

COLIN MORRIS

Colin Morris

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by

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Summary. Colin Morris was one of the foremost medieval historians in the English-speaking world of his generation. His international reputation was founded upon three major works: *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (1972), *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (1989), and *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (2005), which were especially notable and original for their skilful interweaving of both a wide range of topics and a wide range of sources. These were supported by a number of major articles, which were increasingly, though not exclusively, focused both on the ideology and chronicling of the First Crusade, and also on the role the Holy Sepulchre played in the imagination of the medieval West.



Ed. Morris

Colin Morris was the only child of Harry Morris, a commercial traveller, and Katherine ('Kitty'), née Metham, a tailoress. His father died when Colin was 11, and he was then brought up by his mother in considerable hardship. His first book, *The Discovery of the Individual*, is fittingly dedicated to her. In 1938 at the age of nine he won a scholarship to Hymer's College in Hull, a fee-paying school which, however, awarded a number of scholarships and bursaries in accordance with the wishes of the founder that it be 'for the training of intelligence in whatever social rank of life it may be found among the vast and varied population of the Town'. A year later, however, the school was evacuated to Pocklington School, from where, some 25 miles away, Colin saw the glow of the burning city in May 1941. In 1945 Colin was awarded a Hastings scholarship to read Modern History at The Queen's College, Oxford. After graduating with a first-class degree in 1948, Colin was one of the first to be conscripted for National Service, which had come into force in January 1949. He served in the ranks for 13 months, rather than the statutory 18, following which he returned to Queen's to read for a second BA, in Theology.¹ He graduated in 1951 with another first-class degree.

He had always intended to enter the Church and following graduation he went to Lincoln Theological College to train for the Anglican priesthood: his choice of this college was perhaps influenced by the fact that his tutor whilst at Queen's was Dennis Nineham, who had also trained there a few years earlier. The college had been founded in 1874 as the Scola Cancellarii (a name Colin would probably have appreciated!) by the then Chancellor of Lincoln cathedral, Edward Benson, later archbishop of Canterbury. It was always in the liberal catholic tradition of Anglicanism, and numbered amongst its teachers notable scholars such as Claude Beaufort Mosse and Michael Ramsey. Under Kenneth Sansbury, who was warden of the college (1945 – 52) immediately prior to Colin's arrival, that tradition of radical Anglo-Catholic theology, which was representative of Colin's churchmanship throughout his life, flourished. Here Colin was a contemporary of others who would go on to impressive careers of their own, notably David Jenkins, later bishop of Durham, who had also been an undergraduate at Queen's and who remained a friend throughout his life, and John Yates, later bishop of Gloucester.

Colin was ordained deacon in 1953 and immediately following ordination he was elected Fellow and Tutor in Medieval History and Chaplain at Pembroke College, Oxford, where he was to remain for 16 years. He was exceptional (and perhaps unique) in being appointed chaplain before being priested, which meant that for a year he could not officiate at Communion. He arrived during a stellar age of Oxford medievalists whose number already included John Prestwich (Colin's old tutor at Queen's), Beryl

¹ His daughter, Gillian Morris, suggests (pers. comm.) that the Army might have been relieved to see his departure. After accidentally shooting at his serjeant he was confined to office duties, where he learnt the invaluable transferrable skill of typing!

Smalley, Richard Southern, Richard Hunt and Michael Wallace-Hadrill, amongst many others. As a history tutor and chaplain he had both a heavy teaching and a heavy pastoral load. In his role as chaplain he was remembered for his thoughtful ministry, laudably ecumenical, and as a bridge-builder, particularly between those undergraduates who had come up from National Service and those direct from school. Compulsory attendance at college evensong had only recently been abolished at Pembroke, yet during his time there, despite lack of coercion, 40 regularly attended communion, and 90 at evensong, a tribute to the quality of his preaching, which was, and always remained, eloquent and humorous.

He was also actively involved in the annual Oxford Borstal Camps where he served as Anglican chaplain. Here undergraduates camped with boys from Everthorpe Borstal for a week in Spennithorne (Wensleydale), and then spent another week sharing life in the Borstal itself, including a two-day hike. In the course of one tent inspection at the camp, a burglar's kit was slipped into his hand: this became a key element in the Morris family tool-kit!

In 1956 Colin had married his teenage sweetheart, Brenda Gale, whom he had met at church in Hull. She had studied medicine at Edinburgh, before serving as a medical missionary with the Church Missionary Society in Nigeria before her marriage. After practising as a GP in Islip, she went on to a distinguished career as a psychiatrist. Initially Colin lived in a college house in Pembroke Street and they then moved next door to 13 Pembroke Street, a large 17th-century town house. Here they lived happily with their young family, Gillian, Christopher and Michael, who would play in the college gardens and occasionally break unannounced into his tutorials. He played a full, and remarkably 'modern' role in his children's life: they remember him as returning home from his rooms to sit on the floor with them, teaching them to read and write with a blackboard, and composing and illustrating stories about a family of hippopotamuses!

His time at Oxford from undergraduate till he left in 1969 almost exactly coincides with the period recently cogently examined by Colin Kidd,² but his career illustrates another aspect of the postwar university somewhat removed from Kidd's portrayal of a 'secular clerisy' of self-satisfied intellectual patricians. From an under-privileged background, Colin was always (and remained) a man of the Left who was certainly not alone in feeling a tension between his beliefs and the privileged society in which he moved. As his daughter Gillian has written: 'His upbringing and political beliefs were sometimes hard for him to manage in the privileged world in which he worked. On arrival in Oxford at 17 he said he felt that he and his friends had broken down the bastions of privilege'.³

² C. Kidd, *Twilight of the Dons: British Intellectuals from World War II to Thatcherism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2026).

³ Gillian Morris, pers. comm.

Colin's first article was published in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (the first of five to appear there). It was also the first in a sequence of four papers examining the development and function of church courts in medieval England, particularly in Lincoln diocese. These studies of the bishop's commissary and diocesan courts drew on his work in the Lincoln cathedral archives during his time training for the priesthood, and traced the gradual transformation of diocesan administration in the face of the logistic challenges of overseeing large, unwieldy dioceses, the growing volume of business, and competing jurisdictional claims of bishops, archdeacons, and commissaries.⁴ In 1967 a further article in the *English Historical Review* provided a detailed examination of William I's ordinance regulating episcopal jurisdiction in England, and challenged the traditional view presented by Stubbs and others that this represented the introduction of church courts in this country.⁵ Rather, on the one hand bishops already possessed spiritual jurisdiction in some respects, while on the other it was only in the 12th century that a fully articulated structure of church courts emerged.

With the exception of a short paper discussing the circumstances around litigation concerning a small Norfolk church, which sheds an interesting light on the complexities of litigation concerning the ownership of a parish church,⁶ thereafter Colin left British and legal history behind, though this does not, of course, mean that either were ignored. Conflict of jurisdictions, particularly between secular and ecclesiastical, was a major theme in his *The Papal Monarchy*, while one of his last papers considered British participation in the Jerusalem pilgrimage.

His first book, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200*, was published in 1972 by the SPCK, as part of a series, 'Church History Outlines' for the Church Historical Society. Under the general editorship of Vivian Green, the majority of the authors were both established historians and Anglican or Episcopalian priests.⁷ These relatively short studies were intended 'to keep the reader in touch with the findings of recent scholarship without having recourse to the apparatus of the learned study', and would either be 'revisions of topics of major interest' or 'more specialized studies founded on original research'.⁸ Though in some ways *The Discovery of the Individual* sits rather uneasily in this series – it is certainly not a book for beginners – it yet achieved both of these aims. It is probably the work for which he is best known and which has been the most influential.

⁴C. Morris, 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 10 (1959), 50–65; 'A Consistory Court in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963), 150–9; 'From Synod to Consistory: the Bishops' Courts in England, 1150–1250', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), 115–23.

⁵C. Morris, 'William the First and the Church Courts', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), 449–63.

⁶C. Morris, 'Letheringsett: the Early History of a Parish Church', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), 116–19.

⁷C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (London: SPCK, 1972).

⁸V.H.H. Green, 'Foreword', in *ibid.*, p. xi.

It is no exaggeration to place it amongst such pioneering classics as Charles Homer Haskins' *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Marc Bloch's *Feudal Society*, or Richard Southern's *Making of the Middle Ages*, in fundamentally challenging orthodoxies and furnishing a radical reassessment of its subject. As Peter Brown wrote: 'To read Marc Bloch's *Feudal Society*, Richard Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages*, M.D. Chenu's *La théologie au XIIème siècle* and Colin Morris's *The Discovery of the Individual* is to pluck with both hands a wealth of material, brilliantly marshalled, on the kinds of intimate, irreversible, and delicately interrelated changes of which any pre-industrial society may be capable'.⁹

In its multidisciplinary range *The Discovery of the Individual* was exceptional for its time. True, to some degree Haskins' work prefigured some of its arguments in questioning then-current views of the Middle Ages as an 'epoch of ignorance, stagnation and gloom ... in the sharpest contrast to the light and progress and freedom of the Italian Renaissance',¹⁰ but Haskins concentrated on intellectual and scholastic developments, in law, the study of the classics, especially Latin (but not vernacular) verse, historiography, philosophy, and science (the latter of which, interestingly, Colin's work ignores): he seldom looks beyond the walls of the Schools. Though a few other medievalists (notably Richard Southern) had considered literary and art-historical sources in their analysis, *The Discovery of the Individual* moved to a different level, integrating material drawn from both written sources, including contemporary vernacular, as well as Latin, literature, theological and devotional texts, and the visual arts, not just solely manuscripts, but portraits, tomb sculpture and architecture.

But not only was the approach transformative so too was its interpretation. Since the publication in 1860 of Jacob Burckhardt's *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, it had generally been regarded as axiomatic that 15th-century Italy saw a transformation of *Kultur*,¹¹ marking a distinct break with the darkness of preceding centuries: it was the necessary precursor to modernity, while at the same time it rediscovered the classical, and essentially pagan, world of Greece and Rome. Burckhardt's thesis was, of course, much more nuanced than this popular over-simplification, and increasingly historians of the medieval world, as already shown, on both sides of the Atlantic demurred at this. But it was Colin's scholarly, lively and relatively short book (188 pages to Burckhardt's 576), with its implicit nod to part 2 of Burckhardt's work, 'Die Entwicklung des Individuums' ('The Development of the Individual'), though Burckhardt is never explicitly mentioned, which presented a reinterpretation and re-evaluation of the 'long twelfth

⁹P. Brown, 'Society and the Supernatural: a Mediaeval Change', *Daedalus*, 104 (1975), 133.

¹⁰C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. v.

¹¹J. Burckhardt, *Der Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basel: Druck und Verlag der Schweighauser'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1860).

century' most elegantly, arguing that it saw, for example, the first flowering of autobiographical writing in the west; the first vernacular love poetry; a 'new' theology exemplified in the writings of Abelard, and new, more 'personalised' forms of religious practice, notably private and individual confession which depended on self-awareness.

Above all this was a thoughtful, thought-provoking and provocative analysis, and it is unsurprising that it was not universally praised. It can perhaps be compared with the impact of another ground-breaking and highly contentious account published a few years earlier: Friedrich Heer's *Mittelalter; von 1100 bis 1350* (*The Medieval World: Europe 1100 – 1350*), which similarly provided a radical (and much criticised) re-interpretation: both established benchmarks for further research. As Frederick Goldin wrote in concluding his review in *Speculum* in words that retain their relevance fifty years later: 'every future exploration of this subject will have to begin right here'.¹² And perhaps the book's most lasting and significant impact lies not in its specificities, which were challenged and questioned then and now, but both in how it taught historians (not just medievalists) to look at the Middle Ages afresh in breaking old boundaries between intellectual, social, cultural and religious histories, an approach now wholly orthodox but then rare, and how it inspired also other scholars to engage with the issues Colin raised and highlighted. It is striking that both of the medievalists who paid tribute to Colin at his memorial service witnessed to the influence the book had had on their own scholarly development as undergraduates and beyond.

The most notable *responsio* to Colin's *questio* was Caroline Walker Bynum's 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', published in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* in 1979,¹³ and to which Colin himself replied in the same journal in 1980.¹⁴ Bynum's was certainly not a full-throated rejection of Colin's thesis, rather it presented a detailed critique of some of its conclusions, particularly in the context of the burgeoning of new forms of religious expression, especially within monasticism. One criticism was essentially semantic: she proposed that it was more appropriate to talk of the discovery of the *self* than the *individual* in the 12th century. She further argued that this discovery needs to be placed in a wider frame of reference: 'The discovery of self went hand in hand with the discovery of models and the discovery of the community.'¹⁵ Individuals modelled themselves on archetypes, such as the saints, the apostles, the prophets, specific individuals such as Benedict, Jerome, or Christ. These individuals were also participants within a widening range of groups, the 'new' religious orders

¹² F. Goldin, *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 529–32.

¹³ C.W. Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), 1–17.

¹⁴ C. Morris, 'Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion: some Further Reflections', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), 195–206.

¹⁵ Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', 16

being the most obvious case, and it was within these groups, which were often fiercely competitive and hostile to one another, that individuals could shape their own identity.

Colin's nuanced reply was not so much a rebuff of Bynum's arguments but a commentary on his own work. For he recognised the validity of her picture of the changing expressions of, and possibilities for, the religious life post-c. 1050, but stressed that these developments, which were themselves consequent upon profound changes in society, allowed, indeed demanded, as the previous age had not, individual initiative. Members of the aristocratic class could now choose whether to be a knight or cleric, to be married or celibate, to be a hermit or live in community, to join a crusade or stay at home. At the same time, for example, men (and, to a lesser extent, women) rather than being given to monasteries as child entrants by their families, a practice rejected first by the 'new' orders, then by the 'old' Benedictines, were now able to choose for themselves as adults to follow a religious vocation. Even the illiterate might now elect to enter a Cistercian monastery as a *conversus*, or lay brother. And while their ordered life might be notionally founded on the long-established rules of Benedict or Augustine, there were manifold ways in which these might be adjusted, interpreted, or ignored by individual groups: 'The formation of a model did not wholly bind a community nor obliterate the individual's freedom of thought and action: there was a sort of symbiosis between individual, community, and model.'¹⁶

Already in 1968 Colin had signalled his own move away from the world of Lincoln diocese to the world of the crusades with the publication of a short article on the military crusading leader and historian, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, and Geoffrey's account of the events leading up to, and during, the Sack of Constantinople in 1204. It was, however, in some ways an outlier of his later work, since it focused on the Fourth Crusade rather than on the ideology of the Jerusalem crusades, which was to be Colin's chief interest and which culminated in his studies of the Holy Sepulchre. His analysis of Villehardouin's *La conquête de Constantinople* steered a judicious path between two interpretations of this influential account, that it was a trustworthy, eye-witness description by one who sat at the top table of diplomatic and military activity, or that it was a specious attempt to distort and whitewash the crusaders' and Venetian duplicity. Instead, he argued that *La conquête* should be understood as primarily the memoir of a military man, much influenced by the forms and conventions of the *chansons de geste*. Geoffrey was indifferent to theological or spiritual matters, other than possessing a vague belief in divine providence, and conveying no interest, for example, in Constantinople as a treasure-house of relics. His grasp of chronology was shaky, his memory often faulty: he was writing a memoir not a chronicle. Undoubtedly he was partial and biased, and that also influenced his narrative, which is occasionally rather

¹⁶ C. Morris, 'Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion', 202.

clumsily deceptive. It has all the strengths and weaknesses of a soldier's eye-witness account, an account which reveals as much about the author's preconceptions and attitudes as it does about the events he describes.

Immediately after serving as vicegerent of Pembroke College during an interregnum in 1969, Colin left Oxford on his appointment as Professor of Medieval History at the University of Southampton. Here he succeeded Professor Harry Rothwell, who had been appointed to the first chair of history in 1945 during a time of the university's substantial expansion. Rothwell was responsible for the creation of an impressive team of medieval historians: Ernest Blake, with whom Colin was later to collaborate extensively, was the first, appointed in 1952, along with T. Brynmor Pugh; Colin Platt followed in 1964, and Paul Harvey in 1966. But though the department did offer special subjects on the Age of Dante, and on Anglo-French relations during the 15th century, History at Southampton was overwhelmingly Anglocentric. That was to change with Colin's arrival.

His inaugural lecture delivered in 1972 was on the subject of the medieval media and mass communications.¹⁷ This lecture deserves to be better known: virtually all such lectures tend on publication to enjoy solely a local readership, and, while not merely ephemera, they are generally lost in obscurity and understandably, but regrettably, ignored. It is worth therefore considering the lecture in a little detail not only because of this neglect but also because it laid out to a non-specialist audience themes in medieval history that were to preoccupy Colin for the remainder of his life. Challenging the popular understanding (still unfortunately prevalent) of medieval society as dominated by a monolithic Church exercising power from above and functioning as 'Europe's school-master' (however much churchmen might have liked it to be!), he argued rather that cultural transmission flowed through many channels, and that oral culture remained central to the communication of ideas. As is characteristic of all his work, telling examples were drawn, for example, from sculpture (the west front of the great abbey church of Vézelay); vernacular poetry (a recruitment song urging men to go on the Second Crusade, and the *Song of the Ass*, a central element in a church ceremony celebrated in northern France that blended 'ecclesiastical' and 'folk' culture, church and secular music, Latin and vernacular); and sermons. And in focusing on the careers of two individuals, he showed how a range of cultural influences diffused from many, widely different sources shaped their lives. The first, Valdes of Lyon, was a rich merchant who on conversion renounced his wealth for apostolic poverty, and became a wandering preacher, attracting many followers, who were soon condemned as heretical. Initially

¹⁷ C. Morris, *Medieval Media: Mass Communication in the Making of Europe: an inaugural lecture delivered at the University, 14th March 1972* (Southampton: Southampton University, 1972). It was later translated, with minor alterations, into Hungarian, appearing 24 years later as 'Középkori média: A tömegkommunikáció szerepe az európai kultúra megteremtésében' ('Medieval Media: the Role of Mass Communication in the Creation of European Culture'), *Világosság* (1996), 63–73.

influenced by saints' cults, particularly that of St Alexis, whose legend was communicated to the illiterate (as was Valdes), by sermons and by the songs of jongleurs, Valdes was later taught Latin as an adult by local scholars. His second example, Obadiah 'the Proselyte', was much less well-known in 1972 (in spite of the work by Norman Golb, in particular), though he is now central in studies of Jewish-Christian relations in the 12th century.¹⁸ From a southern Italian noble family, Obadiah trained for the priesthood. His studies of Judaism and the shock he experienced at the massacre of Jews during the First Crusade led to his conversion in 1102 to the Jewish faith. Following a move to Baghdad via Aleppo to study Hebrew, he went on to Cairo where he became synagogue cantor and wrote music using Italian melodies in Gregorian notation to accompany Hebrew psalms, as well as writing an autobiography very much in the style of western contemporaries. Though Obadiah makes no further appearance in Colin's work, in his discussion of his extraordinary career we can see a number of elements that were to be of great significance in his future research: they include autobiography, the crusades, music and vernacular languages, Jewish-Christian relations. The careers of both men reveal an interplay of cross-fertilising cultural currents from different worlds in a time of diversity, of competing jurisdictions, of local autonomies.

Under Colin's leadership at Southampton new undergraduate courses were designed including 'England and Europe, 900–1200', 'The Crusades' which he taught with Ernest Blake, and a course on medieval marriage, which I taught with him, and where I learnt as much as the students! He was an inspiring teacher, beloved by his students. As a colleague has written: 'Colin Morris transported his first-year undergraduates into the medieval world – by referencing Dr Who's Tardis ... Colin's students never forgot his lectures.'¹⁹ He led the department with even-handed and even-tempered judiciousness, encouraging the work of all his colleagues, while at the same time continuing with his own studies, in which he was supported by two research assistants, Alison Bideleux and Joan Wardrop, whom he generously acknowledged in the foreword to *The Papal Monarchy*. He was a keen promoter of ties with other European universities, notably the universities of Rouen and Hamburg, where he was a visiting lecturer. As an early convert to the value of digital aids in teaching, he was ahead of his time in envisaging the role computing could play in History, and the humanities more broadly, and he fully supported

¹⁸ See, e.g., N. Golb, 'Obadiah the Proselyte: Scribe of a Unique Twelfth-Century Hebrew Manuscript containing Lombardic Neumes', *Journal of Religion*, 45 (1965), 153–6; 'The Music of Obadiah the Proselyte and his Conversion', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 18 (1967), 43–63; J. Prawer, 'The Autobiography of Obadyah the Norman, a Convert to Judaism at the Time of the First Crusade', in Isadore Twersky (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 110–134, and more recently L. Warner, 'Obadiah the Proselyte and the Judaizing Crusade', *New Medieval Literatures*, 8 (2006), 151–73.

¹⁹ Tony Kushner (pers. comm.).

colleagues in the department in developing the HiDES (Historical Document Expert System) project in collaboration with IBM.

In addition to serving as Head of Department, he was also a member of the University Senate and Dean of the Arts Faculty at a time of considerable pressures. Fortunately Colin was a master tactician in the complex world of university politics. During the 1980s the cuts experienced across the university sector hit medieval history particularly hard. In 1988 two medieval historians were due to retire at Southampton with every likelihood that neither would be replaced. It was Colin who turned the tide, and through his tireless, firm and expert negotiation on university committees, gained approval to advertise a lectureship in medieval history. It would be hard to overstate the importance of this achievement, for his success in getting that replacement turned a spot-light on medieval history and affirmed its importance, opening the doors to further posts being advertised elsewhere in the following years. Medieval history (and medieval studies more broadly) thrived in Britain over during the last few decades (though sadly they are now, together with all the humanities, under very great threat). Colin played a pivotal role in that happy reversal of fortunes.

In 1989 Colin's *magnum opus* (nearly 700 pages!), *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, appeared as a volume in the *Oxford History of the Christian Church*.²⁰ It followed in publication and chronology Michael Wallace-Hadrill's *The Frankish Church* (1983), though there was a gap (which still remains) in coverage of the period between c. 900 and c. 1050, and it explicitly omitted any discussion of relations between the Eastern and Western Churches (which had already been discussed from a Constantinopolitan perspective in Joan Hussey's *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 1986), as well as the exceptionalist Iberian Church, to which a separate volume was to have been devoted, but which has never appeared. It had been long in the making and had been Colin's chief (but by no means the only) research project since his appointment to the chair at Southampton, with its attendant heavy load of both teaching and administration. It was, as Christopher Brooke wrote in the *English Historical Review*, 'a daring adventure',²¹ for its scope was extraordinary and it required great skill to achieve a due balance in coverage, which he largely achieved. It was also the first study in the English language to tackle such a task. Though there were, of course, already a number of major works covering this period (not least David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* and its successor volume) these were avowedly limited to developments in England and narrower in focus. Unsurprisingly, there were voluminous accounts of the papal reform and the Empire by German historians. Only the

²⁰ C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

²¹ C.N.L. Brooke, *English Historical Review* 105 (1990), 686–8.

monumental (and even longer) multi-volume *Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, under the general editorship of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, is comparable, the four multi-authored volumes which cover approximately the same period running to some 1200 pages! As his nomination for Fellowship of the British Academy puts it: '*(The Papal Monarchy)* is surely the most authoritative single authored survey, in any language, of Western Christianity for the two centuries which it covers'.²²

As were all his publications, it is beautifully written and lucid. It is full of telling, apt, and often unexpected quotations, and deploys an extraordinary range of material, both primary and secondary, drawn, as always in his writings, from both Latin and vernacular, particularly French and Provençal, poetry as well as prose. His own translations of Latin poetry always delighted him to write and his readers to enjoy: his ability to capture the essence of a verse, whether theological, amorous or satirical, was remarkable.²³

It presents an analysis of developments within the Western Church set against the background of expanding papal power, which was underpinned by a substantial administrative and legal bureaucracy concomitant with the growing centralisation of ecclesiastical authority whether expressed, for example, in the control of the canonisation process at Rome rather than canonisation being promoted by local initiative, or in the appearance of highly centralised monastic orders, largely free from diocesan control and recognising only papal authority. At the same time there was, as he recognised, a paradox. Ultimately the papacy's political power was limited, its moral authority dependent on secular powers for enforcement. As St Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the pope in 1150: 'Your strength lies not in your possessions but in the hearts of men', or as Stalin put it more forthrightly, 'How many divisions has the pope got?' These developments in the exercise and restraints of papal rule provide the matrix for a panoramic study of the Western Church, its internal dynamics and tensions, its strategies towards outsiders, either within the Western world, such as Jews or heretics, or beyond to the Eastern Church and Islam. Even a work of this breadth and erudition was necessarily selective, but nevertheless its comprehensiveness was remarkable. The three opening sections established a framework: the first considered the change in relations between papal and secular powers and took the story up to 1122, and the compromise between pope and emperor at the Concordat of Worms; the second, covering the period up to the election

²² British Academy archive.

²³ In the Preface (pp. xiii–xiv) to *The Discovery of the Individual*, he wrote: 'In the case of poetry, it seemed faint-hearted to provide a prose rendering which contained none of the spirit of the original, and I have therefore tried my hand at a translation into an appropriate English verse-form', though he took care to include the original, 'so that the reader can keep his eyes open for foul play'! He could read an impressive number of spoken European languages, as well as New Testament Greek, Anglo-Saxon, and medieval Catalan and Occitan, and was fluent in several (though he never wrote in any but English).

of pope Innocent III in 1198, looked at the consolidation of papal authority, especially under pope Alexander III, and its increasingly hardline approach to enemies perceived within and without – heretics, Muslims and Jews; while the third dealt with Innocent's papal agenda as particularly expressed in the Fourth Lateran Council, before moving to and ending with the bitter papal struggles with the emperor Frederick II. Having provided the context, he then placed developments at a more local level within it. Not least he pointed to the inevitable tensions between the papal centre and the peripheries, as well, of course, to those between rival expressions of the Christian life within and outwith traditional monasticism.

But *The Papal Monarchy* was very far from Colin's sole publication during the Southampton years. Ever since his arrival, there had come a steady stream of articles. The year that *The Discovery of the Individual* appeared, he turned to the work of abbot Guibert de Nogent.²⁴ Though studies of all aspects of Guibert's life and work now abound, up to that time he had been largely ignored.²⁵ It is not surprising that Colin was attracted by this subject. As the author of one of the first medieval autobiographies (the *Monodiae*), which he modelled on Augustine's *Confessions*, Guibert typified the search for self-knowledge and understanding central to Colin's reading of 12th-century thought. Guibert had already written an important history of the First Crusade, the *Gesta Dei per Francos*,²⁶ and amongst an extensive corpus of theological commentary he wrote a critique (the *de pignoribus Sanctorum*) of contemporary relic cults.

His next paper, on the functions of the judicial ordeal in 11th-century Europe,²⁷ in a sense examined in miniature some of the broad themes treated in *The Papal Monarchy*, the transition from a sacral society to one where the secular sphere of government was increasingly clearly delineated and autonomous, where competing jurisdictions and authorities collided. Colin argued that in the matter of the ordeal, as elsewhere, the late 11th century was one of transformation. Growing criticism of the ordeal's validity in judicial process was to culminate with the prohibition by the Fourth Lateran Council

²⁴ C. Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert of Nogent on "The Relics of the Saints"', in W.R. Ward & D. Baker (eds), *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers read at the ninth summer meeting and the tenth winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 8; 1972), pp. 41–53.

²⁵ Though J.F. Benton had introduced Guibert to English-speaking readers a few years earlier (*Self and Society in Medieval France: the Memoirs of abbot Guibert of Nogent (c. 1064?–c. 1125)*, edited with an introduction and notes by John F. Benton (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

²⁶ This was the subject of a doctoral thesis by Michael Coupe which Colin supervised ('The Gesta Dei per Francos of Abbot Guibert de Nogent', PhD, thesis, University of Southampton, 1986). See also M.D. Coupe, 'The Personality of Guibert de Nogent Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 317–29.

²⁷ 'Judicium Dei: the social and political significance of the ordeal in the eleventh century', in D. Baker (ed.), *Church, Society and Politics: Papers read at the thirteenth summer meeting and the tenth winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 12; 1975), pp. 95–111.

(1215) of all clerical involvement in ordeals. The ordeal had been central in judicial procedures in a society where divine participation and intervention in both litigation and warfare was seen as essential and desirable to counter the unpredictability and partiality of secular justice. At the same time, during the 11th century it was increasingly co-opted in political and ideological struggles, especially between the papal reformers and the western Emperors. But there was a paradoxical tension which eventually led to the Church's withdrawal from the ordeal procedure. Reform was predicated on the separation of the spiritual (and hence superior) and temporal powers, and an essential distinction between their respective jurisdictions, the former with competence over ecclesiastical, doctrinal and moral issues, the latter over secular matters. In such a world, the ordeal, straddling both spheres, was an anomaly and it is not surprising that leading canonists, and supporters of reform, such as Ivo of Chartres were beginning to question its role.

Just as were so many of Colin's articles, this was ground-breaking. In the bibliography to *The Papal Monarchy* he writes of the 'immense literature on the judicial use of the ordeal'.²⁸ It is easy to overlook the fact that when Colin wrote there was virtually nothing written recently in English (though the subject had been addressed almost a century earlier both by Stubbs and Pollock and Maitland) on the early medieval ordeal (though there was quite a substantial literature in German).²⁹ But only a few years later legal historians, such as Paul Hyams, social and religious historians such as Robert Bartlett and Peter Brown, though not necessarily directly influenced by Colin, brought further insights.³⁰

The papal reform did not only aim to re-balance relations between ecclesiastical and secular authority, it also looked to re-order secular society, and nowhere was this more apparent and more successful than in the construction of a new, explicitly Christianised model of knighthood. In 'Equestris ordo: Chivalry as a Vocation in the Twelfth Century',³¹ Colin analysed the transformation of the *milites*, who were frequently violent and predatory and who comprised a disparate group of fighting men from the socially lowly to the highest nobility, into a homogenous, Christian *ordo* that was underpinned by ecclesiastically-administered ritual, and given theoretical justification through the writings of

²⁸ *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 587–8.

²⁹ Though he seems to have ignored the conclusions of J.W. Baldwin, 'The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 613–36.

³⁰ P.R. Hyams, 'Trial by ordeal: the key to proof in the early common law', in M.S. Arnold, T.A. Green, S.A. Scully & S.D. White (eds), *On the Laws and Customs of England: Essays In Honor of Samuel E. Thorne* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 90–126; R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: the Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); P. Brown, 'Society and the Supernatural: a Mediaeval Change', *Daedalus*, 104 (1975), 133–51.

³¹ C. Morris, 'Equestris ordo: Chivalry as a Vocation in the Twelfth Century', in D. Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: biographical and sociological problems for the church historian: Papers read at the sixteenth summer meeting and the seventeenth winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 15; 1978), pp. 87–96.

reformers, notably pope Gregory VII and his promotion of the *milites sancti Petri*, and Bernard of Clairvaux in his *In praise of the new militia*, but also via vernacular poems and songs and sermons. Knighthood was made, if not quite the equivalent of the monastic vocation, at least worthy to stand alongside it in a Christian commonwealth which now included all sorts and conditions. This is not to say that this was the *sole* interpretation of what knighthood meant: its ethos and ideals sat especially uneasily with another articulation of knightly behaviour (which was also to have a long and influential history) found in the tropes and codes of courtly love. And parallel to this development came a new distinction between fighting men, between those who comprised a divinely sanctioned *ordo*, the *militia Christi*, most obviously expressed by the crusaders, above all in the military orders, and the *malitia* of the unregenerate fighting man on the other hand.

A collaborative article written with his friend and colleague, Ernest Blake (himself an eminent historian of the crusades), re-evaluated the role of Peter the Hermit in the preaching of the First Crusade.³² It provides a careful examination both of the primary sources and also of later historiography. Contemporary French chroniclers tended to emphasise pope Urban II as primarily responsible for initiating the crusade, while an alternative tradition chiefly deriving from German chroniclers placed greater emphasis on Peter as *primus auctor*. Though this second interpretation had largely been discounted by modern historians, this paper made a cogent case for Peter's 'rehabilitation' as promoter of a movement which was given its impetus from popular movements rather than papal pronouncements.

In 1993 Colin retired as professor emeritus, and he could continue his research unencumbered by university obligations. He already had a long-standing and fruitful association with the Ecclesiastical History Society and was a frequent speaker at the Society's annual conferences. Release from the burdens of teaching and administration gave him an opportunity to serve on the Society's Committee from 1995 to 2001, and as its President in 1998–9. At the same time, an Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship funded research on the continent, including visits to Bologna and other 'copies' of the Holy Sepulchre in Italy, Switzerland and Germany, which was shortly to result in a number of publications.

So, there came a late flowering. In the same year as his retirement, he published two further articles on the First Crusade. The first turned to another crusading eye-witness narrative which was to have a significant impact on the development of crusading ideology during the 12th century, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum*

³² E.O. Blake & C. Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War; Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', in W.J. Sheils (ed.), *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition: Papers read at the 1984 summer meeting and the 1985 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 22; 1985), pp. 79–107.

Hierosolimitanorum.³³ Colin argued that, though at first sight a work of unsophisticated Latinity, that is to read it through a Ciceronian lens less appropriate to 12th-century writers, it should rather (like *La conquête de Constantinople*) be regarded as reflecting the styles and conventions of the *chansons de geste* and should be situated within the same milieu. The author, whether layman or clerk (and a strong case is made that the author was a cleric), came from the same cultural background as his audience. It is both a theologically informed 'Latin *chanson de geste* and an expression of God's great deeds through the militia Christi'.³⁴

The second article, 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade', considered how definitions of martyrdom underwent radical change during the First Crusade. It had been previously understood as applying solely to those who had died rather than renounce their faith, but there was now a 'new route', by which all those who died in combat fighting for Christendom could be hailed as martyrs. Though this transition was already recognised by medievalists, this paper's originality lay in how Colin traced its emergence from earlier models.³⁵ Though a few cults had developed before the 11th century around rulers who had died at the hands of pagans, and while warfare was certainly regarded as a sacred duty for a Christian warrior, those who fell in battle were not regarded as martyrs, even though they might be promised eternal rewards if they did fall. Even Urban II when he launched the First Crusade did not promise a martyr's crown, but remission of penance. It was only gradually thereafter that the doctrine was articulated, and sprang not so much from papal pronouncements as from divine revelation and intervention, especially through the mechanism of visions.

From now on virtually all of Colin's publications would be focused on the crusades and Jerusalem. An exception was a rare venture into Italian ecclesiastical history, a study of the life and cult of San Ranieri of Pisa.³⁶ Even here, however, both crusades and Jerusalem were important elements in the narrative. Its examination of the life and posthumous miracles of a lay saint, who just stayed within the bounds of orthodoxy and whose career shows some similarities with Francis of Assisi, sheds considerable light on the belief world of the laity. Though never formally canonised, Ranieri yet became the paramount patron of Pisa (indeed his close association with his native city may have been a contributory factor in the failure of the cult to develop elsewhere). His spiritual

³³ C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 19 (1993), 55–71.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

³⁵ C. Morris, 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade', in D. Wood (ed.),

Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers read at the 1992 summer meeting and the 1993 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society (Studies in Church History, 30; 1993), pp. 93–104.

³⁶ C. Morris, 'San Ranieri of Pisa: the Power and Limitations of Sanctity in Twelfth-Century Italy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 588–99.

transformation resulted from conversion while on a business journey to the Holy Land. Living as a holy man, miracle worker and hermit, he spent long periods at the Holy Sepulchre and other Holy Places, including Bethlehem. His 'life seems to have reflected many of the characteristics of contemporary piety: attending the offices at the Holy Sepulchre, but above all shaped by a devotion to the historical Jesus: he observed strictly the forty days' fasting in the wilderness for Lent, and had a vision of the Transfiguration'.³⁷ He returned to a flourishing city, which had long had crusading ties, and which was now building churches inspired by the Holy Sepulchre, a subject to which Colin was soon to turn in more detail.

Then in rapid succession came five more studies. In the first he returned to Peter the Hermit, with 'Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers', which developed an interpretation of Peter's career he had first presented in 1985,³⁸ and which was a paper he had given at a conference, organised by a younger historian of the crusades, Jonathan Phillips. The same year (1997) saw the appearance of one of his most carefully-crafted and significant publications: 'Bringing the Holy Sepulchre to the West: S. Stefano, Bologna, from the Fifth to the Twentieth Centuries'.³⁹ This was an examination of how an extraordinary complex of buildings, often itself styled 'Jerusalem', and comprising an imaginative representation and interpretation of the holy places associated with the Passion and Resurrection, constantly evolved over a millennium and a half in response to changing patterns of devotion and changing political realities, notably the collapse of the crusades. Its development culminated in well-meaning but inaccurate restorations in the 19th and 20th centuries which, in a disastrous, if well-meaning, attempt at a dubious 'authenticity', destroyed 'a unique historical palimpsest' that reflected shifting attitudes to, and understandings of, the Holy Sepulchre over many centuries. Though from the beginning Colin had utilised visual sources in his work, this was the first time that he directly focused on a building for detailed analysis. It was also the precursor of two other articles: the first, 'Picturing the crusades: the uses of visual propaganda, c. 1095–1250', demonstrated how far crusading ideology was embedded in medieval society.⁴⁰ A great communicator himself, Colin was always interested in the communication and the transmission of ideas that moulded what could even then be described as popular opinion, as his inaugural lecture had testified. He was

³⁷ Ibid., 591.

³⁸ See above, p. 447.

³⁹ C. Morris, 'Bringing the Holy Sepulchre to the West: S. Stefano, Bologna, from the Fifth to the Twentieth Centuries', in R.N. Swason (ed.), *The Church Retrospective: Papers read at the 1995 summer meeting and the 1996 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 33; 1997), pp. 31–59.

⁴⁰ C. Morris, 'Picturing the Crusades: the Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095–1250', in J. France & W.G. Zajac (eds), *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 1998), pp. 195–216.

particularly preoccupied with how crusading ideals and propaganda were promulgated, whether through the portrayal of the crusades in chronicles, such as in accounts of Peter the Hermit or Geoffrey de Villehardouin, or via sermons, hagiography, relics, songs or visually. He had already considered some of these aspects in earlier articles, in particular a general analysis of how the crusading idea was disseminated during the 12th century,⁴¹ and in his detailed analysis of the events surrounding the discovery of the Holy Lance of Antioch, in a *Festschrift* for his old undergraduate tutor, John Prestwich.⁴² The third paper, 'Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades', completes this later trilogy.⁴³ It showed that, at the same time as pilgrimage to the Holy Places was increasing from the late 10th century onwards, so in the reverse direction Jerusalem and especially the Holy Sepulchre were brought to the West in manifold ways, through liturgical practice and the dramatising of the Passion and Resurrection, Palm Sunday processions, devotional poetry and hymns, through the import of relics, especially of the Holy Cross, and the foundation of churches and monasteries to house them. Relics stimulated affective devotion: crucifixes, which often themselves contained relics, increasingly emphasised Christ's sufferings and humanity, and expressed their donors and owners' bond with their Saviour (a development which, of course, Colin had already emphasised in *The Discovery of the Individual*). Above all, he showed how Jerusalem could be built here in the West through the visual refashioning and reimagination of the Holy Sepulchre in buildings, which were not intended as replicas either of the 1st-century place of burial or of its own recreation in Constantinian Jerusalem, but as symbolic representations. Though such buildings are not to be compared with the realism of later tableaux of the Stations of the Cross familiar across western Europe in the later Middle Ages and beyond or, for example, with the extraordinary complex at Görlitz, they yet served as a focus for devotion. Sometimes a chapel, as at Constance or

⁴¹ C. Morris, 'Propaganda for War: the Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century', in W.J. Shiels (ed.), *The Church and War: Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 20; 1983), pp. 79–101.

⁴² C. Morris, 'Policy and Visions: the Case of the Holy Lance of Antioch', in J. Gillingham & J.C. Holt (eds), *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1984), pp. 43–5. This remains a seminal article, but see also especially T.S. Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 33 (2007), 3–36, J. France, 'Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew', *Crusades*, 5 (2006), 1–20, and M. Kjørmo, *Holy Lance of Antioch: A Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade*, unpubl. thesis, University of Bergen, 2009, <https://www.medievalists.net/2010/08/the-holy-lance-of-antioch-a-study-on-the-impact-of-a-perceived-relic-du>

⁴³ C. Morris, 'Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: Papers read at the 1998 summer meeting and the 1999 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 36; 2000), pp. 90–109.

Aquileia, or even the whole church, as at Paderborn, was intended to reflect the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; elsewhere smaller structures might serve as sites of liturgical performance within a church (sometimes within the crypt), as at late 10th-century Canterbury.

Though from the first Colin had used such sources to good effect, it is only in these later works that visual sources are foregrounded. Throughout his life Colin was a great traveller and there were few European countries he had never visited at some point in his long life. Family holidays had always revolved round good churches, and good restaurants! Many of the former figure prominently in these studies. And following retirement, as a lecturer on Viking cruises, he was enabled to continue his travels including the Baltic, Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the Mediterranean, travels which enjoyably enriched his post-retirement research. His most enriching journey was to follow the crusaders and pilgrims to the Holy Land, where he visited Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the other Holy Places.

The practice and ideology of pilgrimage in the medieval Western Church, whether armed, as were the crusades, or peaceful, had always been a focus for Colin's research, and these papers served as hors d'oeuvres to the main course, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: from the Beginning to 1600*.⁴⁴ This was his last book. It was, however, preceded by a wide-ranging volume of essays, which he edited with Peter Roberts, on aspects of the pilgrimage experience in England from the time of Becket to Bunyan.⁴⁵ Besides writing the introduction, he also contributed an essay focusing on English pilgrimages to Jerusalem.⁴⁶ Rather than concentrating on the pilgrimage journey itself, Colin examined pilgrims' eye-witness accounts of the Holy Places, such as the remarkable itineraries of that indefatigable pilgrim, William Wey, fellow of Eton. In crossing the 'medieval-modern divide' the collection brought fresh perspectives to our understanding of the pilgrimage phenomenon in England, and, while pointing to remarkable continuities over half a millennium, it also demonstrated how there was a gradual transformation from an emphasis on a 'physical' to a 'spiritual' pilgrimage. Pilgrimage of the heart had certainly long been a tradition in both Eastern and Western spirituality, but Colin emphasised how, because a physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem, always difficult for pilgrims from the British Isles on the periphery of mainland Europe, was becoming increasingly hazardous and sometimes impossible, in the later Middle Ages it was replaced not only by 'easier' pilgrimages, perhaps to Compostela but especially to British shrines, but also by alternative inner expressions and experiences, as typified by English

⁴⁴ C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴⁵ C. Morris & P. Roberts, *Pilgrimage: the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ Ibid, 'Introduction', pp. 1–11; 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages', 141–63.

mystics such as Walter Hilton, while the life of Margery Kempe bridged ‘the gap between outward pilgrimage and inner experience’.⁴⁷ At the same time, pilgrims such as Wey brought back relics from the Holy Land for themselves and their churches, thereby enabling a continuing vicarious pilgrimage experience at home.

The Sepulchre of Christ stands as a summation of Colin’s interest in Jerusalem, pilgrimage, popular devotion, the crusades, and liturgy (the importance of which is sometimes ignored in studies of this kind). It begins with the first evidence of pious interest in the Holy Sepulchre, and the Holy Places in Jerusalem more generally, before the conversion of Constantine and the consequent reimagining of the sepulchre and its emergence as the major focus of pilgrimage devotion. It concludes over 1300 years later in the 17th century, by which time the conquest of Jerusalem by the Ottoman Turks in 1516 effectively put an end to the flow of pilgrims, which was already only a trickle, while in Europe the incentive for pilgrimage was largely vitiated by Protestant antipathy and a post-Tridentine Catholicism which emphasised inner devotion to the Passion rather than physical veneration at the holy sites. This was a magisterial study which, read alongside the more specifically art-historical and archaeological analysis by Martin Biddle,⁴⁸ published a few years earlier, provided a fresh reading of the role of the Sepulchre and its transmutations in response to changing religious, and indeed, political mentalities.⁴⁹ As Richard Kieckhefer wrote in a perceptive, and sometimes critical, review: ‘Without question this book is now the definitive work in its field ... [he] has succeeded in giving us a fuller sense of how that wonder [at the Sepulchre] found expression among Western Europe and over centuries of shifting circumstance and cultural transformation’.⁵⁰

Of Colin’s three major works, the first, *The Discovery of the Individual*, was certainly the most provocative and controversial, and was arguably the most influential; the second, *The Papal Monarchy*, the most masterly and impressive in its scope and depth, and in its deft handling of such an extensive body of evidence; while the third, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, is perhaps the most personal, reflecting, as it does, Colin’s deep understanding (and love) of its subject, and representing the culmination of decades of research. He mapped many new, and previously untrodden, roads, few of which have proved to be dead ends. Much of what he wrote is now part of the *lingua franca* of medievalists, and for that reason it is easy to forget how innovative much of his research was at the time. As dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants (to employ a metaphoric aphorism first coined during the 12th-century renaissance), historians are

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 150.

⁴⁸ M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000).

⁴⁹ Though see now the major collection of papers in R. Griffith Jones & E. Fernie (eds), *Tomb and Temple: Re-Imagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2018), a book which would have delighted Colin.

⁵⁰ R. Kieckhefer, *Church History*, 75 (2006), 183–4.

able to see further and more than the giants, but without those shoulders our sight would be greatly diminished.

Colin's retirement also enabled him to take up pastoral service once again. He received Permission to Officiate at St Michael and All Angels church, Bassett, Southampton, and served there for many years. He had always been a fine preacher, and his sermons whilst he was at Pembroke were famous, but in these last years of ministry his preaching was, in the words of Professor Leonie Hicks (a member of the congregation, and herself a noted medievalist), 'an absolute treat, distilling message, exegesis and a great deal of historical context into ten minutes'.

Almost to the end he remained, what he had always been, a most convivial raconteur, with a lively sense of humour (often directed at himself) and fun, and an infectious and memorable laugh. Throughout he retained a strong interest both in the research of others and in his own. Though sadly affected by dementia towards the end of his life, the last time I saw him we happily discussed the Cistercians in 12th-century France, and their abbeys, many of which he remembered and knew well. And during his very last days he was still attempting to articulate new thoughts on crusading warfare.

Colin died peacefully at the Mayflower nursing home in Southampton on 19 September 2021. His burial at the Hinton Park Woodland Burial Ground on 7 October was followed by a memorial service in the 12th-century church of St Michael the Archangel, Southampton. A memorial service was held at his old college, Queen's, on 16 August 2022. Tributes included those from Canon John Nightingale, a Pembroke undergraduate of his, and a close friend, Professors Tessa Webber, a former colleague at Southampton, and Leonie Hicks, a medievalist successor at Southampton. A setting of the *Kontakion* by Harry Brama, who was organ scholar at Pembroke during Colin's first years at the college, and who also remained a close friend, provided a fitting musical tribute, while a hymn sung at that service, Peter Abelard's 'O quanta qualia sunt illa sabbata', translated by J.M. Neale, 'O what their joy and glory must be', was an inspired and apt choice. Written by one of the greatest of 12th-century theologians and philosophers, and who often appeared in Colin's work, and who more than anyone else in that age of self-discovery sought to know himself, translated with great sensitivity by another great scholar and priest whose churchmanship was in many respects similar to Colin's, and with its vision of the peace of Jerusalem which Abelard sought, just as did the pilgrims of whom Colin wrote, and as did Colin himself, it perfectly encapsulated many aspects of his life. At his funeral his son summed up the principles by which his father lived: 'Be kind, be truthful, be curious.' There is no finer testimony to his life, ministry, and scholarship.

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