Reviews

Ashe, Laura, Philip **Knox**, David **Lawton**, and Wendy **Scase**, eds, *New Medieval Literatures 18*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2018; hardback; pp. 242; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781843844914.

Each of the seven essays in this collection unfolds as a substantial work of scholarship that illuminates aspects of early or high medieval culture. Each contribution either questions received ideas about particular writings, or applies a new approach, or deepens understanding of a literary canon. The following outlines do not do justice to the breadth of evidence and subtlety of analysis on which each author bases her findings.

Megan Cavell unfolds wide-ranging scholarship in a study of arachnophobia in early English literature—a topic that proves unexpectedly fruitful. She reveals that Old and Middle English authors, such as the translators of Boethius and the *Physiologus*, and the poet of the *Owl and the Nightingale*, rejected Latin authors' admiration for spiders as skilful weavers. Instead, they followed the Bible and its commentators in depicting them as dangerous, deceitful, dirty, and at times monstrous. This essay's uncovering of spiders' normalized gendering as feminine opens the prospect of historical research into their role in European misogyny. The same genus resurfaces as a topic in Hannah Bower's study, 'The Poetics of Late Medieval Medical Texts' (pp. 192–95). This broadly based study tests the applicability of 'literary' to late medieval vernacular recipes, remedies, and uroscopy texts by examining the figures—mainly similes—that they contain. An unconventional comparison between Gilbert of England's and Julian of Norwich's similes of rain falling from the eaves, the former applied to the passing of urine and the latter to Christ's blood, proves to be meticulous and fair-minded.

Four essays share an interest in hermits, anchoresses, monks, saints, or devils. Hilary Powell argues that saints' lives were read, not for their (often unlikely) literal truth, but in order to experience 'a transcendent truth about divine grace' (p. 49). Osbern of Canterbury seems to have invented the tale of St Dunstan's grabbing the devil's nose with a pair of tongs. Embellished by Eadmer and paralleled before and after in other saints' lives, the story became a favourite in manuscript art. Powell proposes that such tales supplied meditators with mental images that fended off diabolic assaults in the form of intrusive thoughts. Next, Heather Blurton reconsiders the songs of a second hermit monk, St Godric of Finchale, as the work of a composer who was literate in Latin, but who chose (or was divinely inspired) to write in English. On this basis, she suggests that eleventh- and twelfth-century liturgy permitted the incorporation of some vernacular songs. Thirdly, Jenny C. Bledsoe analyses the role of devils in two saints' lives of the Katherine Group. In a technique that may have inspired C. S. Lewis's wartime

devil Screwtape, *Seinte Iuliene* suspends readers between sympathy and horror before returning them to an orthodox disgust for Belial in a comic denouement. Likewise, Saint Margaret's demon inadvertently instructs readers in temptation, confession, the Four Last Things, and contemplation of Christ's passion. In a fourth essay concerning demons, Isabella Wheater draws on correspondences newly discovered between Langland's B-Text and Hugh of Fouilloy's *Aviarium*. She offers fresh interpretations of hawks and other raptors in depictions of Haukyn, Mede, Envy, Covetise, Sleuthe, and Piers/Perkyn. *Piers Plowman* is the most arcane and profuse of canonical Middle English poems, with the result that multiplying etymologies and speculative source studies in this article tend to overwhelm. The reader will therefore find it helpful to begin at the moving and lucid 'Conclusion' (pp. 178–82).

Finally, Cathy Hume offers new insights into the verse *Life of Job*, possibly written in London between 1430 and 1470, and surviving uniquely in San Marino, CA, MS Huntington 140. This contribution builds on recent reappraisals of fifteenth-century literary culture as one in which, despite Arundel's 1408–09 Constitutions against dissemination of the Wycliffite Bible, biblical literature continued to flourish. *Job*'s close relationship with the Bible, which its author documents in marginal glosses, nevertheless makes it an 'outlier' (p. 214) to episcopally-licensed commentaries such as Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (*c*. 1410). Hume also draws attention to a feminist insertion and to possible dramatic performance of this work.

Since *New Medieval Literatures 18* is an issue in a series, not an edited collection, there is no requirement for thematic unity. I hope however that this review has highlighted some of the probably inadvertent congruences among the contributions. The book emerges as the product, not merely of the named writers and editors, but of a community of scholars whose assistance most of the authors acknowledge. The reader's effort in comprehending such detailed scholarship will be fully rewarded by the knowledge gained. In this twenty-first century of wars, droughts, terrorism, bushfires, and epidemics, the barbarians may be gathering, but for as long as learned books such as this continue to be published, we can trust in the drawbridge staying safely raised.

Cheryl Taylor, *James Cook University*

Auer, Anita, Denis **Renevey**, Camille **Marshall**, and Tino O**udesluijs**, eds, *Revisiting the Medieval North of England: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages), Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2019; paperback; pp. 240; R.R.P. £35.00; ISBN 9781786833952.

This volume assembles nine essays presented at the international workshop 'Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the North of England in the Later Middle Ages', held at the University of Lausanne in September 2015. The workshop brought together scholars from a variety of disciplines who have carried out seminal

research on sources relating to the north of England in the Middle Ages. The emphasis of this collection is on the production, dissemination, and readership of manuscripts in the North, and particularly the 'fluidity of boundaries and communication' (p. 3) that occurred in England during this period.

Many of the essays concern northern English religious identities. Denis Renevey's chapter discusses Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole. Examining two Middle English translations of Rolle's Latin treatise devoted to the Name of Jesus, *Encomium Oleum Effusum Nomen Tuum,* Renevey concludes that one is 'replete with northernisms' (p. 20), whilst the other has none. Rolle's prominence as an author of religious prose texts is also highlighted by Merja Stenroos, who considers northern Middle English as a written medium, especially surviving late-medieval texts written in a northern dialect. Stenroos finds that evidence suggests that readers in the North read mainly pious and meditative texts, whilst their southern counterparts preferred secular texts such as romances.

Ralph Hanna and Christiania Whitehead celebrate the cult of St Cuthbert. Hanna's 'northern hermit-lit' of the title illuminates the behaviours associated with eremitism by examining the *vitae* of three northern hermits, including St Cuthbert. Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* describes Cuthbert's eremitic behaviour, including walking into the freezing North Sea at night to pray until matins (p. 74). Whitehead's essay also uses *vitae* of St Cuthbert and two other north-eastern hermits in an attempt to discover the relationship between northern England and Scandinavia in medieval times. Whilst the vignettes selected by Whitehead to prove this relationship are thoughtful, they do not greatly reveal the relationship between the north of England and Scandinavia. However, the symbiotic importance of trade between Scandinavia and the North-East at this time is highlighted.

Richard Beadle and Anita Auer take two different approaches to the York Corpus Christi Plays. Beadle's study is concerned with the child actors who appeared in the plays, especially prepubescent boys playing female roles. Due to a paucity of extant sources, there is a lot of conjecture in Beadle's findings, although this is a preliminary investigation of a never-before-researched topic. Auer's interest in the York Plays is in their ability to contribute to a better understanding of the development of standard English. Looking at the forty-eight plays, preserved in one manuscript and available as a critical edition by Beadle, Auer examines the third person singular present tense—both the southern and the northern dialect marker. Comprehensive tables of the distribution of the variants in the York Plays (pp. 116–17) indicate that the northern form is the more dominant of the two, stressing the importance of the North in the development of standard English.

The late fifteenth century is the focus for Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa and Marleen Cré's papers, where devotional reading and northern spiritual culture are debated respectively. Yoshikawa discusses the emergence of reading communities of northern aristocratic women in the late fifteenth century, an indication of both a market for devotional texts specifically translated using northern dialect, and a demographic of their readership. Northern spiritual culture is discussed by Cré,

who focuses on *A Pystille Made to a Cristene Frende*, a translation of the central section of *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem.* Cré observes that the manuscript in which this translation can be found is written in a northern dialect and thus intended to be read in the North. Like Yoshikawa's essay, there is a lot of emphasis on the content of the manuscript rather than its northernness, but Cré does highlight the mobility of texts in late fifteenth-century England.

The volume ends with a comparative study of Old Northumbrian Standard (ONbr) and West Saxon Standard by Marcelle Cole. Cole gives an interesting account of how Irish monks on 'proselytising missions' (p. 137) in the mid-sixth century did much to convert the locals to Christianity as well as influencing the language of the northern kingdom of Northumbria.

Whilst the essays in this volume open up the dialogue about the importance of northern texts in late medieval England, it is disappointing to note the limited number of interdisciplinary perspectives. There is an over-representation of authors based in English departments of universities. Additionally, the focus on reproduced manuscripts fails to acknowledge the variety of English sources from the late medieval period that survive *in situ* in northern cities and towns. Only Auer comments on the need to compare the reproduced manuscripts with those written by local scribes to discover whether 'supralocalization' is actually taking place (p. 120). These observations aside, the essays are meticulous in their approaches and do illuminate northern influence in the development of standard English, as well as identifying influential northern writers and literary practices in late-medieval northern England.

Loretta A. Dolan, *The University of Western Australia*

Baker, Gary P., Craig L. **Lambert**, and David **Simpkin**, eds, *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton* (Warfare in History), Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2018; hardback; pp. 324; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781783272983.

An approach and method still unfamiliar to many, prosopographical research can be considered the 'big data' of historians. It investigates the patterns and common characteristics of a group through its collective biography or, more elegantly described by Katherine Keats-Rohan in her article 'Prosopography and Computing: A Marriage Made in Heaven?': 'what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connection between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the institutions—social, political, legal, economic, intellectual—of their time' (K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *History and Computing*, 12 (2000), 1–11). This collection of essays is dedicated to a pioneer of this research method, Andrew Ayton, whose influence and contributions to the field of medieval military history are unmistakable. Coining the term 'military community', Ayton described how medieval armies were 'products and extensions of the social fabric and structure of late medieval

society' (p. xx)—they were influenced by social and political relationships, but also by the communities of mind, of experience, and of enterprise.

Among the essays in this collection, several contributors have stayed close to Ayton's own research. The equine theme of his earlier work is continued by Michael Prestwich and by Robert Jones, the former considering the questions surrounding the size of the (supposedly sizeable) destriers in the army of Edward I, while the latter focuses on the origins and roles of hobelars during the Scottish wars. Other contributors seek to further refine the conclusions drawn from Ayton's research. Peter Coss examines the impact of military service and community in the evolution of the gentry, resulting in a more nuanced view on the many aspects that shaped gentle society and social status. Military service was not necessarily a 'lever' to gain status. As Coss states: 'The military community did much to determine the structure of the gentry and its relations with the higher nobility. But military service cannot be elevated to the level of prime mover' (pp. 48–49).

Much in the same line of thought, David Simpkin focuses on the diminishing significance of the knights banneret. Despite their essential role in military recruitment, by the early fifteenth century the rank of knight banneret lacked the substantial civilian dimension it needed to remain meaningful; as Simpkin himself emphasizes, a topic compelling further investigation.

Towards the end of the book, Craig L. Lambert argues for a revaluation of the military importance of the Cinque Ports. The so-called naval-decline theory claims these ports had all but lost their influence by the time of Edward III's reign. Viewing the ports as a military community, much like the land-based type Ayton identifies in his military contexts, Lambert makes a compelling case against this naval-decline theory. The persistent involvement of England in wars created a highly militarized environment; with proper research, new light might be cast on the influence of the coastal towns and the marines that shaped them.

The final essay shows the amount of information that can be drawn from garrison lists; Anne Curry skilfully calculates the number of English soldiers involved in the defence of Normandy in 1436. Through careful reconstruction of the distribution of troops over the months, Curry points to an increase in the size of the garrisons in the early summer, underlining the 'massive effort made by the English to preserve their position in the wake of a veritable crisis' (p. 260). The implications of these garrison sizes, namely that these were centrally dictated, show interesting options for further research of these subjects.

Military Communities in Late Medieval England stands out among other Festschriften through its impressive consistency and high quality of research. The contributions all adhere closely to the central theme, the focus on the contribution of social communities to the subtleties of war, resulting in a collection well worth reading. This collection of essays feels like a coherent whole, with close links to Ayton's past works and significant cross-linkages between contributions. It stands as a testimony to his influence, enthusiasm, and significance.

Flora Guijt, *Gouda, The Netherlands*

Beer, Jeanette, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Translation* (Arc Companions), Yorkshire, Arc Humanities Press, 2019; hardback; pp. 208; R.R.P. £117.00, US$149.00; ISBN 9781641891837.

This volume is one of the Arc Humanities Press's new 'Arc Companions' series, which presents commissioned overviews of topics by experts in their field, evidently aimed at a student market. It brings together informative contributions on medieval translation by established scholars, covering major projects of medieval translation—the Bible and religious texts, scientific texts, the Matter of Britain (from one European vernacular to another); the use of translation by prominent authors (Christine de Pizan, Dante, and Chaucer); translation in particular linguistic areas; theoretical approaches to the study of medieval translation; and reflections by translators (one medieval and one modern) on their work. This is very much the story of translation in the Latin West, giving most space to translation in England, France, and Italy. Scandinavia is represented in one chapter, and German and Polish translations of the Psalms are mentioned, but the wider absence of the German and Dutch speaking regions and the Iberian Peninsula is striking.

The publisher's website declares that one of their aims is to 'open students up to the idea that research is evolving, debatable, and contested and not always definitive' (<https://www.aup.nl/en/series/arc-companions>). Bearing that in mind, it would have been useful to have a quick overview of the research into medieval translation that has proliferated over the last thirty years. But while this work is amply referenced in the contributions to the *Companion to Medieval Translation*, the book does not engage directly with it, rather providing surveys and examples from the range of medieval translation activities (expressed as 'highlights', p. 4), with the apparent goal of enhancing the appreciation of medieval literary texts, and of 'the similarities and the differences between medieval and modern translation practitioners' (p. 11). Debate in the field is represented by the Henry Ansgar Kelly's chapter 'Bible Translation and Controversy in Late Medieval England', which argues against the commonly held scholarly position (represented in Ian Johnson's chapter, 'Middle English Religious Translation') that the translation of the whole Bible made in the fourteenth century was a Wycliffite project.

The introduction begins with some observations about the important role of translation in the medieval world in transmitting knowledge and legitimizing power. It follows this with a quite detailed consideration of the earliest fragments of translation into a Romance vernacular, framed within the differentiation of the Romance vernaculars from Latin. This framing reminds us of how much the question of translation is bound up with translating from Latin but obscures the complex patterns of translation in multilingual Europe, particularly where non-Romance vernaculars are concerned. These complexities are indeed reflected in some of the chapters, and to a certain extent acknowledged in the Historical Note at the end of the introduction, with a reference to 'medieval contexts of bilingualism and trilingualism' (p. 10).

As touched on in the introduction, the word 'translation' encompasses a variety of textual practices, from close rendering of a text into a new language, to composition using material from texts in other languages, with or without acknowledgement (a practice which medieval authors also used with vernacular texts, although none of the contributors mentions this). The chapters approach this variety from different angles. Those dealing with French and English bible translation are mostly dealing with techniques of close translation, although the chapter on psalm translation points to glossing as the earliest vernacular translation practice for biblical texts. The chapters on Christine de Pizan, Dante, and Chaucer all show authors using a variety of types of translation, sometimes themselves distinguishing, as Chaucer does, between translation per se and composition of a new work using another text as a base. Cultural adaptation is a theme in the chapters dealing with the translation of Marie de France's lais into Old Norse and with the production of liturgical dramas in French.

It would have been useful if the introduction had offered some explicit guidance on the book's rationale and the way it might be used. A brief overview of thematic groupings among the chapters is tucked in between a prominent note on translations of foreign quotations in the book and the chapter overviews, which are free-standing summaries that certainly provide the curious reader with information on where they might go to to follow up things that interest them, but do not explicitly link back to larger themes flagged elsewhere in the introduction. Further reading is also scattered among the bibliographies of the individual chapters and the general bibliography at the end. It is also hard to see how readers might use the list of papers given at the Kalamazoo translation sessions, and there is no indication given as to how they might be followed up in a published form.

Nonetheless, there is no question about the value and quality of the content of this book; it will be a useful resource for students and researchers new to the field of medieval translation.

Janice Pinder, *Monash University*

Bhreathnach, Edel, Małgorzata **Krasnodębska-D'Aughton**, and Keith **Smith**, eds, *Monastic Europe: Medieval Communities, Landscapes, and Settlements* (Medieval Monastic Studies, 4), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; hardback; pp. xx, 553; 70 b/w, 32 colour illustrations, 20 b/w maps, 18 colour maps, 6 b/w tables; R.R.P. €75.00; ISBN 9782503569796.

Readers might expect to feel on well-trodden ground with a volume that deals with monastic 'communities, landscapes and settlements', for these are themes universally applicable to the study of any monastery, and not just those in the European Christian tradition. Familiar though these themes may be, the case studies presented in the book under review are sure to introduce readers to many locations and foundations rarely encountered in mainstream West-European monastic historiography. The twenty-one chapters, nineteen of which originated as

conference papers delivered in Ennis, Ireland, in 2015, constitute a veritable *tour d'horizon* of monastic Europe. They are striking for the breadth of geographical coverage they embrace and for the range of ancillary disciplines they draw on: psychogeography and archaeology, to name but two. In this respect, *Monastic Europe* provides a companion volume to *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe* (2013), which appeared in the Brepols series 'Medieval Church Studies' (reviewed in *Parergon*, 31.2 (2014), 178–80).

This volume is far more than just a well-edited collection of reworked conference papers. Notwithstanding the variety of methodological approaches and varying degrees of scholarly acumen, *Monastic Europe* gels into a coherent and stimulating exploration of lesser-known monastic cultures. Contributions are organized around three themes: identification of the *familia monastica*; monasticism's role in shaping landscapes and patterns of settlement; and monastic environments and economies. Chief editor, Edel Bhreathnach, provides an excellent introduction that includes detailed observations and insightful cross-references to areas of commonality in contributors' chapters. And what is highlighted in her introduction one can follow up by consulting the well-designed index that combines key topics, personalia (inter alia twenty-nine saints), establishments (144 monasteries no less), place names, and curiosities such as the 'culdees'.

While some of the chapters strike this reviewer as heavy on amassed detail and a little light on interpretation, all chapters have the great asset of an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. Collectively, at over seventy-eight pages net, they constitute a rich resource, not readily available elsewhere, for further research. Readers will no doubt bring to *Monastic Europe* their own special interests and areas of expertise. Women's houses figure importantly in only three chapters (Chapters 11, 20, and 21), a reflection perhaps of the paucity of information generally about female monasticism. That is not the case, however, with Portugal. It boasted no fewer than eight Poor Clare monasteries, four of them royal foundations. It is a pity that Catarina Almeida Marado's enlightening coverage of Portuguese Franciscan houses takes no account of them. While music, per se, is nowhere mentioned in the volume, musicologists, and especially those interested in Notre Dame polyphony, will surely want to read Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo's chapter (Chapter 14) on San Domingo de Silos. Their eye will also be caught by the passing references in Chapters 1 and 11 to the *céli Dé* (anglicized as 'culdees'), the ancient Celtic order that metamorphosed into a secular chapter and eventually into the royal chapel of St Andrew's Priory, Scotland, which possessed a copy of Notre Dame's *Magnus liber organi*.

While space does not permit detailed discussion of individual chapters, it would be remiss not to highlight the impressive contributions by Alf Tore Hommedal (Chapter 2) and Frederik Felskau (Chapter 9). Hommedal weaves together a fascinating tale that unfolded during the eleventh century, centred on the remote Norwegian island of Selja, the site of an episcopal see, home to English Benedictines from St Albans, and the location of the sanctuary of the apocryphal

St Sunniva. He traces the influence of the cult of this saint on the relocation of the bishopric and on the Benedictines' enlightened self-interest in continuing to cultivate her sanctuary as a pilgrimage site even after her translation in 1170 to the new episcopal see of Bergen. Felskau's chapter is a masterful survey of a dynamic period in the ecclesiastical history of Prague under the House of Přemysl, and, specifically, during the reign of Václav I (1230–53). All the major orders had their assigned location and civic duties. Princess Agnes, epistolary correspondent of St Clare of Assisi, had her own grand double-monastery, 'Na Františku', the mother house of numerous Franciscan foundations. Felskau's command of detail and clarity of presentation, not to mention his chapter's fourteen-page bibliography, make his chapter a *vade mecum* for anyone researching the seminal role of Prague and the Přemyslid dynasty in Central-European monastic history.

Monastic Communities provides an insight into how the spiritual quest that animates the phenomenon of monasticism found expression in vastly different social, geographical and cultural milieux, and how monasteries managed to retain their orders' distinctive identities as they engaged with the communities they came to serve.

Robert Curry, *The University of Sydney*

Bjork, Robert E., ed., *Catastrophes and the Apocalyptic in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 43), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; hardback; pp. xii, 207; 21 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €70.00; ISBN 9782503582979.

'No culture in any historical period develops in isolation from its past' (p. 166). With this statement, Joanna Miles (Ludwikowska) begins her essay on late medieval eschatological fears. This sentence, however, also beautifully captures the essence of *Catastrophes and the Apocalyptic in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Each of its essays contains, in some way, a description of how the recurring element of the Apocalypse was shaped, altered, and expressed throughout the centuries and through shifting cultures.

Each of these essays, the result of the 2014 Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (ACMRS) Conference, discusses a specific context in which catastrophes and apocalyptic mentalities are explored. Each essay provides the reader with new insights into one (or more) of the many facets of eschatology. As stated in the introduction, these are far-reaching and sweeping topics (p. x). The authors of these essays have mostly concentrated on medieval crises or catastrophes, covering not just the impact of natural disasters but also social, political, and dogmatic challenges and transformations. The twelve essays are focused on the large meanings, receptions, and interpretations of these catastrophic occurrences and calamities.

The first essay focuses on an eleventh-century Irish sermon describing the perceived flaws of the world and an impending catastrophe that will cleanse

Ireland. The preacher, believing the Irish were God's chosen people, argued the impending punishment was a result of sin. Personal reform and penance, combined with the favour of Saint Patrick, would ensure Ireland would be spared. The narrative doesn't equate the impending disaster with an apocalyptic Final Judgement, but the imagery used in the sermon is 'carefully woven around existing images of judgment and justice' (p. 13).

Catherine Schultz McFarland approaches the topic of eschatology from a different angle, by studying two paintings created by Pieter Bruegel. The paintings were made with only a short interval and focus on the same dramatic object, the Tower of Babel, which is painted in painstaking detail in both pieces, evoking images of a world gripped by 'tensions and frustrations, conflicts and contradictions' (p. 113). Through careful analysis of both paintings, incorporating mathematics, ideology, and cultural changes, Schultz McFarland creates a comprehensive narrative about the iconography of the Tower and the complicated vision of the artist.

Katrina Klaasmeyer also approaches the subject through a painting and its 'use of astrology as a means to predict portents of disaster' (p. 147). The painting, created by Antoine Caron in the 1570s, shows an ominous scene of a fiery sky, a darkened sun, and a small group of people engaged with their scientific instruments. The overall feeling of panic and terror is heightened by small groups of people fleeing the scene, while a statue of Urania, the muse of astrology, extends an arm towards the ominous skies. Klaasmeyer doesn't start with a detailed analysis of the art itself, but discusses the cultural and scientific elements that underpin its message and iconography. She shows how astronomical occurrences, such as eclipses and the passing of comets, brought great unrest and fuelled apocalyptic beliefs. The relationship of humankind and the cosmos, 'of celestial events and earthly affairs', she states, is rooted in our cultures and beliefs (p. 163).

Each essay in *Catastrophes and the Apocalyptic in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* provides the reader with an interesting perspective on eschatology and the apocalyptic. Their analyses and descriptions paint a picture of the vast and complicated influence of eschatology. The broad approach to the topic, with the inclusion of social, cultural, political, and religious shifts, ensures great variety in the essays, both in topic and in the methods used. In my humble opinion, this is both the strength and the fault of this book. It gives the reader a peek into the immensely complicated world of eschatology and its far-reaching influence, but also leaves a sense of limitation as one realizes how small this insight is in regard to the topic. For some, the broad approach of the book could be considered a flaw; it takes away from the coherence and comprehensibility. Others, however, may consider it an invitation into the complexities of eschatology. Whether one enjoys reading such a collection of 'samples', enough to get a taste for the topic but without getting a complete meal, is up to the reader. I, for one, enjoyed it immensely.

Flora Guijt, *Gouda, The Netherlands*

Bombi, Barbara, *Anglo-Papal Relations in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Study in Medieval Diplomacy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019; hardback; pp. xii, 273; R.R.P. £69.00; ISBN 9780198729150.

Barbara Bombi compares diplomatic and administrative practices in England and Avignon and assesses the impact of Anglo-French conflict. Unlike Karsten Plöger, whose *England and the Avignon Popes* (Legenda, 2005) covered cultural and social aspects of diplomacy, Bombi concentrates on administration and diplomatic. Beyond the high politics studied by earlier historians, she considers bureaucratic routine such as provisions and dispensations: the everyday grist to relations dominating the records. She builds on work by T. F. Tout, Pierre Chaplais, Patrick N. R. Zutshi, and Bernard Barbiche, among others.

The book comprises an analysis of institutions and four case studies. An admirable historiographical survey of papal and royal institutions draws on work by Max Weber to categorize the two systems as rational/bureaucratic but patrimonial: personal control remained strong and staff were rewarded by benefices. The more sophisticated papal chancery, less prone to instability and prolonged minorities, did not go out of court like the English one. A 'shared language of diplomacy' incorporating house styles, formularies, and ceremonial practices grew from the spread of the Italian notarial tradition in the thirteenth century. It reflected a rising standard of documentary proof, the need for correct form in papal petitions, and the convenience of a common oral and written idiom. Both institutions systematized archives, with special handling for sensitive correspondence.

Bombi rightly sees these as parallel developments, evolving independently and flexibly. But she identifies a notable exception: rather than rely on rewriting by proctors, the English royal chancery from the 1330s began to compose in the curial house style (*stilus curie Romane*), from which expressions such as *motu proprio* spread into domestic documents.

A chapter on unofficial contacts shows the Crown cultivating friends to compensate for the lack of English cardinals and curialists, offering gifts, pensions, and benefices. From the 1330s, Edward III increasingly relied on curialists but maintained cordial relations with *amici karissimi* among Italian and southern French cardinals, even during the tense 1340s. Turning to official representation, Bombi maps the roles of envoys and proctors and the growing importance of experts in law and dictamen as heads and members of delegations. Papal envoys increasingly came to England as *nuncii*, not in more formal and expensive legatine missions.

These chapters are detailed and authoritative. They synthesize a wide range of recent research, much of it scattered in collections of essays and difficult of access.

The first case study, on the election of Clement V and the accession of Edward II, shows that diplomatic relations intensified through missions and in the routine traffic of provisions, dispensations and the like; the chancery's Roman Rolls date from 1306. The Crown seized the opportunity offered by a Gascon pope

and former royal clerk to bolster its domestic position and hedge with France, while for Clement the English balanced Capetian power.

The second study examines how the Anglo-French war of 1324–25 and English political instability in the 1320s influenced diplomatic practice and records. John XXII's Gascon involvements and war mediation produced the first series of secret registers of sensitive correspondence, organized as topical dossiers rather than chronologically. The Crown's administrative departments were similarly reorganized into a more efficient system, with calendars, registers, and diplomatic dossiers.

The third example traces the mediatory efforts of Pope Benedict XII (r. 1334–42) in the Hundred Years War, culminating in the truce of Esplechin in 1340. Political and military strategy sat alongside ecclesiastical administration, especially a disputed archiepiscopal election at York, in papal and royal diplomacy. The war brought another reorganization of the English wardrobe, privy seal, and chancery to support Edward III's military and diplomatic efforts; these again tracked, independently, changes in Avignon.

The final case study ranges from the battle of Poitiers (1356) to the treaty of Brétigny-Calais (1360), as Innocent VI mediated through his nuncios and underwrote the treaty. Management and recording of diplomatic correspondence increasingly took place not in chancery but in the privy seal office and the apostolic chamber; the Roman Rolls ceased after 1360. These changes allowed speedier action and more direct papal and royal control. Administrators and professional diplomats played a crucial role, using a shared language.

Bombi has produced an authoritative work that bears out her arguments about the growing sophistication of administrative and diplomatic practice as it evolved under pressure of events. Her grasp of the primary sources and the extensive secondary literature is impressive.

There are some minor typographical errors and stylistic infelicities, but substantive slips are rare. The wording on p. 62 implies that lawyers in common bench were trained in the universities; Clement VI confirmed the elections of the abbots of Westminster and St Albans and provided Archbishop Islip in 1349, not the reverse (p. 86, cf. TNA C70/24 m. 2 and *Calendar of Papal Letters*, III, 312, 339). Tighter editing would have eliminated unnecessarily lengthy repetition of themes and conclusions in successive chapters. But these quibbles do not detract from an impressive work.

Peter McDonald, *Canberra, Australian Capital Territory*

Boquet, Damien, and Piroska **Nagy**, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2018; paperback; pp. 350; 13 colour plates; R.R.P. US$28.95; ISBN 9781509514656.

Medieval Sensibilities: *A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages* offers valuable insight into an underexplored, yet developing, field of study in history. Emotions

were an integral part of medieval society, structuring lives, relationships, politics, religion, and creative expression, ordering one's private world and dictating one's public face. In this book, human sensibilities are put into sharp focus as a formative factor in historical processes. Building on the seminal works by Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Georges Duby, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jacques Le Goff amongst others, the volume easily justifies the rightful place of emotions as a focus of historical investigation. Indeed, amongst its many other merits, the tome shows 'that there was nothing secondary or incidental about emotions' (p. 2); implying, therefore, that emotions should not be a secondary or incidental focus of study. Instead, by interrogating emotions on multiple planes and through multiple contexts, the authors demonstrate with alluring vividness just how deeply rooted human sensibilities are, exploring how profoundly connected they are to human action and thought, choice and judgement, devotion and imagination, and identity.

Medieval Sensibilities tracks the evolution of emotions through different ages, regions and orders of European society by focusing on diverse 'emotional communities' from the elite monastic hubs of the early Middle Ages to the ritualized nobility of the high Middle Ages to the commoners of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first chapters of the book offer a contextual basis for the evolution of medieval sensibilities, locating the theological and philosophical foundation of affectivity within early monastic circles and patristic texts. Pursuing the ever-changing contexts and exchanges of mediaeval communities, the authors then successfully demonstrate the almost seamless incorporation of emotion into the political rhetoric and ritual of medieval courts. In the later chapters, Boquet and Nagy demonstrate how these sensibilities were captured in (and transformed by) the medieval literary *topoi* of courtly love. The final chapters consider how later medieval sensibilities were renegotiated through a multitude of lenses (theological, scientific, intellectual, cultural, and more), ultimately reshaping the landscape of (acceptable) European emotion. Here, evolving forms of expression are interrogated, from the passions of princes to the affective piety of female mystics to the exhilaration of public spectacles and ritualized violence. The authors deftly avoid the judgement so easily launched at women and the illiterate, who are typically degraded in the historical record for their excessive emotionality, specifically because both tend to fall outside of the accepted norms of society. The book lucidly demonstrates that, although emotions were very much formalized in text and (recorded) action, they were not simply conjured and affected, controlled and contrived, but represent genuine emotive experiences. An important acknowledgement that has profound implications for how historians study emotions is the authors' tacit awareness that emotions are natural, fluid, and spontaneous to everyone. A strength of this study, then, is Boquet and Nagy's perceptive understanding of the ubiquity and malleability of emotions—their acceptance of all emotion as an authentic expression.

The methodology used, an anthropology of emotions, is almost scientific in its investigation, seeking to interrogate medieval sensibilities through many

levels of lived experience: theological, devotional, political, social, literary, 'high', and 'low'. For this reason, the interdisciplinary approach girds the study, with the breadth and depth of the source material exploited by the authors inspiring. Using a vast array of material evidence, the authors articulate a philosophy of affectivity that valiantly tries not to discriminate against age, gender, status, or calling. Yet, despite their attentiveness, the book separates men's and women's historical experience and leaves little room for other historical actors whose identity fails to fit these categories. This is understandable to a certain extent; after all, the text-based nature of the evidence dominates and it was largely produced by heterosexual, elite men. However, there is ample opportunity for future works, borne on the back of this one, to overlap the social experience of emotions more authentically—an integration fully at the heart of any society. The cache of evidence might be improved by adding deeper analysis of hagiographical and visual texts—two source types not so readily used in this tome but which could easily provide critical material for a history of emotions, given their connection to a broader range of individuals and groups.

Emotions exist everywhere; they are a fundamental driver of human action and thus deserve our attention. This is a clear message from the book. How we read them and make sense of them is essential. Bouquet and Nagy successfully guide us through this problematic chapter by chapter, with their acute sensitivity to the individual contexts in which emotions flourish. They take us through detailed texts and experiences, helping us to grasp the meaning of the ever-present gesture, sigh, angry outburst, expression of shame, and more that make up the human cache of sensibilities. A few years out of celebrating the centenary of Marc Bloch's seminal text *Les Rois thaumaturges* (1924), Bouquet and Nagy have given us a book that takes emotion seriously, that breaks out of the confines of geographical constrictions (to an extent) and considers societal interactions both horizontally and vertically. The volume will act as a foundational text for students and scholars of medieval history, especially those new to the history of emotions, who desire an overview of European society from the perspective of emotions and who need a solid methodological approach to undertake it.

Karen McCluskey, *The University of Notre Dame, Australia*

Boswell, Caroline, *Disaffection and Everyday Life in Interregnum England* (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History), Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2017; hardback; pp. 300; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781783270453.

This work is a very welcome addition to the literature on the Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649–1660). Thoroughly researched, it shines a light upon the lives of ordinary people during one of the most turbulent and unusual decades in England's history. Boswell's book examines the intersection between microhistory and everyday life in a national context. It highlights that there was

a vibrant political culture in England during the 1650s where disaffection and apathy towards the government was both commonplace and expressed in a variety of different ways. It approaches this subject by looking at key places such as marketplaces and alehouses that became ideal flashpoints as the policies of the Commonwealth and Protectorate came into conflict with tradition and societal norms. Boswell also explores the key figures such as the solider, the excise man, and 'the fanatic' who could be a channel for discontent by the populace. The book builds on the work of Sean Kelsey, Bernard Capp, and Christopher Durston and it crosses the boundaries of social, political, and cultural history whilst reflecting upon the interpersonal politics of individual actors and Royalist propagandists. The analysis is structured around a series of local case studies which show conflict and dissent in local social spaces that became amplified by Royalist propagandists creating further discontent towards the government.

Boswell highlights that marketplaces and streets were flashpoints of conflict between the English Commonwealth and traditional custom. In 1649 the English Commonwealth was newly proclaimed from market crosses up and down England, where unsurprisingly dissent and unrest had the potential to occur. By examining the attempted regulation of London's Cheapside in the 1650s she shows how long-standing historic tensions between local government came into conflict with national aspirations that threatened the very livelihoods of the Cheapside peddlers, thereby breeding resentment, anger, and dissent. Royalists hijacked discontent for their own ends. Interestingly, her research demonstrates that people were eager to tear down the emblems of the Commonwealth at the Restoration. When examining alehouses Boswell largely builds upon previous literature showing how drinking to the King's health and the presence of soldiers in alehouses led to conflict in local communities. However, Boswell newly uncovers evidence that shows the depth and the widespread social impact of these policies on everyday interactions and trades. Drink was consumed in a variety of different contexts on a regular basis, from celebrations, toasting, drowning your sorrows, or generally when meeting friends. It was also an essential daily staple that was subject to regulations and tax, leading to conflict with the working population. As Boswell shows, the attempt to root out drunkenness went beyond a simple reformation of manners and impacted upon everyone on a daily basis.

Individuals within the community representing the government, such as soldiers and excise men, could provoke dissent as well as provide a focus for the frustrations of the populace. These aspects have already been discussed in previous studies, but Boswell highlights that experiences and events differed depending upon locality, religion, gender, class, politics, and occupation, and they were not always negative experiences. Soldiers could be unwelcome due to free quarter and pay arrears but, as Boswell shows, they could also provide a much-needed boost to local economies damaged by war. Where the armed presence was oppressive, Royalist propagandists actively took advantage. Tax and excise men caused resentment and anger in local communities. As Boswell explains, the figure of the

excise man exposes the collective justice mechanisms the community used to repel the outsider. Attacks on excise men were punishable offences, but notably this was also extended to language used against the taxman. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate Royalists actively tried to turn popular resentment against excise collection into argument for disestablishing the government itself. As Boswell highlights, this was fertile ground for support, since the excise man was portrayed as a hated figure; this resulted in attacks. As the historiography of the 1650s well attests, religious radicals were also seen as outsiders and disrupters of the local community. However, Boswell shows how these individuals were collectively portrayed as a caricature in the press known as the 'fanatic'. Opponents of the regime used this figure to show the poor governance and social deterioration within England during the decade. Importantly, as Boswell notes, the label 'fanatic' was used in a variety of ways, depending upon an individual's stance, with Anglicans, Quakers, and Presbyterians all being decried as fanatics by each other.

Overall, this book shows the intricacy, complexity, and wide-ranging local responses to the English governments of the 1650s with an appreciation that the forces of popular discontent can determine individual and collective action but also that popular discontent and the actions of people can impact upon government policy.

Kirsteen M. Mackenzie, *Aberdeen, Scotland*

Brewer, Keagan, and James H. **Kane**, *The Conquest of the Holy Land by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Anonymous* Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum (Crusade Texts in Translation), New York, Routledge, 2019; hardback; pp. 278; 8 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £115.00, US$140.00; ISBN 9781138308053.

Keagan Brewer and James Kane's critical edition and English translation of the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum* is an enormously valuable and impeccably researched and presented resource for the study of the crusades and the Latin East. The *Libellus* is an intriguing and often overlooked source for the dramatic events surrounding the occupation of Jerusalem by the forces of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, sultan of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, in October 1187, and the Third Crusade. The text exists today as an anonymous early thirteenth-century compilation from Coggeshall Abbey, a provenance which Brewer and Kane re-examine in their introduction, where they propose some exciting new possibilities regarding the identity of the Coggeshall compiler. The *Libellus* (a later appellation) is comprised of three parts, all of which are included as a facing edition and translation in this book. Part I describes events leading up to the occupation of Jerusalem in 1187 and beginning with the death of Baldwin V of Jerusalem in September 1186. Part II is a continuation of this narrative extracted from the rubrics and content of another composite text, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* (*IP*2) and detailing the events of the Third Crusade until the

arrival of Richard I of England and Philip II of France at the siege of Acre in 1191. Finally, the third part is comprised of two letters which can also be found in *IP*2 and may have circulated independently. The first of these is from Frederick Barbarossa to Saladin; the second is the supposed reply.

Brewer and Kane's is the first critical edition of the *Libellus* to use all four extant medieval witnesses, with the earliest of these, known as C (London, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra B I, fols 2^r–23^r), as their base manuscript. Their edition and translation is accompanied by an extensive introduction, several maps and figures, and three appendices, all of which add significant value to the book. In the introduction, Brewer and Kane provide a useful outline of the text's narrative alongside an overview of the complex political backdrop against which these events occurred. They also include an extended discussion of the identity of the author of Part I, who was likely an ecclesiastic present in Jerusalem during the siege, and an analysis of parallels between the *Libellus* and other sources for these events in Arabic, Latin, and Old French. An evaluation of the exegetical style and language of Part I is supported by detailed footnotes concerning scriptural references in the text itself and a list of further scriptural allusions from the text, organized by chapter, in Appendix 3. Brewer and Kane also consider the circumstances in which the continuations (Parts I and III) were appended to the stylistically distinct Part I by the monks at Coggeshall Abbey, probably after October 1222. Instructive examinations of the seven extant manuscripts of the *Libellus*, including palaeographical analysis and a helpful stemma depicting the relationships between them, also feature in the introduction. The other appendices are a demonstration of intertextuality in the account of 1187 contained in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, marking where it borrows from either the *Libellus* or Roger of Howden's *Chronica* (Appendix 1), and a gazetteer detailing numerous place names highlighted in bold font in the translation (Appendix 2). These resources contribute towards making this book an easily navigable and detailed study of this text, in addition to being a useful edition and highly readable translation.

It is perhaps because of the decidedly exegetical flavour of much of the *Libellus*'s account that the text has often represented a corroborative or additional source for the period in question. But it is precisely this scriptural preoccupation that makes the *Libellus*, or more specifically Part I of the *Libellus*, so valuable, as it offers insights into one of the ways in which contemporary Latin Christians made sense of and recorded the events of 1187, helping modern scholars to appreciate the interpretive and narrative mechanisms employed by contemporaries. As a continuation, the *Libellus* also raises important questions about how and why texts travelled and were repackaged and repurposed by different communities, and about the meaning-making processes that agglomerate around texts through time and space. Overall, this edition and translation is a valuable addition to the popular Crusade Texts in Translation series, and one which will undoubtedly secure the *Libellus* the attention it deserves as a rich and fascinating source for the crusades

and the Latin East. It is to be hoped that this book will soon be made available in an affordable paperback edition, rendering it more accessible to both scholars and students.

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Brondarbit, Alexander R., *Power-Brokers and the Yorkist State, 1461–1485*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2020; hardback; pp. xvii, 214; 8 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781787449251.

This book is focused on the identification and examination of the most influential figures during the reigns of the Yorkist kings, Edward IV (r. 1461–83), Edward V (r. 1483), and Richard III (r. 1483–85). As Alexander Brondarbit asserts, such individuals operated as 'power-brokers', and his study addresses such crucial questions as who attained such heights of power and influence, how they were able to do so, and how they exercised their power. The author's research builds on recent work on particular individuals and noble families of the period by scholars such as Michael Hicks, Carole Rawcliffe, and James Ross, but seeks to characterize such figures as a group. As such, this study sits comfortably within the historiography of political culture studies of the late medieval period in England, a field encompassing outstanding work from the likes of K. B. McFarlane and Christine Carpenter.

The introduction and first chapter set out the criteria by which the author judges an individual to be a 'power-broker', and explain the processes of clientelism and brokerage, which he considers to be vital to understanding how a particular individual operated as a power-broker. Brondarbit follows this with a chapter that explores the connections of the power-brokers with the royal *familia*, that is, the household and affinity of the kings and queens. In the third chapter, he examines how the power-brokers were perceived by domestic and foreign audiences, and, in the final two chapters, he focuses on two particular subsets of power-brokers, namely, women and clergymen.

There is much to admire in this book. There is a lot of intricate detail, many substantial examples are used to demonstrate his arguments, and it is obvious that a great deal of archival work has gone into this study. Furthermore, an examination of this sort entails significant social network analysis; the painstaking tracing of connections through the webs of relationships not only between the showcased individuals and their royal masters and mistresses but also among themselves and their own families and affinities. In addition, the third chapter best demonstrates the interdisciplinary approach of the author (p. 13), since the primary sources that form the core of the discussion here, namely, literary texts and such, must be analysed in a different way from archival material. Generally, the prose is well-written and there are very few editing or grammatical mistakes to be found.

However, this reader remains somewhat unconvinced that the criteria used to identify power-brokers is much more than a subjective judgement based on

whether the individual(s) in question can be detected in the primary sources in such a way as to demonstrate their 'good lord/ladyship'. This is perhaps an entirely valid way of concluding that an individual is influential enough to be labelled a power-broker, but the author seems to be quite sure that he has identified them all (p. 8). He makes little acknowledgement that the possible incompleteness of the evidence might have resulted in the omission of some or other individuals, albeit he admits the incompleteness of sources such as the privy seal archives and the complete absence of royal chamber accounts.

There are also questions to be asked of the last two chapters on women and clerical power-brokers. Chapter 4 deals with female power-brokers, but this reader questions whether Brondarbit has used his own criteria to properly identify such individuals. For example, while he is on sure ground in recognizing Cecily Neville and Elizabeth Wydeville as power-brokers, the inclusion of Margaret of York, a sister of Edward IV, is less justifiable. He states that the Yorkist power-broker 'operated between the Crown and the majority of the king's subjects' (p. 5). On that criterion alone, Margaret of York does not warrant being included as a Yorkist power-broker, given her marriage to Charles, duke of Burgundy, albeit she wielded significant power and authority of her own. Anne, duchess of Exeter, also appears to have been included in the discussion simply because she was another sister of Edward IV, especially since evidence for her actions and efforts is lacking, as the author himself acknowledges. This reader is also unconvinced that a separate chapter was needed to discuss power-brokers who were in the clergy, since the characteristics used to identify non-clergymen as power-brokers can surely be used to identify clergymen as well.

Nonetheless, this book makes a substantial and significant contribution to the study of late medieval English political culture. Research on the Yorkist ruling elites as a group is not as prolific as might be expected given their importance and role in governance. This book provides the interested and invested scholar with a worthwhile examination of the most influential of the ruling elites during the Yorkist reigns and, if nothing else, provides a good foundation from which to continue further investigations on the ruling polity of late fifteenth-century England.

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Brooks, Britton Elliott, *Restoring Creation: The Natural World in the Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives of Cuthbert and Guthlac* (Nature and Environment in the Middle Ages), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2019; hardback; pp. 323; R.R.P. £70.00; ISBN 9781843845300.

In *Restoring Creation*, Britton Elliott Brooks brings the environmental humanities into dialogue with early English hagiography. Specifically, Brooks seeks to present 'the sophisticated and considered engagement with the non-human world' (p. 3) that may be revealed through a close reading of early English hagiography. This

he intends to serve as a corrective to the oversimplifications he perceives in much previous environmental humanities scholarship, which has tended to posit nature as having a negative alterity in the medieval worldview. Central to Brooks's thesis is the idea that it is possible to reconstruct how the English themselves understood the natural world. Representations of nature in early English hagiography, he argues, were defined by 'contemporary theological and philosophical views' (p. 3) and tied to the physical landscape through the regionalism of their narratives. Of those contemporary theological and philosophical views, Brooks focuses on the concept of the restoration of Creation: a breaching of the postlapsarian division between humanity and nature, effected by the achievement of holiness and sanctity.

Given the wealth of hagiography from pre-Conquest England, Brooks necessarily limits his focus subjects, choosing to structure his study around the *vitae* of the eremitic saints Cuthbert and Guthlac. The nature of their eremitism provides the two English saints what Brooks terms a 'direct and transformative interaction with Creation' (p. 15). This is well demonstrated in his case studies; each of Brook's five chapters examines a single hagiography, ordered by chronology of authorship. This structure allows Brooks to demonstrate how the *vitae* built upon one another, adopting and adapting Augustinian and Bedan exegesis of Creation.

Chapter 1 focuses on the anonymous *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (698 × 705), examining those passages of the text in which Cuthbert's sanctity restores Creation, albeit temporarily. It is a sanctity that stems from obedience; Cuthbert's obedience restores Creation just as Adam and Eve's disobedience brought about its Fall. Brooks argues that this obedience is specifically framed in monastic terms and suggests that the hagiographer perceived the 'divine order of the universe' (as it relates to the natural world) to parallel monastic order (p. 28). Chapters 2 and 3 turn to Bede, first his metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (705 × 716) and then his prose *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (*c.* 721). Brooks's examination of the metrical *vita* is *Restoring Creation's* most compelling chapter. It is a work that he at once perceives as personal—'a ruminative and poetic exercise for Bede himself' (p. 67)—and as foundational not only to the Cuthbertine tradition, but to the entry of Augustinian exegeses of Creation into English hagiography. The restoration of Creation here is again tied to monastic obedience, Cuthbert portrayed as what Brooks terms 'an idealized Gregorian monk-pastor' (p. 16). It is a characterization of Cuthbert that comes into full focus in Bede's prose *vita*. In this text, Brooks identifies an authorial interest in Cuthbert's evolving spiritual maturity—miracles of restoration provide both impetus for and evidence of Cuthbert's achievement of 'spiritual majority' (p. 171). Bede draws on Augustinian interpretations of the Fall and Creation to portray Cuthbert as an exemplar of saintliness and obedience, Creation's own obedience to the saint being predicated on his perfect sanctity.

Brooks turns to Guthlac in Chapters 4 and 5, first discussing the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* (730 × 740) of Felix before going on to examine the terminological nuances of the *Old English Prose Life of Guthlac* and *Guthlac A* (both texts that

have proved difficult to date). What is possibly most interesting in these chapters is the explicit tying of Guthlac's *vitae* to the landscape of the East Anglian fens. In the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, Brooks sees Guthlac's story, like Cuthbert's, as being one of spiritual progression toward saintliness, but here to some degree driven in that journey by nature, by the perils of the fens. Echoes of this are seen in the *Prose Life of Guthlac*, though Brooks makes an interesting observation that the language used to describe the fens is shared with contemporary diplomatic boundary clauses. Finally, *Guthlac A* gives the most detailed representation of a restoration miracle among Brooks's texts, as Guthlac fully restores Crowland to its prelapsarian state in the poem's concluding passages.

Restoring Creation is an interesting, well-written, and thoroughly researched volume, and Brooks is to be commended for his attention to detail and convincing exegeses of his focus texts. There is, however, a degree to which Brooks can be considered guilty of generalization, with the hagiographies of Cuthbert and Guthlac used as synecdoches for a wider English cultural and intellectual milieu than they perhaps represent. Nonetheless, his methodologies show promise and provide templates for the examination of the broader corpus of early English hagiography through environmental humanities approaches. The case studies are compelling and, through them, Brooks ably meets his stated objective of providing a nuanced understanding of how the early English—or at least early English hagiographers—'themselves conceptualized their relationship with the natural world' (p. 4). In its focus on the *vitae* of Cuthbert and Guthlac, *Restoring Creation* is, however, something of a narrow study, most likely to appeal to a niche audience of scholars of early English literature and hagiographical tradition.

Matthew Firth, *Flinders University*

Callander, David, *Dissonant Neighbours: Narrative Progress in Early Welsh and English Poetry*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2019; paperback; pp. 320; R.R.P. £45.00; ISBN 9781786833983.

David Callander's *Dissonant Neighbours* is a volume for specialists: erudite, theoretical, closely argued, and demanding. A highly specific comparative narratalogical framework is applied to a range of poetic texts from diverse contexts: texts that diverge in language (Middle Welsh and Old and Middle English) and genre (battle poetry, devotional literature, exegesis) from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. Here Callander takes paths few have trodden, and while narratology is not unknown in medieval textual analysis, the task—a comparative assessment of the ways in which diverse materials display or establish narrative progression—is not an easy one.

Callander spreads his quest for markers of narrative progress across four chapters; the first three deal with three broad generic categories of poetry (battle, Christian eschatology, Christ's nativity), and the fourth deals with narrativity in lists. In Chapter 1 (battle poetry) he analyses eight poems (four Welsh, three

Old English and one Middle English) for temporal adverbials, the deployment of opening summaries, and the use of direct speech as markers of narrative progress. In Chapter 2 he examines eight eschatological poems (two Welsh, three Old English and three Middle English) using similar methods (temporal adverbials, direct speech), but this time he incorporates time referencing. The third chapter, concerned with Christ's nativity and childhood, looks at six poems, three each in Middle English and Middle Welsh, analysing verbal tense and direct speech. His final chapter is concerned with the poetic list-form, and Callander explores a range of excerpted list texts in Welsh and Old English for signs of narrativity.

Doubtless his close analyses of difficult texts lie behind the praise lavished on this volume by eminent professors from both sides of the Atlantic, quoted on the back cover. But the reader needs to bring both expertise and prior knowledge, and be prepared to do some work. Methodologically, the work is a mixed bag. In addition to the varied narrativity markers noted above, in Chapters 1, 3 and 4 he presents tables of data in respect of the texts and markers he is examining. In Chapter 2 he compares his texts against an overarching structuralist eschatological narrative schema. In places there are technical terms and jargon that are poorly defined: presumably a narratologist will have no difficulty with the idea of 'absolute radiality', while a medieval Welsh scholar will have no difficulty with a term such as *awdl*. Moreover, questions will arise that deserve further close attention, but these are not addressed. For example, how does tense relate to the other markers of narrativity (tense is only analysed in Chapter 3); while Chapter 4's concern with the list would benefit from a critique of Monika Fludernik's expansive claim that progressive narrative is itself a form of list (the reviewer remains unconvinced that a recipe is a list). While his many detailed comparisons certainly highlight noteworthy contrasts between genres and traditions, the comparative method applied here nevertheless seems to result in what is largely a descriptive exercise of cultural variance. Moreover, Callander shows an occasional tendency to drop into a kind of naïve lit. crit. tone, where assumptions are made about a text's medieval audience's reactions: 'this breathtaking miracle shocks the audience' (p. 112); about the medieval poet's intentions '[the poet] actively keeping […] historic events alive and relevant' (p. 178); or the poetic form is granted sentience: 'the narrative instinct was weaker in Middle English poetry' (p. 128), '[the poem] *Iesu a Mair* skilfully manipulates direct speech' (p. 185); and a tendency to assert a conclusion before the case has been made, rather than leaving it to the reader: 'which is perhaps revealing' (p. 162), 'This is revealing' (p. 170), 'It is worth taking a statistical overview' (p. 171), and 'this is a significant conclusion' (p. 188).

Unfortunately, this book is trying to do too much in too small a space. The scholarship is solid, but a scant 160-odd pages of argument makes for difficult and dense reading. It is also beset by style and format deficiencies, although these may be due to the publisher. This is a multilingual text with inadequate in-text translations; it uses a difficult referencing system where the reader is led on a treasure hunt for the source (often page-flicking between text, endnote, table of

abbreviations and bibliography); where non-English passages (Old and Middle English, Middle and Modern Welsh, Latin and German) are quoted, the reader usually (but not always) has to look to the endnotes for translation; and often works are discussed but not reproduced, leaving the reader to trust the author to the verity of the analysis.

Callander's scholarship here is important, and a challenging contribution to the field, but it would be far better served by a more expansive edition formatted for accessibility.

Roderick McDonald, *Emu Forge, Sheffield, UK*

Carter, Michael, *The Art and Architecture of the Cistercians in Northern England,* c. *1300–1540* (Medieval Monastic Studies, 3), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; cloth; pp. xlvii, 329; 110 b/w illustrations, 8 colour plates; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503581934.

The ruined Cistercian abbeys of Fountains and Rievaulx are unforgettable and this generously illustrated study immediately attracts. But this is no coffee-table book: rather, it is the 'first book-length, region-wide, systematic, cross-media examination' (p. 1) of the buildings and artefacts of the thirteen houses of Cistercian monks and fifteen Cistercian nunneries in the province of York in the later Middle Ages. Michael Carter vigorously disputes the old idea of Cistercian decline during that period, arguing that it was, rather, a period of reform and *aggiornamento*, its vitality reflected in art.

Carter marshals an impressive array of evidence: buildings, bell towers, gatehouses, woodcarvings, vestments, sculptures, and tombs; and liturgical books, chronicles, inventories, and wills. How did the Cistercians afford such abundance of material possessions? From patronage, both clerical and lay. Until the Order curbed their financial independence in 1335, abbots themselves were the most important benefactors, particularly of liturgical necessities, often distinguished by their coats of arms or rebuses to establish and enhance their status. Later, general monastic incomes paid for buildings, while many individual monks donated books. From outside the monastery, a succession of aristocrats made various benefactions, testifying to the esteem in which the Order was held.

In a tricky balancing act, Carter argues that Cistercian art both reflected the Order's own spirituality and was part of the late medieval devotional mainstream, which foregrounded the liturgy. This is exemplified by the imposing early sixteenth-century bell tower with liturgical inscriptions built by Abbot Huby of Fountains Abbey. Also characteristic was Christocentric piety, including devotion to the crucified Christ (hence numerous crucifixes and rood images) and to the Holy Name, manifested in the appearance of the IHS monogram. Images of the Virgin, to whom all Cistercian monasteries were dedicated, were ubiquitous: in churches, on vestments, on seals, on gatehouses. More specifically Cistercian was the veneration of the Order's own saints: William of Rievaulx, Aelred of Rievaulx,

and Robert of Newminster. The relics of local saints, too, such as St Cuthbert, St Oswald, St Wilfrid, and St William of York, were enshrined, providing a focus for lay pilgrims and their offerings.

Carter devotes a separate chapter to 'sepulchral monuments' (p. 141). Cistercian abbots' tombs, originally located in the chapter house, by the later Middle Ages were often found in the church, as in Europe. Their grave covers, plain at first, were later more elaborate: from the beginning of the fourteenth century, brass monuments or incised effigies are found. Often the abbot is represented with a mitre, sometimes raised, which Carter argues alludes to their academic status. Again, none of this is peculiar to Cistercians. The author singles out for analysis the early sixteenth-century tomb of Abbot Robert Chamber of Holm Cultram, 'grander in scale […] than any other surviving monument of an English Cistercian abbot' (p. 173). Marked with his rebus, it shows Chamber delivering an episcopal blessing, and surprisingly has an epitaph in English.

Monks were buried in the monastic cemetery, some office-holders in the church. Burying the laity in Cistercian monasteries had originally been forbidden, but gradually crept in, especially for patrons and benefactors, who were sometimes buried even in the most coveted locations: the chapter house and church.

Carter treats the Cistercian nuns separately. They were poorer, and not officially part of the Order: the sorry tale of their relationship with the monks does not redound to the credit of the latter. But they too enjoyed the patronage of, for instance, the Percy family, various great ladies, the gentry, and a few higher clergy. Some material evidence suggests their devotion to the Passion, the Five Wounds, and the Virgin, all unexceptionally mainstream. Carter pays particular attention to Swine, 'the richest and largest' nunnery (p. 232). Its church contains alabaster tomb chests of the nunnery's patrons, the Hilton family, and wooden screens with 'a hybrid of late Gothic and Renaissance ornament' (p. 238), Flemish in style, donated by another gentry benefactor. Indeed, local gentry continued making generous bequests to the priory until the end.

Finally, Carter discusses the fate of the Cistercians, their buildings and possessions, during and after their suppression between 1536 and 1540. This plays into the current narrative, that 'traditional' (namely Catholic) religion was alive and well until rudely crushed by Henry VIII. In his conclusion, the author reverts to the paradox of the Order's remaining distinctively Cistercian while also fully in the late medieval mainstream. But surely this is a false dilemma: Cistercian spirituality, as developed and propagated by Bernard, Aelred, and their followers, was such a decisive factor in the construction of late medieval devotion that the two can hardly be disentangled.

Alexandra Barratt, *University of Waikato*

Cichon, Michael, and Yin **Liu**, *Proverbia Septentrionalia: Essays on Proverbs in Medieval Scandinavian and English Literature* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 542), Tempe, AZ, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2019; hardback; pp. viii, 216; no illustrations; R.R.P US$68.00; ISBN 9780866985994.

The title of this volume seems something of a misnomer. Its various essays move beyond proverbs per se and engage with wisdom literature more generally, touching on proverb-like statements, sententiae, and gnomic writing from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. Perhaps the title ought to have acknowledged this wider scope. Two of the contributions, those of Susan Deskis and Carolyne Larrington, while authoritative and interesting, deal with Old English and Scandinavian gnomic poetry. The identification with proverbs is imperfect.

This, however, reflects the difficulty of defining proverbs and specifying how they function in oral and written culture. (The first chapter, by Richard Harris, gives a helpful history and overview of approaches to this problem.) Proverbs are distinguished not only by a characteristic structure but also by how people deploy them in speech and writing, and by the fact they are in widespread use. When confronted by a proverb-like statement, something possibly unique within surviving medieval literature, can one be certain it is genuinely a proverb, not just a pithy observation? Even statements that claim to be proverbs ('As the people say [...]') cannot be implicitly trusted. As several essays note, religious and secular authorities sometimes sought to empower their statements by endowing them with supposed proverbial status.

Proverbia Septentrionalia originated as a multi-disciplinary colloquium in 2011 that explored how proverbial studies—paroemiology—might best be undertaken. Several contributors propose their own innovations when it comes to studying proverbs. Richard Harris suggests that the medieval prevalence of proverbs reflected 'paroemial cognitive patterning' in preliterate societies (p. 20), whereby thinking had a proverb-like structure. Joseph Harris categorizes proverbs as 'normal-grade' (cited in a text), 'extended-grade' (used to provide a work's structure), or 'zero-grade' (alluded to but without citation). Larrington proposes that the techniques of narratology and situational ethics might productively be applied to analysis of wisdom literature.

Other chapters are more straightforward case studies: of proverbs on a particular theme (talking skins, for example), of specific sets of proverbs, or of their appearance in individual works, such as *Egils saga*, collections of Icelandic *exempla*, or the poetry of the *Gawain*-poet. Janken Myrdal trawls the fourteenth-century proverb anthology of Peder Låle for insights it may yield into medieval agriculture. There is a close reading by Jeanine De Landtsheer of the ways in which Erasmus's thoughts, as these appeared in the 1515 iteration of his *Adagia*, informed the views he expressed the following year in his *Institutio principis Christiani*.

Two chapters on different forms of 'sentential turn' (to adopt Russell Poole's formulation) might be characterized as exhibitions of proverbs' cultural mobility. Poole suggests that Icelandic skald Sigvatr Þórðarson contracted his fondness for sentential writing whilst on embassy to England, where there was seemingly 'a predilection for aphoristic statements' around that time (p. 134). In the blended, Anglo-Norse culture of Cnut's court, Poole concludes, this literary vogue might readily have jumped from Old English to Icelandic. (It seems fitting that England's most proverbial monarch should have been involved.) Andrew Taylor investigates why fourteenth-century social elites, such as merchants, started compiling proverb collections: proverbs were no longer customary oral consensus; they now represented 'potted wisdom for social climbers' (p. 149). Chaucer, Taylor suggests, may have been 'ironizing a particular kind of shallow gentility' (p. 151) when he had individuals in his poems quote proverbs.

The book's chapters are held together by recurring motifs: individual sayings ('One cannot save the doomed'); primary texts (*Hávamál*; *Egils saga*); important secondary scholarship. The contributors' arguments, too, often run parallel: the significance of where proverbs are situated within a given text; the difficulty of deciding whether something is a proverb or not; the role of proverbs as speech acts that bestow authority on the speaker, derive authority from the speaker, or dissociate the speaker from a given statement, instead aligning it with accepted customary consensus; and so forth. A large part of the volume's value arises from the resonances that emerge between individual chapters.

Taken as a whole, the miscellany is in some respects a mixed bag. The chapters are of variable length; they reflect divergent interests and approaches; and the editors have apparently made little effort to impose consistency as regards conventions such as name spellings. Nevertheless, the volume provides a thought-provoking introduction to paroemiology, with an up-to-date account of the scholarship and difficulties associated with northern European proverbs in particular.

Patrick Ball, *University of Tasmania*

Clark, James G., ed., and David **Preest**, trans., *The Deeds of the Abbots of St Albans: Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2019; hardback; pp. xvii, 990; R.R.P. £150.00; ISBN: 9781783270767.

The *Gesta Abbatum* of St Albans, from the foundation under King Offa until the death of Abbot Thomas de la Mare in 1396, is the longest continuous chronicle of an English monastery. H. T. Riley's Latin edition in the Rolls Series (1867–69) has shaped the work of historians of the abbey, such as James Clark and Michelle Still, and scholars of broader monastic history, especially David Knowles. But it has been available in English only in excerpts, by G. G. Coulton and Richard Vaughan, and has attracted less notice than St Albans's national chronicles by

Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and others. The present volume fills that gap admirably.

The translation uses Riley's Latin, based on Walsingham's final ('C') version, as a starting point, but Clark and Preest have done the comparative work on the manuscripts necessary for a critical edition of the Latin. Each chapter has an annex with notes recording manuscript variants, in parallel with comprehensive footnotes that identify people, places, and subjects in the text and provide helpful commentary. Documents reproduced in the text appear in précis for brevity, but the work still runs to a thousand pages—a massive achievement in every sense. Only a few minor typographical errors have crept through.

The translation is excellent. It is unfailingly accurate in the passages that I have checked against the original, but not slavishly literal. Rather, it is fluent and lively, recapturing the voice, mentality, and outlook of the authors and their community.

A corporate work of many hands over more than 300 years, the *Gesta* conveys a sense of memory handed down. The thirty abbatial portraits are neither liturgical necrologies nor hagiographies. Indeed, each concludes with a reflection on the subject's faults and failings, for moral education and perhaps to put the incumbent's in perspective. They may have originated in a roll kept by the cellarer; by Walsingham's time the responsibility was the precentor's. The early entries are brief, formulaic, and sometimes inaccurate. But from the late eleventh century the detail and colour increase, reflecting the growing need for written historical validation. The hands of Paris and Walsingham are evident in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century entries (for example, some vintage Matthew Paris invective on pp. 484–88), and Walsingham draws extensively on the abbey's records. But even they keep to the inherited format, mute their personal styles, and look internally rather than out to the wider world.

The insight into the inner life of the house is unrivalled among English monasteries. We have detailed accounts of liturgy, devotion, and observance of the Rule in the abbey and its cells and of the thinking behind the abbots' measures, which other houses' customaries lack. The tension between upholding the Rule and the humane urge to mitigate runs through the chronicle, including the sections on Michael of Mentmore and de la Mare as presidents of the provincial chapter. The portraits of the abbots are matched elsewhere only by Jocelin of Brakelond and Walter Daniel, and then only for one man. The chronicles detail not only the house's acquisition of liturgical items but also its interest in books and learning, in which St Albans stood out; the monastic school, the move into the universities and the achievements of university-educated abbots are documented. We also get rare glimpses of monastic preaching (pp. 769–70) and pastoral care.

The text displays the tendency of St Albans, like other monasteries, to see the abbot's duty as building up the house's resources, to its glory and that of its patron saint. Each chapter proudly documents his acquisitions and catalogues his losses as failings, or even as sin. That mentality also shapes the chroniclers' dismissive

attitudes towards the townsmen and peasants, who rebel wickedly against God if they demand greater rights. St Benedict may not have set out to establish a network of great feudal landlords, but his disciples thoroughly assimilated that worldview. If St Albans adapted to the rise of the universities, the growth of towns and other social changes passed it by: Walsingham could be Guibert of Nogent railing against communes in 1115. Charity to the poor was an abbatial virtue (for example, see p. 901), provided they knew their place.

Despite the internal focus, the abbey's social and political prominence, due in part to its location on the main road north from London, is nevertheless evident. Personal vignettes of kings, lords, and prelates include Abbot Hugh of Eversdon's closeness to Edward II. We also see national events impinging on the abbey, from the Conquest to the barons' wars of the thirteenth century, the instability under Edward II, and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, which Walsingham narrates at length.

Entanglements with Crown, nobility and, through exemption, with the papacy were a mixed blessing and produced an ambivalent view of popes and kings. The price of privilege was incessant demand for hospitality, benefits, taxes, and payments, a burden and recurring source of complaint. The *Gesta* provide unique details of exempt houses' dealings with the papacy.

The chronicle is, as the editors note, more reliable on internal monastic affairs than on external. The later chapters, if they do not falsify, sometimes sanitize. The abbey never seems to lose a lawsuit, for example. The account of the turbulence of the 1320s, when Binham priory became a political football between Lancastrian forces and a royalist abbot, tones down the violence and political intrigue; an uncharacteristic omission from the notes—W. J. Smith's 'The "Revolt" of William de Somertone', *English Historical Review*, 69 (1954), 76–83—supplements the *Gesta* from royal and papal sources. Walsingham does, however, record the spillover of dissension into the abbacy of the learned Richard of Wallingford (d.1336).

Notwithstanding its biases, the *Gesta* remains an invaluable source for monastic history and valuable also on social and political matters. Clark and Preest have left students in their debt by making it more accessible.

Peter McDonald, *Canberra, Australian Capital Territory*

Cuvelier, *The Song of Bertrand du Guesclin*, trans. by Nigel **Bryant**, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2019; hardback; pp. ix, 432; 3 maps; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781783272273.

Nigel Bryant has translated several medieval French texts; his latest offering, Cuvelier's *c*. 1382 *Chanson du Bertrand de Guesclin*, expands the number of chivalric biographies available in English. The volume's production values are good. Maps locate places named in the text (though, since Cuvelier's chronology and geography were both defective, sometimes these have been identified conjecturally). Footnotes explain matters liable to be unclear to a non-specialist,

without overburdening the text. A short, accessible introduction contextualizes the *Song* well. Bryant seemingly wishes to appeal to more than a purely academic audience. This is wise, since Cuvelier's poem is highly readable and Bryant's translation capable of carrying it to a wider constituency.

Bertrand du Guesclin was a major player of fourteenth-century European history: a minor Breton noble who rose, through his military expertise, to become the first Constable of France not of royal blood. Having cut his teeth on the War of the Breton Succession, he diverted the 'Great Company', a mercenary band ravaging the French countryside, into Spain on a quasi-crusade to defeat Pedro the Cruel, before returning to France to oppose the English as Constable. Despite his significance, du Guesclin's life is known mainly from Cuvelier's poem. This was adapted into French prose in the Middle Ages but has not previously been translated into English; Bryant's prose translation derives from the original, verse account. Like Chandos Herald, who penned a verse biography of the Black Prince, also in the 1380s, Cuvelier's identity is uncertain. Indeed, Chandos Herald appears briefly in the *Song*, as do fellow authors Henry, Duke of Lancaster (*The Book of Holy Medicines*, 1354) and Gaston Phoebus (*Livre de chasse*, *c*. 1388). Consensus holds that Cuvelier neither witnessed the events he described, nor knew his subject, though the work contains indications of having been tailored to a Breton audience. The life proceeds from Bertrand's (idealized) childhood, where he shows promise of his future potential, through to his death.

While those who can read medieval French will not need this translation, it may prove a handy reference tool, with its notes and introduction. For persons less proficient in the original language it should be invaluable, both for research and teaching purposes. Cuvelier's straightforward narrative, coupled with Bryant's fluent translation, render it simple for non-specialists to appreciate. By its means, students can be introduced to major issues and figures of the period and shown how they interrelate—not merely to the Hundred Years War but to events in Brittany and Spain as well. Cuvelier's detailed account, together with the oft-reiterated nature of the events he describes, means readers will emerge with a sense of how military campaigns unfolded: the logistical considerations of medieval warfare; the accommodations involved in ransom and surrender; knights' mentalities; and so forth. While not always reliable in terms of fact, Cuvelier conveys a feel for the period admirably. This makes the work valuable for research too. In literary terms, the *Song* can claim attention as one of the last *chansons de geste*. Its length and minuteness, however, offer insights to many scholars of the period, not only those focused on political history or du Guesclin's career. Cuvelier catalogues his characters' emotional states, not least the sentiments of knights preparing for battle or faced by fearsome adversaries; leaders opposing Bertrand are regularly furious, distressed, or aghast. The work is likewise a potential resource for studies of chivalric thinking, religion, gender studies, medieval proverbs, material culture, Franco-Breton relations, and many other matters.

The tensions and contradictions inherent in chivalry are exposed plainly in the text. Bryant's introduction surmises: 'Bertrand du Guesclin was an ideal hero for his time precisely because he perfectly embodied the fusion (and the blurring) of chivalric ideals and brutal pragmatism' (p. 15). The work provides copious support for this view. Du Guesclin mingled qualities such as loyalty, bravery, and largesse with guerilla tactics, ruses, and readiness to win encounters by disguising himself as a peasant (taking advantage, perhaps, of his fabled ugliness). He was 'clever as well as brave', rationalizes Cuvelier (p. 330). When he first won his spurs by killing an English knight (p. 39), Bertrand removed the red cross from the man's armour, 'like a worthy Frenchman', substituting a white cross 'in honour of the fleur-de-lis' before putting it on. Still, at the end of his career he was happy to capture Niort by having his men don tunics stripped from massacred English knights, featuring prominent red crosses, and gallop up to the town's gates crying 'Saint George!' (p. 417). Was this properly chivalric? The detail supplied by Cuvelier's *Chanson*, ably made accessible in Bryant's translation, allows such questions to be pursued.

Patrick Ball, *University of Tasmania*

Gislon Dopfel, Costanza, Alessandra **Foscati**, and Charles **Burnett**, eds, *Pregnancy and Childbirth in the Premodern World: European and Middle Eastern Cultures, from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cursor Mundi, 36), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; pp. xxiv, 357; 38 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503580555.

The essays collected in *Pregnancy and Childbirth in the Premodern World: European and Middle Eastern Cultures, from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* follow a multi-disciplinary approach—an increasingly popular critical method that often becomes a metonym for originality. However, for the flexible thinking required for such complex subject matter, the premodern world is also expanded culturally and geographically beyond the Anglo-Saxon norm.

Part 1, 'Cultural Exchanges and Transmission of Knowledge', shows the influence of Hippocrates, Galen, and Aristotle throughout the premodern world. The essays also demonstrate how patriarchal control over the maternal body is a major concern across all cultures.

In the opening essay, Francesca Marchetti's examination of Graeco-Roman obstetrical manuals reveals the condescending male physician behind the industrious midwife. Marchetti's account of Mustio's *Gynaecia* from the fifth or sixth century reveals a gynaecological manual for midwives written in a simplified question and answer format with illustrations.

Kathryn Kueny's contribution also reveals a mistrust of midwives. She shows how Muslim physicians used Greek medical literature to police the maternal body in order to produce the perfect baby. Shlomo Sela's essay examines the influence of the *trutina Hermetis* on the Hebrew astrologist and theologian Abraham Ibn

Ezra (1089–1167), who measured the length of pregnancies. Ezra's calculations further demystified the maternal body.

Paolo Delaini's analysis of culture diversity in the Sasanian Empire demonstrates how medical knowledge 'on pregnancy and birth physiology' was valued more than religious differences (p. 39). The merging of the Galenic humoral theory with different Syriac cultural beliefs produced fascinating explanations of how the human embryo is formed.

The four essays in Part 2, 'Birth, Death and Magic', are Eurocentric, but use widely different methodological approaches. The first essay, by three academics based in the Centre Michel de Boüard, investigates childbirth deaths in medieval Normandy. They comb archaeological evidence to verify scant historical sources confirming the deaths of young and middle-aged women from various Norman sites. The critics pioneer a grisly extended search to women buried with their babies either *in utero* or following delivery.

In medieval England, women wore sacred birth girdles in the belief of preventing deaths during pregnancy and childbirth. Mary Morse examines the conflict between the Church, which sanctioned birth girdle relics, and Lollardy (a heretic group led by the Oxford cleric John Wyclif), which viewed them as superstitious magic.

Birth charms have not received much critical attention. Instead, countless studies have focused on diagnosing and alleviating premodern womb disorders. Therefore, Sara Ritchley's essay on four Latin birthing charms found in a thirteenth-century Cistercian manuscript in Brussels is invaluable. It gives an insight into the obstetric practices of the Cistercian La Cambre nuns—a solely female community promoting the wisdom and expertise of midwives.

Alessandra Foscati's contribution analyses accounts of childbirth miracles in largely neglected hagiographical texts from premodern France and Italy. She shows how childbirth miracles attributed to saints privilege female knowledge of childbirth, rather than male-dominated medical sources.

Part 3 begins with the largely overlooked English and French medieval women's practice of lying-in (the period of seclusion and bedrest for mothers following childbirth). Fiona Harris-Stoertz identifies the popular view of lying-in as an imposed marginalization of a woman following childbirth, a necessary seclusion designed to purge the polluting impurities from her post-natal leaky body. Though Harris-Stoertz discovers that lying-in was actually a period of relaxation, where the new mother is pampered by her husband, family, and friends.

Valentina Calzolari's essay examines Nativity scenes in the Armenian textual tradition. She shows that Eve was included in Nativity scenes as an antithesis to the virgin mother Mary. Antonella Parmeggiani examines Byzantine frescoes depicting the birth of Mary in the local churches of Mystra. Her original reading interprets the frescoes as an allegory for the rebirth of the Byzantine state.

For the final essay, Costanza Gislon Dopfel coins a new phrase, 'maternal art' (p. 309). She defines maternal art as Renaissance religious art concerning 'images

relating to motherhood, pregnancy, birth, and the relationship between mother and child' meant for females (p. 309). Dopfel focuses on images of the birth of Mary together with the birth of Christ. She finds that giving birth becomes a heroic act of self-sacrifice in order to propagate the human race.

The essay collection's open-minded approach to the premodern maternal body tells a fascinating story. The physician's patriarchal control of conception and birth leads to the woman's perilous first-hand knowledge of the maternal body and concludes with celebrated mothers. The anthology is an important study challenging critical assumptions garnered from traditional medical sources.

Frank Swannack, *University of Salford*

Dunlop, Anne, ed., *Antipodean Early Modern: European Art in Australian Collections,* c. *1200–1600*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2018; hardback; pp. 296; 150 colour illustrations; R.R.P. €99.00; ISBN 9789462985209.

This collection of essays focuses on medieval and early modern objects from the Kerry Stokes Collection, some of which were featured in a 2015 exhibition at The University of Melbourne. The collection features some of Australia's most impressive medieval European manuscripts, including the Rothschild Prayer Book, a sixteenth-century book of hours that made international news after it was sold to Australian collector Kerry Stokes for US$15.5 million, much to the surprise of collectors and the media. Australia is not known for medieval and early modern art collections, a misunderstanding these essays seek to correct. Anne Dunlop writes that the goal of these essays is to make the Australian collections known to scholars and to encourage engagement with medieval and early modern holdings in Australia. The essays in this volume illustrate the broad range of potential research applications for early European collections, and the Stokes Collection in particular. While most of the essays are focused on books, material culture is featured in the form of a writing casket and a wedding cassone, and art in the form of an altarpiece, and a panel from Pieter Brueghel the Younger's *Crucifixion*.

Opening essays by Kay Sutton and Kate Challis feel representative of the approach taken in all of these essays—to contextualize items in the collection and demonstrate their research potential. Both chapters focus on the Rothschild Prayer Book and similar devotional texts as political and diplomatic tools. Sutton highlights the intimate relationships people had with their prayer books, and the ways in which they featured in private spiritual life, as well as the political and social use of lavish devotional texts. Challis approaches the Rothschild Prayer Book differently, tracing the book itself, from its likely beginnings to its reappearance in a Rothschild baron's private collection, to its theft by the Nazis, and the subsequent role it played in negotiating the recovery of stolen art.

The strength of this collection of essays lies its demonstration of the richness of possible studies that emerge from the objects in the collection. A copy of the

Satires by Juvenal leads to its creators—who also happen to be the creators of the first printing press in Paris (the Sorbonne Press). Jan Fox brings the Sorbonne Press creators Heynlin and Fichet to life, illuminates the excitement and enthusiasm surrounding this new technology, and highlights the role of the book's 'presentation miniature' in the culture of patronage. Miya Tokumitsu examines a bronze writing casket that reveals the Renaissance fashion for 'scholarly' decor and intellectual pretensions. Dagmar Eichberger's chapter, 'Women who Read Are Dangerous', explores the reading habits of aristocratic women, Margaret of Austria in particular, using the Rothschild Prayer Book as an example of the kinds of devotional texts women read, commissioned, and gifted. Eichberger refers to the Rothschild Prayer Book and to the advice literature of the period in order to explore the reading habits and intimate reading spaces of noblewomen.

The stated goal of these essays is to draw attention to medieval and early modern collections in Australia, and the subtitle of this book is 'European Art in Australian Collections'. The items in this book are all part of the Stokes Collection. I am left wondering what other medieval and early modern pieces and collections are being overlooked in Australia. Perhaps that was the author's intention.

Jennifer Jorm, *The University of Queensland*

Emond, Ken, *The Minority of James V: Scotland in Europe, 1513–1528*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 2019; hardback; pp. x, 404; 19 b/w plates, 1 map; R.R.P. £70.00; ISBN 9781910900314.

This book could not be more eagerly anticipated: Ken Emond's St Andrews PhD thesis, on which it is based, has been a valued resource since its submission in 1988. At the core of the thesis was the consultation and, on occasion, correction, of primary sources. That remains so in *The Minority of James V*, supplemented by note of post-1988 work of other historians: Michael Brown's *James I* (Cannongate Academic, 1994) and Amy Blakeway's *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (The Boydell Press, 2015), for instance, appear briefly in footnotes; more substantively, Keith Brown and others' *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Scottish Parliament and University of St Andrews, 2007–19), replaces the less accurate edition of the Acts.

The introduction sets out a useful broad characterization of the main events and lists six minority periods: 'English interest under the Queen Mother, Margaret Tudor (1513–14); the French interest under the Duke of Albany (1515–17); the rivalry of the Hamilton and Douglas families (1517–21); the European interest (to 1524); the Scots in control of their own destiny (from 1524), and the Douglas family domination (1525–28)' (p. 1). Six chapters fill in this framework, supported by another on the sources, a Conclusion, and full Bibliography and Index.

Each chapter is subdivided into short sections. These avoid the less signposted density of the thesis, and assist those seeking specific information. Chapter 1, for example, starts with 'Reaction to Flodden' (the battle in which James IV, among

many, was killed, and after which the minority of his son began). The minority is ably introduced: both Scotland's internal response—the rapid assembling of new officers of state; the immediate arrangements for the seventeen-month-old king—and its external policy, especially concerning France and England, are examined. The leadership of the widowed queen, Margaret Tudor, appointed regent in her husband's will, is shown to have been challenged almost from the first.

Emond's source use is impressive; he recognizes, for example, the seeds for the later enmity between the Home family and Albany (pp. 28–29), later developing this in the account of the Homes' execution in late 1516 (pp. 38–39, 48–55, 66–69). Only rarely (see p. 22) does Emond fall back on Lindsay of Pitscottie's not always reliable *Historie*, the authority of which, on another occasion (p. 48) he questions.

Such a detailed, multifaceted study provides many opportunities to trace the political involvements of individuals, including James Hamilton, Earl of Arran (see, especially, Chapters 3 and 4); and Gavin Douglas, provost of St Giles, later bishop of Dunkeld. The latter, mentioned particularly in Chapter 1 (p. 33), Chapter 2 (pp. 42–45) and Chapter 4 (pp. 140–46), was the uncle of Archibald Douglas, and Margaret's supporter, thus often Albany's opponent. To those who know Douglas better as the first to translate Virgil's *Aeneid* into any form of English, the details throughout of his ambitions and sometimes crucial actions in the political sphere are of immense interest (despite the absence of reference to Priscilla Bawcutt's publications, such as her article on Douglas's letters 1515 to 1522, in Janet Hadley Williams, *Stewart Style, 1513–1542* (Tuckwell Press, 1996)).

One of the most striking portraits gradually assembled in *The Minority* is that of John Stewart, Duke of Albany. Emond is sure-footed in the assessment of the governor's decisions and strategies, especially on military matters and finances while in Scotland (1515–17, 1521–22, and 1523–24). He is less attentive to Albany's diplomacy in France in the periods between those visits, yet, as Elizabeth Bonner's 2004 *ODNB* article (unreferenced by Emond) reveals, he remained involved on Scotland's behalf. Perhaps understandably, given the project's size, Emond also provides little about Albany's life apart from, and before, his arrival in Scotland. There is much unexplored, such as his participatory patronage with his wife, Anne de la Tour, in the building of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, as noted in Bryony Coombs's article for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2017 (also unreferenced). Even brief attention would have contributed to a greater understanding of Albany's European involvements and status, shedding light on his actions in and for Scotland.

Emond's Chapter 7, on the sources, including government records, contemporary correspondence, histories, and chronicles, helpfully notes limitations and biases. One does wonder at the 'Contemporary Writers' section. This contains only two historians, John Major and John Law. Other types of contemporary writing are ignored. There is for example, the work of the child king's usher, David Lyndsay, especially his *Complaynt*, *c.* 1530; or the anonymous poem of

c. 1520, 'We Lordis hes chosin a chiftane mervellus', offering veiled criticism in the form of praise to the absent Albany. Both are eye-witness responses, superbly documenting the mixed support the governor received.

There are very few errors: on p. 92, '20 February 2018' should be '1518'; in the Index, to the entry for 'Stewart, Alan, Captain of Milan' should be added, 'p. 100', and 'p. 101'.

Janet Hadley Williams, *The Australian National University*

Escalona Monge, Julio, Orri **Vésteinsson**, and Stuart **Brookes**, eds, *Polity and Neighbourhood in Early Medieval Europe* (The Medieval Countryside, 21), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; hardback; pp. xviii, 430; 14 b/w illustrations, 39 maps, 6 graphs, 12 b/w line art; R.R.P. €110.00; ISBN 9782503581682.

Between 400 and 1100 CE the nature of a state or polity in medieval Europe was unlike that of the classical ancient states that had gone before and those that were to emerge afterwards in the Renaissance. How states were formed in this period, what their nature was, what forms of property were imagined, and how memory was maintained within them have been questions researchers from the Enlightenment onwards have variously answered in accounts that included collapse and rupture, invasion and continuity. In the last twenty years archaeologists, literary scholars, and historians have sought to re-examine the cultural heritage of this period using innovative combinations of new and old technologies as applied to old and new material. These revisions have produced substantially new if also conflicting accounts. This book is the work of one school of thought that has examined the available material for many parts of Europe again. It presents some of their results. The contributors, reconsidering some critical communities on the periphery of the continent, bring together very different sources to answer questions such as: What makes a neighbourhood? Was the structure established top down or bottom up; what was the balance? How similar were areas that were far apart?

The authors have been working and publishing together for several decades as part of a major Spanish-funded research unit whose role is to compare how communities in very different parts of Europe varied from one another in the ways in which they handled and developed their customs. The approach is comprehensive. Not only do the authors identify the dissimilarities, but they show how the localities all had their own distinctive social characteristics and all had a different relationship to the dominant state that exercised a level of control and power over a wider area. They show how the nature of the neighbourhood modified the authority the dominant government could exercise; local societies retained different degrees of self-rule. The places examined vary from the sophisticated to the elementary in their social ideas. What all the chapters make clear is that there is constant change in the nature of the local culture.

The authors of the individual chapters analyse the topography of their given area and how it often led to unique social and economic structures. Frode

Iversen, for example, illuminates the way in which the unstable groups in Norway despite many civil wars eventually developed a unified kingdom in which originally contradictory laws were melded into a more common understanding. Orri Vésteinsson in contrast investigates the world view that underlay the state formation in Iceland, where political power was 'fluid and personal' and constantly shifted from one family to another. Letty Ten Harkel, who is concerned with a very different place, Walcheren—described as 'marginal yet strategic'—a liminal trading area in which there were competing factions, analyses their differing relationships to the Frankish court. Through a reassessment of the ringforts linked to the few literary mentions of the islands, she draws out a possible identity of the local supra-polities—the monasteries and the secular rulers—that confronted one another.

The concluding chapter draws out the common features of the different studies as they examine the relationship between the local and what one might term the central, although the authors prefer the term supralocal. It emphasizes the ways in which the detailed studies show how the local situation could either limit central agency or legitimate the wider rulership. The most significant outcome of the work is the light it sheds on the changing groupings and hierarchy of particular areas. Shifting boundaries and settlements that grow or disappear are shown to be part of the history in which neighbourhoods grow and amalgamate with others to form major polities.

Sybil Jack, *The University of Sydney*

Feros Ruys, Juanita, Michael W. **Champion**, and Kirk **Essary**, eds, *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400–1800* (Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture), New York, Routledge, 2019; hardback; pp. 262; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. US$155.00, £120.00; ISBN 9780367086022.

Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling is a book better evaluated on the terms set out in its blurb, than on its title. It is a tightly focused collection studying the terms *affectio* and *affectus* and their premodern vernacular cognates, and in that mission it succeeds. What it is not, however, is a survey of the language of emotion between 400 and 1800, or even of 'feeling': very little attention is given to the use of tactile metaphors to express emotional experience. The title thus does not do the book justice, and it is an unfortunate feature of the series (Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture) that there is no cover blurb, either: curious library shelf-browsers will not quickly grasp the specific focus of this book.

As a survey of *affectus* and *affectio* and their uses and translations in the premodern period, this book excels: I would have found it solved all my problems some years ago, when I was dispatched by my preliminary PhD committee to research and historicize the term 'affection'. There are several disparate strands of philosophical, linguistic, and theoretical thought involved in such an endeavour,

rarely all brought together in one place: the distinction between *discursive* or linguistic analysis of the language of affect and 'affect theory'; close linguistic study of the Latin vocabulary of *affectio*/*us* in particular contexts (philosophical, theological, rhetorical); historical work on the use of emotive terms by particular people; and studies of the specifics of vernacular translations or the uses of vernacular cognates. All of these are covered in *Before Emotion*: I suspect few readers will be equally interested in all aspects, despite the tightly focused nature of the collection; with that in mind it is particularly useful that the collection contains an index (unlike many edited collections), and frequent cross-referencing among the contributions.

For my particular interests, there were a few stand-out pieces: Barbara Newman's '*Affectus* from Hildegard to Helfta' foremost among them, for its attention to the vocabulary of affection in friendship. Juanita Feros Ruys's comparison of the vocabulary of *affectus* as deployed respectively by Heloise, Abelard, and the woman writer of the *Epistolae duorum amantium* offers a similar fascinating study of fine differences in individual style. Newman's piece and that of Tomas Zahora (on thirteenth-century Franciscan writings) were also notable for close attention to the differences between *affectio* and *affectus* in particular contexts. My own research interests being primarily vernacular, I was also particularly interested in Antonina Harbus on Old English glossing and Paul Megna on *affecioun* in Middle English devotional writing.

As to what is lacking from the book: even taking into account its tight focus, it is worth noting that the sources studied are primarily drawn from a core of philosophical and theological writing. The high medieval letters studied by Feros Ruys and Newman provide one exception; Mark Amsler's interest in grammatical texts another. Naama Cohen-Hanegbi's piece offers a unique diversion in that it looks at medical sources and at terms used *instead* of *affectio*/*us*. Early modernists will find the collection limited: the focus in the latter part of the book is almost exclusively philosophical. (This is not to say that the chapters will be only of use to scholars of philosophy: I enjoyed Anik Waldow's analysis of Descartes's vocabulary of the passions from my perspective of interest in the evolution of French emotional vocabularies.) In neither the medieval nor the early modern periods are any narrative sources discussed: even if limited to Latin alone, I would be interested to know if hagiography, or university drama, or history texts, included the vocabulary of *affectio*/*us* differently from theology and philosophy texts.

Perhaps this collection's greatest strengths are its framing chapters. The preface by Thomas Dixon provides an engaging entry into the subject, while the introduction by the three editors provides a short but invaluable methodological overview justifying the primarily language-based focus of the book and the relationship between such work and approaches to emotion focused on embodiment and sensation. Elena Carrera's chapter 'Augustinian, Aristotelian, and Humanist Shaping of Medieval and Early Modern Emotion: *Affectus*, *affectio*, and "affection" as Travelling Concepts' provides an excellent bridge between

the late antique and medieval sections and those focused on the Renaissance, tracking a progression from Augustine to first late medieval and then early modern dictionaries. The final chapter, Michael W. Champion's 'From *affectus* to Affect Theory and Back Again' offers a much-needed theoretical intervention, which will serve both as a historiography of affect theory for premodernists, and a clear justification of where and how the premodern is vital to the theoretical field.

Amy Brown, *Bern, Switzerland*

Fitzpatrick, KellyAnn, *Neo-Medievalism: Popular Culture and the Academy from Tolkien to* Game of Thrones, Woodbridge, D. S. Brewer, 2019; hardback; pp. 244; no illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781843845416.

Neomedievalism: Popular Culture and the Academy from Tolkien to Game of Thrones, by KellyAnn Fitzpatrick, explores the ways the Middle Ages is often framed and depicted in popular culture, familiar and new. Fitzpatrick's monograph attempts to place the term 'neomedievalism' alongside that of 'medievalism'. In doing so, she states that neomedievalism is a form of medievalism in need of re-evaluation, particularly in the ways in which the term is used in academic discourse. Whilst Fitzpatrick concludes that the term 'neomedievalism' is complex, academics 'must push us to be wary of the ways the past is presented […] both from outside of and within our own discipline(s), whether we venture to dungeons, towers, or taverns' (p. 194). Thus, through the use of examples drawn from a wide range of popular culture products, the work attempts to bridge the often-perceived gap between the academic discussion of medievalism and that of the public who view or engage with such content.

The monograph is structured into case studies. By initially examining the relationship of medievalism within the academy (presented as a literature review), the monograph explores Tolkien's influence on how the public envisage the Middle Ages. It goes on to examine films and television series, such as *Game of Thrones*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Maleficent*, *Beowulf*, tabletop and card games, ending with fantasy medieval digital games. In this way, the monograph covers a lot of media to show how much popular content relies on medievalism and thus can inform popular representations. For example, Chapter 5 explores how the collectable card game *Magic: The Gathering* (released by Wizards of the Coast, a publisher of role-playing games) presents players a potential critique and connections between modern economics and Marx within the medieval fantasy game format. Following on from this, Chapter 6 pushes for further inclusion of digital, cooperative spaces that lend themselves to developing a deeper understanding of neomedievalism in popular culture. These two latter chapters of the monograph refocus the argument and show Fitzpatrick's interdisciplinary strengths as an academic.

There are several issues with this monograph. The writing can be convoluted, and it is often hard to follow the author's argument. The lack of clarity was a

disappointment, especially considering that one of the stated aims of the work is to facilitate wider discussions with the general public about themes of medievalism, rather than just within an academic setting, and should be accessible. The text also relies heavily on frequent and block quotations, particularly in the case studies that examine such well-trodden ground as *Lord of the Rings* and *Game of Thrones*. As such, while there is some interesting engagement with those case studies, Fitzpatrick relies on other's work to convey her argument. And, unfortunately, Fitzpatrick drops into the work some mean-spirited quips about some undergrad students she has taught.

The major downfall of this book is its lack of originality. *Neomedievalism* does not offer those familiar with medievalism in modern academic studies anything new in terms of the conclusions reached. For the most part, Fitzpatrick's argument relies on other scholarly works in the field. Chapters 2 and 4, on J. R. R. Tolkien and *Game of Thrones* respectively, are particularly disappointing in content, as they offer no more than a summary of existing scholarly discussions. Furthermore, the case studies, even when they have merit, can be rather disjointed. For example, Chapter 3, exploring *Sleeping Beauty*, *Beowulf*, and *Maleficent*, is extremely unclear in its exploration of neomedievalism and gender in Hollywood productions and is in need of some reclarifying.

This monograph would be a good starting point for those seeking an introduction to medievalism, the concept of neomedievalism, and the ways in which these ideas intersect with popular media. Similarly, the text would function well in undergrad course readings, especially for courses that cover content related to the case studies. Unfortunately, the monograph is a somewhat disappointing experience, especially for those who work at the intersection of medievalism and popular culture.

Hilary Jane Locke, *Macquarie University*

Fox, Yaniv, and Erica **Buchberger**, eds, *Inclusion and Exclusion in Mediterranean Christianities, 400–800* (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 25), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; hardback; pp. vii, 293; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503581132.

Based on two workshops held in Israel and Pennsylvania in 2016 and 2018 respectively, this edited volume examines the themes of inclusion and exclusion in Mediterranean Christianities (defined here as including 'Mediterranean hinterlands' such as Britain) in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Editors Yaniv Fox and Erica Buchberger introduce eleven articles arranged around four thematic tensions—textual communities; internal dialogues; religious and ethnic identities; and class distinctions—with a response by Chris Wickham.

Following an introduction by Fox, Carmela Vircello Franklin argues that a Carolingian redaction of the *Liber pontificalis*, commonly held to be a Frankish effort to connect their authority to that of the papacy, was, in fact, a late eighth-

century Roman attempt to include the Franks. Dirk Rohmann follows up with a broad examination of the disjuncture between pagan and Christian philosophy, and the impact of classical thought (as heresy) on exclusion in late antiquity, though perhaps his understanding of the *Hisperica Famina* misses the mark. Shane Bjornlie subsequently argues that *Beowulf*, as possibly attached to the court of Alfred the Great, is an Anglo-Saxon response (inclusive of Carolingian anxieties) to Viking communities in northern England.

Yonatan Livneh begins the theme of internal dialogues with an investigation into the fifth-century church histories of the East Romans Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen. Stressing the tensions between projecting inclusivity and internal division in reporting the history of the Church, he proposes a period of moderation after the Council of Ephesus (431) that ended with the controversies at the Second Council of Ephesus (449) and Chalcedon (451). Following on, Daniel Leary analyses inclusion and exclusion in the seventh-century writings of the Palestinian monk Anthony of Choziba against the backdrop of the controversy over Chalcedon. He argues that Anthony's texts represent a pragmatic acceptance of different theological perspectives, where inclusiveness is advocated as a means of 'conversion'. Remaining in Palestine, Peter Schadler moves to controversies over episcopal authority in the eighth century and the doctrinal defence of the authoritative status of ecumenical church councils by Melkite theologians against a backdrop of Muslim criticisms of conciliar authority.

Moving to Persecution and Dissent, Éric Fournier investigates the Homoian Vandals' continuation of Roman legislation against heresy in north Africa, merely repurposing existing Catholic forms of enforced inclusion. Robin Whelan follows with an examination of the relationship between ethnic identity and Homoian Christianity in Ostrogothic Italy and Visigothic Spain. He cautions against the notion of a 'Gothic Christianity' based on ethnic identity, rather saying that attitudes to inclusion and exclusion had a theological basis. Erica Buchberger subsequently explores the intersection between the now-Catholic Gothic identity in seventh-century Spain and Jewishness. Tracking an increasing absorption of 'Gothicness' into notions of a unified Catholic people, she argues that the exclusion of Jews was a result of convenience. Moving to anti-Jewish sentiment in seventh-century Francia, Thomas J. MacMaster examines the 'Fredegar Chronicle' to detail concord between Dagobert and Emperor Heraclius over the forced conversion of Jews, proposing that this 'forgotten' pogrom may have created the first Western Christian state purged of Jews.

Following the theme of elite networks as a form of exclusivity, Emmanuelle Raga examines, through the eyes of the fifth-century aristocrat and bishop Sidonius Apollinaris, the possible distinctions made between 'barbarian' approaches to food and the 'Mediterranean Triad' of bread, wine, and olives. She argues that distinctions made by Sidonius were based on class and not ethnicity. In the final article, Aleksander Paradziński investigates the elite networks of the fifth-century Ardaburii, a family of Alan descent. Charting the significant rise of this 'barbarian'

family within Roman aristocracies, Paradziński demonstrates that 'barbarian' elites utilized both exclusive Roman networks and exclusive non-Roman networks to maintain identity. Chris Wickham draws the strands of this collected volume together by stressing three parameters to address inclusivity and exclusivity in the late antique and early medieval period in Mediterranean communities: criteria; boundaries; and negotiation. He concludes that the often-undocumented actuality on the ground was likely starkly different from the documented view from above.

The scope of this volume, moving from England to Palestine, is impressive but, as with all edited volumes, the articles work best when they coalesce on shared points. In this case, the perennial tension between Christianity and Judaism and the underlying problem of legislating for cohesion provide the most interesting backdrops. Having said this, the most interesting observations for this reader came from the least explored theme, that of class. While the geographical and thematic scope provides for a panoramic view of the issue of inclusion and exclusion in Mediterranean Christianities in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the sometimes indistinct connections indicate that the volume needed, perhaps, a larger canvas or a tighter focus.

Stephen Joyce, *Monash University*

Fugelso, Karl, ed., *Studies in Medievalism XXIX: Politics and Medievalism (Studies)*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2020; hardback; pp. 242; 21 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US$99.99; ISBN 9781843845560; eBook US$24.99; ISBN 9781787448957.

The most recent volume of *Studies in Medievalism* offers five shorter essays on contemporary political uses of medievalism and nine longer essays on other appearances of medievalism across multiple genres. Esther Liberman Cuenca explores how failed American vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin appropriated the vilely anti-Semitic charge of blood libel from the Middle Ages to characterize herself as a victim. Sean Griffin looks at the ways both Vladimir Putin and the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church have manipulated the medieval life and legend of Saint 'Equal-of-the-Apostles' Prince Vladimir to justify continued Russian aggression toward Ukraine. A third misreading of the Middle Ages, Daniel Wollenberg argues, informs the embrace of the 732 Battle of Tours not only by the white supremacist Australian terrorist who murdered fifty-one people in an attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, but also by those who would excuse the actions of the Trump administration at the United States–Mexico border.

Linkage between Brexit and the medieval is hardly surprising, as the argument to stay or to leave is inevitably tied to what the terms 'Britain' and 'England' have meant now and in the past. Two essays in this volume discuss this linkage in very different ways. Borrowing vocabulary from Patrick J. Geary's *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton University

Press, 2002), Andrew B. R. Elliott sees the argument over Brexit as an extension of a pan-European crisis of identity that was part of the fallout from the end of the Cold War. The defenders of Brexit do not so much celebrate their nation as instead summon up an imagined medievalist notion of 'us' versus 'them' in order to vanquish those now deemed enemies of the people. Christopher Jensen sees Brexit as backdrop for Joe Cornish's 2019 film *The Kid Who Would Be King*; the problem with Jensen's reading of the film is that its final admonition borders on the Pollyanna-esque. Patrick Stewart's Merlin tells the central characters that children have an abundance of inherent goodness and nobility and that the future is theirs. The film is not exactly a cutting-edge commentary for our times. Nor is Guy Ritchie's *King Arthur: Legend of the Sword* (2017), which Mary Behrman takes to task for erasing the Welsh elements from the Arthurian legend. Behrman may give Ritchie too much credit, though, given the dismal critical reception that his film received.

Political uses of medievalism can be found across a variety of genres, as the remaining essays in this volume show. Ali Frauman finds, not surprisingly, that the internet can be both a blessing and a curse, especially when Alternative Right online fora distort the medieval to support their beliefs by filtering discrimination towards one historically oppressed group through an ostensible celebration of another. Laura E. Cochrane argues how medievalism and political polemic inform an 1880 portrait of the child-emperor Honorius by Jean-Paul Laurens. M. J. Toswell lays the groundwork for a reconsideration of the importance that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow played in establishing American medievalism.

Victoria Yuskaitis and Laura Varnam address the influence of another historical figure, Julian of Norwich, on medievalism's legacy, though in decidedly different ways. Yuskaitis argues for an archaeological investigation of the remains of Julian's cell and belongings as a means to explicate her writings and those of her colleagues. Varnam looks for evidence of Julian in an entirely different place, the Harry Potter series, which she argues subtly promotes a Julian notion of pity.

The relationship between medievalist texts and maps informs Anna Fore Waymack and John Wyatt Greenlee's discussion of the functions of fantasy maps in the works of J. R. R. Tolkien, George R. R. Martin, and the authors of other fantasy medievalisms. Usha Vishnuvajjala finds evidence of manipulation of the medieval in an episode of *Doctor Who*, which uses humour in its depiction of the legend of Robin Hood to ask us to question what we think we know about the medieval. In a similar vein, James Cook suggests ways in which sonic engineers for video fantasy games shape our interpretations of the medieval, though happily in ways less dangerous and politically disturbing than other examples of political medievalism discussed in this volume.

Politics and Medievalism offers a great deal of thoughtful discussion, not all of which readers may agree with, but one of the purposes of such a volume is to encourage further discussion of issues that have proven fairly combative in other venues. The editor promises a follow-up volume for 2021 of further studies

of the ways in which the medieval has been manipulated to advance any number of agendas. If I have a complaint about the volume, it is that it has no index, presumably because it is, as an annual, a sort of hybrid between a journal issue and a collection of essays by diverse hands. But other such annuals—*Studies in the Age of Chaucer* for instance—are fully indexed, and thus give readers a clearer indication not only about what topics are discussed, but also of the ways in which individual essays engage with and even interrogate others.

Kevin J. Harty, *La Salle University, Philadelphia*

Garrod, Raphaele, *Cosmographical Novelties in French Renaissance Prose (1550–1630): Dialectic and Discovery* (Early European Research, 9), Turnhout, Brepols, 2016; hardback; pp. x, 389; 12 b/w illustrations, 7 b/w tables; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503550459.

This impressive book explores how cosmological and cosmographical 'novelties' were explained and presented in early modern France—at a time when Tycho Brahe discovered new stars, Copernicus and Kepler observed comets, and Galileo invented the telescope, we can understand the epistemic 'trouble' it created. Situated at the intersection of intellectual history and the history of science, this book investigates 'the role of dialectical invention in the textual shaping and popularization of some of the major epistemic changes of the early modern period' (p. 14). Focusing on cosmology (the study of the universe as a whole), and cosmography, 'the description of the earth within the greater system of the world' (p. 212), the author studies the 'rhetorical and poetic fabric' of five French Renaissance prose texts. She shows how language shaped the scholarly view of the natural worlds and describes how 'the *loci* of dialectical invention actually contributed to the articulation, dissemination, and assessment of new cosmological and cosmographical representations' (p. 10) not only in scientific but also in vernacular genres.

After a copious introduction ('Cosmographical Novelties: Unravelling the Dialectical Fabric of French Prose', pp. 1–36), the first chapter ('Dialectic and Natural Philosophy: An Early Modern Panorama' pp. 37–97) outlines the history of dialectic—'the art of debating about probable issues' (p. 38), according to Aristotle—and its links with natural philosophy, the study of the heavens, from antiquity to the sixteenth century. It also explores the *loci*—or argument structures—used to construct a probable demonstration, such as 'from similars', 'from testimony', and 'from description'.

After this introductory chapter, the book is divided in two parts, Part I covering the cosmological ('Natural-Theological, Sceptical, and Revolutionary Subversions', Chapters 2 and 3) and the cosmographical novelties ('Inventing the New World and National Geographies', Chapters 4 to 6). All the texts quoted in French are carefully translated. Chapter 2 ('Natural Theology and Cosmological Novelties: The Huguenot Encyclopaedia and the Jesuit Miscellany', pp. 101–50)

focuses on a Protestant encyclopedia (Pierre de La Primaudaye's *Troisième tome de l'Académie Françoise*, 1590) and a Jesuit textbook (Étienne Binet's *Essay des merveilles de nature et des plus nobles artifices*, 1621), highlighting in particular how the use of the *loci* 'from similars' and 'from authority' informed the discussion of novelties about the heavens.

Chapter 3 ('Cosmological Fictions: Sceptical and Revolutionary Uses of the *Loci*', pp. 151–207) examines Montaigne's *Essais*, II. 12—the 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond' (written between 1572 and 1592)—and Descartes's heliocentric cosmological fable *Le Monde, ou Traité de la lumière*, written between 1630 and 1633. Garrod shows how both thinkers, while openly critiquing dialectic and condemning 'the excessive reliance on arguments "from authority" though in different ways' (p. 153), still rely on the use of rhetorical *loci* in their essays in their efforts to comprehend the heavens.

After these works dedicated to cosmology, the author turns to cosmography. Chapter 4 ('Early Modern Cosmography: Definitions and Tensions in Contemporary Scholarship', pp. 211–24) briefly offers some background, clarifying for instance the terms 'cosmography', 'geography', and 'chorography'.

Chapter 5 ('The *Locus* from Authority in Cosmography and Geography', pp. 225–57) and Chapter 6 ('*Loci* in Cosmography and Geography: Probable Disciplines. Defining Novelties, Inventing National Geographies', pp. 259–311) explore François de Belleforest's *Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (1575), 'a patriotic geographical *summa*' (p. 5), translated into French from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* (1550). Through a close study of text and illustrations, the author analyses the use of the *loci* 'from the parts' and 'from authority' as well as of 'from notation', and how they 'inform the debates of the cosmographical revolution in a variety of ways' (p. 310). She shows how Münster and Belleforest build a political 'consensus about national identity' (p. 260). The short conclusion ('Dialectical Invention: The Discursive Emergence of Novelties and Epistemic Change', pp. 313–19) is followed by five appendices describing and commenting on the main *loci* discussed by the author. A rich bibliography (pp. 365–86) and an index of names add to the usefulness of this valuable book.

Véronique Duché, *The University of Melbourne*

Gates, Jay Paul, and Brian T. **O'Camb**, eds, *Remembering the Medieval Present: Generative Uses of England's Pre-Conquest Past, 10th to 15th Centuries* (Explorations in Medieval Culture, 11), Leiden, Brill, 2019; hardback; pp. x, 339; 3 colour illustrations; R.R.P. US$126.00, €105.00; ISBN 9789004395152.

Jay Paul Gates and Brian T. O'Camb's edited volume *Remembering the Medieval Present* is the eleventh in the *Explorations in Medieval Culture* series. In the interdisciplinary style characteristic of the series, it combines historical,

philological, and manuscript approaches to political, religious, and literary sources in order to explore how the history of pre-Conquest England was engaged with, rewritten, and reinterpreted in the tenth to fifteenth centuries. At the centre of these essays sits an investigation into history, time, and community—collectively they explore how the past was used to create and navigate identity in the present.

Medieval historiography and its utilization in identity building in medieval England is an area of considerable recent focus. The editors situate the anthology as an extension on the works of Brett Martin and David A. Woodman (*The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, Ashgate, 2015), Elaine Treharne (*Living through Conquest*, Oxford University Press, 2012), and Renée Trilling (*The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, University of Toronto Press, 2009), which all explore a similar theme of how medieval people engaged with and represented history. Taking undertreated sources like *Poema Morale* or new angles on greater-known ones, including Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, it builds upon these works to 'trouble simple definitions of identity and period' (p. 3). The interdisciplinary approach of this collection is a great strength here. It contributes a comprehensive analysis into diverse usages of history, drawing out how different genres of sources in various ways worked to a similar goal of identity building.

The first three chapters analyse sources that invoke the authorizing figures of kings. How these invocations were used to smooth over conflict and changes is a question addressed by Gates and Nicole Marafioti. Marafioti explores how the Laws of Archbishop Wulfstan construct continuity by calling upon King Edgar, and Gates suggests that Aelred of Rievaulx's genealogy of Henry II sought to create a common identity and foster national cohesion. Providing a convincing analysis of great breadth, Erin Michelle Goeres analyses how Edward the Confessor's story was retold and rewritten in Anglo-Norman, Middle English, and Old Norse sources to reflect on nostalgia, exile, and migration.

How historical works centred around spiritual communities both authorized them and built their identity is the focus of the next two chapters. Analysing the interpolators of William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie* and Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History*, Maren Clegg Hyer suggests that both sought to unify the Anglo-Norman and early English ecclesiastical traditions to foster unity. Looking at communities of nuns, Cynthia Turner Camp presents a clear and convincing argument as to how they searched for ancestral figures, of their nunneries and elsewhere, as spiritual models.

Literary usages of the past occupy the next four chapters. Continuing the focus on women, Larissa Tracy explores early English queenship in *Havelok the Dane,* arguing that Goldeboru is modelled on examples of historical and literary queenship who provide a paradigm for rule. The next three chapters investigate how these literary works used history and adapted from earlier works. Kathleen Smith, in exploring the addition of the narrator's incredulity in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, crucially highlights how national legends could be created and recreated by poets, while O'Camb explores the relationship between audiences,

editors, and authors in the stylistic continuities of Old English poetics in *The Proverbs of Alfred.* Greatly benefited through a study of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts*,* Carla María Thomas analyses how early Middle English verse crossed boundaries of time and purpose. She notably stresses the importance of reading the *Poema Morale* within the context of all manuscripts rather than an individual copy.

With a strong finish, Eric Weiskott examines the utilization of Bede in late medieval and early modern prophecy. Addressing the authority of invoking earlier prophets in politics, he argues that in 1399 England 'Bede emerges not merely as an idea but a weapon' (p. 287). He provides a valuable addition to this topic, through an expansive list of Bedan English prophecies and a critical edition of the previously unedited early fifteenth-century *Bede's Prophecy.*

Irina Dumitrescu and Mary Kate Hurley close with a clear summation of the essays and the book's goal, but crucially also emphasize the significance of interacting with history in our present. After discussing the use of medievalism in fiction, they highlight how medievalism is and can be used in right-wing populism. To this end, they stress that modern scholarship should engage 'with its own fantasies of cultural continuity' (p. 293), as they can be appropriated by and actively shape ethnocentric, nationalist narratives.

Overall, *Medieval Present* provides a compelling variety of investigations into usages of the pre-Conquest past across genres and contexts; it is a sound addition to the research into appeals to history.

Lucy Moloney, *Monash University*

Griffey, Erin, ed*., Sartorial Politics in Early Modern Europe: Fashioning Women*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2019; hardback, pp. 344; 62 b/w illustrations, 11 colour plates; R.R.P. €109.00; ISBN 9789462986008.

In the courts of Renaissance Europe fashion was one of the primary visual vehicles that proclaimed the wealth, power, and magnificence of monarchs and their courtiers. The dress and politics of powerful men have been the focus of many articles and books, Maria Hayward's work on Henry VIII (*Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, Maney, 2007) and the Stuart monarchy (*Stuart Style*, Yale University Press, 2020), and Ulinka Rublack's work on Matthäus Schwarz and the so-called 'world's first fashion book' (*The First Book of Fashion*, Bloomsbury, 2015) being notable examples. In this edited collection, Erin Griffey shines the spotlight on the women of the early modern European courts and examines the ways that they engaged in sartorial politics, marshalling their clothing and accessories for political aims just like their male counterparts.

This well-illustrated collection of essays shows how women used clothing for real political ends. Whether it be through gift-exchange, the wearing of certain garments or jewels to subtly push their own agendas, or to assert their own power

through patronage or display, dress for early modern women was more than just vanity—it was one of the few things in their arsenal that they could use to engage with and assert personal agency in politics. To show how women engaged in soft power through their clothing choices, Griffey has assembled an impressive array of scholars from English and non-English speaking academies to provide English-language essays on this topic.

Thematically the essays in *Sartorial Politics* fit into three broad categories. The first category, as one would expect, focuses on how court women used dress to show their own political power and influence, or to legitimize their position at court as queen or consort. The strategies employed in gift-giving by women such as Isabella d'Este and Elizabeth I are analysed by Sarah Cockram and Susan Vincent. The calculated consumption and display of dress by monarchs such as Christina of Sweden, in this case in her unusual position as a female king, and Catherine of Braganza, as the overlooked wife of Charles II, are also explored by Julia Holm and Maria Hayward.

A second theme that runs across many of the essays addresses the sartorial methods that women used to assert their power or that of their families when moving between their natal or adopted courts to new ones. Kirsten O. Frieling examines the place of court women and their trousseaus as key agents of fashion circulation in early modern Germany due to their physical movement between courts after marriage. Lisa Mansfield also examines the sartorial use of jewels and gems that aided imperial Habsburg visions by Eleanor of Austria during her time in the courts of Portugal and France. Notable contributions under this general theme are Jemma Field's examination of how Anna of Denmark strategically utilized jewellery to assert her Danish connections and her desire for an Anglo-Spanish match, and Griffey's essay on Henrietta Maria's use of mourning dress to campaign for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy while in exile on the continent.

Finally, contributions also deal with methodological issues in studying dress. The piece on French Renaissance queens by Isabelle Paresys highlights the difficulties of working on royal dress during this period due to the fragmentary nature of archival sources relating to the French courts. Juliet Claxton and Evelyn Welch's essay on fashion at the court of Charles II takes a different approach, examining the 1682 inventory of a 'china woman' who supplied exotic goods to the court, using this tradeswoman's probate to get a better understanding of what court women may have purchased.

As is often the case with edited collections, *Sartorial Politics* contains a mix of writings of varying strengths. Articles by Isabelle Paresys, Susan Vincent, Sarah Cockram, and Julia Holm provide a good grounding and introduction to the subjects explored, while new perspectives on overlooked figures, diplomatic relationships and the circulation of fashion are offered by Jemma Field, Maria Hayward, Erin Griffey, and Juliet Claxton and Evelyn Welch. Those who are new to dress history will also find Griffey's introductory essay especially useful, as it provides a great overview of court women, magnificence, and fashion during the early modern period.

While covering some well-trodden fields, the strength of *Sartorial Politics* lies in the broad range of courts examined—in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Sweden, and England—as well as its interdisciplinary approach. Scholars from history, art history and literary studies are all represented. I recommend the book to those who are new to the field of dress and material culture studies, and those who are interested in European court culture, fashion, and female agency more specifically.

Sarah Bendall, *The University of Melbourne*

Hayes, Dawn Marie, *Roger II of Sicily: Family, Faith, and Empire in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces, 7), Turnhout, Brepols, 2020; hardback; pp. 221; 18 b/w illustrations, 4 b/w tables; R.R.P. €75.00; ISBN 9782503581408.

One of the enduring fascinations of the twelfth century is the way in which Roger II of Sicily managed to carve out for himself a kingdom of enormous wealth and influence despite the fact that his father and uncles had been part of the first generation of Norman warriors to arrive in Italy as penniless mercenaries. Roger's achievements and the key narrative and administrative sources have been thoroughly studied, notably in the works of Graham Loud, and yet the glittering brilliance of Roger's court continues to draw new acolytes. Dawn Marie Hayes is among their number, as attested by the admiring yet thoughtful and perceptive tone of this recent addition to the Brepols series 'Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces'.

The themes listed in the book's subtitle indicate the division of the work into three parts (of two chapters each). While there are plentiful cross-references between sections, the study does have the feel of a collection of separate essays on a broadly similar theme and perhaps lacks a strong sense of overall coherence or coordinated argument from one section to the next. The introduction and conclusion are both brief for a work of this nature and neither offers more than a fairly superficial attempt to connect the major themes and arguments of the book's individual chapters. This impression is reinforced when it becomes apparent that three of the six substantive chapters are essentially reprints of the author's recent journal articles. A cross-check of Chapter 5 with the original version—which appeared in *Viator* in 2013—reveals that any 'revisions' are minor and cosmetic to help the article fit more comfortably into the current work.

While this is disappointing, it is not to say that the book lacks scholarly value. Part I, 'Family', is where the bulk of the author's new work is found. Two chapters examine the marriages of Roger II and the possible motivations behind them. Roger was first married to the Spanish princess Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI of León-Castile. Hayes argues persuasively for the political benefits of this marriage, considering that Roger, like Alfonso before him, ruled a peripheral region of the Christian world that involved dealing with Muslim neighbours. The king's brief

second and third marriages late in his life, necessitated in part by the death of male children and the desperate need to ensure dynastic continuity, were both to French noblewomen, one a descendant of Charlemagne. Here Hayes makes the case, also pursued in Chapter 5, of closer connections between Roger and the French monarchy and nobility than some scholars have previously allowed for. Roger's tantalizing connections with the Arabic and Byzantine worlds may have blinded previous critics to the more prosaic connections with the culture of Roger's own ancestors. Through an in-depth consideration of what we know about the careers and family backgrounds of each of Roger's wives, Hayes builds a careful argument about the potential diplomatic and dynastic benefits that may have led Roger to choose the brides he did.

Part II, 'Faith', considers Norman connections to the cult of St Nicholas in Bari. Roger is a very distant figure in Chapter 3, one of the reprinted articles, which assesses the importance of Nicholas for earlier Normans active in Italy in the eleventh century. While the chapter is valuable in its own right, its inclusion in this collection must be questionable. Furthermore, the connection to Chapter 4 feels forced. The latter includes new work that makes a case for Roger's devotion to Nicholas but focuses more on the difficulties of creating a maritime state, over which Nicholas, the 'Christian Poseidon' (p. 126), might be considered a protector. Finally, Section 3, 'Empire', contains two essays examining the famous mosaic portrait of Roger in the church known as La Martorana, in Palermo. Each makes interesting connections between details of the image, such as the appearance of fleurs-de-lis on Roger's robes, and their possible political and dynastic significance, arguing that they provide a window on Roger's unfulfilled imperial ambitions.

The work has a somewhat uneven feel to it, as if loosely linked essays have been shoehorned into an awkward compendium. The author may have been better to aim for publication of the new material as individual journal articles, rather than, as one suspects has happened, staking all on the production of the career-enhancing monograph. Yet there is no doubt that Hayes sets forth detailed, carefully considered insights and intriguing (though contestable) hypotheses about the motivations and self-image of Roger II of Sicily, one of the most alluring figures of the entire medieval era.

Lindsay Diggelmann, *The University of Auckland*

Jahnke, Carsten, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck* (Brill's Companions to European History, 18), Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2019; cloth; pp. xx, 413; R.R.P. €162.00; ISBN 9789004380684.

This book must be wholeheartedly recommended to anyone working on medieval urban history. It fills an amazing gap in historical studies in English about the World Heritage Site the city of Lübeck. It provides an invaluable introduction to recent scholarship about many aspects of this leading Hanseatic city in the Middle Ages, each section written by an expert in that topic. The many different

sides of its extensive city life, from housing to religion, are investigated with the assistance of immaculate images of the layout of the city. The painstaking recreation of buildings long destroyed in war and conflict and the practices of the different religious orders creates a visible background to the life of the city in the period. The identification of the long-destroyed buildings and fortifications within which the burghers spent their time gives a new impression of the context of the distinctive, if rigid, social life of Lübeckers at all levels.

While its editor denies that the book sets out to be a master narrative, the authors of each of the different sections achieve a new, all embracing international overview of their different subjects. They examine the city in the wider historical context of the social and geographical area and achieve a remarkable depth of information about many of the crucial elements of its history, so making possible a precise comparison with major maritime cities elsewhere in Europe such as Venice and Marseille.

The recovery of much of the substantial Lubeck archives, which had been dispersed in World War II to a range of safe places from which they have only recently been returned, has enabled scholars to undertake considerable revision of the account established in Helmold von Bosau's medieval chronicle, which had long been accepted as the classical account of the area. The combination of recent painstaking archaeological and historical investigation with reconsideration of the art, music, and philosophy of the area has permitted a revised account of critical elements of the previously largely neglected local life of the residents.

Another important aspect of Lübeck's history examined here, which is so often neglected in histories of medieval cities, is the role of religious institutions. The study of the long-lasting conflict between city and clergy that occasionally became violent is set beside the social profile of an episcopate that had a largely burgher background. The struggle of the city to control nomination to clerical positions in their local churches is an element of the culture which has been for the first time in English properly incorporated in an analysis of the government of this imperial city.

The wide range of topics covered means that there is somewhat less consideration of the subjects that usually dominate urban studies, such as the economic underpinning of the imperial city and the administrative working of its governing Council. However, the sections examining the function of the city in providing support for the residents and those living in its geographical hinterland, who from the start needed salt herring for survival, make the ruling economic structure clear. The sections examining the growth of an integrated trade system linking the Baltic to the north and various cities to the south show the differences between a city on the Baltic and one on the Mediterranean. These differences, nevertheless, did not obliterate the cultural function of Lübeck as a vital source of artistic and musical inspiration for the Baltic area. The chapter on the artist Hermen Rode, about whom so little is securely known, establishes the impact he and his fellow artist Berndt Notke had on the development of art in the Baltic

region. The careful dissection of the architectural development of the city reveals for the first time the way in which the local architects developed their own unique style and design, suited to the environment. Jahnke's final chapter on the role of the confraternities in binding the society together, bridging the urban and religious worlds, provides a satisfactory conclusion.

SYBIL JACK, *The University of Sydney*

Kaufman, Amy S., and Paul B. **Sturtevant**, *The Devil's Historians: How Modern Extremists Abuse the Medieval Past*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2020; paperback; pp. 208, 4 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US$21.95; ISBN 9781487587840.

The purpose of *The Devil's Historians* is made clear in the introduction: 'With this book we hope to expose and challenge the many dangerous fantasies—past and present—that are based on misperceptions of medieval history' (p. 8).

In the authors' view, the thousand years 500–1500, known collectively as the Middle Ages, are especially vulnerable to such misperceptions because they are 'particularly murky in the modern imagination' (p. 6). The problem with such fantasies is not their inaccuracy in itself; rather it is the use to which they are put. Such myths 'have a long and terrible legacy of being used to hurt people' (p. 8). If I had had any doubts about the horrific ends to which medievalism can be employed, this book would have cured them. Part of its value is in sentences like this, which take us to the heart of the matter in everyday language: these myths are used to hurt people. For anyone keen to know how medievalist myths are used as weapons, this book is the place to start. It is also a mine of information and analysis for anyone wishing to research more deeply into the dangerous uses of medievalism.

Chapter 1 is devoted to disentangling fact from fiction in a variety of commonly held myths about the Middle Ages that, for many, pass as the truth. The danger of making the Middle Ages 'a dumping ground for all of humanity's bad behaviour' (p. 10), is that we can believe that we have freed ourselves from the abuses of the past whilst blithely ignoring those same abuses occurring today (p. 10).

Each of the following chapters explores different aspects of medievalism and the different ways in which it can affect the lives of ordinary people. Each chapter is divided into sections devoted to particular aspects of medievalism and the ways in which it is used to demean and oppress a target population: Jews, Muslims, people of colour, women, anyone perceived as 'different' from a supposed norm.

Chapter 2 explores the dangers of a European nationalism defined not by a place but by '*a people*, based on factors that include race, religion, culture, and language' (p. 29). Such distinctions made by nationalists rely on the fiction of a 'pure' European medieval past that 'not only had concrete, rigid geographical borders but firm ethnic borders as well' (p. 51). Accordingly, any who did not

conform to the national myth could be labelled as foreigners in their own countries (pp. 29–30), with all the abuse and suffering that entailed.

Chapter 3 examines the 'Clash of Civilizations' argument that conflict between civilizations, defined by religion and culture, is inevitable (p. 64). Kaufman and Sturtevant argue, not that such clashes never occurred, but that they were only part of the story. For instance, in 'An Interfaith Medieval World' they examine a diverse, cosmopolitan southern Europe where mutual tolerance was the norm. Cultural clashes, they acknowledge, may have been common since the Middle Ages, given that 'war is part of human nature' (p. 79), but also, 'as the medieval world can teach us, so are coexistence, shared knowledge, and peace' (p. 79). Here, as throughout the book, the authors show the inadequacy of one-sided accounts. In this, as in other ways, they demonstrate the value of thorough, balanced, and compassionate investigation through their own example as well as through their accounts.

Chapter 4, in the words of its authors, will 'take you through the centuries of propaganda that elevated medieval Europe, and medieval white people, in the modern imagination' (p. 82). In a range of examples, from American slavery propaganda films through to 'Neomedieval white feminism' (p. 90), this chapter explores the hatred and violence of white supremacist writings, and actions fuelled by destructive forms of medievalism, and investigates also the recent 'wave of scholarly pushback' from medievalists aiming to 'correct the record' (p. 92).

In similar fashion the two remaining chapters address questions of gender (Chapter 5) and religious extremism (Chapter 6). The epilogue attempts, in spite of the 'dark places' to which the book has taken us, to leave us with a measure of hope for 'approaching the Middle Ages playfully' while also 'seeing the full humanity of medieval people' (p. 151). Readers are encouraged to tell 'a new set of stories', ones which encompass 'the full humanity of medieval people' (p. 153). My only concern is that people's preferred medieval stories seem very frequently to be the most erroneous and most malevolent, given the human predilection for the stories that make us feel better (p. 7), by flattering our illusions of superiority (p. 3). What this book really demonstrates is the need for and the value of good, honest history.

Helen Dell, *The University of Melbourne*

Kesling, Emily, *Medical Texts in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (Anglo-Saxon Studies, 38), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2020; cloth; pp. xii, 223; R.R.P. £19.99; ISBN 9781843845492.

The novelty of Emily Kesling's examination of the four Old English medical compilations lies in regarding them as literary translations made by skilled Latinists for readers interested in medicine as a liberal art. In other words, she is suggesting that the vernacular medical compilations were read by an educated elite engaged in the eclectic pursuit of knowledge of the nature of God and his

creation that is exemplified by the study of *computus*. Specifically, she argues that all four compilations were produced in major ecclesiastical centres, and that each of them consistently displays connections with an elite intellectual culture.

Kesling's view flies in the face of a substantial body of scholarship that argues that *Bald's Leechbook* was compiled for the use of a specialist practitioner (or practitioners). She does not address this anomaly, nor does she mention Angus Cameron's study of its 'professionalism', particularly its repeated references to the specialist expertise and equipment employed by leeches. Her analysis of a few passages to illustrate the differing styles of translation is admirably clear, but scarcely necessary, given that the translators' handling of their Latin sources has already been demonstrated in painstaking and comprehensive detail by Cameron and others.

Kesling is by no means the first to see a connection between the educational revival associated with King Alfred and *Bald's Leechbook*, copied at Winchester *c*. 950 from an exemplar dated *c*. 900. The connection is inescapable, in view of the *Leechbook*'s account of medical advice and pharmacological ingredients sent to Alfred by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, also mentioned in Asser's biography of the king. Cumulatively, there is evidence of an interest in the practical application of medical knowledge at Alfred's court, which includes an echo of the *Leechbook*'s entry on synovia in the compensation for injury clauses of Alfred's law-code. What needs to be addressed is whether the *Leechbook* reflects the encouragement given to the study of medical practice by the king's chronic illness, or whether it was actually part of the same educational project as the translation of Boethius's *Consolation*, Augustine's *Soliloquies*, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and the Tollemache *Orosius*.

Kesling's discussion of the *Old English Herbarium* as a product of the Benedictine Reform draws chiefly on Maria D'Aronco, who argued that the translation may have originated at Winchester under the auspices of Bishop Athelwold. The three extant manuscript copies, however, appear to have been undertaken independently of one another, not disseminated from Winchester. It is worth recalling, moreover, that the number of reformed monasteries in the late Anglo-Saxon period, though small, exceeded the three that Kesling names, and Linda Voigts made a strong case for an East Anglian provenance for London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius C III. But book owners and readers in the late Anglo-Saxon period included high status lay men and women, and also, presumably, the male and female members of *un*-reformed communities.

In her chapter on *Lacnunga*, Kesling pursues her overall thesis by arguing that it shows a learned interest in foreign languages, letters, and alphabets. This seems to me to confuse the eighth- and ninth-century translators of *Lacnunga*'s sources with its eleventh-century readers, whose intellectual appreciation of these matters must have been severely limited by the copyists' garbled rendering of Irish and the three sacred languages.

The chapter on *Leechbook III* argues that learned persons must have created the remedies for illnesses attributed to elves because the cures employ medical expertise and ecclesiastical practices. Kesling, then, like Karen Jolly, and a number of others, regards the pagan elements in *Leechbook III* and *Lacnunga* as having been Christianized. She shows no sign of having considered the argument advanced by Valerie Flint in her landmark study of early medieval magic. Whereas Jolly described a process of Christian cultural imperialism, Flint envisaged a process of cultural negotiation between the Church and pagan societies. In particular, she argued that late Anglo-Saxon monasteries' involvement in pastoral care led to the development of remedies intended to combat the resurgence of pagan practices. These included the deliberate retention of some pagan practices prohibited by ecclesiastical councils, so that what eventually emerged triumphant was *Christian* magic.

I am less confident than Flint that *Lacnunga*, for example, demonstrates that reformed Benedictine monks were firmly in control of this cultural negotiation. I am disappointed to see that Kesling has misrepresented my explanation of that. I have not space to do justice to her concluding chapter, in which she argues that what Ælfric condemned was not learned medicine but the pagan healing practices of ignorant and superstitious lay people. I recommend to her attention, however, another splendid article by Voigts listed in her bibliography. It discusses the contrast between Ælfric's condemnation of classical gods in *De falsis diis* and the *Old English Herbarium*'s literary and artistic affirmation of Graeco-Roman gods and heroes as the authorities from which the healing arts derive.

STEPHANIE HOLLIS, *The University of Auckland*

Kjesrud, Karoline, and Mikael **Males**, eds, *Faith and Knowledge in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavia* (Knowledge, Scholarship and Science in the Middle Ages, 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2020; hardback; pp. 306; 19 colour illustrations, 6 b/w tables; R.R.P. €95.00, ISBN 9782503579009.

Karoline Kjesrud and Mikael Males have curated a collection of important contributions to our understanding of margins and interstices in medieval and early modern Scandinavia and Iceland, in particular to the ways we construe the temporal continuum from medieval to early modern, the ways we negotiate shared and divergent acts of faith that implicate both magic and religion, and the ways that we understand evolving concepts of knowledge and faith. Indeed, the relationship between faith and knowledge is the primary structuring figure in this volume: how ideas and perceptions of knowledge and its relationship with wisdom on the one hand and faith on the other have an impact on religious behaviours, piety, and institutions. Importantly, the works in this volume examine religious and pious behaviours across a long period, contextualizing a long hangover of pre-

Christian Nordic beliefs and performance and tracing continuities across what is traditionally treated as the great divide of the Reformation.

The contributions in this volume encompass an array of disciplines, sources, and evidence types, although there is certainly a tendency to favour textualities over artefacts, as might be expected, given the nature of the topic and the extent of its survival in textual form. The collection commences Aksel Haaning's study of the nature of medieval knowledge, wisdom, and faith, which encompasses the influence of the Church Fathers, undercurrents of mysticism and natural philosophy, and the impact of scholasticism on evolving expression of faith and its relationship to knowledge. Then follow a number of the contributions exploring literary transmission as indicators of evolving patterns of faith and veneration, including tracing the fortunes of a wide array of saints and their narratives. Kjesrud's contribution provides a quantitative analysis of three genres of Norse narrative expressing power, authority, and devotion: kings' sagas, bishops' sagas, and hagiographies. While the analysis might have benefited from finer granularity, the findings are telling: the kings' sagas reveal a decline in the later Middle Ages, ceding ground to hagiographies. She analyses this shift in the context of religious, social, and political history, concluding her chapter with an examination of a late manuscript, *Maríu saga*, as an example of individual perception of faith and knowledge. A somewhat different approach to textual history is taken by Maria Husabø Oen in her examination of the cult of the Sweden's Saint Birgitta, where she examines the importance of the saint's physical presence in the Holy Land for asserting the authenticity of her revelations, and the implications for divine knowledge. Then follows a thorough enumeration by Natalie M. Van Deusen and Kirsten Wolf of the many hagiographic manuscripts in medieval and early modern Iceland, tracing the comparative popularity of different saints, and setting the scene for more thorough hagiographical research into the future. Margaret Cormack also examines cults of saints in Iceland, looking at evidence both physical, such as church interiors, and textual, in wills, vows, and indulgences, of Icelanders' practices in worship, prayer, and veneration. She suggests, inter alia, that post-Reformation Lutheranism in Iceland appears not to have been especially iconoclastic, with a possible sustained undercurrent of folk belief informing early modern cultural practice.

Mikael Males's contribution takes the scholarship into the realm of skaldic verse, tracing the evolution of poetic language over the centuries from pre-Christian heroic tradition to a discourse of Christian poetics, through which language choice is recast in innovative ways that reveal new, continentally inflected, religious diction. Martin Chase continues the poetic analysis, with a close literary analysis of a crux in the fourteenth-century poem *Lilja*, in which he reads the poetic language as indicating devotional perceptions at the time of its composition. Stephen A. Mitchell turns the scholarship towards charm magic and the uneasy negotiation of the lingering figure of Oðinn within a northern Christian context, and Elise Kleivane looks closely at the various means through

which an understanding is reached of the nature of Christian knowledge in late medieval Norway, in particular examining the expression of religiosity and faith in a diversity of media. She looks at variant manuscript versions of core Christian texts, the laws governing practice, and the expression of lay knowledge and faith revealed through runic inscriptions. The final two contributors, Matthew Norris and Alessia Bauer, both delve into esotericism and mysticism in the North, Norris exploring the motivated (mis-)interpretation of ancient faith in the service of modern nationalist discourse, and Bauer revealing the relationship between religion and folk belief and the exercise of mystical spirituality through hybrid acts of religion and magic.

This volume contains an exemplary array of works that bring continuities across divisions into focus and explore essential inter-relatedness across the multiple divides: between the Middle Ages and early modern, between pagan and Christian, between religion and magic, between faith and knowledge.

Roderick McDonald, *Emu Forge, Sheffield, UK*

Kriesel, James C., *Boccaccio's Corpus: Allegory, Ethics, and Vernacularity* (The William and Katherine Devers Series in Dante and Medieval Italian Literature, 15), Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2019; hardback; pp. xi, 381; R.R.P. US$65.00; ISBN 9780268104498.

Since its beginnings in 1995, the William and Katherine Devers Series in Dante and Medieval and Italian Literature has examined the multiple disciplines that constitute the borderless medieval Italian cultural tradition as they converge in the works of Dante and his contemporaries. In recent years the study of Dante's engagement in dialogic processes with his poetic contemporaries has flourished in the works of scholars such as Teodolinda Barolini, Winthrop Wetherbee, Albert R. Ascoli, and David Bowe. In the current study, James C. Kriesel broadens and vivifies this scholarly debate, applying the theme of dialogism to the works of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375). This is a novel and compelling study of Boccaccio in dialogue with Dante and Petrarch as well as other, non-canonical, authors.

In the introduction to this volume, Kriesel outlines the aim of the study: to contextualize the ideas about allegory, ethics, and vernacularity presented in Boccaccio's works within literary debates of the medieval and early Renaissance periods, and moreover to explore 'why Boccaccio reflected on these topics by reference to the body, especially the female body' (pp. 2–3). The study is presented in five chapters, each tackling a particular Boccaccian thematic strand (allegory, poetics, ethics, love, hatred) and linking the theme to one or more works, while also examining each work within a comparative framework as Boccaccio himself intended (p. 7). The fundamental and persuasive argument is that, contrary to common scholarly belief, Boccaccio was no mere admirer of his contemporaries.

His declarations of admiration are tactical, used to demonstrate the greater relevance and relatability of his own views on contemporaneous literary debates.

In Chapter 1, Kriesel examines Boccaccio's allegory in the *Genealogie* in dialogue with that of Dante and the ancients. The chapter finds that Boccaccio downplays Dante's truth-telling claims out of a desire to highlight the allegorical properties of literature, and its ability to fulfil spiritual roles like those of prophets. Kriesel also notes that Boccaccio actually uses Dante to defend the feminine and fantastic texts from which he had distanced himself, conceptualizing Dante as a 'feminine vernacular author' (p. 53).

Chapter 2 addresses Boccaccio's erotic writings and his symbolic use of both chaste and erotic bodies within those writings. Kriesel argues that Boccaccio's *Ameto* champions and redeems female bodies, often scorned for their supposed inability to signify ideas about spirituality or ethics, by 'making them the privileged medium through which Ameto [...] experiences ethical and spiritual truths' (p. 83).

Chapter 3 analyses the dialogic relationship of the *Amorosa visione* with Dante's *Commedia*. Kriesel argues convincingly that Boccaccio's texts emphasize the human inability to transcend the corporeal, as it is through embodiment that humans are able to enjoy and learn from erotic narratives. Kriesel also depicts Boccaccio's movement away from Petrarch, disturbed by his erotic desire for Laura, and towards a unique authorial persona comfortable in its symphonic understanding of eroticism and ethics.

In Chapter 4, the low style and feminine genre of the *Decameron*'s short stories are discussed in relation to references to Jesus's incarnation and resurrection found in the *Decameron*'s introduction and conclusion. These references, Kriesel argues, invite a comparison between the *Decameron* and Jesus's body, suggesting that the mundane corporeality of these short stories has also been created for human redemption (a poignant argument amidst the new wave of mass engagement with the text during the COVID-19 pandemic). The chapter also describes the contrast between Boccaccio's body-positive and Dante's anti-corporeal poetics, though it is worth noting that refrains of Dante's description of the universe as a 'volume' (*Paradiso*, xxxiii. 85–87 (l. 86)) do appear even in the evocation of Boccaccio's purportedly diverse poetics.

The fifth chapter focuses on Boccaccio's and Petrarch's reception of one another's depictions of the body through the lens of the *Corbaccio*. It is Kriesel's incisive comparative analysis of the presence of infernal Dantean elements in the Circean valley and the widow's body, however, that make this chapter particularly fascinating. The epilogue highlights the innovative nature of Boccaccio's body-centric medievalism, though the brief explanation regarding the absence of the somewhat problematic text *De mulieribus claris* from the study (pp. 271–72) lacks Kriesel's usual depth and rigour.

Overall, the study throws into sharp relief the ways in which Boccaccio enters into dialogue with his predecessors and contemporaries in order to pay

homage to their literary talents, and simultaneously to demonstrate the superiority of his own approach to allegory, ethics, and vernacularity. Kriesel moves always from the detailed analysis of primary texts to the broader medieval literary and cultural context. The careful translation work and inclusion of in-text translations throughout are commendable. This study will be of use to scholars of medieval Italian literature, and will likely be generative for scholars in medieval and literary studies more generally who wish to explore aspects of genre within a comparative and interdisciplinary framework.

Emma Louise Barlow, *The University of Sydney*

Lavender, Philip, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of* Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra (The Viking Collection, 25), Copenhagen, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2019; hardback; pp. 401; 20 b/w illustrations; R.R.P DKK$398.00; ISBN 9788740832495.

‘To really understand the impact that *Illuga saga* has had, it is necessary to engage with a great number of contiguous texts’ (pp. 350–51). Unlikely as this bold claim might seem, that such a little-known saga can even be described as having had an impact, this volume represents a challenge and a clarion call for saga scholarship more broadly. Philip Lavender is a champion of textual contiguity, and in this work, derived from his PhD and subsequent postdoctoral work at the University of Copenhagen, textual contiguity is shown to be of fundamental importance in negotiating and understanding the interactions and complexities of Icelandic narratives over their many living centuries: sagas don’t stop when the Middle Ages ended.

This study is exemplary in its methodological scope. Lavender comprehensively negotiates the range of current theoretical worlds of saga and saga-related scholarship: manuscript history; textual variability; prose/poetry interactions; intertextualities and literary contexts of production; close literary analyses against different axes; the appropriation of text for geopolitical and historical ends; and the importance of the modern reflex as an aspect of ostensibly medieval narrative. From start to finish the work is framed in clear theoretical terms. Its opening orientation is the importance of the case study as (quoting Simon Goldhill) ‘a narrativized instance that […] is always in a relation of excess or lack to its *comparandum* or generality’ (p. 15). Lavender leads this particular case study through unparalleled degrees of precision and exactitude in his treatment of the considerable range of manuscript exemplars, of which there are upward of thirty-five. He embraces wider narrative sources, for the Illuga character and the Illuga narrative take divergent forms across both poetry and prose, in fictive as well as historiographic contexts. In the course of this work he argues against long-held views about whether the original narrative was poetic or prose, revises received relationships between extant manuscript witnesses, and amends the presumed authorship of at least one of the post-medieval Illuga *rímur*.

The volume commences with an extensive examination of the 170 years of Illuga scholarship in Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Faroese, and English. Here Lavender traces the concerns of commentators to assess the transmission history of the narrative, and in so doing places the scholarship within a context of the long sociopolitical conditions in Scandinavia and associated national anxieties in a period of modern nation-state formation. Then follow a thorough review and assessment of the many manuscript sources, ordering them into groups and subgroups. Here is where one of Lavender's strengths comes to the fore: his ability to negotiate the divide between New Philology's embracing concern with manuscript variants and the literary critical approach necessary for editorial production. He makes the point that 'the "best" text must be qualified on the ground of "best for what?"' (p. 74), and having sorted the vast array of manuscript witnesses in Chapter 2, he then walks the walk with his approach to narrative analysis in Chapter 3, examining the narrative in different contexts, including the intertextual relationship of this Illuga narrative to other narratives in which there is a character named Illugi, the capacity for the saga to be read as a vehicle for exploring female agency, gender construction, sexuality, and the place of female grotesque, and the difficulties in negotiating humour and irony in such a distant narrative. Lavender then goes on to explore the impact of post-medieval saga reception and print editions, which included production of modern manuscripts based on the Rafn's early nineteenth-century printed edition. He finishes with an extensive manuscript review and analysis of Illugi *rímur* (poetic Icelandic adaptations), the majority of which are from the nineteenth century, the last manuscript dating from 1956.

Beyond this specific volume, Lavender has also produced an edition and translation of the saga, and he is currently preparing an edition of the *rímur*. A far preferable way of reading this study would be to read it alongside these editions. Taken to its logical conclusion, Lavender's articulated program of narrative, manuscript, and editorial scholarship might be interpreted as an implied criticism that modern Icelandic saga scholarship has in some ways been pursuing an incomplete or perhaps misguided or mistaken course, for its seeming systemic propensity to ignore much beyond the artificial bounds of the Middle Ages. Only now are 'post-classical' Icelandic sagas coming to enjoying some scholarly cachet, but the late medieval and early modern *fornaldarsögur* like *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, their modern reflexes, and their associated *rímur* in particular, are still awaiting their day. The case study implicates the whole, and this volume has shown comprehensively that if there is a future to saga scholarship then it must break that medieval/modern barrier, decolonize the past as a medieval other, and embrace continuities and divergent cultural expression. Is our scholarship equal to the challenge?

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Leo, Russ, *Tragedy as Philosophy in the Reformation World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019; hardback; pp. 320; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9780198834212.

Russ Leo's *Tragedy as Philosophy in the Reformation World* is an impressive, and humbling, work of meticulous scholarship. Its general purpose is to chart the development and transformation of the genre of tragedy—and the understanding of tragedy as a genre—in Europe through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This task, the author amply demonstrates, cannot be done properly without taking into account tragedy's irreducibly religious investments, especially in a world that was dominated by the Reformation and the endless confessional disputes that attended it. More specifically and importantly, the author argues that tragedy comes to serve philosophical and theological ends—that it is itself a kind of philosophy and theology. But while tragedy comes to have new meaning in a Reformation context, Leo also does considerable work to situate 'sacred tragedy', or 'Reformation poetics', in the longer literary and theological traditions that preceded it.

A robust introduction, by itself a significant contribution to scholarship, establishes early modern 'tragedy's intellectual resources' with a detailed focus on the first half of the sixteenth century. It reveals the groundwork laid by reformers Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Martin Bucer crucial for rendering tragedy into a tool for theology. As Leo writes, '*tragoedia sacra* […] enabled students to see connections between tragic form, tragic affects, and Scriptural *fabulae*' (p. 30). The first chapter then extends the interpretation of Scripture, specifically of the Book of Revelation, as tragic drama, with an analysis of David Pareus's *Commentary on Revelation* and its broader context. Of course, exegesis on *Revelation* is always also an interpretation of history, so readers gain insight into early modern views on the unfolding of tragic and sacred history, especially in relation to the unfolding of the drama of the Reformation. Chapter 2 delves into Italian reform movements in order to show how Lodovico Castelvetro's *Poetica* (1570 and 1576)—a translation and commentary of Aristotle's *Poetics* heretofore considered mainly from the perspective of the history of rhetoric—is in fact a work grounded in the principles of Erasmian and Melanchthonian religious reform and pedagogy. Leo's collation of two versions of the work reveals a heavily redacted posthumous version to have been shorn of references to Protestant luminaries and 'heterodox suggestions […] inextricable from his treatment of Aristotle' (p. 95), which illuminates how Castelvetro imagined poetry to be a useful tool of religious reform.

Chapter 3 considers the legacy of John Rainolds, known for his anti-theatrical position in the somewhat abstruse debates surrounding the permissibility of drama's use of *mendacia officiosa* in England in the 1590s. Rainolds's participation in these disputes earned him the honour, Leo argues, of being parodied as Reynaldo in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, but that subtle inclusion itself reveals the importance of debates about the public role of tragedy in Reformation England. Chapter 4 examines the works of Daniel Heinsius related to tragedy and their relationship to

the Dutch Arminian controversy over free will and predestination. Leo shows how Heinsius, while avoiding direct engagement with the specifics of the controversy itself, nevertheless establishes tragedy as a dialectical mode highly suited to investigate thorny philosophical issues of probability and necessity. In Chapter 5, Leo expands John Milton's 'tragic archive' to include typically neglected patristic sources, especially Clement of Alexandria, to argue that Milton's is a specifically Hebraic (as opposed to Attic) form of tragedy qua philosophy. This stems partly from an 'idiosyncratic' assumption, proffered by Clement and adopted by Milton, that the Apostle Paul quotes Euripides (not Menander, as critics from Erasmus on generally agree) at 1 Cor. 15.33. Leo's detailed foray into the history of attributing Paul's line to Euripides instead of to Menander (then and now the consensus), and its implications for tragedy's bearing on Pauline theology in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* and other works, is one of many such that makes the book richly fascinating.

Tragedy as Philosophy in the Reformation World is a dense work that requires the reader's full attention. It is replete with *termini technici* from the long rhetorical and literary tradition (in Greek, Latin, and Italian), with excurses on the history of patristic thought and philosophies of determinism, with intricate text-critical analyses. It contains abundant references to authors that non-specialist readers may find unfamiliar (Thomas Naogeorgus, Francesco Negri), and to others they may be surprised to find in a work on early modern tragedy (Philo of Alexandria, Iamblichus, Averroës). It all adds up to a major contribution not only to literary history, but to intellectual history, the history of scholarship, Reformation history, and the history of emotions. And the book's encyclopaedic nature is crucial to its central conceit: Leo is showing his readers that we must attempt to match the erudition of a Castelvetro or a Heinsius or a Milton in order to fully understand their works. If Leo himself has not matched them, he has come terribly close, and along the way he succeeds in demonstrating to the reader 'the extent to which tragedy is a philosophical and theological genre, the extent to which the Reformation itself is a poetic and a critical project' (p. 83).

Kirk Essary, *The University of Western Australia*

Maas, Coen, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric in Humanist Historiography from the Low Countries (1515–1609)* (Proteus: Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation, 7), Turnhout, Brepols, 2018; hard cover; pp. xix, 541; 25 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €125.00; ISBN 9782503557113.

In this book, Coen Maas takes 'the apparent contradiction between the humanist aversion to the Middle Ages on the one hand, and the meticulous study of the period by humanist historians on the other' (p. 4) as his starting point, and undertakes a critical review of medievalism among sixteenth-century humanists in the Low Countries. Maas focuses his analysis on the political context in which these authors worked, exploring how medieval practices and ideas were

redeployed in the service of contemporary political objectives. In so doing, Maas provides valuable insights into early modern humanist practice, and challenges the commonplace view that early modern humanists saw the Middle Ages almost exclusively as an unproductive, 'dark' period of history, and their role as 'the saviours of the classical heritage' (p. 32).

Maas undertakes his analysis through several case studies. To each of these he brings a comprehensive arsenal of analytical tools, variously deploying rhetorical, comparative, and intertextual analyses to interpret the texts at hand. He carefully avoids anachronistic readings of his subjects, taking into account early modern genre conventions; reading and writing practice; and political, educational, and scholarly contexts. Maas establishes the groundwork for this work in Chapters 1 and 2, which introduce the concepts and tools of textual analysis used in the rest of the book, and provide a useful overview of early modern humanist historical practice. Maas's writing is clear and unambiguous, with signposts that support his reader on the journey.

Through his case studies, Maas argues that, far from the Middle Ages being an unproductive, barren wasteland for early modern humanists, this period in history served as a rich and adaptable source that could be drawn on and put into service for a contemporary audience. Of course, the classical *topoi* that are so recognizable in early modern humanist writings continue to be found, and ancient Roman and Greek authors maintain a definitive influence over these texts, yet Maas shows us convincingly that medieval authors also had a significant part to play in shaping his subjects' rhetorical and historiographical practice.

Chapters 3 to 7 present Maas's case studies: Reynier Snoy's *Historia Hollandie* (*c.* 1516–17); Adrianus Barlandus's *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* (1526); Petrus Divaeus's manuscript writings on the history of Brabant (*c.* 1563); Janus Dousa Sr's verse history of Holland (1599); and the Dousas' (Sr and Jr) prose history of Holland (1601). In each of these, Maas demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the contexts in which these men were writing, as well as the contemporaneous practices that shaped their work. He explores each of their political environments, taking into account their professional backgrounds, work, and patronage relationships. Maas also demonstrates how these authors redeployed medieval tropes and ideas in service of their own political objectives.

Traversing the better part of the sixteenth century, these case studies illustrate, on a micro scale, the evolution of historiographical practice in the Low Countries during this time. As one progresses from one case study to the next, one sees clear links between the various texts under consideration, and Maas effectively demonstrates how Snoy, Barlandus, Divaeus, and the Dousas deployed different textual and rhetorical techniques to present their preferred view of history. Unsurprisingly, this view evolved in line with the circumstances of the authors and the changing political landscape in the Low Countries.

Chapter 8 complements this implicit chronological comparison with an excursus on the evolution of Latin and vernacular languages during this time.

The texts that Maas has analysed in this book used Latin to communicate with their audiences, and Maas is interested in understanding the specific affordances that Latin provided compared to vernacular languages. He is careful to avoid reductionist ideas about the relationship between Latin and the vernacular, using this chapter to explore broader questions around the audience, purpose, and distribution of various texts, and the connections that existed between them. He notes, for example, 'that historians writing in Latin relied on vernacular source material' and there is a 'tension between interrelatedness and independence' in these texts (p. 387). This chapter presents an interesting exploration of the different rhetorical techniques, genre conventions, and authorial practices in these respective bodies of writing, cautiously concluding that Latin was a more useful language through which to achieve political ends (p. 435). However, Maas acknowledges that '[t]he tendencies described in this chapter are […] not much more than an attempt to catch the vague contours of two very large and strongly intertwined groups of texts' (p. 436) and leave open a space for further investigations in this area.

This book ends with an epilogue, in which Maas usefully and clearly summarizes his arguments, drawing connections between the case studies and weaving together the threads of the rhetorical, comparative, and intertextual analyses undertaken throughout the book. The volume is ultimately a comprehensive and valuable contribution, with gems to be found for scholars in fields including Low Country political history, early modern medievalism, and early modern intellectual history more generally.

Christian Thorsten Callisen, *Brisbane, Queensland*

Machielsen, Jan, ed., *The Science of Demons: Early Modern Authors Facing Witchcraft and the Devil*, London, Routledge, 2020; paperback; pp. 324; R.R.P. €34.00; ISBN 9781138571839.

Early modern European demonological scholarship, in its modern incarnation, seems to operate on a twenty-year cycle. Sydney Anglo's *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft* (Routledge, 1977) effectively established the state of the art for this field. Two decades later, Stuart Clark published his paradigm-shifting *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford University Press, 1997). Engaging with the legacy of these two influential texts, Jan Machielsen's edited collection *The Science of Demons: Early Modern Authors Facing Witchcraft and the Devil* is another significant scholarly intervention in this field. Presenting a panoramic survey of demonological scholarship by an extensive line-up of distinguished scholars, this excellent work will undoubtedly become an essential resource for readers seeking to understand the historical and intellectual development of diabolic 'science' in Europe.

Demonology is the systematic study of demonic mechanics and agency (particularly in relation to witchcraft). Demons were a constant presence in early

modern thought, as these entities transcended disciplinary boundaries and offered insight into the realms beyond human perception. Demonology, writes Machielsen, 'was the first properly interdisciplinary science, touching not only on theology and law […] but on areas of natural philosophy and medicine as well' (p. 10). Early modern audiences clearly did far more than simply think about demons: they lived with them.

The Science of Demons sets itself two principal objectives for the study of demonology. Firstly, this volume charts its 'rise and elaboration from its late medieval roots to the heyday of the witch-hunt (1570–1630), when perhaps as many as 90% of its victims perished' (p. 4). Secondly, it explores how 'demonological beliefs, as they spread across the continent […] interact[ed] with and make sense of folkloric beliefs', illustrating 'how demonologists, from Spain to Poland and from Italy to Scotland, were able to adapt demonology to the local customs and beliefs of their regions' (p. 5). It succeeds on both fronts. *The Science of Demons* features nineteen erudite, yet somewhat brief, essays that cover a myriad European demonologists and their published works. Notably, this collection is not merely concerned with the advocators of demonology, as it also dedicates space to 'sceptics' such as the Englishman Reginald Scot. Demonology was not solely about the belief in demons but addressed how these entities did, or did not, interact with the material realm.

The Science of Demons is divided into five sections, chronologically surveying the development of European demonological beliefs over different geographical and disciplinary areas. The first section, 'Beginnings', covers the emergence of the fundamental demonic pact and witches' sabbath concepts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These concepts, after gaining traction, inspired the first wave of printed witchcraft texts (the subject matter of Part 2) a century later. Part 3, the most substantial section, centres on the sixteenth-century debates as Reformed and Catholic demonological writers began to take increasingly diverging paths. These debates also generated scepticism, with many writers finding substantial fallacies with the prevailing demonological traditions. The final two sections extend the scholarly analysis into the early seventeenth century, examining how authors conceptualized demonology within the purview of theology and natural law. *The Science of Demons* concludes in this period, at the height of the European witch-hunt and well before its eventual decline.

A major theme in this work is the European witch-hunts: a cultural phenomenon that resulted in the death of approximately 40,000–50,000 men and woman over a period of three hundred years. *The Science of Demons* further contextualizes the demonology underpinning the witch-hunts but, wisely, does not delve into their decline. Machielsen explains: 'There is a dreary repetition to the writings of later witchcraft theorists […] the later defence of the reality of witchcraft was no more than a rehash of arguments that had already been made' (p. 12). Ultimately, the 'decline of magic' has been a confounding subject matter for scholars and requires an entire dedicated volume. The latter sections of this work certainly highlight the developing conflict between demonology and other

disciplines over the seventeenth century, yet the contentious debate on this decline is not part of the narrative that *The Science of Demons* outlines.

Overall, *The Science of Demons* stands as a significant scholarly contribution to early modern demonology. Accessible, engaging, and profound, it offers a precise snapshot of the thought-world of early modern demonological authors. The nineteen essays in this collection adeptly chart the development of demonological paradigms over the late medieval and early modern period, establishing the far-reaching interdisciplinary nature of this field. Readers should note that, because of obvious practical limitations, this collection is more of a jumping-off point than a comprehensive study of the featured demonologists. *The Science of Demons* is not attempting to be an all-encompassing 'Dictionary of Demonological Biography' (p. 12), but rather a concise survey of early modern demonology. In this respect it succeeds on all fronts and will soon be recognized as the standard scholarly work on early modern European demonology.

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McNamer, Sarah, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text* (The William and Katherine Devers Series in Dante and Medieval Italian Literature, 14), Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2018; hardback; pp. clxxx, 264; R.R.P. US$65.00; ISBN 9780268102852.

The William and Katherine Devers Series, founded in 1995, explores the works of Dante and his contemporaries as points of convergence for the interweaving lines of inquiry of the medieval Italian cultural tradition. As noted by Daragh O'Connell and Beatrice Sica ('Literary Cultures in/and Italian Studies', *Italian Studies*, 75 (2020), 125–39), recent scholarship in the field has shown an inclination to look beyond the canon in favour of examining potential alternative canons and 'minor' authors and texts, contributing to a reframing of cultural authority in the early Italian literary tradition. Given this trend, it is entirely clear why the series editors have invested in Sarah McNamer's book: while the unattributed Latin text of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* was highly influential during the medieval period, McNamer proposes a previously unstudied Italian text, allegedly authored by one of the Poor Clares of Tuscany, as the original text of the *Meditations*, thus complicating not only its textual history, but the history of medieval Italian literature more broadly. This book constitutes an exciting and compelling new perspective on a significant text.

The preface to this volume states that it will present the Italian *testo breve* with an English translation and commentary, as well as a detailed exposé of the ramifications of the Italian text in terms of 'the development of prose narrative in the early Trecento; the role of women as writers and readers in the invention of genres and devotional practices; the part played by the Franciscans in the cultivation of affective piety; the rise and risks of vernacular theology; and the history of emotion' (p. xviii). The presentation of the text, translation,

and commentary is exemplary, and McNamer makes illuminating observations regarding the vital role of Franciscans and of women in medieval devotion, and the ways in which prose narrative developed in fourteenth-century Italy. However, the compact nature of the initial paratextual argument leaves the question of medieval vernacular theology and its relationship to affective states comparatively underdeveloped, and McNamer's frequent redirections to her contemporaneous article published in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (111.1–2 (2018), 65–112) do not quite counterbalance this shortcoming.

The book is presented in two main sections. The first 180 pages contain an introduction that presents the reasoning behind offering a critical edition of this *testo breve*, alongside a paratextual argument. There is a textual history that accounts for the newly 'discovered' (p. xxviii, n. 13) *testo breve* as well as the Italian and Latin texts already known to scholars, following a meticulous close reading of particular textual interpolations. The 'authorship' section posits an author of Franciscan affiliation and a woman, based on analysis of textual referents as well as contextual information regarding literacy and social practices, while the 'date and place of composition' section gives a detailed provenance of the *testo breve*, dated to *c*. 1300–1325 (p. cxx). This is followed by a catalogue of the manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian MS Canon. It. 174), a linguistic analysis by Pär Larson, which argues that the text is Tuscan but copied by Venetian copyists, and notes on editorial principles and quirks of the translation.

The second section contains the 'critical edition' of the *testo breve*, divided into its thirty-one chapters. The facing-page English translation is sound and notes on the text prove highly useful in understanding the text's devotional uses and contexts. However, references to the author's close comparative reading of the text with one purportedly later Italian version (the *testo minore*, a longer text that most closely resembles the *testo breve*) is revealed only in snippets, rather than comprehensively. While McNamer acknowledges that producing a comparative critical edition is against the intention of the monograph (pp. xxxiii–xxxiv), some confusion remains regarding the accuracy of the term 'critical edition' in reference to this overwhelmingly singular text. Thus, while both sections of the book are highly accomplished, one wonders whether, given the complexity of the issue at hand, this subject may perhaps have been deserving of two separate studies.

The careful engagement with the arguments of the co-authored 2014 and 2015 studies by Péter Tóth and Dávid Falvay throughout the paratextual argument (continuing a long-running polemic on the primacy of the different editions first raised in McNamer's 1990 study in *Franciscan Studies* and fuelled by the proposition of this burgeoning thesis in her 2009 *Speculum* article) is one of the strengths of the work. McNamer's use of hedging language throughout, referring to 'theories', 'suggestions', and 'possibilities', accords with the study of a text whose authorship and provenance have long been contentious (p. xxvi). This book is not a rigid presentation of fact, but rather 'a challenge to tradition' (p. xxiii), an exploration of philological possibilities, and an invitation to further investigation

of this text and its medieval devotional context, a mantle that the book will no doubt encourage scholars of medieval studies to take up.

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Mitchell, Silvia Z., *Queen, Mother, & Stateswoman. Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain*, University Park, PA, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019; hardback; pp. xv, 312; 10 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US$84.95; ISBN 9780271083391.

With her monograph, Silvia Z. Mitchell has determinedly and successfully resuscitated the reputation of Mariana of Austria, queen-dowager of Spain and regent for her son Carlos II. Mariana has not infrequently been considered an immature and ineffective regent, particularly by male historians who were unable to see beyond the surface tensions she confronted during these turbulent and difficult times for the Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg. Mitchell achieves this by homing in on official and institutional sources rather than the less scholarly demanding repository of pamphlets, political satires, and populist publications that past biographers and scholars have less fittingly made their first port of call. Mitchell has also confronted and reassessed the idea that Carlos II's reign monolithically represented a period of decline and decay for Spain and its monarchy—despite that she over does this to a certain extent. More importantly, Mitchell adds to the burgeoning catalogue of case studies evidencing the unexceptionality of premodern female government and the exercise of gendered power and influence by medieval and early modern elite women. However, in foregrounding Mariana's agency, Mitchell does seem to be having her cake and eating it too by suggesting that Mariana was at once both exceptional and unexceptional for her rank and position. Given the body of research now available to scholars of gender and women's history, such *soi-disant* unexceptionality is now a difficult proposition to sustain.

Chapter 1 foregrounds how it was that her late husband, Felipe IV, specifically instructed the Council of State to confer with Mariana within a month of his death. In keeping with long-standing Iberian rulership norms, he would have been confident in Mariana's ability to govern for his underage heir. That he had also formed a *Junta de Gobierno* (Government Committee) ought not to be viewed as a lack of confidence in his widow's governing abilities but rather that this would act as a buttress to Mariana's authority and agency, especially in light of the potential ambitions of his natural son, Don Juan of Austria. Chapter 2 surveys Castilian legislation dealing specifically with female guardianship and regencies within a Habsburg context and highlights the institutional and household innovations Mariana husbanded through both the Council of State and the *Junta de Gobierno*.

With the skilful and careful use of previously unpublished archival sources, in Chapter 3 Mitchell favours the reader with a review of Mariana's early foreign policy initiatives. Mitchell demonstrates how Mariana was able to achieve

peace with Portugal, thereby enabling her to push back at France from 1667 and safeguard Flanders. Mitchell also reveals how Mariana endeavoured to expedite the marriage of her daughter, the infanta Margarita Teresa, to her uncle (Mariana's brother) and first cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, to secure essential military support for Spain. Chapter 4 unpicks the position of the Jesuit Everard Nithard. Mitchell argues that Nithard wasn't really Mariana's court favourite, instead confirming, through the use of archival sources excavated from the archive of the Dukes of Medinaceli, the rise of the Marquis of Aytona. Mitchell outlines how Aytona assisted Mariana in court reform, whilst inserting himself in a variety of areas such as political, military, and financial undertaking. She also offers insights into the circumspect political relationship Mariana cultivated with her stepson, the illegitimate Don Juan of Austria.

Mitchell's final three chapters are her most ground-breaking. Chapter 5 uncovers a hitherto unrealized Mariana who, unlike earlier portrayals of an immature and unready-to-govern widow, emerges as a determined and potent regent with a clear-eyed and lucid blueprint for success in international relations. Chapter 6 explores the letters exchanged between Carlos II and Mariana during her exile into the political wilderness once he had secured his emancipation to rule. Here, we visualize queen-dowager Mariana, a mother with indisputable political experience under her girdle, aching to contribute to her son's greatness. We also gain insight into marriage negotiations between Mariana and her stepdaughter Marie-Thérèse, the Habsburg queen-consort of France, to secure the hand of Marie-Louise d'Orléans for Carlos II. Chapter 7 covers Mariana's return to court following the death of Don Juan.

There are few weaknesses in Mitchell's monograph. However, missing references such as the doctoral research of Laura Oliván Santaliestra as well as research by Ana Álavarez López, Lucien Bély, and Karen Vilacoba Ramos are a not insignificant oversight. Mitchell also assumes a little too much prior knowledge of Habsburg history on the part of the non-specialist reader and there is a palpable flavour of cheerleading in her enthusiasm for her subject. That said, in brilliantly reinterpreting sources used by other historians of the period, and her excavation of previously unpublished sources, Mitchell's is a significant contribution to our understanding of this period of Habsburg history and of Mariana's life and political career.

Zita Eva Rohr, *Macquarie University*

Mulligan, Amy C., and Else **Mundal**, eds, *Moving Words in the Nordic Middle Ages: Tracing Literacies, Texts, and Verbal Communities* (Acta Scandinavia, 8), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; hardback; pp. viii, 356; 16 b/w illustrations, 4 b/w tables; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503578101.

Declaring itself to be the 'final fruits' (p. 4) from research conducted from 2003 to 2012 by the 'Arrival of Writing' research group at the Centre for Medieval

Studies, University of Bergen, this is a collection of thirteen essays, plus an introduction and index, by eleven scholars (editor Amy Mulligan is represented by the introduction and an essay; her co-editor Else Mundal and contributor Leidulf Melve by two essays each), all written in English. The institutional affiliation of five of the eleven (Mundal, Melve, Aidan Conti, Helen Leslie-Jacobsen, and Åslaug Ommundsen) is indicated to be the University of Bergen, and another two (Invil Brügger Budal and Kristel Zimmer) are associated with the Western Norway Institute of Applied Science in Bergen. Mulligan is at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, Lucie Doležalová at Charles University in Prague, and Jonas Wellendorf at the University of California, Berkeley. No current affiliation is recorded for Slavica Ranković.

If the international range of contributors is more limited (and less Anglo-American) than in many English language collections of scholarly essays published by Brepols, the range of subjects covered is not. Mulligan's summation gives an accurate idea of this range: 'The essays here examine material texts—historical and literary narratives, full manuscripts and fragments in both Latin and the vernacular, runic inscriptions, written correspondence, numbered lists, Eddic poems, and French romances translated into Old Norse' (p. 2). The focus is on the development of literacy (in Latin and the vernacular) and of literate culture in medieval Scandinavia, particularly in Norway and Iceland, on the material artefacts involved, on the continuing interactions between oral and literature culture, and on the impact of literacy on society more generally. The essays tend to be specialized, discrete 'case studies': cross-referencing between the individual contributions exists but is not frequent.

Else Mundal is a distinguished exception, but many of the scholars represented here are probably not well known to those working in the Old Norse/Icelandic field in English-speaking countries. In part this is probably because several are not primarily specialists in that field. Mulligan, herself, here the author of a detailed essay exploring the representation of Iceland in *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, is an Assistant Professor of Irish Language and Literature, and three of the essayists (Conti, Doležalová, and Ommundsen) are Latinists. The book thus has a far wider topic range than commonly found in scholarly works whose title suggests a focus on the 'Nordic Middle Ages'. At one point in Doležalová's essay Homer's catalogue of the ships that went to Troy receives several pages of analysis, leading into the discussion of the *þulur,* the Norse lists of poetic synonyms.

This is a work for the fairly advanced researcher rather than the undergraduate. For example, Zilmer's detailed and cautious study of some of the fascinating artefacts with runic inscriptions discovered since 1955 in Bergen would be best appreciated by someone having prior knowledge of the discoveries (and some acquaintance with runology), and some other studies, such as Ranković's 'Traversing the Space of the Oral–Written Continuum: Medially Connotative Back-Referring Formulae in *Landnámabók*' (discussing the use of formulae such as

sem fyrr er ritat and *sem fyrr er sagt/getit*) are reporting on discrete parts of larger research projects. But all the essays are well written and accessible to the careful student, and some could usefully be offered to undergraduates. Ommundsen's account of what can be learnt about now-lost Norwegian medieval books and about medieval scribal centres from examining and collating the very numerous page fragments of medieval texts preserved in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century book bindings makes fascinating detective reading, even if many of the fragments are of Latin liturgical texts made obsolete by the changes of the Reformation. The final essay, Mundal's 'From Oral to Written in Old Norse Culture: Questions of Genre, Contact, and Continuity' provides an exceptionally lucid and helpful overview of its stated subject, perhaps also acting as a corrective to the common tendency to play down the role of Norway *vis-à-vis* Iceland in discussing literary development in the medieval North.

Only scholars focusing on developing medieval literacy are likely to find all or most of the essays here valuable to their research. But students of medieval Scandinavian history and of saga literature will discover in it specialized essays of considerable interest.

John Kennedy, *Charles Sturt University*

Nevile, Jennifer, *Footprints of the Dance: An Early Seventeenth-Century Dance Master's Notebook* (Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe, 8), Leiden, Brill, 2018; hardback; pp. 286, R.R.P. €129.00; ISBN 9789004361799.

Most of the knowledge we have about early modern European dance comes from formal treatises written by dance masters who aimed to market their skills to potential patrons. Jennifer Nevile's book presents a much rarer source: an anonymous, early seventeenth-century notebook of a teacher who probably operated a dance school in Brussels. Of unknown provenance before the mid-nineteenth century, the manuscript was acquired by the Kungliga Bibliotek in Stockholm in 1880 (Cod. Holm S253). It contains a record of the professional activities of a dance master and his associates, as well as a collection of recipes and other practical remedies for everyday ailments and for warding off dangerous illnesses such as the plague. Nevile's monograph focuses entirely on the dance-related material. It provides a facsimile of all the manuscript pages in this category and transcriptions and English translations of the texts. An introduction and six short chapters of analysis place the documents into the context of what is already known about the history of dance and the dance masters who worked in various parts of Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Written in fifteen different literary hands, eight of which appear only once or twice, and six musical hands, the Kungliga Bibliotek notebook includes a list of ballet titles, six ballet plots, brief descriptions and signatures of the students who attended the dance school, a canon of geometric figures for dance groups

of various sizes, as well as detailed instructions for a display of dancing with military pikes. These last two categories are undocumented elsewhere. The guide to an exhibition of dancing with a pike provides an unusual level of insight into the staging of a popular genre of entertainment that combined elements of martial drill with intricately choreographed dance sequences that displayed the rhythm, balance, physical strength, and dexterity of the participants.

Nevile draws on her extensive knowledge of early modern dance to arrive at an educated guess about the geographical provenance of the notebook. She suggests that Brussels was its most likely place of origin, since that city was the centre of a thriving culture of dance and music in the early seventeenth century. A large entrepreneurial class, and the status of Brussels as the centre of royal government, ensured that there was a ready supply of wealthy and ambitious individuals who sought to advance themselves socially by becoming expert dancers. There was also an eager audience for the ballets, masquerades and other spectacles staged during carnival by the court and by the city's militia guilds, so there were plenty of opportunities for those who received dance lessons to display their skills in public and to attract the admiration of their peers.

Nevile concludes that the notebook, almost all of it written in French, was likely compiled to record and showcase the range of lessons taught at a particular dance school and the fashionable spectacles that could be staged by its pupils. Signatures and brief descriptions of some 128 students, originally on separate folios, were pasted into the notebook, perhaps to provide evidence of the distinguished clientele that the school attracted. Most of the 120 names are German or Flemish, but French, German, English, and Danish students also attended lessons, sometimes as part of a trip abroad. Women as well as men took classes, although most female students probably received instruction at home, rather than in the premises of the dance master, so were more likely to be local pupils. As the author points out, the material included in the notebook shows that the dance master and his colleagues had close ties to Paris and were familiar with the musical culture of the French royal court, knowledge that was essential to attract students interested in learning the latest fashionable dances and airs from France.

While this book will be interesting to non-specialists, its greatest value lies in making the notebook's rare resources available to scholars of early modern dance and to historians of staged spectacles. The translation into English of the ballet plots and of the pike exhibition (in this latter case undertaken by Margaret McGowan) will also allow undergraduate students interested in the themes covered by the book to have access to valuable new primary material.

Carolyn James, *Monash University*

Niles, John D., *God's Exiles and English Verse: On the Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2019; cloth; pp. xv, 288; R.R.P. £75.00; ISBN 9781905816095.

John Niles contextualizes the 'Exeter Anthology' (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501) in the English Benedictine reform, and reads it as a collection of poems chosen purposefully to celebrate and teach 'God's exiles', the monks and nuns whose lives of heroic self-denial and prayer anticipate their journey to a heavenly home. He argues that the poems are the work of 'craft-poets', or monastic writers schooled in theology, liturgy, and rhetoric both in Latin and in English. Niles proceeds along varied lines of literary analysis framed within a model of 'monastic poetics' (a term employed by Brian O'Camb in his 2009 University of Wisconsin–Madison doctoral thesis and his subsequent studies of Exeter poems, read in the light of the monastic reform). As Niles puts it, 'monastic poetics is [...] a hybrid poetics, based on Latinate and Germanic models yet striving to achieve expansive new forms of expression in the medium of Old English alliterative verse' (p. 5).

Part 1 of the book sets out the background of the Exeter Anthology in relation to later tenth-century reformed monastic culture. While the manuscript cannot be traced to a specific centre, Niles argues that it is the product of a literary culture in the south-west of England emanating from Glastonbury Abbey.

Part 2 explores individual poems and how they relate to one another. Chapter 4, 'An Overview of the Book's Contents', surveys the poems in manuscript order. Niles argues for various principles of ordering, but the main one is hierarchical: the weightier items are placed first, establishing the encyclopedic scope of the work, encompassing the whole of creation. Within this structure, nevertheless, the volume's 'intratextuality' is enhanced by the separation of poems that might be considered closely related, such as *Widsith* and *Deor*.

An outstanding part of this chapter is the exploration of ethopoeia and prosopopoeia under the headings 'The Voice of the Sage: *A Father's Precepts* and Related Poems' and 'Voices from the Germanic Past: *Widsith* and Related Poems'. Together with other methods of relating poems to one another, such as the exploration of 'keywords' in Chapter 8 (the words focused upon are *sīþ* 'journey', *ellen* 'courage', *bōt* 'redress' or 'recompense', and *hām* 'home'), or Chapter 9's 'Intratextual Hermeneutics', this book offers fresh and challenging insights into the poems of the Exeter Anthology that vindicate Nile's critical approach, even if questions remain about the thesis of origin.

Niles often illustrates his readings with reference to key texts of the Benedictine reform, the Rule of Benedict itself, and the *Regularis Concordia* (see p. 101, for example, on the preparation of a body for burial). Yet many of the same points might be made with reference to passages from other texts such as Bede's *Historia*. That is to say, they involve widely accepted tenets and practices of English monasticism over a long period (whether strictly Benedictine or not). Niles claims that the Exeter Anthology poets can all 'reasonably be taken to have been active during the period c.880–970' (p. 23). 'c.970' is the *terminus* supplied

by the palaeographical dating of the Exeter manuscript. Presumably 'c.880' marks the beginning of Alfred's program of intellectual revival. In the light of Sisam's 1934 observations (in a review of the *Exeter Book* facsimile, reprinted in *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953) that the Exeter Book is a fair copy of a pre-existing collection, and that its spellings signal a probable early West Saxon copying of the poems subsequent to their compilation, should not consideration be given to an Alfredian or earlier tenth-century context of production? Megginson's work (for example, his 1995 essay 'The Case against a "General Old English Poetic Dialect"') suggests that Sisam's views on this matter are not outmoded.

Niles interestingly suggests that Cynewulf himself might have composed *Christ II* (*The Ascension*) as a bridge between *Christ I* and *Christ III* for inclusion in the Anthology. He cites Patrick W. Conner's dating of Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles* to the tenth century (in *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, Routledge, 1996), but not John M. McCulloh's subsequent analysis (in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 29, 2000), which demonstrates that Usuard's martyrology does not provide such a late *terminus post quem* for Cynewulf's *floruit*. Dating Old English verse is a vexed issue, but even putting aside claims such as those advanced by R. D. Fulk in *A History of Old English Meter* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), placing some Exeter anthology poems in the later eighth or ninth centuries (for example, *Guthlac A* and Cynewulf's signed poems), we must acknowledge that the linguistic and metrical evidence for diatopic and diachronic heterogeneity across the poems of the collection raises questions about their having all or mostly originated in a relatively confined time and space in the south of England.

John Niles's book is groundbreaking and reveals outstanding literary-critical acumen developed over a long and distinguished career. It will be essential reading for those seeking explication of individual Exeter Book poems or groups of poems. Yet, it may not be too far-fetched (or inconsistent with Niles's readings) to extend the frame for the 'Anthology' back from the late tenth-century Benedictine Reform, to the proto-reform period beginning with Alfred's reign. Indeed, one might envisage an even earlier context of production in ninth-century Mercia, and a work gratefully received and copied under the auspices of Alfred or one of his successors, subsequently recopied as the Exeter Book.

Greg Waite, *University of Otago*

Nowak, Jessica, and Georg **Strack**, eds, *Stilus—modus—usus. Regeln der Konflikt- und Verhandlungsführung am Papsthof des Mittelalters / Rules of Negotiation and Conflict Resolution at the Papal Court in the Middle Ages* (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 44), Turnhout, Brepols, 2019; hardback; pp. viii, 351; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503585079.

This volume is the first of two from a collaboration sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft to investigate norms of interaction with the medieval papal curia, informed by the work of Gerd Althoff and Franz Felten on the 'rules

of the game' (*Spielregeln*). The sixteen papers examine primary sources that traverse the meanings of *stilus* and its cognates *modus* and *usus*, from hard legal rules and formulas to unwritten etiquette. The thematic companion volume will cover emotions, gifts, rituals, ceremonies, networks, global history, and gender.

The first five studies analyse ecclesiastical lawsuits heard before the pope in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: Klaus Hebers on the post-Reconquista primatial claims of Toledo; Daniel Berger on the status of Compostela; Markus Krumm on conflict between Montecassino and Benevento; Claudia Zey on St Peter's in Oudenburg's independence from St Médard's in Soissons; and Harald Muller on the litigation before Innocent III over Evesham Abbey's exemption. The papers illuminate from litigants' records the development of formal legal process and court rules (*mos*), the variable role of payments and gifts, delaying tactics, and unwritten rules such as brevity in address and good form in social interaction (for example not discussing cases at the pope's table). Legal forms grew more prescriptive, but performative and rhetorical gestures remained important.

Maria Pia Alberzoni puts into historical context, in church disputes from Milan, Innocent III's decretals, which established tests for authenticity of papacy documents. Litigation then gives way to diplomatic. Thomas Smith documents thirteenth-century English bishops' use of the *stilus curiae* in writing to Rome, occasional exceptions when bishops would presume on their status to address the pope at length, and cultivation of curial networks of influence. Barbara Bombi shows that the fourteenth-century English royal chancery, contrary to earlier scholarly consensus, used the *stilus curiae* in communication with the papacy. The archives of the Crown of Aragon provide rich insight into the Avignon curia, but Sebastian Roebert cautions that Heinrich Finke's edition in *Acta Aragionensia* is fragmented and misleading. Privileges, dispensations, benefices, and politics are the principal subjects of these interactions. Andreas Kistner uses fourteenth-century cardinals' wills to explore neglected dimensions of law and custom.

Kerstin Hitzbleck and Claudia Märtl study literary depictions of the curia, Hitzbleck the *De squaloribus curiae Romanae* of theologian and bishop Matthew of Cracow (d.1410), which denounced worldliness and simony, especially in papal provisions, and Märtl the writings of fifteenth-century humanist historians in the curia. These document curial methods, including Pius II's simplifying of petitioning to reduce fraud. But Pius's attempts to introduce humanistic style into papal documents foundered because it lacked the protections against forgery provided by the established *stilus curiae*.

Resident ambassadors became fixtures in the fifteenth century. Isabella Lazzarini uses a curialist's diary to illustrate protocol and conflicts over precedence. Gabriele Annas identifies the reports of the resident proctors of the Teutonic Order as sources on conflict management. Duane Henderson analyses the extensive reporting on curial life from Milanese ambassadors, but notes their tendency to play up their own influence. Finally, Claudia Märtl surveys the emergence from 1470 of printed guides to *stilus* and *usus* for petitioners and for proctors at the Rota.

The editors do not attempt a synthesis, content to 'cut the first swathes through the thicket of sources' (p. 18). They propose that scholars distinguish between *stilus*, hard rules of drafting and procedure, and *modus*, the less formal 'rules of the game'. The fluidity of medieval language may, however, defy neat characterization. The studies are episodic, although there is some cross-referencing, and do not trace change through time. The editors note that that task would defeat a team with years at its disposal.

Some enduring themes nevertheless emerge: correct language and legal form; unwritten rules of behaviour that require inside knowledge; slow and complex procedures; and the role of gifts and favours. But there are palpable changes which are not due just to the authors' choice of topics. Intra-church litigation before the pope disappears after Innocent III, as papal tribunals and bureaucracy grew. The focus shifts to papal grace and favour and to diplomacy, and by the fifteenth century high politics and the activity of the resident ambassadors dominate; the curia, at Avignon and then at Rome, has become more settled. When litigation reappears with Märtl's printed guides, it occurs in the Rota and the person of the pope is remote. A synthesis might explore whether the changed political and institutional setting altered the meaning of inherited language and gestures, and the papers will prompt many other questions. We can await the thematic companion volume with interest, and in the meantime be grateful for the stimulating studies the editors have assembled. They will help researchers approach their sources with sharper appreciation of the nuances of curial culture.

Peter McDonald, *Canberra, Australian Capital Territory*

Orgelfinger, Gail, *Joan of Arc in the English Imagination, 1429–1829*, University Park, PA, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019; hardback; pp. 248; 17 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US$89.95; ISBN 9780271082189.

From the opening discussion of the Winchester Cathedral memorial dedicated to Joan of Arc in 1923, Gail Orgelfinger's groundbreaking survey addresses a multitude of English imaginings of Joan in the four centuries following her death. The Winchester statue depicts a young woman standing in full armour, sword and gaze directed heavenward, simultaneously representing Joan the Saint and Joan the Warrior. This duality goes to the heart of Orgelfinger's argument that Joan's portrayal over time does not reveal a neat and progressive narrative of transition, but one of changing complex, competing, and sometimes simultaneous depictions.

From Joan's capture in 1429 to her trial and her execution in 1431, her story has been retold in England across a range of genres and continues to capture both popular and scholarly attention. Orgelfinger, as a founding member of the International Joan of Arc Society with a particular interest in Shakespeare, is well qualified to bring a new perspective to the long history of Joan's depiction by the English. Acknowledging the absence of a broad literary or historical assessment of

English representations of Joan's afterlife that is attuned to the political and social contexts within which the historians, playwrights, and illustrators of Joan worked, Orgelfinger's goal is to analyse these contexts and consider the particularities of the genres. It is admirably achieved, and this study reveals much about English political, religious, and national anxieties in the centuries following Joan's death. Through a systematic reading of the sources, Orgelfinger successfully argues that the Joan of the English imagination is a multi-faceted and malleable character and her representation by the English is not a story of transformation, but one that reflects the genres and contexts within which writers and artists operated.

Across the centuries, Joan's treatment at the hands of her captors has elicited a range of emotions in English writers, not least of which is guilt. Chapter 1 explores the conflicting nature of English and French contemporary opinion about Joan and demonstrates its relevance to later English imaginings. As Orgelfinger asks what Joan knew about the English and how this knowledge was acquired, Joan's experiences and travels are considered. An exploration of Joan's language towards the English ensures that Joan's 'voice' is established as central to her representation. It is to Orgelfinger's credit that, as the ensuing chapters turn towards English imaginings of Joan, her voice is never lost. Chapter 2 examines accounts of fifteenth-century English chroniclers and historians. For some chroniclers, Joan became the perfect foreign example of the dangers of subverting constructions of idealized categories of gender and class, set within a broader story of fifteenth-century England as a period of rebellion, treason, and heresy. Against a backdrop of recently lost English territory, Orgelfinger's analysis draws attention to the themes of geographies and temporalities. From allusions to Joan's sartorial transgressions and her association with heresy, Chapter 3 considers Joan as both a positive and negative exemplar. Orgelfinger deftly moves from Joan's association with witchcraft to a reading of her place within the tradition of 'women worthies' as she demonstrates how women might be represented across genres.

Chapter 4 analyses Joan of Arc and Mary, Queen of Scots in Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI*. Orgelfinger's expertise is powerfully displayed as she builds on Joan's depiction in chronicles to explore the connections between Joan and Mary. The discussion of Circe, Amazons, speech, and unchastity is a particular highlight; Joan's words mattered in her lifetime and they reverberated in the centuries beyond, attesting to enduring concerns about the potential dangers of female speech. Chapter 4 closes with an analysis of a collection of illustrations of Joan, adding another element to how Joan was imagined and providing further opportunity to explore varying depictions of her dress as transgressive. The final chapter continues to highlight dress as an enduring issue in the centuries after Joan's death as well as during her lifetime. Further attesting to the malleability of Joan's story, Orgelfinger notes that by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Joan's story was ingrained in English popular culture, with writers of the Romantic period re-imagining Joan into a vision of domestic femininity. The afterword focuses on Joan after World War I as a symbol of unity between England and France, and Orgelfinger concludes that the Winchester memorial, along with

a stained-glass window in Leicester Cathedral, stand 'for enduring ambivalence about her identity and legacy' (p. 164).

Orgelfinger's engagement with issues of gender, time, and English–French relations over the centuries is to be commended. The speed at which centuries of historiography is covered is almost breathtaking, yet the material is well handled. Overall, this is an excellent book. It is well structured and highly readable. It should appeal to scholars of Joan of Arc and a broader readership, being of particular interest to those whose interests lie within the fields of gender and women's history.

Sally Fisher, *Monash University*

Parker, Geoffrey, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2019; hardback; pp. xix, 737; 39 colour images, 5 maps, 3 figures; R.R.P. US$35.00; ISBN 9780300196528.

Who is Charles V? Was he a great monarch or remarkable man, both, or neither? These questions are woven throughout Parker's biography, and implied in its structure of four chronological parts detailing stages of his development and wielding of power, separated by four 'portraits' of the individual at successive life stages. At the beginning of his work, Parker establishes his intent to examine how Charles took major decisions, whether his successes and failures are attributable to the man or the structure he was part of, and what it was like to be Charles. Bringing Charles's own writings into the narrative, this produces a fascinating, highly readable account, which will entertain and surprise readers along the journey.

Ambiguity of argument and counterargument, balancing contemporary views and those of own time, prevails in Parker's answer to the question of who Charles was, and—just as importantly—what we should make of him as twenty-first-century readers of a new biography. The sheer extent of his empire and his ability to shape lives across the world make Charles a noteworthy ruler in his own time and since. His continual movement across the expanse of Western Europe and the massive amount of information about his everyday life are unusual. His dedication to learn new languages despite seemingly being a poor scholar and his determination to maintain control over a vast administration and level of correspondence are impressive. Parker's choice of adjectives often avoids direct judgement, as seen in his ultimate conclusion: '[a]lthough by twenty-first century standards his personal defects and shortcomings tarnish his image, the emperor's contemporaries were surely correct to deem him an extraordinary man who achieved extraordinary things' (p. 533).

Towards the end of the work, Parker suggests that Charles's imperial repertoire consisted of four key drivers for his actions: dynasty, chivalry, reputation, and faith. These are certainly important, but how did they operate in relation to each other? As Parker particularly emphasizes, his interpersonal relations, especially with

his family and his aunt, mother, wife, lovers, sisters, daughters, and nieces, were regularly cruel and selfish, and appeared to display little capacity for empathy with them. Dynasty was, it seems, a purely patriarchal prerogative to which subordinate family members were sacrificed. The illegitimate son or the women in his circle had little or no recourse to other forms of assistance beyond him, unlike Ferdinand or Philip, emerging patriarchs in their turn. Parker's point of comparison here appears more modern than comparative to other contemporary dynasties, which, from my research, display similar patterns of over-arching behaviour to protect the bloodline, without quite Charles's persistent (and un-Christian?) pattern of callousness. Chivalry did not outweigh dynasty.

By contrast, Parker contextualizes Charles's intervention in the Americas principally in terms of contemporary views about non-Christian lands and peoples. We do read of Charles's misgivings and moral qualms about the treatment of Indigenous peoples, which remain to us as reflections not extant for others in his position of power, but they appear to have done little to change the course of his key objective in expanding the empire over which he ruled and bringing back to Europe the means to progress interminable wars. Chief among his interests, Parker makes clear, is the lure of gold, with missionizing a distinct and intermittent second. Faith did not outweigh reputation (as a warrior king) or (the expansion of territories for his) dynasty.

So too it was in his interactions with the growing band of Lutherans in his German territories. Charles seemed prepared to tolerate and accommodate reforming views throughout most of his rule, where that sacrifice might benefit a greater good: that is, control by the Habsburg dynasty both in these territories and in the eastern empire against Suleiman's forces. His documentary formulation 'for the sake of God's service and mine' could be differently prioritized in many cases, although faith and reputation aligned in his later years as he looked to secure his legacy in material production and spiritual endeavours.

Chivalry, if this means honourable behaviour, meant little when Charles lied, repeatedly, about the role of the Habsburg network in the murder of diplomatic envoys from François I to Suleiman, an act that led to a further outbreak of European conflict, and loss and disruption of lives across the continent, in due course.

For a work of over 500 pages, this is a beautifully written and accessible work, presumably pitched for general as well as academic readers. Citation from *Game of Thrones* seems irrelevant to the analysis but is presumably meant to assist a wider public to locate Charles in some way. For scholars, the additional 200 pages of notes and sources are valuable and themselves often very interesting continuations of the narrative. Does it add to a new contribution to the scholarship and interpretation of Charles V? Absolutely. Does it leave readers to make up their own minds what sort of man and monarch he was, beyond extraordinary? Very much so.

Susan Broomhall, *Australian Catholic University*

Roos, Anna Marie, *Martin Lister and his Remarkable Daughters*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2019; hardback; pp. x, 182; 30 b/w illustrations, 45 colour plates; R.R.P. US$40.00, £25.00; ISBN 9781851244898.

Martin Lister and his Remarkable Daughters is another excellent read by Prof. Anna Marie Roos. The volume continues Roos's outstanding work on Martin Lister (1639–1712), Fellow of the Royal Society and local neighbourhood spider-man (Lister is commonly referred to as the first arachnologist as well as the first conchologist). In this volume, turning her attention to Lister's *Historiæ Conchyliorum* allows Roos to further explore his relationship with his daughters, particularly the two whom he trained in scientific illustration—Susanna and Anna. The resulting work is a rich and valuable tapestry that contributes to our knowledge of family life, early experimental methods, and the historical contribution of women to the sciences. The book is divided into an introduction and three clear chapters focusing on a broad biography of the Lister family (drawn primarily from Roos's previous volume *Web of Nature)*, the production and methodology of the *Historiæ Conchyliorum*, and the intellectual and archival legacy of the work.

The *Historiæ Conchyliorum* is one of Lister's masterworks that have earnt him a place among the founding fathers of the modern natural sciences. The work consists of seven volumes—four main volumes and three appendices—published between 1685 and 1692 (p. 118). They include descriptions, illustrations, and analyses of over one thousand shell specimens from creatures living on land, in rivers, and in the sea. The majority of specimens were, for want of a better word, fresh, but the work also included petrified and fossilized samples. Just gathering together so many unique varieties, complete enough and of good enough quality that they could be used as the basis of scientific classifications, was a massive undertaking in and of itself: an undertaking that provided Roos with the opportunity to contextualize the work among Lister's network (a roll call that reads much like an edition of *Who's Who* from 1683), the Republic of Letters more broadly, and the seventeenth-century predilection for collecting. Indeed, Roos deftly masters the undulations of the suspension bridge that tethers activities around the building of hobbyist or antiquarian collections and cabinets of curiosities in this formative period of experimental science.

Another strength of the work stems from Roos's ability to humanize the historical actors she portrays. An informative and clear, yet lively and entertaining style draws out the personality of the characters under investigation, as well as the character of the relationships between them. Through the account of Lister's exasperation, normally highly esteemed and revered print artists become all too human, either unable to supply a complete inventory of requested images (William Lodge, p. 86) or supplying images that had to be redone (Francis Place, p. 87)—and all in an untimely fashion. This frustration inspired Lister to enlist the assistance of two of his young teenage daughters. Drawing on an impressive range of sources (including correspondence, notebooks, diaries, sketchbooks, printed texts, printed images, material objects, and copperplates), Roos enlivens this process for the

reader. She traces their careers from the early days when feedback for the budding artists was noted in their father's hand on their preliminary drawings (p. 99), to the inclusion of their etching and engravings in their father's books and the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (pp. 111–13), to the time when they faded from history after they all (both daughters and their widowed father) married and moved on with their lives (pp. 128–29).

Similar praises can be said for the more intellectual themes Roos addresses in the book. She deftly and efficiently guides the reader through the necessary intricacies of various topics required to fully comprehend and appreciate the Listers' achievements. Whether it be seventeenth-century etching and engraving techniques, the intricacies of training the eyes in scientific observation, the artistic skills necessary to translate the three-dimensional information seen with the eye onto a two-dimensional page (p. 99), or the additional challenges faced when there is a microscope complicating the process further, the reader is expertly and congenially guided through unfamiliar territory to a place of understanding.

In addition to being an informative and valuable contribution to the histories of the Royal Society of London and experimental science, this volume is an entertaining read, punctuated by tales from Roos's own journey uncovering the pieces to this puzzle. The tales of fascinated archivists and the accidents that preserved these materials not only give testimony to the enduring fascination of the Lister family, they also demonstrate a connection between the history and the historian that is as rarely conveyed with such delight in academic works. The result is a volume that is as inspiring as it is informative and highly recommended.

Julie Davies, *The University of Melbourne and The University of Münster*

Spence, Michael, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire: Monastic Administration, Economy, and Archival Memory* (Medieval Monastic Studies, 5), Turnhout, Brepols, 2020; hardback; pp. 208; 17 b/w illustrations, 18 b/w tables; R.R.P. €70.00; ISBN 9782503567716.

Secluded but public, Fountains Abbey sits hidden away in a wonderful, worldly sufficient (one would think), valley open to myriad visitors. Yet there was murder and mayhem in this monastery and a great deal of effort was expended in the worldly business of managing the numerous estates.

Although much of its history has long been known there is a gap (p. 22)—'Between these two periods [1132–1300] and 'the very end [to 1539] relatively little has been written' (p. 42): after 1361 there are few records surviving, but they start again in 1456.

Michael Spence is not put off by the plaintive annotation in one manuscript: 'Omnes iste carte perdite sunt'! (p. 122). He approaches this and other gaps through the evidence that has survived; his use of archival sources is exemplary.

Yet this book is not just an investigation of charters, it is far more: it can be read in several different ways and be of use to very different readers.

Although Fountains has its own beautiful setting on the River Skell, a couple of miles outside Ripon in North Yorkshire, many of its estates were twenty or so miles to the west, in Craven, now in the Yorkshire Dales National Park. Spence raises interesting questions about management of the estates after 1300 (pp. 38–39) and the way Fountains sometimes acted before receiving approval from its mother house at Cîteaux (p. 104). He shows how the management of these estates ebbed and flowed over the years, depending on circumstances. The Black Death, in particular, and subsequent epidemics, had a huge impact (p. 122). However, he has very little to say about how the Scottish Wars impacted the abbey's finances.

In order to gain an understanding of what was happening Spence introduces a number of tools. His approach is detective-like; indeed, he titles Chapter 7 'A Forensic Approach to Fountains Cartularies', while Chapter 4 has intense detective work unpicking the President Book. Spence's knowledge of Yorkshire makes a huge difference, and he has managed to piece together an impressive reconstruction.

He works on at least two levels. On one he carefully correlates items in the different cartularies, in many ways reflecting the explicit cross-referencing in the cartularies themselves, but also establishing non-explicit links. On another he is very aware of the editing that has gone on in producing the cartularies. The book has a fascinating introduction about the redaction process—and unravelling it—thereby revealing the manipulation or even suppression of some records (pp. 14–15). Anyone writing catalogues for the archives engages in the processes of inclusion, exclusion, creation, and amendment of the entries (p. 59). What is omitted may well be as significant as what is included. In this context, Chapter 5 has a splendid argument as to why Abbot Greenwell (abbot 1442–1471) edited a chronicle and cast himself in a good light. Such events remind us that when history is written down it can often reveal as much about the writer as about the events being recounted. Modestly, Spence says that if the monastery's manuscripts are edited the whole situation can be revisited (p. 142).

While Spence is writing about one period and principally one monastery, the book can be read as a guidebook for researchers on how to pull together information scattered in different archives. His care—and especially patience—in putting multitudinous, apparently disparate, facts together is quite remarkable. Medieval scribes rarely did anything by accident, so when one sees, for example, a superscript number, there is a reason for it, though that may not be immediately apparent. Spence ferrets out the reasons. Because of his thoroughness he is able to fill large gaps as in, for example, Table 3 on p. 64, where he has shown the missing fifteen place names in an original list of seventy-seven. This is just one of the many tables and figures. My one criticism is that the maps on pp. 25–26 showing the Abbey's holdings in the Craven district are not very informative, given the multiplicity of settlements and estates in the area. Not only does Spence give a

continuous narrative of what was going on in the management of the estates, he supplements this with six technical appendices giving formal but informative descriptions of the Fountains cartularies.

The main text has a superb and comprehensive conclusion (pp. 132–42). I would have found it helpful to have had most of this material in the introduction, since although Chapter 2 does give good contextualization, the conclusion is an excellent guide to the development of Spence's arguments.

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Sumillera, Rocío G., *Invention: The Language of English Renaissance Poetics*, Cambridge, MHRA, 2019; hardback; pp. 159; 4 b/w illustrations; RRP £75.00, US$99.00, €85.00; ISBN 9781781883235.

Distrust of the role of originality in Renaissance poesis often leads literary scholars to prioritize logico-rhetorical accounts of invention, which recommended writers to select their topics from authoritative discursive repertoires. Rocío G. Sumillera's meticulous critical history of poetic invention up to Renaissance England is a persuasive caveat about our need to revise those notions. Reminiscent of recent philological efforts at keyword analysis in early modern studies—namely *Renaissance Keywords*, edited by Ita Mac Carthy (MHRA and Routledge, 2012)—yet ultimately reliant on literary history, the main tenet of *Invention: The Language of English Renaissance Poetics* is consistent with its method: despite its genesis in the disciplines of logic and rhetoric, early modern poetic invention is defined as a 'transitional stage between the classical concept of mimesis and the subsequent Romantic notion of creative imagination' (p. 125).

Sumillera demonstrates that invention's distinctive meanings in Renaissance poetics depend on the concept's simultaneous absorption and rejection of the doctrines of the traditional arts of discourse—logic, rhetoric, and grammar. Peripherally, this argument also addresses the problematic status of poetics as a doctrinal art with respect to the three parts of the *trivium*. Thus Chapters 1 and 2, which trace intellectual contexts from the classics to the early humanists, insist that, while invention's borrowed meanings ensure understandings of poetry as a sort of oratory in verse, the term's entrance in the language of poetics fosters semantic differentiation from its senses in the other arts. Of special importance is Sumillera's brief analysis of medieval contributions—particularly Geoffrey of Vinsauf's arguments on the role of reason and *intellectio* in the preliminaries of poetic composition—or her foregrounding of Rudolph Agricola's place logic and Petrus Ramus's insistence on the exclusive dialectical status of *inventio*, which encouraged their English followers—Thomas Wilson, William Temple, Abraham Fraunce—to reflect on the nature of poetry and to include poetic examples in their manuals. In the work of Renaissance dialecticians, but also in sources such as dictionaries, Sumillera excavates early meanings of invention as the 'devising

of something […] that did not exist previously' (p. 34), which proved relevant to poetics.

Each of the book's three core chapters are devoted respectively to imitation (Chapter 3), invention (Chapter 4) and imagination (Chapter 5), thus presenting the middle keyword as an arbiter between the other two. Chapter 3 stresses the derivative character of English poetics from Italian and French discussions of the need to improve classical models while avoiding literary theft, but it also explores novel ideas in English works: in particular, Philip Sidney's conception of poetic mimesis as emulation of the creative powers of nature rather than mere imitation of its objects, which endorses the autonomous status of art (p. 70). Despite its atomized structure, Chapter 4 successfully presents Renaissance invention both as an active capacity of the creative poet and as a criterion that equates originality with excellence in literary compositions. Amidst the profusion of sources, brief engagement with Gascoigne's 'Certayne Notes of Instruction' (1575) freshly supports Sumillera's analysis of the poet's individual capacity (p. 85); and an also succinct survey of the Harvey–Nashe controversy enlightens ideas of invention as an intrinsic quality of literary texts (pp. 90–91). Reinforcing the book's evolutionary narrative, Chapter 5 argues that the progressive adoption of theories of poetic invention over imitation owes much to classical/Renaissance notions of the imagination, a term that accounts for 'the way we apprehend, interpret, and respond to reality' (p. 107). Extending her scope from classical Greece to Neoplatonic philosophy and early modern medicine, Sumillera traces attacks and defences of fantasy and the imagination in emblem books, poetic treatises, and poems. Despite 'widespread distrust' of the imaginative capacity, Sumillera concludes, imagination gradually supersedes invention as a defining trait of poetic creativity (p. 120), finally displacing the concept it had helped to consolidate.

Sumillera's robust research (the endnotes, bibliography and index occupy one third of the book's 159 pages) admirably accounts for the emergence of a particular lexicon in Western poetics around notions of artistic resourcefulness. Her linear exposition reinforces invention's intermediate nature: conceptually, it navigates between imitation and imagination; historically, its Renaissance pertinence is transitional between classical/medieval worlds and the advent of Romanticism. This emphasis risks making invention's centrality elusive by dissolving its historical idiosyncrasies between its alleged origins and ends. Sumillera's copious use of evidence from the European tradition, while powerfully enabling contextualization, occasionally obfuscates the relevance of her targeted English examples. One wishes further attention to enticing ideas, like the meaning announced by the Gascoigne epigraph opening the introduction (p. 1): 'invention' as the stuff upon which the poem is 'grounded', poetic form turned into matter, the Sidneian 'fore-conceit' made word. Yet these hints enrich the suggestiveness of a study whose resourceful erudition and bracing arguments will widely attract scholars of early modern poetics.

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Tankard, Danae, *Clothing in 17th-Century Provincial England*, London, Bloomsbury, 2019; hardback; pp. xi, 264; 44 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £91.80; ISBN 9781350098428.

In choosing the provincial middling and poorer sorts as its focus, Danae Tankard's new monograph offers a refreshing and much needed perspective on dress practices in seventeenth-century England. Building on the work of historians such as Margaret Spufford and Susan Mee, whose recent monograph, *The Clothing of the Common Sort, 1570–1700* (Oxford University Press, 2017), also deals with the sartorial habits of the non-elite, Tankard's study is unapologetically narrow in its geographical focus on Sussex during this period. It primarily utilizes household accounts and personal papers to examine five families of the merchant classes and lower gentry, as well as court records and probate documents in a more general exploration of the rural poor in this English county.

After an introductory chapter that familiarizes the reader with Sussex and those chosen as case studies, Tankard's second chapter explores the literary constructions of clothing in seventeenth-century England. Although this chapter is not necessarily groundbreaking in what it explores, it is necessary to contextualize the study within the general cultural themes that are present when examining seventeenth-century dress, such as criticism of foreign fashions, age and gender, and excessive consumption. As such, it provides a good starter for those unfamiliar with this period. The chapter also touches on the divide between urban and rural sartorial codes, as it was presented in literature. However, more could have been done in this chapter to explain the city versus country stereotype that pervaded both politics and popular culture during the seventeenth century, as this is something that is frequently touched on in the monograph.

Chapters 3 and 4 are the strongest in the book, as they focus on the underexamined logistics of clothing acquisition in early modern England. Chapter 3 looks at how cloth and clothing was made, distributed, and sold in Sussex. The wool and linen industry, tailoring trade, household production, and even the second-hand clothing market are all explored. Chapter 4 examines how the provincial shopper acquired fashionable goods from London by travelling there themselves, communicating with suppliers via letter, or enlisting the help of a proxy shopper. Tankard's case studies are strongest here, as she uses them to explain in detail how both provincial men and women navigated shopping. Surprisingly, we still know very little about tailoring in seventeenth-century England, and these chapters also provide new information about the relationship that many of these craftspeople had with their clients. The relationship between the rector Giles Moore and the tailor Richard Harland was particularly illuminating, as Moore's records show that Harland accompanied him on various shopping trips and often acted as an intermediary to acquire other clothing goods for his client.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the sartorial behaviours of the country gentry in Sussex and the importance of clothing in maintaining their social identities. Tankard shows here how a close reading of otherwise mundane sources like

household accounts and bills can reveal much information about the sartorial identities of these men and women. Tankard picks up here on themes discussed in Chapter 2, particularly those relating to the perception of country folk and their unfashionable dress. Again, the discussion of city versus country and stereotypes of country gentlemen fell a bit flat (pp. 107–09) and it deserved a more nuanced investigation, especially given the huge political upheavals involving these men during the seventeenth century. However, Tankard does highlight that country gentlemen were certainly not unaware of fashionable trends and many used accessories and trims to keep up with their city counterparts and express notions of gentility. While Chapter 4 largely succeeds in its aims, Chapter 5 on the provincial gentlewoman is much stronger. It focuses on how gender constrained gentlewomen's ability to shop as freely as men and presents the sartorial meanings of dress for gentlewomen in relation to a much wider range of life stages, as the case studies consider virgins, wives, and widows.

Finally, Chapter 7 casts an eye to the most under-studied sartorial habits of any group in early modern England—that of the poor. It examines attitudes towards the dress of the poor and contains important discussions of how clothing visually signalled so-called moral failures in early modern England. It shows that such attitudes were pervasive at all levels of society—clothing mattered to the poor just as much as it did to the rich, and those belonging to this group were just as likely to link ragged or indecent clothing with a lack of morals and respectability. Tankard's research here also touches on the ways that the rural poor individualized their dress or attempted to keep up with fashions through their use of colour and trims.

Overall, this book is an important regional study of dress practices in rural Sussex that also sheds light on larger processes such as clothing production and retailing in seventeenth-century England. Tankard's archival research is meticulous, and the book is well written. It is essential reading for anybody working on seventeenth-century fashion and dress, as well as those who are interested in the material culture of this century more broadly.

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Taylor, Craig, *A Virtuous Knight: Defending Marshal Boucicaut (Jean II Le Meingre, 1366–1421)*, Woodbridge, York Medieval Press, 2019; hardback; pp. xiii, 203; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781903153918.

In 2016, Craig Taylor co-translated (with Jane H. M. Taylor) the anonymous 1409 *Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut, Jean II Le Meingre* (The Boydell Press, 2016); this book concerns that biography and is best read alongside it. Marshal Boucicaut's life has shaped views of himself and of chivalry. Scholars see it as illustrating a disjunction between chivalric fantasy and war's realities, or even as positively reactionary, glorifying chivalric ideals precisely because contemporary knighthood was coming under fire. Taylor's monograph presents a more nuanced

interpretation, closely contextualizing Boucicaut's biography, his life, and his times; this level of engagement with the text probably reflects Taylor's earlier role of translator. He contends that, notwithstanding its alleged intentions, the biography did more than just memorialize a role-model for later generations. Boucicaut was governor of Genoa when it was written. His rule was controversial, with several major stumbles. He was unpopular in Italy and acquired critics at the French court too: his bungled effort to sell Pisa to Florence antagonized the Duke of Burgundy; the sale sought actively to assist Benedict XIII, the Avignonese pope whom France shortly repudiated; he alienated the Genoese and lost a naval battle with Venice; French writers blamed him and fellow knights for a succession of military disasters. The biography justified his actions against this specific, developing backdrop. It was commenced in 1406 to excuse his miscalculation in backing the wrong pope and extenuate him to the offended duke. By 1409 it was defending him against new objections and pre-emptively countering future ones. Thus, while supposedly written without his knowledge, it served his purposes and was perhaps despatched with his envoys on a 1409 mission to Paris to request further subsidies (something that may explain the seeming haste in which the manuscript was finished).

Taylor's opening chapter provides a comprehensive potted life of Boucicaut. Chapter 2 considers the biography itself. He argues for collaborative authorship between a cleric, who supplied classical learning, and a knight familiar with Boucicaut's campaigns. Taylor credibly proposes Jean d'Ony as the knight: Ony's experiences are plainly drawn upon; he is frequently, flatteringly, mentioned. Nicolas de Gonesse is endorsed as Ony's likely clerical collaborator. Gonesse had formerly completed a French translation, with commentary, of Valerius Maximus. The biography's abundant classical allusions almost all derive from this translation; moreover, Gonesse was in Boucicaut's entourage at Genoa and one of his envoys to Paris in 1409. The case for dual authorship is plausible but not watertight. If Ony were an author, would his account brag so regularly of his 'many valorous deeds' (pp. 69–71)? Possibly. Alternatively, might Gonesse, or someone else, have painted a laudatory portrait of him after benefiting from his eyewitness accounts?

Chapter 3 discusses how and why the work defended Boucicaut, in a persuasive and nuanced study of evolving motives from 1406 to 1409, when the biography was completed hurriedly, perhaps to accompany the embassy to Paris. Sometimes its defence involved distorting or omitting evidence. Chapter 4 concerns the work's first three sections, which present Boucicaut as a flower of chivalry. Rather than treat these as an idealized chivalric life-story, Taylor argues that the narrative stressed the marshal's prowess, courage, and loyalty to underline the wisdom of retaining his services, at a moment when his competence was coming into question. A chivalric biography typically concluded by describing its subject's death, underlining the moral lesson taught by his life. This being unfeasible, as Boucicaut was alive, the biography's last book described his piety,

self-discipline, and so forth. Taylor's fifth chapter suggests that the shifting emphasis at this point, from Boucicaut's military expertise to his civilized nature, responded to new attitudes at the French court. His showcased virtues, though, also implicitly argued that whatever setbacks he might encounter did not represent God's judgement. Military disasters were being ascribed to divine disapproval of French knights' degeneracy, so this was an important point to establish, given the context of Boucicaut's multiple, high-profile failures.

Taylor's work masterfully contextualizes Boucicaut's biography and life. He possibly engages in some hyper-correction to make his case. For example, the biography repeatedly stresses the marshal's desire to win renown, which suggests that its stated aim of erecting an undying monument to his fame was, indeed, one of its goals. Time will reveal the extent to which Taylor's argument is accepted. His book constitutes a forceful corrective to received opinion on the biography, however. The volume is handsomely presented, the text highly readable. The only disruption in reading comes from the numerous, substantial footnotes. That, though, is a backhanded criticism: the wealth of reference material is a valuable resource in its own right.

Patrick Ball, *University of Tasmania*

Trudell, Scott A., *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance, and Media in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019; hardback; pp. 272; R.R.P. £63.00; ISBN 9780198834663.

Recent scholarship has focused on the disparity between what early modern texts signified at the time of composition and postmodern critical assumptions. These studies counter theoretical thinking that considers a progressive literary history at the expense of early modern innovation. *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance, and Media in Early Modern England* discovers critical oversights through privileging 'a bibliographic fantasy' (p. 210). The book reveals how the modern notion of multimedia is already prevalent in early modern England, as poets and playwrights combine music, song, poetry, and theatrical bodies to startling, often puzzling, effect.

Trudell challenges critical thinking that regards early modern texts as preserving a rigid historical literary imagination. His book examines how early modern poets and playwrights not only considered different forms of communication, but also the lingering emotional effects of their work on their audience.

Thus Trudell finds fresh insights in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poesy* (1595). His argument highlights Sidney's practical approach to music. Trudell even speculates that Sidney may have been a musician himself, as Sidney conceived poetry by embracing all forms of musical composition and performance beyond a bibliographic circle. The appearance of songs in the sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella*, Trudell asserts, indicates Sidney's notion of poetry that is not simply

to be read. With the emergence of printed songbooks, Trudell also entertains the intriguing notion of Sidney's poetry being experienced 'in domestic settings across England' (p. 29). He suggests the possibility of illiterate households enjoying Sidney's poetry through music and song.

Another overlooked aspect of early modern life is the teaching of drama in English grammar schools. Trudell surmises that because Sidney was a student at Shrewsbury School, he would have been made aware of drama from a young age. The Elizabethan poet even performed in Accession Day tilts. The crux of Trudell's argument is how dramatic performance is ensconced in Sidney's poetic imagination to become fused with literary endeavours.

Within the theatre, Trudell tackles pederasty surrounding boy actor-singers. His first important point is to differentiate early modern pederasty from the modern psychological disorder of pedophilia. Rather than being an aberration, pederasty refers to an established practice of eroticizing women, servants, and children. It is a practice, Trudell argues, the theatre uses to capture audiences in pederasty fantasies. The mediation of poetry through a boy's singing and sexualized body objectifies them, conversely, as monstrous receptacles encouraging abuse.

Trudell also unearths a musical pederasty in Shakespeare's plays. With *Twelfth Night*, Trudell implies that the play's music functions like bawdy 'muzak'. Its miscellaneous frivolities create tension by often impinging on the play's action. Trudell's thesis finds a rich source in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* The eroticized infantile musical fairies provide historical detail on how childhood could last into an actor's twenties. While contemporary media theory, particularly how information encodes messages deciphered by modern communication systems, is already present through how the disembodied changeling transmits sexual fantasies.

A similar analysis of *Hamlet*'s Ophelia leads Trudell to reconsider her mysterious feminized madness as an effervescing multimedia presence. In a fascinating discussion, Trudell asserts that her melancholic songs are derived from the popular anonymous ballad tradition. Her transformative singing and subsequent drowning combine the environment, the sexual violence of Ovid's Orpheus in the *Metamorphoses*, and music's lingering aftertaste to communicate emotive meaning.

Finally, Trudell charts John Milton's love–hate relationship with song. Although present in Milton's work, singers haunt his texts as subdued voices. Ironically, Trudell also identifies Milton's removal from printed songbooks in the late seventeenth century. Milton's conspicuous absence from the period's musical community inspires Trudell's investigation of songbooks featuring the music of Milton's collaborator Henry Lawes. Trudell uncovers 'intriguing echoes' of Milton's *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1637 and 1645) in Lawes's songbooks and in three editions of John Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652–1659) (p. 176)—a culture of song adaptation culminating in the suggestion that Lawes's musician and performer Alice Egerton wrote lyrics. The

collaborative nature of music and song being written and constantly adapted by Milton's friends ensures the poet's enduring musical influence.

The study concludes with a brief analysis of Books II and III of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. As an atmospheric contribution to Spenser's rendering of ruined fragmented histories, sound indicates another method of writing poetry.

Trudell skilfully balances textual analysis, historical detail, and insightful applications of modern media theory to striking effect. Modern anachronisms and tastes are swept aside in order to address the full significance of early modern song and performance. *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance, and Media in Early Modern England* is essential for scholars interested in the period's poetry, music, and theatre.

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Vitiello, Massimiliano, *Amalasuintha: The Transformation of Queenship in the Post-Roman World*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017; hardcover; pp. xii, 293; 7 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US$69.95; ISBN 9780812249477.

Queen Amalasuintha, the subject of this monograph, certainly ruled Italy in interesting times. Over three popes in Rome, between Byzantine emperors, warring Western kings, restive Gothic nobles, and the Roman Senate, she led the Ostrogothic kingdom from Ravenna south to Sicily for almost a decade in the early sixth century. She became regent on the death of her father King Theoderic in 526 but was literally the 'only adult in the room' until her teenaged son Athalaric died in late 534 on the cusp of eighteen. Imprisoned on an island and assassinated by agents of her cousin, successor, and short-sighted choice as co-ruler Theodahad in 535, her murder was the *casus belli* for Justinian's drawn-out reconquest of Italy, though he, and Theodora, had likely tipped Theodahad's hand. Vitiello delves deeply into the rich contemporary literary evidence for Amalasuintha's reign, notably her praetorian prefect Cassiodorus's Latin *Variae* and Procopius's disparate Greek histories, with primary source quotations on almost every page. He acknowledges the difficulty in reconstructing her own agency from these and later (mostly Western) texts such as those of Gregory of Tours, contextualizing every author, and also citing some visual evidence in her regalia and a consular diptych portrait. He might have made more of Amalasuintha's patronage of buildings (at Ravenna and Rome, pp. 90–91, 190) and portrait iconography (pp. 194–203). Her diptych medallion bust is briefly treated, but the portrait head shown in Figure 2, thought to represent either Ariadne, Amalasuintha, or her daughter, is neither clearly described, nor contextualized with at least two others of the same type, all from Rome (see the University of Oxford's *Last Statues of Antiquity* online database, nos. 755–57). Whether these heads represent Amalasuintha or not, they certainly bear witness to female rule, and relations between Rome and

Constantinople, in this era. There is also some uneven italicizing of Latin terms alongside the extensive quotations in English translation. Overall, however, this stands as a very fine biography of Amalasuintha, with detailed analysis of her role in all the events of her reign, and excellent exploration of the later ramifications of her novel exercise of regal Gothic/Roman imperial female power.

The book contains an introduction, five chapters organized thematically, a brief conclusion, end notes, bibliography and an index. There is a schematic map of Europe and the Mediterranean, a genealogy of Theoderic's dynasty, and images of one portrait head, three ivories and the island on Lake Bolsena where Amalasuintha was exiled and killed. The introduction focuses on the sources, notably Cassiodorus and Procopius. Chapter 1 considers Cassiodorus's description of Amalasuintha as *mater regens* (ruling mother), *domina* (lady, mistress) and *regina* (queen), contrasting these with Procopius's Greek *déspoina* (mistress) and *basilís* (queen), and Gothic terms. Chapter 2 summarizes the upbringing of Amalasuintha at Theoderic's palace in Ravenna, and her peripheral role during his bloody final years. Chapter 3 concerns her eight years as widow and regent for her teenaged son, her decision not to remarry, and her political activity as documented in the diplomatic letters sent in Athalaric's name, and a panegyric for Amalasuintha herself, which Cassiodorus collected in his *Variae.* Chapter 4 focuses on her family role: as a regent mother, she aimed to educate her son as a Roman, but lost him to Gothic nobles, heavy drinking, and perhaps diabetes. She then associated her cousin Theodahad with her in a novel *consortium regni* (partnership of kingship), which lasted only months, and led directly to her downfall (and the end of Ostrogothic Italy). Chapter 5 considers the highly innovative and influential position she held for a Gothic or Roman imperial woman, and how she drew on these twin legacies to move beyond a diplomatic or palace role to the exercise of unprecedented royal and international power. This chapter alone brings iconographic evidence to bear, but does contain in-depth comparisons with Galla Placidia, Empress Ariadne, and the myriad contemporary and later Western 'barbarian' queens, regents, and royal women whom Amalasuintha seems to have partly inspired. Both Cassiodorus and Procopius praised her using classical, biblical, and feminine virtues, and both also remarked upon her manliness.

In conclusion, this book acts as a fine biography of Amalasuintha, and a close study of Ostrogothic Italy on the eve of the reconquest. Vitiello reflects well on the sources for female authority in late antiquity, the achievements and limits of Amalasuintha, and especially the legacy that she left for the later female regents in the Frankish kingdoms, Lombard Italy and Visigothic Spain. She deserves to be better known today, both in the history of the Latin West and Byzantine East, alongside her more famous father Theoderic, and her overlords Justinian and Theodora.

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Wadiak, Walter, *Savage Economy: The Returns of Middle English Romance*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2017; hardback; pp. xiv, 195; R.R.P. US$45.00; ISBN 9780268101183.

Wadiak's *Savage Economy* is a densely theoretical but eminently readable study focusing on 'the meaning of gift giving in medieval romances, but […] more broadly about the kind of thing a medieval romance is' (p. 1). As this statement indicates, the book's critical focus regularly shifts between detailed close reading and a much broader theoretical overview. Though this is one of the study's main strengths, the sometimes abrupt switching between close and distant focus can occasionally jar. Wadiak's careful and sustained close analysis of his chosen texts—a technique that seems to have gone rather out of fashion in much recent scholarship—is, for this reviewer, the book's chief delight. However, the reader's progress through the work would perhaps be easier if the study's theoretical underpinnings were integrated more smoothly into the close analysis. This is especially noticeable in Chapter 1, where the switch from discussion of cultural and anthropological theory to detailed close reading seems particularly abrupt.

This is an ambitious study, evident in the fact that it never quite seems to make up its mind what its central focus is. We are told that '[v]iolence—who got to use it and who was on the receiving end of it—is […] the central question of this book' (p. viii). The issue of violence as 'a gift or *donum* […] that underwrites and reaffirms the feudal power of a privileged group' (p. viii) does indeed run right through the work, leading ultimately to the exploration of 'how violence becomes the sign of value that unites a community' (p. xi). But the study is also interested in the 'symbolic power of romance' (p. vii), exploring how the retrospective quality that characterizes so many of the late medieval romances may be 'ideological rather than simply narrative' (p. vii). Moreover, although the stated thesis hinges on the exchange of violence, other types of exchange present in medieval romance are occasionally considered, albeit often briefly. Mercantile exchange is treated fairly comprehensively in Chapter 3 and the latter half of Chapter 1, but the 'exchange of women' (p. 24), for example, is raised almost in passing in the middle of Chapter 1 without being developed further. The study also devotes considerable attention to what Wadiak reads as the tension between older 'chivalric ideology' (p. ix) and the competing ideological demands of the rising bourgeois and mercantile classes. As he himself admits, this is 'all too often generaliz[ation] about texts whose precise social locations are remarkably diverse' (p. ix). Ultimately Wadiak seems to read his chosen texts almost as being all things to all readers, and it is perhaps fair to say that this book tries to do the same. Each of its various different avenues is fruitful and productive, but they run almost as completely separate lines of enquiry rather than intersecting to create a holistic whole.

After a brief preface, Chapter 1 opens, as already noted, with an extended digest of theoretical material on gift theory; Marcel Mauss's work, in particular, features heavily. This leads into a discussion of the gifted cup which is an integral feature of *Floris and Blancheflour*. Despite the book's stated focus on the later

or 'belated' romances, *Floris* is actually one of the earliest, dating from around the mid-thirteenth century. Wadiak reads the poem as 'broadly a story of what we might think of as a counterinfiltration of the citadel of commerce mounted by the powers of romance' (p. 21). Chapter 2 reads *The Awntyrs off Arthur*, *Sir Amadace*, and *Sir Launfal* as 'late medieval ghost stories' concerned with 'the future of romance' (p. 31). The chapter's discussion of the 'chivalric economy', which Wadiak views as reliant on 'not wealth […] but blood' (p. 60), segues into Chapter 3's exploration of Chaucer's mercantile concerns. This ultimately suggests that *The Knight's Tale*, like the older romances it follows, 'expresses an economy of blood' (p. 77). Chapter 4 examines the 'gift of […] violence' (p. 89) in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*. The concluding chapter moves beyond the typical borders of the medieval romance genre to consider 'one of [its] generic descendants: the outlaw literature of the fifteenth century' (p. 119). This chapter questions how '[t]he destructiveness of the gift in these tales comes to stand not primarily for class distinction, but rather for the possibility of community' (p. 119). It also returns to one of the book's other main concerns: how the trope of gift-giving in much of late medieval literature suggests that 'chivalry persists even in what seems to oppose it' (p. 131).

The book closes with this chapter; a brief conclusion might have been helpful to summarize and consolidate the study's various interests. The lack of this is tantalizingly frustrating. Overall, however, the work remains both fascinating and stimulating.

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Waller, Gary F., *The Female Baroque in Early Modern English Literary Culture: From Mary Sidney to Aphra Behn* (Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World), Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2020; e-book; pp. 288; no illustrations, no colour plates; R.R.P. €105.00; E-ISBN 9789048551118.

Gary Waller's *The Female Baroque in Early Modern English Literary Culture: From Mary Sidney to Aphra Behn* revisits from a new perspective many authors with whom he is intimately familiar. Waller's study is innovative in its application of Kristeva, from whom he adapts the concept of the 'Female Baroque' as part of his interest in the construction of gender. As in earlier work, here he carefully historicizes his chosen texts while also acknowledging our own shifting understanding of gender and its social construction (see, for example, Gary F. Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance: Mary Wroth, William Herbert and the Early Modern Construction of Gender*, Wayne State University Press, 1993). By drawing on feminist theory, Waller argues that through the 'Female Baroque', early modern women writers engage in 'counter-discourses in which, in different ways, [they are] challenged to find devious, subversive, and oppositional space for themselves' in response to the dominant patriarchalism of the period (p. 13).

Waller's introduction outlines his application of Kristeva, defines the Baroque, situates the work historically, and builds to the idea of a Female Baroque he establishes in Chapter 1. The Baroque itself is, as Waller notes, difficult to pin down, but he offers five ways for thinking about the form: fictionalizing (in which he includes Deleuze's *le pli*), kitsch, melancholy, hyperbole, and plateauing. By exploring these elements specifically through literature, Waller establishes Catholicism's centrality to the Baroque and a related connection to absolutism. He asks how we can speak of an English Baroque and in answer outlines the nationalist ways in which scholars often encounter English literature. For Waller, one of the key oversights is that women writers, now being explored more and more, 'have rarely been viewed within […] a Baroque context' (p. 27).

After establishing the theoretical background for the work, Waller turns to key early modern examples. Chapter 2 outlines dominant ideologies of the period and then conceptualizes Female Baroque writers as resisting them. Following this, the third chapter addresses overlooked Catholic women's writing: the devotional work of Gertrude More and Mary Ward. Chapter 4 examines Protestant examples of an emerging or identifiable Baroque in Mary Sidney's and Amelia Lanyer's writing. Waller notes that in both the Baroque is limited, but shows how formal elements gave women a voice within Protestant culture that encouraged women to be humble and silent and to cast away the image of Mary as 'queen of the universe' (p. 117). The chapter then moves to the women of Little Gidding. Waller identifies a Baroque multiplicity in the various levels of their storytelling (p. 136). Concluding with an investigation of American Protestant communities through Anne Bradstreet and Anne Hutchinson, Waller's work in this chapter demonstrates his breadth of research and analysis.

In the final chapters, Waller turns largely to courtly examples. The fifth chapter deals with the English courts under James I and Charles I, highlighting the first noticeably Baroque influences in England. Here, Waller stresses the importance of the theatre and theatricality, discusses plateauing and kitsch, and argues that the court masque gave women 'access to a whole new social arena' (p. 172). In this chapter Waller investigates texts written in the country but which have the court in mind, including works by Mary Wroth, William Cavendish's daughters, and Hester Pulter. Chapter 6 deals specifically with Wroth, establishing the multiplicity in her prose romance *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* as an example of Baroque narrative folds. Waller notes that the text features 'both multiple flames of hyperbole and floods of melancholia' (p. 210). Of particular interest in this chapter is the connection Waller draws between the operatic form appearing in the period and Wroth's *Urania* (p. 211). Waller's final chapter deals with Margaret Cavendish and Aphra Behn, exploring how, while their work continues to engage with elements of the Baroque, they also mark a transitionary period moving into the Enlightenment.

There is an evident chronological progression to the chapters, each of which develops the point and catalogues how the Baroque appears in key texts. Waller

builds his argument through this chronological progression, and this is one of few studies that traces such a broad historical period. The study's significance lies in bringing such a large body of female writers together under the one form. Perhaps the most significant contribution of this work is the methodology itself: in reading these literary works as Baroque, Waller not only identifies new avenues through which to explore the resisting female writer, but also draws the studies of literature, art history, architecture, and music together.

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