

Reviews

Barnwell, P. S. and Brian K. **Roberts**, eds, *Britons, Saxons, and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R. J. Jones* (Medieval Countryside, 7), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xix, 477; 42 b/w illustrations, 2 b/w line art; R.R.P. €115.00; ISBN 9782503532073.

This volume presents the work of the late Professor Glanville R. J. Jones as holding a continuing relevance across a wide range of disciples, from historical geographers and landscape historians, through to historians and archaeologists. In particular, the book aims to allow younger scholars who may not be familiar with Jones's work, to gain access to and assess Jones's research, and to encourage modern discussion of his ideas.

The book has two distinct sections, which was a logical choice by the editors. As suggested by the heading, Part I, 'G. R. J. Jones and his Work', concentrates on Jones as a scholar and proud native of Wales, along with the evolution of his ideas on the early medieval historical geography of Britain as a whole. Editors P. S. Barnwell and Brian K. Roberts have thus chosen the title *Britons, Saxons, and Scandinavians*, which simultaneously pays homage to one of Jones's own well-known chapters published in 1978, 'Celts, Saxons, and Scandinavians', and describes the basis of Jones's work.

Part I starts with a chapter dedicated to an appreciation of Jones as a scholar, explaining the development of his research as a reaction to existing thoughts and ideas. It explains that early in his career, while respecting the existing ideas of previous historians, Jones was dissatisfied with the overall knowledge of early medieval Wales. This led him to reject the emphasis on the pastoral and tribal natures of Welsh society, arguing that Welsh society had a greater unfree population than previously thought. He also put forward the argument that geographical factors were just as important as political factors in settlement history, suggesting that historians should also consider location, aspect, and soil conditions.

Jones's academic work shows a continuing progression in his theories, which he later applied to other parts of Britain as well. This book assesses each of the main phases of his work, and pays particular attention to his multiple-estate model, for which he is best known. The book sets out the main critiques of this model, its assessments, and conclusions on Jones's work

as a whole. The discussion presented is balanced, and the editors succeed in placing Jones's work within a historiographical context.

Part II, 'Selected Papers by G. J. R. Jones', as the heading again describes, presents some of Jones's published papers. Several of these are quite rare and difficult to obtain – such as those only previously available in conference proceedings – so readers interested in his work will find Part II a valuable resource. Others are quite easily obtainable and so it was not essential that they were included in this volume. Despite this, the articles included by Barnwell and Roberts are well chosen for the overview of the development of Jones's work they provide the reader.

The book does not contain anything particularly new, but then it does not need to, as this is far from its purpose and aims. The idea of bringing together the work of a single scholar along with a discussion of his work is a great one. Jones himself never brought his arguments together into a single volume, but the editors have been successful in doing so. While the editors suggest that the volume is targeted towards younger scholars with little experience of Jones's work, I would argue that any early medieval historian interested in the geographical history of Wales and England, or in Jones's work in general, will find it an excellent read.

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Betteridge, Thomas and **Greg Walker**, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama* (Oxford Handbooks of Literature), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. 720; 2 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £95.00; ISBN 9780199566471.

Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker introduce Tudor drama from the 1480s to 1603 as having 'no teleology from medieval to Renaissance, from religious to secular, drab to golden age' (p. 16). The editors are more interested in dramatic cultural diversity than a reductive chronological sense of progression.

The thirty-eight essays on offer are divided thematically into four parts. Part I, 'Religious Drama', begins with Sheila Christie's analysis of the Chester Cycle. She demonstrates how the pageants incorporate moral, social, political, and legal concerns. Greg Walker finds similar complexity in the York *Corpus Christi* play. His argument reflects the book's entire theme in that the play is more an intellectual 'blueprint' for successive dramas, rather than being a 'simple, almost child-like form' (p. 52). In a similar manner, Elisabeth Dutton discusses the intricacies of time and place found in the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*.

In probably the last of the medieval morality plays, *The Summoning of Everyman*, Andrew Hadfield dismisses what appears to be author confusion. Instead, he finds an exposé ‘of the existing religious order’ (p. 101). Following a similar vein, James Simpson finds intriguing evangelical paradoxes in John Bale’s *Three Laws*.

The collection’s aim – to create ‘an appreciation of the particular energies and possibilities ... created in sixteenth-century dramatic culture’ (p. 17) – is perfectly realized in Part II, ‘Interludes and Comedies’. The whole section accrues additional significance by referring to plays analysed in the previous essays to build a more complete picture of the innovations provided by Tudor drama. Hence, Clare Wright’s study of Henry Medwall’s *Fulgens and Luces* draws on *Everyman* and Digby’s *Mary Magdalen* and *Wisdom* to construct a compelling argument of the play’s monarchical criticism.

Another theme of the collection is the authorship of anonymous texts. The historicized cultural understanding of Tudor drama is dependent on who penned them. Daniel Wakelin’s contribution argues for authorial identification of *Gentleness and Nobility* because of its ‘reflections on the state of early Tudor society’ (p. 192). The interlude’s wide readership is due to the efforts of the printer John Rastell, whom Wakelin credits with authorship. Meg Twycross goes one step further with her hypothetical reconstruction of who performed *Wit and Science*, where, and for whom.

John J. McGavin’s analysis of *Nice Wanton* is a probing insight into a difficult period of Tudor history from 1547 to 1560. The unstable religious climate that also saw three changes of monarch enables McGavin to orchestrate a complex argument. The play’s original audience, flexible socio-political environment, and Calvinist tendencies are addressed convincingly.

Jane Griffiths demonstrates impressive detective work with *Lusty Juventus*. By close reading of the text’s allegory, she provides compelling answers as to whom the mysterious author R. Wever could refer to, and the play’s uncertain date, as well as by whom or to whom the interlude is performed.

Alison Findlay uses Erving Goffman’s concept of ‘face-work’ to analyse *The Comedy of Errors*. Her fascinating essay also draws on a Reformation and Counter-Reformation context. Sarah Knight examines the Elizabethan trend ‘of scholars on the commercial stage’ in Robert Greene’s *The Honorable Historie of frier Bacon, and frier Bongay* (p. 356).

Part III, ‘Entertainments, Masques, and Royal Entries’ adopts an historical approach. Four of the thoughtful contributions analyse Henry VII’s funeral, Anne Boleyn’s coronation, The Greenwich Triumphs of 1527, and The Woodstock entertainment of 1575. The final essay by Allyna E. Ward

claims how the court drama *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (1582) closes the gap 'between the early dramas and the great works of the 1590s' (p. 446).

Part IV, 'Histories and Political Dramas' begins with Eleanor Rycroft's discussion of *The Interlude of Youth* and *Hick Scorner*, which have escaped 'focused critical attention' (p. 465). Rycroft highlights how *Youth* is the first English comedy to use the prodigal son. An essay of particular interest is Ros King's analysis of *Arden of Faversham*. It begins with an historical account of the true-life events surrounding the anonymous play. However, it mutates into an argument not only for Shakespeare as author, but the production-line techniques Shakespeare adopted when creating plays for performance. King's essay prepares the reader for the final piece on *Titus Andronicus*. While negotiating the play's unapologetic horrors, Betteridge argues that Shakespeare is criticizing the commercial theatre's taste for bloodthirsty dramas.

These essays on Tudor drama are the most wide-ranging available. The book's success lies with arguing the importance of each individual text. A notable accompaniment would be a printed edition of the dramas themselves. The book is essential for students of English Renaissance drama and experienced scholars will also find ground-breaking material here.

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Black, Jeremy, *War and the Cultural Turn*, Cambridge, Polity, 2011; paperback; pp. 192; R.R.P. £16.99; ISBN 9780745648347.

The latest book by distinguished military historian Jeremy Black is an examination of a range of intersections between 'culture' and military and war studies. Black is certainly well qualified to engage with this topic, as the author of an extensive list of books and articles on military history over a very wide chronological range. For this reason, his thoughts and arguments on what he terms the 'cultural turn' in military history are important and will be widely read by military historians. It is indeed to military historians that he is primarily addressing his arguments in this book, where he stresses the validity of blurry terminology like 'culture'. For many cultural or social historians his arguments on this aspect of his analysis will be preaching to the converted. However, there is much in this book to interest medieval and early modern social historians as well as historians of premodern warfare. The sheer range of Black's knowledge of military history, from ancient wars to the use of drones by the US military in Afghanistan, means that his arguments have an impressive depth.

In his preface, Black states that his aim with the book is to make ‘a case for a culturally aware approach to military history’ while avoiding the ‘opposite dangers of dismissing and blindly accepting culture as an explanatory concept’ (p. vii). The book opens with a long and discursive Introduction where Black grapples with the many meanings of ‘culture’ within historical, security, and war studies. This is a useful overview of the very different ways that ‘culture’ has been invoked within scholarship on military strategy, civilian engagement, and memory of war, as well as historical aspects of war and society. He covers not only definitions and historiography, but also the limitations of some military studies that remain closely linked with current national military strategies especially in the USA. In all this, his examples range from ancient to modern.

The second substantive chapter will be the chapter of most interest to medieval and early modern scholars, as here he examines the culture of prestige and personal glory or *gloire* in premodern military societies. His chapter is one of synthesis, and he argues against teleological military histories that see the medieval period as one leading up to the great shifts in gun technology of the latter period. While many of his examples are from Western Europe, he deplores the general ignorance within much western historical scholarship towards the histories of the Islamic, Chinese, and Indian empires.

In this chapter and others, Black explicitly grapples with the murkiness of using ‘culture’ as an analytical tool, as on p. 53 where he agrees that articulating ‘the importance of a set of values does not demonstrate that they necessarily took the key part in particular decisions’. Instead he points out that such values are an important part of the context in which military decisions were made.

The next chapter addresses the histories of strategy and strategic culture, through a close analysis of the British between 1688 and 1815. The strategic awareness and culture of war administration were bound up with the political and diplomatic necessities of the coalition warfare in which the British were engaged. Black also argues for wider ranging understanding of military strategic culture, arguing that for the British war was also bound up with domestic politics and the management of political opposition to war expenditure.

The second half of Black’s book brings his analysis into the age of modern warfare, with chapters on Western warfare between 1815 and 1950, the Cold War, and contemporary military strategies and culture. He concludes with two chapters that bring his analysis together. In the first, ‘Culture and military analysis’, he examines military historiography itself as a form of cultural activity. His first focus is on popular histories, which, as he suggests,

continue to be published prolifically and with considerable financial success by specialist military publishing houses. While he acknowledges the value of many of these avowedly popular histories, he emphasizes that such works continue to cover familiar ground – the Western Front of World War I for instance. Black then turns to more academic historiography, particularly of war and society and memory. He points out that many of these studies seem to avoid the fact that war is about fighting while more popular histories of tactics and battles treat war in a vacuum. In his conclusion, Black then suggests avenues for closer connections between more traditional military history writing – both popular and academic – and the blurry, sometimes uncomfortable, concept of culture.

Overall this is an interesting book, although perhaps it is sometimes a little unclear who Black is envisaging his audience to be: either social historians who do not have a clear enough grounding in the hard science of the military, or military historians who myopically insist on analysing their battles and weaponry without reference to the wider context. It is safe to say, however, that there is thought-provoking material here for both groups.

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Bolton, J. L., *Money in the Medieval English Economy 973–1489* (Manchester Medieval Studies), Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2012; paperback; pp. 352; R.R.P. £19.99; ISBN 9780719050404 (review copy supplied by Footprint Books).

Jim Bolton's study of money in the English economy runs through from Edgar's reign to the beginning of the Tudor period. Rather than simply offer a chronological survey covering the Anglo-Saxons to the Tudors, Bolton divides his analysis into two sections. First is 'Theories and problems', in which he attempts to model the medieval English economy taking both numismatic evidence (the coins themselves) and monetarist theory as his analytical foundation. Section two is 'Coinage and the economy', a survey of the coinage of the periods 973–1158, 1158–1351, and finally 1351–1489. Within both main sections of his text, Bolton's overall goal is to reorient current understandings of how the medieval English economy functioned by giving renewed focus to the money supply itself, and factoring in supply as a major variable in economic growth.

Between Edgar and Henry VII, Bolton analyses the increase, on a dramatic scale, of the supply of coinage. He places this development alongside

other changes over the centuries, including developments in auditing and accounting and the granting of credit, which cumulatively he suggests produced notable expansion in the economy and increasing sophistication in its mechanisms. Ultimately, Bolton argues that what is recognizable as a full money economy was in existence by the fourteenth century. After the fourteenth century, Bolton goes on to examine recoinages and deflationary pressures that by 1500, he argues, left money as a major variable even if there were by then clear economic deficiencies including the rise of a new class of landless labourers and the economic aftermath of plague.

The analysis, given its emphasis on money supply, takes note of landmark moments in the striking of coinage. The *terminus post quem* of 1489 is the year that the first pound coins were struck, and before this date Bolton notes other significant occasions in the production of new types of coin.

Throughout the text, Bolton offers clear analysis for major theoretical underpinnings of monetarist thought, and early sections are devoted to Irwin Fisher's identity or equation of exchange, which Bolton discusses at the outset as a means of intellectually contextualizing the monetarist principles he applies to the medieval economy. In particular, he positions money and its availability or otherwise as a major variable in addition to others, such as rises or falls in the population level.

One of this book's numerous strengths is the clarity of Bolton's explanations. He moves through major concepts like circulation, monetization, deflation, the relationship between the state and money, and even foundational understandings of money, with precision. In this text, one can also read of the actual processes for producing or minting the money, alongside more abstract notions.

The study is also nuanced and while Bolton overall asserts a case for recognizing money as a more important variable in how the medieval economy worked than scholars have hitherto appreciated, he also falls far short of suggesting that the period of 753–1489 is marked by an uncomplicated forward development towards a monetarist economy. To start with, Bolton points to the importance of regional variations. There were regional mints in medieval England but the supply of coin or even bullion across the kingdom was not uniform, meaning that economic changes were not uniform. Bolton is also very often arguing from the perspective of evidence for what was taking place in London, East Anglia, and southern England, and the book in general tends to look away from the northern counties.

Another of the book's strengths is that Bolton does not make absolute claims for the impact of the growth in money and also notes the importance of population growth (or conversely its decline because of the Black Death)

as a driving force of economic change. Similarly, Bolton suggests not only the supply of money, but the development of economic systems and infrastructure including a credit market, and his book is especially valuable for using records of credit and debt for measuring and pinpointing economic stresses and for showing relationships between a town and its hinterland, or a town and a wider national level of economic activity.

With *Money in the Medieval English Economy* we are presented with an important reappraisal of the significance of the supply of money in several centuries of English economic activity, which does not attempt to draw too long a bow.

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Botana, Federico, *The Works of Mercy in Italian Medieval Art (c. 1050–c. 1400)* (Medieval Church Studies, 20), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xl, 256; 110 b/w, 12 colour illustrations; R.R.P. €110.00; ISBN 9782503536231.

This book, like Tom Nichols's *The Art of Poverty: Irony and Ideal in Sixteenth-Century Beggar Imagery* (Manchester, 2007), makes useful contributions to art history and to the history of poverty and poor relief. In particular, *The Works of Mercy in Italian Medieval Art* fills a neglected gap in Italian art history and Western European art history more generally, adds considerable detail to our understanding of the medieval performance of the works of mercy, and broadens our appreciation of the impact and lay reception of medieval theological discourses concerning charity and salvation. Interesting conclusions abound in this volume. For instance, in looking at early cycles of works of mercy, Federico Botana proposes 'that a canon was taking shape before the surviving textual sources suggest' (p. 16). Yet it is the methodology that is this book's most engaging element, and readers will find themselves constantly referring to the many illustrations that grace the pages of this book, following the clues. It is, in fact, quite a detective story. Or rather, it is a series of detective stories, as individual depictions of the works of mercy rendered in stone, through fresco, or on parchment are examined in considerable detail. Where possible, this analysis is backed up with archival and architectural context.

In a well-argued section of Chapter 3, for example, the focus is on miniatures of the works of mercy. Here Botana highlights that these images are highly theological and draws out the meanings (p. 49). To cite one example, a tiny figure of 'Visiting the Sick' conveys the theology of this work of mercy (pp. 75–77). A representation of a cockerel, it is implied, is soon to

become soup, and therefore shows concern for the physical health of the sick person. Yet a hand raised to heaven indicates the need to also minister to a sick person's spiritual health. Situated in a text for the clergy, this emphasizes and reinforces the meaning of the document that it decorates. Other chapters are similarly themed.

Another thread running through this work, and the one of most interest to this reader, concerns how strong links could be drawn between depictions of works of mercy and lay confraternities. Botana finds a number of confraternal symbols in several depictions, which are further confirmed and/or contextualized by archival documentation. This same methodology then enables Botana to propose that confraternities were extant in settings where a surviving cycle of the works of mercy may be the only evidence of their existence. It also facilitates Botana in reading further information from a series of images. In another depiction of 'Visiting the Sick', the same figure appearing in the next scene in the sequence 'Burying the Dead', promotes the idea that these two works were particularly focused on members of the confraternity.

These various depictions of works of mercy being performed also provide useful details about the performance of works of mercy and the delivery of what later ages call 'poor relief'. Within a hospital setting, for instance, Botana argues that 'illustrations ... verify that this hospital devised an institutional framework for tackling poverty and illness as efficiently as possible' (p. 143). We are shown the locations of interactions, the foods provided (my favourite being mince pies), and the variety of persons both performing and receiving works of mercy. Botana's discussion of a crossed-armed and rather defensive figure in a miniature of 'The Reception of Sinful Women' (p. 138) highlights how these images, while conveying theology and ideals, were also reflecting contemporary practices and people.

And this, the intersection of ideal and reality, is where the multi-layered unpacking of these images is particularly fascinating. Botana proposes that the works of mercy were integral to contemporary understanding, and living, of the *corpus mysticum*. It was more than a simple equation of giving alms to attain salvation, although the attainment of individual and collective salvation was clearly a preoccupation. The works of mercy, depicted in art, enabled people to view an ideal community, to be encouraged to live in charity, and to reflect on and commemorate charity lived.

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Canning, Joseph, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages, 1296–1417*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011; hardback; pp. 232; R.R.P. £60.00, AU\$125.00; ISBN 9781107011410.

Joseph Canning makes an important contribution to the history of power and political thought with this study, which tackles the fundamental question of where legitimate authority and power lie. This is the first focused study on ideas of power and authority in the long fourteenth century. Canning's main contention is that fourteenth-century medieval scholastic writers developed radically new ways of discussing power through what he terms the 'realistic turn' (p. 4), an intensification and innovative use of authoritative texts to provide solutions to the problems of real-world politics. Canning demonstrates that deep-seated conflicts and profound political changes of the period provided the stimuli for writers to question fundamental presuppositions about power and authority.

Organized into six chronological chapters, Canning's study explores the late medieval series of conflicts over the papacy's claims to power and authority. Chapter 1 examines eight tracts produced during the disputes between Philip IV and Boniface VIII over the jurisdiction of temporal and spiritual power, which employed various interpretations of the hierocratic and dualist models of papal authority. Canning makes it clear that while the writers of these tracts were not ostensibly trying to innovate, they did so either 'incidentally or under the guise of arguments supported by authority' (p. 19). Canning highlights for the reader the most striking notions about power and authority presented by these authors and demonstrates that both Aristotelian and Augustinian languages were used for justifying the autonomy of secular power and authority.

One achievement of this book is that it makes the history of political thought more accessible by drawing the reader's attention to the personal motivations of the writers and their political reality. In a highly engaging second chapter, Canning argues that Dante sought to disprove the papal position held during the controversy between Philip IV and Boniface VIII on the grounds that the arguments employed were illogical or unsuitable. Dante's contribution to political philosophy was original, Canning demonstrates, because of his method and the questions that he raised around political speculation. Canning shows us that Dante's approach was informed by his own personal experiences as a victim of factionalism, his own understanding of man as an intellectual being, and his commitment to a common and universal humanity.

Marsilius of Padua was even more driven than Dante to write from his personal experiences of contemporary politics. Chapter 3 explores how

Marsilius wanted to show how peace could be achieved, and to this end set out to demonstrate where legitimate authority did and did not reside. Canning situates his own arguments within the current deeply contested interpretations of Marsilius's work to argue for a closer examination of his neglected providential view of history.

Chapter 4 focuses on issues of power and authority raised by the poverty debates between the papacy and a small minority of Spiritual Franciscans. Canning is especially concerned with the ideas of the theologian William of Ockham, a key exponent of poverty, and his non-political arguments. Canning is able to show that even while Ockham discussed legitimate and illegitimate power he 'expressed a scale of values which minimized the significance of politics, law and power' (p. 119).

Canning uses Chapter 5 to examine juristic discourse on issues of legitimate power, and the specific issue of papal temporal power in the Papal States. Canning also sets out to contribute to a key historical debate in studies of political thought over whether notions of state and sovereignty can be usefully applied to any historical period. Canning concentrates on the work of two fourteenth-century jurists of the Commentators school, Bartolus of Sassoferrato and Baldus de Ubaldis. Canning advocates convincingly for a hierarchy of sovereignty to best describe the views of these jurists, a model in which *de iure* and *de facto* power existed in parallel. Canning joins other political historians in concluding that the concepts of sovereignty and state may be useful tools of interpretation, as long as it is recognized that they are 'forms of ideal types' and therefore do not correspond to any particular historical reality (p. 157).

The final chapter examines two sets of ideas that were developed during the Great Schism and which threatened claims to papal plenitude of power: the notion of grace-founded *dominium*, especially as it was outlined by John Wyclif, and theories of the conciliar movement in the church. Canning outlines the ways in which Wyclif attacked the foundations of ecclesiastical claims to jurisdiction while the conciliarists provided an alternative to papal monarchy.

Canning's study makes a good case for questions of legitimate power and authority being a useful starting point for a history of power. This book would be of interest to anyone interested in legitimate power and authority, the history of political thought, and secular and papal disputes. Non-medievalists should find the historical background and brief historiographical notes in each chapter useful.

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Darby, Peter, *Bede and the End of Time* (Studies in Early Medieval Britain), Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. 276; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781409430483.

Medieval eschatology is a popular area of study, but scholarship has yet to mine fully the depths of eschatological preoccupation in Anglo-Saxon England. *Bede and the End of Time* is therefore a useful study of early Anglo-Saxon eschatology in the works of the Venerable Bede. Bede's scholarship is certainly worth studying in this regard because, as Peter Darby writes, Bede created 'a master narrative of the end-times, a coherent "history of the future"' (p. 218), for an age and a land in which speculation about the apocalypse was rife.

The book's introductory survey of Bedan scholarship is relatively short, but justifiably so as Darby's work is among the first of its kind. While intertextuality has been a feature of modern Bede studies for some time, Darby's approach fits with Scott DeGregorio's idea of a 'new Bede': Bede as an original scholar and thinker, not solely an exegete and not solely an historian. Darby considers each text in isolation and as part of a whole, so that his analysis traces the development of Bede's ideas throughout his scholarly career.

The breadth of Bede's writings is sometimes underrated, but not so here. While Bede's biblical commentaries and his textbooks on time contain much of Bede's eschatological thought, Darby also addresses relevant sections of Bede's homilies, letters, hymns, poetry, and, of course, the *Historia ecclesiastica*. In building a narrative of changes in Bede's thinking, Darby is able to make some new suggestions about the unknown chronology of some texts. He also examines the historical context of Bede's works, how Bede used his sources, and how Bede's own work was used, as well as the contemporary events that prompted developments in Bede's thought.

One of these events was the accusation of heresy that occasioned Bede's writing of the *Epistola ad Pleguinam* in his own defense. Darby devotes a whole chapter to this event, although because the repercussions informed Bede's future work, he refers to the letter throughout the book. Darby discusses the misreading of Bede's *De temporibus* that may have led to the anonymous charge. It is clear that Bede was greatly upset by the accusation, and modified his ideas in direct response: 'Relatively soon after the accusation of heresy, Bede clarified his thoughts about the structure of time and established a new orthodoxy grounded in Augustinian language. Such clarification was necessary in light of some of his contemporaries' apparent inability to understand crucial scriptural passages and associated eschatological concepts' (p. 82).

One such clarification was the expansion of the traditional model of six world ages into eight ages, in which the seventh age runs parallel with the first six, while the eighth age will be one of eternal rest. This concept became crucial to Bede's eschatological thought, and he 'mentioned the eight-age scheme so often that, in time, his expertise on such matters could hardly have been questioned by anybody who had regular access to his works' (p. 86).

The book's eight chapters are arranged into three parts, covering the world ages framework discussed above, Bede's eschatological vision, and Bede's eschatological perspective. Bede's eschatological vision included a clear sequence of the end-time in which the first sign would be the conversion of the Jews, the second the persecution of Antichrist, and the third the death of Antichrist followed by a test of patience. Here Darby again proves that Bede modified his thoughts on the topic between his early *Expositio Apocalypseos* and later works, although Bede always maintained that only God knows the time of the end, and no Christian should dare to speculate. The contexts for Bede's eschatological writings include his relationship with the works of Gregory the Great and the events of his era, in particular the political instability in Northumbria and the departure of Ceolfrith from Wearmouth–Jarrow in 716.

Although one does not have to be a Bedan expert to appreciate this book, a basic familiarity with the main titles is useful. *Bede and the End of Time* is a necessary and valuable contribution to studies of Bede and of medieval eschatology. In particular, Darby's methodological approach will prove useful for future research into the construction and development of Bede's ideas across all his works.

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Donaldson, Ian, *Ben Jonson: A Life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011; cloth; pp. xx, 533; 48 b/w illustrations, 24 colour plates; R.R.P. £25.00; ISBN 9780198129769.

To write a thorough biography of Ben Jonson requires a detailed history of the whole period from his birth in 1572 to beyond his death in 1637. This is because the poor bricklayer's stepson who wrote plays, spent time in Marshalsea for debt, and was branded as a felon for murdering a fellow playwright (Gabriel Spencer), steadily gained access to some of the highest in the land, including three monarchs, their most senior courtiers, including even those in conflict with each other like Essex and the Cecils, Raleigh

(whose mischievous son played a dangerous practical joke on Jonson in Italy), most of the Sidney family, and the most famous scholars of the day.

It is quite remarkable that time and again Jonson's bulky presence turns up in the most controversial political contexts, including the rebellious plots by Essex, and Guy Fawkes's attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament in the Gunpowder Plot. His apparent upward mobility did not ever give him full social respectability let alone a station in life above that of a professional writer for the stage, and it certainly did not lead to riches or even financial security. Yet it meant that he was inescapably influential, sometimes in central ways and sometimes marginal, in political statecraft. To this extent, it is impossible to trace Jonson's own affairs without also understanding and explaining the affairs of state around him, and the various contexts of social stratification which in his unlikely way he managed to manoeuvre through. A good deal of detective work is required by the biographer since the Jacobean state increasingly intimidated its citizens with a surveillance that forced them to 'maintain silence or communicate in whispers, equivocations, or code' (p. 192).

Doctrines and machinations in religion too, as Jonson's conversion to Roman Catholicism was probably aided by his friend Father Wright (author of *The Passions of the Mind in General*) who risked prosecution for treason for doing so. There is also Jonson's professional milieu of 'the small but intensely competitive arena of late Elizabethan theatre' (p. 159) to explain, and Ian Donaldson gradually unfolds an unobtrusive but meticulously detailed history of the Elizabethan theatre from its earliest times in the 1570s through to the era of the Jacobean masque in which Jonson had such a complicated relationship with Inigo Jones. Collaborations and enmities among writers, actors, and men of the theatre form a conspicuous part of the book and there are often colourful appearances by figures such as Kyd, Drayton, and of course the elusive Shakespeare. A close study of the controversies surrounding the lost play, *The Isle of Dogs*, exemplifies all the personal intricacies and political dangers which were part of Jonson's daily experience. The story stretches from London up to Scotland, which was where Jonson's heritage lay and his friend Drummond of Hawthornden lived, the destination on his famous northern walk.

There is more than a touch of Sir John Falstaff who, although a fiction, is a similarly self-mythologizing figure living from hand to mouth, frequenting the tavern, and often just shy of the law, yet consorting with the future king and his entourage. Certainly Donaldson makes no attempt to whitewash his subject who emerges as periodically splenetic, violent, often drunk, congenitally vain, and in later life so fat he could barely move from

his lodgings; yet one who also managed to write some of the greatest stage comedies and lofty classical tragedies we have.

If I have a reservation it is probably forgivable in the light of the riches Donaldson offers. His subject's tumultuous life leaves the writer little time to explore the plays in any depth, though what he provides are elegantly clear, concise, and suggestive interpretations of very complicated plays. What tacitly emerges is the plays' contemporaneity in both time zones. Not only are they rooted in London society of Jonson's time, but they also shrewdly foresee contentious aspects of our own world: the contradictions in capitalism, advertising, radical changes in the book trade and media of entertainment and information, including the timely subject of corruption of the press. It becomes completely understandable why Jonson would be critical of the fictiveness of 'mouldy tales' written by his admired friend Shakespeare, whose works seem old fashioned by contrast. Donaldson's heart will no doubt sink after providing this substantial biography and also carrying out the massive task of editing the texts, but I for one would welcome another book from Jonson's greatest interpreter, devoted to unfolding the plays' significance for the modern world, where they belong.

Donaldson may not have fully known in advance just what he was getting into when he took on such a formidable task in tracing Ben Jonson's life, literally from his childhood in a 'sordid alleyway', Hartshorn Lane, to his grave (where he characteristically resided upside down). However, having undertaken it, he succeeds triumphantly in what will surely be acknowledged as the definitive life of Jonson, and one of the best literary biographies written in any era.

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Erskine, Caroline and Roger A. **Mason**, eds, *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History), Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. 342; 6 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9780754662389.

Since Quentin Skinner started revising the history of European political theory, interest in George Buchanan's works has revived. This recent re-examination of his ideas has been in the long-term context of developing modern political ideas. This has resulted in some very welcome new editions of his works with English translations, especially the *De Iure*, his Political poetry, and his paraphrases of the Psalms, as well as an ongoing series of

conferences on issues relating to his ideas and influence. Because great poets such as Edmund Spenser are known to have read Buchanan's work, these studies have spread into the area of literary interpretation as well as history in countries across Europe including the Low Countries, France, Germany, and Italy and this volume contains material on all of these.

Buchanan's reputation has waxed and waned since the sixteenth century, as Esther Mijers shows in her paper on the fight over his ideas between Jacobites and Edinburgh scholars in the eighteenth century. At times, he evidently became no more than a prestigious name in the history of Scotland – one of a pantheon of civil and religious liberty – rather than a thinker whose arguments were still important. Although, as Caroline Erskine shows, Buchanan may never be seen as worthy of inclusion in the canon of resistance theory that focuses on John Locke and Algernon Sidney, and it may never be possible to estimate how much of his ideas they and others absorbed, he continued to be a figure who was anathematized by royalists such as George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh for his dangerous theories. Among the matters that worried Buchanan's successors were the principles of assassination, which Colin Kidd has carefully considered over a four-hundred-year period.

This set of studies is the belated outcome of a conference held on the 500th anniversary of Buchanan's birth (2006). The contributions are of uneven interest because in some cases they are updated and embellished versions of material already in print elsewhere and in others overtaken by later works on the topics. Claire Jackson's entertaining and instructive account of Sir James Turner's dismissal of Buchanan to the pains of Hell in a series of fictional letters, however, is a useful development of the more general ideas she had already put into print in *Restoration Scotland, 1660–1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Boydell, 2003).

Some subjects tackled are unlikely ever to be finally resolved – whether, for example, Buchanan's theory of resistance was the most extreme made in his time or whether his Revolution principles were the inspiration of the Covenanters and later reformers, both of which are considered by authors in this volume who come to differing conclusions. Others are perhaps being assumed to be canonical when the evidence is ambiguous.

Certain papers included provide a new approach: Tricia McElroy has attempted to elucidate Buchanan's most notorious work on Mary, Queen of Scots, by considering its political strategy as a fictitious criminal narrative and also by comparing its structure to his earlier play, *Baptistes*. While one must assume that Buchanan used all the literary skills he had honed in his earlier life, it seems unlikely that he would have produced a piece of propaganda over whose later fate he had no control, and that he must have known would show him apparently biting the hand that fed him.

The most important and potentially most interesting papers for an English speaking audience are probably those that are concerned with areas where there have been fewer studies in English of contemporary political theories. Robert von Friedeburg's study of Buchanan as a monarchomach – compared to the numerous warring German political thinkers, such as the Calvinist jurist Johannes Althusius, the Lutheran theologian Johan Gerhard, the jurist Christoph Besold, and the moral philosopher and absolutist Henning Arnisaeus – does an excellent job of elucidating the basis of the various German arguments, how they relate to the actual rights and structures of the different German states, and how Buchanan's stand fits into the spectrum of opinion. Allan McInnes's account of his reception in Northern Europe is less focused on philosophers as he argues that Buchanan's writings 'served to check moves towards absolute monarchy in Denmark–Norway and to justify rebellion within the commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania' (p. 151). His attempt to give Scottish history a 'Polish spin' (p. 164), however, seems drawing a bow at a venture (1 Kings 22. 34) as he does not clarify what target Buchanan's arrows were used for.

While some arguments may be more persuasive than others, it is noticeable that some of the presentations depend upon claims – such as Andrew Hadfield's suggestion that Buchanan's work was well known to a literate English audience in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that his attack on Mary may have been sponsored by English authorities – that are assumed not argued. But these things are inevitable where the available words are restricted, and overall this is a volume that should be read by anyone with a serious interest in the political ideas of the early modern period and how they developed in what we will assume is the real world.

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Goodman, Nan, *Banished: Common Law and the Rhetoric of Exclusion in Early New England*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012; cloth; pp. 224; R.R.P. US\$59.95, £39.00; ISBN 9780812244274.

The reliance on banishment in seventeenth-century New England has been much discussed in a religious context. For it was a means by which theological identity could be asserted, and perilous communities approach the ideal of a gathered church. Nan Goodman provides a substantial change of emphasis through an enriching context of common law. In an interdisciplinary study, she uses a variety of cases to raise questions concerning rhetoric and identity, space and place, hospitality and charity, emerging nationalism, sovereignty,

the relationships between colonists and indigenous peoples, and the transformation of the common law itself in being translated to the Americas.

The work is ordered chronologically (c. 1620–84). Chapter 1 concerns the banishment of Anne Hutchinson, putative antinomian from the Bay Colony and Thomas Morton from it and Plymouth, distinct cases sharing similar legal arguments on the requirements of hospitality and charity. Chapter 2 explores legally informed aspects of the gathered church and what the banished Roger Williams argued, *contra* John Cotton, was the necessity of social diversity on earth contrasting with the unity of the Church in Heaven. Chapter 3 explores the differences between belonging, inclusion, and presence in the Bay Colony's banishment of a group of Quakers who provocatively returned, eventually to be hanged. Chapter 4 discusses the expulsion of 500 Indian converts to Deer Island, justified not in terms of religion, but the imperatives of the common good. It was a banishment, argues Goodman, that gave the Indians common law presence (p. 119). The chapters are framed by an extensive thematic Introduction and Conclusion.

The strengths of Goodman's study lie in the complementary nature of her cases, in her careful attention to the shifts in common law and its partial use (hardly unusual for the times), as a tool in forming and purging religious and social identity, and in her courage in grappling with an eclectic range of concepts from anthropology, human geography, social theory, and sociology. It is convincingly argued that the revival of punishment by banishment itself helped change common law in New England, while only later in the seventeenth century was the English common law principle of belonging by birthright applicable, and then not uniformly. Thus it was necessary from an early stage to consider the criteria for belonging in geographically circumscribed communities that were always more than churches.

Although Goodman acknowledges the difficulties of processing seventeenth-century argument through later concepts and contemporary theory, her prose and conceptual discrimination do not always overcome them (e.g., pp. 17, 113, 149). The problems are not, however, *ad hoc*, but a consequence of her principal endeavour, to give past figures and texts what 'they deserve', assimilation to 'transhistorical' categories (p. 7), that is – more modestly – modern ones. In this context, her handling of sovereignty and nationalism are both problematic and inadequately informed. It seems assumed that the geographical ambit of the law went in tandem with notions of sovereignty, (and that with power) when common lawyers could regard sovereignty as an alien and redundant category. At one point, via Foucault, Goodman conflates law with sovereignty (a minority idealization characteristic of seventeenth-century absolutists). Pressing Foucault and

Habermas into the service of ‘subject–sovereign’ relations and the ‘public sphere’ (p. 107), results in an unclear and unduly modernizing account of Quaker resistance. Attention to the casuistic reasoning that dogged both law and religious apologetics would have given a more plausible picture.

Goodman is also well aware of the distortions caused by nationalist teleologies, yet sees nationalism as ‘in the air’ (p. 21) and banishment helping to give it substance. But if the concept is presupposed, premature substance is easily achieved by question-begging re-description. Thus Coke’s references to ‘countrie’ and *patria* (p. 16) are summarized as about the nation, a conceptual massaging that ends with the anachronism of Coke’s ‘nationalism’ (p. 150). There is a similar teleological foreshortening, or poor writing when England is first said to be still circumscribed by an island (*sic*, p. 17), then to have absorbed Scotland with the unification of the crowns under James VI&I (p. 18); curious and curiouser, said Alice, in a work about law and territoriality and familiar with *Calvin’s Case* (pp. 18–19, 104).

More might have been done with the rhetoric of the subtitle. What initially is alluded to, rather impressionistically, appears to be the Aristotelian genus of forensic rhetoric seeking truth in accusations and Cicero’s adaptation of this. The conception is appropriate, but subsequent argument wanders into insubstantial generalities (pp. 149–51); rhetoric as a shaping of perception (p. 28), or, via a hypothetical history (pp. 132–35), something like myth, or the genus of deliberation for which action not truth was the point. There is no bibliography, and there is some ill-chosen vocabulary: ‘parameters’ possibly for perimeters, (pp. 11, 149); and ‘elision’ for conflation (p. 113), in what is nevertheless a thoughtful and frequently illuminating work.

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Harty, Kevin J., ed., *The Vikings on Film: Essays on Depictions of the Nordic Middle Ages*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland, 2011; paperback; pp. viii, 228; 22 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$38.00; ISBN 9780786460441 (for orders see www.mcfarlandpub.com).

Vikings on Film, as it promises, is a book of essays explicitly concerned with the cinematic depiction of Vikings. With the inclusion of an extensive filmography, it turns into an important sourcebook for this fertile realm at the intersection of popular culture and medievalism.

However, while the filmography, along with the last essay chapter dealing with animated/cartoon Vikings in television and film, provide a useful

bibliographic source for further research, the book as a whole is a mixed bag. Any editor would be strained to produce a coherent and cohesive volume from such a wide array of contributors, topics, and theoretical approaches; and without an overarching methodology, or disciplinary approach to the subject matter, the collection as a whole suffers.

There are fourteen essays *in toto* (in addition to the filmography), all of varying quality and varying length – the shortest is barely five and a half pages of text. This variability overall exposes the volume to a lack of cohesion, and even undermines its ostensible status as an academic production. In fact, read as an academic text, the most prominent failing throughout this volume is the awkward tendency, apparent in a number of these essays, to slip into an affected or journalistic style of expression; a style that seems to imply an ‘in’ group of imagined readers, those for whom such quirky, non-standard, or non-academic usage is standard and therefore cool. Or perhaps the book is trying to increase its readership by pitching to a wider non-academic readership.

But notwithstanding these reservations, there are indeed a good number of very sound academic works in this volume, works that would not be out of place in an undergraduate literary/media/cultural curriculum. Kathleen Coyne Kelly’s contribution, which sees her dip into the waters of French poststructuralist theory, is one such example. Articles by Alan Lupack, and Laurie Finke and Martin Schichtman are useful reminders of social and cultural context, the political constraints on Hollywood, and the implications for representation, the viewer, and the gaze. The paper by David W. Marshall also deals neatly with positioning of narrative in a political context, in this case critiquing the colonialism explored in that film, and turning that ethical consideration back onto ‘source’ texts, like *Beowulf*. And Andrew B. R. Elliott’s article shines among a number of other papers that consider the notion of ‘viking’ in popular culture, and the influence of postmodern intertextuality, pastiche, and destabilization of ‘history’ in understanding the place of the category ‘viking’ more broadly.

However, partly due to the nature of the object of study, there often runs through many of these essays a tendency for a simplistic descriptive style that recites the plot structures and the visual aspects of scene developments, in order to establish a basis for discussion. The underlying assumption, at variance to that found in most literary analyses, is that the reader probably has not seen the film being discussed. Often these are just the key visual plot or cinematographic characteristics in a descriptive ‘film opens ... cut to ...’ format, with little more than observations about inferred meanings, and while an argument can be made that this type of writing may be necessary,

it often results in a laboured style that impedes the development of more engaging critical analyses.

There are also a good number of examples of journalistic, even glib expression throughout the book, which deter the academic, but perhaps encourage the non-academic reader. These examples often bring common sense notions to the fore, without critique, such as notions of ‘silly’: ‘Without getting too Freudian (i.e., too silly) ...’ (p. 34); ‘Such silliness, in ample supply ...’ (p. 58); ‘the rather silly vikingness’ (p. 61); and ‘it is this silliness ...’ (p. 62). Nowhere is ‘silly’ analysed, contextualized, or considered as anything other than inferred author/reader agreement. Further examples, such as ‘Awkward Viking moment number two ...’ followed shortly by ‘Awkward Viking moment number three ...’ (p. 33), likewise fail to contextualize notions of ‘awkwardness’ – the inferred authorial perspective being so de-contextualized that it remains opaque, and lacking in critical meaning. Surely awkwardness itself in narrative form, as a tension between product and audience expectation, is an object worthy of exploration, in and of itself?

This journalistic rather than academic tendency also manifests itself in writing styles akin to the kind of surface commentary and industry observation more commonly found in newspaper, magazine, and blogosphere movie reviews, and ‘insider’ discussions (often on the web) about the film industry, where, once again, common sense and non-contextual authorial views are delivered sententiously. A few examples of this regrettably common style in this book can be seen in ‘The costuming is a bit strange ... the musical score ... is mismatched’ (p. 42), and ‘The most remarkable and dramatic scene in the film ...’ (p. 91).

Such criticisms aside, though, this is still a useful exploration into the range of depictions of Vikings in cinema, and, as such, a useful addition to the expanding library of sourcebooks and critical appraisals of medievalist representations in popular culture.

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Hirst, Derek, *Dominion: England and its Island Neighbours, 1500–1707* (Oxford Histories), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012; paperback; pp. 336; 5 maps; R.R.P. £18.99; ISBN 9780199535378.

Ostensibly, *Dominion: England and its Island Neighbours, 1500–1707* is a narrative history of the interactions across place, kingdom, kingship, and religion between the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the principality of Wales. What it aims to produce is a synthesis of narrative and

understanding, elucidating a deeper perspective on the affairs, relations, and ideologies that shaped national interactions and were in turn shaped by them. While steeped in a rich level of detail in the production of the narrative, the actual history remains somewhat less than the ambition.

Hirst's approach to his writing is that of a chronicler. This is useful for the close read he brings to the events across the four nations over two centuries, yet at the same time the chronicle style reduces his history to something arcane and distant. Lacking in context, the events he recites appear to be a procession of names and dates and titles, especially as he explores the multiple changes of governance that occurred in Elizabethan Ireland. The lack of accompanying material, such as a list of Lord Deputies in Dublin or even key counsellors in London compounds the unfortunate impression that this is a history only for those who are just as steeped in it as Hirst himself.

This is not to say that there is no analysis in the work, only that the key analysis is almost recused, isolated, and separate in the first seventeen pages of the book, split between a Part I which serves as thematic overview and context for the history, and the prologue to Part II, the rest of which is the sprawling narrative history which dominates the whole.

Indeed it is perhaps this that is *Dominion's* major flaw, and which serves as an important lesson to other authors: the book appears hobbled by its structure. Part I takes a particular pamphlet – the *Strange and Wonderful Prophecies and Predictions* (1691) – and uses it as a focal point for the intertwining of national identities in the almost apocalyptic turmoil of the Glorious Revolution. However, Hirst does not then maintain this twining of the pamphlet throughout the rest of the narrative. Its ideals are set up and explored in Part I and then forgotten in Parts II and III, a broader tendency found in Hirst's narrative treatment. When Part II begins, it is largely a detailed listing, a narrative of names and dates, unreferenced and unquestioned. The final Part III is a bibliographic essay, setting out key texts for the reader to explore independently, but without providing any clarity on which of these bolster or negate Hirst's reading of Tudor history. The essay does not act as a conclusion as such, and even on the last pages of Hirst's Part II, the author counsels against drawing conclusions from an 'unfinished process' (p. 281).

This compartmentalized structure hampers the volume by creating almost three different mini-volumes with little overarching coherence or cohesiveness. From this first, structural problem, the volume loses some of its heft, being demarcated in ways that do not help the reader. Certainly the key narrative depth of the history cannot be faulted; it does indeed explore, as the back cover suggests, local governance and broader historical shifts. However, both concepts are explored independently of each other and in parallel rather

than being drawn together into an overall analytical framework. What Hirst produces is a history that gives no overt lessons and draws no conclusions, that tells tales without substance and with little impact.

It might have worked better if Hirst has threaded his themes and references to the pamphlet through the narrative history of Part II, building a theoretical framework to understand each oncoming event. A serious conclusion could have been used to bolster his argument, strengthening his ideas by demonstrating their currency in the history he explores. Instead both his ideas and the history itself lie normative and unquestioned across the pages. Without any real investigation and no actual use of primary sources it is difficult to ascertain exactly what Hirst may be leaving out of his constructed history.

Overall this is a shame. The field is fertile for new research, especially one that takes a more holistic, big-picture perspective, and draws some of the extant threads from the time together. Obviously a lot of that work would be based on assumptions – compare and contrast of the governance arrangements and the ideological conceptualizations of the relationship between England and its sometime-neighbours, sometime-friends, sometime-enemies – but lining up some of those parallels would allow readers to build a picture for themselves. As Hirst neither paints the picture himself, nor provides enough analysis for readers to piece together their own conclusions, the work feels hollow and lacking as a result.

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Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan: The English and Latin Texts*, ed. Noel Malcolm, 3 vols (Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2012; cloth; pp. 1832; 11 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £195.00; ISBN 9780199602629 (set).

If the Earl of Clarendon might turn in his grave at the thought of *Leviathan* being so easily available and so widely taught in universities, this edition, appearing under Oxford's Clarendon Press imprint, would make him spin. For it is the centrepiece of the ambitious collected works of Hobbes (26 volumes plus cumulative index), under the general editorship of Noel Malcolm, Keith Thomas and Quentin Skinner. The Molesworth edition (1839–45) now threatens to be totally superseded. To make matters insupportable for the Earl, this is the *Leviathan* of *Leviathans*. It is a superb achievement, a rare combination of expert and detailed scholarship, sustained historical insight and elegant writing.

The *Introduction* (vol. 1) is in its own right a major study of the work. Part I, the ‘General Introduction’ provides a rich if succinct compositional context, including a discussion of principal themes, the iconography of the title page, critical contemporary responses, and the background to the Latin version. It will not pass without debate, for example, in minimizing the relevance of ‘The Engagement Controversy’, to which Hobbes alludes in his ‘Review and Conclusion’; and perhaps in treating Hobbes’s praise of ‘Independency’ as anomalous (pp. 61–65). The overall vision of *Leviathan* as a philosophical exploration of the reciprocal offices of sovereign and subject *per se* by a committed royalist capable of thinking beyond party affiliations, will not surprise, but is very effectively reinforced.

Part II, the ‘Textual Introduction’ deals with the physical identity of the work, its manuscript and attendant materials, and the early printed versions: ‘The Head’ (1651), ‘The Bear’ (1670/78?), and ‘The Ornaments’ (1695–1702?); the names being derived from title-page variation. The probable dating of ‘Bear’ and ‘Ornaments’ is largely the result of Malcolm’s previous assiduous research, extending his discussions of printing, typeface variation, paper, and printers’ networks in *Aspects of Hobbes* (Clarendon Press, 2002). Similarly close attention is devoted to the published Latin *Leviathan* (1668, 1670, 1676, 1678). In turning to the later printed history, Malcolm considers some eighteen editions, including ones in French, Italian, and German: respectively (Tricaud, 1971; Tricaud and Pécharman, 2004; Micheli, 1976; Santi, 2001; Schlösser and Klenner, 1996). Most have involved errors or silent alterations to the original. The famous Oakeshott edition (Blackwell, 1946) still valuable for its ‘Introduction’ is noted only as being almost Molesworthian in the scale of its silent editorial interventions (p. 303), whereas the Tuck edition (Cambridge, 1991) stands up well to scrutiny. Malcolm presents a cogent, if methodologically technical argument, for why this critical edition is needed as a correction to the previous one (Rogers and Schuhmann, 2003).

Volumes II and III provide parallel texts of the English (1651) and the Latin (1668) printings with all variations acknowledged. The Latin is no simple rendition of the English. Hobbes had thought carefully about re-writing, prompted partly by his exaggerated sense of isolation in England and more specifically, as correspondence makes clear, by his continental admirers having some trouble with the original. His friend, Henry Stubbe, made a partial translation (1656–57), and was questioned over the enterprise by Oxford’s Vice-Chancellor, the Independent Dr John Owen (I, 165–66). Owen (excepting Hobbes’s rude remarks about clerics) was by no means as hostile to *Leviathan* as many were, and Stubbe’s work continued for a while, but nothing of it survives. Eventually, Hobbes set about the task himself.

There are differing patterns of association and shades of meaning when Hobbes's conceptual vocabulary is shifted from English to Latin, and the tone of the Latin lacks much of the satiric edge of the English. Many changes are minor but there are significant doctrinal adjustments and elaborations. To note just one: Malcolm points to an extensive clarification of sovereignty over the Church (*Leviathan*, cap. 42). If the sovereign is a woman, argues Hobbes, it may be objected on Pauline authority that she must be silent in church, so restricting her power. In fact, Hobbes seems to be more dismissive of the Pauline hurdle than Malcolm suggests, brushing it aside, by remarking that he knows that female silence has been the case, but insisting that authority is neither male nor female ('*Authoritas enim Masculinum & Foemininum non recipit*'). It is a clear application of his dictum that history proves fact not right (see for example *Leviathan*, cap. 33, p. 588). Even if, he continues, a woman cannot occupy all offices, she may appoint men to speak with her sovereign authority (I, 183; *Leviathan*, cap. 42, p. 865). Sovereignty requires surrogate delegation, never alienation of duty. Fact and right are then conjoined in reference to Elizabeth I, for Hobbes an icon of erastian power. It is a point of interest to any tempted by the notion that in a patriarchal world female sovereignty was neither to be seriously entertained nor theorized. Perhaps, more importantly, it supports the view, convincingly defended by Malcolm, that the English *Leviathan* was written before the Latin. It is difficult to imagine why such a passage would have been left out in 1651. Instead of the 'Review and Conclusion', the Latin carries '*Appendix ad Leviathan*' (pp. 1143–1243), a discussion in typical Hobbesian style, between *A* and *B* (between Tom and Hobbes as his enemy John Wallis had quipped of his dialogic directness). It concerns the Nicean Creed, heresy, and defends the English *Leviathan*, topics prominent in Hobbes's Restoration writings. The '*Appendix*' is translated into English by Malcolm, as is the '*Index*', although this seems not to have been prepared by Hobbes (I, 280–83).

Malcolm's copious numeric footnotes keyed to the English *Leviathan* indicate changes in the Latin, while a second alphabetical set of notes keyed to both provides more explanatory material. Among the appended items to Volume III is an Index of biblical citations, two registers of 'Literal Faults' (English and Latin, respectively), and a list of 'Ambiguous End-of-line Hyphenations' from the 'Head' edition of 1651: the epitome of attention to detail. It seems churlish to ask for more, but an index of classical allusion would have been a bonus, albeit subject to some uncertainty. Possibilities have to be picked up piecemeal through annotations (the general index would be unmanageable if it included them). Thus, Juvenal's *Satires* are noted as a source of a satiric catalogue of pagan objects of worship (cap. 12, p. 172n),

where the context suggests this might as well be Lucianic. Hobbes's respect for Lucian (blasphemous, but a fine writer) surfaces only in the Latin *Leviathan* ('Appendix', pp. 1190–91) but had already been turned against him by John Wallis who insinuated an atheistic affinity between the two (i, 150).

Bringing the texts into alignment emphasizes the continuity of the Latin with Hobbes's earlier work, partially in the European *politica* tradition with which the English *Leviathan* is somewhat at odds because of its own lack of scholarly apparatus, and the polemical verve with which it was written. Living in exile and having been very ill, Hobbes wrote it as an old man in a hurry, and the result was a sustained stylistic tour de force. The relationships between the Latin and the English also attest to John Aubrey's assessment that Hobbes's mind, like his twinkling eyes, was never still. If *Leviathan* was to be defended, it was also to be amended. If its doctrines, developed from *De cive*, could be focused with uncertain success on war-torn England, they could be reassessed and re-directed by a return to the language of the republic of letters. This edition will render the systematic study of the two works much easier. It makes it much harder to sideline the Latin, or treat the English as standing for it. Apparently, Hobbes had considered as an epitaph the simple words, 'This is the true philosopher's stone'. This edition is a true monument.

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Hussey, Matthew T. and **John D. Niles**, eds, *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A. N. Doane* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 9), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xxi, 338; 23 b/w, 17 colour illustrations, 2 b/w tables; R.R.P. €115.00; ISBN 9782503534732.

Scholars of Anglo-Saxon literature are indebted to A. N. 'Nick' Doane, who retired from the English department at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 2006, for his editions of the poems *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, and the Old Saxon *Genesis*, and for instituting (with the late Phillip Pulsiano) the Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile project. This international collaborative endeavour aims to generate descriptions and facsimiles of every manuscript containing Old English. Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile has proved to be an invaluable resource, particularly for scholars based some considerable geographic remove from the original manuscripts. It is fitting that this volume should focus on scribal culture as it not only reflects Nick Doane's own research interests, but also presents work facilitated by the project he shepherds.

Although the title of this collection suggests a focus on the scribal culture of medieval England more widely, it is substantially devoted to the Anglo-Saxon era and to vernacular texts, reflecting the principal research interests of its dedicatee. The editors, Matthew Hussey and John Niles, provide a well-structured introduction which addresses influential theoretical approaches to scribal culture in relation to Doane's own work, before outlining the focus of each contributor's chapter and its potential to stimulate new research. The arrangement of the book is very broadly chronological. The twelve chapters, some of which originate from a 2007 event held in Doane's honour at the University of Wisconsin, range widely within the area of focus. Some essays present fresh perspectives on the best-known Anglo-Saxon vernacular manuscripts, while others explore more neglected texts or consider the consequences of editorial practice for our appreciation of scribal culture.

The aptness of the collection's title is apparent from the recurrent emphasis in all the essays on the potential of careful manuscript analysis to offer new understandings of the origins of texts and traditions. Michelle Brown opens the collection with a richly illustrated examination of relations between the Christian Middle East and the Insular world. Kathryn Lynch focuses on three charms for the mysterious ailment *dweorh* in MS Harley 585 as related performances, while Niles offers an elegant and persuasive solution to the principal interpretative cruxes of the Fonthill Letter and uses the problem posed by *spor wreclas* to illuminate the circumstances of the letter's composition. In his chapter on the Blickling Homilies, Jonathan Wilcox considers the implied audience for the homilies as performances and posits Lincoln as a possible place of origin. Continuing the theme of manuscript and performance, Patrick Connor conjectures a relationship between the Exeter Book and guild feasts.

The Exeter Book remains the focus in Brian O'Camb's essay, which marks a shift in the focus of the collection from performance to textual relationships and manuscript stemmata. Studying the Exeter Book's layout enables O'Camb to postulate the appearance of the exemplar used for certain sections, and to argue for scribal practice as the source of the echoing statements usually regarded as evidence of a gnomic wisdom tradition. The structure and arrangement of the Vercelli Book is subjected to a detailed analysis in Peter Lucas's essay, contributing to the ongoing discussion of its origins. Hussey's scrutiny of the Canterbury Psalter's Old English glosses allows him to suggest the circumstances which led to their vestigial nature, offering insights into the scribal culture of twelfth-century Christ Church, Canterbury. Karl Reichl's extensive chapter on the Middle English secular lyric, a revised version of scholarship previously only available in German,

gathers together the fragmentary evidence to chart the beginnings of the form and expose the milieu in which it developed.

The last three studies in the collection engage with the history of palaeography, codicology, and editorial practice, highlighting features masked by editorial choice in order to urge scholars to return to the manuscripts, a practice facilitated by Doane's work. Donald Scragg's essay examining punctuation in Old English manuscripts shows the need for more palaeographic and codicological scholarship by demonstrating the valuable information that can be gained from the kind of material often omitted from editions. For Elaine Treharne, the possibilities offered by the increasing accessibility of manuscripts lead her to call for a re-evaluation of palaeographic terms and the development of a less ambiguous system of description. In the volume's final chapter, Tim Machan returns to the territory of his 1994 monograph *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* to advocate the rejection of editorial certainty.

This well-produced volume is completed by brief academic biographies of the contributors and three useful indices: manuscripts cited, modern scholars, and a general index. Brepols have provided a generous allowance of twenty-three well-placed black-and-white figures and seventeen colour plates to facilitate the reader's appreciation of the contributors' arguments. Scholars interested in scribal culture more generally, will welcome this collection, while individual essays will be of importance to those working on specific texts.

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Juan Maldonado's Hispaniola, 'The Spanish Woman': A Spanish View of Marriage Choices in the Reformation (Reformation Texts with Translation, 12; Theology & Piety, 5), trans. and intro. Warren S. **Smith** and Clark **Colahan**, Milwaukee, WI, Marquette University Press, 2011; paperback; pp. 266; R.R.P. US\$29.00; ISBN 97808746271174.

The plot of this clever neo-Latin comedy written around the 1520s by Juan Maldonado puts together scheming servants, young maids, conservative parents blinded by greed and social aspiration, a hypocrite friar secretly lusting after a young wife, a wealthy but impotent husband, and a long string of go-betweens and confidantes with their clever parcels of tricks. Against all this social theatre, the young and inexperienced lovers Philocondus and Christiola struggle to overcome family opposition or social prejudice and, most importantly, they also struggle to understand the nature of their own

developing feelings, the meaning and implications of those feelings, the value of human freedom and choice, and the responsibility that goes with it.

Written originally by a young university student for performance (public or private, something still debated) to a student audience which was both learned and rowdy, *The Spanish Woman* provides a delightful picture of Renaissance Spanish culture, with its characteristic mixture of the learned and the popular. It has verbal wit and bold action, literary allusion and salacious plays on words, stereotypical characterization, and brash situational comedy. All this is wrapped up in elegant prose that is happy to cheekily wink an eye to the reader familiar with Plautus, Terence, Apuleius, Cicero, and Plinius Livius, among others. The play can thus be read as a defence of both a new stylistic programme (Maldonado defends his use of prose in the prologue) and of eclectic imitation, against the previously prevailing tradition – still popular in schools at the time – of canonical imitation. Erasmus's own dialogue *Ciceronianus* is an eloquent testimony in this on-going debate, and Maldonado's play fits within it as a significant example of the rising taste for variety in style and composition.

While the practice of Latin verse and prose composition as a school exercise was common enough throughout the Middle Ages, both Erasmus and Maldonado used the pattern to their own purposes. It may be precisely this practical approach to a pre-existing literary reality that explains Maldonado's handling of the subject matter in a way that is both careful and bold. Maldonado favours the servants' point of view (and particularly Trilus) for good reason: first, for sympathy; second, for comedy's sake. That focus sets the audience apart from the prejudiced parents, while keeping a sense of both suspense and moral responsibility on the heroes themselves. The use of asides – audible only for the audience, never for the masters who are the butt of the joke, which Maldonado adapts from Plautus – adds to the moral stance of the play.

Equally interesting are Maldonado's efforts in adapting the original material to the new cultural milieu of early sixteenth-century Castile. The very title of the play emphasizes this cultural difference in contrast with the original sources: *Hispaniola* (that is, 'the Spanish woman') consistently highlights the importance of the female lead character's individuality, as well as that of the historical setting. Several references are made to the courtier culture emerging in Spain, with its attached array of perennial pretenders, status-obsessed parents, favour-seeking servants, manipulators, and deluded social climbers. These themes are expertly developed to great comical effect in the central episode of mistaken identity. And yet, in stark contrast with any of its main sources, the female lead *Christiola* is given a respectful treatment

throughout the play. After all, this is comedy with a clear ideological lesson, and for all his hilarity, Maldonado champions free will and responsible individual choice as the key to happiness both for the individual and for society at large.

Credit must go to editors Warren S. Smith and Clark Colahan for the beautiful presentation of the original Latin text of this essential text, together with Maldonado's own footnotes and marginalia, while also providing an excellent English translation and a succinct but useful introduction to Maldonado's play.

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Kosso, Cynthia and Anne **Scott**, eds, *Poverty and Prosperity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 19), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xxiv, 336; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503530321.

This collection of essays is the product of a conference, and it retains some of the disparate topicality and methodological approaches of a conference, to its advantage, but also to its disadvantage. It is not as focused a collection as the title would at first suggest, particularly with regard to 'prosperity'. Most of the contributed essays address a context or construct of 'poverty', a particular group of 'the poor', or aspects of charitable interaction (particularly almsgiving/welfare) from the prosperous to the poor. Mostly these are very interesting papers which certainly contribute to a discussion of their own particular subjects, and to a wider discourse about historical poverty. But little of an overall case is built throughout the volume, and the relative lack of discussion of 'prosperity' is a bit of a pachyderm between the pages. The absence of a conclusion contributes to this overall sense. The essays in this volume have been grouped under four headings: 'Poverty and Morality', 'Charity and Almsgiving', 'Spirituality and Institutional Organizations', and 'Monetary and Literary Economies and Greed'.

Several papers address the issue of poverty in the medieval world. Jonathon Robinson, in quite a technical and specialist essay, addresses the construction of poverty and the ownership and use of property by the Franciscan Order. Phillipp R. Schofield examines in some detail the idea of both regional and temporal shifts in relative poverty and definitions of the poor in England c. 1300, highlighting a significant number of rural poor existing beyond documented tax assessments. Mark R. Cohen provides a fascinating study of the Jewish community in medieval Cairo, drawing connections between that

context in both the Talmudic/pre-Islamic world and the later English Old Poor Law administration. Here, structural differences and commonalities in constructions of poverty across and between the Abrahamic religions provide a broad picture.

Poverty is also addressed in early modern contexts. Roy Neil Graves looks at Shakespeare's sonnets and sees an 'economic preoccupation' (p. 43) on the part of the Bard, fearful of the prospect of poverty. Jayson S. Galler unpicks the *Book of Concord* (1580) to argue for a developing Protestant logic of material poverty as bad, involuntary material poverty as worse, and he suggests that Protestants reinterpreted the Gospels to see inner poverty as the only good sort of poverty. A similar thrust about Protestant reconceptualization of poverty is what Heather Martel aims for in the volume's concluding chapter, arguing that there was a Protestant 'dehumanisation of the poor in the Americas' (p. 321) grounded in resistance against dependence on native peoples and polities.

Ron Cooley offers quite a different picture in his chapter, one of the few directly engaged with the notion of 'prosperity' which is considered through the lens of acquisitiveness as something that could, for Protestants, be interpreted as a good if honourably gained and used for good purposes. It nicely correlates with the last-mentioned two chapters, and is humorously, humbly, and effectively anti-anti-Weber (*sic*). The other chapter to engage most directly with prosperity is Sally Livingston's 'Economy of the Turnip', which examines a medieval folk tale concerned with avarice. Readers beware: the moral of the tale is delivered with a scholar in a bag, tricked into it by greed for knowledge!

Christian D. Knudsen's chapter on 'Promiscuous Monks and Naughty Nuns' examines a group of professed poor, with three key findings relating to accusations of misconduct: monks were accused more often than nuns, accusations concerned domestic politics, and there is a tentative correlation between household claims of poverty and the likelihood of an accusation being made. J. Eugene Clay details a Russian Old Believer movement that was popular among some of the Russian peasantry.

Alicia McKensie's examination of Merovingian kingly charity and 'Christian governance' is an interesting opening to the volume, and helps address a void of scholarship on the relative relationship of king, church, and poor. Matthew T. Sneider addresses the ritual performance of bequests for the poor, a fascinating area of research, which adds further to scholarly understanding of the alms-for-prayer spiritual economy. Ada-Maria Kuskowski shows how thirteenth-century English secular courts followed Church courts in providing means for poor litigants to redress disadvantage in

seeking justice. Charles W. Connell charts the failure of English medievalism to provide real change for the poor, despite some early political potential. Eliza Buhner makes a useful contribution to opening up a wider debate about the shift from a theological notion of *caritas* to a modern conception of 'charity'. Finally, Rosemarie McGerr and Tiffany Beechy provide in-depth studies of texts that will be of interest to specialists.

In addition to the overall framing of the collection, a minor quibble concerns inconsistencies in translation of quotations.

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Koziol, Geoffrey, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 19), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xix, 661; 10 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503535951.

At a time when scholars are redefining the way historiography treats the Middle Ages, Geoffrey Koziol's dense volume follows along the traditions of historians such as Janet Nelson and Chris Wickham in addressing some complex questions surrounding the drafting, function, and implications of diplomas in the politics of the Carolingian dynasty. Covering the time from the death of Louis the Pious to the reign of his last descendants, succeeded by Hugh Capet, the time frame of this book spans almost two hundred years during which political power play dominated the policy-making of the West Frankish kingdom. Perhaps in the same way Wickham referred to archaeologists as being able to see more clearly the sharper changes in history, Koziol equates his volume to a 'semantic excavation' (p. 3), examining Carolingian royal diplomas as representations of royal presence and ideologies in a political performance – a public memorial of alteration in a political regime and its alliances.

The book is organized in two parts, the first consisting of seven chapters devoted to the 'performative' aspects of diplomas in major political events: accessions, successions, conveyances, and alliances during the Carolingian dynasty, and fencing with the issues of forgery and the tenth-century monastic reform. Koziol uses the first chapter to lay down the framework for the views he puts forward throughout the book: the ways that diplomas have been analysed by historians and how he will treat them here as 'the medium by which past politics were remembered and redeployed for present purposes' (p. 15).

That some of his conclusions might seem bold, the author is well aware, and, indeed, he challenges historians at every opening to see charters from a different perspective than has been established. Koziol engages with topics surrounding the study of charters, such as ritual, memory, lineage, and the establishment of legitimacy, as well as touching on Carolingian diplomatics. In the chapter 'Politics and the Palace', Koziol challenges the view that the decline in the number of diplomas after the death of Charles the Bald was the result of less writing or a loss in royal authority. More convincing is his argument that the monastic reformers and churches refashioned political diplomas and their public reception, some in order to present physical evidence of previously granted royal titles.

The treatment of forgery follows smoothly from the topic of monastic reform, but might seem precarious within the author's framework of the Germanic-ness of Carolingian culture: the expression of *triuwe* and its relation to the medieval idea of truth and fidelity. It remains unclear whether the author is asserting his understanding of German Carolingian scholarship or if he again wishes to forge new perspectives in the treatment of diplomas and politics.

In the second part, consisting of Chapters 8–10 and an elided epilogue, the author attempts to derive an image of individuals and their personalities, applying his theory of 'performative' to the lives and reigns of Charles the Simple and Robert of Nuestria. Several discussions surround these figures, including some proposals for how the term 'simple' was used to describe Charles and the *Judgement of Soissons*, and how Robert's personal intentions and principles might be seen in his attempt to justify his military actions in his only surviving diploma, the *vexilla* of Saint-Denis. The complex volume is drawn together agreeably with the discussion on Charles's establishment of relations with the church of Saint-Corneille, the burial of kings at Compiègne, and Hugh Capet's council of bishops there.

Though the topics covered might seem disparate, the author does well in discussing them under the theme of his theory of royal diplomas as objects of performance in political power play. However, despite the author's assertion that passing details are important to the understanding of these diplomas, the reader will feel encumbered by the frequency of tangential topics, and by conclusions drawn from what might at times seem sparsely supported premises.

The book, though complex, reads well, but at times the style presents some awkwardness, such as the odd change from past tense to present in the narrative in Chapter 6 on the alliance between William the Pious of Aquitaine and Ebbo of Berry. It is not clear if this is due to the author's enthusiasm in

drawing his audience into the story, or if it is merely an editorial oversight. There are other minor editorial lapses, such as overlong and complicated sentences, bursts of informal expression, and words split roughly between lines.

The most irritating feature of this book, however, is the way that the images are included. There are several black-and-white plates in the back of the book with images of the charters discussed, but many images, listed in the front, can only be viewed online via a URL given that redirects to a Flickr page on which the images of the charters are shown, albeit not in order and not all in the best quality.

Koziol's book attempts to draw together a number of historiographical details and present them under the concept of 'performatives' which will challenge established scholars to debate, and provide stimulating material for postgraduates with a solid background in Carolingian history.

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Lillich, Meredith Parsons, *The Gothic Stained Glass of Reims Cathedral*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011; hardback; pp. 364; 100 colour, 158 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$59.95; ISBN 9780271037776.

Meredith Parsons Lillich provides us with a much-needed survey of the thirteenth-century glazing programme at the cathedral of Reims: it will be a fundamental tool for future researchers in the field. Larger than your average academic volume, the book's dimensions allow superior quality and quantity in the author's photographic illustrations. The lavish publication of colour plates is commendable, as without these the reader could not fully appreciate the gemlike quality of the late medieval glass and its restoration.

In the interests of providing a fully functional reference tool, Lillich adopts the same system used by the *Corpus Vitrearum* to number the windows. She begins her study by outlining the source material and history of the monumental stained glass programme at Reims. Her discussion follows the east–west axis of the coronation cathedral, moving progressively through time in the analysis of its various glazing campaigns, concluding with the glass on the western façade and emphasizing the unique quality of the glazing. Lillich also provides the reader with eight appendices, adding to the related topics of heresy, patronage, specific iconography and its sources, and attributions of glass now housed in foreign collections. Her notes further enhance the text

and there is a comprehensive index, but surely a volume of such groundbreaking material merits a full rather than selected bibliography.

Although at Reims the great rose in the south transept was lost in 1580 and no trace remains of the original aisle bay windows, careful documentation and restoration of the stained glass permitted extensive restoration after World War I. Necessary reconstruction of much of the glass determined Lillich's decision to privilege iconographic analysis of the glazing, rather than dwelling on questions of style. At the eastern end of the cathedral, the rosaces of the 1230s are subject to detailed examination and are successfully linked to the programme of paired lancet windows below. The narrative cycle of these windows is the first known example of a complete set of lives of apostles in French monumental art. Lillich notes its appearance in the history of western art is second only to the earlier mosaic cycle of apostles at San Marco in Venice.

Antagonistic themes of Hope, Charity, Heresy, and Avarice are apparent in this early programme, and the author links these to political events occurring at Reims during and directly after the chaotic reign of Archbishop Henri de Braine (r. 1227–40). Lillich's astute identification of scenes in rosace 101 with the Spanish iconography of Saint James Major is but one of her contributions to our understanding of the Gothic glazing programme. She also suggests that certain iconographic motifs can be connected to manuscripts owned by Henri de Braine's uncle and mentor, Philippe De Dreux (Bishop of Beauvais, r. 1180–1217).

Directly below the programme of apostles, the lancets of the chevet portray Henri de Braine in an unprecedented representation of the archbishop surrounded by his suffragan bishops and their cathedrals. The programme's horizontal axis illustrates the cumulative power of the archdiocese of Reims, while apostolic succession is stressed along its vertical axis. Increasing pressure to weed out heretical tendencies caused popular unrest in the 1230s and the canons' immediate efforts to reinstall peace after the death of the archbishop is reflected in the glazing programme.

Where the eastern end of the cathedral represented the *Ecclesia Remensis* and was initiated by the archbishop, the later transept roses were the sophisticated result of its chapter. With Genesis stories in the north transept glazing and a Last Judgement cycle originally in the south rose, the transept programme illustrates 'God's creation and the establishment of the Church'. The author's argument that the use of the north rose at the cathedral of Châlons reflects the original iconographic programme in the south rose of Reims, is well thought out and interesting. As is her suggestion that the medallions of birds, fishes, and animals in the north rose were inspired by

a bestiary dedicated to the uncle of Henri de Braine, held in the cathedral library.

Its function as a coronation cathedral was of fundamental importance to the glazing and sculptural programmes at Reims. Lillich suggests that the narrative sequence in the rosaces and the lancets of kings in the nave were derived from the cathedral's mid-thirteenth-century coronation liturgy and various writings of its Carolingian archbishop Hincmar (r. 845–82). A thought-provoking search for sources characterizes the methodology employed in this book, and I especially appreciated the author's analysis of contemporary ecclesiastic seals from the nearby Abbey of Saint-Remi, and the attention paid to the sculptural articulation of the external transept walls. At times the repetition of essential information from previous chapters could have been further condensed and more extensive photographic coverage of comparative works such as the 'The Reims palimpsest' or the donor portrait of Henri de Braine from the cathedral of Châlons would have been useful. However, these are minor quibbles; this book is fundamental reading for all scholars of the glazing programme at Reims cathedral.

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Lindquist, Sherry C. M., ed., *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. 382; 8 colour, 149 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £75.00; ISBN 9781409422846.

In her Introduction, Sherry Lindquist claims that the traditional art historical canon restricts understanding of the medieval nude to a Christian aesthetic paradigm that has become problematic for understanding depictions of nudity in the medieval period. Conversely to the traditional norm then, Lindquist promotes a contextual understanding of nudity in medieval art that is multivalent, rejecting the notion of the naked body's predominant association with sin and corruption. As a result, in this book, Lindquist's aim is to 'shift general standardizations' (p. 31) of the medieval nude which have a subsequent impact on 'larger historical, sociological and art narratives' (p. 31).

As editor, Lindquist has compiled an impressive collection of essays from established and talented scholars. Their scholarship reveals multiple depictions and meanings of nudity in medieval art. Lindquist introduces the topic with a comprehensive and comprehensible overview of the historiography of medieval art, carefully developing the argument for a wider understanding of nudity in this period that encompasses an interdisciplinary approach. Each contributor builds a convincing case for Lindquist's claim,

presenting varied topics and using interdisciplinary approaches like gender studies, literary studies, and the medieval body. The result is a collection of careful and nuanced analyses of selected medieval nude case studies.

Although the arrangement of essays is not chronological, Jane C. Long's opening work sets the scene by considering the positive reception of the classical nude during the medieval period. As she astutely reveals, there are myriad medieval discourses that appreciated the erotic nude and valued desire and love alongside medieval texts which negated the classical nude.

Several of the contributors consider the nude in manuscript illuminations. Elizabeth Hunt's meticulous work on the naked jongleur in the margins of four distinct manuscripts, considers the jongleur depictions in association with the accompanying text and manuscript ownership. Her approach considers work on the medieval body and issues of gender to reveal divergent meanings of procreation and sensual love among the manuscript folios.

Also working on manuscripts, Martha Easton's study on the prayer book, *Belles Heures*, produced for Jean, Duke of Berry, reveals a careful analysis and juxtaposition of the sartorial splendour of the clothed woman and the virginal beauty and innocence of the partially clothed Saint Catherine. Easton reveals the complex and unstable interpretation of the female nude which inverses the traditional notions of sin and corruption through states of dress and undress in the illuminations of the *Belles Heures*.

Using written sources to assess art works, Penny Jolly tackles the interesting matter of body hair in late medieval art with a focus on Italian painters. She refers to medical and instructional texts that consider personal grooming, hair removal, and the body's production of hair to compare the written contemporary practices to visual artistic representations.

Madeline Caviness's epilogue is startling and revealing. It serves as a reminder of how, in the scholastic milieu, and to borrow from anthropologists' vocabulary, cultural knowledge gained during enculturation shapes scholars' works. For Caviness, this is particularly evident in the American culture and reception of nudity. This is what makes Lindquist's edited collection all the more important. She has principally assembled a group of American scholars whose conscious or subconscious refusal to conform to the dominant culture of their society has enabled them to reject the traditional canon of the medieval nude and expand understandings of the nude in medieval art.

Lindquist states in her Introduction that this edition aims to 'call attention to the importance of the medieval nude as a category, and to open up a broader dialogue about the meanings of nudity in medieval art' (p. 31). Does she succeed? While individually, each work is a valuable stand-alone exposition of one aspect of nudity in medieval art, the importance of this

edition lies in the cumulative nature of the essays which indeed showcase the complex and multiple meanings of nudity in medieval art. Each essay builds a picture of the unpredictability of the naked body in medieval art and ultimately dispels the traditional canon that overwhelmingly associates nakedness with sin and corruption.

Overall, this is a compelling book that addresses a multifaceted topic. Each contribution is intelligible, stimulating, and comprehensively referenced. Furthermore, in this age of interdisciplinary collaboration, as an historian reviewing a book on art history, I believe there is much in this book to recommend to the historian interested in instances of nudity. It has the potential to appeal to scholars in many fields of medieval historical enquiry: textiles; social and cultural history; the medieval body; architecture; and manuscript studies. And it reveals the value of broadening scholarly interest into neighbouring disciplines as a means to extend existing perceptions and comprehension of a topic.

I have confined my comments to a number of essays which, in my opinion, demonstrate the value of an interdisciplinary approach and which directly engage with topics related to my own work. Any omission of mention of other essays in this collection should not be understood as detracting from their valuable contribution to the scholarship of representations of the medieval nude.

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Moreno-Riaño, Gerson and Cary J. Nederman, eds, *A Companion to Marsilius of Padua* (Companions to the Christian Tradition, 31), Leiden, Brill, 2012; hardback; pp. 353; R.R.P. €128.00, US\$175.00; ISBN 9789004183483.

Marsilius of Padua remains a central figure to historians of political thought and to political theorists interested in the Middle Ages. And yet, in many ways, both the man and his ideas remain an enigma. Was Marsilius a dedicated – yet hapless – republican swept up in the maelstrom unleashed when the would-be emperor Ludwig of Bavaria clashed with Pope John XXII? Was he, instead, an ardent imperialist who wrote first and foremost in support of Ludwig's cause? Or was he something else altogether? Gerson Moreno-Riaño and Cary J. Nederman's *Companion to Marsilius of Padua* offers answers to old problems and raises new and fascinating questions. The aim of the volume is to offer 'a comprehensive characterization of Marsilius' by exploring his life and works from a variety of different angles (p. 3).

As the general introduction explains, the nine essays that comprise this volume are divided, loosely, into four sections. The first of these includes essays by Frank Godhardt and William J. Courtenay. It explores Marsilius's biography, and the way in which his life experience shaped his thought. The second, consisting of Takashi Shogimen's essay, focuses on Marsilius's intellectual sources, while the third considers his political, theological, and ecclesiastical doctrines as they emerged, primarily, in the *Defensor pacis*, the great work written in the mid-1320s for which the Paduan is best known today. Following four contributions on this topic – a joint piece by the editors and essays by Bettina Koch, Michael J. Sweeney, and Roberto Lambertini – and the final section, two articles by Gianluca Briguglia and Thomas M. Izbicki examine, respectively, the works written by Marsilius after the *Defensor pacis* and his reception in the later Middle Ages and early modern period. According to the Introduction, 'The ultimate goal of each section is to offer plausible interpretative contexts that assist students and scholars of medieval political thought to understand why Marsilius behaved as he did' (p. 4). Marsilius, as the volume's Conclusion highlights, is examined as a scholar, a politician, a theologian, and as a political thinker. Although the structure is a little uneven, the essays themselves are extremely rewarding. It is particularly notable that each contribution provides not only new reflections but carefully situates the topic examined within wider historiographical debates.

In some ways, this volume is a companion to more than simply Marsilius himself; it is a bookend to the 2006 publication *The World of Marsilius of Padua* (Brepols) edited by Moreno-Riaño. That volume sought to draw together scholarship on Marsilius and offer fresh perspectives. The *Companion* does not so much supersede its predecessor, as supplement it by offering a deeper assessment of Marsilius and certain aspects of his thought. Sweeney, for example, builds on his 2006 contribution, breaking new ground in his consideration of Marsilius's view of the Church. Here the old idea that Marsilius was simply interested in subordinating the Church to the secular authorities is criticized robustly. Sweeney demonstrates that the Paduan developed a clear, if ultimately inconsistent, view of the Church and its sacraments based on the literal interpretation of the New Testament. Notable avenues of enquiry raised in the 2006 volume but explored in much greater depth here by different authors include Shogimen's fascinating exploration of the medical context for Marsilius's thought and Lambertini's re-examination of the chapters relating to poverty in the second discourse of the *Defensor pacis*. Both essays offer innovative and valuable insights.

As is to be expected in a volume of this nature, there is a reasonable amount of disagreement between the authors. The most notable instance is

Godhardt's and Courtenay's differing views over the significance of Marsilius's rectorship at Paris, and the way in which the expectation of a benefice that the Paduan obtained from John XXII in 1316 should be interpreted. While Godhardt offers good reasons to revise our view of Marsilius's later career in Italy, Courtenay's interpretation of the earlier part of his life, which situates it within the much broader context of the career of a scholar connected with the University of Paris, is rather more convincing. While points such as these are open to interpretation, the editors might have exercised a slightly heavier hand in other instances: Godhardt, for example, convincingly disproves the idea that Sciarra Colonna took the lead in Ludwig's Roman coronation (p. 35); Briguglia repeats the old myth (p. 265).

No collection of this sort can ever be comprehensive. There might, for example, have been greater engagement with the ideas raised in George Garnett's *Marsilius of Padua and 'The Truth of History'* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Briguglia's exploration of history in the minor work *De translatione Imperii* is certainly welcome. This sheds new light on the Paduan's approach to his source material, and is particularly striking for the attention it draws to Marsilius's view of the political motivations of chroniclers. At the same time, the broader question of the role of 'history' in shaping Marsilius's thought is not one the volume engages with. Yet, overall, the *Companion* is a very welcome and valuable contribution to scholarship in this field. It opens up new avenues of research and suggests new possibilities for future exploration.

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Nanetti, Andrea, ed., *Il Codice Morosini: il mondo visto da Venezia (1094–1433). Edizione critica, introduzione, indice e altri apparati* (Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica, 10), Spoleto, Fondazione Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2010; paperback; pp. lxi, 2274 (4 vols); R.R.P. €198.00; ISBN 978 8879881944.

The title of this book, 'The Morosini Codex', is inspired by the fact that the important primary source for Venetian and Mediterranean history that it publishes, which has until now been only partly available in print to scholars, begins by taking the form of a conventional Venetian chronicle, to a great extent plagiarized from earlier chronicles, but from about 1400 onwards turns into a diary of events as they happened in Venice, or were reported there.

This edition not only publishes the complete text, most of which scholars have until now had to access from the one surviving manuscript copy, held

in Vienna, or from a nineteenth-century transcription made in Venice, but includes a great amount of other useful material.

The text itself is printed in volumes I–III (the first volume also containing sixty-one pages of introductory matter, including a history of the study of the text and an explanation of the conventions that have been used to present a fifteenth-century manuscript in a modern printed version).

The final volume offers excursions on various topics. These are followed by a detailed partial index of names of persons and places and selected technical terms. This index is arranged in a way that requires some practice, but the groupings of words that it presents can be useful to the researcher. Even though it does not contain references to anything after 1423 it still occupies 422 pages, and if it had been longer, a fifth volume might have been required.

What is the value of this publication, which began as a dissertation undertaken at the University of Bologna under the direction of Professor Antonio Carile, the doyen of Italian experts on the Venetian chronicles? Its importance is considerable, because although the earlier part of Morosini's work has little value, except to students of the linguistic forms used in Venice at that time, the rest contains a fascinating collection of notes on the events of each year as they unfolded, or were reported, in Venice.

Some of the information that is preserved in the Codex is purely commercial – merchant galley voyages with estimates of the value of the cargoes carried, shipwrecks, taxes levied, incidents occurring at Venetian trading stations abroad – but most of what we read is concerned with major and minor historical events: wars and battles, the struggles within the church of Rome to choose among rival popes, debates of the Venetian Council on important matters, embassies to and from Venice, the activities of the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund and King Ladislaus of Apulia, the growing Turkish menace, earthquakes and epidemics, festive processions, and reports on events in Europe and around the Mediterranean. The Codex is a good source of information about Joan of Arc, since the activities of the Maid of Orleans were particularly fascinating to persons outside France.

The Codex also contains the texts of many documents which are not preserved elsewhere, such as the texts of treaties and letters between persons of importance. Life becomes difficult at this point for the student, because some of these documents were written in Latin, and it is clear that Morosini was no Latin scholar. So the Venetian versions that he presents are sometimes hard to understand, and interpretation of them requires much thought.

The importance of Morosini's work as a subject of study cannot be overestimated. Under the direction of Professor Silvana Collodo of the University of Padua, a number of small theses have already been created by

her students, presenting and analysing small sections of the Codex. But there is room for much more research, and this publication makes it possible.

With a deadline to meet, and a word limit, it is not possible to write a more detailed review. I have read through a number of pages of the text as it appears in this edition, and after becoming accustomed to the way in which it is presented (in spite of the valiant efforts of Professor Tucci, there is no standardized way of presenting writing of this period), I have found only two mistakes: *persi*, which would have been better presented as *per sí*, and a list of forty-five voters at the election of the doge Tomaso Mocenigo which contains only forty-two names (a line must have been jumped). I can therefore recommend this publication as being highly successful, particularly since a single person rather than a team has produced it. It should be available in every library where the history of the Mediterranean world in the fifteenth century is a subject of study.

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Nordeide, Sæbjørg Wallaker, *The Viking Age as a Period of Religious Transformation: The Christianization of Norway from AD 56–1150/1200* (Studies in Viking and Medieval Christianity, 2), Turnhout, Brepols, 2011; hardback; pp. xix, 396; 22 figures, 48 graphs, 14 maps, 14 tables; R.R.P. €110.00; ISBN 9782503534800.

Claimed on the publisher's website to be 'the first to delve into Norway's history of Christianization since 1973' this work bases itself primarily on archaeological evidence, mainly that derived from excavation of burial sites. It lists several closely related objectives, the primary one being: 'To improve the chronology of the Christianization process in the late Iron Age and the early Middle Ages in Norway based on new analyses of archaeological sources' (p. 18). (Sæbjørg Nordeide explains that for scholars in Norway and elsewhere in Scandinavia, the late Iron Age includes the periods known elsewhere as the Merovingian and Viking periods, and 'early medieval' refers to 'the period around the eleventh and twelfth centuries' (p. 5).) At the core of the book is a detailed and comprehensive analysis of burial data (nearly 500 graves) from 21 of Norway's 430 municipalities, all in the south and central parts of the country and selected to represent 'different ecological zones', 'different cultural zones', or 'different kinds of Thing (assembly) locations' (pp. 26–28). The investigation is 'based on museum catalogues and archives, and only rarely by [sic] studying the artefacts themselves' (p. 25). As the

author acknowledges, this puts her at the mercy of reports that in some cases were based on excavations by unskilled amateurs or archaeologists using techniques no longer acceptable.

Nordeide has to her credit important archaeological publications dating back to the late 1980s, but in style and approach this book has many of the characteristics of a PhD thesis. Earlier scholarship is reviewed, objectives and a methodology outlined, the findings presented in great detail, region by region, in a chapter extending from p. 91 to p. 234, and tentative conclusions outlined and discussed. A thirty-seven-page appendix lists in tabular format the grave finds in each municipality. The author emphasizes strongly and repeatedly the many difficulties associated with interpreting the archaeological evidence, and in particular of determining whether a particular grave should be considered 'Norse' (i.e., relating to the pagan religion of Scandinavia) or 'Christian'. As her discussion makes clear, this careful and cautious approach is fully justified, but, with the mass of detail, it contributes to making this a work likely to appeal mainly to the specialist.

In Nordeide's view, some general observations can nevertheless be made. The conversion to Christianity was probably fairly rapid in most areas. It did not occur because people felt the traditional Norse religion was no longer adequate: in fact, the enhanced quality of artefacts in Norse graves from shortly before the conversion suggests there may have been a reinvigoration of the Norse religion before it disappeared. Kings and the towns they founded played a major role in the establishment of Christianity. Influence on the Christianization process from central Europe might have been stronger, and that from the British Isles weaker, than has often been suggested.

As the author acknowledges, these observations are not new ideas, but contributions to an ongoing debate. Some at least also rely in part on evidence from written sources such as Icelandic sagas. Nordeide quotes saga evidence in Norwegian and English translations, and is probably less cautious in accepting their evidence than a specialist in Old Norse language and literature would be.

A few minor anomalies may be noted. The mode of expression on pages 79–80 gives the impression that the *Vita Ansgarii* (more usually *Vita Anskarii* or *Vita Ansgari*), normally attributed to Rimbert, was written by Ansgar himself. The English translation from *Heimskringla* quoted on p. 238 is not from the Hollander translation, as stated, though the translation on p. 304 is correctly attributed to him. The pro-Christian initiatives mentioned on p. 324 should be attributed, not to Constantine the Great, but to Emperor Theodosius I. Three Old Icelandic authors are strangely listed in the bibliography as 'Are, D. F.', 'Odd, S. M.', and 'Snorri, S.'. The entries appear to represent curious

interpretations of what was to be found on the title pages of the Norwegian translations consulted, for example, *Soga om Olav Tryggvason etter Odd Munk Snorresson*'.

The Viking Period as a Period of Religious Change assembles, organizes, and analyses a great deal of data. Some of it may be dull reading for all but specialists, but other sections, such as the discussion of 'Thor's hammer' artefacts as a possible 'antipathetic response to Christianity' (pp. 235–44) are lively and interesting. The major conclusions, however, must remain fairly speculative, for the reasons the author amply demonstrates in the course of her work: the evidence is relatively sparse and incomplete, often poorly reported, and very difficult indeed to interpret.

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Orme, Nicholas, *Fleas, Flies, and Friars: Children's Poetry from the Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2012; paperback; pp. 116; 9 illustrations; R.R.P. US\$ 14.95; ISBN 9780801477751.

This short book presents, in modern English, some of the rather scant body of poetry clearly connected with children from the Middle Ages, where that term covers the age range between babies and teenagers. Most of the works are English in origin, but some were composed in Latin and French, and all the translations are Nicholas Orme's own. The poems had to fit his requirement for 'some provable link with children' (p. 5), and the content is varied, as is the calibre of the translations. Some offer instruction in manners or schoolwork, and there are stories, rhymes, and scraps intended for fun. After an introductory essay, the works are arranged in several parts, with brief footnotes to explicate expressions in the verses that are likely to be unfamiliar, and endnotes for the origins of the poems. Before each section and most of the works there is further introductory material, varying in length from a sentence to several paragraphs.

'Growing up' (pp. 7–24) reminds us that children continually hear more than works written just for them, by including songs that might have been sung to children, verses from school exercise books, carols, and nursery rhymes, together with directions for mothers and nurses. This varied range is a glimpse of the works to come.

'Words, Rhymes, and Songs' (pp. 25–38) presents poems closely connected with children's play, such as nonsense rhymes, charms, curses, and insults, including the tongue-twister that provides the book's title, an expression of distaste for the friars, which associates them with pests. The line

'Bloodless and boneless standeth behind the door!', which Orme speculates may be a riddle or ghost story (p. 29), may also be related, albeit distantly, to a poem on the Host ('Blodles & bonles blod has non bon', *New Index of Middle English Verse* (2006), 542). The section ends with poems of love, concluding with the fate of the girl who loved Jack, the holy water clerk. Since this poem seems most likely to be the work of a clerk, with other clerks as its most appreciative audience, we may question its standing as a poem for children.

'Manners Maketh Man' (pp. 39–57) presents extracts from courtesy books, including *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, in versions by Robert Grosseteste, which instructs in etiquette, and by a follower of John Lydgate, on prayer and behaviour in church. Orme also translates a Latin poem of the same title that deals with table manners. These works, addressed to boys, recommend high standards of behaviour, but suggest greater freedom than 'The Good Wife Taught her Daughter', which prescribes a meek, submissive way of life for girls and young wives. Extracts from *The Book of St Alban's* explain the customs of hunting.

There are tales of adventure and fun, 'produced or adapted especially for' children (p. 58), in longer extracts from 'Robin Hood', 'Sir Aldingar', and 'The Friar and the Boy' in 'Stories' (pp. 58–83). Orme uses the introduction to 'School Days' (pp. 84–98) to describe opportunities for literacy in Latin and English and schools of the period. He presents poems of the alphabet, comments of John Trevisa, and the learning of the hymn in *The Prioress's Tale*, together with schoolboys' own verses about drudgery and their masters. These chapters and 'Words, Rhymes and Songs' bring us closest to medieval children, through the expression of childish thoughts and their experiences of recreations and discipline, and not least because they have Orme's livelier and more enjoyable translations. They are quite unlike the poems of instruction.

The collection is 'aimed first and foremost at general readers, not at scholars who would require a very different kind of work' (p. 5). This seems to lead to some missed opportunities to insert additional matter in the notes. For example, in the stanza of the maid of Kent (p. 14), although a footnote explains the word 'gent', there is none for 'dangerous', two lines above, although the latter surely suggests the maiden's disdain or modesty rather than an incongruous hint of aggression. Similarly, the notes to the alphabet poem 'Christ's cross be my speed' (p. 86) could helpfully have explained the interchangeability of the letters *i* and *j*, and of *u* and *v*; and offered more information on 'and per se', the development of ampersand, con, and tittles, perhaps with illustrations. *Parergon* readers, of course, are not really general readers, and this one was drawn to read more in Orme's *Medieval Children* (Yale University Press, 2001), one of his many publications in this field,

which offers much more of many aspects of the lives of medieval children, numerous illustrations, a full bibliography, and detailed notes. That should not be considered mere carping, but rather an affirmation that *Fleas, Flies, and Friars* piques the appetite but does not really satisfy it, as Orme's other works are more likely to do.

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Pender, Patricia, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Early Modern Literature in History), Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; cloth; pp. x, 218; R.R.P. £50.00; ISBN 9780230362246.

Patricia Pender's engaging and thoroughly researched book argues that early modern women writers' uses of modesty tropes need to be taken as just that – that is, as the use of conventional tropes available to male and female writers alike. Such tropes should be read, Pender writes, as the marks of 'literariness', not as endorsements of misogynistic exhortations for women to remain silent and subordinate (p. 3). Although current feminist scholarship has, to some extent, recognized this fact, Pender argues that literal readings of modesty tropes have continued to inform women's literary history and limit our understanding of what those tropes signified for their writers and readers. As Pender suggests, early modern women's uses of modesty tropes *do* differ from those of their male contemporaries, but more because their 'historical position placed women in profoundly different relationships to discourses of authorship and modesty in the early modern period' (p. 11). It is by attending to these differences that we can come to a more accurate understanding of what modesty tropes could accomplish for women writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The first chapter offers an overview of modesty tropes and their place in classical and Renaissance rhetorical theory, showing that the range of rhetorical models available to early modern women was considerable. Indeed, in some ways rhetoric itself was seen as a feminized art. Each of the following chapters focuses on one female writer of the period, examining each one as an example of how modesty tropes could be used to justify publication and claim authority. Thus, Chapter 2 looks at Anne Askew's assertions of modesty as strategic moves in her confrontations with her accusers in her *Examinations*; Chapter 3 studies Katherine Parr's use of *sermo humilis* ('humble style'), in her book *Prayers or Meditations*; Chapter 4 addresses Mary Sidney's modest disclaimers in favour of her brother; Chapter 5 focuses on Aemilia Lanyer's use of the dream vision form to structure her appeal for patronage to Mary

Sidney; and Chapter 6 suggests that Anne Bradstreet's apparent reluctance to appear in print reveals a skilful use of the trope of the reluctant author rather than a simple autobiographical truth about Bradstreet's modesty.

This brief overview of chapters does not do justice to the range of topics with which Pender engages in the course of this volume. For example, in her discussion of Askew's use of modesty tropes, Pender also engages with the question of John Bale's editorial shaping of Askew's texts. Feminist scholars have long deplored Bale's 'interference', and Pender describes their concerns as legitimate. She also points out that Bale makes the mistake that so many recent critics have also made in reading Askew's assertions of modesty literally, rather than strategically. However, Pender argues that it makes more sense to consider Askew and Bale as co-authors in a collaborative effort. In this reading, the *Examinations* offer the chance to 'delve deeper into the theoretical and historiographical assumptions that we bring to early modern women's authorship and the role of male editors' (p. 51).

An especially interesting aspect of Pender's book emerges in her work on Mary Sidney, where she argues that while Sidney presents herself as properly, femininely submissive, her writing nevertheless articulates a strongly competitive and ambitious self at odds with the ostensible humility of her dedicatory poems. Moreover, where Philip Sidney has been given credit for mitigating the stigma of print and for setting the example of publishing an author's collected works, Pender argues that if anyone deserves such credit, it is Mary Sidney, not her brother. Yet Pender suggests we have more to gain by recognizing how anachronistic modern claims for early modern authorial autonomy are. As with her chapter on Askew, Pender here emphasizes the collaborative nature of early modern authorship, and by distinguishing 'writer' from 'author' (or 'author-function'), claims Mary Sidney as the actual author of Philip Sidney's works.

The chapter on Bradstreet forms a conclusion of sorts, in which Pender argues most clearly that many critical approaches to early modern women writers – in particular, those prizing authenticity, originality, and continuity – badly misread the significant differences that set such writers apart from twentieth- and twenty-first-century feminist concerns. Although Pender focuses here on readings of Bradstreet that dismiss her longer historical epics in favour of her more personal lyrics of marriage and motherhood, her conclusions about the limitations of much feminist criticism hold true for the rest of the authors she discusses. As Pender concludes, 'If we do not expect rhetorical sophistication from our early modern women writers, we will inevitably read their expressions of modesty literally, and conclude that they felt incompetent as authors' (p. 165). This book provides ample evidence

that it is precisely in their seeming admissions of incompetence that we find the most powerful assertions of early modern women's rhetorical skill and confidence.

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Peraino, Judith A., *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011; hardback; pp. 368; 13 b/w illustrations, 25 tables; R.R.P. £30.00; ISBN 9780199757244.

Romantic love has long been a popular choice of subject for literary historians of the Middle Ages, from studies of the invention of *fin'amor*, to more recent interdisciplinary and trans-historical surveys that use the medieval period to help explain the saturation of secular love in twenty-first-century Western culture. Judith Peraino has published extensively on love songs in the High Middle Ages, but equally widely on the lyrics of P. J. Harvey, David Bowie, and Madonna. Peraino's broad knowledge of musical practice and performance is in evidence in this complex, theoretically based new monograph on musical self-consciousness and expression in medieval song.

This medieval–modern continuity is the starting point of Peraino's thesis about the medieval lyric 'I': '[I]ove songs of every epoch', she writes, 'from the Middle Ages to the present, embody this paradox: they often fuse the most personal emotion with the most banal language' (p. 3). This apparently simple observation underpins a serious, detailed, and highly theorized study of 'voice' and subjectivity in medieval love songs.

Peraino's analysis focuses on the monophonic vernacular repertoires found in several manuscripts from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. These include lyrics written across several languages, mostly medieval French and Occitan, but also Latin, Spanish, and Italian. Each chapter includes lyrics as well as musical notation. A companion website, through Oxford Web Music, provides sound as well as manuscript visuals. In theory, the companion site is a wonderful idea, but on investigation proves awkward to navigate. It is impractical on other levels, too: Peraino's prose is lucid and often highly compelling, making it all the more difficult to move from book to screen to benefit from the full sensory impact of her argument.

The book is written very much in the language of Peraino's field. For the most part, however, it is made accessible to literary scholars and medieval historians, for whom it will no doubt be of great interest, through Peraino's careful but never laborious explanation of terms. A chapter titled 'Delinquent

Descorts and Medieval Lateness', for example, explores the Occitan *descort* lyric – a poem that subverts 'harmony' (into discord) thematically and musically. Peraino explains the various linguistic associations packed into the root 'cort', which range from *chorda* 'to bind', and *cors* or *corda* 'heart', to the heart's own associations with memory, as in 'record' (p. 78). Such wordplay is a feature of the medieval songs themselves. The 'delinquency' of the chapter's title is described as a violation: the *descort* violates the very harmony one might expect of song, that defines it; the 'ideal linking of sound and sentiment – *chorda* and *cor*' (p. 79). Peraino concludes the chapter by describing the *descort* 'as truly subjective music that renders itself banal, that calls attention to the external agent of the performer and to the concept of a love that is so interior as to be the abnegation of self' (p. 122). The idea of 'convention', so often used to gloss over or even to dismiss lyric form and style throughout the Middle Ages, becomes the point of Peraino's inquiry, in terms of both how and why convention is constructed.

Peraino describes one of the goals of the project as bringing to bear 'philosophical and theoretical notions about the self ... on the nuts and bolts of music' (p. 8). Her theoretical citations are inflected with the author's reading of contemporary criticism by Paul Zumthor, Sarah Kay, and Carolyn Dinshaw, as well as the writings of Nietzsche, Lacan, Adorno, Althusser, and Foucault. Each chapter then aims to 'get at' a different aspect of subjectivity and individuality in what Peraino describes as 'corporately created songs' (p. 8). It seems like a near impossible task, but this is where Peraino's interest in contemporary alternative music equips her startlingly well to rethink musical and lyric self-expression in the medieval past. She ranges from grappling with questions of voice, to authorial persona, to sampling and lyric grafting. At other moments the author asks – and offers convincing responses – to questions that are brilliant in their simplicity: 'If we can distinguish between a noble and a clerical lyrical subject in the words of love songs, can we do the same with their melodies?' (p. 146). The consistent negotiation between words and music throughout *Giving Voice to Love* is one of its particular strengths.

In the final chapter, Peraino considers what initially looks to be a musical 'shift' from monophony to polyphony in the fourteenth century, using the example of Machaut's *virelai*, which is also subjective. It is a point of movement from individual self-expression in song, to a subjectivity that is shared between 'lover, beloved, composer, scribe, performer, and audience' (p. 289). The 'return' of Peraino's conclusion, however, like the songs she has analysed, points out the contradictions inherent in monophony and the 'monophonic expressions' of polyphony, showing how their distinction may have been overemphasized in modern critical analysis. Despite the mastery of

this ending, and its implication for the study of love songs in the Middle Ages, it is at the last the book's broader exploration of the nature of medieval lyric expression that will stimulate a range of researchers, from those working on authorship and composition as well as scribal practice and transmission, to those with an historical interest in the emotions and individualism.

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Radkau, Joachim, *Wood: A History*, trans. Patrick Camiller, Cambridge, Polity, 2011; pp. 352; 66 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$30.00, £25.00; ISBN 9780745646886.

This undistinguished translation of Joachim Radkau's 2007 book makes available to non-German readers an important contribution to the history of the forest. Radkau has been the leading forest historian in Germany for a generation and his work has significantly influenced German ideas about ecology and the environment. It is not a book for the beginner as it assumes an understanding of the way woodlands develop and are maintained in different climate and soil conditions. The translation should persuade forest historians from other traditions to reconsider some of their assumptions about the role of this vital but often neglected part of the world's economy. It is likely to stimulate further controversy about the future of woods on the planet even if Radkau does not insist on the idea that they were the 'foundation of human existence' and 'the secret key to the rise and fall of great powers' (p. 1). The title is a little misleading as Radkau's central interest is not wood as such – he deals only cursorily with the endlessly variable forms in which it is found and most of the purposes for which it is used – but its role in human society and the way in which different cultural approaches may affect its treatment and its preservation.

Wood, and trees, although generally recognized as critical elements in human life, have not always received the attention they deserve and Radkau provides a useful summary of attitudes to trees and their more mythic aspects, the role of wood as a commodity in various forms, and the effects of changes in technological management of wood as a primary product and a critical part of economic life.

Crucial to his argument is the position of wood and forests as legal entities disputed between people with different powers and positions, especially rulers and peasants. Radkau's thesis is that much of the written material historians have relied on is really propaganda, not based on fact but on the political and economic needs of the government at the time.

Although he starts with the Stone Age, Radkau's principal interest is in the period from the Enlightenment onwards and what until recently was seen as modern forestry that originated in Germany in the eighteenth century. Despite his claims to a global approach the focus is sharply Germanic. His comparisons of the detailed studies of the many small states inside the Holy Roman Empire with those of other cultures such as the Japanese, enlightening as they are, are heavily dependent for their information on one or two other scholars such as Conrad Totman. This raises some questions about the authority of his judgements and, at times, his accuracy.

British historians will be surprised at the small attention paid to the history of wood in Britain, which is mostly confined to references to the needs of naval shipbuilding. The bibliography contains no reference to the canonical works of T. C. Smout on Scotland and refers only to early and small-scale works of Oliver Rackham. This means that their wider and important recent insights have not been considered in his presentation.

Australian readers may also feel uncomfortable with his treatment of eucalypts in the overall argument as it appears to be based on limited understanding of the species. As presented, one might assume that *Eucalyptus haemostoma* (commonly known as the scribbly gum) is the generic name of the whole species and, the reader might be led to presume, the form of eucalypt that was enthusiastically adopted in European and Mediterranean plantations (pp. 320–21). *Eucalyptus haemostoma*, however, is largely confined to the Sydney region and has characteristics that do not suit it to other areas. Different gums have been selected for different needs in areas outside Australia. This makes it difficult to aggregate their behaviour.

Radkau provides a defence of the interaction with and use of woodland by the unnamed and unsung ordinary residents of the land whose rights were destroyed and whose understanding was denigrated by overlords who sought to profit from the development of ironworks and salt works that made a heavy demand on fuel. Applying these ideas to English developments in the area raises some interesting queries but at least in this reviewer's mind the conclusion is that in different circumstances very different results appear. What is clear from the developments he describes in illuminating detail, such as the rafting and drifting of wood in which there was significant investment in Central Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, is how rapidly ideas – through people – could be transferred to places where they were appropriate. Radkau does not include New Zealand in his survey but these practices were essential to that country's timber trade in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book and the point from which a reader should start are the pages at the end where Radkau summarizes his

argument (pp. 324–26) under the heading ‘back to the future’ in a balanced assessment of the conflicting views on the use and value of the forest. As is the appropriate approach of the historian, no side in the debate will feel it has his entire support.

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Scott, Anne M., **Alfred Hiatt**, **Claire McIlroy**, and **Christopher Wortham**, *European Perceptions of ‘Terra Australis’*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011; hardback; pp. vi, 314; 52 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781409426059.

This volume explores perceptions of the concept of *Terra Australis*, the mythical southern land, which was quite distinct from the idea of the Antipodes, and the continent of Australia as it was eventually mapped. The contributing authors respond to the theme through a variety of perspectives and disciplines, including cartography, hydrography, geography, history, literature, drama, and art history, which has resulted in an insightful work sure to stimulate interest in a wide range of readers. Anne M. Scott’s prefatory article provides the parameters of the volume. The concept of ‘perception’, she observes, as a theme for the volume, has enabled ‘a truly interdisciplinary approach to the topic, for perceptions can be expressed through works of imaginative art and literature, works of scientific observation, personal records and even through national policy-making’ (p. 2).

The intersections between empirical knowledge and the imagination that are necessarily invoked in mapping perceptions are apparent from the first illustrations of the volume which accompany Alfred Hiatt’s article. These are maps published with Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (London, 1726) where ‘Diemen’s Land’ and ‘Sumatra’ share geographical space with ‘Lilliput’ and ‘Houyhnhnms’ Land’, marked with dates of alleged discovery to enhance the appearance of authenticity. These provide a fitting analogue for the history of *Terra Australis* that the volume explores. As Alfred Hiatt observes, ‘Precisely because of their partially mapped status, the South Seas and the gaping canvas of *Terra Australis* could, in turn, become fiction’s archipelago, a multitude of possible islands, with their possible encounters’ (p. 13).

Hiatt, author of *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), here provides an invaluable history of late medieval and early modern perceptions of *Terra Australis*, distinguishing between the various conceptions of what lay in the southern hemisphere. Bill Leadbetter analyses Roman ideas of the south, looking at the application of

'zonal theory', according to which the world was divided into various zones of different temperatures. Work of geographers like Ptolemy and Marinus challenged the assertions of Cicero and Virgil that the Antipodes were unreachable because of the central zone of extreme heat.

Christopher Wortham explores medieval *mappamundi* and their implications for plays such as *The Castle of Perseverance* and Shakespeare's *Othello*. The T-O maps located various 'monstrous' races around the periphery of the known world, particularly concentrated in the south, and 'came to be identified with imposing a Christian meaning on geographical terrain' (p. 65). This sacralizing of the centre had implications for those located on the 'periphery': 'in short, farthest south is farthest from God' (p. 67). While the explorations of Bartolomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama resulted in the conceptual distinction between Africa and *Terra Australis*, the negative associations of the 'south' persisted, imbued with a 'dangerous otherness' (p. 77).

Space prevents this review from doing justice to all of the essays in the volume. Bill Richardson canvases scholarly debates over another southern concept *Java la Grande* and how this relates to *Terra Australis*, emphasizing the importance of place-name evidence in historical map analysis. Margaret Sankey explores French mapping in the seventeenth century and the writing of Abbé Jean Paulmier, who proposed to the Pope that the *Terra australes* be evangelized, which impacted on French exploration and utopian literature. In the seventeenth century, the mythical *Terra Australis* began to disappear from maps and began to be replaced with the contours of New Holland. A 1648 map by Joan Blaeu (fig. 6.8) is the first in which *Hollandia nova* is identified as a country and Abel Tasman's discoveries of 1642–44 are incorporated. Nevertheless, the concept of New Holland did not initially rule out the possibilities of *Terre australe* (p. 127), such was the pervasive appeal of the myth and cultural memory.

Mercedes Maroto Camino provides some Spanish perspectives on the creation of the idea of the South Pacific, starting with Pedro Fernández de Quirós's arrival in Vanuatu in 1606 and his declaration that he had found the mythical *Terra Australis Incognita*. Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby examine the Baudin expedition, which *inter alia* enabled Louis Freycinet to publish in 1811 the first complete map of Australia (fig. 8.1): they consider the politics of naming in exploration and the controversial label 'Terra Napoléon'. Michael McCarthy analyses documents relating to William Dampier's and Freycinet's perceptions of New Holland and its indigenous inhabitants, examining discrepancies between private records and subsequent public versions. Katrina O'Loughlin's work provides insights on a unique early modern women's text, Mary Ann Parker's *Voyage to New South Wales* (1795), in the context of late eighteenth-century concerns with slavery, anti-

slavery, trade, transportation, and colonialism. Norman Etherington aims to resituate the exploration of northern Australia in the nineteenth century, particularly the expedition of Augustus Gregory (1855–56) in the context of the ‘economic and geopolitical ambitions of an expanding British Empire’ (p. 234). Leigh T. I. Penman’s concluding article explores the history and myths surrounding the *Batavia* shipwreck (1629) from 1630 to the present, demonstrating the changing perceptions and enduring allure of this violent and enigmatic tale. Penman’s description of the ‘sense of the southern continent as a distant and corrupting place’ (p. 271) – which appears in many of the narratives surrounding the *Batavia* – echoes with the ideas outlined in the early essays of the volume.

European Perceptions of ‘Terra Australis’ offers a treasure trove of ideas, insights, and further reading to explore, with useful illustrations and a comprehensive bibliography. The essays provide updates on contemporary debates in the field, bring into focus some little-known texts, and provide fresh interdisciplinary insights on a fascinating field.

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Scott, Tom, *The City-State in Europe, 1000–1600: Hinterland, Territory, Region*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. 400; R.R.P. £35.00; ISBN 9780199274604.

In this well written and thoughtful study, Tom Scott interrogates the conventional assumption that the late medieval and early modern city-states of Europe were so diverse that a comparative analysis from a European-wide perspective cannot offer any meaningful insights into their origins and development. Scott acknowledges that no single template can be imposed on the range of southern and northern examples since the city-states of Italy followed a very different evolutionary path to their northern European counterparts.

Indeed he spends a good part of his book articulating the contrasts. Italian city-states emerged in ancient urban centres that were usually also the seat of bishoprics and grew wealthy on the proceeds of long-distance trade. In the north, they arose considerably later, were not coterminous with ecclesiastical boundaries, and their entrepreneurs engaged mostly in local, rather than international, trade. These differences are thoroughly examined by Scott in numerous case studies and are traced chronologically over six centuries. Chapters 1 to 3 trace the rise of the communes and the struggle for

autonomy by urban elites, while Chapters 4 and 5 analyse the full flowering of the European city-state during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Scott shows that city-states all over Europe inexorably expanded their control over the surrounding countryside in response to the need to secure the food supply for large urban populations. From the basic need for provisions, wider political ambitions flowed, as cities sought to secure markets and to organize efficient production and distribution of essential resources. It is the interaction of both Italian and northern European city-states with their rural hinterlands, territories, and regions that Scott regards as the way forward in our attempt to understand the complex, and seemingly unpredictable, process of state formation in the early modern period. The traditional historiographical approach privileged the study of Italian city-states on the grounds that they lasted much longer, established sophisticated and efficient administrative systems to a greater extent, and were more politically assertive than those in the north, which have been dismissed as imperfectly realized, or even stunted, polities. The ideological concern in much of this scholarship has been to distinguish the progressive features of communal or republican Italian city-states from monarchical or dynastic ones. However, no convincing link has been made between forms of political organization and the emergence of particular kinds of city-state. As Scott points out, there was little difference between the territorial policies pursued by civic regimes and dynastic principalities. The republic of Florence and the principality of Milan are shown, for example, to have been similarly aggressive in their determination to dominate their hinterlands, while the Venetian republic was lax, or even benignly neglectful, towards its subject territory in the *terraferma*.

If the unitary model of the Italian city-state is undermined, and its status as prefiguring modern notions of sovereignty is no longer assumed, it makes sense to look anew at the rise of this polity from a territorial and regional perspective. Scott's aim is to investigate why, and how, a range of city-states across Europe came to dominate the *contado* beyond their city walls and what were the consequences of this expansion. He identifies four types of European city-state. Some acquired no territory but dominated the areas in their vicinity through commercial contracts that imposed mechanisms of quality control on rural outworkers. Others used jurisdictional instruments to reinforce urban economic clout. Coastal cities that had no easy access to hinterlands acquired territories in distant places. Genoa, for example, was cut off from inland areas by rugged terrain and relied on its control over Sardinia and Corsica to provide sustenance for its population. The fourth group of city-states dominated their *contado* through the acquisition of land along axial trade routes. Thus urban centres could evolve into city-states through

legal instruments and economic domination, rather than land ownership, or through gradual territorial expansion that was prompted by defensive and protective measures, or as the result of well-planned, and sometimes aggressive, government policy.

Scott's novel approach to the rise and development of the city-state in Europe through a regional and comparative framework will stimulate other scholars to follow his lead. As he himself says in the Introduction, the lack of knowledge about the economic systems that European city-states constructed as they expanded hampered his own ability to access the degree to which rural economies were dominated by more dynamic and innovative urban ones. The book opens up more questions than it answers but that is its aim. The large bibliography provided by the author will help those who are inspired by his work to build upon its many insights.

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Seitz, Jonathan, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011; hardback; pp. xi, 286; 1 map, 4 tables; R.R.P. £60.00, AU\$115.00; ISBN 9781107011298.

Historians of witchcraft are increasingly turning to micro-history to provide insights into a broad range of early modern beliefs and practices. Jonathan Seitz's *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice* is no exception. His close investigation of Inquisition witch trial records from the Venetian Holy Office between 1550 and 1650 provides insights into early modern mentalities, particularly how Venetians from all social levels distinguished between natural and supernatural phenomena. At a broader level, Seitz also explores the impact of the Reformation, the relationships between elite and popular culture, the role of medicine and science, and challenges the historical notion of 'disenchantment' or 'secularization' of the early modern world.

For early modern Venetians, like most Europeans throughout the seventeenth century, distinguishing the natural from the supernatural was a complex process. While post-Reformation Church authorities put considerable effort into condemning superstition, divination, and invocation, the witch's sabbath and demonic pact rarely featured in the witch trials of early modern Venice. Although belief in witchcraft was pervasive and persistent, Venice had no witchcraft indictments or executions in this period. Seitz argues that this absence was the result of legal complications, rather than an indication of a significant step towards enlightened secular thinking or skepticism. Unlike some areas of northern Europe and Scotland, where

torture was used to extract confessions, the Venetian inquisitors had to rely on ambiguous categories of material evidence of witchcraft, such as physiological symptoms of illness and the presence of suspicious objects in the homes of the bewitched sick. In essence, the Venetian witch trials hinged on the evidence of experts, who were called upon by the Holy Office to distinguish the supernatural from the natural.

Physicians were highly regarded by the inquisitors as witnesses in suspected cases of *maleficio*, more so than clerical exorcists or healers. Most of the physicians consulted in witchcraft cases were educated at the University of Padua, famous for its naturalistic approach to medicine. Symptoms of bewitchment described by witnesses were suggestive of bodily corruption: swelling of body parts, discolouration of the skin, severe pain, and vomiting, particularly vomiting of strange objects for which there was no natural explanation. Because it was generally believed that supernatural illnesses were impervious to natural medicines, the opinion of physicians seemed crucial to the diagnosis of supernatural illnesses. And yet, in most cases, physicians insisted that illnesses caused by witchcraft were beyond their jurisdiction. In their testimony before the Inquisition, they nearly always refused to commit themselves to a supernatural diagnosis. However, Seitz's perceptive investigation of the records reveals that when physicians were called before the Tribunal to give evidence in a private capacity, when members of their families were thought to be bewitched, they demonstrated the same belief in witchcraft as ordinary Venetians. They interpreted symptoms as supernatural and stressed that the suspicious objects found in the bedclothes of the sufferers were convincing proof of *maleficio*, an assertion they never made in their capacity as expert witnesses.

Clerical healers or exorcists, on the other hand, were leaning towards a naturalistic approach to the treatment of supernatural illnesses. Seitz's detailed exploration of exorcists' manuals reveals that material signs and physiological symptoms were increasingly endorsed as crucial indicators of witchcraft during the seventeenth century; far more important, in fact, than the manifestations of demons. Unlike the physicians, when called as expert witnesses at witchcraft trials, exorcists acknowledged that the presence of suspicious objects was an important aspect of their interpretation. Yet exorcists tended to treat victims of witchcraft with a combination of herbal remedies, combined with ritual and blessing, rather than the expulsion of demons. Their herbal remedies were generally in keeping with naturalistic approaches, aimed at restoring the humoral balance of the patient. Seitz argues that the way in which exorcists distinguished natural from supernatural phenomena closely resembled those of their patients and the wise-women healers who were also consulted in these cases. Healing clerics and wise

women acknowledged an illness as supernatural, searched for suspicious objects to confirm the supernatural diagnosis, and offered comfort in the form of ritual healing and natural remedies. Seitz concludes that, for ordinary Venetians, exorcists and wise women were more valued than physicians in coping with supernatural illnesses.

Seitz's work on early modern Venice demonstrates that witchcraft trial records have much to tell us about early modern society. He uses the records effectively to clarify misconceptions about the workings of the Inquisition, for instance, and to explain the relationship between the Venetian Holy Office and the Roman Inquisition. Furthermore, Seitz proves that studies based on intellectual discourse alone reveal only part of the picture. His careful analysis of the Inquisition trial records highlights the difficulties early modern authorities faced in drawing the lines between the natural and the supernatural, the licit and the illicit, and legitimate and illegitimate uses of supernatural power.

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Smith, Vanessa, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (Critical Perspectives on Empire), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010; paperback; pp. 336; 18 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £20.99; ISBN 9780521728782.

'Friendship', as Vanessa Smith's *Intimate Strangers* shows, is a term of almost infinite layers. It is 'overladen', the author insists, 'made to carry the burden of European good intentions for the benefit, ultimately, of European conscience rather than putative native subjects' (p. 5). Suspicion has long attached to so-called 'performances' of friendliness, but there is increasing attention to friendship in contemporary theory, as Smith is well aware. In her reading of both failed and successful efforts to foster genuine friendship in cross-cultural contexts, Smith offers an astute and elegantly argued alternative to postcolonial readings of European–Pacific encounters in the eighteenth century.

The book is an exploration of the 'codes and practices of friendship' evident in contact between islanders and European voyagers (p. 269). Cleaving consistently to its theme, Smith attempts to untangle the relationship between friendship and the transmission and understanding of cultural and local knowledge. She begins with a detailed study and theorization of 'tayo' or 'taio', a word of ambiguous origins, which the author understands from her sources as an expression of a friendship bond. Her interpretation

responds to scholarship that has questioned this meaning of the word. Smith demonstrates, though a close reading of contemporary Western accounts and Oceanic practices, that it was specifically constructed to signify the cross-cultural bond across a range of encounters. She pays minute attention to the ways in which 'taio' is repeated by both sides, across a broad range of contemporary written accounts and exchanges, in what may constitute a mutual attempt at something like empathy. These are especially English ones, but there is some mention of French and Spanish sources too. Smith reads these, often problematic, sources with a great deal of sensitivity, as one half of a dialogue that went beyond words, to gesture, countenance, and gift exchange.

The book includes reference to material exchange and the ways in which objects could be used to develop or represent a friendship bond. Smith is careful, however, to distinguish her project from readings of cross-cultural exchange according to economics or power, focusing instead on intimacy and feeling. In this way, she makes a number of important contributions to current research into the history of emotions more generally, and work on emotional expression and intimacy in the eighteenth century and cross-cultural encounter more specifically.

There is, in particular, her reading of eighteenth-century acting theory in Chapter 4, 'Performance Anxieties', used to interpret the behaviour and interaction of both Europeans and Pacific islanders; and her section on tears, their presence, and their absence in the courtroom trials of the mutineers back in England, read with Adam Smith's writings on physical and literal expression of emotion in mind (p. 252). Smith's findings have a significant bearing on research into philosophical and literary discourses on emotion in their attention to historical practices. As Smith herself observes, '[c]ross-cultural contact complicates late eighteenth-century sympathy by testing the limits of identification between subjects who are not universal, but insistently culturally specific' (p. 145). An example might be the islander women, observed by Europeans cutting themselves with a shark's tooth to express grief in mourning, who later re-emerge 'as Cheerfull as any of the Company' (quoting Cook, p. 169).

This disjunction in Smith's sources – the ways published accounts, letters, and diaries of Europeans represent both the islanders they come into contact with and the relationships they have with them – remains a central concern of the book, of which Smith is constantly conscious. She asks, in her Introduction: 'how is it possible to flesh out the other side of friendships reified in one-sided descriptions?' (p. 14). Her response acknowledges the impossibility of retrieving both sides of the account. It is, however, precisely

her emphasis on friendship and intimacy over other forms of exchange that moves toward a fuller picture of colonial encounters, not so much in restoring them, but at least in exposing their one-sidedness.

The book itself is divided into two parts. The first, 'Making Contact', treats the idea of encounter in Oceania more broadly, drawing on both contemporary European sources, often of group rather than individual contact (as in her engaging first chapter on 'Crowd Scenes', with its compelling reinterpretation of the death of Cook on 14 February 1779 as a direct result of 'crowd feeling'), as well as on contemporary philosophy (Diderot and Adam Smith) and modern philosophy and theory (Mauss, Bataille, Bourdieu on gift-exchange). The second, 'Particular Friendships', reads individual sources and relationships in more detail, the voices of Banks and Bligh dominating in particular.

In the performance of friendship, Bligh is 'playing to a script he doesn't fully understand', but it is an exchange that brings 'relative comfort', as well as an individually generated sense of anxiety (p. 238). The same statement could be made for any of the individuals discussed, whether European or islander, and the emotional narratives they participate in constructing. As Smith's book urges us to recognize, it could as readily be applied to the nature of friendship exchange in a much wider variety of cross-cultural settings as well, and well beyond those of the eighteenth century.

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Tartakoff, Paola, *Between Christian and Jew: Conversion and Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, 1250–1391* (Middle Ages), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012; hardback; pp. xiv, 209; 3 illustrations; R.R.P. US\$55.00, £36.00; ISBN 9780812244212.

In the last forty years, historians have been industrious in their search for evidence of medieval attitudes to outsiders. Heretics, Jews, lepers, and prostitutes have all been assigned a place on the map of medieval Christian society. The intricacies of their social and cultural interaction with the majority have been explored and the hermeneutical images of otherness in Christendom identified and deconstructed. But if otherness lies in the eye of the beholder, then it is also fluid and ambiguous, transcending binary models of 'us' and 'them'. Few groups represent this ambiguity better than Jewish converts to Christianity: embodying the hopes and fears, aspirations and repulsions of Jews and Christians alike, their journeys towards (re)integration were often arduous. While scholars have discussed the stories of some high

profile converts such as Hermann of Cologne or Paul Christian, 'ordinary converts' have not yet received systematic attention. The recent monograph by Paola Tartakoff attempts to rectify this situation.

Tartakoff's book revolves around one central episode: a peculiar case of a baptized Jew named Pere, who was almost burned at stake for blasphemy by the *justicia* in Calatayud in 1341. It was only thanks to the last-minute intervention of the Dominican friar Sancho de Torralba that Pere escaped execution. When interrogated by Fra Sancho, Pere confessed that he had acted under the influence of a group of Jews from a nearby village. Upon hearing about his conversion, they convinced him that the only way to atone for this great sin was to publicly renounce Christianity and suffer the inevitable death at stake. Only then, they claimed, would his soul be 'safe with God'. Instead of dying as a Jewish martyr, Pere became crown witness in the inquisitorial proceedings aiming to identify and punish the group of 'Judaizers' who targeted converts and strove to bring them back to the Jewish fold. Tartakoff examines closely the surviving testimonies of three Jews whom Pere identified as the initiators of his apostasy: the couple Janto and Jamila Almuli, and Jucef de Quatorze. All three denied any involvement in Pere's apostasy, that is, at least until more 'efficient' methods of interrogation were employed.

Testimonies recorded by inquisitions are notoriously difficult to interpret, but Tartakoff approaches her sources with commendable caution, using them as a springboard to broader analyses of the phenomenon of Jewish conversion in the Kingdom of Aragon and associated Christian anxieties. In the first two chapters, she maps Christian preoccupations with harmful Jewish influence in Christian society and outlines the formal characteristics of inquisitorial proceedings dealing with the Jews. In the second part of the book, Tartakoff focuses on the converts themselves, examining their background prior to baptism and their lives as Christians. In the last two chapters, she turns to Jewish attitudes to apostates and the efforts to bring them back to Judaism.

Tartakoff demonstrates that many converts chose baptism to avoid punishment by Jewish authorities, circumvent the prohibitions regarding marriage and adultery, or to escape poverty and violence. As a result, Christians often doubted the sincerity of Jewish conversions and their suspicion became a self-fulfilling prophecy when converts who failed to integrate into Christian society decided to return to Judaism. In Jewish communities, apostasy had a profound impact on marriages and economic relations. It also produced considerable tensions: many Jews publicly jeered at and insulted apostates. Some Jews, however, continued to interact with the apostates and tried to persuade them to return to the Judaism, employing a variety of rhetorical tools to present the deficiencies of Christian faith.

This book is a valuable collection of carefully interpreted material on Jewish conversion in the Kingdom of Aragon approached with awareness of the complex social and religious implications of Jewish conversion. The compact size of the book and the selection of sources leave some questions unaddressed. For instance, Tartakoff claims that ‘daily realities played a key role in shaping Christian and Jewish attitudes’ towards converts (p. 108), but she does not discuss the influence of religious (e.g., Talmudic) rhetoric of conversion and apostasy on these attitudes. She also suggests that inquisitors’ interest in the Jews was part of a broader attempt to facilitate Jewish conversions to Christianity. However, there is little evidence for systematic and sustained effort to convert Jews in Aragon. The eagerness of inquisitors to respond to pernicious Jewish influence on cradle Christians and converts in Aragon must have been shaped by factors beyond mere ‘Christian missionary impulse’. Despite these occasional lacunae, the book is a valuable study of a hitherto neglected phenomenon and a significant contribution to the understanding of Jewish–Christian interaction in medieval Aragon.

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Treharne, Elaine, *Living Through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020–1220* (Oxford Textual Perspectives), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012; paperback; pp. xvi, 218; 7 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £16.99; ISBN 9780199585267.

In this slim but important monograph, Elaine Treharne examines the often forgotten or deliberately neglected texts produced in England between c. 1020 and 1220. Politically and chronologically, these texts are not ‘Anglo-Saxon’; linguistically, those written in English (as opposed to Latin or French, the other official written languages of the period) are moving away from the late West Saxon standard that we call ‘Old English’. Yet neither are they yet ‘Middle English’; moreover, as Treharne explains, for around three quarters of the period she examines, ‘there is barely any “original” writing in English at all’ (p. 5). These factors have led to a gap in scholarship implying a discontinuity either side of the Norman Conquest, and it is challenging this assumption that provides the thrust for Treharne’s argument throughout the book.

The first part covers the texts produced in the aftermath of the conquest of Cnut in 1016; the second after that of William of Normandy in 1066. As Treharne is at pains to remind us, the consequences of each conquest can

only be assessed with hindsight. In 1016, no-one was to know that whatever cultural ramifications were felt then would be subsumed half a century later; in 1066 there was nothing to predict that the effects of William's conquest would be any greater or more lasting than those of Cnut's. The extra weight scholars have given to the Norman Conquest is rebalanced, then, by Treharne's equal focus on textual production in the first half of the eleventh century.

The first thing to note here is a seeming decline in textual output in this period, something which Treharne muses might not indicate 'a disbelieving refusal to engage in narrating unfathomable events' but rather a 'trauma-less period' (p. 11). Treharne pays such attention to silences of different kinds throughout the book, considering the consequences of what is not said, or what is deliberately concealed, as much as what is there. What *is* there, however, is presented in detail and analysed meticulously. Among the texts examined from Cnut's reign are the 'carefully stage-managed' (p. 47) rhetoric of his 1020 and 1027 Letters to the English, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (another text notable for its relative silence), the homilies of Wulfstan, and other religious texts, including consideration of the implications of the copying of Ælfric's homilies to fulfil the needs of a new audience twenty years after their original delivery. 'There are no mere copies or mindless replicative textual events in this period', Treharne advises (p. 73).

For the post-Norman Conquest period, Treharne counters the apparent scholarly refusal to acknowledge the production of English texts with a valuable table of manuscripts 'whose main texts in English are datable to the period from c. 1050 or 1060 to approximately 1100' (pp. 98–101) (there are around eighty-five). This is paired with a similar table for twelfth- and early thirteenth-century manuscripts on pp. 125–26 (a little over fifty or, as Treharne quotes Rudyard Kipling – as she also does in headers to each chapter, 'to remind readers of the complexity and longevity of colonialism' (p. 1) – 'a nice little handful' (p. 124). 'How many manuscripts would it take for us to believe that English survived the Conquest?' we are, quite rightly, implored (p. 123). The relative uniformity of the manuscripts of English texts, Treharne suggests, 'pertains specifically to a deliberately manufactured collective English Benedictine identity' (p. 139). 'Exclusive vernacularity' in texts of this period, she argues, is a 'volitional literary resistance', 'encouraged through ... that set of texts' lack of negotiation ... with the Conquest' (pp. 139–40).

This book is grounded in textual scrutiny and analysis. Substantial passages are quoted, in early and modern English, of lesser-known texts; these are valuable resources in themselves, especially so alongside Treharne's detailed and incisive commentaries. A great deal of attention is paid to codicological

matters: the materiality of the texts is given at least as much weight as their content, for what it tells us about their production, audience, and use. The trilingual Eadwine or Canterbury Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College R. 17. 1, mid-twelfth-century), an image from which also graces the front cover, is given a chapter to itself; though the manuscript is acknowledged as an extraordinary example from the period, it is a fitting one to close out the book, for its place ‘at a key point in English cultural history as the changes wrought by the Conquest in 1066 became firmly embedded culturally, linguistically, and politically’ (p. 168); as an example of ‘the inadequacy ... of modern understandings of textual culture in the medieval period’; and because it allows Treharne to revise its scholarly reception as thoroughly, painstakingly, and convincingly as she does for the reception of the English texts produced c. 1020–1220 as a whole.

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Truax, Jean, *Archbishops Ralph d’Escures, William of Corbeil and Theobald of Bec: Heirs of Anselm and Ancestors of Becket* (Archbishops of Canterbury), Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; paperback; pp. 306; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754668367.

Jean Truax provides a thorough and authoritative account of several important but relatively obscure contributors to the development of the English church: the three Archbishops of Canterbury whose tenures spanned the gap between the towering figures of Lanfranc and Anselm, on the one hand, and the momentous ministry and martyrdom of Thomas Becket on the other. Her book is among the first of a new series, also including the work of her former supervisor Sally Vaughn on Anselm [see review below], intending to focus on the achievements of those men who have filled the office of Archbishop of Canterbury through the centuries.

One very worthwhile feature is the inclusion of a series of primary sources, all in translation and some with accompanying Latin text, in a substantial set of appendices. Many of these are not available elsewhere in modern translations and will therefore constitute an excellent resource for students of the period. The chosen texts include: a selection of the correspondence of Ralph d’Escures and Theobald of Bec (in the latter case written by his secretary, John of Salisbury); relevant excerpts from the histories of Gervase of Canterbury; and a group of letters collectively

referred to as the ‘Canterbury forgeries’, whose significance is considered at length in Chapter 4.

Of the three figures under consideration, there is more to say on Theobald of Bec than there is on Ralph d’Escures and William of Corbeil. Neither Ralph (whose pontificate lasted from 1114 to 1122) nor William (1123–36) could have merited a single volume and the decision to study all three together is sensible. Theobald not only lasted longer (1138–61) but also presided over the church during the difficult period of the Anglo-Norman civil war between Stephen and Matilda. His career is therefore more fully represented in the major narrative sources covering Stephen’s reign, all of which Truax draws on judiciously. Nonetheless, the issues which concerned the English church during the early and middle decades of the twelfth century – the dispute over ecclesiastical authority between Canterbury and York, increasing interference from Rome, the hammering out of the relationship between church and state – were relevant in all three cases and therefore the reader gains useful perspective from examining and comparing the experiences of the three primates.

Truax achieves a pleasing balance between a focus on the activities of the archbishops themselves and the political context that weighed on their decisions and aspirations. Ralph’s pontificate was dominated by the rivalry between himself and the younger and more energetic Thurstan of York. The period is covered from opposite perspectives in the works of Eadmer (favouring the Canterbury position) and Hugh the Chanter (an advocate of the rights of York) but even with the benefit of these sources it is difficult to learn a great deal about Ralph’s personality and effectiveness. Truax sees him as a competent mediator in his early years, until ill health reduced his capacities towards the end of his career. In the absence of greater detail, the author inevitably fills out her narrative with a consideration of the activities of Henry I and the Anglo-Norman court, but Ralph is kept as close to the centre of affairs as the surviving documents allow.

Similarly, William of Corbeil’s influence at moments of crisis, when the evidence is fuller, is carefully considered. William was an obscure compromise candidate on his elevation to the see of Canterbury. His pontificate got off to a terrible start in 1123 when his representatives were laughed out of the papal curia after trying to assert Canterbury’s primacy over York with a series of obviously forged or manipulated documents (the so-called Canterbury forgeries). Truax weighs up the varied positions of earlier scholars on the debacle and concludes that the letters were most likely the work not of a single culprit but of several over-zealous Canterbury monks determined to put forward their claim of supremacy in the strongest possible manner.

What strikes one in all three cases is that none of these men was either the most obvious or the most capable candidate to achieve elevation to the role of Archbishop. In Theobald's case, the sure bet in 1136 would undoubtedly have appeared to be Henry, Bishop of Winchester, King Stephen's younger brother. On this occasion, as in 1114 and 1122, a less forceful but safer choice prevailed. In fact it is similarities such as these between the careers of Ralph, William, and Theobald that give this study a measure of coherence, allowing for perceptive comparisons to emerge. Truax reminds us very successfully that the history of the church must be told not just through the stories of its bright stars and over-achievers such as Anselm and Becket, but equally by examining the experiences of its bumblers and bureaucrats.

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Vaughn, Sally N., *Archbishop Anselm 1093–1109: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World* (Archbishops of Canterbury), Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; paperback; pp. 310; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £19.99; ISBN 9781409401223.

Sally Vaughn's latest work on Anselm, theologian and primate of England from 1093 to 1109, is among the first of a new series [also including Jean Truax's book on Anselm's successors; see review above] intending to provide authoritative studies of the men who have filled the office of Archbishop of Canterbury. One aim of the book and the series is to draw on the archives of Lambeth Palace Library. A result of this is the inclusion of a substantial selection of primary sources (in Latin and English) covering the last third of the publication. These form a valuable addition to the main text and will, one imagines, provide an excellent model for anticipated future volumes in the series. Many of the major narrative sources, including the biographical account and the contemporary history by Anselm's devoted secretary Eadmer, are already available in modern translations so the selection here is taken mostly from the archbishop's letters. The chosen sources give a strong sense of Anselm's gentle yet forceful manner and his absolute insistence on standing up for the rights of Canterbury and the English church.

Like his great Anglo-Norman predecessor Lanfranc, Anselm was an Italian who came to the see of Canterbury after a period as abbot of the influential Norman monastery at Bec. Vaughn has been publishing on the cultural and intellectual influence of Bec for nearly four decades. Her first article on Anselm appeared in 1974 and her major monograph on the topic,

Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent, followed in 1987. In a way, the new book forms the last word in a long-running scholarly discussion between Vaughn and another great authority on Anselm, the late Sir Richard Southern. It is fair to say that this conversation achieved a certain prickliness at times (as in their 1988 exchange in *Albion*) as Southern preferred to see Anselm as an inward-turning, contemplative figure while Vaughn gave more weight to the archbishop's political skills and his engagement with the world. Now, looking back on these exchanges with the mollifying effect of the passing years, Vaughn finds a place for both interpretations and attempts to offer a new reading of Anselm's career. She emphasizes the missionary ambitions of Bec and of Anselm himself towards Normandy and England, and argues strongly that the intellectual influence of his Bec years is evident in the way that Anselm conducted himself in later disputes and discussions with two kings (William Rufus and Henry I) and two popes (Urban II and Paschal II). The phrase 'patriarch of another world' is taken from Urban's description of Anselm. It refers to the latter's quest to ensure that the holder of the see of Canterbury was recognized as the supreme ecclesiastical figure throughout the British Isles and to his desire to keep interference from Rome to a minimum. Equally, Anselm pressed his 'two oxen' theory to argue consistently, especially through the height of the Investiture Controversy, that he should act as a sort of spiritual co-ruler of England along with the reigning monarch, in a joint and equal partnership. Thus Vaughn places her subject's major contemplative and theological works firmly within the context of his thinking about the proper public role of the Canterbury primate.

The author also takes the opportunity to air new conclusions on related aspects of Anglo-Norman affairs, notably the ever-mysterious death of William Rufus, killed by an arrow in the New Forest in 1100. As with famous assassinations of our own day, there are those who continue to dispute the 'lone gunman' (or archer) theory and who cannot entertain the thought that the event may simply have been an unfortunate hunting accident, as the chronicles would have it. The usual suspect has been Rufus's younger brother Henry I, who undoubtedly had the most to gain. But Vaughn gives heart to conspiracy theorists everywhere by offering an alternative possibility: that the occupiers of the medieval grassy knoll were in fact senior figures of the Church who acted in the interests of Anselm, but not with his knowledge, by eliminating the monarch who had forced him into exile from England. The speculation is intriguing, but it is based on no more than a few hints, as Vaughn herself admits. The exposition of this theory is signalled as an 'interlude' in the main narrative of Anselm's story; one wonders whether this was really the best place to air it. Nevertheless, Vaughn's work will stand as an excellent

discussion of Anselm's career for general readers and for students, who will benefit especially from the inclusion of the translated letters. Forthcoming volumes in the series should provide equally helpful resources.

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Vaught, Jennifer C., *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. 208; 10 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9781409432081.

This engaging, well-researched study by Jennifer C. Vaught explores how early modern English literature developed in conjunction with festive culture, towards which writers like Marlowe, Shakespeare, Spenser, Jonson, Herrick, and Milton were diversely disposed. Four chapters allow Vaught to focus on the gradual appropriation of festive culture by the aristocratic-centred elite.

In Chapter 1, this process, manifested in literature as social conflict, is represented by discussion of Christopher Marlowe's radical drama, which 'evokes sympathy for socially and economically downtrodden and ethnically or racially victimized members of the community' (p. 34). Vaught, thus, examines the shift from Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta* to Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. In Vaught's words, it is the excessively violent nature of 'Barabbas's acts of revenge [which] call attention to the ridiculousness of ... popular stereotypes about Jews' (p. 39). Whereas Vaught describes *The Merchant of Venice* as 'a play with abundant, yet ... unsatisfying feasting' (p. 43), it is subsequent – eighteenth- and nineteenth-century – puppet versions of Elizabethan plays, such as *Faustus*, which merely 'served a limited, conservative means of making money for English and European ... theatre producers' while barely providing 'a distant reminder of subversive protest among the lower ranks' (p. 55).

Chapter 2 concerns Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardes Calendar*, and explores Spenser's efforts to gain approval for native, holiday traditions by dissociating them from Catholic feast days. Nationalist and sectarian sentiments are orchestrated in *The Faerie Queene* through Spenser's construction of Redcrosse, who, initially lacking self-knowledge, discovers his identity as St George. As Vaught contends, the 'procession of the Seven Deadly Sins' in Book I, Canto iv, 'offers ... a subtle critique of the mistreatment of the disenfranchised poor in early modern England' (p. 69); and, again, Spenser is attributed 'qualified degrees of sympathy for the downtrodden populace' (p. 75; emphasis added).

Chapter 3 opens with discussion of two late-Elizabethan romantic comedies: Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, in which Vaught focuses on Sir Toby's appropriation of 'his holiday role ... as Lord of Misrule ... for conservative and normative, rhetorically violent purposes during his "brawl" with Malvolio' (p. 102); while Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 'contains numerous carnivalesque motifs from disguises and inversions of rank, to the scapegoating of outsiders and Morris dancing' (p. 95).

In addition, Chapter 3 also includes discussion of the shift from public to private conceptions of time, both through the removal of 'celebratory practices ... originally associated with Catholic feast-days', and, literally, of *time*, as a material thing: 'early modern timepieces, such as table clocks and pocket watches, many of which were expensive' (p. 92). In *The Winter's Tale*, however, cosmic time is also presented as a mystical alternative to empirical knowledge; and, thus, the play's female figures – Paulina, the long-lost Perdita at her coming of age, and, of course, Hermione – triumph against 'the burden of mortality that plague[s]' the male aristocratic figures, Leontes and Polixenes, who are 'both ... consumed by anxieties about the futures of their aristocratic lineages' (p. 112). Vaught situates *The Winter's Tale*'s discussion of time in the context of the emergence of new paradigms, associated with the period's nascent materialist culture and increasing individualism.

While Vaught's reading of Ben Jonson's Jacobean, festive-themed play of 1614, *Bartholomew Fair* does not contribute much which has not been said before about this particular play, its conclusion is excellent, also bringing the chapter to an end with commentary on 'Justice Overdo's invitation to the fairgoers ... to a feast at his home', which raises, again, the issue of private versus public space and time – and the triumph of the elite, which could command possession of such exclusive, private locales, analogous with the 'luxurious timepieces owned by the wealthy' (p. 129).

Arguably, the highlight of the study is Chapter 4 – which includes discussion of Milton's Caroline masque, *Comus* (1637), and of Herrick's poetry collection, *Hesperides* (1648) – which shows how 'Monarchical, aristocratic, and elite circles in seventeenth-century England attempted to quash the riotous and rebellious dimensions of festivities that can lead to social and economic transformations for the lower ranks ... a decline of carnivalesque egalitarianism that Milton protests and Herrick supports' (p. 131).

Moreover, Vaught discusses a fascinating (mis)use of Renaissance canonical texts, and the appropriation of carnivalesque conventions for conservative, repressive purposes, by 'Mardi Gras krewes ... in post-Civil war New Orleans ... the Mistick Krewe of Comus and the Twelfth Night Revelers' (p. 132). As Vaught explains, the wealthy, white supremacist members of these 'krewes in nineteenth-century New Orleans, focused their

parades on canonical works' of Renaissance literature to promote their own elite status, as the 'white, Anglo-American establishment in New Orleans' (p. 151). However, when, for example, they 'borrowed the name of Milton's ... *Comus*', they deviated from Milton's republican, egalitarian values with which they were 'widely familiar' (pp. 151–52). They also 'suppressed "exotic ... non-Western dimensions"' in Milton's masque, inconsistent with their own racist ideals (p. 154), just as they suppressed republican elements in original texts, while they 'glorified the English aristocracy and the monarchical government' as putative analogues of themselves and their own then-recently defeated Confederate government (p. 159).

This is, certainly, a fascinating study, which traces carnivalesque themes in English literature through some expected, and some far from expected, times and locales; it is highly recommended.

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Vines, Amy N., *Women's Power in Late Medieval Romance* (Studies in Medieval Romance), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2011; hardback; pp. 184; 3 illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9781843842750.

As its title suggests, *Women's Power in Late Medieval Romance* investigates the scope and kind of authority displayed by leading female characters in late medieval English romances. It quickly becomes clear, however, that Amy Vines is especially concerned to demonstrate that this power is itself instructive: if it reflects late medieval social realities, it also lays out patterns of agency (or at least 'methods of influence' (p. 3)) for the necessarily attentive woman reader. The collective lesson articulated in these romances is so potent, indeed, that this instruction also serves to alert male readers to the advantages it elaborates for them, as for the women in their lives. Crucial to this argument is Vines's claim that romance does not just deliver exemplary histories, but catches the reader into them, by presenting women's agency, influence, authority in action, in parallel process, as it were. The point is important, since it supports the author's conviction that romances provide in themselves substantial evidence of women's cultural activity, rather than simply serving to illustrate findings drawn from more sober records. It also brings us immediately to one of the book's major limitations.

The term used by Vines to characterize women's authority is 'sponsorship', clearly drawn from modern, American culture, but drawn into teasing proximity to the influence exercised by the powerful in an apparently remote medieval culture, where patronage binds person to person – if not

normally in relation to commercial or cultural enterprises. I think there is a translation problem here, alas, of the kind described by Gideon Toury, where ‘textual relations obtaining in the original are modified in favour of (more) habitual options offered by the target culture’ (*Descriptive Translation Studies – And Beyond* (2012), p. 304). All too often, Vines seems to write as if she were uneasy about the difficulties of performing the kind of cultural translation called for in dealing with medieval texts. The particular form of sponsorship favoured by Vines proves not to be particularly corporate, in fact, let alone financial, but rather courtly and tutorial. The woman sponsor, confident of her surprising education in various kinds of scientific and chivalric knowledge inducts the frail male into ways of knowing and acting that assure his noble status, even hero-hood; this is heroic woman as business mentor. This mode of influence, of course, turns the blue-stockinged reader into a courtly lady, as much as it proves the courtly lady should manage to secure the advantages of the blue-stocking in a household that typically spent too much on its young men. Nevertheless, despite my reservations about the modelling, Vines does identify a peculiarly interesting form of powerful woman in romance, interesting not least because the real world equivalents all too often seem to serve patriarchal society, rather than engage with it, as these romance women do, circumspectly, but with full confidence in their agency.

Not all Vines’s women are confident, but most are – and all demand our attention: Criseyde and Cassandra in *Troilus and Criseyde*, Cleopes in Metham’s self-serving *Amoryus and Cleopes*, Melior in *Partenope of Blois*, and the queenly pair in *Sir Launfal*, Guinevere and Dame Tryamour. To list these characters, however, is to register the manifest shortcomings of Vines’s presentation of a perfectly reasonable argument about women’s authority: they don’t provide much of a database. Indeed, one might argue against Vines that the women in this small selection are worth reading precisely because they are exceptional, in belonging to romances that probably never circulated far, or by occupying roles that command respect, but briefly.

More important, the force of much of Vines’s discussion tends to remain within the chapter, in analysis of the text, rather than operate through the book, as an argument. Text-studies, then, supplemented by recurrent invocation of a set of terms, carry what passes here for argument, but amounts to position taking. A key term is sponsorship, inevitably. A less positive term is ‘Lee Ramsay’, whose account of women in romance in *Chivalric Romances* (1983), for all his willingness to cast his generalizing net further than Vines can manage, often seems hewn from outmoded commonplaces, and in this regard ends by looking absurd. For Vines, Ramsay is just a target; as a target he contributes to her own position, by the force of an all too easy contrast.

On the other hand, the book is woefully short of reference to more current textual scholarship and cultural theory that might have edged position taking into argument.

The main problem with Vines's position taking – apart from becoming tedious – is that it generally converts analysis into a rhetorical exchange by which the position underwrites a reading of the text, while the text offers itself as representative of many, demonstrating the validity of the position. *Women's Power in Late Medieval Romance* has an interesting point to make about the kind of authority women may exercise in romances, although its field is narrower than Vines allows; no doubt, furthermore, women's business in these texts mattered to readers, even if that scarcely warrants calling the texts didactic, as Vines does. Still, the claim is interesting and the analyses making up the bulk of her discussion are often astute and informative. I had all sorts of quarrels with the readings of *Amoryus and Cleopes* and *Partenope of Blois*, for instance, but these long romances seldom get read with anything like Vines's attentiveness. In her acknowledgments, Vines speaks of her debt to Elizabeth Johnson Bryan, not least for 'her constant encouragement of this detail-oriented mole to see the larger picture'. This book is overly weighted by detail that looks to establish academic credentials, at some cost to the argument, 'the larger picture'. Yet the detail is often telling.

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Wallace, David, *Strong Women: Life, Text and Territory, 1347–1645* (Clarendon Lectures in English), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011; hardback; pp. xxxi, 288; R.R.P. £30.00; ISBN 9780199541713.

David Wallace's book presents textual portraits of four strong and rare women whose strength lay in their opposition to accepted norms for female behaviour in premodern times. The book's title comes from the *mulier fortis* of Proverbs 31. 10. The paucity of historical records makes this a valuable contribution to scholarship on the lives of women in premodern Europe. Indeed, so much research has been compressed into this book, that the attention to detail sometimes distracts from the lives and *lives* of the four women: Dorothea of Montau (1347–1394); Margery Kempe of Lynne (c. 1373–c. 1440); Mary Ward of Yorkshire (1585–1645) and Elizabeth Cary of Drury Lane (c. 1585–1639). All were Catholics, in whose lives religion played a significant role. They lived in society and were not enclosed, a factor Wallace identifies as part of their strength. The book is divided into four chapters dedicated to each woman. Each chapter includes biographical background and discussion of how each woman's 'life' was recorded. Wallace

then goes on to discuss the existence, beyond the subject and writer, of the records.

The chapter on Dorothea of Montau (subtitled ‘Borderline Sanctity’) demonstrates the breadth of Wallace’s research. Not only does he provide a biography, he considers how it came to be written in two different languages (and the significance of this fact), and also the various political, social, and literary uses to which this text has been put over the following centuries. Dorothea travelled throughout her life but eventually settled and was enclosed on the eastern reaches of Europe. The Dominican Johannes Marienwerder’s description of her life written in Latin first, and later in German (thus removing any trace of what might have been considered Dorothea’s own words), became the basis for various social and political causes at the borders of conflicting interests and contested territories such as the colonizing arm of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The final part of this chapter deals with the way German Lutherans and Polish Catholics each adopted her as their own and her reintegration into German culture with the push for her canonization by men like Joseph Ratzinger.

Wallace’s approach to Margery Kempe (‘Anchoritic Damsel’) is quite different, commencing with the discovery of the single copy of the manuscript of her book in England in the 1930s. He explores the way women in literary studies (Hope Emily Allen, Sonia Brownell, and Ruth Meech) have been written out of the texts despite their foundational work. While fascinating background to the scholarship on Margery Kempe, its purpose within the parameters of the book (1347–1647) was not clear. There were other unnecessary digressions in this chapter: the section called ‘Margery in Dansk’ takes up several pages to describe the city’s history, its similarities to England, and Margery’s difficulties there. While Wallace contends that the trip to Dansk was pivotal to Margery’s confidence as a married woman to ‘merit textual memorialization’ (p. 119), the realization occurs on her return to London.

Mary Ward (‘Holy Amazon’) was the founder of the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary otherwise known as the Congregation of Jesus. Hers was a life of intrigue, coded letters, and a vision of teaching that has survived the centuries, often without her name being known. She was described as *mulier fortis* in two different versions of her ‘life’ and Wallace’s treatment of her here is largely an analysis of the way different social contexts have influenced the various representations of her life.

The final chapter is about Elizabeth Cary, described as the ‘Vice Queen of Ireland’. Born Elizabeth Tanfield, she was the sole daughter of a baron and heir to a comfortable fortune. Her conversion, along with several of her

children, to Catholicism caused distress to her husband and family but did not deter her. Her life was recorded by three of her children and Wallace here analyses their attempts to write about their mother – who clearly did not fulfil the ideals of a saint requiring hagiography – through their erasures and corrections. The final ‘life’ that Wallace deals with is the role that these women’s lives and texts have played in academic scholarship as researchers have grappled with the issue of gender.

The structure of this book is complex and its many layers make this book particularly dense. Although there is much to commend in its detail, sometimes the discussion is difficult to follow as it moves back and forward between different time periods.

Some material could have been edited out. For instance, when discussing Mary Ward, why did Wallace need to point out that the University of Pennsylvania’s 1542 copy of Chaucer was not owned by her grandmother but another Ursula Rudstone? This text and this woman had not been mentioned previously. There are also a number of irritatingly grand statements, such as Wallace’s opening sentence: ‘Literature is the truest history’ (p. xv). And his statement on the next page: ‘yet women have always wondered what will become of them, and the memory of them, once their lives end’ (p. xvi). Might this be considered a human as opposed to a specifically female preoccupation? Good editing might have also ensured that Elizabeth I was not described as the mother of Anne Boleyn (p. 212) and that the city of Dansk was not also, confusingly, called Gdańsk and Danzig. There is certainly lots of wonderful material included in this attempt to find true history in literature, but it is not for the faint-hearted or beginner scholar.

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Weaver, William P., *Untutored Lines: The Making of the English Epyllion* (Edinburgh Critical Studies in Renaissance Culture), Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. 232; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9780748644650.

William P. Weaver examines the English Renaissance epyllion as being informed by the art of rhetoric taught to schoolboys. In the Introduction, he acknowledges how critics ‘have noted the thematic significance of the boys that populate the English epyllion’ (p. 3). In particular, Weaver highlights the manner in which these narratives chart a boy’s path to adulthood. Weaver takes this significance further to argue the influence of ‘the *progymnasmata*, or “preliminary exercises” of ‘the written rhetorical themes’ on the epyllion (p. 3). Thus, Weaver analyses English epyllia as reflections of classroom

exercises taught to the poets as adolescents. He takes ‘the study of grammar and rhetoric’ at a literal, formal level to the extent that he divides the English epyllion into the mythological and historical. The reason for this dichotomy is explained by Weaver’s cool assessment that some epyllia – such as Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* – were already conveniently paired for this analysis.

In Chapter 1, an extension of the Introduction, Weaver builds on the notion of the *progymnasmata* not simply being a series of rhetoric exercises but also an introduction for the boys into a new cultural environment. Apart from young scholars being beaten with a stick, Weaver describes how boys were encouraged to be imaginative with their Latin sources. His discussion focuses on Quintilian’s *primordia*, literature that does not fit within ‘the disciplinary boundaries of grammar and rhetoric’ (p. 29). The *primordia* suits Weaver’s argument because it allows the subjects of his study – Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Heywood – to be inventive with their representations of developing adolescents.

Chapter 2 sees Weaver apply his thesis to Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*. The most striking feature of this chapter is Weaver’s insight that ‘the narrator describes Hero’s clothing but Leander’s body’ (p. 55). This seemingly unremarkable observation is interpreted as representing two different types of rhetorical discourse. Likewise, the Mercury and Neptune episodes are not exciting departures but essential to ‘Hero and Leander’s rites of passage to adolescence’ (p. 65). Marlowe’s epyllion mimics a student’s initiation into a grammar school.

In Chapter 3, the influence of humanist boyhood exercises and the Renaissance culture of learning are investigated in Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*. Weaver expands on his discussion of Quintilian’s *primordia* by examining its influence on Joachim Camerarius’s *Elements of Rhetoric*, an unrelenting series of grammar school exercises. He focuses on an exercise called the *chreia*. Students create a verbal discourse that either expands or condenses ‘a notable saying or action’ (p. 81). Venus is seen as practising the *chreia* in which her attempts of seduction mirror grammar school exercises. She is literally the sexy schoolmistress.

Thomas Heywood’s *Oenone and Paris*, an imitation of *Venus and Adonis*, is the subject of Chapter 4. It examines Heywood’s strategy of non-verbal paraphrasing of Ovid from memory. Unsurprisingly, this type of abstract imitation is a writing exercise dreamt up by Quintilian and Erasmus called *enargeia*.

Chapter 5 returns to Shakespeare with the representation of adolescence in *The Rape of Lucrece*. Weaver skilfully interprets crisis and process, two types of adolescence, as being divided between Tarquin and Lucrece. What

is interesting is that the aftermath of Lucrece's rape starts her 'training in circumstantial narration' (p. 137). Her ability to cope with the traumatic event is enabled through her performance of *ethopoeia*, a vicarious imitation of a legendary character's hardship.

The next chapter focuses on Sir John Davies's *Orchestra Or a Poeme of Dauncing*, described by Weaver as 'a parody of humanist *encomium*' (p. 151). The interest in *Orchestra* stems from its ability to illuminate the very discourse it is ridiculing. The epyllion's overlong praise of dancing becomes a meditation on the pros and cons of topical invention.

The final chapter examines Thomas Edwards's *Cephalus and Procis*. The epyllion is notable for using two events instead of one to construct rhetorical discourse. The Epilogue uses Milton's *Paradise Regained* to demonstrate the English epyllion's focus on 'the transition from study to action' (p. 196). It also contains an insightful critique of David Norbrook's discussion of the young Jesus's rhetorical training.

In a carefully constructed argument that refutes allegory, Weaver's study looks to a more immediate experience in which grammar school exercises and culture are brought fantastically to life. Weaver does an admiral job of clarifying complex material, and sifting through a huge array of grammar school exercises. The book breathes life into a neglected and potentially tedious area. It will appeal to scholars and students interested in the English Renaissance epyllion and humanist pedagogic exercises.

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Yeager, R. F. and **Brian W. Gastle**, eds, *Approaches to Teaching the Poetry of John Gower*, New York, Modern Language Association of America, 2011; paperback; pp. viii, 236; R.R.P. US\$ 19.75; ISBN 9781603291002.

This book, which offers strategies, hints, and methods for teaching the Latin, French, and English poetry of the late medieval poet John Gower, will be of most interest and value to lecturers teaching medieval literature at the undergraduate level.

The text is not intended to offer any new or sustained scholarly analysis of Gower's writings; rather it is a series of (mostly) very short essays explaining how lecturers have introduced undergraduate students to Gower's poetry. It is also almost exclusively written by North American scholars, and the teaching contexts they describe – mostly smaller, well-endowed liberal colleges in the USA – may well leave Australian academics significantly envious of the

opportunities recounted for teaching medieval literature, compared to the parlous situation that now defines its teaching in many Australian universities.

Although the text offers nothing especially original about Gower himself (as noted, the focus is on teaching already-thought-through ideas, not offering fresh insights) the Introduction does offer some useful comments on Gower's reputation to later generations. It also gets to grips with perhaps the two most salient characteristics of his modern reputation: one is that he plays second fiddle to Chaucer in poetic ability; the other is that he is 'moral Gower', implying that both a degree of pessimism and tedious moralizing suffuses his work. The Introduction pushes against these ideas, outlining in particular the high regard in which Gower was held by a number of premodern writers and poets including Ben Jonson and Samuel Johnson, as well as Shakespeare, who included Gower as a type of chorus in *Pericles*. In terms of his reputation for moralizing, the editors point to lesser-known works (especially those in Anglo-French and Latin) that are less concerned with didacticism.

The essays suggest ways for teaching Gower in terms of his contemporary reputation, his debt to and use of classical writings (such as Ovid's), and through comparison with close contemporary works, especially Chaucer's.

After the Introduction the text is bifurcated. The first section is 'Materials', and has essays by Peck, Nicholson, and Gastle offering advice on teaching Gower. Discussion of how critics have read his work follows and then there is a very useful chapter on online resources. This section of the book is especially valuable. As Gastle makes clear, Gower's reputation as Chaucer's inferior and as a dour moralizer has partly been set by the limited access to many of his works in clear and accessible printed editions. Both students and lecturers will therefore appreciate the currency of the list of available electronic resources that Gastle provides for accessing most of Gower's corpus, including the little seen French and Latin works.

The second section is the 'Approaches', and comprises twenty-two essays. The way these essays have been divided provides insight to the types of issues raised: Historical Approaches and Context; Language, Literature, and Rhetoric; 3 Theoretical Approaches; Comparative Approaches; and Specific Class-Room Contexts. Essays within this section offer a highly diverse range of strategies for teaching Gower to undergraduate students, in terms of both methodology and focus. Most of the papers examine Gower through the prism of his own time period, focusing in particular on the poems that offered a fairly gloomy moral comment on the reign of King Richard II. Others, however, use formalist literary criticism to look more closely at the poems themselves rather than their historical context. The essays are mostly quite original and imaginative approaches to how Gower may be taught, taking in not only his

poetry but also other cultural artefacts relating to him. One, for example, suggests examination of his tomb monument in Southwark Cathedral as a means to drawing out ideas on his reputation and his preoccupations.

The collected essays also approach Gower from a range of theoretical perspectives, including considerations applying gender, queer, and feminist theory, and ways these theories can be both tested by their application to medieval texts, and how their application can facilitate comparisons between Gower and literature from other time periods.

The final four papers are the most practical and offer write-ups of specific occasions of teaching Gower in classrooms. Overall the collection is likely to be useful to anyone attempting to teach a survey course on medieval literature and who wants to say something more about Gower than the customary points about him being a moralist who existed in Chaucer's shadow.

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Young, Helen, *Constructing 'England' in the Fourteenth Century: A Postcolonial Interpretation of Middle English Romance*, Lewiston, NY, Mellen Press, 2010; hardback; pp. iv, 289; R.R.P. US\$139.95, £94.95; ISBN 9780773412934.

This insightful study investigates the at times intimate relationship between the medieval and the postcolonial (and medieval studies and postcolonial studies as academic disciplines), a relationship that shares a distrust of both modernity itself and the dominant historiographical models that emerged in modernity. Young's study examines seven romance texts: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *St Erkenwald*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Athelston*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and *Of Arthour and of Merlin* (the Anglo-Norman versions of *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton* also receive attention). These texts are read in light of the Norman Conquest of Anglo-Saxon England, the need for Norman families to establish themselves in the conquered land, the politics of writing in English or in French, and Young argues that 'the Anglo-Saxon history of England was being written back into existence through romances such as these [after] Norman historians, such as Orderic Vitalis, represented the Anglo-Saxons as barbaric and lacking a legitimate culture' (p. 58).

The Introduction discusses postcolonial theory and its imbrication with medieval studies, and briefly introduces the themes in the selected romances. Chapter 1, on *Athelston*, considers the law as the crucial plot element, noting that the tyrannical king Athelston acts as if the law does not apply to him, whereas the other characters (his sister Edyff and her husband Egeland, and

the noble Alryke) all invoke obedience to a specifically English notion of the law as necessary. The text is set in the Anglo-Saxon past but its treatment of treason may indicate something of its fourteenth-century context, in which ideas of monarchical absolutism, tyranny, and treason were topical, particularly during the reign of Richard II.

Chapter 2 is on *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton*, which are similar: 'both have Anglo-Norman sources, [both] have a diptych structure of repeated exile and return, and [both are] long verse romances' (p. 99). Young argues that *Guy of Warwick* addresses family and lineage concerns, and anxiety generated by the Crusades (and deals directly with the image both of 'the East' – Greek Christians and Muslims, as well as the Norse – through Guy's defeat of the Dane Colbrond) current among the fourteenth-century English. *Bevis of Hampton* also deals with East–West tensions and crusading, and both heroes are redescriptions of Anglo-Saxon warriors as exemplary.

Chapter 3 examines *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *St Erkenwald*, and *Wynnere and Wastoure* in the context of all three being alliterative romances, composed in the late fourteenth or very early fifteenth centuries, that refer to (but are not focused on) the Trojan myth of the origin of the English nation. *Gawain* contrasts Arthur's court with the wildness of the Green Knight's hinterland territory. As Young notes, the Trojan theme links 'to the poem's interrogation of centralised control and regional identity' (p. 188). *St Erkenwald* employs the Trojan legend to cast the English in a good light. *Wynnere and Wastoure* presents contradictory images of England: the king and his champion are depicted positively, though the people are 'tainted by hypocrisy and treachery' (p. 209).

Chapter 4 considers *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, which is 'an unusual romance, because it addresses the origins of the Saxons in Britain' (p. 213). Elements inviting postcolonial analysis include the lexical shift from Saxons to 'Sarrazins', and the concern with illegitimacy and hybridity. It is concluded that these texts, when read through the lens of postcolonial theory, grant insights into 'the ameliorative power of history' (p. 252), the valorization of the English past, centralized power and marginal regions and people, and hybridity. Young's book is well researched, readable, and entertaining, and results in some fresh and innovative interpretations of reasonably well-known texts. It is highly recommended to anyone interested in Middle English literature and in the application of theoretical perspectives to medieval sources.

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Zilmer, Kristel and Judith **Jesch**, eds, *Epigraphic Literacy and Christian Identity: Modes of Written Discourse in the Newly Christian European North* (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 4), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. vi, 273; 39 b/w illustrations, 15 b/w line art; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503542942.

Epigraphy, in the context of the Viking Age, offers interesting challenges to theories of literacy and its relationship with the spread of Christianity and associated modes of religious practice. This particular collection of essays is divided into two parts, bringing together two significantly divergent bodies of runic epigraphic writing – runic text inscribed in Scandinavian rune stones chiefly found in Sweden, with some Danish and Norwegian parallels, and that inscribed in rune staves (Old Norse *rúnakefli*) from Bryggen, in Bergen, Norway, and north-western Russian birchbark pieces – from the late tenth through to the first half of the thirteenth centuries.

Part I brings together essays that broadly consider the role of epigraphic writing on Scandinavian rune stones – the marking of short statements that serve ostensibly to commemorate – as indicators of social, cultural, and religious values and practices during the early centuries of Christianization. The contexts which the various authors bring to this study include consideration of who carved these various stones, how to understand the meaning of ‘authorship’ in the case of known carvers, how the different content on stones (format/layout, text, decoration) can be interpreted, and the part that these stones might play in both the earthly and the spiritual economies.

The first two essays deal with issues around the roles and identities of the commissioners and carvers of runestones. Magnus Källström’s contribution considers what can be learnt from the evidence regarding the expansion of runic carvings, the relationship between runic and Latin literacy, the spread of literacy, and the extent to which it is possible to analyse the role of the carvers in terms of lay literacy, as compared with clerical or Christian book culture.

Laila Kitzler Åhfeldt’s essay is the second that deals with carving technique and the implications for the spread of literacy and Christianity. Her analysis is based on high resolution scans used to differentiate the carvers engaged in the work, and she draws conclusions about certain named carvers, their social status, the processes by which stones were carved, and the possible connection of these runic expressions of Christianity with transitions from a pre-Christian to a Christian milieu.

The remaining two papers in Part I both deliver textual analyses of runic material. Kristel Zilmer presents a structural analysis of the formulaic make

up of runic prayers, and concludes that rather than being at best a symbolic expression of an uncertain degree of Christian faith, the textuality of the prayers points to regional characteristics of different types of Christianity in place, such as the *Kristr*-prayers from Södermanland and Uppland indicating a likely early cult of Christ. Henrik Williams makes a sound case for the Old Norse expression ‘*dauðr i hvitavaðum*’, found more broadly in literary as well as runic sources, as an epigraphic indicator not necessarily of being baptized when dying, but marking a death that has occurred while the person is in the state of grace conferred by confirmation.

Part II then considers a more diverse set of texts. Largely set in the frame of the pragmatics of instrumentalist communication, this part of the book moves on to discuss rune staves from Bryggen in Norway, birchbark pieces excavated in Western Russian sites such as Novgorod, and finishes with a consideration of graffiti in Novgorod churches.

The textual material analysed in Part II is comprised largely of short, often pragmatic notes relating to commercial correspondence, used as writing practice, for charms, carrying simple practical directions, some containing intimate messages and even obscenities. Michael Schulte presents a linguistic analysis which reveals usage that is not formalized by adherence to literary standards, while Terje Spurkland looks at runic writing of Latin and Greek material derived from the Litany, and yet not inscribed by a scholar of these languages. Spurkland presents examples of the Latin Mass having an organic existence in a day-to-day urban environment. The case is made that such passages and prayers inscribed on rune-staves can be interpreted as possible charms or amulets, and yet Spurkland argues they are genuine prayers for Christians for whom the Litany had particular meaning.

Unfortunately, the wide array of topics in Part II threatens to destabilize the cohesion of the overall volume, chiefly because the final two essays, by Alexej Gippius and Tatjana Rozhdestvenskaja, shift the ground and deal instead ostensibly with Slavic inscriptions in Cyrillic. With the exception of these two articles, the material under consideration had been primarily, if not exclusively, Scandinavian. To change tack at this late stage is less than ideal, and while the last two essays are still thematically contained within the overall book theme of epigraphic literacy and modes of written discourse, the divergence presents a risk to what is otherwise a fine collection and a solid analytical base for the study of runic epigraphy, and its connection to both literacy and Christianity.

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