

Lucca pope. In the first version Berthold is supportive of the imperially-elected pope, but in his later version, events are related somewhat differently due to his at first having known nothing of the papal election decree of 1059 stating that all popes be elected by the cardinal bishops in Rome. This changed his representation of Pope Honorius II, who had been elected in Rome, from an usurper to the rightful pontiff, and the actions of Henry IV from imperial right to simonious. Together these four chroniclers frame the century with their widely-read background and critical approach to recording the events surrounding one of the most intellectual and political eras of medieval European history.

The translations are articulate and lucid, and are well-supported by Robinson's copious and meticulous notes. Although the chronicles themselves cover a much wider timeframe, Robinson chooses to include only the segments about the eleventh century. This not only fits in well with Robinson's previous work (his editions of the chronicles of Berthold and Bernold for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series, and his translated biographies of the popes Leo IX and Gregory VII), but also allows the reader to engage with the authors of the chronicles themselves more closely as they observe the world from their perspective in their own lifetimes. Robinson's clear and well-informed English translation makes an accessible and invaluable addition to the primary texts available to scholars of the papal reforms of the eleventh-century, the history of the Holy Roman emperors and their struggle with the papacy, life in monastic intellectual communities, and the political and cultural effects of the contest for the German investiture.

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**Salisbury, Joyce E., *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages***

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*The Beast Within* is a fascinating study on how humans, in the Middle Ages, perceived animals. Salisbury points to the modern Darwinist concept of evolution which has instilled the attitude that humans are animals and that humans are at the top of the chain of animals. Animal and human are not separate categories requiring separate treatment. This is a very different attitude to the early Middle Age where animals were a distinct entity. The study revolves around the period 400–1400, and at end of this thousand-year study, attitudes had changed and the distinction between human and animal became blurred.

The early Christian fathers clearly distinguished between humans and animals. Man was made in the image of God. This set an obvious distinction since, as God was not a beast, then man, the image of God, was clearly not an animal. The Garden of Eden had no need of animals since there were no clothes, Adam and Eve were naked in their innocence, they were vegetarians and lived off the fruits of the earth and had no need for beasts of burden. This idyllic paradise was similar to the afterlife where resurrected bodies would not need food for they would not undergo further change in paradise. However, in the not-so-idyllic world of Earth, the need for animals was apparent.

The first three chapters concentrate on animals that served humans, where there is a clear distinction between animals and humans. In the early medieval world animals were articles of property. In Genesis God told Adam and Eve to have domination over all the fish in the sea, the birds and all the animals that move on the earth. Isidore of Seville and Ambrose of Milan divided animals into two categories, wild and domestic; one under God's control and the other under man's control. The interactions between animal and humanity were complex in the early medieval period and while the church maintained a clear theology that led to the separation of animals and humans, the ties of "property bound the owners as surely as the owned" (32). Wild and domestic animals served humans as food and played an important role in the medieval diet for both ritual and survival purposes.

The book then turns to the nature of sexuality. First it defines elements of animal sexuality and then discusses the problem of intercourse between animal and humans. The church line of separation condemns bestiality, but what is so remarkable is the number of Church fathers who wrote on bestiality. Salibury's review on the medieval literature on bestiality is very interesting and it is a complex mixture of theology, witchcraft, and medieval laws. The beast within the human becomes visible in this chapter.

The last three chapters look at the beginning of the blurring of the distinction for animal and human. "Animals as Human Exemplars" examines animals as metaphors and as guides to metaphysical truths. Medieval scholars began to record animal stories from the ninth century, including allegorical animal texts. These texts were called bestiaries and they became extremely popular. From the eleventh century, animal fables began to appear. These two types of texts had different rationales: the bestiaries were scientific works that reveal the nature of animals and their role in creation, while the fables were often amusing since the animals had human characteristics. By the twelfth century there is nothing animal-like about their behaviour. The separation was beginning to blur.

In "Animals as Humans" this blurring distinction is not only merged in literature, metaphor and in people's minds, but also in the law and households. After the twelfth century, animals were put on trial. Salibury uncovers details of trials of rodents, insects, pigs, oxen, horses, goats, and roosters, and some dress as human at their trial. This gives an intriguing image of medieval society and its relationship with animals. The chapter also considers the converse, the pampered pet. A pampered, non-working animal demonstrates how effective the animal metaphors for the previous chapter had become.

"Humans as Animals" examines the increased blurring of the distinction of animal and human. The church had made the clear distinction between animal and human, and as that distinction began to blur into one, sub-categories of animal began to emerge. If a wild man was less than human, he became a creature on the border or even slipped into the world of the animals. The growing popularity of metamorphosis literature assisted with this perception and it was the animals of their imagination that made them afraid of the animal within themselves. Salibury concludes by considering "What is Human?"

This is the most intriguing book. Salibury finds many remarkable examples to emphasise her points and uses very extensive sources. It is highly scholarly and well-

written. *The Beast Within* reveals so much about early medieval society and it would be useful to any medieval scholar. It is so interesting a read that it is difficult to put it down.

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**Samellas, Antigone, *Alienation: The Experience of the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.)***

(Bern: Peter Lang, 2010) paperback; 556 pages; RRP £65.60; ISBN 9783039117895

This is a big book on a big subject. Antigone Samellas holds that alienation was a pre-modern condition, and that the impact of Christianity on it was both emancipatory and oppressive. She argues the case on the basis of a series of discussions that deal with life being understood as theatre (Augustus played the mime of life well, Julian badly); the kind of willed alienation manifested in being dead to the world; attitudes taken towards the mentally ill; the possibility of social utopias being seen as means of overcoming alienation; the connection between imperialism and Christianity; and the treatment of martyrs, criminals and convicts. As can be seen, the book covers a lot of territory, but it is bound together by a concern to establish what difference the coming of Christianity made. While there turns out to have been a remarkably large area of common ground between Christians and their contemporaries, Samellas concludes by emphasizing discontinuity: “Christianity turned an objectively determined, stigmatizing or constricting alienation into a deontological alienation, willingly espoused, that sublimated the original estrangement, positively revalorizing the latter and all the emotions it gave rise to.”

I admire the skill with which an immense volume of data on topics not usually brought together, some of which I have to admit to not having been aware of and now plan to read, has been sought out and integrated, even if it is sometimes possible to imagine it being treated with greater subtlety; I suspect that the portrayals of Justinian and Justin II in Procopius’ *Secret History* and Corippus’ *In laudem* respectively are more problematic than she allows. But it is impossible not to be swept along by the restless intelligence that informs the enquiry, and if, at times, the blocks of material seem to be concerned with various ways of feeling out of sorts rather than things that necessarily cohere, the continual alertness to way in which non-Christian and Christian views differed provides structure of another sort. And, far more than is the case with most books, the stages of the argument developed here provide plenty of things one would want to wrestle with.

For example, the section on imperialism and Christianity is intriguing, but ultimately falls short of being persuasive. Samellas sees the First Jewish War that culminated in the sack of Jerusalem in AD 70 as having been connected with payment of taxes, and believes that it was supported by the followers of Jesus, who were fiercely opposed to Roman power. The argument depends on a reading of relations between Christians and Jews that is questionable, and more worryingly an interpretation of early Christian relations with Rome that seems to fly in the face of the account in Acts of the Apostles, and sees St Paul’s letter to the Romans as “an open declaration of the war on