

Reviews

Baltussen, Han, and Peter J. **Davis**, eds, *The Art of Veiled Speech: Self-Censorship from Aristophanes to Hobbes*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015; cloth, pp. 360; 2 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$79.95, £52.00; ISBN 9780812247350.

Freedom of speech and censorship have been perennial sources of debate throughout Western history. On the one hand, the supposed right to freely express one's opinion is generally seen as a cornerstone of modern democracy, while on the other, censorship of dissent is considered a hallmark of totalitarian or tyrannical regimes. In this excellent volume, Han Baltussen and Peter J. Davis offer a series of studies of subversive methods of 'self-censorship' employed from ancient Greece into early modernity, which demonstrate the contested relationship between freedom of speech and censorship. By building a methodological framework for the examination of 'veiled' speech, as opposed to free or 'frank' speech (*parrhêsia* in Greek, *libertas* in Latin), these contributions ask what it meant to question authority and avoid censure over the last 2,500 years, and collectively provide an important contribution to the history of censorship that challenges the assumption that it originated in the early modern period.

The comedies and symposia of fifth-century Athens, the poetry and orations of imperial Rome, medieval and early modern attempts to suppress heresy, and the political writing of Thomas Hobbes and his contemporaries are all meticulously examined for their contribution to the history of censorship. The essays are arranged chronologically into three distinct sections: three studies consider ancient Greece; five consider Rome; and five consider the medieval and early modern periods. In this way, the thematic link between the highly diverse studies is clear: namely, that (self-)censorship forms part of a continuous debate in the West about the limits of human expression and interaction. For, as Baltussen and Davis remark in their Introduction, 'a whole society will be in the business of determining what its boundaries are', and censorship emerges as a 'core component of human behaviour playing a role in the private and public spheres, and expanding in ever widening circles of human interaction' (p. 7). Free speech and censorship are therefore construed here as social phenomena, thus to move debate about veiled speech beyond the confines of political history and theory.

Every contribution to this collection is interesting and engaging, with each chapter building upon the insights of the others. Yet, there are

several standouts. Lara O’Sullivan’s argument that a key characteristic of Athenian democracy – the equality of access to speech – also played a role in the elite symposia of the oligarchic critics of the *demos*, demonstrates the parallels between the public and private spheres. She contends that as complete freedom of speech in such environments would have resulted in civil discord, the restrictions on *parrhêsia* in wider Athenian society applied also to the symposia, and the participants therefore had to employ forms of self-censorship.

Gesine Manuwald’s extensive overview of Roman theatre contends that drama in the increasingly autocratic environment of imperial Rome was never truly free in content and tone. For even though no explicit legislation to govern what was proclaimed in the theatres was ever implemented by the regime, Romans did not view the stage as an appropriate venue for political expression. Still, plays criticising contemporary politicians were performed in Rome, even as powerful patrons began to exert informal control over literary production.

As John Penwill likewise argues in his examination of poetry produced during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan – generally understood to be the period when the liberty of the Roman Republic was restored – it was recognised that such freedom ultimately relied upon the arbitrary will of the *princeps*. Political dissent therefore emerged in the emphasis on liberty’s temporary nature, through the Saturnalian satires of Martial and Juvenal, and the historical and rhetorical treatises of Tacitus.

Megan Cassidy-Welch, in her detailed examination of medieval inquisitorial records, highlights the multiple strategies of self-censorship adopted by the people of the Languedoc in their attempts to protect themselves and each other against perceived Church oppression. The final chapter, Jonathon Parkin’s analysis of Thomas Hobbes’s concealment of his own religious and political views in his writing, demonstrates that self-censorship sits at the heart of Hobbes’s political philosophy, and was even a cornerstone of his doctrine of freedom of thought.

The scope of this collection is indeed vast, but by providing a cultural, political, and social examination of self-censorship across a wide chronology, this volume is a singularly important contribution to the history of the relationship between censorship and free speech.

SAMUEL BAUDINETTE, *Monash University*

Bejjit, Karim, *English Colonial Texts on Tangier, 1661–1684: Imperialism and the Politics of Resistance* (Transculturalisms, 1400–1700), Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. xvii, 278; 19 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781472457882.

Tangier, on the coast of Morocco and adjacent to the Straits of Gibraltar, was the site of England's earliest colonial venture in the Mediterranean. King Charles II acquired the settlement from Portugal in January 1662, as part of the dowry for his marriage to Catherine of Braganza. Pragmatic Englishmen looked forward to Tangier becoming a prosperous trading centre, a haven for merchants against the depredations of Muslim corsairs, and a base of operations against them. The great optimism for Tangier's future soon gave way to despair in the face of the reality of mismanagement, domestic political tensions, and, critically, a local religio-nationalistic movement committed to the removal of Christian enclaves. By February 1684, after much expense and loss of English life, the town was abandoned and its infrastructure demolished, with rubble virtually the only reminder that Tangier had once been part of the nascent British Empire.

English Tangier, and the activities of the English in the early modern Mediterranean more generally, were left to become footnotes in the historiography of the development of the British Empire until rescued from obscurity around the turn of the twentieth century by a number of writers, most notably Enid Routh and Julian Corbett. The work of these writers is typically imbued with a strong imperial ideology, and conceivably it was for these reasons that interest among scholars in these subjects fell into decline following the Second World War. Over the past decade and a half, however, the encounters of Britons with North Africa in the early modern period have begun attracting the interest of a new generation of scholars.

Karim Bejjit's book concerning the English occupation of Tangier makes important contributions to this corpus of new work. One stems from the collection of eighteen pamphlets and thirteen letters it contains. Several contemporary pamphlets cited in other works on English Tangier have been omitted for reasons Bejjit provides in the Preface, but two are included that I do not recall having ever come across before: *A Letter from Tangier Concerning the Death of Jonas Rowlands the Renegade* and *A Letter from Tangier to a Friend in London*. Bejjit adds value to these texts with some judicious editing and an attempt to arrange them so as to provide continuity in the narrative of the events to which they relate. They are arranged into four parts, each defined by a general theme and time period. Above all, readers will benefit from the contextual information that precedes each text.

The letters, provided in the Appendix, cover a period of only a little over three years from November 1680 to the withdrawal of the English from Tangier. Eleven of these letters have not been published previously,

and Bejjit has translated two of them from Arabic. They focus particularly on the diplomatic manoeuvrings between the English and Moroccans, and as such provide a fascinating insight into the attitudes and issues which framed the relationship between the two countries at this pivotal time, and which ultimately decided Tangier's fate.

In his Introduction, Bejjit offers an adroit survey and analysis of key developments during the course of the English occupation, both in England and Morocco, and a reasonably useful critique of past and current scholarship on the subject. He emphasises the way in which developments in Tangier influenced English domestic politics, and how the processes of resistance employed by the Moroccans against the English colonial presence affected these developments. While neither of these perspectives is novel, Bejjit effectively argues the case for their recognition.

The volume is well structured and written, and makes enjoyable reading. As Bejjit himself asserts in his Preface: 'Read collectively, these texts offer a genuine glimpse into the colonial scene and the interplay of forces which governed the English presence in Tangier.' The English occupation of Tangier is long overdue for a comprehensive reappraisal, and while this book is not that text, it nevertheless makes an important contribution to the updating of the historical narrative.

RICKIE LETTE, *The University of Tasmania*

Bent, Margaret, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the 'Speculum musicae'* (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 28), Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. xvii, 211; 16 b/w illustrations, 7 music examples; R.R.P. £70.00; ISBN 9781472460943.

This book is an unfinished detective story about the author of the *Speculum musicae*, a vast exposition of music theory dating from the early fourteenth century. It was edited in seven volumes by Roger Bragard between 1955 and 1973, as the work of Jacobus Leodiensis or Jacques de Liège. All we know for certain about its author is that he was called 'Jacobus', a name spelled out by the opening initials of each of its seven books, which cover the principles of both plainchant and polyphony. Margaret Bent is to be congratulated for drawing attention to a work most often known for its criticism, in Book VII, of the new notational methods being promoted by certain of his contemporaries, namely Philippe de Vitry and Johannes de Muris. In consequence, the author's reputation, such as it is, is that of a cultural conservative: enthusiastic for the achievements of thirteenth-century musicians like Franco of Cologne and Petrus de Cruce, cantor at Amiens, but critical of the greater flexibility of expression, known as the *ars nova*, gaining ground in the early fourteenth century. Who wrote this remarkable *magnum opus*?

Bent makes clear from the outset that she is not studying its arguments, but rather the implications of a single new piece of evidence, namely its attribution to a certain 'Magister Jacobus de Ispania', in the inventory from 1457 of the books of Matteo da Brescia, a canon of Vicenza who had died in 1419. The *Speculum* survives only in two fifteenth-century manuscripts, both Italian. Bent's major concern is to focus on the fragility of the identification proposed by Roger Bragard, based on three passages in Book VI about melodic practices in certain secular churches of Liège. She also questions the argument of Karen Desmond that he might be a theorist called Jacobus from Mons, and a canon of Liège. The only other city Jacobus mentions is Paris, where he says he studied Boethius, presumably in the 1290s. After examining the limited number of figures called 'Magister Jacobus de Yspania', Bent proposes that the author is the illegitimate son of Enrique, brother to Alfonso el Sabio of Castile, born c. 1267/68 in southern Italy and then raised in England, by his aunt, Eleanor of Castile, who seems to have assisted with granting him the title of Master from Oxford (where he was at Oriel College) and numerous benefices, rising to become Chamberlain of the Exchequer of Receipt 1317–23, a royal debt collector as it were, often having to request dispensation as a classic pluralist canon. None of these records refers to any expertise in music. Bent suggests that during periods when he seems to be overseas (1291–97, 1309–11, and 1326–28) he was on the continent studying the theory and practice of music. She does not explain why Jacques should have singled out on three occasions chants performed by secular churches at Liège, beyond pointing out that these allusions do not imply he was born there.

Bent observes the admiration of Jacobus for Petrus de Cruce, a composer and cantor at Amiens in the early fourteenth century, also known to Guy of Saint-Denis. While she mentions Guy's treatise on chant, she is unaware that the opening initials of each chapter of its first book spell out 'Guido', in exactly the same way as Jacobus opened his treatise. Another way of interpreting 'Hispania', proposed by Rob C. Wegman in a forthcoming study posted on academia.edu, is that it refers to Hesbaye, a region of Brabant that was one of the archdeaconries of Liège. Bent mentions in passing that there was another Jacobus de Ispania, a canon of Amiens, who unsuccessfully tried in 1326 to become cantor at Châlons, but rejects the possibility that this could be the author of the *Speculum*. She also mentions (p. 132) that 'de Hispania' was a family name in thirteenth-century Arras, without considering that this could be Hesbaye, rather than Spain. Liège was a city with important musical traditions. Jacobus could be both 'de Hispania' and a canon of Liège.

Bent's brief comments on the argument of the *Speculum* need further development, in particular those about his debt to the Boethian teaching of Jerome de Moravia (of Moray, Scotland?), which he argues is fully consistent with that of Aristotle, unlike Johannes de Grocheio who contrasts Boethius

and Aristotle. The political context of the criticism Jacobus makes of new musical trends in the same way as Pope John XXII, deserves scrutiny.

Bent is to be congratulated for stirring further research into this enigmatic Jacobus de Ispania. Even if firm conclusions on his identity still elude us, her book urges us to look more closely at the *Speculum musicae* and appreciate more fully its synthesis of always disputed issues.

CONSTANT J. MEWS, *Monash University*

Black, Jeremy, *British Politics and Foreign Policy, 1744–57: Mid-Century Crisis*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 282; R.R.P. £70.00; ISBN 9781472423696.

Jeremy Black's published works span broad mass-market texts to erudite, specialised studies of a particular period. In the case of the present book, one finds the latter: using such neglected contemporary resources as personal correspondence between government officials and foreign officers and newspaper articles, Black reassembles British foreign policy from the middle of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) to the beginning of the Seven Years War (1756–63).

However, this work may be accessible only by historians of eighteenth-century British politics. Those interested in the general monarchic history of the period would be better served reading Black's excellent *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Bloomsbury, 2007). Those with a more specific interest in eighteenth-century foreign policy would enjoy his *Debating Foreign Policy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate, 2011). Black himself recommends that readers, before starting this one, should read its two companion volumes covering earlier periods of the century: *Politics and Foreign Policy in the Age of George I, 1714–27* (Ashgate, 2014) and *British Politics and Foreign Policy, 1727–44* (Ashgate, 2014).

Black divides this book into two thematic and seven chronological chapters. The thematic chapters never linger long on any single subject, and nor do they adhere to a semblance of chronology, but instead are divided into over a dozen subsections ranging from 'The Royal Family' in Chapter 2 to 'Redefining the State' in Chapter 3. In addition, because of the casualness with which Black introduces individual people into his narrative – totalling hundreds by the final page – a reader will be pardoned for forgetting most of them and confusing many, since titles, both personal and governmental, seem to have changed frequently in this period.

Fortunately, the difficult journey through the thematic chapters is rewarded in the much more straightforward and chronologically ordered chapters that begin with the year 1744 and conclude in 1757. The presentation of these is more consistent with Black's accomplished style of storytelling. It is here that you see Black at his best, recounting the struggles that the

government had within itself and with the larger public in maintaining the War of the Austrian Succession while under threat from Jacobites and the French. As his narrative progresses, Black documents in fine detail how changing domestic perspectives briefly forced Britain out of the continental system, only for it to re-enter that system in 1756 with renewed vigour and imperial ambitions.

Throughout the book, Black highlights numerous sub-themes that ultimately contribute to Britain's decisive victory in the Seven Years War. He focuses frequently on the continental system of alliances and the balance of power, with a special interest in how that system collapsed at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession. He integrates Franco-Jacobite activity, always treating it separately from other Anglo-French relations. He discusses financial relationships and the strange arrangement British lenders had with the French government. He follows British public opinion as it vacillates between continental intervention and an abandonment of involvement in Europe. He notes whenever possible where the Electorate of Hanover, George II's personal domain, fitted into the larger scheme of foreign policy, and how its vulnerable location in the western Empire was a constant problem in continental relations. And he includes whenever possible policies that affected the American colonies, although such a focus tends to neglect the history of any other British colonies in this period, including notably Ireland.

Black's close familiarity with this topic is obvious, but what could have been an extremely interesting narrative of British foreign policy in the mid-eighteenth century is somewhat disappointing. While the central chronological chapters read rather fluidly, the other chapters are confusing and might even be incoherent to all except the most well-informed Georgian scholars. Perhaps the most problematic aspect of this book, for this reviewer, is that the volume lacks extensive footnotes or even a bibliography, suggesting that Black has instead relied on his own personal knowledge of the period to provide the underlying framework. Thus, while he extensively documents the correspondence and newspaper articles that he cites, he less frequently includes other helpful information that could guide scholars in their own research. Finally, Black's writing style, so readable in his more popular works, appears here inconsistent and, at times, confusing due to an abundance of interpolations, parenthetical statements, and editorial asides.

Nonetheless, Black has produced a thorough treatment of a little-researched period in British history, one that clearly needs more in-depth analyses such as this.

DEREK RYAN WHALEY, *University of Canterbury*

Blanton, Virginia, **Veronica O'Mara**, and **Patricia Stoop**, eds, *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Kansas City Dialogue* (Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 27), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. xlv, 415; 8 colour, 27 b/w illustrations, 6 tables; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503549224.

This is the second of three books in a planned series proceeding from three conferences on nuns' literacies in medieval Europe: the first was held in 2011 in Hull; the second, 2012 in Kansas City; and the third, 2013 in Antwerp. The purpose of the conferences has been to promote and bring together research by an international group of scholars on the subject of medieval nuns' acquisition and spreading of education in a range of fields throughout Europe. Before this century, research mostly considered medieval nuns to have known religious literature only in their vernaculars and doubted that they were familiar with scholarship in Latin, but research in our own century has demonstrated that nuns in many areas knew Latin and had a long tradition of scholarly education. Unlike the monks, however, they rarely made it known publicly, but research into monastic women's intellectual contribution to Western culture is one of the fastest-growing fields in medieval studies.

The present volume, proceeding from the Kansas City conference, covers a time frame from the late seventh century to the middle of the sixteenth, and concentrates geographically on the Germanic-language areas in northern Europe, extending in the far north to Iceland, in the west to Ireland, and reaching south to include France, Spain, and Italy. In the Introduction, the editors discuss difficulties experienced in their use of key terms in the overall project, most notably 'nuns' and 'literacies'. 'Nuns' means all enclosed or semi-enclosed female religious who lived communally and so includes lay sisters. 'Literacies' covers a wide range of literary practices, referring to the formal education of the nuns, their writing practices, their skills in illustration, works that they read, and works that they wrote.

As the history and culture of convents has received increasing scholarly attention in our century, a strong international network of distinguished scholars, chiefly but not exclusively women, has established itself. Fourteen of the essays in this book are by women, four by men. There is no sense whatsoever of any discrimination against men in the book. But Eva Schlottheuber in her splendid essay on the Benedictine nuns of Lüne in northern Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries points out that the reason we are well informed about the education of monks of that time yet know little about the education of nuns is that the monks did not speak of it. Medieval texts written independently by nuns, too, are hard to find because the Church banned nuns from commenting publicly on religious issues. Patricia Stoop, in her essay on the multiple levels of literacy of nuns in the Brussels convent of Jericho, establishes that the nuns regularly wrote manuscripts for their

fellow sisters and other people outside the convent walls. Andrea Knox, in her impressive essay on the literacies of Dominican nuns in sixteenth-century Ireland, tells how the Dominican nuns were warmly welcomed in Spain, where they passed on their education with great efficiency. Andrew Rabin points out, in his essay on monastic women's legal literacy in early Anglo-Saxon England, that nuns in Godstow Abbey very near Oxford included law in their reading and learned how to use their legal texts to their advantage.

Academic standards in all the essays in this volume are extremely high. One is deeply impressed by the consistently careful scholarship and the clarity of the writing, quite free of the pretentiousness and obscurity that has insinuated itself into much contemporary academic writing in English and in French. Footnotes are abundant and helpful. A bibliography of primary and secondary studies covers forty pages at the end of the book, where there is also an extensive list of manuscripts, archival documents and incunabula, and an index of European convents referred to in the book.

The volume is admirable as a work of art, with beautifully reproduced colour plates of manuscripts from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries and, especially, one of an eleventh-century Gospel Book's stunning front cover. The work is a treasure for any library.

JOHN BESTON, *The University of Queensland*

Brown-Grant, Rosalind, Anne D. **Hedeman**, and Bernard **Ribémont**, eds, *Textual and Visual Representations of Power and Justice in Medieval France: Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 344; 111 colour, 6 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £75.00; ISBN 9781472415707.

The eleven essays in this volume are united under the broad themes of power, political authority, and justice in France, predominantly during the late Middle Ages. As Rosalind Brown-Grant notes in her Introduction, the collection is interdisciplinary and cross-cultural, with contributions from social and political historians, art historians, literary studies scholars, and a museum curator, variously based at institutions in France, the USA, and England.

The contributors explore the subject by examining both textual and visual evidence, and all discuss specific illuminated manuscripts or illustrated printed books. As academic and legal texts were rarely illustrated, most of the manuscripts under discussion are luxurious illuminated copies destined for princely patrons, and as such tend to expose the attitudes of the most powerful in medieval society.

Several essays examine how particular texts and illustrations reflected contemporary politics or implicitly criticised unpopular rulers. These include

Anne D. Hedeman's analysis of illustrations in two splendid copies of Laurent de Premierfait's translation from Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, made for the warring dukes John of Berry and John the Fearless (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 5193, respectively) in the early fifteenth century. In her chapter, Rosalind Brown-Grant discusses a richly illustrated manuscript of the prose romance *Roman de Florimont* (BnF, Ms. fr. 12566) that was probably commissioned for the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, in the early 1450s. She shows how the text and illustration of this particular version of the romance served as a tool for constructing and promoting political ideology at the court of Valois Burgundy. Lydwine Scordia examines how Louis XI was tacitly condemned as falling short of ideal leadership through textual and pictorial pastoral metaphors of the shepherd, the wolf, and the whale in manuscripts including *Le Livre de trois ages* (BnF, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 70) and *Le naufrage de la Pucelle* (BnF, Ms. fr. 14980).

The role of the judge is the focus of two essays: Barbara Denis-Morel examines text and illustration in legal and other manuscripts, dating from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth. She finds that while writers were well aware of judges' potential for corruption, illustrations of this figure were invariably idealised, suggesting an inherent respect for the judicial office and function. Likewise, in their study of devotional works such as *La Légende dorée* and the *Speculum historiale*, Maïté Billore and Esther Dehoux reveal that in most depictions of saints' torture and martyrdom, the presiding judge is not depicted pejoratively, unlike the actual assailants, who are often shown as ugly and contorted by evil.

Other contributors examine women in the context of power and judgement. In her chapter on Claude of France, Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier argues against the common view of her as a mere pawn in the political turmoil of the early sixteenth century. Instead, she shows that before her untimely death, Claude's empowered private and public identities were preparing her to assume a position of authority. Yasmina Foehr-Janssens examines how in legal judgements involving adultery in romance texts, the queen's eroticised body and physical beauty operated as a replacement for her autonomous, spoken voice. Cynthia J. Brown also explores issues of gender in her discussion of three debate texts, wherein female personifications are associated with psychological instability and male personifications with power.

Mention should be made of the only printed book discussed in the volume. Mary Beth Winn examines Robert Gobin's moral treatise *Loups ravissons*, published by Anthoine Vêrard around 1505, which was illustrated with a series of remarkable, expressive woodcuts of the Dance of Death.

The interdisciplinary nature of the volume encourages consideration of the manuscripts and books from different perspectives – historical, art

historical, political, and legal – an opportunity not necessarily afforded by single-discipline studies. However, the non-art historians among the contributors are not always adept in discussing the visual aspects of the manuscripts, some tending to interpret illustrations too literally and without regard for stylistic differences, pictorial convention, or artistic practice. The book is well illustrated, although several reproductions are of poor quality, and captions 1.12 and 1.13 have been switched.

All of the contributions are thoughtful and well argued, and the volume presents a range of texts and illustrations not usually considered together. Care has also been taken to make the volume accessible to many readers: a summary in French appears at the beginning of each chapter, and extracts or quotes in French are followed by English translations. The ambitious, overarching themes of power and justice could well have resulted in a disparate collection of miscellaneous essays; the editors are to be commended for a coherent, original collection that makes an original and substantial contribution to an under-considered field of study and will be of great interest to scholars from many disciplines.

HILARY MADDOCKS, *The University of Melbourne*

Burton, Janet, and Karen **Stöber**, eds, *Women in the Medieval Monastic World* (Medieval Monastic Studies, 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. x, 377; 30 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503553085.

This edited collection of essays is a welcome addition to recent research on female monasticism. It is the first volume of Brepols's new series, 'Medieval Monastic Studies', which complements the annual *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*.

Women in the Medieval Monastic World offers the reader a broad range of case studies that address various thematic, chronological, and architectural aspects of female monasticism in the medieval period. The religious landscape of medieval Europe showed great vitality, and women were able to found, join, and lead – some with distinction – religious communities. They also influenced, and in turn were influenced by, the local communities in which they lived their lives. The contributions examine these aspects of female monasticism across a wide geographical range, including Spain and Catalonia, northern Italy, northern Gaul, England, Wales, Venice, Denmark, Sweden, the Low Countries, Transylvania, Ireland, and the medieval German kingdom.

As the editors, Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, note in their Introduction, in his influential work on monastic and religious orders, written over sixty years ago, David Knowles found little to say about the lives of the female religious in nunneries, except that they were 'intellectually inferior and

materially decadent' (p. 1). Indeed, there was nothing unique about female monasticism; male religious always occupied higher positions, and nuns only ever played minor roles in monastic scholarship. This collection systematically dismantles this perspective, along with the belief that few nunneries left adequate documentary or material sources for historical analysis.

About a third of the chapters focus their analyses on contemporary material culture, specifically examining the archaeology and architecture of nunneries, with fascinating results. Matthias Untermann's study of the positioning of choirs within German convent churches, for example, sheds light on the use of sacred space within these churches. In his sample of convent churches, Untermann found no fewer than seven different positions. Most conventual choirs took up their positions in the galleried western ends of their churches, but a significant number were positioned in transepts, or in their churches' eastern ends, traditionally the location of monks' and canons' choirs.

In her contribution, Tracy Collins initiates a new interpretation of Irish nunneries, which were richly distributed throughout Ireland and totalled 114 by 1540. Collins argues that the archaeology of female monasticism in Ireland has been greatly understudied and her examination of St Catherine's, County Limerick is intended to go some way towards redressing this situation. Her analysis indicates that the building was enlarged in the fifteenth century and that ship graffiti incised near the western end may well signify the position of an altar. This resonates with other nunneries in England and on the Continent, where the western end was often considered to be the nuns' space.

Anne Müller's chapter on claustral space reiterates a theme that runs through the whole volume: female monastic space was different from male monastic space, having divergent and completely different functions. In particular, Müller argues that female claustral space, as a form of 'active enclosure' where nuns were prohibited from leaving, was often physically separate from the male-dominated church. In male monasteries, cloisters were attached to the church and intimately connected with how the monastery functioned. The close proximity of male authority to nunneries affected not only how female communities functioned, but also impacted upon the physical space in which the nuns lived their lives. Janet Burton further examines male authority in her chapter on Cistercian nunneries in Yorkshire.

Yorkshire is also the setting for Michael Carter's analysis of the patronage of Swine Priory. His examination of documentary evidence, such as wills and suppression documents, along with the architectural evidence of rood and parclose screens, confirms the findings of other studies of late medieval patronage of monasteries that late medieval nunneries and monasteries were actively supported by patrons.

The final important chapter describes the *Female Monasticism's Database (FemMoData)*, which aims to gather information about all of the female religious houses founded in Europe between c. 400 and c. 1550. Launched in 2002 by Hedwig Röckelein of the University of Göttingen, it is anticipated that there will be future integration with image databases and enhancement of existing map-making data.

This collection makes a significant contribution to the literature on female monasticism in Europe and sets a compelling agenda for further research.

JUDY BAILEY, *The University of Adelaide*

Clement, Jennifer, *Reading Humility in Early Modern England*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. xi, 153; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472453778.

Jennifer Clement has produced a compelling and well-written case for humility as an important and underappreciated virtue in early modern England. In contrast to studies focused on transgression that read humility as necessarily a cowering emotion, Clement argues for humility as a productive means of compliance, that enables greater knowledge of self and God, and particular forms of agency. She discusses humility in the individual's relationship to God, first and foremost, but also to other people (of superior, equal, or lower status), to the self, and to the natural world, distinguishing between religious and social humility while also conveying how they intersected. Her focus is spiritual rather than bodily humiliation in texts published between 1547 and 1684, and she argues that although humility was employed for a variety of purposes, views on it 'remain fairly consistent' (p. 17) throughout the period she examines. She engages with predominantly Protestant texts, but considers ways in which Protestant notions of humiliation drew on Catholic ideas, and how it appeared in translation, for example, through Katherine Parr's conversion narrative (where conversion was itself framed as a humbling experience).

Chapter 1 outlines how humility and pride were defined in relation to one another, with humility understood as 'a virtue that regulates self-love rather than abolishing it' (p. 31). As such, it was as important for elites in dealing with their social inferiors as it was for those supposed to be humbled by their superiors. As all were humbled in the face of God, it also provided an additional positive function in alleviating any abjection that might arise from the temptation to compare oneself unfavourably with anyone but God. In this and the second chapter, hypocrisy and false humility are also key concerns, thus engaging with the ongoing problem of how outward show and interior experiences were reconciled in early modern society. Clement's close reading of false humility and hypocrisy in *Eastward Ho!* finds humility

achieved through humiliation received more positively than we might tend to read it today.

Chapter 3 (which this reviewer found the most interesting) considers the way in which John Donne stages the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* as a repetitive, ‘ongoing experience of humiliation’ (p. 67). Here, ‘humility is ... not about abjection but about correctly understanding one’s place in relation to God’ (p. 71), with continuing humiliation (often achieved through bodily pain) necessary for compelling constant consideration of the individual’s relation to God. This allows each individual to ‘participate in the process of salvation’ (p. 59). Humility in the face of God counters not only excessive pride but also despair, since the latter is ‘a sin that casts doubt on God’s grace and ability to forgive’ (p. 71). Humiliation is also read in relation to Christ’s sacrifice through a shameful death: it enables His death to be reparative for the humiliated or persecuted; a useful corollary to its more widely considered role within shaming punishments.

Chapter 4 examines how two queens, Katherine Parr and Elizabeth I, utilised humility in their published religious writings. Clement argues ‘that both writers articulate a deep and humble sense that their status is a gift from God, not derived from their own merits, in order to support their claims to authority and agency’ (p. 80). They were thus able to perform a humble relation to God, allowing for their femininity, yet reminding the queens’ subjects that they occupy the same humble position in regard to Him, and to the queen through divine right.

Finally, Clement considers Thomas Tryon’s significantly later writing on stewardship and humility in humanity’s relationship to non-human animals. Querying human dominion over animals, Tryon argued that farming and related occupations should be pursued with greater humility toward all of God’s creation, and God, and mindful of the fact that man was only granted dominion over the Earth after his own humiliating fall.

EMILY COCK, *The University of Winchester*

Cox, Elizabeth, Liz Herbert **McAvoy**, and Roberta **Magnani**, eds, *Reconsidering Gender, Time and Memory in Medieval Culture* (Gender in the Middle Ages), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2015; hardback; pp. 203; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781843844037.

According to editors, Elizabeth Cox, Liz Herbert McAvoy, and Roberta Magnani, our traditional way of understanding the historical past is sexed and gendered. The dominant conception of time, they suggest, is male; overwhelmingly linear in contrast to ‘female’ time that is influenced by lifecycles and daily rhythms that have ‘traditionally differed from those of men’. Consequently, women can have ‘no place in the notion of the universal’.

(p. 3). Nevertheless, as Carolyn Dinshaw has argued, the Middle Ages was a time of 'the multiple and the queer', which unsettled 'temporal and spatial stereotypes' and revealed the 'disruptive presence of "a more heterogeneous" now that knows no temporal boundaries' (p. 4). Medieval time was organised into 'heterochronics' of multiple temporal rhythms and experiences, with contemporary sources frequently revealing a preoccupation with the unusual, the miraculous, and the dysfunctional, as well as 'the slippage between the expected and the unexpected' (p. 9). The essays in this collection 'remember' medieval time, configuring it as 'a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein' rather than a linear process 'that generates an "ever-accumulating" past' (p. 4).

Patricia Skinner's essay is among the collection's strongest. For women, Skinner argues, the expectation of a smooth progression from one life stage to another was disrupted by life events and by ritual obligations and vigils. She does not insist that medieval men all lived uncomplicated, linear existences – her gendered approach is 'sensitive to all forms of social oppression and exclusion' (p. 20) – only that women faced considerable repetition of life stages.

Victoria Turner's compelling contribution engages with the Old French *chante-fable*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, a tale of young, cross-cultural love, in which 'linear time is suspended' and the youthful protagonists 'live for the moment' (pp. 29–30), while also concerning themselves with the possibilities for their future. Aucassin and Nicolette experience a moment in queer time; driven as they are by the pleasure of the moment, their progress towards adulthood is arrested. Aucassin, in particular, 'fails to launch', and his parents object to his desire to marry his Saracen princess, Nicolette. The lovers embark upon a journey that enables them to live multiple experiences of time and, while they do not suddenly become adults by the end of the tale, they have reconciled pleasure and instant gratification with longevity, creating their own time and a potentially fulfilling and happy future for themselves in marriage.

Liz Herbert McAvoy's essay is highly theoretical and demanding, but nevertheless, compelling and ultimately very rewarding. She begins with an allusion to Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, which describes inexorable decay, the nature of the passing of time in an abandoned domestic space, and the way in which "'now" incorporates a lost past, a meaningless present and a hopeless future' (p. 96). From here, McAvoy moves to her essay's literary focal point, the anchoritic writings of Julian of Norwich and the Recluse of Winchester, to discuss the experiences of enclosed women. She engages with Luce Irigaray's work, exploring what happens when women push back against the role imposed upon them to support male conceptions of dominance in linear time and space. However, McAvoy's theoretical applications might have been stretched a little too far; it seemed, to this reviewer at least, that

some of the situations she analyses might be equally relevant to both males and females.

The other essays in the collection are sound contributions, with some stronger than others, and one or two that could perhaps have been developed further. Overall, this is a valuable, carefully curated, and thought-provoking volume, that reconsiders gender, time, and memory in medieval culture in innovative ways.

ZITA EVA ROHR, *The University of Sydney*

Dewald, Jonathan, *Status, Power, and Identity in Early Modern France: The Rohan Family, 1550–1715*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015; hardback; pp. 264; 13 illustrations, 2 maps; R.R.P. US\$74.95; ISBN 9780271066165.

The last fifty years of historical writing on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have seen the idea that the nobility declined in the period largely abandoned in favour of more nuanced investigations into how such power elites reshaped themselves. This led to contested historiographies advancing different theses depending on the definition of ‘aristocrat’ and the elements seen as critical to their position. The divisions remain, particularly between French and American scholars, and present discussions have turned away from biography to family-based studies.

Jonathan Dewald, who was one of the pioneering writers adopting a new approach to nobility, promoted them as an essentially homogenous social group and in examining the Rohan family in this detailed study maintains that position, largely ignoring the more complex approaches that argue for significant internal differences between nobles that are supported by scholars such as Charles Lipp, Matthew P. Romaniello, Liesbeth Geevers, and Mirella Marini. These scholars see the great houses as partially outside the national framework, neither fully sovereign princes, nor fully subject nobility, and often claiming a quasi-royal inheritance. Dewald, however, does not share their arguments and does not find the relationship of the great nobles to the state in need of great analysis, although even in the French court, the principal noble families like the Lorraines were distinguished by being termed *princes étrangers*, underlining the problem of including them within a single national framework. Members of such families might marry lesser royalty: Jacques de Savoie, Duke of Nemours, for example, was briefly considered as a possible husband for Elizabeth I; Marie de Guise became Queen of Scotland; and Henri de Rohan nearly had a Swedish princess as a wife.

In this book, Dewald examines at microscopic level, from the considerable surviving Rohan archives, the strategies used by that family to maintain their position, lineage, and reputation in a period of intense political competition

and frequent innovation. He analyses how they constantly reconstructed their status and identity in a period when social, political, and religious circumstances changed suddenly and without warning. His focus is on the process through which families, who did not necessarily spend much time together, functioned. In this, he is able to exploit the writings of various Rohans, particularly Henri de Rohan (1579–1638), in which their sense of self and the diversity of their values become apparent, as does the nature of their worldview.

The vital requirement was to impress the world with your capacity, to attract celebrity for your honour and glory, and to appear a model against which lesser individuals might measure themselves. This was an objective that Henri de Rohan achieved magnificently, his statue in the cathedral at Geneva and his armour in St Mark's Venice after his death showing the potential European scope of a military leader.

Dewald downplays the fact that until the mid-seventeenth century the Rohans were the leading Calvinist family, and also the role that religious antagonism played in the military activities in which Henri de Rohan and his brother were engaged. Although their Calvinism formally put them in opposition to the French crown, Henri was able to exploit his relationship with Henri IV to avoid being disadvantaged. He did not press his standing as equal to a king's, while still affecting to regard his status as far more than a duke's.

In the Rohan family, women also published their thoughts and wrote autobiographies. They were educated to understand philosophy and business on a similar footing to the men. Dewald treats the position of the Rohan women with considerable care, arguing that their behaviour was critical to the family reputation but that they had to be given considerable independence if they were to play their necessary part in managing the family fortunes. A woman like Marguerite de Bethune was trusted to play a negotiator's part in her husband's political schemes. Their ethical position in a strongly sexual world became a delicate balancing act. Surprisingly, they managed to keep their balance even when a scandal occurred. Henri's aunt, Françoise de Rohan, claimed that she and Nemours had exchanged marriage vows before she became pregnant and, although the law eventually found against her, she survived with substantial property to play a significant role in the religious wars of the late sixteenth century.

While Dewald does not provide a detailed analysis of the family resources, he does show their extent. His focus is more on the shift from a land-oriented power base to one in which family supporters were drawn from a diverse group of mainly those established in and around the capital. They were cultivated people, learned in all the latest humanist and scientific developments, able to

provide advice and expertise in a range of circumstances, driven by ambition, and supported by skill.

Overall, Dewald's research establishes a different angle on aristocratic family life in the period, although the absence of biographical and chronological detail may require readers to check the chronology of events elsewhere.

SYBIL M. JACK, *The University of Sydney*

Djordjevic, Igor, *King John (Mis)Remembered*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 216; 6 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472462046.

The mistaken memories alluded to in the title of this work concern the representation of King John in popular dramas produced four hundred years after his reign. What is apparent from Igor Djordjevic's careful and thought-provoking study, which will be of interest both to cultural historians and to literary specialists, is the extent to which John's reputation was transformed during the early modern period. Recent scholarship, while by no means trying to ignore John's many faults, has at least attempted to consider the monarch on his own merits by taking a highly cautious approach to the vitriolic assessments of his contemporaries (see, for example, my review of Paul Webster's *King John and Religion* (Boydell, 2015), *infra*). Furthermore, it is well known that much of the adulation given to Magna Carta, and by extension the animosity directed at John for opposing it, was a product of seventeenth-century conflicts between Parliament and the Stuart monarchs. Djordjevic's study has the great virtue of reminding us that during most of the Tudor period, John was far from being a figure of hatred and could even be held up (however inaccurately) as a sort of proto-nationalist, proto-Protestant hero, especially in his opposition to papal intervention in English affairs. It is in this guise that he appears in Holinshed and Foxe, among others, as the author demonstrates.

What changed? For Djordjevic the key factor was a group of plays, many associated with the Lord Admiral's Men, which drew upon a previously neglected source known as the *Dunmow Chronicle*. John Stow had quoted at length from this little-known medieval text in his 1580 *Chronicles of England* and from there its spurious version of John's career was taken up by Anthony Munday and Michael Drayton in their dramatic works. The Dunmow text had included salacious and unsubstantiated details about John's sexual misadventures, especially with the daughter of his baronial opponent Robert Fitzwalter. These crowd-pleasing stories transformed the positive view of John into one where he appears more frequently as an unbalanced tyrant driven by his lusts.

Yet Djordjevic does not argue for a simplistic transition from one image of John to another. The process developed over several decades, in his view,

and included a number of works in which the more benign interpretation of John once again temporarily prevailed. Thus, the author outlines a form of cultural dialogue, especially between rival theatre companies, which offered competing versions of the monarch and his reign, with Shakespeare's *King John* being the best-known earlier example.

The plays examined here also bear closely upon the Robin Hood tradition, a related and overlapping set of cultural references that gained increasing popularity in the Tudor period. Indeed, Djordjevic re-christens the group of texts sometimes known as 'Robin Hood plays', studied by Stephen Knight among others, as 'King John plays', suggesting that hitherto separate lines of scholarly enquiry need to be integrated in order to arrive at more satisfying interpretations of the material. Munday's works are central to the argument: *The Downfall of ...* and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, probably produced around 1598 and printed in 1601, nominally deal with a figure who is a version of Robin Hood but who, in the author's view, is 'probably the least interesting of all' the characters in the two plays (p. 78). Instead, they deal with a John whose lasciviousness becomes the *casus belli* for the baronial rebellion of 1215, led by a Fitzwalter now portrayed as a patriotic freedom fighter rather than an ungrateful traitor. The connection is strengthened by the fact that Fitzwalter's daughter Matilda, supposedly a victim of John's indiscretions, becomes a model for Robin's companion Maid Marian.

Close readings of these and other dramatic texts produced well into the seventeenth century form the core of the analysis throughout the book. The author is insistent that scholars should recognise the benefits of treating all of these John-related works as a 'topical cluster' and it is evident that new insights may be gained by means of this approach. While acknowledging the risk that he would have to 'tie [him]self into a theoretical pretzel' (p. 6) in order to make sense of the links between the various strands of literary and historical evidence on which he draws, Djordjevic succeeds in offering a convincing and interesting explanatory model, grounded in a thorough analysis of familiar and obscure texts alike, for shifting popular views of a notorious medieval monarch several centuries after his death.

LINDSAY DIGGELMANN, *The University of Auckland*

Downes, Stephanie, Andrew **Lynch**, and Katrina **O'Loughlin**, eds, *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* (Studies in the History of Emotions), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015; hardback; pp. 288; R.R.P. £63.00; ISBN 9781137374066.

Compiled after the successful "'In Form of War": Emotions and Warfare in Writing 1300–1820' conference, held at The University of Western Australia in June 2014, this collection offers a refreshing perspective on

the representation of emotional responses to war. Ranging chronologically from the early medieval period through to the early nineteenth century and utilising a wide range of primary source material and approaches, the contributions collectively develop the concepts of emotions in literature over a wide-ranging historical and geographical landscape.

One of the main strengths of this collection is the way each author has drawn out the appearance of emotional responses from within the literature, which is often rife with contradiction. In his essay on the poem 'The History of William Marshall', for example, Lindsay Diggelmann emphasises the emotional associations made to both war- and peace-time activities and their overlapping and contrasting emotional characteristics. Andrew Lynch and Stephanie Downes develop this further in their essays, which delve into the emotional responses to peace and incarceration. These are both considered opposites of active engagement in war, but they each have their own emotional associations with happiness and love. That these emotions are then often contradicted by longing and a need to engage in the politics of warfare is made clear by Lynch, in his examination of the Worcester poem *Brut*. Expanding upon the feelings of peace, for religious and political reasons, in the poem, Lynch also observes the conflicts that arise in association with the pre-existing emotions for seeking war and having military strength.

The wide range of emotional and circumstantial experiences war presents and the broad chronological span could have been problematic for the collection as a whole. However, it has been edited extremely effectively and with finesse, and overall themes have developed cohesively. The chronological arrangement of the essays also helps with this, as does the consistent cross-referencing of ideas and thematic approaches throughout. Among these are emotional representations in the literary tradition of courtly lyrics and the physical manifestations of emotions covered in Simon Meecham-Jones's essay on Chaucer, the interpretation of the emotion-driven behaviours of Troilus, in Downes's examination of Charles d'Orléans' poetry, and the bodily and philosophical conditioning found in early humanist war politics explored by Andrew Hiscock.

Emotional reactions to the warfare arena come through in most essays, but particularly in Joanna Bellis's exploration of medieval chronicles, and in Neil Ramsey's highlighting of the importance of witnessing, reality, and grief in war correspondence. The emotional complexities of remembrance and commemoration are referred to continually, using both contemporary and modern examples, and several contributors attempt to draw upon our emotional reflections on present wars, or those being commemorated at present, to connect the work to a wider relevance. Downes, for instance, uses the example of a prisoner of war memorial erected in Ballarat in 2004, while Diana G. Barnes's analysis of Andrew Marvell's representations of the English

Civil War is strengthened by the comparisons she draws with the post-First World War poetry of T. S. Eliot.

Contributors provide critical close readings of interesting source material. Each chapter usually focuses on a select work, generally poetry, letters, or specific authors. Impressive use has been made of this source material throughout, so that collectively the essays have drawn out a wide range of nuances, tropes, and emotional inflections. This reviewer found the habit of some of the contributors quoting large chunks of their source material and then expanding upon the quotations underneath something of an irritation, but this is of course a stylistic issue, that does not detract from the overall quality of the analysis.

Ultimately, this collection explores emotions and war, regardless of what emotions may be evoked or wars fought or not, in a successful and very focused study that makes a useful contribution to history of emotions studies.

HILARY JANE LOCKE, *The University of Adelaide*

Duxfield, Andrew, *Christopher Marlowe and the Failure to Unify* (Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama), Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 172; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472439512.

Andrew Duxfield analyses Christopher Marlowe's tragedies through the playwright's 'profound interest in the process of reduction and the ideal of unity' (p. 1). The introduction argues that Marlowe's plays are deliberately ambiguous. Duxfield also contends that the tragedies entertain the possibility of unity only to dismiss it.

Chapter 1 begins with *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Marlowe's interpretation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Duxfield highlights the passive nature of Marlowe's Aeneas through the play's title not bearing his name. Aeneas's heroic ineptitude is further replicated in the narcissistic juvenile gods Jupiter, Juno, and Venus. Duxfield then argues that Marlowe moves the play's focus from Virgil's Carthage to Elizabethan England. Attributing to Aeneas's great-grandson Brutus the civilising of England enabled Elizabethans to model themselves on the Romans. The focus on expansionism in Marlowe's play is 'a paradoxically reductive enterprise' (p. 33). Duxfield states that Aeneas's desire to build another Troy in Carthage indicates that to expand boundaries means obliterating difference; an incompatibility dramatised by the relationship between the weak-willed Aeneas and the stronger Queen Dido.

In Chapter 2, Duxfield argues that in *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II*, Tamburlaine's attempt to create a unified self are thwarted by his own complex character. The plays' insistence on a physical body being, rather than a unified whole, instead composed of parts brings attention to Tamburlaine's 'distorted simplification' of himself and the world he attempts to conquer (p. 47). Duxfield notes that Tamburlaine's complex self is reflected in his confused

religious beliefs: his earthly desire to conquer the world conflicts with his adherence to the will of the gods in which he both believes and disbelieves. Duxfield finds similar complexity when Tamburlaine murders his own son Calyphas. Rather than killing his son for the martial crime of cowardice, Duxfield argues that Tamburlaine is repressing his own effeminate character as a self-destructive act. A similar conflict occurs through Tamburlaine's love for Zenocrate: his attempt to combine military prowess with the conquest of Zenocrate through love ultimately leaves Tamburlaine powerless.

Chapter 3 begins with Duxfield cleverly arguing that the existence of two texts for *Doctor Faustus* signifies how the play resists unification. Duxfield also finds resistance to a unified ideal in Doctor Faustus's desire for universal knowledge. The ambiguity the play dramatises is the clash with Christian morality of the classically derived philosophical understandings of the Renaissance. Even Faustus's academic education has taught him to challenge existing knowledge, so that the notion of a universal philosophy is constantly undermined by his own intellectual curiosity.

With Chapter 4, Duxfield tackles *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris* to investigate the plays' shared theme of an individualistic multitude. With *The Jew of Malta*, Duxfield notes that Barabas's Jewishness is exaggerated to make him totally despicable, although it is a criminality that unifies him with the equally Machiavellian Maltese community. Additionally, Barabas's self-awareness of being a social outcast is a Jewish commonplace unifying him with the knowing audience. There is also a suggestive unification of Muslim, Judaism, and Christianity. Barabas's role of outsider allows him to negotiate with the island's various cultures so that difference has little impact. Duxfield skilfully shows how greed and competitiveness in the play break down any notion of unity. Duxfield then argues that *The Massacre at Paris* portrays 'a morally complex world' (p. 107). France's religious multiplicity is challenged by individual political interests that undermine unity. Duxfield argues that the Catholics' slaughter of the Protestant Huguenots is mirrored by the suggestion of an equally bloody revenge. The similarities between the Protestants and Catholics reveal how unity is a fickle concept.

Chapter 5 examines *Edward II* as a melting pot of competing ideologies. Duxfield maintains that 'personal, political, sexual and social concerns converge' (p. 117) so that the notion of unity ends up constantly changing hands. Duxfield illustrates his argument by analysing the relationship between Edward and Gaveston. While critics tend to focus on their implied homosexual relationship, it is just one factor within a set of conflicting interests. Edward's favouritism for the socially lowly Gaveston upsets the barons who are of direct royal lineage. Homoerotic love is an acceptable vice compared to usurping established social hierarchy.

The Afterword reflects on how the desire to control or comprehend an ever-changing and diverse world is a constant theme in the plays. Duxfield concludes that even attempting to understand such diversity in Marlowe results in ambiguous critical readings.

Christopher Marlowe and the Failure to Unify represents an original, well-researched thesis investigating overlooked historical and critical sources. Undergraduates, academics, and interested readers will find in Duxfield's book invaluable and entertaining insights into Marlowe's plays.

FRANK SWANNACK, *University of Salford*

Fortier, Mark, *The Culture of Equity in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Britain and America*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 162; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472441867.

The present volume continues work begun with the author's *The Culture of Equity in Early Modern England* (Ashgate, 2006). In the earlier study, Mark Fortier considered that England's social upheavals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were related to a culture of equity. He gave a range of contemporary examples of equity: taken not just from the major philosophers, theorists, playwrights, and poets of the time, but also from the writings of women, Native Americans, and the Irish, as well as the radical writings of the 1640s and 1650s. In this new study, Fortier perceives that the culture of equity was not limited to the legal sphere but embedded in many aspects of early modern life, such as religion, politics, poetry, and revolution. While 'equity' has a singular meaning, it is also a collection of ideas, and Fortier maintains that it is a key element of Western culture and society, its meaning and significance evolving over time.

During the Restoration in England, notions of equity – as they appeared in political polemic and religious discourse – were bound up with the law and the justness of God's rules. Following the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s, equity became the vocabulary and rhetoric of the Royalist forces. The General Pardon, offered to George Monk by Charles II as part of the Restoration negotiations, was seen as a great liberation from tyranny. However, not all were convinced. Edward Burrough stated 'God's purpose is to try him, if he rules in righteousness and truth, in equity and justice, he may be blessed; but if otherwise he govern, and walk not in the reference to the Lord and spare his people: the God of heavens shall rebuke him, and deliver his people another way' (p. 30). Charles II's Pardon and equity extended neither to the regicides nor to dissenters and Burrough was imprisoned. Although there was a veneer of equity over the legal system and Parliament, its reach had limits.

Similar double standards were also evident in regard to equity and religion in this period. With the plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666, God's justice and equity became hot topics of discussion: some saw the ultimate

equity as the complete purging of wickedness from the earth, while others considered God's justice as righteous, reasonable, merciful, and full of equity. Toleration of the individual Christian conscience was an important element of Restoration Equity, the subject of Chapter 1. Toleration of the Quakers and their right to express their religious views was not only explicit in law; it was also implicit in the concept of *salus populi* (the safety of the people), the highest law and a key concept of contemporary equity and politics. People like the Quakers were peaceful, sober, and righteous and 'whatever is enacted against them cannot unite with the body of the rule' (p. 47).

The second of the two large chapters, 'Rights and Revolutions', considers common equity in the context of the revolutionary atmosphere of the eighteenth century. Fortier presents a comprehensive examination of many key writers, philosophers, and poets on justice and equity, for both America and Britain, from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Notions of equity in religion and legal justice in the British Revolution and the American War of Independence (1775–83) were strongly invoked by many writers of the period. By contrast, discussions of the slave trade were bereft of notions of justice and equity, providing an interesting parallel to the revolutionaries' zeal seen in the previous chapter. Attacks on the inequity of the slave trade did appear during the period, but were confined mostly to Britain and show considerable difference in their use of rhetoric, compared with those of the revolutionary discussions of equity. Fortier's discussion of equity and women shows a similar tendency: contemporary discussions of equity for women existed within the confines of the law and society restricted its fruition.

The epilogue outlines Judith Sargent Murray's work on the equality of the sexes and Thomas Gisborne's work against the slave trade. Both of these authors dealt with equity only indirectly so are not included in the main text. Nevertheless, both highlight the nuances of equity in the late eighteenth century.

The discussions, poems, and debates on equity during the long British and American eighteenth century demonstrate that equity was a major influence on the development of society at all levels. Fortier has produced an interesting and thought-provoking book that gives insights into concepts of equity that often diverge markedly from our own.

TESSA MORRISON, *The University of Newcastle, Australia*

Jackson, Ken, *Shakespeare & Abraham*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2015; paperback; pp. ix, 172; R.R.P. US\$27.00, £25.50; ISBN 9780268032715.

In *Shakespeare & Abraham*, Ken Jackson establishes the significance of the biblical figure of Abraham in a reading of Shakespeare's plays that draws on

and engages with modern philosophy, theology, and critical theory. In Genesis 22, Abraham is commanded by God to sacrifice his son: Abraham can either devote himself to his God or his son, but he cannot do both. For Jackson, the story of Abraham suggests that responding to the call of the wholly 'Other' (God) requires ignoring the call of one's own 'other' (i.e., other people). While Jackson cites Shakespeare's use of the Abrahamic 'Hineini' ('Here I am'), *Shakespeare & Abraham* is not a 'traditional study of literary borrowing or influence that primarily seeks to link Genesis 22 and Shakespeare via philological evidence' (p. 1). Rather, Jackson seeks to examine how the influence of Genesis 22 and its interpretive tradition is seen in 'the critical, conceptual framework that Shakespeare develops to think through ... the relationships between religion, sovereignty, law and justice' (p. 1). In other words, Jackson is interested in how Shakespeare uses Genesis 22 both 'to understand the world' (p. 2) and 'to think' (p. 9).

Shakespeare & Abraham is divided into seven sections, an Introduction, and six chapters. In Chapter 1, Jackson analyses the apparent model for Shakespeare's Abrahamic thinking: the Towneley (Wakefield) cycle plays that dramatise the Abraham and Isaac story. In Chapters 2 to 6, Jackson connects several of Shakespeare's early plays (*3 Henry VI*, *King John*, *Richard II*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Timon of Athens*) with various meditations on Abraham in primarily modern critical, religious, and philosophical thought, especially the work of philosophers Søren Kierkegaard, Emmanuel Levinas, and Jacques Derrida, critics Eric Auerbach and G. Wilson Knight, and religious scholars Geza Vermes, Bruce Chilton, and Jon Levenson.

For Jackson, *3 Henry VI* and *King John* re-contextualise 'weak sovereigns' in more positive Abrahamic terms. Henry's struggles are understood in terms of a 'commitment to a divine "Other" that compromises his responsibilities to this world' (p. 45). Henry's sacrifice of his son Edward, by disinheriting him, for what appears to be a 'social good' (p. 49) and a response to a 'call for peace and justice' (p. 50) is juxtaposed with Clifford's brutal murder of young Rutland simply for revenge. Clifford's savagery also draws parallels with *King John* where Hubert's attempted murder of young Arthur is cast by Shakespeare as an Abrahamic sacrifice that is 'never called for or demanded' (p. 61), and which comes close to casting the question of sovereign legitimacy and divine right as 'a matter of violence and force' (p. 58).

Jackson's analysis of *Richard II* investigates how Genesis 22 provides further background for the fundamental political theology that the play examines: the question surrounding divine right and sovereign legitimacy, and a divine 'Law beyond the law' (p. 63) that demands total commitment. *Richard II* is a play which begins and ends with scenes in which fathers are asked to sacrifice sons: John of Gaunt indirectly participates in the banishment of Henry Bolingbroke, and the Duke of York condemns his son, the Duke of

Aumerle, as a traitor. York stands out in stark contrast to both Richard II and Gaunt as an embodiment of 'devotion to the divine Law beyond the law that both Richard and Gaunt incorrectly assumed they possessed' (p. 74).

In the chapter on *Titus Andronicus*, Jackson contrasts the pre-Christian Titus with the pre-Muslim Aaron the Moor. Titus and Aaron differ in their willingness to sacrifice their children for the 'Other' (the Roman state being a stand-in for the divine). Jackson views Aaron's refusal of the command to kill his son not as compassion, but rather an instance of someone who has 'no desire for the absolute Other' (p. 89) and thus refuses to offer an Abrahamic gift of sacrifice.

The last two chapters of *Shakespeare & Abraham* focus on the characters of Shylock and Timon of Athens. Both Shylock and Timon strive for Derrida's 'impossible gift' (p. 117), one that allows an 'an economical relationship between the self and other in which neither has an advantage' (p. 111). The trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* places Shylock in the position of Abraham in Genesis 22, called to give death even though it will 'cost him everything' (p. 106). Jackson reads Timon's excessive generosity in the play's first half as driven by the same impulse as his misanthropy in the second: a desire for a pure gift without exchange, an Abrahamic sacrifice.

Shakespeare & Abraham is clearly written, and the short length makes for an easy read. The book features detailed notes and an index. *Shakespeare & Abraham* has much to offer for scholars interested in the work of Shakespeare, particularly those interested in both Shakespeare's religious perspective and how dramatic texts are capable of internalising and participating in the interpretative tradition of the Bible.

MARINA GERZIĆ, *The University of Western Australia*

Kerr, Heather, and Claire **Walker**, eds, *'Fama' and her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe* (Early European Research, 7), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. vii, 242; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. €75.00; ISBN 9782503541846.

Stories, gossip, and rumour knit networks of people together as well as create irrevocable fractures between them. The intimacy of rumour and gossip occurs within households, in chance remarks when meeting acquaintances in busy streets, or telling news to neighbours, but news was also spread further afield through literature, letters, and art works, formal intelligence for the elite. Editors Heather Kerr and Claire Walker explicitly state in their Introduction that this collection extends previous treatments of reputation, rumour, and gossip to the study of 'talk, whether spoken or written, in defining relationships and establishing authority' (p. 2).

One of the strengths of this volume is the first chapter by Walker, who gives a clearly articulated analytical overview of the scholarly treatment of *fama*, gossip, and rumour. She covers the slippery definitions of *fama* and its parts – gossip, rumour, reputation – in the early modern period and then goes on to investigate the general omnipresence of *fama* within early modern European ways of thinking. She particularly draws on explorations of gender and gossip, which argue gossip (talk) was a conduit that linked public and domestic spheres. Both Walker and many of the authors in the collection acknowledge the centrality of gender to the analysis of reputation and talk.

The essays are arranged broadly chronologically, which has the advantage of encouraging reading between different source groups. There are two articles that use literature as principal sources. Lucy Potter's article on 'fame' in the *Aeneid*, *Metamorphoses*, and Marlowe's *Tragedy of Dido*, shows how the motif of reputation in the depiction of Dido changed over time. The last article in the collection turns to a different register of literature by examining eighteenth-century plebeian poetry both for its use of images of talk, rumour, and reputation and also for the interplay between the poets and their patrons. Art historian, Lisa Mansfield, has contributed an interesting essay on the way that *fama* and portraiture collided in the Hans Holbein portrait of Anne of Cleves made for Henry VIII. Mansfield's analysis combines investigation of Anne's reputation with the rumours about her appearance during the marriage negotiations, and the visual rhetoric of the final portraits.

The high-stakes and febrile world of European royal courts are the settings for two essays. Una McLivenna's contribution analyses the political and religiously motivated interventions into the relationship between the Protestant French Prince of Condé and his mistress Isabelle de Limeuil. Reputations and gossip were essential ingredients in this potent mix that included an illicit pregnancy and allegations of poisoning, all handled adroitly by McLivenna. The machinations of another early modern court are the subject of Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent's article on the flight and conversion to Catholicism of Louise Hollandine von der Pfalz, daughter of the Bohemian royal family. Such a high-stakes conversion generated considerable talk and Broomhall and Van Gent analyse how the different Catholic and Protestant political groups used and managed these rumours.

Records of secular and ecclesiastical courts have long provided strong evidence of the importance of rumour and hearsay in medieval and early modern societies. Elizabeth Horodowich considers court cases for witchcraft in Renaissance Venice and the crucial role that public opinion, gossip, and rumour played in these legal proceedings.

Amanda Capern examines English court records of disputed wills, boundaries, and property for how witnesses, prosecutors, and defendants used speech and public opinion. Capern includes a detailed analysis of the

extended Danby family's dispute over a will and the division of property for the ways that reputations were built and lost over the use and abuse of family estates. Another extended family case study is presented by Katie Barclay who uses the letters of Dorothy Salisbury, a servant of the Duke of Hamilton in the early eighteenth century, who had had to leave the Duke's household when she became pregnant outside of marriage. While away, she wrote a series of letters to other servants and members of the household. This unusually full letter series allows Barclay to conduct a fascinating study into the ways that gossip reinforced the ties of intimacy within these large households.

This important volume sheds new light on the subject of reputation, talk, and public opinion in early modern European societies, and how contemporaries used them, and does so from a wide range of angles and disciplines. Each essay is supported by a bibliography that will be useful to students and scholars alike.

DIANNE HALL, *Victoria University, Melbourne*

Kilroy, Gerard, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 484; 4 colour, 22 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £80.00; ISBN 9781409401513.

No account of Edmund Campion's life could ever be simply biography. From the careful scholarship of A. O. Meyer, through the elegant prose of Evelyn Waugh and later works, consideration of Campion's role in the wider history of English Catholicism under Elizabeth cannot be avoided. The on-going academic disagreement between John Bossy, Christopher Haigh, and others about the nature of Catholic survival in England has inevitably involved judgement of the activities of the Jesuits and their ultimate objectives, individually, or as a community. Campion's position in such decisions was critical, regardless of whether he was an unwilling pawn or a committed conspirator.

In this thorough and careful study, Gerard Kilroy has attempted to disentangle Campion's own course from those of the other key English Jesuits, William Allen and Robert Persons, the different popes, and European politics. He provides a detailed and dispassionate analysis of the documentation, some of which has been known since Campion's death and some of which has only recently been discovered. Kilroy does not rely on a single copy of any material, but carefully compares the different surviving versions and their provenance.

The result is a life examined against the background of its time that illuminates the development of Campion's identity and his remarkable skills as (among other things) a Latinist, a poet, a play-writer, a debater, and above all a man whose sermons and speeches could persuade even those who disagreed with him. As the biography progresses, Kilroy convinces the

reader that whatever else he was, Campion was also that rare person, one who made friends.

Kilroy carefully details the stages through which a talented schoolboy, and later committed student, developed into a theologian of considerable power and authority who took seriously the difficulties of conscience that arose from wrestling with the nature of being. In passing, he casts light on the life of schools and universities thrown into turmoil by the shifts in religious authority and the problems of autonomy that teachers and students encountered.

The early chapters provide a context for Campion's significance. The account of his time in Prague for which new material in the form of student notebooks on his lectures has appeared casts an invaluable new light on his experience both as an academic and as an individual who was able, from the periphery of the imperial court, to understand the way the course of European history was developing.

The *persona* Kilroy shows us can only be the public one, the face that Campion showed the world, so that the weakest part of his argument relates to the reasons that led Campion to embrace Roman Catholicism and join the Jesuits. Once he had done so, and, knowing its full implications, also taken the oath of obedience unto death, he had relinquished his right to independent choice, the result of which is clear throughout the rest of his life.

Kilroy suggests that Campion's powers of persuasion achieved a modification in the purpose of the Jesuit missions to England, with the pope agreeing that despite the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, Catholics could recognise Elizabeth as their queen and obey most of the laws of the realm. He argues that Campion restricted himself to a purely pastoral mission and could therefore sincerely argue, as he did so effectively, even after being racked, in the public disputations the government held in the Tower. What becomes clear is the difficulty the government faced in its efforts to win the propaganda war. If they could turn Campion it would be a stunning victory. If they could present him as a poorly taught scholar, ignorant of the languages of the Bible, his arguments weak and illogical, it would serve their purpose.

Eventually, of course, he had to be brought to trial for treason, which, under existing English law, was a problematic charge. In such cases, the absence of a defending lawyer usually gave the prosecution the advantage but the evidence, as presented here by Kilroy, is that Campion showed surprising knowledge of the law; his defence that the issue was religion and not treason did not sway the jury or undercut the crown's position. A public execution was usually scripted to justify the rule of the kingdom but despite the Council's attempts to achieve this, Campion made no admissions. Instead, he preached on 1 Corinthians 49 – 'we are made a spectacle' – a brilliant and unsettling choice and a proud identification of his faith and assertion of his martyrdom.

Kilroy has sought in this biography to analyse how a sixteenth-century individual developed a belief about God and His relationship with humans, but the ultimate focus of Kilroy's attention is Campion's (and every other Catholic's) moral dilemma over how to reconcile secular and religious commitments within a state that offered no formal toleration of anything other than the religion by law established. Campion's legacy came in many forms. Kilroy, in a brief account of it, argues that he would have deplored the exploitation that Allen made of his sacrifice but the more interesting material relates to the print controversy that immediately spread across Europe and the ways in which Campion's ideas emerged in literature.

SYBIL M. JACK, *The University of Sydney*

Knapp, James A., ed., *Shakespeare and the Power of the Face*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 222; 5 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472415790.

In *Shakespeare and the Power of the Face*, James A. Knapp brings together a broad range of scholars who, through their exploration of the face, facial expressions, and facial reactions in the context of Shakespeare's plays, uncover new modes of early modern thinking. The book is divided into three parts: 'Powerful Faces' examines the face as a site of power in the plays; 'Signifying Faces' considers the face as a text which conveys meaning; and 'Staged Faces' addresses instances which urge complex attention to facial features and expression. In his Introduction, Knapp considers the gap between subjective descriptions of Shakespeare's varied, and often unsubstantiated portraits, and what might be gleaned from the physical appearances of such works and faces in the theatre. The contradictions – such as assuming character traits solely on 'reading' a portrait – underpin both the early modern preoccupation with faces and the essays in this volume.

Part I begins with Sibylle Baumbach outlining three reasons for the early modern fascination with faces: the response to interest in the physiognomic reading and understanding of the face; the duplicities that are uncovered during a reading of the face; and a growing awareness of using rhetoric surrounding the face as a tool for self-fashioning. Her essay provides a compelling entry into early modern views on physiognomy. Farah Karim-Cooper opens her essay with the observation that 'the face was viewed as a legible map of the inner workings of the mind and heart. It contained and conveyed meaning' (p. 30). She argues that the female face became a site for both meditations on the nature of beauty and an active force in the production of desire. Loreen L. Giese reports diverse behaviour patterns in marital cruelty situations including physical assault and marital neglect, noting that many deponents in legal cases list when food and clothing was withheld from the wife. Facial expressions were also cited in a small number of cases as evidence of marital

cruelty. Examining legal records allows Giese to reconsider Petruchio's 'training strategy' of Katherine in terms of his superior position but also from his facial expressions.

From the power of the face to decoding meanings of the face, Part II begins with Sean Lawrence's proposal that *Othello's* characters respond to two distinct powers. Firstly, the face elicits interpretation as a sign or symbol preoccupying characters for most of the play and secondly, the face has the power to forbid murder. He concludes that faces, like other signs in the play, are unstable and defy reliable reading. In his discussion of *King Lear*, David B. Goldstein suggests that concern with faces is inextricably linked with aspects of hospitality and ethical meaning. The characters are unable to 'read' the faces which leads to lacunae of ethical responsibility. Vanessa Correda argues in *Lust's Dominion* that the Spaniards construct blackness as a bodily feature. She suggests two competing models for considering race using facial complexion: the widely accepted mutable and fluid understanding of race alongside the emerging proto-racial and proto-biological understanding of race as conceived by the Spanish. In this light, *Lust's Dominion* can be considered a transitional text.

In Part III, Catherine Loomis draws attention to the importance of actors' faces. 'By using indirect stage directions to ensure that certain facial expressions were used in performance', Loomis argues, 'Shakespeare had an opportunity to control those false faces at least for a few hours' (p. 117) and thus enrich the emotional context for the audience. Continuing the theme of staged faces, Penelope Woods notes the significance of Elizabeth I's reaction and interaction with pageant performers, with the pageant itself being read in terms of Elizabeth's attentiveness. Woods argues that the face becomes indicative of the contemporary significance of visible audience response in the period where players and playgoers negotiated each other's facial expressions. Yolana Wassersug considers how the audience sees the kings' portraits in *Hamlet*. She advocates for miniatures in Elizabethan and Jacobean performances in line with similar moments in contemporary plays. The use of miniatures allowed the verbal description to be unhampered by a subjective image. Hilary M. Nunn and Aaron Hubbard discuss the difficulty of reading Coriolanus's face in light of the work of twentieth-century artist Francis Bacon, which was used by Ralph Fiennes and John Logan when conceptualising the play for their film adaptation.

Michael Neill's Afterword concludes the volume with the suggestion that ambivalence about the legibility of faces is unsurprising given the instability the face commands, an idea that neatly links many of the contributions. The various essays, led in strength by Baumbach, Lawrence, and Woods, are linked by attention to the face which opens up avenues of thought in early modern studies on emotions, theatrical expression, and theories of embodiment.

The collection, complemented by an extensive bibliography, is structured to appeal to both early modern scholars and students in many fields including theatre, literature, and cultural studies.

BRÍD PHILLIPS, *The University of Western Australia*

Kozodoy, Maud, *The Secret Faith of Maestre Honoratus: Profayt Duran and Jewish Identity in Late Medieval Iberia* (Middle Ages), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015; cloth; pp. 336; R.R.P. US\$59.95, £39.00; ISBN 9780812247480.

Maud Kozodoy's study of Profayt Duran reveals a compelling portrait of a late fourteenth-century Spanish physician, astronomer, and philosopher whose works were defined by his Jewish intellectual roots. Assuming the Christian name Honoratus de Bonafide after his forced conversion in 1391, Duran served as court physician and astronomer to King Joan I of Aragon: a public display of his professional talent in the most prestigious sciences of the time. Privately, though, Duran wrote under the Hebrew pseudonym Efad, producing a wide array of texts, primarily anti-Christian polemics, which were intended specifically for a Jewish or *converso* audience. Through a sophisticated exploration of his works, Kozodoy offers a concrete analysis of Duran's legacy and – most importantly – his philosophical position on the collapse of Iberian Jewry in the wake of unprecedented persecution.

Writing exclusively in Hebrew, Duran's works are a glimpse at the regular exchange of ideas within Spanish Jewish intellectual circles through the circulation of epistles and manuscripts. Any enthusiast of medieval philosophy, medicine, or mathematics will enjoy this aspect of Kozodoy's book, as the works of Duran are a profound synthesis of both Christian and Jewish approaches to science. Those interested in *conversos* will also enjoy it, since Duran's biography, explored in Part I, is in many ways typical of a Catalonian Jew; forced to adapt outwardly as a New Christian, Duran covertly nurtured a deep and evolving Jewish identity, as demonstrated by his scholarly works.

Steeped in the rationalist philosophical tradition of Maimonides, Duran used the virtue of reason to privilege science over other means by which to understand his world. Kozodoy shows Duran's intellectual approach in Part II through compelling case studies, including his adept use of geometry and astronomy to create *Heshev ha-Efad*, a superb lunar and solar Jewish calendar designed specifically for use by *conversos*. Duran's essay on the number seven as *mispar kolel*, a perfect number, is also fascinating; when Kozodoy compares it to Oresme's similar Christian treatise on the number three, it becomes clear how each thinker used arithmology to prove the verity of their religion through the evidence of numerical patterns in Creation. These works are

decidedly polemical, an attempt by Duran to show the accuracy and truth of Judaism over Christianity through mathematics and philosophy.

Duran's literary works share the same polemics displayed in his more scientific treatises. Kozodoy demonstrates this through her analyses of Duran's satire *Al tehi ka-avotekha* ('Be Not Like Your Fathers') and the epistle *Kelimat ha-goyim* ('The Disgrace of the Gentiles'), which both critique Christian theology as irrational and philosophically erroneous. Duran refutes Christian themes including the Trinity, the Virgin Birth, and the divinity of Jesus through informed and cautious study and articulate rebuttal. As Kozodoy notes, there is evidence that Duran learned Latin and used it in his study of the Gospels, showing his mastery of Christian doctrine from within the tradition. It is difficult not to be impressed by Duran's ability to navigate both Jewish and Christian society, religion, science, and philosophy; a survival skill acquired, most unfortunately, against his will as a forced convert.

Part III covers the last surviving texts of Duran, which are, according to Kozodoy, the most important and most evolved. In both *Eulogy for Abraham ha-Levi of Girona* and *Ma'aseh Efod* ('The Works of Efod'), Duran establishes the central importance of *kavanah*, or spiritual intention, given the woeful inability of most *conversos* to participate in Jewish rituals or observance. This preference for 'wisdom' over 'deed' (p. 163) and the spirit over the body privileged Torah study over ritual performance, giving *conversos* practical instructions to keep hope for a future where they might be able freely to return to Judaism.

Kozodoy notes Duran's characterisation by seventeenth-century Rabbi Joseph Delmedigo as the son 'who does not ask' (p. 51) alluding to one of the four personality types described in the Passover Haggadah. This is a compliment by Delmedigo and testament to Duran's ability to simplify, clarify, and make rational the complexities of Maimonidean thought for his contemporaries. Analogously, Kozodoy writes in the spirit of Duran; she is able to develop a coherent and interesting presentation of a complex man with a diverse array of intellectual pursuits. By simplifying the philosophical and religious thoughts of Profayt Duran, Kozodoy gives the reader an enhanced understanding of the works of an influential medieval Iberian *converso*.

REBECCA LOBEL, *Monash University*

Lapina, Elizabeth, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015; hardback; pp. x, 212; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. US\$74.95; ISBN 9780271066707.

Elizabeth Lapina's monograph offers an original and engaging exploration of the chronicles of the First Crusade, a group of ever-intriguing sources

which has recently enjoyed the attention of a new generation of crusades scholars. As Lapina eloquently expresses, ‘the chronicles of the First Crusade are not just narratives but attempts, disguised as narratives, to prove that this campaign was different from any that had taken place in the past and to understand what this new development meant for the future’ (p. 151). The chronicles are thus explored in the contexts of genre, imagery, and the communication of both confidence and anxiety in the wake of that somewhat unexpected victory at Jerusalem in 1099. The four main participant chronicles – the *Gesta francorum*, the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguiliers’s chronicle, and the eyewitness account of Fulcher of Chartres – form the backbone of the book. The re-workings, redactions, and appropriations of these works tell a textual tale almost confounding in its complexity, yet Lapina navigates the sources with care and clarity. Indeed, the short section describing the sources in the introduction to the book is a beautifully concise presentation of these difficult texts.

Chief among the textual devices employed within the chronicles to describe and understand the crusade was the miracle, and this is the focus of the book. The six chapters begin with a nuanced study of eyewitnesses of miracles, and especially eyewitnesses to the discovery of the holy lance at Antioch in 1098. Lapina shows that ‘a vocal minority’ (p. 18) disputed the legitimacy of this relic object and as with the miraculous appearance of celestial troops at the battle of Antioch, the eyewitness was not automatically accorded credibility, especially by second-generation chroniclers, who increasingly asserted their own interpretive sophistication over the telling of events. The second chapter examines more closely the supernatural interventions in the battle of Antioch by considering the longer history of similar occurrences, particularly in Graeco-Roman, early Christian, and Byzantine narratives. Lapina finds that the First Crusade chronicles drew on and reworked these earlier traditions.

In the third chapter, the mechanics of this borrowing is analysed. It was Byzantine saints who were reported to have appeared at Antioch and Lapina deftly explains how this cohort of warrior saints became integrated into the western crusade imaginary via the Normans. The appropriation of what Lapina describes as a Byzantine ‘sophisticated vocabulary of power’ (p. 74) took place as the Normans transformed themselves from, as Lapina argues in Chapter 4, the ‘scourge of God’ to the ‘Chosen People’, and was one element in the gradual sacralisation of warfare more generally. In the fifth chapter, the figure of Judas Maccabeus is analysed. As crusades scholars have long noted, the story of the Maccabees provided many medieval commentators with a biblical parallel for their efforts in the Holy Land and Lapina adds to this literature with a careful and articulate reading of how Christian writers were able to integrate Old Testament, Jewish imagery into their texts. The final

chapter returns to specific miracles, this time celestial phenomena, such as fire in the sky. Here, Lapina is interested in the spatial and spiritual meanings of 'east' and 'west', showing that the First Crusade led to a transformation in understandings of these categories: 'chroniclers suspected that this spread of Christianity from west to east was to bring about the end of time, which the spread of Christianity from east to west a thousand years earlier had failed to do' (p. 141).

This is an excellent and rigorous study of what many would see as a niche group of texts. As Lapina has shown, however, these texts were nothing less than medieval efforts to understand the meaning of the crusade. As such, they connected with much more than the events they purported to describe. Rather, those who wrote about the First Crusade simultaneously reached back to older histories of sacrality and conflict, and stretched their vision forward into the eternal eschatology of Christ's promise.

MEGAN CASSIDY-WELCH, *Monash University*

Lemmings, David, *Law and Government in England during the Long Eighteenth Century: From Consent to Command* (Studies in Modern History), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, [2011] 2015; paperback; pp. x, 269; R.R.P. £19.99; ISBN 9781137506955.

This is an enlightening and detailed study, ambitious in its scope and depth. David Lemmings has produced an excellent body of research on law and governance in the eighteenth century and his vast knowledge is reflected in this book. The main theme of the book is that throughout the 'long' eighteenth century – beginning with the new Parliament after the Glorious Revolution and ending with the demise of the Hanoverian era – there was reduced public participation in the law. Lemmings's prime focus is on the changing of human conditions rather than on legal history and substantive law. This change is highlighted by the decline of popular participation, the increase in professional administration, and the direct application of legislation.

After the Glorious Revolution, there was a need for the consent of the people; however, throughout the eighteenth century there was a greater desire by the judiciary and the government to command them instead. The Quarter Sessions were the place for trials by jury, but they increasingly became a venue for elite causes and the rule of law evolved into an administrative process. More frequently across the century, crimes were judged by justices of the peace, rather than facing trials by jury, so that judgements were often made purely on the justice's personal interpretation of the evidence.

Not only was there less participation in the law through the consensus of trials by jury, there were also fewer people resorting to the law for settlement. Lemmings demonstrates that there was a decline in private litigation in this

period, which he attributes to rising court costs and the judiciary's lack of interest in dealing with issues of the common people. There is evidence that marginal groups in English society were losing power and judicial support. As a result of the loss of a broad national clientele for the law courts, there was a reduction in the range of civic voices being heard, that in turn reduced litigation to a form of government discourse, which was a conversation dominated by members of elite groups. In short, the court system became a tool of the elite, resulting in the further marginalisation of other sectors of society.

In the contemporary media, there were also changes in the perception and discussion of social problems. Outraged newspaper reports suggested there was an increase in degenerative behaviours among the working classes. Popular reports and commentaries of alleged crime waves demonstrated the criminality and the moral failings of the working classes. There were calls by the middling classes for punitive measures to be implemented against criminal behaviour, leading eventually to the establishment of a professional police force and a new criminal justice system as administrative tools for the purpose of command. Parliament made laws that supported the elites of society who regarded popular participation and agency in government with distaste.

Lemmings gives many interesting examples to illustrate his arguments, but at times the conditions of social change are not considered in enough detail. For example, although the legal side of enclosure that affected small property holders being compelled to submit to the interests of larger landowners is considered, the urbanisation that resulted from enclosures is not taken into account. Enclosures and the urbanisation were certainly important contributors to England's human problems during the eighteenth century.

The book's major premise of the transformation of the eighteenth-century legal system from consent to command is well supported and coherently argued. Lemmings draws on a large range of primary sources: legal records, statutes, and legal commentary, as well as newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, novels, poetry, and images. It is perhaps regrettable that none of the pamphlet illustrations depicting the unruly and criminally intentioned masses or any of the other contemporary images that were so influential in this context have been included. Nonetheless, this book reveals a fascinating aspect of eighteenth-century society and its governance, and will appeal broadly to anybody with an interest in early modern English history.

TESSA MORRISON, *The University of Newcastle, Australia*

Lincoln, Margarete, *British Pirates and Society, 1680–1730*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2014; hardback; pp. 286; 8 colour, 14 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £70.00; ISBN 9781472429933.

In her recent monograph, Margarete Lincoln analyses representations of, and public attitudes towards, pirates in the British Isles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Using a variety of contemporary sources, including, manuscripts, books, newspapers, and periodicals, Lincoln sheds light on popular ideas about pirates within metropolis and ‘polite society’, the role of piracy in early commerce, and contemporary perceptions of their family lives, and the pirate lifestyle, in general. Lincoln arranges her material to reveal the views of certain social and geographical groups, and is thus able to track social developments and changes in representations of piracy, reasons for piracy, pirate stereotypes, and changes in public attitudes towards pirates.

The first chapter focuses on arrests, trials, and executions of pirates that took place in London and includes an interesting discussion of the public broadcasting of pirate trials via newspapers and pamphlets. City authorities took a strong stance against piracy, and Lincoln observes that ‘key locations in the metropolis [such as law courts and executions places] were forceful reminders of the typical trajectory at the end of a pirate career’ (p. 46). The second chapter explores legal matters in more depth with a discussion on the development of specific laws relating to piracy at sea.

In the next two chapters, Lincoln shifts focus to the economic and social spheres and evaluates merchant, middle, and upper class representations of pirates. She concludes that the ‘polite society’ of the aristocracy and landed elite were equivocal ‘with regard to individual swashbucklers’ (p. 119), with some individual pirates well received among the higher echelons of society and even able to reach a high social status themselves.

Lincoln’s examination of piracy and legitimate commerce in the third chapter exposes the blurred line between illegal and legal trade that accounts for the wide range of popular representations: pirates were portrayed in some texts as loyal and brave men who protected their economic interests against hardship and aggression; in others, they were simply thieves.

The most compelling chapter focuses on pirates and family life. Lincoln uses sources such as popular songs, images, and romance literature to unpack the domestic and romantic lives of pirates. In contrast to the stereotypical image of the pirate as a young, single male, Lincoln argues that ‘pirate liaisons were used to explore male and female perspectives on the married state’ and in fact ‘many pirates had quite ordinary domestic ties’ (p. 212).

Lincoln makes good use of illustrations throughout the book, including street maps and popular depictions of pirates. Particularly striking is the image that appears in the first chapter of a pirate being prepared for

execution. He is surrounded by a small group of well-dressed gentlemen and in the background a large ship can be seen docked near the execution site. The scene clearly supports Lincoln's statement regarding the visual way that the ramifications of piracy were made clear within the metropolis.

The book concludes with a discussion of the legacy of pirates and how their representations continue to be influential today: according to Lincoln, no other group has been popularised in the media to the same extent. Lincoln has been able to uncover a wide array of representations and the result is a fascinating and thought-provoking book.

REBECCA LUSH, *The University of Sydney*

Marchant, Alicia, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles*, Woodbridge, York Medieval Press, 2014; hardback; pp. xii, 278; 6 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781903153550.

This book employs the Welsh revolt of the early fifteenth century as a prism through which to examine the nature and evolution of English chronicle sources over a 180-year period. Based on a doctoral thesis completed at The University of Western Australia – the author, Alicia Marchant, is presently a Research Associate in History based in Tasmania – the book's aim is not 'to extend empirical knowledge of the revolt', but to 'contribute to a better understanding of the narrative sophistication of which medieval chronicles were capable' (p. 9). The focus of the study is sixteen chronicles written, in Latin and English, from an English perspective. Or in the case of Adam Usk's chronicle, written for consumption by an English audience. Six of the chronicles considered date from the period of the revolt itself; ten were written in the subsequent decades, with the latest being the work of Holinshed first published in 1577. The result of Marchant's close reading is a reflective and thoughtful analysis that reminds us of the value of taking a fresh approach to well-known sources.

Marchant begins with a considered Introduction that demonstrates a sound understanding of the historiography connected with Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion. While the book might have taken greater account of both older and more recent continental scholarship on chronicles, the author's clear appreciation of the complexity of her source material is reinforced by an appendix that offers revised editions and new translations of the relevant passages in seven of the Latin sources under consideration. The main body of the book is broken down into two parts, each of which is divided into three chapters. The first part, 'Narrative Strategies and Literary Traditions', explores the presentation of the Welsh revolt across a range of chronicles to illustrate differing approaches to constructing narrative, and the ways in which chroniclers employed time and space. This is a salient and important reminder that 'medieval chroniclers were in many cases capable of considerable

sophistication in their construction of narrative' (p. 213). In the second part, 'Imagining the Rebellion', the book turns to focus on the ways in which the selected sources present individuals (notably Henry IV), the Welsh, and Wales itself in their accounts.

The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr contains genuine and useful insights, nowhere more so than in its exploration of the way in which the presentation of the revolt evolved over time and the factors that shaped those changes. The various ways in which the chroniclers addressed the marriage of Owain's daughter is one striking instance. Another is Marchant's fascinating illustration of the way in which Shakespeare was responsible for unambiguously establishing the idea that Owain's birth was marked by signs and portents. While this connection lingers on in modern readings of the sources, Marchant argues that Holinshed and his predecessors may in fact have meant this passage to apply to Edmund Mortimer rather than Owain Glyndŵr.

Some readers may conclude that Marchant occasionally 'over-reads' the sources. For my own part, I found her argument that an account of the mutilation of English soldiers was intended to function as a political metaphor to be ultimately unconvincing. On the other hand, Chapter 6 is particularly notable for its nuanced discussion of the way in which the presentation of Wales developed over the course of two centuries in response to political changes. Against a backdrop of a landscape that was depicted as 'strange and alien' throughout this period and in which '[t]he English not only battle the rebels, but the landscapes of Wales' (pp. 187, 196), Marchant provides plausible explanations for seemingly insignificant details: the incorporation of Pembroke castle is explained in relation to the rise of the Tudor dynasty, while the disappearance of the abbey of Strata Florida is linked to the Dissolution of the monasteries. Similarly, Marchant convincingly links mention of Wales's swamps and marshes, features absent from pre-sixteenth-century accounts of the revolt, to a revived interest in Gerald of Wales under the Tudors.

York Medieval Press has produced a handsome volume, and the book contains very few typos. The majority are missing page numbers from cross-references (p. 70, n. 23; p. 198, n. 89; p. 227, n. 4). One criticism might be directed at the editorial decision to include quite so many of these cross-references in the first place: they are more than a little distracting. There is also a great deal of repetition here: the same passages from the same sources appear multiple times. Marchant's editor might have worked slightly harder to assist her to reduce these instances and, in addition, might have helped to refine the occasionally stilted prose that lingers from the doctoral examination process. Nevertheless, none of this should overshadow the fact that this is an impressive, welcome, and stimulating contribution to the study of chronicle sources.

CHRIS JONES, *University of Canterbury*

Martin, Mathew R., *Tragedy and Trauma in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama), Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 202; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472431561.

Mathew R. Martin analyses Christopher Marlowe's tragedies as 'narratives of physical and psychological wounding and its consequences' (p. 1). In the Introduction, Martin reviews the early modern notion of tragedy and modern critical responses to the genre. His original thesis examines Marlowe's plays using 'Lacanian psychoanalysis and trauma theory' by focusing on mimesis (p. 6). Martin argues that in Marlowe's plays tragedy is not an external event inflicted on characters; instead, it is internalised by the traumatised subjects through the mimetic effects of tragic events.

Chapter 1 analyses *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Marlowe's interpretation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Martin contends that Marlowe's Aeneas is more ambiguous than previous critics have recognised. Trapped by repetitive history and the demands of persistently immoral gods, Marlowe's Aeneas becomes a 'traumatized subject of faith' (p. 32). Martin then argues that Marlowe's version of Aeneas's attempt to leave Carthage is the play's most complex moment. It is only on the second attempt that Aeneas successfully departs the city through repeating the trauma of leaving Troy. Therefore, for Martin, *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is a play about historical narratives repeating trauma. The repetition of trauma throughout history is further expressed through Dido's suicide. Martin traces the tension between a defiant queen and a pitiful martyr to conclude that a triumphant history is only a fleeting moment within a greater narrative.

In Chapter 2, Martin examines the sadistic *Tamburlaine the Great, Part I*. Here, traumatic repetition demonstrates how identity is fundamentally split: it is the incompatibility of these parts that drives Tamburlaine's endless bloodlust. It is only through Zenocrate, Martin argues, that Tamburlaine's violence can be countered by motherly compassion. Therefore, through Lacan's notion of the anamorphic gaze, Martin states that Zenocrate mediates the spectator's traumatised gaze when faced with annihilation.

Chapter 3 continues Martin's analysis with *Tamburlaine the Great, Part II*. In Marlowe's sequel, Zenocrate's role changes so that the barbaric Tamburlaine can be civilised. Challenging the critical consensus that the play's opening battle is superfluous, Martin contends that it acknowledges a lost opportunity to end brutal conflict. As such, the traumatic mastery Tamburlaine displayed in *Part I* is replaced by a loss of control. Tamburlaine, however, as Martin concludes, still cannot be defeated by death. Rather, his death signifies the end of the world through the loss of a great military leader.

In Chapter 4, Martin examines the psychotic Barabas from *The Jew of Malta*. His psychosis stems from his refusal to enter the Lacanian symbolic order. His narcissism is equated with the wealth kept in his protective 'little

room': this womblike space ensures endless profit mirrors Barabas's refusal to be the stereotypical Jewish scapegoat. His killing spree transforms the victimised Jew into a masterful perpetrator.

With Chapter 5, Martin tackles how history denies pain in *Edward II*. He initially compares the humiliated and tortured king to Jesus Christ, whose suffering becomes an opportunity to flourish in eternal life. Martin argues, though, that Marlowe's play articulates the impossibility of using Christ's suffering to define history through pain and that Marlowe's allusions to Jesus indicate that suffering is misrecognised. At the end of the play, Edward's screams during his horrific murder further signify how pain resists meaning.

Chapter 6 defends *The Massacre at Paris* against the allegation that it is Marlowe's worst play. Instead, Martin finds in the 'textually corrupt, poetically impoverished' play traumatic realism (p. 126). Marlowe's play is not simply interested in replicating historical events, but its affective traumatic residue. More specifically, Martin argues that the play dramatises 'the relationship between trauma and witnessing as a form of engagement' (p. 129). By recording traumatic history, witnesses become part of the bloodshed. The play's fast movement from one location to another and inexorable barbarism replicates a breakdown of rationality. The audience relive the massacre as traumatised victims who can make no sense from the savagery.

The last chapter tackles *Doctor Faustus*, the play that Martin considers to be Marlowe's most effective traumatic narrative. Despite only a few instances of extreme physical violence, Martin argues that the play's protagonist internalises his trauma. Faustus's desire to enact the demonic fantasies that the contract on his soul enables, reveals a traumatic void. The play's satanic fantasy also traumatises the audience, which has come to the horrific realisation that God is not only silent but does not exist.

Martin offers challenging readings that rethink Marlowe's plays. His pervasive use of psychoanalysis should also renew the importance of this literary tool. *Tragedy and Trauma in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* will appeal to undergraduates and academics studying these disciplines.

FRANK SWANNACK, *University of Salford*

Miller, Tanya Stabler, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Middle Ages), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014; cloth; pp. 304; 8 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$55.00, £36.00; ISBN 9780812246070.

Tanya Stabler Miller's monograph examines the lived experience of lay religious women known as 'beguines' in Paris from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Beguines lived and worked outside formal monastic communities, following their own personal vows of chastity and poverty,

and combining spiritual contemplation with active engagement in the world. Such women led relatively autonomous and flexible lives and exemplified the new apostolic ideals of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe.

Miller notes that modern researchers have often focused on the foundation and composition of beguinages, and have created a picture of 'good' and 'bad' beguines, with the 'good' living in officially recognised communities with less freedom to move and more spiritual oversight, and the 'bad' risking heresy, like Marguerite Porete who was burned at the stake in 1310. Miller argues that beguine communities created and offered a unique, rather than 'second-best' space for women. Importantly, inheritance laws in Paris allowed unmarried women to keep independent control over property and beguines were not compelled to give up their property to the beguinage in which they lived. Thus, they could choose to invest in business (in Paris, mainly in the silk industry) or to employ other beguines, creating space for women of all socioeconomic groups. These varied activities allow Miller to trace Parisian beguines through tax, guild, and property records, as well as via more traditional Church sources.

Miller begins by looking at lay religiosity and the climate in which Louis IX founded his royal beguinage following his return from crusade in 1245, arguing that his own appreciation of the difficulty of living a spiritual life outside the cloister led him to identify with beguine spirituality. She then considers the composition and workings of this beguinage, contrasting its beguines' lives with those of beguines in unenclosed communities, including their occupations, social networks, and contributions to the silk industry. Later chapters consider the mutually beneficial relationships beguines formed with university clerics, with these women contributing fruitfully to spiritual debate and Parisian intellectual life. Nevertheless, there were strident critics who debated women's right to give religious instruction or even demonstrate a holy way of life, leading to Porete's heresy trial and Church council decrees which tried to limit beguines' lives. Finally, Miller examines the way in which French rulers used the royal beguinage to enhance their political authority.

Miller's book is creatively and painstakingly researched, and represents an important contribution to beguine historiography, while pointing to further research possibilities.

KATHLEEN TROUP, *The University of Melbourne*

Murphy, Jessica C., *Virtuous Necessity: Conduct Literature and the Making of the Virtuous Woman in Early Modern England*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2015; cloth; pp. 192; 6 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$60.00; ISBN 9780472119578.

Jessica C. Murphy sets out to challenge the scholarly presumption that early modern conduct literature provided women with a simple and 'rigid set of rules' for the passive maintenance of their virtue (p. 5). Through close analysis of a broad range of texts, from manuals to ballads, *Virtuous Necessity* complicates our understanding of the conduct advice genre between the early sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries.

The conduct advice literature of this period is shown to contain multiple and, at times, conflicting messages about the cultivation and performance of virtuous behaviour. In their negotiation of conduct advice, Murphy argues, women were increasingly required to think critically about and, by the end of the period, were even encouraged to take an active role in the construction of their virtue. But while Murphy goes so far as to suggest that there could be 'paradoxical power' (p. 11) for women who were successfully chaste and obedient, in that they were afforded a level of moral influence, her central thesis is not so radical. Murphy ultimately finds that this limited form of 'power' was derived from male authority and functioned largely to reinforce it: 'Early modern women were not taught to be unquestioningly obedient, but what they were taught may not be that much more heartening' (p. 52).

Virtuous Necessity is loosely structured around various types and themes of early modern conduct literature, within which Murphy discerns a shift from a strict, unviable model of feminine virtue in the sixteenth century towards a more flexible 'post-Reformation' model. Chapter 1 explores the earlier model through the virtue of chastity. At once pertaining to untouched virgins and faithful wives, chastity was figured by 'both a prohibition of and encouragement of sexual activity' (p. 15). Murphy shows how writers like Juan Luis Vives and Edmund Spenser struggled to capture the multivalence of chastity within singular, contradictory allegories, even while expecting readers to look on their texts as clear pictures of feminine virtue. Murphy concludes that the task of being chaste would not have been an easy one 'to live up to' (p. 33).

Chapter 2 frames the 'post-Reformation' model within seventeenth-century funeral sermons and conduct tracts. In these texts, male, Protestant writers lauded the confessional voices of 'godly' women as having a moral power to transform the virtue of others (p. 36). This authority to perform and transform virtue derived from 'godly' women's own obedience to their husbands and to God. Murphy distinguishes this as a later, 'reformative' model of feminine virtue where women themselves were invested with a

degree of 'influence' (p. 55), though the authorship and religious agenda of these texts remains problematic.

Chapter 3 uses the Shakespearean stage to illustrate effectively how these models were translated for early modern audiences. For the first, Murphy links Ophelia's madness in *Hamlet* directly with her inability to reconcile conflicting advice about her sexuality, suggesting that, by the turn of the seventeenth century, even Shakespeare was critical of the impossible standards presented to women in contemporary conduct literature. Indeed, Murphy theorises that the puzzling fate of Paulina in *A Winter's Tale* – rewarded despite her disobedience – is a reflection of the shift towards a more active, malleable model of feminine virtue. Although Paulina appears 'subversive', her actions are shown virtuously to serve a higher purpose, restoring the social order of the play, yet ultimately returning her to 'the control of a husband' (pp. 78–79).

Chapter 4 turns to a necessary examination of women writers of conduct advice literature and specifically how their texts figured 'the circulation of virtue' (p. 81). Interestingly, Murphy shows that women writers understood virtue as deriving more from nature than from instruction. Mother's manuals, for instance, posited virtue within the act of breastfeeding. These texts appear to extend Murphy's second model, with feminine virtue more actively within the hands of women, developed through reading and critical discussion with other women, rather than simply emulated or performed.

Chapter 5 departs somewhat from this line of argument to look at broadside ballads as a final and 'good measure of early modern culture generally' (p. 98). Privileging real life over lofty ideals, Murphy finds that this anecdotal form of conduct advice presented women with the widest range of virtuous and unvirtuous behaviours. Murphy shows how ballads explored the practical implications of breaches in female conduct and portrayed events like adultery as causes of not only marital, but also public discord, conversely demonstrating the very centrality of feminine virtue to early modern society.

Virtuous Necessity does not intend to be a definitive study of early modern conduct literature. What Murphy does provide, through her masterful and innovative reading of feminine virtue, is a fresh way of thinking about this genre. She also provides an important reminder that women's history does not adhere to simple narratives. This work will be of interest to scholars of early modern conduct literature, women's writing, and Shakespeare alike, as well as early modern historians more generally.

OLIVIA FORMBY, *The University of Queensland*

O'Brien, Bruce, and Barbara **Bombi**, eds, *'Textus Roffensis': Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 30), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. xiv, 419; 10 b/w illustrations, 1 map, 16 b/w tables; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503542331.

As Patrick Wormald observed in *The Making of English Law*, '*Textus Roffensis* has nearly always been the most famous early English legal manuscript' (p. 244). Compiled in the early 1120s, probably under the monk–bishop Ernulf, the twin volumes constitute the largest surviving compendium of Anglo-Saxon laws, along with accurate copies of charters from St Andrew's, Rochester. The single scribe was well trained in Anglo-Saxon language and history, and left a rich legacy, including the only surviving copy of probably the earliest writing in English, the Laws of Æthelberht of Kent. The collection was compiled to protect the monks and their endowments from outside interests, and to highlight the glorious past of their foundation. The continued prestige and practical function of the book is reflected in its title 'Textus' and its special place on or near the altar of the cathedral, rather than with other books in the monastic library.

The volume under review prints papers from a conference on *Textus Roffensis* (hereafter *TR*) hosted by the University of Kent in 2010, and, sadly, forms a memorial for two distinguished contributors who have since died: Nicholas Brooks and Lisi Oliver. Bruce O'Brien presents a succinct introduction setting out key issues surrounding the history, function, and content of the *TR*, and briefly outlines the content of each paper. The first four chapters deal with the book itself. Mary Richards extends her work on the books from Rochester and argues for *TR* as one example of the activity at this centre to preserve and update English materials while combining them with related Norman works. Nicholas Karn explores the likely function of *TR* as a public book employed in the rituals and ceremonies of the Kentish courts. Later in the volume, Tracey-Anne Cooper explores the Cattle-Theft Charm as an instance of a quasi-legal performance text, further reinforcing the book's public role. Thomas Gobbit extends analysis of *TR* in comparison with another key legal encyclopaedia: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383, from St Paul's in London. Stefan Jurasinski focuses on scribal emendations to laws concerning slavery and homicide in the same manuscript to show how laws were studied and misunderstood by readers in the twelfth century, and how well the work of the *TR* scribe stands in comparison with some of his contemporaries.

The first three of several papers that examine legal texts are devoted to the earliest law code of Æthelberht. Nicholas Brooks discusses 'Preservation, Content, and Composition', Carole Hough examines the language in the light of recent work on Kentish dialect, and Daniela Fruscione provides an analysis

of the *hapax legomenon* ‘drihtinbeag’ in the code. All three papers point to the code’s archaic nature, with roots in the oral laws of Kent, which Brooks even suggests might have been recorded in runes before Augustine’s arrival. Andrew Rabin discusses Wulfstan’s ‘Compilation on Status’, or the ‘*Gepyncðu* group’ of texts, arguing that the *TR* version is a later one in Wulfstan’s development of his ‘project to envision a holy society’ (p. 189). Julie Mumby writes on the textual crux ‘fæderan’ in the *Wergeld* tract. Lisi Oliver discusses the sources for Alfred’s Laws, arguing that the ‘Mosaic Prologue’ probably derived from a penitential text brought from Francia by Grimbald or his colleagues, and that the personal injury tariffs, with parallels in the Laws of Æthelberht and the problematic *Lex Frisionum*, reflect ‘long-standing common traditions of Anglo-Frisian legal culture’ (p. 251).

The section devoted to Charters in *TR* begins with Ben Snook’s analysis of a corpus of early charters. He argues that their stylistic affinities and their apparent sources reflect reforms introduced in the time of Theodore and Hadrian, including an archetypal charter model imposed on the whole English Church. David Pelteret discusses the religious elements in the *TR* charters, selecting a gift of land at Islingham to Eardwulf (in the 670s) for particular attention. The performative aspect of ecclesiastical ritual evident in this charter and in others was important for the Norman compilers of *TR* as a quasi-religious book with which to excommunicate those who sought to overturn grants of land.

In the last section of the book, ‘Contexts’, three papers appear. Simon Keynes discusses charters from the reigns of Edgar (959–75) to Æthelred (978–1016), which combine to form narratives of local history and English history more broadly. Keynes writes colourfully of a seeming ‘Kentish soap opera’ with ‘insatiable lust for land’ as one of its drivers. He moves from the tangled minutiae of the story to a broader narrative of land transfers occurring in the wake of the reaction against reformed monastic foundations following the death of Edgar, and the recovery of lands by the church of Rochester under an older and wiser Æthelred, shaken by Viking raids, and moved to rectify injustices and breaches of the divine sanctions of diplomas that had occurred earlier in his reign. Richard Sharpe focuses on the ‘Haddenham Narrative’ in *TR* (telling of Gandulf’s reconstruction of Rochester castle in order to secure the king’s gift) to show how the evidence of witness lists in the time of William Rufus and Henry I point to complex processes of negotiation. Sally Vaughn contextualises the *TR* compilation as a model of the tradition established by scholars and legal experts trained at Bec, researching the ancient customs and rights of their abbacies and defending them in court. Placed in this context, Vaughn argues, the prime mover of *TR* is more likely to have been Gandulf than his successor Ernulf.

This volume will not be the last word on such a complex and problematic collection as *TR*, but it is the most important contribution in some time,

and serves as a useful compendious introduction to the subject, as well as a stimulus for fresh debate. The editing and production is of a high standard, and the indexing is full and well organised.

GREG WAITE, *University of Otago*

Papaconstantinou, Arietta, with Neil **McLynn** and Daniel L. **Schwartz**, eds, *Conversion in Late Antiquity: Christianity, Islam, and Beyond*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. 436; R.R.P. £80.00; ISBN 9781409457381.

Conversion stories have recently become a source for some rabid Internet polemics, but this volume of well-nuanced articles provides solid evidence concerning what were in reality complex processes of identity change in late antiquity. The fifteen chapters are generally solid presentations of various aspects of conversion, and are thorough and well footnoted. All articles seem well edited, and there is a very substantial bibliography. As the title suggests, conversion is explored in relation to Christianity and Islam, but also to Judaism and Buddhism, and this breadth makes the work even stronger. Many parallels can be drawn, and several authors do indeed discuss the broader cultural trends and commonalities between religions with respect to identity change and conversion. The book is divided into five sections that focus on the principles of conversion, the practices, some symbols and institutions in conversion, and ambiguities in conversion processes, with a final section using Jerusalem as an exemplar of these themes.

Averil Cameron opens with a very good exploration of the political and social issues surrounding Christian and other conversions. She notes the religious ferment of the Middle East and the fact that clear-cut boundaries between faiths simply did not exist. Cameron also raises important questions about violence, exaggeration, status, and communication, and reminds us that even the notion of conversion itself needs clarification.

Polymnia Athanassiadi's contribution then neatly explores some of these points in greater detail, investigating especially the psychological issues of conversion as a fashion, as a new identity, and as an untidy process. This is a fascinating essay as it covers new ground, and it also explores the protocols of conversion, coercion versus free will, and apostasy. The example of a barely converted bishop is used to show that boundaries were frequently crossed but not always in the same way.

Antonello Palumbo and Samuel Lieu present important aspects of identity in religious conversion in the second section. Palumbo makes comparisons between the conversion of Chinese Emperor Wu and the late repentance of Constantine, and notes the many similarities between their contexts and processes of conversion. While Wu's identity shift to Buddhism ultimately failed, the author draws many parallels that call for further exploration: How

did religious diffusion work? What were the political implications of the ruler's conversion? Lieu focuses on the particular case of Manichaeism and its diffusion and persecution. The lack of any friends in high places significantly undermined this faith's growth in China, and Lieu's textual evidence opens the door to much more research on this understudied religion.

Several chapters highlight the ambiguities in conversion, and Elizabeth Fowden's article on the ambiguities faced by rural converters among the Arabs is possibly the best in the volume. She notes the role of monasteries as places for common ground between Christians and Muslims, and how they persisted as ecumenical spaces in Islam. She explores the thinness of conversion among Christian Arabs and discusses the role of holy men in conversion, including their exorcisms and healings. Some religious behaviour could accommodate both faiths and this created liminal spaces that are frequently glossed over. Fowden thus provides some tantalising clues for further interfaith relations research.

Konstantin Klein analyses Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* and the conversion of the Arab village of Elusa from Venus worship to Christianity. Klein sees the identification of Venus in this context as a typical Romanising of an Arab goddess, possibly al'Uzza, and explores this conversion in the light of polytheism and the growing monotheism of the Arabian Peninsula. This leads to comparisons with later conversions to Islam, and the role of Peter Brown's holy man in both cases.

In the final essay, Robert Schick analyses Muslim impacts on Jerusalem during the Umayyad period and notes that Christians were little affected, as the Muslim building projects mainly occurred on the neglected temple mount. While the multiple building efforts there were a visible challenge to Christianity, Christians were still dominant for another three centuries. This piece is a good reminder that conversion was neither automatic nor regularly forced. The existence of such an abiding community of Christians in the third-holiest city of Islam raises important questions about persistence of identity, pluralism, and peaceful conversion.

There are several other good articles that round out this collection, which is well worth exploring. *In toto*, it makes many exciting contributions to the fields of conversion studies and Christian–Muslim relations.

JOHN D'ALTON, *Monash University*

Peacock, A. C. S., and D. G. Tor, eds, *The Medieval Central Asia and the Persianate World: Iranian Tradition and Islamic Civilisation*, London, I. B. Tauris, 2015; hardback; pp. 304; 40 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £62.00, US\$99.00; ISBN 9781784532390.

The history of Islam in Iran and Central Asia is relatively understudied but this region has a rich cultural history that shatters some of the generalisations often made about Islam. The ten chapters demonstrate the rich diversity of Islam and demonstrate the persistence of Persian regional identity and expressions of faith. This collection grew out of a 2013 conference held at the University of St Andrews and features a range of authors with expertise in Islam and Iran, covering such diverse aspects as biography, theology, pottery, literature, civic pride, invasion, and cultural diffusion, among others. Overall, this collection provides many new insights into a region that had a significant shaping influence upon Islam.

Khurasan is well known for the many thinkers, such as al-Qushayri and al-Ghazali, it contributed to Islam. D. G. Tor's all-too-short opening chapter explores exactly why this region should have played such a pivotal role in Sunni Islam for two centuries. Tor discusses the Khurasanian Abbasid revolution and the region's later autonomy from the Caliphate. She notes the influence of the Khurasanian military and political class, and the events surrounding resistance to the Mongol invasions. Christopher Melchert then discusses the spread of Hanafi theology in Khurasan and Transoxiana and its link to Muji'ism. He investigates biographies, hadith collections, and law books to discern the nature and extent of any overlap, and concludes that imperial favour and local identity played complementary roles in these political and theological developments.

Louise Marlow explores Ps-Mawardi's Arabic 'mirror for princes' and its specific teaching on how to govern the 'special people' and the 'common people'. Her analysis elucidates a number of important points about character development and administrative organisation. This chapter also provides many insights into regional characteristics that enabled a confident contextualising of Islam. The epigraphic pottery of Samanid Iran demonstrates a beauty that also, according to Robert Hillebrand, reflects a Persian renaissance and anti-Arab identity. Hillebrand discusses the minimalist aesthetics and mysterious calligraphy in this pottery, and reflects on the possible meaning of various compositional devices and letter ornamentation. The visuals accompanying this chapter are rich and evocative, and the author also discusses issues of patronage, the social implications of epigraphic experimentation, and even the role of the Samanids as a bridge between East and West. This is possibly the best chapter because of its breadth and depth.

Alptegin's conquest of Ghazna was a turning point in Islamic advance, and Minoru Inaba situates this event within the broader regional history,

discussing Ghazna both before and after the victory. Lying at the frontier with non-Muslims, the battle of Ghazna legitimised Samanid rule, and the city became a new centre of Islamic influence. Persian panegyric poetry tells us much about how Iran was seen, and Roy Mottahedeh explores, in particular, Ghaznavid court panegyric, with its central themes of feasting and fighting. Analysis of several samples and discussion of the performative aspects give glimpses of how Iranian identity was formulated.

A. C. S. Peacock explores the very local aspects of Khurasanian historiography and notes that local identity predominated over the national or trans-national. He traces the emergence of local historiography through various documents and notes the implicit superiority accorded the Khurasani, given that they were not conquered in the same way that the Syrians and Iraqis were. This chapter is followed by Carole Hillenbrand's largely successful attempt to redress the historical conception of the life of the vizier Khunduri. She reinterprets the evidence concerning his castration, his administrative and diplomatic success, and his loss to Nizam al-Mulk. Her impassioned reassessment is thoughtful and yet objective.

Jürgen Paul discusses the wide range of meaning of the term 'ra'is' within the Iranian context, noting its usage in relation to towns, villages, land owning, finance, and the military. He also notes the social, hospitality, and other functions of the *ra'is* and this chapter includes many social insights. A final, brief chapter by the now-deceased C. Edmund Bosworth on the Ghurids in Khurasan rounds out the volume. Here, he explores their rise and conquests, and their eventual demise.

The Preface by Peacock and Tor outlines the scholarly lacunae investigated by this volume, and demonstrates the importance of various contributions. Two maps situate the people and events in the book, and every chapter has excellent and extensive footnotes and bibliography. This is a work leaving readers wanting to know more, and it certainly provides many starting points for further research. This is an insightful collection of chapters well worth exploring.

JOHN D'ALTON, *Monash University*

Pedersen, Tara, *Mermaids and the Production of Knowledge in Early Modern England*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015; hardback; pp. x, 155; 9 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781472440013.

In the Introduction to this short monograph, Tara Pedersen interrogates 'those elusive and captivating hybrids', mermaids (p. 1), and argues that the mermaid is a useful tool in thinking about identity. Her interest is in how the mermaid helps to 'picture the body, especially the sexed and gendered body that resists clear categorical frameworks and that holds erotic potential' (p.

3). Pedersen is aware of recent feminist, post-humanist, and queer scholars that have investigated the animal–human and machine–human boundaries, and gives a brief sketch of this literature, but remains interested in questions of identity that mermaids provoke in early modern England.

The first chapter, ‘Identifying Mermaids: Economies of Representation in Dekker and Middleton’s *The Roaring Girl*’, examines a play in which the protagonist, Moll Cutpurse, is difficult to categorise, and has been variously explained as a feminist tomboy, excluded working class citizen, and so on. Pedersen focuses on Moll’s characterisation as a mermaid by Sir Alexander, who fears his son Sebastian is in love with her. The mermaid is dangerous; her beauty causes shipwrecks, and her sexual attractiveness is undercut by her fishtail. Moll resists marriage, and at the play’s close ruminates on how the audience might ‘picture’ a woman. It is odd that Pedersen fails to mention that on the stage, a young man would have played this extraordinary woman.

Chapter 2, “‘We shall discover our Selves’”: Practicing the Mermaid’s Law in Margaret Cavendish’s *The Convent of Pleasure*’, examines a later text that is also about marriage, and posits ‘the convent space to be a place where bodily pleasure is paramount and bodily autonomy remains intact’ (p. 66). A mermaid appears late in the play and undermines the heterosexual marriage that the main character, Lady Happy, makes at the end.

Chapter 3, ‘Perfect Pictures: The Mermaid’s Half-Theater and the Anti-Theatrical Debates in Book II of Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*’, focuses on the theatre and forms of representation. Guyon’s journey to Acrasia’s bower features mermaids, and Pedersen argues that Spenser asks ‘readers to consider the way ... a text (be it a play or written narrative) is always already staged within the mind of the reader’ (p. 99). In ‘Reading Like a Mermaid: *Antony and Cleopatra*’s (Un)Mysterious History and the Case of the Disappearing Snake’, Pedersen notes that a mermaid steers the barge of Cleopatra. She follows the now-familiar motifs of cross-dressing women and argues that the mermaid is significant as Cleopatra eludes categorisation, claiming she will return by barge to Cydnus just moments before she commits suicide.

The Afterword shifts attention to *Hamlet*, and the description of the drowned Ophelia as ‘mermaid-like’ (p. 132), which Pedersen views as Gertrude’s way of understanding how a woman might elude the control of men and ‘*find a home in the waters*’ (p. 134, emphasis in original).

This book is well written, thoughtful, and interesting, though it betrays its origins as a doctoral thesis. It is recommended to readers interested in early modern English drama, women’s studies, and gender studies.

CAROLE M. CUSACK, *The University of Sydney*

Pollock, Melissa, *The Lion, the Lily, and the Leopard: The Crown and Nobility of Scotland, France, and England and the Struggle for Power (1100–1204)* (Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces, 4), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. x, 526; 4 maps, 20 b/w line art; R.R.P. €120.00; ISBN 9782503540405.

Melissa Pollock's study of family connections and their impact on Anglo-Norman politics is a testament to tenacity and thoroughness. The author's aim is to reincorporate Scotland into the cultural and family networks of the Anglo-Norman world, in response to earlier scholarship that has often treated the northern kingdom as an outlier or a completely separate case. While studies have been undertaken on local links spanning the Borders, Pollock succeeds in showing just how close and numerous were the ties between aristocratic families with interests in Scotland as well as other more distant regions during the twelfth century. These were disrupted, she argues, by the loss of Normandy to the French monarchy in 1204, after which separate national identities in France, England, and Scotland were more effectively able to emerge. The 'Auld Alliance' between France and Scotland, so much a feature of the later Middle Ages, had its origins, in Pollock's view, in the family associations developed during the twelfth century.

In making this claim, Pollock offers a political narrative centred on Norman and Angevin rulership that will be familiar to students of the period. This skeleton is fleshed out with immensely detailed examination, conducted largely on a genealogical and prosopographical basis, of marital alliances and personal relationships among major landholding families. Impressive detective work into the evidence provided by documentary and charter records and witness lists, as well as the reasonably abundant twelfth-century chronicle narratives, allows the author to reconstruct (often tentatively and with appropriate caution) the family trees of those involved in the political machinations of their lords and rulers. Much attention is given, for example, to the conflict of 1173–74 in which Henry II was opposed by a coalition led by his own sons and Louis VII of France, in alliance with William 'the Lion', King of Scotland. The lengthy chapters examining this episode and its immediate aftermath are dominated by descriptions of the family groupings that chose to support either side.

The risk, though, is that the sheer volume of evidence overwhelms the presentation of the central points that the author wishes to make. In places, the work takes on an almost antiquarian tone, in the sense that it feels as if the details of innumerable family relationships are being presented for their own sake, as much as they are to advance an argument. Furthermore, this attempt at comprehensiveness means that the central focus on Scotland is lost at times. So insistent is the author on identifying every possible family connection between members of the Anglo-Norman elites that the reader is

inclined to ask, on occasion, what all this means for the big picture: it is not always evident how the intricacies of genealogy on either side of the Channel illuminate interconnections with Scotland in the way the author purports to describe. It is also worth noting that the study's introduction presents a rather curious assemblage of methodological possibilities, most of which are not followed through in the subsequent text. Comments on Arthurian romance, Oedipal psychology, and antiviral drug therapy (the last used as an analogy for co-operative alliances against external threats) are introduced and then just as quickly abandoned (pp. 6–11). Some reference back to these explanatory models at later points in the text would have been helpful to remind the reader of their potential usefulness.

These cautions are not meant to undermine the value of the volume. Pollock has completed an enormous task in tracing and setting forth complex sets of relationships among the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. Their exposition (often aided by clearly presented genealogical charts) will, at the very least, be a wonderful resource for future scholars. On reflection, however, a more tightly framed and slightly less ambitious study might have made for a more approachable text. One thinks of Daniel Power's *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), a more focused (though, admittedly, even longer) examination of governance and aristocratic linkages on the Franco-Norman border during precisely the same period. In the case of Pollock's book, even this reviewer, well versed in the topic and interested in precisely the sorts of marital and family connections which form the core of the work, was left feeling that the central argument concerning Scottish links to Anglo-Norman affairs was at times shrouded by the thick fog of evidence provided in support of it.

LINDSAY DIGGELMANN, *The University of Auckland*

Rodriguez, Jarbel, ed., *Muslim and Christian Contact in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, 18), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2015; paperback; pp. xiv, 441; 11 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$44.95, £22.22; ISBN 97814422600669.

Jarbel Rodriguez has here compiled eighty-nine sources illustrative of Muslim–Christian interaction (some exchanges between Muslims and Jews have also been included) between the early seventh and the late fifteenth centuries. The sources are all presented in English: some are previously published translations or Rodriguez's revisions of them, while others have been translated by Rodriguez himself. The subject matter of these sources ranges widely: literary, historical, scientific, annalistic, hagiographical, travel, legal, and theological sources are all represented; geographically, they cover the Holy Land, the Byzantine Empire, Syria, Sicily, Charlemagne's territories, Spain (Iberia and northern Spain), France, Persia, and Turkey. An Introduction

sets the scene with a brief history of common origin of the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religions and the book is completed by lists of primary sources and figures and an index.

Rodriguez has arranged his material into ten chapters, which are further subdivided into between seven and eleven subject headings. Each subject is accompanied by a short introduction placing the source(s) in historical context, explaining unfamiliar historical words, noting the original source reference(s), and occasionally referring to other useful sources. Chapter 1 gives some historical background to Islamic/Christian contacts. Chapters 2 and 3 review political and military history, firstly in the Eastern Mediterranean/Holy Land and secondly in Spain and the Western Mediterranean. Chapters 4 to 10 look at interactions thematically: diplomacy and alliances; economic relations; religious interactions; views of the 'Other'; minority communities; intellectual contacts; and the thought-provoking theme, 'Of Love and Bondage'.

Unfortunately, the supporting lists and the index present some difficulties. The bibliography of primary sources seems incomplete, with Davis, Grant, Sage, Bernaldez, and Forster (referenced at pp. 31, 34, 44, 191, and 197, respectively), for instance, omitted, and the List of Figures is missing the titles of four of the illustrations (figs 1.1, 6.1, 7.1, and 8.1). The short, two-page index leaves out many potentially useful references, the definitions of many specialist terms can only be found by searching the text, and the heavily abbreviated references at the end of each subject introduction need careful examination if the reader wishes to follow up on them.

Nevertheless, this is a wonderful collection. Rodriguez has investigated and collated a wide range of sources not normally brought together and his subject introductions are succinct and historically enlightening. Most importantly, the sources themselves are well chosen, successfully, and sometimes delightfully, illustrating the understandings and misunderstandings that people of these diverse social and religious groups held about each other.

With a good deal of subtlety and scholarship, Rodriguez has produced a book that entertainingly, clearly, comprehensively, and eruditely presents the complexities of Muslim–Christian interactions in the Middle Ages. The clarity of Rodriguez's translations and his thoughtful inclusions make this an essential reference work for all those interested in the subject, and highly suitable as an undergraduate textbook.

PENELOPE NASH, *The University of Sydney*

Rosenthal, David, *Kings of the Street: Power, Community, and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Europa Sacra, 17), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. xxii, 278; 20 b/w illustrations, 5 maps; R.R.P. €85.00; ISBN 9782503541723.

Kings of the Street is a study of the festive brigades' *potenze* (powers) – known as kingdoms or states – of artisans and labourers that were part of Florence's ritual and communal fabric from the late fifteenth until the early seventeenth century. David Rosenthal critiques an existing body of work which views the appearance of these *potenze* on the urban stage on certain occasions – such as May Day, the feast day of Florence's patron-saint, St John the Baptist (24 June), or the birth of a Medici heir – as a static safety-valve, an event which reduced the chance of lower-class rebellion and in which the plebeian brigades were merely doing the bidding of their rulers. Rosenthal presents a well-argued and more complex view: these plebeian actors did have agency, both at the time of festivity and beyond it. These *potenze* aped the rituals of kingship through their performances and both the ruler and the brigades developed relationships and created performances based on shared cultural understandings. It was an alliance, which, while still recognising the primacy of the ruler also allowed agency by the *potenze*.

The heyday of the *potenze* was in the sixteenth century. Chapter 1 documents where the forty-five individual associations of male artisans and labourers were congregated. They were found predominately in the working class districts of Florence located on the fringes of each of the city's four main districts, but, the author argues, they were not cut off from the rest of the city. The *potenze* were part of their neighbourhoods and parishes and aligned to local confraternities. They could be considered micro-communities centred on street-corners ('canto all Macine'), open tracts of land near city gates ('Biliemme'), a parish ('Nebbia'), or a piazza ('Città Rossa'). But these *potenze* could also be trades-based, such as the *potenze* for dyers and weavers, with the loci of these occupational *potenze* found in the occupational districts and workshops, which were often outside their neighbourhood districts.

Chapter 2 argues that the Medici used the *potenze* as an arm of its statecraft to signify the peace created by Medici rule. Nevertheless, the *potenze* were not merely appropriated by the Medici rulers for their own ends and the relationship was more akin to a contract. These *potenze* could be used to symbolise an alliance between the Medici and the plebes of Florence, but the plebeian brigades could also be dangerous, particularly if some of the *potenze* which also acted as jousting brigades, requested of the duke that they be allowed to carry weapons to add to their festive display. Unsurprisingly, these requests were often refused or the brigade members were told to carry fake weapons only.

A stagnant economy and a changing religious environment, the focus of Chapter 3, helps explain why the *potenze* had begun to decline by the late sixteenth century and no longer existed by the 1650s. The late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century collapse of the wool industry and the resulting unemployment for its largely male workforce, alongside the rise of a female-dominated silk industry led to profound economic and social change. The Medici rulers, in 1610, fearful of a mobilised, disenchanted, and unemployed working class, stripped the *potenze* of their banners, which could not be returned for festive occasions without first petitioning the duke. The Catholic reform movement's emphasis on piety, pilgrimage, and an understanding of Christian doctrine rather than public feasting, jousting, and stone fights also helps to explain how these *potenze* transformed into charitable organisations and associations for recreation whose members made frequent pilgrimages to the countryside. At least one *potenza* from the late 1620s, made up of silk weavers who made pilgrimages to shrines outside Florence, was uncharacteristically female. As Rosenthal notes, this *potenza* and its development deserves more investigation. Could this female *potenza's* practice, for example, have been influenced by the grand-duchesses' pilgrimages to the Loreto shrine from the 1570s onwards?

By 1619, Rosenthal asserts in Chapter 4, the *potenza* had become merely a theatrical instrument of state, a vehicle which enabled the dukes to arrange performances by unemployed (male) wool workers solely for the enjoyment of the ducal court, as part of a state-sanctioned public works programme. A brief Epilogue documents the revival of the *potenze* by antiquarians in 1902, and the subsequent appropriation of them by Fascist Italy in the 1920s and 30s as part of its agenda for the glorification of Italy's Renaissance past.

This is a superbly well-written book, which brings to light an often forgotten aspect of Florentine history and contributes to the ongoing interest in state-building, gender, and religious change in early modern Europe. It also reminds us that 'history from below' can and should be written, and this book is an excellent example of how it is done.

NATALIE TOMAS, *Monash University*

Salisbury, Matthew Cheung, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Medieval Church Studies, 36), Turnhout, Brepols, 2014; hardback; pp. xvi, 261; 39 b/w tables; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503548067.

Few medievalists pay much attention to liturgiology until the day that a precise answer to some tricky liturgical question is urgently required. If they are working on any aspect of later medieval English history or literature, this book is one that they may someday need.

Everyone has heard of the Use of Sarum, the version of the liturgy (the mass, the day and night offices, and the office of the Virgin) that was used in some religious communities and in the parish churches, collegiate chapels, cathedrals, and even the homes of England, Wales, and parts of Scotland. A source of national pride to some, it was the ancestor of Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*. But what if a unitary Use of Sarum turns out to be an illusion, and there never was any such homogeneous entity? Essentially, this is Matthew Cheung Salisbury's argument.

Part of his first chapter is devoted to an interesting summary of liturgical studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from the Oxford Movement to the Second Vatican Council and its aftermath. This demonstrates how a number of scholars were heavily invested in the concept of a single, authoritative Sarum Rite, and how this was accompanied by a valorisation of the printed editions that some of them produced and a neglect of the manuscript sources.

To remedy this imbalance, Salisbury has himself undertaken an intimidatingly thorough examination of the manuscript evidence: 177 manuscripts held in British and Irish libraries, mainly missals, breviaries, books of hours, and antiphonals, that have been claimed for the Uses of Sarum and York (and Hereford, definitely an also-run in these liturgical stakes). Their contents, texts, and textual detail have been rigorously compared, using computerised methods. They turn out to vary wildly, supporting the case for each surviving manuscript to be treated as a unique witness and not just lumped under one or other Use.

In his second chapter, however, Salisbury partially rehabilitates the idea of discrete and largely uniform Uses. He relies on the liturgical calendars, which he finds fairly consistent, and on sets of responsories from Advent, Holy Week, and the Office of the Dead, which he considers the most stable part of the office, to distinguish between Sarum, York, and Hereford. Responsory series have long been used for that purpose, certainly since Falconer Madan and his notorious tests, but Salisbury sets out to apply this method more consistently.

Chapter 3 moves on to a detailed, word-for-word textual analysis of individual texts, including the Offices for Thomas Becket and William of York, and the Office of the Dead. A discussion of the possible reasons for the variations follows – textual drift, involuntary changes, and deliberate changes – that should interest anyone working in editing and textual studies. The final chapter addresses the questions, why and how does the liturgy change? This involves an excursion into the murky world of medieval ecclesiastical bureaucracy and includes a discussion of the technical mechanism for adding new feasts to regional church calendars. This is an interesting supplementation to the usual treatment of new feasts as manifestations of trends in popular and learned devotion.

All Salisbury's manuscripts are Insular, but it is worth noting that three Australian libraries possess manuscripts of Sarum service books, including an uncommon York *horae* in the State Library of Victoria. In various New Zealand libraries, there are several fragments from English missals, and a number of complete and fragmentary manuscript Sarum *horae* (as well as early printed copies). There is also one Sarum missal, in Wellington's Alexander Turnbull Library. Using Salisbury's book alongside that manuscript revealed the usefulness of his section on liturgical calendars, but also made it clear that most of this book is more relevant to office books than to missals.

Unless you are a professional liturgiologist, passionately interested in liturgical studies, or maybe in computerised research in the humanities, it is unlikely that you will want to read this book from cover to cover. Its more general use will be for reference. Although the title suggests concentration on the secular office, there is also a great deal here about the monastic office: consequently, libraries that own any English liturgical texts, manuscript or print, including the nineteenth-century editions, should have a copy available in their reading room.

ALEXANDRA BARRATT, *The University of Waikato*

Terpstra, Nicholas, Adriano **Prosperi**, and Stefania **Pastore**, eds, *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities* (Europa Sacra, 6), Turnhout, Brepols, 2013; hardback; pp. x, 396; 12 b/w illustrations, 11 b/w line art; R.R.P. €100.00; ISBN 9782503538938.

The essays in this collection explore early modern confraternal activities and lay life. A number come out of an Italian-focused conference, 'Brotherhood and Boundaries – Fraternità e barriere', that was held at Pisa in September 2008, but the geographical reach of this edited volume is somewhat broader.

Nicholas Terpstra's Introduction sets the volume's parameters as an interrogation of the ownership of religious space: confraternities, as spaces in which the laity and clergy both staked claims, were often sites where such ownership was negotiated. Part I of the volume investigates charity and civic religion in Italy: Daniel Bornstein presents a case study of Cortona's Misericordia confraternity (a space, after 1411, for challenging Florence), while Anna Esposito looks at the metropolitan focus of Rome's confraternities on needy foreign visitors. Carlo Taviani argues that Genoese confraternities offered alternatives to family-based factionalism and encouraged communalism; Cristina Cecchinelli contributes a particularly elegant paper on Marian groups in Parma, and their integration into the papal state made possible through links with organisations in Rome.

Part II looks at Florence, from Sabrina Corbellini's fascinating study of gospel harmonies and other vernacular biblical texts in confraternal translation and use, to lay preachers' confraternal educations in Peter Howard's study of

Pietro Bernardo. Olga Zorzi Pugliese investigates sermons of a different sort: Machiavelli's 'Exhortation to Penance' and his parodical *Rules for a Company of Pleasure*.

Part III moves outside Italy. Maarten F. Van Dijck contributes a statistical analysis of the social capital of kinship groups in Aarschot, near Antwerp, while Juan O. Mesquida presents a history of Manila's Misericordia confraternity. Part IV extends the brotherhood metaphor to Islam and Judaism. The essays by Alexandre Papas and Roni Weinstein in this section both stress the importance of mysticism to these contexts but their integration into the otherwise Catholic contexts of the volume (Protestant brotherhoods are not examined) raises as many questions as it explores.

Part V surveys race and gender in the confraternity: Federica Francesconi's paper on Soed Holim, a charitable society organised by Jewish women in Modena's ghetto, and Susan Verdi Webster's investigation of native confraternities in Quito – which, she argues, could function as both 'ethnic leveller' and 'ethnic refuge' – are strong contributions.

Part VI looks at sites of conflict between laypeople and clergy. Gavin Hammel compares responses to discipline confraternities in thirteenth-century Bologna and fourteenth-century Tournai, finding that differing class habitus (to borrow from Bourdieu) accounts for some clerical opposition in Tournai. Danilo Zardin deconstructs the truism that post-Tridentine confraternities became more clerical and disciplined in his survey of Genoa, Venice, Milan, and Como, and David Garrioch's study of confraternities in eighteenth-century Paris and Milan explores contentious zones, from space and money, to clerical involvement and heresy.

Many of the contributions in this volume are close, convincingly argued interpretations of archival material. As a collection, they lay groundwork that will be of interest to researchers of confraternal studies and lay devotion more generally.

KATHLEEN OLIVE, *The University of Sydney*

Timbers, Frances, *Magic and Masculinity: Ritual Magic and Gender in the Early Modern Era*, London, I. B. Tauris, 2014; hardback; pp. 304; 10 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £56.00; ISBN 9781780765594.

Early modern England witnessed the intersection of religion, philosophy, and science, at the same time that conceptions of gender ideologies and worldviews were also shifting, all of which contributed to new interpretations of magic. Frances Timbers here expertly documents the interaction of conceptions of manhood and masculinity with the practice of ritual magic and in so doing presents a new perspective on a frequently overlooked aspect of contemporary magic and magical practice.

Chapter 1 addresses the distinction between ceremonial magic and witchcraft: magic was the artful manipulation by learned men of the natural world through alchemic means, the study of classical manuscripts and texts, and complex rituals; witchcraft was seen to be confined largely to illiterate women caught up in a social/psychological phenomenon. Timbers's exploration covers the elaborate ritual preparations found in the *Clavicula Salomonis* (*Key of Solomon*), through to drawing the reader's attention to the difference between superstitious behaviour then, and now in the modern world.

Chapter 2 further explains the role of masculinity and magic. The practice of magic was often viewed as an alternative path to manhood. It could also serve as a clever way of making a living, as in the example of William Hills (c. 1651) who would be visited by the local constabulary for insights into cases (p. 42). In Chapter 3, 'Fraternity and Freemasons', Timbers describes how processes of ritual and magic came to be incorporated into certain social practices further cementing the connection between magic and masculinity.

Chapters 4 and 5 provide insights into John Dee, Edward Kelley, and John Pordage. Religious philosophy is seen to have influenced magical ritual and thought through the invocation of angels and spirits, which, Timbers argues, allowed masculine identities to be reworked into acceptable masculine traits (p. 104). The theme of masculine representation and sexuality in ritual objects and philosophy continues into Chapter 6, 'Swords, Satan and Sex', while Chapter 7, 'Fairies and Female Magicians', illustrates the relationship between women and the spirit world. Timbers observes that 'Magic, as practiced by women, became a foil for the intellectual, scientific and religious associations that male magicians tended to foster' (p. 120).

Self identity and belief in demons, angels, and spirits are further explored in Chapter 8, aptly titled 'Magical Metaphors'. According to Timbers, it was often the perception of the fantastical within the realm of reality that drove personal narratives surrounding magic and involvement in it.

With *Magic and Masculinity*, Timbers has expertly mapped out the evolution of the construction of masculinity as it was embodied in ritual items, spaces, and philosophy. She has also provided an interesting comparison to gendered social attitudes to magic and ritual, one that was also involved in shaping contemporary understandings of magic and witchcraft.

SAMAYA BOROM, *Charles Sturt University*

Tjoelker, Nienke, *Andreas Friz's Letter on Tragedies (ca. 1741–1744): An Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Contribution to Theatre Poetics* (Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe, 4), Leiden, Brill, 2015; cloth; pp. ix, 295; R.R.P. €136.00, US\$189.00; ISBN 9789004283732.

Nienke Tjoelker's edition and translation of the letter on tragedies by eighteenth-century Graz Jesuit, Andreas Friz (1711–90), usefully fills out our picture of German dramatic poetics, and especially the position of Jesuit Latin drama against the background of the Theresian school reforms. In her Introduction, Tjoelker notes the continuing use of Latin by Jesuit dramatists in the German-speaking lands, who bucked the trend towards the vernacular that had begun much earlier in Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy. Moreover, while so much Jesuit drama is known to us only through playbills (*periochae*), there seems to have been a move towards printing collections of plays by pre-eminent Jesuit playwrights in eighteenth-century Germany, leading some scholars to write in terms of a repertory theatre.

Although Friz wrote in Latin, his theatre poetics were influenced not just by ancient authorities such as Aristotle and Horace, but also by French classical drama (Corneille, Molière, and Racine). Tjoelker's volume is rounded out by an appendix providing the Latin text of Friz's analyses of Racine's plays (unfortunately without English translation). Racine was, in fact, a problematic model for Jesuits because of his treatment of love on stage, though he seems to have fared better in Italy than in France and Germany. Interestingly, Friz did not give priority to Corneille – Jean-Marie Valentin has written of widespread *Corneillolâtrie* in eighteenth-century Catholic countries – but set him on an equal footing with Racine. Friz's classicism was influenced by Johann Christian Gottsched's *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst* (1729), as well as by the Italian aesthetics of the Academy of Arcadia, for example, via Pietro Metastasio.

In many ways, the Jesuit theatre of the German-speaking lands has been the best served by modern scholarship (from the older magisterial surveys of Elida Maria Szarota and Jean-Marie Valentin through to Stefan Tilg's excellent micro-study of the Innsbruck St Catherine dramas). Friz's manuscript letter on tragedies is, however, relatively unknown, especially when compared with the much-cited 'Dissertation on Stage Action' by Franz Lang. Tjoelker plots Friz's debts to and differences from Jesuit writers of poetics and plays including Alessandro Donati, Jacob Pontanus, Jacob Masen, Charles de la Rue, Joseph Jouveny, Nicolas Avancini, Anton Claus, Giovanni Granelli, Ignaz Weitenauer, Anton Maurisberg, Franz Neumayr, and of course, Lang. While Friz is hardly original, he stands out for being the strictest 'classicist' among his contemporaries, rejecting Seneca as a model and criticising excessive ornaments. It is important to note that the 'letter on tragedies' also contains advice on composing comedies, with significant reference to the

plays of Plautus and Terence. Like other Jesuit theorists, Friz argued for the moral function of comedy.

While some of Friz's precepts on verisimilitude might sound dour or derivative in the abstract, they come to life in the text of his letter, which has a lively conversational style and is spiked with droll observations from personal experience. That is, he writes not for grand, literary playwrights but for Jesuit schoolteachers and *choragi* who were responsible not just for composing the play texts but also for casting, costuming, and directing schoolboys of different ages and abilities. We are asked to consider the inadvertent comedy in tall, strapping youths striding onto stage as lowly soldiers, yet towering over smaller boys cast as kings and generals. Of sleep scenes, Friz observes: 'Sleep usually creeps upon someone slowly, but it obeys our poets marvellously. A character acts in sight of the audience, speaks, walks around cheerfully, and then he hardly sits down, hardly closes his eyes, and he is already in a deep sleep' (p. 97).

At one point, Friz assumes an ironic Lucianic persona to prescribe bombastic circumlocutions: perhaps a snide reference to the mythological excesses he perceived in the plays of seventeenth-century Tyrolian Jesuit playwright, Nicolas Avancini (1612–86). Avancini had been a pioneer of the allegorical *ludus caesareus*, which utilised music, ballet, and special effects to glorify the Habsburg rulers. In the eighteenth century, Franz Lang continued to make impressive didactic use of music and visual devices in his Lenten meditational dramas, which he conceived of as a 'theatre for the human affects'. Friz turns away from this late baroque, 'multimedia' style and advocates a more rational classicism.

Tjoelker's book raises the curtain on a vibrant world of late German Jesuit drama, one of increased rather than diminished social importance in the eighteenth century (Valentin records more than 4,190 titles for the period 1701–73, up from 3,460 for 1555–1700). One suspects that this is a world largely unknown beyond neo-Latin specialists and we can also be grateful to the author for providing us with a succinct appraisal of the German scholarship to date. There is plenty of scope for further research. Tjoelker's brief survey of the political, moral, patriotic, and broadly 'enlightenment' plots favoured by playwrights from the turn of the eighteenth century might bear comparison with those of the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries (the subject of an ongoing study by Jolanta Rzegocka), which inculcated civic and Republican virtues. The reviewer found herself wondering about the persistence or not of 'oriental' plots in the German Jesuit repertoire of the period (they were still very much in vogue, for example, in the Spanish Netherlands).

The author is a non-native writer of English but the translation is clear and correct, if workaday. The relatively modest length of Friz's letter, its

simple style, and engagingly varied subject matter would make it an ideal text for students of neo-Latin.

YASMIN HASKELL, *The University of Western Australia*

Webster, Paul, *King John and Religion*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2015; hardback; pp. 269; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781783270293.

This book makes a timely appearance, considering all of the recent attention given to King John as part of the Magna Carta 800th anniversary celebrations during 2015. It is well known that John's reputation – as one of the worst of English monarchs (and a thoroughly 'bad thing') – is largely the result of negative opinions expressed by chroniclers in his own day. Modern scholarship has gone some way to challenging this stereotype but John continues to suffer, perhaps unfairly, from the accumulated weight of centuries of prejudice. A strong assumption remains in place that his grudging acceptance and subsequent rejection of Magna Carta represent some sort of absolutist stumbling block impeding history's inevitable progress toward liberty, democracy, human rights, and other assorted forms of feel-good fluffiness, which in reality have little or no connection to the early thirteenth century. Without intending to ignore the king's many faults, Paul Webster's study offers a more balanced view by showing John as essentially a man of his time in the sphere of religious observance. When it came to piety, or at least to its public display, John was much less the exceptional ogre and much more the willing traditionalist following the path laid down by his family members and royal predecessors.

Chapters 1 to 5 examine in detail the evidence for John's religious activities including attendance at mass, endowment and patronage of religious establishments (notably Beaulieu Abbey), and charitable undertakings. Financial and administrative records, which begin to survive in considerable numbers from this time, indicate the extent of religious infrastructure surrounding the royal household. John maintained chapels and chaplains at each of his many residences and used a 'travelling chapel' which, Webster suggests, 'had a role of daily importance' when the king was on the move (p. 27). Almsgiving was an essential aspect of royal activity, undertaken either by the king himself or by others whom he funded. As did many medieval monarchs, John amassed a private relic collection, probably lost in the famous 'disaster in the Wash' in 1216, and called upon the intercession of favoured saints when necessary. In the context of studies of kingship, Webster acknowledges scholarly preference for the phrase 'personal religion' rather than piety, emphasising those factors on which we can comment (public and external displays of a religious nature) rather than those on which we cannot (genuine belief or its absence). Yet it is clear that John went to considerable

efforts to make provision for his soul and to fulfil the role expected of a royal figure in spiritual affairs.

Chapters 6 and 7 reassess John's conflict with the papacy and its resolution, demonstrating how the episode was primarily political in nature. The interdict placed on England between 1208 and 1214, as well as the king's personal excommunication by Innocent III, were part of a pattern in which John asserted his regal right to make ecclesiastical appointments. Similar earlier conflicts, such as that over the succession to the episcopal seat of Sées in Normandy between 1201 and 1203, reinforce the point. Two conclusions ensue. First, conflict with the Church as a political institution does not imply that John was unconcerned for the fate of his soul, nor was he the only monarch to have engaged in such behaviour. Second, despite problems with the limited evidence surviving from the years of the interdict, it can be inferred that church services carried on in some cases, often at the king's bidding and in defiance of the papal ban. The view expressed by the chronicler Matthew Paris, writing several decades later, that John was intending to abandon Christianity and adhere to Islam is only the most outlandish of the stories questioning his piety. Matthew claimed that the king had sent envoys to the North African emir Muhammad al-Nasir with this intention (cited here on p. 150) but such slander flies in the face of John's evident intention to maintain regular religious services and to force clerics to comply by confiscating their property if they refused.

Therefore the portrait that emerges of John is more nuanced than the traditional stereotype would suggest. He may have been headstrong, quick to anger, and on occasion even murderous – Webster's work is by no means an attempt to whitewash the indefensible – but this need not always indicate impiety or a lack of genuine religious sentiment. Webster's thorough, judicious, and carefully argued study does a fine job of looking past the intensely negative spin of John's contemporaries and showing us a man who, whatever his unknowable internal beliefs may have been, conformed far more closely than previously appreciated to the expected religious practices of his day.

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Whiting, Amanda Jane, *Women and Petitioning in the Seventeenth-Century English Revolution: Deference, Difference, and Dissent* (Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 25), Turnhout, Brepols, 2015; hardback; pp. xxv, 368; 8 b/w line art; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503547787.

Amanda Jane Whiting introduces her exposition on the genre and gendering of petitioning in the tumultuous political landscape of the English Civil Wars and Revolution (1640–60) with a quote from a letter written in 1680: 'But Why Do I Trouble You about Petitions?' Whiting's study is predicated on the

argument that 'petitioning was a hegemonic cultural and social practice, and petitions were crucial to, and constitutive of, fundamental relations of power in early modern English society' (p. 17). Through the analysis and contextualisation of the forty-two extant printed and published petitions believed to have been written by women, either collectively or individually, during the period 1642–60, Whiting explores both the performative nature of petitioning and how the gendering of language was essential to their critical reception.

The book is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 argues that the breakdown of censorship during the 1640s and 1650s led to a proliferation of petitions, which, although a marginal literary genre, constituted a key facet of political discourse in this period. The second chapter addresses the position of women within the contemporary legal system, with their status as legal subjects and their capacity to petition issues debated by both the authors of the petitions and their recipients.

In Chapter 3, Whiting summarises, chronologically, the content and context of the forty-two petitions. She considers only those petitions that were both printed and made public, arguing that their printing and publication was a political act that enabled the 'public condemnation of tardiness, ineptitude, or corruption in the delivery of justice' (p. 92). Petitions by individual women were usually either requests for the release of imprisoned husbands, appeals against sequestration orders on husbands' estates, or pleas for justice in the courts. Meanwhile, collective petitions typically called for religious reform, an end to obstructions to livelihoods, or for the distribution of payments owing for husbands' military service. There is a clear tendency, in both individual and collective petitions, for the women writers to emphasise 'extreme wants' and the plight of young infants (p. 118), in their attempts to garner sympathy from contemporary readers.

Chapters 4 and 5 analyse the rhetoric of the petitionary mode and the tactics of persuasion employed by petitioners. Whiting shows that the formulaic and linguistic structure of public petitions was shaped by the already established conventions used in prayer, epistolary protocols, complaint literature, and parliamentary petitions. Strategies adopted by female petitioners to represent themselves as 'legitimate, authoritative, and authentic participants in public debates' (p. 209) included invoking the law of necessity and drawing upon the actions of scriptural female personae as precedents for their own.

The final section confronts the issue of authorship. Here, Whiting draws upon Harold Love's *Attributing Authorship* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) to argue that, although women may more usually have been the declarative authors of these petitions rather than the actual wordsmiths, the social and political transaction of petitioning exceeded the text of the petition. While the technicalities of authorship do not detract from the authenticity of the

issues raised by a petition, the extent of agency one can attribute to individual female petitioners in this period is clearly limited.

Women and Petitioning engages in a dialogue with Patricia Higgins's ground-breaking 1973 essay of five collective, public petitioning campaigns by women, and highlights the linguistic and gendered dimensions of the petitionary mode during the period 1642–60, which have been only briefly addressed in other studies, such as David Zaret's *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton University Press, 2000), Marcus Nevitt's *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640–1660* (Ashgate, 2006), and Ann Hughes's *Gender and the English Revolution* (Routledge, 2012). Whiting's contextualisation of the petition entitled *Women's Remonstrance* (c. 1647–48), not previously the subject of analysis, makes an original contribution to this field, and her work as a whole offers a comprehensive and insightful overview of the linguistic and social construction of the petitionary mode, and identifies the influential role gender played in the composition of petitions during the English Civil Wars and Revolution.

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