

The  
Journal  
of  
Ecclesiastical  
History

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# The Journal of Ecclesiastical History

## *Editors*

James Carleton Paget, University of Cambridge

Alec Ryrie, University of Durham

## *Assistant Editor*

Christine Linehan, Cambridge

## *Advisory Editorial Board*

David Bebbington, *University of Stirling*

Michael Bourdeaux, *Keston Institute, Oxford*

Martin Brett, *University of Cambridge*

Euan Cameron, *Union Theological Seminary, New York*

Richard Carwardine, *University of Oxford*

Gillian Clark, *University of Bristol*

Tim Cooper, *University of Otago*

David d'Avray, *University College London*

Eamon Duffy, *University of Cambridge*

Judith Herrin, *King's College, London*

Simon Keynes, *University of Cambridge*

Diarmaid MacCulloch, *University of Oxford*

David Maxwell, *University of Cambridge*

Rosamond McKitterick, *University of Cambridge*

Hugh McLeod, *University of Birmingham*

J. D. Y. Peel, *SOAS, University of London*

Miri Rubin, *Queen Mary, University of London*

W. J. Sheils, *University of York*

Julia Smith, *University of Glasgow*

Pauline Stafford, *University of Liverpool*

Brian Stanley, *University of Edinburgh*

Alexandra Walsham, *University of Cambridge*

Frances Young, *University of Birmingham*

Patrick Zutshi, *University of Cambridge*

## *International Advisory Board*

J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *Trinity Theological Seminary, Ghana*

Elizabeth Clark, *Duke University, USA*

Giles Constable, *Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, USA*

Sergei Filatov, *Institute of Eastern Studies, Moscow, Russia*

Robert Frykenberg, *University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

Clara García Ayluardo, *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City, Mexico*

Jean-Philippe Genet, *Université Paris I, France*

David Hilliard, *Flinders University, Australia*

Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Centre d'Études Médiévales, Paris, France*

Susan Karant-Nunn, *University of Arizona, USA*

Peter Lake, *Vanderbilt University, USA*  
Hartmut Lehmann, *Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, Germany*

Harry O. Maier, *Vancouver School of Theology, Canada*

Claudia Rapp, *University of California, USA*

André Vauchez, *École Française de Rome, Italy*

Contributions and books for review should be addressed to the Editors, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Robinson College, Cambridge CB3 9AN, UK; e-mail [jeh@robinson.cam.ac.uk](mailto:jeh@robinson.cam.ac.uk). The *Journal* normally expects articles to be not longer than eight thousand words, inclusive of endnotes; this represents a maximum of 33–5 pages of published text and 40–5 pages of an average double-spaced A4 typescript. A copy of the *Journal's* style sheet will be sent to intending contributors on application to the Editors.

## **Subscriptions**

*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (ISSN 0022-0469) is published quarterly by Cambridge University Press in January, April, July and October. Four parts form a volume. The subscription price, which includes delivery by air where appropriate, plus electronic access to institutional subscribers (but excluding VAT) of volume 67 in 2016 is £445 (US \$767 in USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions; the print only price for institutions is £418 (US\$726) and £87 (US \$158) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. Single parts are £120 net (US \$209 in USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £359 (\$620 in USA, Canada and Mexico). EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT registered members should provide their VAT registration number. Japanese prices for institutions (including ASP delivery) are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK; or in the USA, Canada and Mexico: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013, USA. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: send address changes in USA, Canada and Mexico to *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Cambridge University Press, 100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, New York 10994-2133.

# THE JOURNAL OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

Volume 67 Number 3

July 2016

## Contents

### ARTICLES

- WHEN DID AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY DIE?: BY RICHARD SHAW 473
- THE CULT OF ST NICHOLAS OF MYRA IN NORMAN BARI, c. 1071–c. 1111: BY DAWN MARIE HAYES 492
- TWO WEDDINGS AND A LAWSUIT: MARRIAGE LITIGATION IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGAL: BY ANDRÉ VITÓRIA 513
- MONSIGNOR IVAN ILLICH'S CRITIQUE OF THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH, 1960–1966: BY ROSA BRUNO-JOFRE AND JON IGELMO ZALDÍVAR 568

### NOTE AND DOCUMENT

- GREGORY CROMWELL: TWO PORTRAIT MINIATURES BY HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER: BY TERI FITZGERALD AND DIARMAID MACCULLOCH 587

### REVIEWS

- DORAN, METHUEN and WALSHAM (eds), *Religion and the household. Papers read at the 2012 summer meeting and the 2013 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*: by Catherine Richardson 602
- WHITE, *Remembering Paul. Ancient and modern contests over the image of the Apostle*: by James Carleton Paget 604
- GRUNDEKEN and VERHEYDEN (eds), *Early Christian communities between ideal and reality*: by Benjamin A. Edsall 606
- BARDAKJIAN and LA PORTA (eds), *The Armenian apocalyptic tradition. A comparative perspective. Essays presented in honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*: by Tim Greenwood 608
- BROWN, *The ransom of the soul. Afterlife and wealth in early Western Christianity*: by Richard Finn OP 610
- PATOUT BURNS JR and JENSEN, *Christianity in Roman Africa. The development of its practices and beliefs*: by Bryan D. Spinks 612
- MAGNY, *Porphyry in fragments. Reception of an anti-Christian text in late antiquity*: by Ulrich Volp 613
- BAUMKAMP, *Kommunikation in der Kirche des 3. Jahrhunderts. Bischöfe und Gemeinden zwischen Konflikt und Konsens im Imperium Romanum*: by Allen Brent 614
- STEPHENS, *Canon law and episcopal authority. The canons of Antioch and Serdica*: by Stephan Dusil 616
- SHEPARDSON, *Controlling contested places. Late antique Antioch and the spatial politics of religious controversy*: by Blake Leyerle 617
- GELJON and ROUKEMA (eds), *Violence in ancient Christianity. Victims and perpetrators*: by Michael Stuart Williams 619

MORESCHINI, <i>Christian in toga. Boethius. Interpreter of antiquity and Christian theologian</i> : by Mark Vessey	621
JULLIEN (ed.), <i>Histoire de Mar Abba, catholicos de l'Orient. Martyres de Mar Grigor, général en chef du roi Khusro Ier et de Mar Yazd-panah, juge et gouverneur</i> : by Philip Wood	621
WAGSCHAL, <i>Law and legality in the Greek East. The Byzantine canonical tradition, 381–883</i> : by Richard Price	623
KERBY-FULTON, THOMPSON and BAECHLE (eds), <i>New directions in medieval manuscript studies and reading practices. Essays in honor of Derek Pearsall</i> : by Aisling Byrne	624
BARROW, <i>The clergy in the medieval world. Secular clerics, their families and careers in north-western Europe, c. 800–c.1200</i> : by Janet Burton	626
SNOOK, <i>The Anglo-Saxon chancery. The history, language and production of Anglo-Saxon charters from Alfred to Edgar</i> : by D. A. Woodman	628
SULLIVAN, TALBOT and MCGRATH, <i>The Life of Saint Basil the Younger. Critical edition and annotated translation of the Moscow version</i> : by Andrew Louth	629
KELLY (ed.), <i>Charters of Chertsey Abbey</i> : by Edmund King	631
BARTON, <i>Contested treasure. Jews and authority in the crown of Aragon</i> : by Anna Sapir Abulafia	631
EASTING and SHARPE, <i>Peter of Cornwall's Book of revelations</i> : by Nicholas Vincent	633
SUREDA, <i>Crist i la història: els inicis de la historiografia eclesiàstica catalana en el seu context europeu</i> : by Jana Baró González	634
GONZÁLEZ-PAZ (ed.), <i>Women and pilgrimage in medieval Galicia</i> : by André Vitória	636
GRELLARD and LAUCHAUD (eds), <i>A companion to John of Salisbury</i> : by Anne J. Duggan	637
BAIN, <i>Église, richesse et pauvreté dans l'Occident medieval. L'exégèse des Évangiles aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles</i> : by Philippe Buc	638
LINDE, <i>Nicolai Maniacoria. Suffraganeus bibliothecae</i> : by Nigel F. Palmer	640
MERTENS, SCHIEWER, SCHIEWER and SCHNEIDER-LASTIN (eds), <i>Predigt im Kontext</i> : by Sebastian Coxon	641
HARVEY, <i>Episcopal appointments in England, c. 1214–1344. From episcopal election to papal provision</i> : by Nicholas Vincent	643
FRANCO and MULVANEY (eds), <i>The world of St. Francis of Assisi. Essays in honor of William R. Cook</i> : by David Burr	644
FLOOD (ed.), <i>Early commentaries of the rule of the Friars Minor, I: The 1242 commentary, Hugh of Digne, David of Augsburg, John of Wales</i> ; Burr (ed.), III: <i>Angelo Clarenò</i> : by Michael Robson	644
JAMME (ed.), <i>Le Souverain, l'office et le codex. Gouvernement de la cour et techniques documentaires à travers les libri officinariorum des papes d'Avignon (XIVe–XVe siècle)</i> : by P. N. R. Zutshi	646
WOLF, <i>Juan de Segovia and the fight for peace. Christians and Muslims in the fifteenth century</i> : by Anna Akasoy	648
JONES, <i>England's last medieval monastery. Syon Abbey, 1415–2015</i> : by James E. Kelly	650
TIMBERS, <i>Magic and masculinity. Ritual magic and gender in the early modern era</i> : by Owen Davies	651
GATTI, <i>Ideas of liberty in early modern Europe. From Machiavelli to Milton</i> : by Joanne Paul	651
BAMJI, JANSSEN and LAVEN (eds), <i>The Ashgate research companion to the Counter-Reformation</i> : by Alison Shell	652
DINGEL and KOHNLE (eds), <i>Gute Ordnung. Ordnungsmodelle und Ordnungsvorstellungen in der Reformationszeit</i> : by Charlotte Methuen	653

WENDEBOURG and RYRIE (eds), <i>Sister Reformations II/Schwesterreformationen II: Reformation and ethics in Germany and in England; Reformation und Ethik in Deutschland und in England</i> : by Charlotte Methuen	655
RODDA, <i>Public religious disputation in England, 1558–1626</i> : by Greg Salazar	656
DORAN and KEWES (eds), <i>Doubtful and dangerous. The question of succession in late Elizabethan England</i> : by Susan Royal	657
PERRY, <i>Imitatio Christi. The poetics of piety in early modern England</i> : by Susannah Brietz Monta	658
VAN DEN BRINK and HÖPFL (eds), <i>Calvinism and the making of the European mind</i> : by Crawford Gribben	660
DEN HOLLANDER, NOORD, VAN VEEN and VOOLSTRA (eds), <i>Religious minorities and cultural diversity in the Dutch republic. Studies presented to Piet Visser on the occasion of his 65th birthday</i> : by Johannes Müller	661
VAN SANTEN, <i>Bremen als Brennpunkt reformierter Irenik. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Darstellung anhand der Biografie des Theologen Ludwig Crocius (1586–1655)</i> : by Howard Louthan	662
POWELL, <i>The crisis of British Protestantism. Church power in the Puritan revolution, 1638–44</i> : by Elliot Vernon	664
LANDES, <i>London Quakers in the trans-Atlantic world. The creation of an early modern community</i> : by Madeleine Ward	666
CALLOWAY, <i>Natural theology in the scientific revolution</i> : by R. J. W. Mills	667
REKLIS, <i>Theology and the kinesthetic imagination. Jonathan Edwards and the making of modernity</i> : by Phillip Hussey	668
ROHRER, <i>Jacob Green's revolution. Radical religion and reform in a revolutionary age</i> : by Hermann Wellenreuther	669
STEWART, <i>Nature's God. The heretical origins of the American republic</i> : by Jeffrey H. Morrison	670
NEWMAN, <i>The wonder of the north. Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal</i> : by W. J. Sheils	673
MUTCH, <i>Religion and national identity. Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century</i> : by Valerie Wallace	674
FITZPATRICK, <i>Descendancy. Irish Protestant histories since 1795</i> : by S. J. Connolly	675
TURNHAM, <i>Catholic faith and practice in England, 1779–1992. The role of revivalism and renewal</i> : by Clive D. Field	676
GARRARD, <i>Archbishop Howley, 1828–1848</i> : by Perry Butler	677
THOMPSON (ed.), <i>Religious life in mid-19th century Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. The returns for the 1851 census of religious worship</i> : by W. M. Jacob	678
LEUȘTEAN (ed.), <i>Orthodox Christianity and nationalism in nineteenth-century southeastern Europe</i> : by Mariana-Alina Urs	679
BAUSPIESS, LANDMESSER and LINCICUM (eds), <i>Ferdinand Christian Baur und die Geschichte des frühen Christentums</i> : by Winrich Löhr	680
MOLL, <i>Albert Schweitzer. Meister der Selbstinszenierung</i> : by James Carleton Paget	682
WEIR, <i>Secularism and religion in nineteenth-century Germany. The rise of the fourth confession</i> : by Nicholas M. Railton	684
O'BRIEN and CAREY (eds), <i>Methodism in Australia. A history</i> : by Hugh Morrison	685
McMULLEN, <i>Under the big top. Big tent revivalism and American culture, 1885–1925</i> : by Richard M. Gamble	687
DARDEN, <i>Nothing but love in God's water, I: Black sacred music from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Movement</i> : by Thomas Strange	687
JEHLE-WILDBERGER, <i>Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, world citizen, philanthropist</i> : by Andrew Chandler	688

iv CONTENTS

GEORGE, <i>One Mississippi, Two Mississippi. Methodists, murder, and the struggle for racial justice in Neshoba County</i> : by Mark Newman	689
WEBSTER, <i>Archbishop Ramsey. The shape of the Church</i> : by Jeremy Bonner	690
CABRITA, <i>Text and authority in the South African Nazareth Church</i> : by Allan H. Anderson	691
BOOKS RECEIVED	694
<i>THE EUSEBIUS ESSAY PRIZE; THE WORLD CHRISTIANITIES ESSAY PRIZE</i>	512

AUTHORS' ADDRESSES

- Dr Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Queen's University, 385 Briarwood Drive, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7M 7V2; e-mail: [brunojor@queensu.ca](mailto:brunojor@queensu.ca)
- Teri Fitzgerald, 123 Summerville Crescent, Florey, ACT 2615, Australia; e-mail: [tfitzgerald@grapevine.com.au](mailto:tfitzgerald@grapevine.com.au)
- Dr Dawn Marie Hayes, Department of History, Monclair State University, Dickson Hall 426, 1 Normal Avenue, Montclair, NJ 07043, USA; e-mail: [hayesd@mail.montclair.edu](mailto:hayesd@mail.montclair.edu)
- Revd Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch, St Cross College, Oxford OX1 3LZ; e-mail: [diarmaid.macculloch@stx.ox.ac.uk](mailto:diarmaid.macculloch@stx.ox.ac.uk)
- Dr Richard Shaw, Our Lady Seat of Wisdom, 18 Karol Wojtyła Square, PO Box 249, Barry's Bay, Ontario, Canada K0J 1B0; e-mail: [rhshaw@seatofwisdom.org](mailto:rhshaw@seatofwisdom.org)
- Dr André Vitória, 35 rue de la Tombe-Issoire, 75014 Paris, France; e-mail: [a.m.dacunhavitoria@uva.nl](mailto:a.m.dacunhavitoria@uva.nl)
- Dr Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, Universidad de Deusto, Avenida de las Universidades 24, 48007 Bilbao, Spain; e-mail: [jigelmoza@deusto.es](mailto:jigelmoza@deusto.es)