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de Benavides, so too the funeral procession given to Fradrique de Toledo served as similar protest. The nobles were given next to impossible tasks, and were inadequately financed and supplied. To their credit, the nobility rose to the occasion: "In other words, Spanish commanders often were forced to be heroes, because the crown gave them so little to work with" (206).

The author has mined numerous Spanish archives and elucidates for us very complex phenomena. The work combines economic, social, maritime, and military history. But more than this, Professor Phillips demonstrates how the careers of Arana's six galleons mirror the difficult times Habsburg Spain experienced in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Spain had overextended herself. All that remained of Spain's European holdings was a sad remnant of a once glorious empire. The cost of defending the empire was very high indeed, but Professor Phillips argues that while the cost was high, the Spaniards were successful in at least maintaining their overseas territories, and that these results warranted the crown's efforts.

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**Michel Mollat**, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986. Pp. viii + 336.

This scholarly synthesis sketches the history of the poor, attitudes toward poverty and charity, and the development of poor relief in the Middle Ages. Perhaps no other scholar is better prepared than Michel Mollat to confront this demanding task. Mollat first established his reputation with *Le Commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1952). Since that time he has, by my informal and incomplete account, authored or co-authored and edited or co-edited over a dozen other volumes on commercial, naval, social, and ecclesiastical history. From 1962 to 1976 his Sorbonne seminar on "The Poor and Poverty" has been, in Mollat's own words, "years of joint research with my students and colleagues, graced by some 90 seminar papers and 220 articles, to say nothing of several theses" (vii). Some of this research is available in ten volumes of mimeographed *Cahiers de recherches sur l'histoire de pauvreté*

(Paris, 1962–1977), and some of it in the thirty-five articles printed in the more accessible two-volume *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté* (Paris, 1974) which Mollat edited and introduced.

*The Poor in the Middle Ages* contains twelve chapters in four chronologically arranged parts, each successive part growing larger as the extant documentation grows richer. Part I (13–54) covers the fifth to the eleventh century, exploring definitions of poverty in late antiquity, comparing the Merovingian to the Carolingian pauper, and explaining both the Christian duty to give alms and the development of monastic hospitality. Part II (55–114) follows the course of this duty and development in the late eleventh to the early thirteenth century—Church teaching on the spiritual value of charity was unequivocal—and also contrasts this almsgiving and hospitality with the humiliation and contempt to which the pauper was often subjected. Mollat devotes attention to voluntary, religious poverty and its various forms (individual or communal, spiritual or material), but despite occasional links between hermit preachers and large “crowds” it is not clear how this translated into attitudes toward involuntary poverty. Canon lawyers and theologians engaged in debates, the terms of which sound surprisingly contemporary, on differences between those physically or mentally unable to work, those unable to find work, and those simply unwilling to work; a few pundits adopted a viewpoint, not shared by the law, that absolved the starving thief. Part III (115–190) treats the mendicant movement (whose growth is seen as paralleling urban and commercial development), the establishment of episcopal and capitular poor relief, and the flourishing of urban hospitals. Chapter 9 compares the “working poor” and their problems with the abject poverty of the permanently indigent, recounts the growing inequalities of wealth in rural society that left many destitute, and provides a sobering conclusion to a section heralded by Francis and Dominic’s sharing of “the same intimate understanding of the real problems of poverty.”

Part IV (191–300) begins with the plague and the poor, and continues with an extended analysis of the Jacquerie, the peasant uprising in France in 1358; and the revolt of the Ciompi, the Florentine wool carders, in 1378. Under the rubric “The Rise of Pauperism,” Mollat progresses in chapter 11 with an analysis of popular and workers’ rebellions in the fifteenth century, and an attempt to classify various forms of poverty, distinguishing between those in “search of their daily bread” (i.e., beggars) and “fiscal paupers” (i.e., those included on surviving tax rolls but either not subject to taxation or unable to meet their tax obligation), and identifying the

salient characteristics of rural poverty, urban poverty, and vagabondage. The final chapter details disparaging attitudes toward the poor, the conflicting claims of charity and justice, the further growth of hospitals and "poor tables," and the increased role of civil authorities in both aiding and policing the poor. The clarity of Mollat's writing and the greater abundance of surviving sources would make these final two chapters the most satisfying of the book, if not for Mollat's depressing conclusions: the poor increased in number from 1350 to 1500, poverty shifted from a rural to a more urban phenomenon, and the contrast between the monastic hospitality of the early and high Middle Ages and the civil control of begging and vagabondage in the late Middle Ages is striking.

Mollat's book is bold and fills a major scholarly lacuna, but is not free of flaws and problems. It purports to be "An Essay in Social History" (the French subtitle is "étude sociale"), but far more attention is devoted to ideas than to society. In his preface Mollat acknowledges this deficiency in the sources, but attempts to overcome this by writing not so much a history of the poor as a history of the concept or idea of poverty. Added to this intellectual history is a history of poor relief, disease and hospitals, society and popular movements, and economic development in the Middle Ages. The result is an ambitious layering of history upon history that blurs the focus of the book and our view of the poor which is perforce oblique. Readers are never introduced to a single poor person, though certainly the plight of some members of the "working poor" or the indebted might have been followed. Lepers, prostitutes, and slaves all qualify as among the "poor" and have their own bibliographies, but are not discussed at any length. Mollat rather wrongly gives the impression that slaves had become scarce by the seventh century (30) and were present in large numbers only in Mediterranean ports (292).

A more readily rectifiable problem with Mollat's sources is that they are so infrequently cited. Though the text spans 300 pages there are only 99 footnotes; by way of contrast, the text of David Herlihy's survey *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), occupying approximately half the number of pages, contains a little more than 700 footnotes. Every second or third page, occasionally every second or third line, one encounters a text, fact, or assertion in this erudite volume that should have been footnoted. The original French edition arranges its bibliography not alphabetically as here, but by chapter and in the order that Mollat used works while writing; at best, this solves only part of the problem. One's impression is that Mollat worked rapidly. We read that the "company of Or San Michele received 350,000 florins in charitable bequests for the poor" (200),

but whether for a month, year, or decade is never stated. In discussing conciliar legislation forcing bishops to separate their personal from church property, Mollat merely states "as for example at Toledo" (39), though there were 17 major church councils at Toledo, the first c. 400 and the last in the year 694. Elsewhere we read that in Barcelona a "reorganization of canonical revenues in 1226 was behind the institution of the *Pia Almona* [sic, *Almoína*] *de la Seo*, which distributed daily meals to 50 paupers on the average but which in the famine year of 1317 provided 1,920 meals to 178 individuals" (136). This is baffling. In an average year, according to these figures, 18,250 meals were distributed. The 1,920 meals could not have been distributed daily, unless the 178 paupers ate a little over 11 meals per day, nor could Mollat mean that distribution declined to 1,920 in a year, because the French text reads "mais atteignit en 1317." Perhaps we need to move a decimal point, but an increase of 950 meals in a famine year seems not that substantial.

One last comment on the author's work is unavoidable. Mollat's focus centers on northern Europe in general and Paris in particular, and it is clear that his heart lies here as well. Characteristics of rural poverty "can be isolated, especially if we focus principally on France and England" (237). The level of urbanization and industrialization in northern France is mentioned as if it equaled that of Italy and the Netherlands (146), and the rise of Paris as a "world capital" is placed in the thirteenth century (117). Examples of communal involvement in poor relief "chosen at random" turn out to be from Metz and also Huy in the region of Liège, "as always in the forefront of urban history" (100). One misses in the bibliography such classics as D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968) or Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). And lack of attention to bibliographical detail does result in misleading or incomplete information in the text. Mollat cites an article by M. Mundy, actually John Hine Mundy, entitled "Hospitals and Leproseries [sic] in XIIth and Early XIIIth Century Toulouse" which he lists as published in a 1965, actually 1955, volume. Mollat neglects to cite the thorough revision of this article (published as "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse 1100-1250," *Traditio*, 22 [1966], 203-287), though he writes that "it is hoped that the inventories and maps of charitable institutions now available for Poitou and Anjou will soon be supplemented by similar guides for other regions" (148).

Arthur Goldhammer's translation deserves both praise and reproof. Mollat's French prose moves rapidly and shows a preference for the

pronoun; Goldhammer's English rendering is crisp, graceful, and accurate. A few lapses do, however, occur. When speaking of a monastery it is conventual not "conventional life" (47). Members of the Order of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, commonly referred to by the habit they took, are known in English as the Friars of the Sack (in French *frères des sachets*) rather than Brothers of the Bag (124). We read of a hospital in Cologne for "Jewish converts and catechumens" (287), whereas the original "*Juifs convertis au christianisme ou catéchumènes*" is less ambiguous. A paragraph on mental hospitals (286–287) makes four references to "lunatics"; Mollat's use of "fous" or the more clinical "*aliénés mentaux*" seems preferable. Goldhammer renders "*aventuriers almugavares*" as "Almugar pirates" (186). Since no standard English equivalent exists, it is best to use the Catalan *Almogàvers*, and as they were light infantry renowned for their use of javelins, it is better to refer to them by the more generic term "adventurers." Ibiza is an island in the western Mediterranean, and it is therefore awkward to say that salt was produced by drying salt marshes "in the vicinity of Ibiza" (240). It is asserted that "much is known about the *monti frumentari* that Andrea [of Faenza] established in Foligno, Spoleto, Rieti, and Bologna" (280–281), while the French states only that they "*sont connues.*" We read that the Duke of Savoy in 1462 "found slaves ready to hand among the vagabonds of Geneva" (292), whereas the French states that he found cheaply "*la chiourme de galères*" who were rowers and may or may not have been slaves.

Goldhammer's most serious problems are with personal and place names. Coimbra retains the diacritical mark indicating diaeresis (French *dièrèse*), used for example to indicate the pronunciation difference between *coïncidence* and *coiffure*, though it is not normally found in Portuguese or English. Alcalá de Hénarez, Santarém, Logroño, and Lérida all appear without any accent marks, while "Jaïme Vicens Vivès" (218) has acquired unnecessary ones. It is Dinis I of Portugal not Diniz (139), and it is unclear how this was obtained from the French "Denis." It is Tarragona not "Tarragon" (101), Granada not "Grenada" (148), Castile not "Castille" (144, 202), and Compostela not "Compostella" (91, 286). In Catalan it is Joan not "Juan" (47). Pere Nolasque is not French and thus is not Pierre Nolasque (95); it is Arnau de Vilanova not Arnaud of Villeneuve (186), Vicent (or Vicente) Ferrer not Vincent Ferrier (259), and Ramon de Penyafort not Raymond of Peñafort (124, 160). Sometimes there are simply inconsistencies: Venezia in one instance (147) but Venice elsewhere (151, 152, 164, etc.). Personal and place names are a curse for all trans-

lators and historians, and my purpose is not so much to skewer the translator as to merely point out that here they have been dealt with inadequately. The guilt may in fact lie with the lack of editorial control exercised by the press.

It is clear that Yale University Press has taken few pains with this volume, despite its being handsomely printed and widely advertised. Typographical errors such as "causuists" (8) and "arbitrary" (163) are merely annoyances. St. Dominic studied, however, at Palencia not Valencia (121) which even at Dominic's death was still under Muslim control. Translator notes identify the Jacquerie as the peasant uprising of 1358 and the Great Fear as during the French Revolution (204), but no notes are given for such Greek terms as *diaconia* (38), *ptochotropheion* (40), *xenodocheia* (90), and *ptocheia* (90). Foreign words at times seem preferred to highly serviceable English equivalents, and the use and non-use of italics is erratic. Although it follows the terminology of medieval texts, it is anachronistic and inaccurate to refer to Muslims as "Saracens" (33, 95, 287, etc.). The bibliography is a disaster, and actually worse than Mollat's original of 1978. Jacqueline Caille's *Hôpitaux et charité publique à Narbonne au Moyen Age* (Toulouse, 1978), and Bernadette Barrière's *L'Abbaye cistercienne d'Obazine en Bas-Limousin* (Tulle, 1977) are no longer "forthcoming," and Jean-Claude Hocquet's *Le Sel et la fortune de Venise*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1978-79) is no longer an unpublished manuscript. There is no indication that the massive first volume of Charles Verlinden's *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* (Bruges, 1955) is in fact a book, and the title is listed incorrectly. One can search for hours and in vain for any trace of a manuscript produced by one S. Roberts at the College of Wooster (in Ohio) in 1973—the citation almost makes it look like a volume or M.A. thesis—only to discover in the French edition the disheartening tag "23 p." References to notes that Mollat took at lectures in the early 1970s are of no use to anyone. Yale University Press has performed a useful service to scholars and especially students by translating this volume, but they would have performed an even greater one had they updated the bibliography or asked Mollat to revise and expand his original volume. Much of the best work on poverty has been done since 1978, and even an appended bibliographic essay would be useful. In particular one should note the following collections of studies: *Assistance et charité*, ed. M.-H. Vicaire, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 13 (Toulouse, 1978); *La Concezione della povertà nel Medioevo*, ed. Ovidio Capitani (Bologna, 1981); *Histoire des hôpitaux en France*, ed. Jean Imbert (Toulouse, 1982); and especially *La*

*Pobreza y la asistencia a los pobres en la Cataluña medieval*, ed. Manuel Riu, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1980 and 1981-82). Mollat contributed to several of these volumes, and his influence is apparent in all of them. Who better than he to provide this scholarly update?

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