

extant in situ are reproduced in plate 8); and a genealogy that shows the kings from whom we have only spurious, lost, or (in a few cases) authentic charters. The charters themselves come next, each introduced with pertinent information including the current location of the original (if extant) and all manuscript copies, a bibliography of all printed copies, the number that the document holds in all registers and lists of Merovingian diplomata, a bibliography of all facsimile editions, and a discussion of the document and identifications of names and places. The second volume begins with a discussion of Merovingian *deperdita* drawn from contemporary and later documents (these were never considered in Pertz's edition) and a list of the kings for whom *deperdita* have been found. The "texts" of the 414 *deperdita* follow, at the end of which is a schematic list of them, organized alphabetically by their recipient. After the appendix of "modern forgeries" are indices of names and places and of words as well as lists of recipients and archives. The edition ends with an extensive bibliography and concordances between the Kölzer and Pertz editions, referencing as well the list of 21 charters that Pertz did not print, which are discussed in Brühl, *Studien*, chapters 2 and 3 and listed there on pages 35–36.

Kölzer's judicious reconsideration of the charters was already heralded in earlier publications, especially his *Merowingerstudien I* and *II* (MGH Studien und Texte, 21, 26 [Hanover, 1998, 1999]). His edition allows us to rethink our old assumptions about the Merovingians as well as pose new questions. We can now read the contents of the charters with confidence. Even the distribution of *spuria* and *authentica* is intriguing; there is nothing whatever authentic from the period before Clothar II (584–629/30), the king who "wiped out" the dynasty of Brunhild with memorable brutality. We may well discover new significance in this hitherto elusive king. Similarly historians may wish to put unaccustomed emphasis on the reign of Clovis III (691–94) and his successors—until at least the time of Theuderic IV (721–37)—when, for the first time, the majority of charters available to us are genuine. In short, the appearance of this new edition should invigorate the already burgeoning field of Merovingian studies.

BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN, Loyola University Chicago

ADAM J. KOSTO, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 51.) Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xx, 366; black-and-white figures, tables, and 1 map. \$64.95.

Catalonia's modern history has been marked by its political leaders' tendency to solve conflicts by way of agreements. *Pactisme* has become a catchword for this policy, which has been both admired and held in contempt. Although its title may ring otherwise in some Catalans' ears, this is not a book about the roots of *pactisme* but a fine diplomatic study based on a careful reading of a remarkable documentary corpus. Catalonia is well known for its abundance of single-sheet parchment charters. They have formed the basis for a series of important studies on feudalism in the high Middle Ages—by Odilo Engels, Pierre Bonnassie, Thomas Bisson, Paul Freedman, Josep M. Salrach, Lluís To Figueres, and others. Adam J. Kosto builds on that notable tradition, but his focus is centered on one sector of the archival holdings: the close to one thousand extant Catalonian *convenientiae* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These written agreements are difficult to define, for they were documents, acts, and legal institutions rolled up in one. They are most closely related to oaths of fidelity but show a wide variety of subjects and characteristics. Most of these documents are opened by the phrase "Hoc est convenientia." What make them especially interesting are their eloquence and formal flexibility, all the more so as local diplomatic customs tend to adhere to formulae. Kosto studies the regional differences of the *conveni-*

entiae and their variations over time—and he does this without falling into the trap in which many medieval historians have been caught: he does not focus his attention on the counts of Barcelona alone but includes the other Catalonian counts and bishops, who ultimately fell under the overlordship of the house of Barcelona.

Kosto divides his book into six chapters. After an introductory survey of the sources and prior scholarship and a statement of the aim of his study, he describes the first appearance of the *convenientiae* and traces their roots back to different forms of records: conditional grants, oaths of fidelity, castle-holding agreements, and settlements of dispute. This diversity helps explain the multiple forms the *convenientiae* could take. Kosto convincingly shows that the agreements emerged at the beginning of the eleventh century as a reaction to changing social realities: the authoritative comital assembly (*placitum*) was no longer generally accepted, so a consensual form of dispute settlement had to be found. Similarly, the vicarial system of castle holding was not yet as widely extended as is often believed, and ways of creating a reliable network of fortifications were sorely needed. In both fields, agreements played a seminal role.

The second and third chapters examine the documents from a functional viewpoint. Which types of *convenientiae* existed, and which mechanisms were employed to ensure that they were kept? This part of the book reveals that a vast range of political, social, and economic relationships was molded by forms of agreement, two of which stand out: those concerning castle tenure and the agreements between great lords, which ultimately took the form of treaties. Kosto convincingly demonstrates that in medieval Catalonia, homage and personal vassalage were less important elements of castle tenure than the obligation to render *potestas*, the control of the fortification, to a superior in the feudal hierarchy. Penalties, oaths, hostages, and periods of performance played an important role in ensuring compliance. Ultimately the document itself served as written proof to be used in case of dispute.

The next two chapters center on the most important field for agreements: castle tenure. The focus lies on the lay aristocracy, the monasteries, and particularly on the Catalonian counts and bishops. Kosto succeeds in showing that Count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona was the true innovator of the Catalonian *convenientia*, which he put to use after 1058 to stabilize his recently acquired power; other counts like those of Pallars Jussà acted in a similar fashion. It was their example that the local aristocracy followed, not vice versa as is often supposed. These counts succeeded in creating social structures around networks of individual agreements, while others—the counts of Empúries, Rosselló, and Pallars Sobirà—used this means of strengthening their position less frequently. Similar modifications can be seen in the agreements made by the Catalonian lord-bishops, a group that was particularly influential in the third quarter of the eleventh century. They were able to increase the number of castles associated with their respective dioceses and used the *convenientia* to systematize their relationship to the castle holders. A diachronic study and an exhaustive survey of major episcopal castles prove that the foundations laid at this time by the counts and bishops persisted well into the following century. Older agreements were renewed and served as evidence in case of dispute. In the second half of the twelfth century, however, new elements were increasingly added to standard documentary types: the written collective oath, homage, comital protection, and the castle as fief.

The final chapter argues that two major texts of the twelfth century, the *Usatges* and the *Liber feudorum maior*, helped exert and extend comital power through the written word. Although both subchapters read slightly like appendixes, they not only help to explain the decline of the *convenientiae* but also reveal that later texts showed a certain functional resemblance to the agreements of the eleventh century in that they not only recorded the count-king's power but also expressed it for future generations.

As the majority of the *convenientiae* refer to questions of castle tenure, the author could

have limited his study to this group of documents. This focus might have made his book more coherent. By examining all charters that term themselves *convenientiae*, Kosto is obliged to include a wide range of transactions, some of which are typologically older than the *convenientia* formula. Grants, donations, and oblations are among them. It is not easy to fit so many different types of documents into a convincing interpretative frame, and the author at times grapples with the inconsistencies, as the inclusion of monastic self-oblation in the chapter "Exploiting the Land" demonstrates. The problem lies in the inconsistency between the treatment of the *convenientia* as a defined diplomatic genre of its own, as the author seems to do when he refers to "the flexibility of the *convenientia*," and the much broader definition of the *convenientia* as any document that is termed as such, which is Kosto's stated choice.

But sticking to a wide diplomatic approach also entails considerable advantages. Thus Kosto has been able to focus on more general issues. His book becomes more than a local study on castle tenure, more even than a reflection on the rise of the Catalonian counts. It is also a contribution to the scholarly debate on two "medieval revolutions"—the "Feudal Revolution" and the "revolution of the written word." On the first issue, Kosto sees a slower and less violent social change at work than generally postulated, but a change nevertheless. The appearance of the *convenientiae* is described as the reflection of a shift that started toward the end of the tenth and continued well into the eleventh century. More important still are Kosto's findings concerning the change from "memory to written record." The Catalonian case underlines that the early Middle Ages were a highly literate period with scribes well trained in memorizing actions by way of the written word. In fact, Catalonia was marked by an "obsession with writing" (p. 174). In this sense, the eleventh century brought no novelty, and even "the words spoken echoed traditions of the documentary scribes, not vice versa" (p. 156). What was new, however, was that the written word of the *convenientiae* often functioned "as a guide for the future rather than a record of the past" (p. 293), thus unfolding a specific function as a vision of future order. *Convenientiae* became "not endpoints, but intermediate stages in a developing relationship" (p. 142). "The shift in literacy was not one from memory to written record, but from memory to imagination, from the use of writing to reconstruct the past to the use of writing to construct the future" (p. 294). This conclusion is an important contribution to the ongoing discussion on medieval literacy. It would have been interesting to apply further methodological approaches to the Catalonian material in order to test its viability—questions about the political rituals employed to reach and conclude agreements, about family and clan alliances, and so on. But these issues, as well as a juxtaposition of Kosto's findings with further types of documentation, must be left to future research. This book has established a remarkable base for such work.

NIKOLAS JASPERT, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg

MIGUEL ANGEL LADERO QUESADA, *La España de los Reyes Católicos*. (Humanidades: Historia, 4164.) Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999. Paper. Pp. 537; tables and 4 maps.

One of Spain's most prominent medieval historians, Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada has published extensively on the events and structures of fifteenth-century Castilian history, with studies of kingship and the modern state, demography, urban government, taxation, monetary policy, and finance. He has three books covering the history of Granada before, during, and after the Christian conquest. He has distilled his expertise in *La España de los Reyes Católicos*, an indispensable introduction to a transforming period in Spanish history.

Although the book lacks footnotes, the references in the text and an extensive bibliography allow readers to determine the scholarly background. A new generation of readers