associated with “remaking the world and avenging the crimes against Christ and Christians [that] required a general attack against every possible spiritual enemy, not just Muslims” (53). “To avenge Christ’s death and to bring about the prophetic conditions necessary to enable the advent of the Last Days,” the first order of business was “to eradicate the Jews” (77, 264). Hence, the Jerusalem Crusade finds its true realization in an anti-Jewish phase in Europe (45–53) before “entering a new, purely anti-Islamic phase” (117) in the Middle East.

Islam, according to Rubenstein, had become the enemy of Christendom, not because Muslims sought to dominate the Christian world directly by force and were very successful at doing so, but because Muslims were “timeless villains, cut from an apocalyptic mold” (125). “Whenever Christians wanted to understand or explain Islam, they thought about themselves and about the end of days [in which, in their view,] Christians and Muslims existed in perfect opposition to each other, just like angels and devils, and [in which] . . . the former group would necessarily overcome the latter” (120). “This emphasis on opposites, part of a style of thought that is fundamentally apocalyptic” (324), provoked “a two-hundred-year saga of continual warfare,” which set Western culture on a “nightmarish path” (318) of “one disaster atop another” (325), so that we are unable today to obscure “the poisonous effect that [the memory of the Crusades] continues to exert on relations between adherents of Christianity and Islam” (318).

For Rubenstein, “it is difficult to ignore the resonances between the eleventh-century story I have told and our own time” (324). As a result, he imports the present into the past, and the present he imports carries echoes of the second Gulf War: “a Western army attacking a little-understood Eastern culture, earnestly believing itself to be a liberator of the cities it conquered, trusting that God was on its side and that to die in battle was to attain a martyr’s death, both anxious and hopeful that its exertions would remake the world and create a peace so profound that history itself might draw to a close (with Christianity or liberal democracies covering the globe), only to discover that the sudden liberation of Jerusalem had led not to a new world but to an endless and endlessly dangerous occupation of enemy territory” (324). “The First Crusade,” Rubenstein exhorts, “present[s] a somber warning about the dangers of holy war once an army or the authority behind an army chooses to believe that its goals align with God’s” (325).

The reader will find all the major set-piece episodes of the “First” Crusade in this book rendered in an apocalyptic palette, yet a historical picture painted with such a severely limited palette arouses even the author’s dissent. In fact, no sooner does Rubenstein present his apocalyptic thesis than he argues against it, rejecting the possibility that “apocalyptic fervor” drove the participants in the Crusade, because, as he states, “there were as many ideas about the crusade as there were people wearing crosses sewn on their cloaks (and, eventually, tattooed onto their bodies)” (31), so that “it is not so easy to say why the great mass of ordinary people decided to join the crusade” (36).

For Rubenstein, the revolutionary desire to bring about “the end of time” (171) fueled the Crusades. He, like other scholars who have followed the apocalyptic trail of the Crusades, such as Paul Alphandéry (1875–1932), Jean Flori (b. 1936), and Christoph Auffarth (b. 1951), have asked themselves, “what apocalyptic climate caused the emergence of crusading, or contributed greatly to its rise and establishment?” Yet the question that they should be asking is “what ongoing conflict gave the impetus and starting-point for the development of apocalyptic speculation due to a reversal in the direction of this conflict?” By ascribing apocalyptic causation to the Crusades, Alphandéry, Flori, Auffarth, and Rubenstein reverse the customary sequence of actions by which ideas and concepts, generally understood as issuing from a circle of experiences, are comprehended as giving rise to these experiences. To pose the reversed question restores centrality in

the origins of crusading to the prolonged struggle between Islam and Christendom in the Mediterranean world, and makes apocalypticism not the cause, but a symptom, or an effect, of the Crusades. Yet even to take up the reversed question requires that scholars examine hitherto unexamined presuppositions regarding the origins of the Crusades, something that is just now starting to happen (see Paul E. Chevedden, "Crusade Creationism versus Pope Urban II's Conceptualization of the Crusades," *Historian* 75, no. 1 [2013]: 1–46).

Contra Rubenstein, apocalypticism is not the source of crusading, but something secondary and derivative of it. The real origin of the Crusades is to be sought in the Islamic-Christian confrontation in the Mediterranean world.

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NICOLAI RUBINSTEIN, *Studies in Italian History in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 2: Politics, Diplomacy, and the Constitution in Florence and Italy*. Ed. Giovanni Ciappelli. (Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi 272.) Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011. Paper. Pp. viii, 458. €68. ISBN: 9788863723229.
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To those who did not know him personally, the late Nicolai Rubinstein (1911–2002) is best remembered for his undisputed magnum opus, the monographic *Government of Florence under the Medici* (1966), and for his careful and inspirational direction of the ongoing, collaborative, multivolume edition of Lorenzo de' Medici's letters, of which he personally edited two volumes. But as this book, the second of a proposed three-volume collection (began in 2004 with *Political Thought and the Language of Politics: Art and Politics*), continues to show, Rubinstein's true métier was the essay or short study. Over the course of more than six decades, his production of articles was extensive, wide-ranging, and mostly impeccable. Before his death Rubinstein organized and began revisions on his complete *Studies*, but the editing of the second volume for publication fell almost entirely into the very capable hands of Giovanni Ciappelli, whose interventions, described in a brief note (v–viii), are minimal but effective. This volume contains eighteen articles originally published between 1935 and 2000, two-thirds in English and one-third in Italian, that treat Italian (but chiefly Florentine) affairs from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries (but chiefly the fifteenth). Not surprisingly the Medici loom large in the pieces published in the 1960s and later: three explicitly concern Lorenzo, his image during and after his life, and his diplomacy in the 1470s; one discusses the myth and reality of Cosimo's position as the republic's *optimus civis*, and short articles deal with Piero di Cosimo's election as Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in late December 1460 and a "conspiracy" against him in 1466. Even when the Medici are not foregrounded, their presence is felt.

Although a few of the articles, like "Florentine Constitutionalism and Medici Ascendancy in the Fifteenth Century" (1968) with its tight focus on political thought, seem as though they might have been a better fit in the first volume, most of the studies here are linked by an apparently lifelong interest on the part of the author in the intricacies of Florence's statecraft and internal politics (its assemblies, elections, and continuous legislation) and the predominance of the city's elite families in both. Rubinstein is at his best when he is dazzling the reader with his extensive archival research, his meticulous attention to detail, and his grasp of the full range of sources for political and diplomatic history. Representative of these qualities is what is surely the most important article in the volume: Rubinstein's lengthy and impressive study, first published in 1954, of the early history of the Consiglio Maggiore. This "Great Council," established by the revived Florentine republic after the