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All told, the anthology leaves us with questions, doubts, and a few observations. There is the question Mary Orr raises in her essay on Nizam regarding the privilege accorded to the existential I and the relationship between this I (rarely, if ever, encountered) and the autonomous subject, the construct of bourgeois humanism. There is the question Terry Keefe raises regarding the reliability of the distinction between the public and private persona. There is the question raised in several of the essays regarding the relationship between sex, gender, writing, and the existential self. With regard to these last questions, it is striking that of the three figures who situate themselves before the gaze of the other—Beauvoir, Leduc, and Genet—only the man, Genet, challenges the right of the other to establish his identity. Only the man writes to resist the identity bestowed upon him by the other. Only the man insists on his autonomy. The women write for and to the other. For them, the very project of writing is entangled with the presence of the other. For them, writing necessarily refers to readers, and the impetus to write is an expression of their desire to recognize and gift a singularly privileged other. Relying on the early work of Sartre, we might be tempted to accuse the women but not the men of bad faith. Stepping back from an uncritical acceptance of Sartre's early work, we might be tempted to pursue these observations regarding the positions of these female writers for what they suggest regarding the possibilities of the situated self, a self that exchanges the either/or logic of the lived versus the constructed self for the logic of the gift and the lived relationship to the other.

Debra B. Bergoffen

Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*. Harvard Historical Studies 117. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995. 404 pp. ISBN 0-674-75530-8.

Given the imminence of a new millennium, a study devoted to the life and works of a figure who was in many respects prominent at the inception of the one currently drawing to a close is timely. Indeed, as one reads Richard Landes' splendid new biography of Ademar of Chabannes, the social and ideological anxieties and conflicts that have thus far arisen during the current millennial transition, though vastly accelerated compared to those of ten centuries ago, are not infrequently brought to mind by Landes' vivid and unsettling accounts of the shock waves that rippled vigorously, though in slower motion, through Christendom around the year 1000. Then as now, in fact, one significant way of responding to crisis could involve recourse to virtual reality in order to create elaborate scenarios of temporal change.

Although Ademar of Chabannes had no access to cyberspace, he found a satisfactory counterpart in the scriptorium, a locus where he could program tendentious revisions of the past and virtualize futures of his own devising.

Who, then, was this wizard of scribal infra- and hypertextuality? In its overall morphology, the career of Ademar of Chabannes offers few hints of the depths to which it was ultimately shaken by the seismic upheavals of the age. Born during the late tenth century of northern Limousin nobility, Ademar was educated in the traditional arts of *clergie* at the monastery of Saint-Cybard in Angoulême. Eventually he had the opportunity to employ his remarkable talents as a grammarian, artist, and composer at Saint-Martial in Limoges, then one of Europe's most intellectually vibrant monastic centers. Following a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he died in Jerusalem in 1034. To the casual observer, there is nothing particularly unusual about this scholastic *vita*; it follows the not uncommon pattern of a monastic vocation whose conventions of exemplarity are replicated often enough in the lives of many of Ademar's contemporaries. Across the centuries, moreover, this relatively uncomplicated view of Ademar's career prevailed. In the substantial corpus of his known works—among them a history of the abbots of Saint-Martial, a more general *Historia* of contemporary Christendom, a large assortment of scribal transcriptions in his hand, and many different types of ecclesiastical and historical writings of his own—the scattered evidence of Ademar's audacious scriptorial manipulations of history long remained unnoticed.

It was not until early in this century that the scandals lurking in Ademar's corpus even began to be uncovered: four articles published by Louis Saltet between 1925 and 1931, in the *Bulletin de la littérature ecclésiastique*, limned the disturbing portrait of a mendacious historian and unscrupulous forger. No doubt because of the profoundly revisionary implications of Saltet's findings, however, his contributions failed to alter in any definitive way the traditional view of Ademar that still persisted when Richard Landes undertook to explore the matter fully. Landes' book is the culmination of a project that since 1983 has also produced a dozen important articles and the Princeton Ph.D. dissertation of 1984, "The Making of a Medieval Historian: Ademar of Chabannes and Aquitaine at the Turn of the Millennium." These studies provide a corrective reconstruction of Ademar's life, establish a more adequate inventory of his writings, and fully unearth the explosive elements in certain of these texts, as well as the probable circumstances that conditioned their creation.

As Landes peels away the archaic camouflage of the standard biography, he gradually unmask the underlying visage of the virtualizer of fictive worlds, and identifies his successive fabrications

and forgeries. In 1029, not without considerable self-interest in finding a prestigious niche at the monastery in Limoges, Ademar assumed key roles in the fraudulent transformation of Saint Martial from the status of confessor to that of Apostle of Christ. This ambitious project “called for a massive rewriting of the liturgical books, including the correction of those passages in other codices where Martial appeared as a lowly confessor” (207). With the zeal of a convert, Ademar turned his scriptorial talents to the monumental and extremely delicate task of providing a plausibly revised *vita* for the saint, as well as a new, apostolic liturgy capable of “delegitimizing” the old confessorial counterpart. To create an apostolic version of Martial’s biography, the *Vita Prolixior*, Ademar “replaced all mentions of *confessor* or *Praesul* with *apostolus* . . . emphasized Martial’s personal ties with Jesus, thus shifting his discipleship directly to the Lord himself and redefining his relationship with Peter as one of companion and equal . . . [and] expanded the scope of Martial’s mission to include all of Gaul” (217). To obviate discrepancies between texts, certain of the monks collaborating with him “‘corrected’ the manuscripts in the monastery to accord with their new claims” (223). From these and countless other major and minor modifications developed a remarkable kind of inter-textual synergy: “The result of these manipulations is that, at a level of sophistication that has swayed modern critical historians, each text gives verisimilitude to the other” (222). Thus during the early months of his *annus mirabilis*, 1029, Ademar “was the very definition of an ‘impresario of the relic cults,’ a highly literate man, full of critical sense and discrimination, a choreographer, a score writer, a producer” (225).

Yet on August 3, 1029, the very day the new cult was scheduled for solemn consecration, the scheme all but collapsed in a dramatic reversal. A Lombard prior named Benedict of Chiusa delivered a vociferous, withering denunciation of the apostolic scheme and openly debated the issue with Ademar. At dawn the following day, publicly disgraced and dejected, Ademar returned to Angoulême. (One recalls that the Modern French verb “limoger” means “to demote,” in the figurative sense of reassigning someone *to* Limoges, that is, to a marginal post. That verb would not have been altogether inappropriate to describe what befell Ademar that day, though with the opposite sense of egress *from* Limoges, thus making the first “limogeage” on record more of an “angoulémage”!)

Ademar spent most of his remaining days in the cloistral obscurity of the scriptorium at Saint-Cybard, but not without concocting multiple responses to his colossal humiliation. Landes shows how the failure of the apostolic scheme marked “the turning point between a career in which forgery had served a community, to one in which it now served his personal needs [as] Ademar began to turn in on himself” (231). Suddenly transformed from the ardent defender of a

magnificent collective fiction into an embittered, deeply disturbed recluse, Ademar first addressed to his influential contemporaries a self-justificatory "circular letter" laced with venomous evocations of Benedict and paranoid anticipations of papal wrath. Such feverish ranting ensured the failure of this propagandistic venture, thus prompting him to embark on a fresh, more desperate binge of writing—"well over half of Ademar's surviving manuscript corpus was written in the last four years of his productive life (1029–1033)" (253). He now recurred to the creation of "future history," using more deviously subtle tactics whose powerful effects would be deferred well beyond his own lifetime. He addressed to posterity a series of clever forgeries that would ensure the longevity both of Martial's apostleship and the authority of his own documentation of this "verity." These include a bogus papal letter and accounts of two Peace councils of the Aquitanian church, all offering full support of Martial's apostolicity. He carefully devised "time capsules" to ensure the future reception of these documents as history. For example, he left the papal letter "neatly tucked away in the back of Easter tables no one would need to consult until 1064, thus effectively removing it from circulation for a generation, but inescapably binding it to a text of great future value. In a sense, Ademar sent the papal letter on to posterity with the address of 532 Easters yet to come" (276). Finally, on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he stopped off at Limoges to donate his manuscript collection to the monastery of Saint Martial, where his forgeries could quietly await the reception as history they would begin to receive within a generation.

Richard Landes has produced a biographical study of Ademar of Chabannes that makes a compelling case for modification of a superannuated portrait framed overlong by inert tradition. Yet his book is a major contribution in many other respects as well, for Ademar's *oeuvre* amounts to much more than "the autograph record of a man going mad" (8); it "constitutes one of the earliest large collections of autographs from any civilization" (7) and abounds with invaluable insights and fresh perspectives on the many political, social, and theological crises that erupted in Christendom around the turn of the millennium. The nature of Ademar's career provides Landes with an excellent opportunity to bring to bear a vast array of research on the tenth and eleventh centuries. He explores the tensions within the Church and cloister as well as those between the Church and various secular spheres, detects nuances in the ideational makeup of numerous, often contentious mentalities, and brings into sharp focus a considerable array of important topics: the Peace movement; the various types of eschatological anticipation and apocalypticism; popular devotional traditions; heresy; witchcraft; pilgrimage; and pre-crusade fervor. Nine appendices provide supplementary information

on matters of chronology, manuscripts, paleographical difficulties, and miscellaneous historical and cultural issues. In sum, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History* is not only a superb biography whose astonishing story unfolds with all of the momentum of compelling detective fiction, it is also a masterful work of medieval scholarship that illustrates admirably the remarkable potential of the array of methodologies currently available to the medievalist. Landes implements them deftly and judiciously, in a study whose breadth and depth provide us with a fresh and illuminating account of a period in medieval history that does not yield its secrets readily.

Donald Maddox

Ellen B. Basso, *The Last Cannibals: A South American Oral History*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1995. 319 pp. \$40.00 cloth, ISBN 0-292-70818-1; \$19.95 paperback, ISBN 0-292-70819-X.

The blurb on the back cover of the paperback edition tells the reader to expect to find a challenge to “the familiar view of biography as a strictly Western literary form.” Though not well-enough versed in the study of biography to really know how fair it is to think of the genre as a strictly Western literary form, it is easy enough to imagine, however, that people everywhere, even the “people without history,” tell stories to one another. Stephen Jay Gould not so long ago proposed that *homo sapiens* might just as well have been named *homo narrator*. It is indeed easy to imagine people everywhere telling stories that take up as their subjects stories about the lives of others. But is biography really then a human universal? I do not yet know. There is what used to be called a “fudge factor” built into the “as a strictly Western literary form” phrase. No doubt there are indeed some familiar Western aspects of the literary form which will not survive any search for the universal. But diversity surely is valuable and interesting as well, and the stories Ellen Basso brings us, “biographies of powerful warriors whose actions led to the emergence of a more recent social order based on restrained behaviors from an earlier time when people were said to be fierce and violent,” will surely be of interest to readers of *Biography*.

This book is the author’s third in her series on Kalapalo narrative discourse—the first two were *A Musical View of the Universe* (U of Pennsylvania P, 1985) and *In Favor of Deceit: A Study of Tricksters in an Amazonian Society* (U of Arizona P, 1987). A dozen years earlier, Basso had published her ethnographic overview, *The Kalapalo Indians of Central Brazil* (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972). The anthropologist author began collecting the stories on which *The Last Cannibal* is built in 1966,