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**The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity by George E. Demacopoulos
(review)**

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times throughout these chapters, which nonetheless paint a poignant and instructively specific picture of the struggles English Catholic recusants faced in making martyrs.

The final chapter, “Beyond Typology: King Charles and the Martyrdom of Conscience,” reads Charles’s *Eikon Basilike* and John Donne’s reply (*Eikonoklastes*) as a culminating struggle over the nature of martyrdom, a struggle that inaugurates a modern understanding of the term. Dailey argues that Charles relies on traditional martyrological tropes (208–214) while, at the same time, emphasizes that he suffers execution because of his loyalty to his own “conscience” (219–30) rather than because of his loyalty to specific religious doctrines. This devotion to conscience offers a newly individualized form of martyrdom that—while it faces a challenge of legibility (who, other than God, can really witness and affirm the martyr’s righteous faith?)—also enables Charles to assert “a radical subjectivity, circumventing representational incoherence by divorcing the martyr from history.” Donne’s rebuttal resonantly demands that Charles’s *actions* be held up as evidence against his internal conscience, but “[u]nbounded by theological conflict, doctrinal dispute, or even historical record, martyrdom becomes for Charles a powerful figurative language for articulating an ambiguously drawn conscientious struggle” (244). For Dailey, Charles’s text thus paves the way for modern martyrdom to function as “a religious metaphor for nonreligious conflict, abjection, and transcendence” (245).

The book concludes with four appendices containing short primary texts to which Dailey’s argument has referred. Perhaps most compelling is appendix D, “Conversations between Father Henry Garnet and Father Edward Oldcorne,” the transcribed work of two eavesdroppers stationed in the Tower of London to overhear the imprisoned priests’ whispered conversations while under investigation for involvement in the Gunpowder Plot. The conversations offer a vivid and valuable glimpse at the always ambiguous blending of conscious performativity and spontaneous authenticity in such a crucible. *The English Martyr*’s other supporting material consists of notes, a bibliography, an index, and a number of black and white illustrations, all but one woodcuts from *Acts and Monuments*.

Dailey’s book is a useful contribution to several intersecting scholarly conversations about martyrdom, early modern English religious and political strife, and new formalism more generally. Specialists in these fields will find points with which to quibble but little to reject outright, while students and scholars looking to gain a solid, detailed grounding in any of these conversations will find this book very helpful.

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George E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2013) 272 p.

Despite what one might gather from a quick glance at its title, George E. Demacopoulos’s excellent study does not detail the rise of an increasingly powerful late antique papacy. Rather, Demacopoulos is up to something subtler

and less grandiose. *The Invention of Peter* centers its narrative on the evolution of a distinct Petrine discourse up to the period of Gregory the Great. While the late antique architects of this discourse, from the mid-fourth-century pope Damasus to Gregory, sought to strengthen the historically tenuous connection between Saint Peter and the ecclesiological authority of the Roman episcopate, the real beneficiaries of this distinctive, Petrine connection would not arrive until centuries later. Yet, the early and central medieval popes, who, along with their archivists and clerks, would further refine and streamline the language of Petrine authority, are only occasionally foreshadowed by Demacopoulos. According to the author, too many scholars of the late antique Church have assumed from the bold claims to Roman episcopal privilege made by popes like Leo I and Gelasius I that these figures actually commanded the formidable power and respect suggested by such claims.

In opposition to this view of early papal authority, Demacopoulos convincingly argues that instances wherein popes invoked the “Petrine topos” in their communication with ecclesiastical colleagues or secular leaders directly coincided with moments of frustration, insecurity, and the relative weakness of the Roman See vis-à-vis rival authorities. In particular, the emperors in the East and the imperially-bolstered Constantinopolitan Church possessed significantly more effective authority; the Roman episcopate was increasingly considered an afterthought in East-West theological and ecclesiological quarrels. Within the temporal scope of this study, the apparent gains in terms of papal power and prestige appear spotty at best, with Roman episcopal authority waxing and waning through the early years of the seventh century. Nor by this terminal point had the Petrine discourse become the singular, exclusive domain of the papacy: In an epilogue to the main narrative, we find a sly, Petrine-inflected critique of Pope Gregory I, used rather audaciously in the *vita* of Gregory of Agrigentum to lament the pope’s alleged lapses in pastoral practice. Given that the advocacy of proper pastoral care is, and was, often considered Pope Gregory’s greatest legacy, such criticism is certainly telling of the papacy’s still-shaky position in the period following his death.

Leading up to this fascinating denouement, Demacopoulos’s primary focus is deliberately narrow and specific, centering on an acutely observant analysis of Petrine discourse and the moments of its deployment in Late Antiquity. Demacopoulos demonstrates that the social transition from Late Antiquity to the early medieval world produced a potent discourse which would serve as a firm foundation for later papal power, but not, by the beginning of the seventh century, a particularly strong and authoritative trans-personal papal office. This central contention is important and potentially far-reaching in its implications, not only for scholars of Late Antiquity or those specializing in the early papacy, but for specialists in other areas as well. Carolingianists, for instance, stand to acquire a better understanding of the complex character of relations between secular rulers and the Roman Church in the centuries preceding Charlemagne’s coronation by Pope Leo III. Scholars interested in the medieval uses of Pope Gelasius’s oft-cited claim to papal privilege in *Epistle 12 (Ad Anastasium)* will likewise benefit much from Demacopoulos’s insightful exegesis of the letter, as well as of Gelasius’s less well-known, though hardly less remarkable *Tractate 6 (Against Andromachus and the Other Romans Who Hold That the Lupercalia*

Should Be Celebrated According to Ancient Custom), both translated in full and included as appendices. Despite historians' relative familiarity with Gelasius's bold argument to the emperor Anastasius—that priestly *auctoritas*, and particularly that of the "Apostolic See," trumps imperial *potestas*—Demacopoulos notes that, prior to his work here, no more than a few paragraphs of Gelasius's writings had ever been translated into English, while Anglophone scholarship on Gelasius is similarly scant. In a chapter devoted to Gelasius, Demacopoulos details precisely how the pope's argument to the emperor Anastasius served to expand the possibilities of the Petrine discourse, while nevertheless concluding that Gelasius's "pronouncements of universal prestige and international recognition were akin to a fifth-century version of an echo chamber" (94). Furthermore, according to Demacopoulos, Gelasius's texts (including *Epistle 12*) finally tell us more about the arguments used by powerful ecclesiastics in the East *against* a vulnerable Western Church than they do about any real power possessed by, or ascribed to, the Roman episcopate.

The chapter on Gelasius may be *The Invention of Peter's* strongest section, not least for its admirable attempt to serve as a corrective to the curious historiographical neglect of this critically important figure. As many scholars seem to know embarrassingly little about Gelasius's writings and career, Demacopoulos's treatment of them here appears somewhat revelatory. By contrast, the book's last chapter on Gregory the Great feels rather too limited and abbreviated. It is where the narrow lens of Demacopoulos's focus most discernibly constrains the discussion. Of course, it is impossible to cover all matters with regard to a figure as extraordinarily prolific as Gregory, and Demacopoulos himself has written much on Gregory elsewhere. Here, he demonstrates that Gregory, although relatively reluctant to invoke the Petrine topos in his correspondence, added new dimensions to the Petrine discourse by emphasizing Peter's relics and the "prince of the apostles'" corporeal connection to Rome. These points are useful and interesting, but after finishing the chapter, one simply wants to know more concerning Gregory's role within this narrative of precarious papal authority. The same might be said for the preceding chapter's examination of the *Corpus iuris civilis's* bearing on the prestige (or lack thereof) of the Roman episcopate during the reign of Justinian. How, for example, were the slights to papal authority that Demacopoulos detects in the *Novellae* understood or (deliberately?) overlooked by the civil law's meticulous later readers, such as the glossators of the eleventh and twelfth centuries? To be fair, this question, as with a broader discussion of Gregory, may be considered to be beyond the scope of this study. Still, at a relatively slim 171 pages (before appendices and notes), *The Invention of Peter* could quite reasonably bear elaboration in places, particularly on the above-noted topics.

Such minor misgivings notwithstanding, Demacopoulos's book is a highly significant contribution to the wider field of late antique Christian studies, especially for its pathbreaking examination of both the papacy's status in society and the political sphere between the two "Great" representatives of the Roman office, Leo I and Gregory I. Demacopoulos cites Averil Cameron's *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley 1991) as a key source of inspiration for

his book. Ably wielding the hermeneutic tools of discourse analysis, Demacopoulos has produced a worthy addendum to Cameron's classic study.

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***Dreams of Waking: An Anthology of Iberian Lyric Poetry, 1400–1700*, ed. and trans. Vincent Barletta, Mark L. Bajus, and Cici Malik (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2013) 432 pp.**

The Stanford-based team behind *Dreams of Waking* composes a crisp collection of page-facing translations, uniquely curated around three principal sentiments of antiquity. In this anthology, retranslated oft-circulated poems from Luis Vas de Camoes and St. Teresa of Avila are set alongside Iberian poems making their debut appearance in modern English. The three parts of this anthology—Janus, Venus, and Bacchus—intimate poetic topoi not distinctive of Iberian poetry from the late medieval and early modern period but representative of lyric as a loosely defined mode. Although the classical demarcations suggest groupings that gravitate toward transition, desire and ecstasy, respectively, each section hosts a little bit of each, as these categorical labels operate decrease the importance of the overbearing and problematic boundaries of periodization, language, sovereignty, etc. That being said, the partitions are arranged more or less by order of chronology, and the issue of periodization is both gracefully set aside and left uncontested; the poems are allowed to speak for themselves, unchaperoned, on uncertain ground. Indeed, this effect seems to reflect the editor's expressed purpose, to "serve as an echo by which readers might gain deeper access not only to the originals but also to the deep network of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural exchange that underlies them" (20).

The lyrics' annotations, which leave nothing to assumption, suggest that the reader approaching the poems will have been trained in a more compartmentalized, less cross-cultural canon. For those lacking a Western classical background, fundamental Greek and Roman mythological figures as well as their concomitant lore (Zeus and Leda, Orpheus in Hades) are explained; Hebrew and Christian biblical verses are spelled out (1 Corinthians 13); and the perhaps lesser-known tales about the life of Muhammad are elucidated with encyclopedic concision. The editors have supplied a 300 to 500 word biographical headnote for each of the thirty-three poets, most of which include a list of additional works, verse or otherwise, by the poet and at least one literary superlative, which provides an important distinction between the relationship of the selected poetry to the medieval and early modern Iberian literary world at large. For example, Antonio Ferreira is "best known for his theatrical works, the most acclaimed of these being his tragedy *A Castro*" (143), and San Juan de la Cruz is "best known for three mystical poems" (177), the first of which, "Cantico espiritual," is not included in the anthology. On a broader scale, the editors recognize the chaotic book and manuscript history in the region, fraught with misattributions, and the generally underplayed role of readership in shaping these lyrics. Twenty pages of a select bibliography at the anthology's conclusion provide not only timely and comprehensive research entry points for not only each individual poet, but also general information on Iberian anthology craft, as well as seven titles specifically on Aljamiado literature.