

omfattende bibliografi med 10 siders sekundærlitteratur er skæmmet af en usædvanlig høj grad af unøjagtigheder og fejl i de bibliografiske oplysninger, som man ikke forventer i en ellers velproduceret bog. Bogen rummer endvidere det obligatoriske danske resumé og fire indices over kilder, personnavne, stednavne og vejene på Cypern.

Bekker-Nielsen understreger i sin indledning, at hans afhandling »will lay no claim to the final truth about every or even any mile of ancient road in Cyprus« (10). Nogle detaljer kan diskuteres, men det forhindrer dog ikke det samlede indtryk, at denne afhandlings centrale kapitler med den detaljerede rekonstruktion af vejnettet på øen er udtryk for en betydelig videnskabelig modenhed og har bragt vores viden om det hellenistiske og romerske Cypern et væsentligt skridt videre.

Jesper Carlsen

NILS HYBEL: Danmark i Europa 750-1300. Museum Tusulanums Forlag 2003. 286 pp.

This account of early Danish history is very odd. Much space is devoted to developments elsewhere, in the Byzantine Empire and the Muslim world as well as in Europe, to support the author's main hypothesis that 'Danmarks fødsel var en integreret del af Europas dannelse' (p.15), a process that he claims was completed by the end of the thirteenth century, when Denmark was an independent kingdom in which the higher levels of society were as feudalized as anywhere else in Europe (pp.13, 261). The interpretation of Danish history and of Viking activity in west Europe is based on texts and some archaeological evidence with very little attention paid to secondary work. He explains that the book is not based on 'den historiske forsknings seneste landvindinger andet end i den udstrækning, forfatteren i almindelighed er påvirket af andres forskning' (p. 17). Dr Hybel confesses that he has, regrettably, had to use secondary literature for the international context. Although some secondary works are cited for twelfth- and thirteenth-century Danish history, his account of earlier developments is based partly on archaeological evidence, but mainly on the texts that he quotes or mentions that he has interpreted in the light of what he remembers from his own reading as a student and later. This has led to some rather old-fashioned and dubious conclusions, such as his claim that William the Conqueror introduced feudalism on the French model in England (pp. 58, 104). The view that the Normans brought 'feudalism fully fledged from

France' was popular in the 1940s but has few serious proponents now. It has indeed been argued that Stenton's *First Century of English Feudalism*, was in fact the last. The suggestion (p. 79) that Sven Estridsen was responsible for Harald Bluetooth's great Jelling stone was made by Axel Bolvig in 1978, but has gained little support from runologists or art historians.¹

The quotations from sources, all translated into Danish, are intended to provide an empirical basis for the synthesis offered in the book (p. 17). It is, therefore, unfortunate that virtually nothing is said about the problems concerning motives and reliability that must be faced in using such evidence. For example, the trustworthiness of Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*, especially for the tenth century, has been seriously questioned, but Hybel has paid no attention to these doubts.² He accepts that for most of his reign Harald was 'temmelig afhængig' on Otto I and Otto II (p. 84) and even suggests that the ringforts at Trelleborg and elsewhere were built by or for the German emperor (p. 81). There is not a shred of evidence for this fantasy.

The book has two subsidiary hypotheses (pp. 18-9). First, that the large estates that began to be created in the late eleventh century were the main agents of the later changes in the landscape, in farming methods, other technologies and in 'økonomisk mentalitet'. Church estates, which are the best documented, were naturally not established before the eleventh century, but the large secular estates that can be recognised in the twelfth century must have been created earlier. The remarkable site at Tissø in west Sjælland is one of several indications that some existed in the seventh century, or earlier. Monasteries and other major landowners were not always in the vanguard of change. John Langdon has shown that in medieval England they did not adopt horses as draught animals as readily as smallholders did.³ Hybel himself casts doubt on the scale of technological change in Denmark by noting the contrast between the thousands of water mills in England and France with the 18 known in Denmark, the earliest of which was built c. 800 (pp. 123-4).

The second hypothesis is that until the eleventh century Denmark comprised many small competing lordships based on plunder, internal as well as external, but that after England was no longer vulnerable to

¹ Axel Bolvig, *Den billedskabte virkelighed* (Gyldendal 1978), pp. 126-48.

² Niels Lund, *Harald Blåtands død* (Roskilde Museums Forlag 1998); Birgit and Peter Sawyer, *Die Welt der Wikinger* (Berlin, Siedler Verlag 2000), pp. 351-6.

³ J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: the use of draught animals in English farming from 1066 to 1500* (Cambridge University Press 1986).

Viking raids, Sven Estridsen and his sons began to establish effective government that developed in the thirteenth century to make Denmark a feudalized kingdom with a system of taxation and elements of royal administration. The depiction of chaotic conditions before the eleventh century is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of Dannevirke, the ring-forts constructed c. 980 and the foundation of Lund and Roskilde soon afterwards. The development of royal government in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is well attested, but Hybel goes too far in claiming that the Danes were in the vanguard of legal development in the twelfth century (p. 231). His argument is that the Law of Skåne was produced before Glanvill's treatise on English law. That is very doubtful; the existing text of the Skåne Law was produced after 1202 and Glanvill's treatise was composed probably between 1187 and 1189. Admittedly there was an earlier compilation of the Law of Skåne that has not survived, but there is no means of telling if it was made before or after Glanvill.⁴ That is, however, beside the point; the Skåne law, and the later Danish Provincial Laws, were attempts to codify local customs, while Glanvill's treatise was a sophisticated and lucid account of the royal law and legal processes that were developed in England in the reign of Henry II together with a discussion of the consequent development of substantive law that was in advance of anything produced in Europe at that time.⁵ The description of the writs by which royal justice was extended as 'the correspondence of the king with his sheriffs' (p. 231) is misleading. The significance of the feudalization that figures prominently in the book is questionable. The fiefs or *len* that were created in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were peripheral appanages for young princes that caused serious unrest after the death of Valdemar II.

There are many mistakes and misunderstandings in this book. Only a few examples can be noted here, there are many more. (p. 38) Harald Hårdada appears as Harald Hårdeknud; (p. 44) it was Anskar, not Rimbert, who died in 865; (p. 51) Quentovic was not on the site of the Roman fleet base at Boulogne; (p. 52) the Danish raids in Ireland were in 850-51, not in the 860s. (p. 54) Alfred's victory over the Danes was in the summer of 878, not January, and Ceolwulf was not crowned. Routger was not called Routgeri or Ruotgeri (pp. 76-7). In the late tenth century England was the target of Danish raiders not because the Continent was better defended (p. 86), but because England was remarkably wealthy with a government that could collect and pay large sums of trib-

⁴ 'Skånske lov', *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, 16, cols. 81-3.

⁵ *The treatise on the laws and customs of England commonly called Glanvill*, ed. and trans. G.D.G. Hall (London, Nelson 1965) pp. xxvii - xxxi.

ute. Sven Estridsen's ancestry was hardly dubious (p. 95) he was the grandson of Knud the Great. Peter Carelli has argued that in the early eleventh-century Lund was the necropolis for a large part of Skåne, not all of it (p. 100); Visby was founded long before 1169 (p. 162), Adrian IV confirmed Eskil's primacy in Sweden in 1157, he did not found the archbishopric of Uppsala (p. 185). There was no civil war in England in the 1280s (p. 242), and Frederick II died in 1250, not 1254 (p. 244).

Many of these errors may be dismissed as unimportant, but such carelessness casts doubt on the worth of the large generalizations that are presented in this book.

Finally, the references are in many cases unhelpful or misleading. Almost all the texts are taken from translations (that are not always reliable), but references to the pages of these translations do not help readers who need to use other versions or even want to check editions of the original texts. Many of the references that do not note pages are equally unhelpful. Maitland 1955 (pp. 60, 231) is a reprint, unrevised, of a book that was first published in 1908, containing lectures written and delivered in Cambridge in 1888-89!

It is difficult to understand why the publisher agreed to produce this book; it will do great damage to the reputation of the History Institute in Copenhagen University.

Peter Sawyer

PER INGESMAN: Provisioner og processer. Den romerske Rota og dens behandling af danske sager i middelalderen. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2003. 829 sider. 398 kr.

Denne på begge måder vægtige disputats har et tofold sigte, dels at bidrage til en international udforskning af den romerske domstol, Rota Romana, dels at bidrage til at belyse den side af det danske senmiddelalderlige samfund, der angik forholdet til pavestolen i tiden op til Reformationen.

Den første del af disputatsen (s. 85-229) analyserer den romerske Rota, karakteriseret i midten af 1400-tallet som verdens førende domstol af pave Pius II (s. 15). Rotaen voksede frem ved det pavelige hof i årene omkring 1300 og blev en pavelig højesteret, som behandlede de mange retssager, der fandt vej først til Avignon og senere til Rom, ikke mindst sager om besættelse af gejstlige embeder. Besættelse af disse skulle i princippet ske ved, at menigheden, som kunne være et sogn (hvis det drejede sig om indsættelse af en præst) eller et kapitel (hvis