

a significant difference in the Middle Ages between images that depict something, whether a story (*historia*) or a symbolic image (*figura*), that is, an intellectually construed visual invention, on the one hand, and architecture, on the other. Though architecture is highly representational, it does not depict as such, and its symbolic content is somewhat arbitrary: while the image of a crucifixion is precisely that, a church on a cruciform plan does not necessarily refer to the Crucifixion—one needs to have the wish to see it that way. Durandus certainly had that wish, but how widespread was his approach? It remains hard to say to what extent Durandus's symbolic interpretation of the church building is to be understood mainly as a clerical concern, even as a particular cleric's "professional deformation" *tout court*. More should have been said about the practical consequences of such an attitude for the way architecture was looked at in the Middle Ages beyond the inner circle of ecclesiastics. It is not even clear whether Durandus's far-fetched interpretations were generally shared in his own world, notwithstanding the obvious popularity of his treatise. His ideas—as becomes clear from the study of his manifold sources—appear to be firmly rooted in the tradition of the cathedral schools, which by his day were being superseded by the universities; as Faupel-Dreves notes, Durandus exhibits hardly any trace of Aristotelianism (p. 58).

Faupel-Dreves's interest in the relationship of art and religion, which had become so contentious by the end of the twentieth century (pp. 1–3), prompted her study. Therefore it would have been appropriate to find something in her book about that relationship in the Middle Ages, if only because it would have cast some more light on the impact of Durandus's and others' ideas on the practice of medieval art and architecture. Nonetheless, her book is very helpful for an understanding of medieval art.

Toward the end of the book Faupel-Dreves's use of semiotics tends to become less Augustinian and more "Parisian"; in particular, Umberto Eco's views are put to good use. This gradual transformation of semiotics in the course of the chapters—it seems to start with the analysis of Durandus's concept of sacraments (pp. 161 ff.)—results inevitably in rather general conclusions. On several occasions the author stresses that Durandus's is an open system of generating meaning. It seems that in the end this openness tends to reduce Durandus once again to what had been implicitly criticized at the outset of her book: a justification for having anything signify anything.

The book is provided with useful indexes, but it is to be regretted that for bibliographical abbreviations the reader is referred to the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Most readers will probably find it annoying, at the very least, not to have the full titles in the book (how much extra space would they have taken up?), but the omission is particularly inconvenient for art historians, who are unlikely to have the *Realenzyklopädie* within easy reach.

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ALAN FOREY, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*. Aldershot, Eng., and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2001. Pp. xiii, 279; 7 black-and-white plates, 3 tables, and 5 maps. \$84.95.

Arguably no country offers more archival material on the fall of the Templars than does Spain. Heinrich Finke was the first foreign scholar to make extensive use of this treasure to enhance our understanding of the international and regional implications the spectacular events of 1307–12 had. Some others have followed in his footsteps, though none with as much dedication and competence as Alan Forey. In 1973 Forey's pathbreaking study *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon* gave a remarkable impetus to research on the military orders, quickly becoming the standard reference for any scholar working in the field. Thirty years later, after a series of comparative articles as well as a monograph on the military

orders, the author now presents a second book dedicated exclusively to the Aragonese Templars, drawing once again on the fathomless wealth of the chancery registers and the letter collections in Barcelona's Crown Archives. Due to the nature of the archival evidence, the study's focal point is the king and his relationship with the order. Further studies in Catalonia's rich local archives may furnish new findings, but these are likely to do little more than corroborate the results presented here. Although the author supports each of his affirmations with a plethora of examples, he has not chosen to add much in the way of statistical material to his concise text. Those missing a documentary appendix can turn to a recently published Catalan study in which seventy-seven of the most important documents referred to by Forey are edited: Maria Vilar Bonet, *Els béns del Temple a la Corona d'Aragó en suprimir-se l'orde (1300–1319)* (Barcelona, 2000).

In the first chapter, "The Beginning of the Proceedings," Forey shows that King Jaume (Jaime) II of Aragon took no determined initiative against the Templars when news of the arrests in France reached Aragon, thus giving the brethren time to concentrate their resistance in castles mainly in the southerly districts. Only in 1308 did the king take action. The often lengthy sieges of the Templar castles proved extremely costly and brought a great deal of trouble, as Forey illustrates in the second chapter through a minute reading of the administrative records. The material assembled here concerning the logistical, financial, and military problems surrounding siege warfare makes this section an important contribution to the historiography of medieval warfare. At the same time, the evidence presented contradicts the assumption that the order had little support among the lay population: laymen and clerics alike spoke up or even acted in favor of the besieged, and military service to the king in this matter was often halfhearted. The third chapter, "Interrogation and Custody," deals with the Templars on trial. Testimonies of 71 Templars and 1 former Templar, most of them sergeants, survive. By comparing the Templars' treatment in Aragon with that in other kingdoms, such as England, France, and Cyprus, Forey can show that torture was used relatively seldom by the Aragonese officials. Even where it was employed, the Templars interrogated in Jaume's realm made no admission to any of the more serious charges levied against them. The general picture of a comparative lack of harshness in Aragon is underscored by the study of the conditions under which the brethren were held. In material matters the king sought to be as accommodating as possible, allowing the brethren a certain degree of freedom; in spiritual issues, however, he adopted a strict attitude, barring the Templars from Mass and regular burial. This stance underlines the author's general impression of Jaume II, who appears not as the opportunist he has often been depicted as but rather as a man of scruples.

In the fourth chapter Forey offers detailed insight into the administration of Templar property while it remained in royal hands during ten years or more. Usurped Templar possessions needed to be recovered, rents farmed out, actions taken against defaulters, and so on. Although the king gained sizable income from Templar estates, his expenses for sieges, administration, and other costs were considerable. The negotiations concerning the fate of these possessions form the nucleus of chapter 5. Many alternative solutions were dismissed before an agreement was reached in 1319, according to which the Catalanian and Aragonese estates were incorporated into the Hospitaller holdings, while a new order (Montesa) was founded in Valencia. By showing the to-and-fro of envoys and instructions between Barcelona and Avignon, as well as the intricate rules of public and secret hearings, the chapter becomes an interesting case study for the history of medieval diplomacy. It also demonstrates the problems that arose from the creation of a new religious order on the foundations of a previous one, as well as through the transfer of possessions from the Templars to the Hospitallers. The sixth and final chapter deals with a question often posed, but seldom satisfactorily answered: what exactly happened to the individual Templars after their order had been abolished? Contrary to the rulings in other realms, the Aragonese

brethren were permitted to reside in former Templar buildings and receive pensions paid from the revenues of their order's former properties. Allowances varied considerably and were often not paid regularly, as many complaints reveal. Even so, no fewer than 109 former Templars were still on the Hospitallers' payroll in 1319; later, Pope John XXII's 1318 ruling that Templars should enter religious houses began to be implemented with more rigor. Still, most Templars declined, and many engaged in secular occupations, particularly administration and warfare. The last trace of a former Aragonese Templar dates from 1350.

In spite of its regional nature, this study's scope and importance extend far beyond the Spanish borders. First, Forey regularly compares his results with other well-documented areas, particularly England, France, and Cyprus, thus setting his findings in a wider context. Second, his book serves as an example of the general political, economic, and administrative problems and challenges that the fall of the Templars posed to the European monarchs and their administrations. Third, his careful reading of an exceptional documentary corpus helps illustrate the realities of Templar life both before and after the order's fall.

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CLAUDIA GARNIER, *Amicus amicis, inimicus inimicis: Politische Freundschaft und fürstliche Netzwerke im 13. Jahrhundert*. (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 46.) Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2000. Pp. ix, 375.

In the last decade the exploration of the medieval culture of friendship has been one of the most discussed topics in historical and literary studies. Claudia Garnier's dissertation on political friendship and aristocratic networking in the thirteenth century is an important contribution to this field of research. Garnier focuses on political alliances formed by the four Rhenish electors, that is, the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier and the Rhenish palatine. In the first two chapters Garnier distinguishes between "vertically structured alliances" (chap. 1) and "horizontally structured alliances" (chap. 2), referring to the imaginary space of social hierarchy. She first examines political contracts concluded by the king on the one hand and the Rhenish electors on the other. This type of friendship alliance served two main purposes: either an elected king looked for support in an actual situation of conflict or an aspirant to the throne sought to confirm his claims. In both cases the practice of political networking in the name of friendship supplemented the existing system of feudal dependencies. In the second chapter Garnier scrutinizes political alliances formed by the Rhenish electors among each other. The Rhenish princes acted in two, at times conflicting, roles: first, in their character as the most influential princes of the empire; second, in their capacity of territorial sovereigns. One of the most striking findings of this chapter refers to what Ernst Kantorowicz termed the "king's two bodies": when horizontal friendship alliances were formed by the electors in order to cooperate against the king, the language of the contracts often differentiated between two aspects of what in Middle High German is called *rîche*: the *person* of the king (body natural) on the one hand and the *empire* he represents (body politic) on the other. By this means the princes managed to act against a particular king without running the risk of questioning the dignity of monarchy.

In the third and most profitable chapter of her book, Garnier closely analyzes how political friendship alliances worked in detail. Still referring to an abundance of historical examples—which support her argument but sometimes tire the reader—she examines the contracts in regard to a variety of aspects. The contracting parties usually committed themselves to assist each other with advice (*consilium*) and help (*auxilium*). In the thirteenth century the quality of *auxilium* changed profoundly. While it used to imply the general obligation of providing military assistance, the concept of *auxilium* from now on comprised