

Reviews

Arnold, Ellen F., *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Middle Ages), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012; cloth; pp. 320; 2 maps; R.R.P. US\$65.00, £42.50; ISBN 9780812244632.

With *Negotiating the Landscape*, Ellen Arnold provides an account of medieval monastic use of, and interaction with, the medieval Ardennes through an interpretative lens that moves beyond the purview of conventional environmental history. This capacious and thorough account of a complex relationship between life – be it the life without or the life within – and monastic space – situated externally and within in equal measure – calls for medieval environmental historians to ‘again embrace and explore the spiritual and religious character of the medieval world’ (p. 4). In a precisely executed first monograph, Arnold seeks to provide broad applicability through a focused case study, a locus for the apprehension of the diverse environmental practices and experiences of medieval people. Arnold argues that ‘medieval people ... thought many different things about nature’, and demonstrates this variety through a multifaceted account of the Benedictine monks of the Stavelot-Malmedy double monastery in what is now Belgium. This approach allows for an unpacking of monastic transactions with a complex landscape through imaginings and practices that were equally complex. The landscape explored by Arnold’s chosen study reveals the shaping by landscape of ‘how the monks remembered their history, framed their own experiences, and imagined the lives and power of their Saints’, coupled with a reciprocal shaping of landscape through husbandry, history, and narrative (p. 7).

After a brief Introduction that sets the work in context and evokes some of the most salient literature within her chosen niche, Arnold launches into a diptych of chapters, the first focused on monastic foundation in the ‘Forest Wilderness’, the second on monastic control in the domesticated landscape. In Chapter 1, Arnold presents a monastic imagination in and with the wilderness that is a complex composite of dangers, ambiguities of classification, and moral tropes. The ‘wilderness’ entered and apprehended by monastics, that is here revealed, was a riotous array of often uneasily coexisting interpretations, especially in the early medieval heyday of foundation narrative. In Chapter 2, Arnold presents a clever slide of interpretation from an account of the management and economic practices of Stavelot-Malmedy to a discussion of the notion of ‘value’; she transitions from purely economic indicators into

a discussion of *religious* evaluation in the form of spatial and environmental *topoi* and their corresponding moral themes. In each of these two chapters, Arnold reveals a world balanced between quotidian and abstract interaction, and economic and spiritual assessment.

Chapters 3 and 4 counterbalance two stories of conflict over landscape, the former a societal and judicial account, the latter a spiritual and literary account. The focus of Chapter 3 is on the ‘long and often bitter conflicts’ of monks and their allies over the control of landscape, valued as a source of diverse taxes, tithes, and use rights, as well as a source of religious authority (p. 144). In Chapter 4, Arnold explores the narrative and the moralisation of religious landscape as a means to greater authority and control. Through the power of Saints in *vitae* and establishment narratives, the monastic landscape became valuable ‘not just as a stage for human events, but ... also an agent and weapon of human conflicts’ (p. 172).

The fifth and final chapter cleverly weaves these threads together to tell a composite tale of monks that ‘used natural resources to build the strength of their community, and ... used stories about nature to build a past, then to blur it and rewrite it again’ (p. 212). The book ends with a series of useful appendices, including a timeline for the often-complex actions of the Stavelot-Malmedy monks, and a handlist of sources that provides a brief *précis* of the primary material, placing it in chronological order and establishing its interrelationships.

The value of *Negotiating the Landscape* lies not solely in its account of monastic environmental history or in its account of monastic thought, but in its assertion that the two are inextricably linked. By providing two sets of counterbalanced narratives – one quotidian, the other abstract and literary – Arnold proves convincingly the fundamental co-dependency of these two strands of monastic life. The synthesis of these complementary juxtapositions in Chapter 5 ties the separated narratives together to show their mutual co-composition. The result is a work that demonstrates the fundamentally rich and diverse assembly of sources, disciplines, and strands of analysis required to make full sense of monastic landscape.

Arnold has created a narrative that will be of interest to literary scholars, historians of religion, scholars of theology and hermeneutics, and ecocritics, as well as environmental historians. Perhaps most valuably, this study demonstrates that no one path of analysis can fully capture the complexities of monastic life without the aid of others.

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Bailey, Merridee L., *Socialising the Child in Late Medieval England, c. 1400–1600*, Woodbridge and Rochester, Boydell/York Medieval Press, 2012; hardback; pp. 284; R.R.P. £50.00; ISBN 9781903153420.

As its opening line clearly articulates, ‘This book addresses the socialising roles of the late medieval household and the school’ (p. 1). It is a deceptively straightforward opening to a book that offers important new ways of understanding the construction of late medieval and early modern English society from childhood into adulthood, and which helps to cross largely artificial boundaries of period specialisation across a wide spectrum of issues ranging from religion to literacy.

The first chapter addresses courtesy poems. It is a thorough discussion, focusing on key elements of the literature in nuanced ways. Merridee Bailey shows, for example, how the quality of ‘meekness’ was an important part of the performance of household service, and more broadly, a contributor to the maintenance of social hierarchy. Yet Bailey is attuned to the nuance of the socialisation process, where the desirable and cultivated quality is necessarily balanced against future problems. In the case of meekness, there was a need to avoid allowing it to degenerate into weakness. There is much of interest in this discussion, and I found Bailey’s awareness of how the literature and the realities of physical space interacted to be particularly fascinating. Emphases ‘on the hall’ (p. 22), and later on the street (p. 171) serve as useful reminders of how the smallest act could have social significance in medieval or early modern spaces. Less historically particular, the socialisation of children has certain aspirational, anthropological references that are also interesting: ‘pike not thi nose’ (p. 21).

The second chapter, addressing the readership of the material, continues these nuanced approaches to the source material, the secondary scholarship, and wider physical and social spaces. As with nose-picking, warnings about over-fashionable sleeves getting dirty in food bowls has a pragmatic and timeless ring to it, but as Bailey notes these comments were probably understood as overt or oblique references to sumptuary legislation (p. 49). While tackling these methodological and contextual issues, Bailey continues to chart changes in the socialisation process as revealed through the literature under study. It is an example of literary history at its best: the author consistently manages a dialogue between literary sources, historical scholarship, and non-literary primary sources, to create a methodological feedback loop and a whole-of-society picture.

The third chapter on ‘Virtue and Vice’ illustrates this nicely as, in addition to the theme of the chapter as titled, it grapples with the complex and not always well-understood relationship between early print culture and late medieval manuscripts. Bailey does well to highlight this in light of an argument that suggests an important, if gradual, shift in the nature of

the surveyed literature occurred in the late fifteenth century. Aspects of the printed literature point to a greater moralising focus and a more particular 'family' socialisation setting, for example. This analysis is dependent upon not only Bailey's reading of that printed material, but also a sensitive treatment of 'the type of courtesy literature that was privileged by the presses in relation to the overall body of courtesy material which existed' at the same time (p. 84).

Continuity is the overall impression given in the chapter that specifically addresses sixteenth-century books, as the moralising, family-centred approaches to child socialisation of the late fifteenth century continued to be key themes throughout the sixteenth century. Yet Bailey notes 'a self-conscious appropriation of traditional courtesy narratives and a desire to indicate a continuity with older texts' (p. 148), which is an interesting contribution to our overall sense of sixteenth-century England. Coupled with another of Bailey's findings that 'there was more continuity between Catholic and Protestant literature than is often recognised' (p. 137), this chapter usefully helps to realign our understandings of society more broadly, based on what that society hoped to impart to its children. There was greater social conservatism in the construction of morality and behaviour, even as other sources suggest sectional discord.

The role of the socialisation of children in the English Reformation, and the eventual success of the Elizabethan Settlement, are considered in the final chapter and the points that Bailey makes here again have important implications for a wider appreciation of social and religious change. Bailey notes strong parallels between school and household, and schoolmaster and father, which reveal an interesting connection between the moral instruction of children and the creation of a Protestant England loyal to the Elizabethan Settlement.

There is much more that will be of interest to historians in this book than a short review allows. Anyone interested in children, childhood, parents, families, households, adulthood, reading, writing, education, educators, printing, printers, manuscripts, medieval England, or early modern England, will benefit from exploring this excellent study. To borrow one of the texts that Bailey quotes (p. 79): 'I aduyse euery gentilman or woman ... to get and haue this book'.

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Barnes, Diana G., *Epistolary Community in Print, 1580–1664* (Material Readings in Early Modern Culture), Farnham, Ashgate, 2013; hardback; pp. 262; 11 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9781409445357.

Diana G. Barnes introduces her fascinating study with correspondence between Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey. She uses their dialogue to argue that epistolary discourse ‘is a sociable form that speaks for the group rather than the individual’ (p. 1). Thus, Barnes examines early modern letters that have ‘appeared at key moments from the 1580s to the 1660s’ with the wider community in mind (p. 15). During these periods of political upheaval, letter-writers attempted to influence public opinion.

Chapter 1 examines *The English Secretary* (1586–1635) by Angel Day. This manual for professional letter-writers also reveals Barnes’s additional interest in the importance of ‘feminine’ letters written by women. It appears an obvious concern given how the figure of ‘the secretary’ has been distinctly feminised in modern times. Barnes’s analysis of the literacy women demonstrated by the reading and writing of letters is here used to chart the development of love letters. Yet Barnes’s analysis is also crucial for understanding how women came to define the epistolary tradition.

Michael Drayton’s *England’s Heroicall Epistles* (1597) is the subject of Chapter 2. Influenced by the epistles in Ovid’s *Heroides*, Drayton’s dialogue form uses love letters ‘to challenge singular sovereignty’ (p. 69). The king’s disgruntled mistresses turned feminine discourse into a powerful political weapon. These epistolary dialogues lead Barnes neatly into a discussion of Jacques du Bosque’s *The Secretary of Ladies* (1638), the subject of Chapter 3. Translated by Jerome Hainhofer and dedicated to Mary Sackville, *The Secretary of Ladies* invited contemporary concerns into Henrietta Maria’s Roman Catholic court. Barnes argues more specifically that feminine epistolary discourse was not private, but ‘a differentiating and specifying term in a public discourse’ (p. 75). The early modern appetite for gossip within the aristocratic elite sets the tone for the next chapter.

Chapter 4, provocatively titled ‘Epistolary Battles in the English Civil War: *The Kings Cabinet Opened* (1645)’, details how Parliament turned the public against King Charles I. Once the New Model Army had seized and published the King’s private letters, Charles’s ability to rule was open to public debate. Barnes reveals a dichotomy where the King was associated ‘with secret language, deception and sin’ and Parliament ‘with plain prose, God and truth’ (p. 113). More interesting is the assertion that the King was ruled by an ‘evil secretary’ through the Queen’s ability to manipulate language (p. 128): femininity was no longer associated with love letters but with political controversy.

In order to restore a positive attitude towards feminine discourse, Chapter 5 tackles Margaret Cavendish’s *Sociable Letters* and *Philosophical*

Letters (1664). *Sociable Letters* contains letters promoting marital bliss. The wife of this epistolary discourse is not deceptive, but instead ‘sets ideals and restores peace’ (p. 157). *Philosophical Letters* is an extension of Cavendish’s rhetoric of friendship and love. It was a serious attempt by a woman to voice philosophical opinion in a distinctly male world. Cavendish’s discussion of the leading philosophers of the day, Thomas Hobbes, René Descartes, Henry More, Francis Mercury Van Helmont, and Galileo Galilei demonstrates this male preserve set against her own philosophy.

In the Conclusion, Barnes reiterates the social function of what she terms ‘the printed familiar letter’ (p. 197). The individual voice was still retained but, upon publication, the printed letter became a communal discourse through its wide familiarity. Yet Barnes also identifies the exclusionary nature of the epistolary tradition. Referring once again to the Spenser/Harvey letters, she reflects how the ‘familiar printed letter’ is hostile to the unfamiliar other.

Epistolary Community in Print, 1580–1664 is an excellent study for students and academics interested in the early modern letter-writing tradition. Barnes’s focus on feminine epistolary discourse gives her book welcome depth. Her book is also an exciting read. Each subsequent chapter follows a logical progression to create an absorbing narrative that celebrates the feminine intellect. What is crucial here is Barnes’s implication of a strong female community existing within, and undermining, an early modern patriarchal society. It is a study that even suggests how the modern secretary developed into a popular female vocation.

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Bianchini, Janna, *The Queen’s Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Middle Ages), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012; cloth; pp. 352; 7 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. \$69.95, £45.50; ISBN 9780812244335.

Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) is principally remembered for having ceded her sole right to inherit the throne of Castile on the death of her brother Enrique to her son Ferdinand III although she thereafter shared power with him. Janna Bianchini sees the use of the description ‘abdication’ for this event as a ‘canard’, arguing for Berenguela’s continuing role as queen regnant alongside her son in a ‘plural monarchy’. At the same time, despite acknowledging the distinctiveness of monarchs in Spain – where monarchs were neither anointed nor crowned but solely acclaimed – Bianchini uses many parallels with queens in other countries with different customs, recognising that there were common features all over Europe, as indeed the probability of

intermarriage makes likely. Bianchini has examined often-neglected material to produce this important study.

In the burgeoning of interest in and ability to investigate the Spanish archives that followed Franco's death, Berenguela has been the subject of at least two other English-language biographies and various interpretations, most recently by Peter Linehan (Wiley, 2011). Bianchini, without directly criticising the existing works, is here attempting a different approach based on the surviving diplomas of the various royal families and the well-known chroniclers. She takes her definitions of power and authority from Foucault via another student of Spanish queens, Theresa Earenfight. It is a definition that I find problematic but in practice the distinction does not underpin her argument.

Perhaps because Miriam Shadis has already covered much of the ground of queenly position and co-rulers in her recent book on Berenguela and elite political women (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Bianchini's work is in many ways a largely technical study, focused on Berenguela's assembling of her formal rights and to a lesser extent on her informal use of influence. Bianchini uses the detailed archival material to show how, by her personal donation of lands, titles, and positions, Berenguela developed her own powerful group of clients who were able to assist her in ousting other groups, eventually even the Laras, who were not favourable to her house. Nevertheless, other aristocrats – at critical moments like the accession to the throne of her young brother Enrique – could outface her over her right to the regency.

The details of aristocratic objectives can be found in the accounts of ruthless men, like Diego Lopez II de Haro, who shifted allegiance from country to country, but the absence of a consolidated account of the struggle between monarchs and nobles for control of the implements of power and the pretensions of different groups to legitimate use of such implements makes it harder to understand Berenguela's strategy.

Much of the work reads like a study of the royal families and their problems in the period rather than a work specifically about Berenguela. In a conventional manner, Bianchini assumes that inheritance and possessions normally trump more idealistic impulses, or at the least, they were the only things relevant to Berenguela's power plays. While she draws on such material as Lucy K. Pick's study of Roderigo Jimenez da Rada (University of Michigan Press, 2004), the archbishop of Toledo whose *Historia de rebus Hispanie* is crucial to her account, she gives no weight to the issues of interfaith problems. The Almohads figure only as opponents on the field of battle.

While it is clear that Berenguela spent most of her time inside a court structure with all that implies for behaviour, there is no discussion of its size and structure. Those not familiar with the Spanish Court hierarchy and the names and roles of different office holders will need to turn to other texts

that explain, for example, why the *alferez* was a key and all-powerful figure in the court. Although protocol and expenditure are mentioned, we get little impression of how it all worked, how it was managed, and whether it was the same at all the courts involved. By deduction, it seems diplomas were promulgated at court and anyone mentioned as issuing one was present as were those who gave witness. Was this an open court session and were the documents read to the audience to give them legitimacy?

Bianchini discusses Berenguela's legal participation in the royal courts but while she alludes to her prerogatives over the criminal and civil courts within her possessions she does not give us any idea of how she used that considerable authority. It was not unique to queens to have such a position – the abbess of Las Huelgas had it over fifty villages according to Ghislain Baur – but it was an important way in which an individual could demonstrate their moral principles and increase their influence, and further discussion of it would have provided us with some insight into a queen to whom contemporaries attributed all the right contemporary royal epithets but who remains elusive. Do not expect detailed character descriptions. The work is curiously impersonal, as if the protagonists wore masks, and are individually inaccessible to us except through their actions. Nevertheless, its solid scholarship will make it an indispensable work for future researchers.

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Bloch, David, *John of Salisbury on Aristotelian Science* (Disputatio, 8), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xvi, 246; R.R.P. €75.00, ISBN 9782503540993.

A warning: this book is concerned neither with science in the modern sense nor with Aristotle's scientific works. Its subject is rather: 'Was John acquainted with Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*?' This is an important question because John's *Metalogicon* has been taken as the first reference to Aristotle's text in Western Europe and hence as one of the earliest responses to the flood of Aristotelian translations which revolutionised scholarly life during the Twelfth-Century Renaissance.

The first three chapters are introductory. Until economic necessity forced him into paid employment as the clerical equivalent of a public servant and diplomat, John enjoyed the privilege of studying for an extended period under the most eminent scholars of his time. His account of his studies in Paris and Chartres is a key text for our knowledge of education at the cutting edge of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. David Bloch concludes that John

became well versed in the trivium and, to a limited extent, theology, but paid little attention to the more scientific disciplines of the quadrivium.

In the *Metalogicon*, John argues that the Aristotelian *Organon* (the logical works) should be the basis of the educational curriculum. The early twelfth-century revival of Aristotelian logic relied on the Boethian translations but the *Posterior Analytics* had to wait for James of Venice's translation, to which Bloch ascribes a relatively early date of c. 1130. By 1159, John was also acquainted with a second translation, by an anonymous John, since he cites variations between the two. He shows no knowledge of Aristotle's other works, though he was obviously well schooled in the Latin tradition of his day. Plato, Cicero, and Macrobius figure along with others in the *Policraticus* but are largely irrelevant to the concerns of the *Metalogicon*. A few relevant Arabic works were probably available but there is no evidence that John was familiar with them.

The early twelfth-century view of knowledge, including logic and science, remained a largely Augustinian Neoplatonic one in which man needed the gift of grace in order to approach God, which is truth. Aristotle held truth to arise through logical processes from reliable sense experience. The logical process in question is that of demonstration, which produces certain knowledge, as opposed to the probable knowledge produced by dialectic. The *Posterior Analytics* sets forth the method of demonstration. Traces of the Aristotelian view were already available, particularly in Boethius, Cicero, Euclid, and the Alexandrian material.

The main chapter, entitled 'John of Salisbury on Science', takes up half the book. Bloch subjects the *Metalogicon* to a detailed analysis in terms of John's understanding of Aristotelian theories of knowledge in general and the *Posterior Analytics* in particular. He concludes that John had probably never read the entire work and if he had, he had failed to understand it properly. Bloch suggests rather that John was drawing on his Paris studies of the 1140s, at which point the *logica nova* had barely commenced, and on the compendia of which he has been shown elsewhere to be so fond. John himself bitterly lamented that his busy life left him little time for philosophical studies. Thus the *Metalogicon* should be seen more as a reflection of the learning of the early twelfth century than as a precursor to that of the thirteenth.

The *Metalogicon* begins by attacking the Cornificians whom John claims maintain that study is useless since winning arguments is all that matters. The treatise itself is a defence of logic as the basis for the pursuit of knowledge. John declares himself a Ciceronian Academic Sceptic, by which he means that while some things must be accepted as true, most knowledge is probabilistic and hence open to question. The identity, and indeed existence, of the Cornificians has been a subject of much speculation. In an appendix, Bloch supports the thesis that it is a distortion of the teachings of Adam of Balsham,

the English Paris master more commonly referred to as Adamus Parvipontus (Adam du Petit Pont or Adam of the Little Bridge).

A useful little second appendix lists the texts referred to in Thierry of Chartres's *Heptateuchon*, a key twelfth-century text sadly lost during the Second World War. The bibliography and notes are as comprehensive as one would expect in a work of such dense scholarship. As Bloch makes clear, there is a parallel between the twelfth century's disregard for the *Posterior Analytics* followed by the thirteenth's embrace of it, and identical responses to this Aristotelian treatise in the early and late twentieth century. This is a work for the specialist. It is essential reading for anyone interested in John of Salisbury or twelfth-century scholarly life but it would also reward students of epistemology and the history of logic and the scientific method.

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Bubenik, Andrea, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528–1700* (Visual Culture in Early Modernity), Farnham, Ashgate, 2013; hardback; pp. xiv, 268; 81 b/w illustrations, 13 colour plates; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9781409438472.

The immense volume of scholarship on Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) written and published over the last five-hundred-odd years is a testament to the lasting importance of his standing as a key artist on the threshold of Modernity. And yet, this is the first book devoted entirely to Dürer's reception in early modern Europe. There are several reasons for this gap: some have to do with the intrinsic difficulty of dealing with such a looming figure, while others concern matters of periodisation, historicisation, or method. It is, after all, undoubtedly difficult to find an approach or a common narrative that could be true to both Dürer's own practice and to the extraordinarily diverse range of artistic responses to his work. Indeed, different authors respond in different ways to different models.

Nevertheless, Andrea Bubenik's new book sets out on the difficult task of finding that common narrative, and it does so with sharp focus, a keen analytical eye, and great examples throughout. Bubenik starts by looking at early critical perceptions of Dürer, with particular attention to his influence in Renaissance portraiture, and then embarks on an exploration of the role played by collectors beyond the realm of their personal influence. This is further illustrated in the third and lengthier section of the book through a detailed analysis of different artistic practices (forgery, copy, emulation, imitation) that could be included within the seemingly anachronistic term 'appropriation'. The scope, structure, and approach of the book help the

reader examine how the relationship between individual artists and their artistic tradition was articulated during the early modern period. It does so, not only through institutions (such as courtly patronage or the Church), but also through the building of an intellectual discourse on the visual arts that bears fascinating parallels with the development of other discursive disciplines, such as literary theory (an appropriation itself of Aristotle), and the budding national historiographies (also informed by rhetorical notions of imitation, emulation, and appropriation).

The mention of Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Lomazzo in Chapter 1 is particularly useful to illustrate the continuous link between art practice and scholarly/authorial activity. This link furnished the basis for Dürer's unique authority as an artist, and as a learned man of science that, in turn, explained the widespread transmission of Dürer's features in graphic reproductions and his enormous influence in portraiture. Bubenik illustrates the point using an extraordinary variety of media and formats that reflect the vitality of different material cultures in early modern Europe: coins, medals, casts in wood and metal, woodcuts and engravings, and drawings in different techniques are lavishly printed as an appendix, and serve to engage the reader in a rich inter-textual dialogue across different images, authors, techniques, and media.

Chapter 2 explores in detail the political nature of art collecting, and its aesthetic and philosophical implications over time. Being a keen collector himself, Dürer employed very early on his own agents, and discussed at some length their contractual conditions, to ensure maximum dissemination and impact of his work. This chapter also shows an alternative perspective to the appropriation of Dürer's work, as it traces shifts in both the main centres for collecting Dürer, the types of work collected, the changing profiles of collections, and the challenges posed in the organisation of these ever-growing collections. The cases examined throw significant light onto different social profiles, ranging from professionals of the emerging bourgeoisie to courtiers and diplomats, from the academic and the scholar to the great Habsburg collections of Emperor Rudolf II or Archduke Maximilian I of Bavaria. Finally, Chapter 3 examines the artistic outcomes and consequences of the constitution of these larger collections of Dürer's work by the Imperial Courts in Munich and Prague.

Perhaps the most contentious point of this book is the term 'appropriation' itself, normally associated with contemporary art production and hermeneutics. How much of that postmodern (or over-modern) term can be applied to a pre-modern (or early modern) context? To my understanding, it is precisely this new focus on the nature of artistic appropriation which helps Bubenik to successfully re-frame Renaissance ideas and debates on *imitatio* and *emulatio* and convincingly show how these were applied to pictorial invention, composition, and execution in such a wide range of works,

genres, and specific production contexts. By situating these processes in this richly textured crossroads, this book demonstrates the absolute relevance of contemporary reception theory in our understanding of the early modern, as well as the absolute relevance of Dürer in contemporary debates on the role of the artist as a practitioner and as an authority, at the intersection between the production and reception of images and knowledge.

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Campbell, Emma and Robert **Mills**, eds, *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2012; hardback; pp. xii, 292; 16 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN9781843843290.

This wide-ranging and stimulating collection of essays on medieval translation is thoroughly informed by current work in translation studies and theory. Carefully produced and edited, the essays are lucid and accessible. Thematic coherence is enhanced both by the thoughtful Introduction establishing the predominant themes and outlining the varied issues of the essays, and by Simon Gaunt's concluding response. Furthermore, the responses of one essay to another indicate that the volume arises from reflection and discussion between participants.

The term 'medieval translation' in the title must be differentiated from 'modern translation'. As an Anglicisation of Latin *translatio*, it represents not only linguistic translation or the transfer of physical objects (such as relics in *translatio reliquiarum*), but also the transfer of power (*translatio imperii*) and the transfer of knowledge (*translatio studii*). Within this framework, the significance of the subtitle takes on a heightened importance, and we see how postcolonial theory intersects with translation theory in the work of those influential in the field. Prominently featured in the Introduction and in many of the essays are the ideas of Derrida, Berman, Venuti, and of course the seminal essay of Walter Benjamin 'Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers'.

Marilynn Desmond's essay 'On Not Knowing Greek' examines the dependence of Petrarch and Boccaccio upon the Calabrian Leonzio Pilatus to provide them with access to the ancient Greek poets, particularly Homer. Desmond argues that Pilatus mediated between the ancient languages of the East and West, and that both his identity and his role in the transmission of Greek texts 'dramatize the liminality of *translatio* in the medieval Mediterranean, that is, the potential of *translatio* to destabilize rather than fix identities' (p. 22).

In her comparative study 'Translating Lucretia', Catherine Léglu examines the idea of 'ethical non-indifference' in Simon de Hesdin's treatment of the Lucretia story in his translation of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, and in the manuscript illustrations accompanying it. The verbal and pictorial translations by de Hesdin and others 'function as a means of exploring, rather than cancelling, the cultural as well as the linguistic gap between the classical, pagan text and the late medieval reader' (p. 83).

That the book is weighted toward medieval French translators will soon become apparent. Miranda Griffin applies a Derridean reading of the transformative processes at work in the *Ovide moralisé*, Emma Campbell examines another facet of translation between the human world and the divine in her exploration of Rutebeuf's drama the *Miracle de Théophile*, while Noah Guynn tackles the problem of medieval understanding of the term catharsis in relation to the politics of Pierre Gringore's *Le jeu du Prince des Sotz et de Mere Sotte*. In 'The Task of the *Dérimeur*', Jane Gilbert draws upon the work of Walter Benjamin to illuminate the work of the French prosifiers or *dérimeurs*, who transformed (or translated) older verse texts into prose form in the same language.

Comparative analysis effectively underpins Robert Mills's essay 'Invisible Translation, Language Difference and the Scandal of Becket's Mother'. Developing the work of Venuti on the ethics of a translator's invisibility, Mills surveys textual and pictorial versions of the legend of Becket's 'heathen' convert mother, which not only undergo 'translation' in various ways through time and place, but also contain within them issues of difference in language and culture that reflect back upon those who adapt and modify the legend. In 'Medieval Fixers', Zrinka Stahuljak takes a position that contrasts with Mills's problematisation of the translator's invisibility. She draws comparisons between the modern 'fixer' or translator/factotum mediating between opposing factions in zones of conflict like Iraq, and 'fixers' as depicted in medieval narratives of cultural conflict, including Pierre Dubois's *De recuperatione terre sancte*, Froissart's account of the siege of Mahdia in his *Chroniques*, and Guillaume de Machaut's *La prise d'Alixandre*.

Multilingualism emerges as a theme in the last three essays preceding Gaunt's wrap-up. William Burgwinkle focuses on the polyglot Ramon Lull, who wrote texts in Catalan, Occitan, Latin, Arabic, French, and Italian. Ardis Butterfield explores the idea of 'rough translation' – a term drawn from postcolonial discourse – in the French–English bilingualism of the French exile Charles d'Orléans, and the English authors Lydgate and Hoccleve. She examines the way in which 'errors, neologism, non-standard forms and phrases are deliberately cultivated by a translator to avoid the dishonesty of a homogenised, airbrushed transfer from one culture to another' (p. 206). Then Luke Sunderland discusses the many translations and versions of a *chanson de*

geste recounting the adventures of Bevis of Hampton/Bueve d'Hantone/Bovo d'Antona (etc.). He sets up a dialogue between the texts and the translation theories of Berman and Venuti in order to explore the idea of encounter with 'the foreign' and ways of receiving and responding to it.

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Carlson, David R., *John Gower, Poetry and Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century England* (Publications of the John Gower Society), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2012; hardback; pp. 254; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9781843843153.

The first sentence of David Carlson's new monograph – 'More history than John Gower, perhaps; much of state papers, little literary criticism' (p. 1) – makes for a succinct summary of the book as a whole. It undersells, however, the more compelling aspects of the discussion of the official sources of much fourteenth-century verse and prose in the thesis that follows. Far from simply expanding a study like Richard Frith Green's *Poets and Princepleasers* (University of Toronto Press, 1980), this book is a crucial addition to the history of ways in which literary production and politics were interconnected in fourteenth-century England.

The first five chapters – roughly half the book – contain only glancing references to Gower and, given the monograph's title, this is surprising. What this initial section does is establish a firm ground for the book's argument that literary activity throughout the fourteenth century was frequently financed by state politics. The question of evidence is foremost in this section, both in terms of existing evidence, or lack thereof, and its nature, as well as how what survives, or what does not, might be interpreted. Receipts suggesting that a poet was paid to write a particular piece do not exist in England before the fifteenth century, despite the claims made directly or obliquely by poets in the works themselves. What seems at first to be a paucity of firm evidence to prove the commissioning of particular pieces of writing is shown to be remarkably full: 'Official documents, memoranda proclamations, ... newsletters ... chronicle-histories', and poetry, when interpreted together, provide a compelling portrait of the ways that court poets laboured for the state.

The first chapter opens with the example of Robert Baston, a clerical poet Edward II apparently engaged to celebrate his successful campaigning over the Scots. But during the Scottish successes that ensued, Baston was captured, and put to work writing verses 'in praise of Scottish valour, making mock of the English, his way of his ransom from captivity' (p. 5). Carlson uses

the event to underscore an important point, one which has the potential to impact on modern critical interpretations of entire literary careers in the later Middle Ages, that poets were 'Not free agents, muse-driven, self-activating or self-motivating, producing art *ars gratia artis*, or not wholly so: poets were promiscuous tools, or were also, to be used for propaganda on behalf of commissioning agencies within the secular state' (p. 6). Carlson earlier defines 'propaganda' (defending himself against possible anachronism) as 'purposeful, persuasive provision of information, of the sort the *Congregatio* provides on the faith even now' (pp. 2–3).

Gower's later writings move to the centre of the discussion only in the second half of the monograph. Here, the detailed focus on the period 1399–1400, the 'Lancastrian Revolution', provides an opportunity for analysis of Gower's writing during that period against a well-documented moment of social and political upheaval. In particular, the 1399 'Record and Process', a document recording the parliamentary deposition of Richard in favour of Henry, is considered. Carlson's detailed study of the period moves from interpretation of Gower's *Cronica tripertita* as official panegyric, to a number of popular poems written in English in 1399, and back again to the *Cronica*, which he argues persuasively to have been substantially based on the 'Record and Process' and written in the service of the state. Carlson focuses his analysis of Gower's service to the Lancastrian regime primarily through the *Cronica*, but ends with a note of mild dissent, showing that 'Gower remained capable of disillusionment with Henry's rule' (p. 219).

There is little mention in the book of *Confessio Amantis* or any of Gower's better known works, and the research may be too complex in its structure and scope to make for useful reading in undergraduate courses of study, but for researchers working on fourteenth-century English literature and history, and those interested in the ways in which literature translates, reflects, enacts, or challenges contemporary politics in later periods, it should prove compelling.

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Chen, Sanping, *Multicultural China in the Early Middle Ages* (Encounters with Asia), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012; cloth; pp. 320; R.R.P. US\$79.95, £52.00; ISBN 9780812243703.

Sanping Chen's interesting and challenging collection – part linguistics, part cultural case studies – is clearly a labour of love and dedication. The obvious interest Chen has in challenging accepted norms is foregrounded from the start through both the initial foreword by Victor H. Mair and the jacket appraisal by Peter Golden of Rutgers University, which refers to the text as a 'useful corrective'. Without a network of existing support, Chen's status as an independent scholar throws into stark relief both the challenge he makes in 'correcting' existing historical interpretations of Sui and Tang China and the sheer effort required in doing so, evident by his painstaking literary, linguistic, and sociological analysis.

Through six related and somewhat self-referential essays, Chen explores a series of subjects to peel back the Chinese 'vener' of Tang dynasty culture, norms, language, and familial descent. He argues that far from the accepted standpoint, the Tang royal household was in fact 'barbarian' in origin, that Steppe, Altaic, and Iranian influences were pervasive throughout the Tang eras, that such influences were an 'open secret' forcing a backlash against the royal household and nobility by Han and Confucian traditionalists in society, and this led to further stratification and segregation at court and throughout the noble classes.

The first essay, on the cultural ancestry and heritage of the Tuoba Steppe people in connection with their subsequent 'Sinotization' as the Tang dynasty, is the strongest of the collection. Chen deftly examines the mores of the royal household, such as language, kin relations, predilection for 'barbarian' interests such as riding, hunting, and the performing arts in the context of a few, offhand mentions of this heritage in various histories which previous scholars have not been able to fully explain. Indeed, the context of 'official history' – which in China would typically mean an authorised, Confucian and court-scholar Han version – gives Chen a single impetus in explaining why so few mentions of this heritage exist and why previous historians would underplay or try to explain away a connection between a supposedly native dynasty and a 'barbaric' people.

Following the first essay on ancestry, Chen turns to topics as diverse as the legend of Mulan and the linguistic origin of the Chinese unicorn, the relations between kin and the treatment of canines in various Sino-Altaic cultures, the connections between the Huns, the Bulgars, and the Steppe peoples bordering China, Iranian cultural connections, the use of theophoric names in China and their cultural ancestry, and the likely ancestry (both tribal and cultural) of the celebrated Tang dynasty poet Bai Juyi.

It is the historical and cultural context of the first essay, and a broader awareness of the norms of the Tuoba people, that filters through and grounds the entire collection. Chen's retelling of this 'open secret' of the Tang dynastic ancestry provides a solid and necessary frame for those who come to his collection without Chen's detailed and independent background in the broader history of the Middle Kingdom across a good two millennia. It is this breadth and depth of knowledge that infuses Chen's collection, both its core strength and its chief weakness. He has such a clear command of detail that at times he appears more to be clutching at evidence to support his initial claims, simply because they are so often repeated across each case study. Chen fails to build on the bigger picture of the first essay, but rather, goes smaller, dwells deeper, and in setting out his case he spends as much time debunking alternative interpretations as he does setting forth his own argument.

While his ultimate contention – that Tang dynasty China contained a wealth of disparate and foreign influences across the royal dynasty, in administration, religion, language, and trade – is more than plausible, as Chen delves deep into each case there is the possibility he loses the reader who does not have quite the depth of knowledge as he does. He spends the larger part of each successive essay 'knocking down' established historical and linguistic analysis in order to then pose his broader argument as a plausible alternative.

Each subsequent essay builds on the case made in the first essay – that there is a hitherto unexplored or suppressed aspect of Tang dynasty China, largely derived from a variety of foreign influences. Each time Chen returns to that well, his argument seems a little more hollow and a little more repetitive – not without substance certainly, but by restating his contention through each separate case study, it is clear to see which cases hold up best in support. This collection is not without incredible merit and bravery, but it may not capture the attention of the non-expert.

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Churchill, Wendy D., *Female Patients in Early Modern Britain: Gender Diagnosis and Treatment* (History of Medicine in Context), Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. xiv, 281; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781409438779.

With *Female Patients in Early Modern Britain: Gender Diagnosis and Treatment*, Wendy Churchill adds a new dimension to the study of early modern medical history. Her objective is to throw light on the relationship between female patients and male practitioners in order to understand the extent to which sex and gender were factors in diagnosis and therapy. Were women treated

differently from men as a result of contemporary theoretical concepts of the body and the existence of disorders peculiar to women?

Churchill employs a wide spectrum of records to explore 'the extent to which women's health was, or was not, subsumed within a restricted range of female-specific complaints that were predominantly of a gynaecological or psychological character' (p. 1). Her sources range from physicians' casebooks and medical consultations to personal correspondence and diaries. Perhaps inevitably, physicians' records dominate over those of other practitioners and correspondence of patients themselves. Her sources are predominantly English and they have to some extent defined her choice of period. Nonetheless, the time frame, 1590–1740, covers a period when medical theory was undergoing change and the 'professional' practice of medicine was under challenge.

While her study is in part based on a quantitative analysis of the records, Churchill gives no indication of the total number of cases she has examined. If the number is indeed as substantial as it appears to be, enumeration would have added further authority to her arguments. Investigations of early modern medical history often run into problems that arise from the inconsistent nosology and diagnosis of disease of the period. To the extent that she has exemplified specific illnesses, notably venereal disease, smallpox, and tertian fevers, she has arguably minimised these problems. In the field of 'psychological' disorders, however, these problems are exacerbated, as Churchill herself recognises.

In Chapter 1, Churchill discusses the relationship between female patients and their male health providers. She considers not only the sort of conditions that were of concern, but also the dynamics of the relationship between the two parties including such issues as privacy and trust.

Chapter 2 focuses on female-specific physiology, lifecycle stages, and health issues, particularly those related to menstruation and breast disorders. Her treatment of female lifecycles, essentially an age-based model, is well constructed. While Churchill has provided a new way of looking at women's health, the chapter is stronger on the signs, symptoms, and diagnosis of women's specific complaints, than it is on treatment.

In Chapter 3, Churchill turns to the issue of prescribing for the sexed body. (She takes into account the shift in the early modern period from a one-sex to a two-sex model of the body, a core consideration, which appears throughout the book as she develops her arguments that women's physiological differences, in relation to men, had pathological consequences, which in turn led to sex-specific diagnoses and treatments.) Treatment proposed by contemporary medical practitioners could be considered as falling into two categories: paying attention to the Hippocratic non-naturals, and the use of therapeutic substances. The latter is admittedly a complex and difficult area,

but one that might have been given more analysis considering the extensive sources she has employed.

Churchill suggests that in the cases of her selected contagious diseases, treatment proffered to men and women appear similar if not identical (pp. 144–45). She then sets out to demolish this by arguing, quite convincingly, that treatment for men and women was different. Her strongest argument is that treatment varied according to where a woman was in her individual life stage. Her section on race and through this on climate – in effect tropical medicine – adds an interesting and new aspect to the topic.

The final chapter focuses on what Churchill terms psychological disorders – ‘diseases of the head nerves or spirits’ (p. 195) – principally hysteria, hypochondria, and melancholia. She points out that these disorders represented an important category, yet one that appeared in the casebooks far less frequently than contagious illnesses. The claim would have been strengthened had she provided quantitative data across her whole set of case studies. Notwithstanding this criticism, Churchill has argued well that women were treated differently from men in diseases of a psychological nature and that physicians of the period took account of not only sex and lifecycle, but also cultural variables.

Overall this is a useful addition to the genre and will be appreciated by historians working in the fields of early modern medical practice and gender studies.

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Crane, Susan, *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013; cloth; pp. 296; 11 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$59.95; ISBN 9780812244588.

Susan Crane’s new monograph, *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain*, provides an informed, complex analysis of animal and human interactions and impressions across time and place in medieval Britain. Significantly, this work extends the established approaches and understandings of animal studies. It challenges many preconceptions regarding medieval society and their animals: medieval society did not simply or only consider animals through the Christian allegorical lens of the bestiary, but also in myriad other ways. To reveal the complexity of these relationships, Crane employs an extensive methodology that combines traditional and novel perspectives, and builds on the animal studies of Wolfe, Burt, and Cohen. In her focus on the living animal, Crane provides a close reading of many diverse texts and the result is a nuanced study that avoids the anthropomorphism of

animals, preferring to focus on *the* animal and its encounters with *the* human in actual and imagined worlds.

The medieval Britain that Crane examines is extensive: she presents a variety of genres from far-reaching temporal and geographical provenances. Textually, there are hagiography, lyric poetry, *lais*, fables, bestiary, hunting treatises, romances, and chivalric texts. Temporally, the selected works span the eighth to fifteenth centuries, while geographically there are Celtic, Anglo-Norman, and cross-channel texts. As for the animals, the six chapters principally feature a cat, wolf, stag, boar, falcon, and horse. The first two chapters deal with cohabitation, while aristocratic contacts with animals feature in the final three.

Methodologically, the extent of Crane's analysis is stimulating. She has combined established 'literary approaches to genre, language, gender and culture' with innovative 'perspectives from evolutionary biology, taxonomy, language acquisition, ethology and environmental studies' (p. 3). In Chapter 1, for example, Crane examines an old Irish lyric, *Pangur Bán*, found in a ninth-century manuscript. This poem tells of a symbiotic relationship between a monk and a cat each able to do their respective 'work' because of the other: the monk writing while the cat is mousing. Crane applies an evolutionary biological theory to understand the symbiosis, revising existing theories of domestication. She draws on Stephen J. Gould's work on the concept of 'neoteny' whereby, through genetic evolution, animals retain their juvenile traits into adulthood. Crane posits that this evolutionary genetic process has enabled the animal to 'tolerate' human contact, rather than the human practice of domestication (pp. 21–22). In the resulting analysis of *Pangur Bán*, Crane argues for a positive reading of this particular human–feline relationship that contrasts sharply with other medieval texts that feature cats in a pejorative way.

The final chapter considers the relationship between knight and horse. As Crane observes, the knight is a customary character in chivalric literature but rarely do such texts have an equine focus. Crane's analysis reveals a lesser-considered aspect of knight and horse in medieval texts, namely, companionship, or the bond between the knight and his horse. While mutual comprehension between rider and horse is a primary element synonymous with chivalry, Crane's examination of a particular chivalric romance reveals a more intense animal–human attachment exemplified through interdependence and 'isopraxis' or mirrored behaviours. In the Middle English text *Bevis of Hampton*, the relationship between the protagonist, Bevis, and his horse, Arondel, inverts the chivalric convention, and reveals a human dependence on the animal. Essentially, in contrast to chivalric conventions, whereby a knight's horse might die after its owner's death, in this tale, Bevis reveals his devotion to and dependence on his horse by succumbing

to death once Arondel has died. After the horse's death, Arondel is included in prayers for the dead, which, while unorthodox, reveals, Crane suggests, a 'clash of shifting gears' (p. 167); some medieval writers recognised that cross-species contacts could expose an awareness that transcended the human consciousness.

Crane's remaining chapters are no less erudite. In her Conclusion, Crane acknowledges the dichotomy between human and animal in the medieval experience but as her work reveals, medieval society could also understand relationships with animals on more extensive levels. Crane's careful scrutiny of medieval texts reveals the multivalency of these relationships and enriches scholars' awareness and appreciation of animal experiences in medieval Britain. Overall, this is a welcome addition to the field of animal studies. The strength of Crane's work lies in her eclectic choice of texts and insightful analysis of them, revealing the richness and plurality of medieval society's contacts with and concepts of animals.

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Dempsey, Charles, *The Early Renaissance and Vernacular Culture* (Bernard Berenson Lectures on the Italian Renaissance), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. 398; 45 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. \$39.95, £29.95, €36.00; ISBN 9780674049529.

This work arises from Charles Dempsey's 2008 Berenson Lectures at Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies. It argues, like Dempsey's seminal work on Botticelli's *Primavera*, for a re-evaluation of the importance of the vernacular in the Renaissance, proposing a *renovatio* rather than a rebirth: 'a remaking of the present, its language, arts, and culture, by assimilating ... both Latin and Italian, and testing the results against the standards and achievements of the ancients' (pp. 205–06). Renaissance scholarship – from Burckhardt and Panofsky onwards, as summarised in Chapter 1 – frequently concentrates on the primacy of classical antiquity, so it is refreshing to read a case for vernacular texts which does not present them as the country cousins of 'civilised' Latin humanism.

Dempsey has argued for the intersection of art, vernacular and humanist literature, and civic ritual elsewhere, particularly with reference to Botticelli's *Primavera*, Politian's *Stanze per la giostra*, and Medicean social engagement in the fifteenth century. Here too he argues by case study, beginning with Simone Martini's *Maestà* in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. He sets out how Martini's Madonna conforms to the *effictio*, or description of external beauty, popularised by Provençal poets. But Martini also drew on French Gothic

sculpture and royal trappings (such as the Angevin crown) and, significantly, the courtly aesthetic of both the *dolce stil novo* and the *laudi* of Jacopone da Todi and others. Here we begin to see how traditional boundaries – French versus Italian sources, for example – were porous.

In the second chapter, Dempsey advances his study of Botticelli. He examines Botticelli's idealised female beauties and so-called mythological canvases in the light of popular poetry and classical models' canons of female beauty: Luigi Pulci's wonderful *frottola* describing the contents of two galleys carrying ladies' wardrobes to a villa retreat outside Florence, for example, and Politian's descriptions of the *Venus Anadyomene*. I was particularly struck by Dempsey's argument for reclassifying Botticelli's 'mythological' paintings as *favole* or fables, a term which better captures the full range of their inspiration and limits them less to their classical sources.

The third and fourth chapters move from Florentine civic rituals (e.g., Medicean jousts) to another lively form of public performance, the *sacra rappresentazione*. The case study here is a set of Latin epigrams describing a cycle of twelve sibyls and some prophets painted c. 1430 for a room in Cardinal Giordano Orsini's palace in Rome. The Orsini paintings were subsequently lost, but Dempsey traces the entire cycle's influence: from manuscript copies of the epigrams (presumably presented as gifts on Orsini's papal embassies), to Florentine Annunciation plays, and to a series of engravings (c. 1471–75) attributed to Baccio Baldini. The comparison between the Orsini and Baldini epigrams and the engravings is fruitful and is made with reference to the appendix, which clearly sets these alongside one another. (If the appendix had also set out the sibyls' speeches from the two Annunciation plays – both tentatively attributed to Feo Belcari by Dempsey, but systematically investigated with different conclusions by Nerida Newbigin in *Feste D'Oltrarno: Plays in Churches in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Olschki, 1996) – this would have facilitated the reading.) Dempsey's point is the interconnection of the humanist texts and the sibyls' popular representations, in Florence's squares and churches and in Baldini's engravings.

Some of the connections made here, however, are not as strong as those in the earlier chapters. The costumes of Baldini's sibyls are carefully individuated, for example, as Dempsey shows – but is it really possible to link them to those worn by the *sacre rappresentazioni* players, when contemporary descriptions of players' costumes are schematic and inventories suggestive but rarely conclusive? The issue seems particularly problematic given Baldini's dependence on a set of engravings by Master G. S. (now in the British Museum, London), as Dempsey himself concurs – and, presumably, on other artistic sources. (To my eyes, at least, Baldini's mature and wimpled Erythraean Sibyl could just as easily owe something to Masaccio and Masolino's *Madonna and Child with St Anne* (1424), now in the Uffizi.) Occasional

repetitions and opacities render Dempsey's thesis less convincing in this final section, but the crux is the extent to which artists working across various genres and media were influenced by both classical sources (e.g., comedies by Plautus) and vernacular modes. As Dempsey's scholarship demonstrates in the case of Martini and Botticelli, this blend resulted in lively and complex works, but I wanted to know more about how artists resolved the problems of incorporating material across such different genres. Dempsey shows that they do not merely quote vernacular poems or translate Latin epigrams – so more precisely, how did they approach or resolve the challenges of their polymath practices?

The notes are extremely detailed and useful, but a general bibliography would also have aided the reader. I continue to be frustrated, however, by the publishing trend that relegates notes to endnotes and so necessitates incessant flipping.

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Dillon, Emma, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France 1260–1330* (New Cultural History of Music, 7), New York, Oxford University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. xxvi, 367; 64 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £45.00; ISBN 9780199732951.

Making sense of sound is a complex process entailing far more than just decoding auditory experience. Memory, visual stimuli, physical movement, and language can all play a role in conditioning the listener's response just as music's expressive power can register without our having to experience the physical sensation of sound: silent music, music recalled, read, or imagined, can move us almost as powerfully as sounding music. *The Sense of Sound* is a clever and apt title for a highly original, persuasively argued book. Emma Dillon's monograph explores with verve how within certain milieux in late medieval France the sensory and sensual, ambient and random, sensible and nonsensical may have been factored into the experience of music. Revealed is 'a world captured in words, images, and music, in which sounds of all kinds shaped human experience, and which also shaped musical listening' (p. 8).

Taking cognisance of this world opens a vista on to the 'supermusical', a term and concept Dillon frequently uses but the precise meaning of which by its nature remains somewhat elusive. It signifies a realm of sound, real and implied, that is extraneous to (the piece of) music, in the sense of being above and beyond it, and yet integral to it also, in its potential to reveal the gamut of music's possible meanings. What does not come into the embrace of the 'supermusical' is information derived from a consideration of the music as

transmitted in notation. Possible musical meanings revealed and alluded to in Dillon's book, for all their subtlety and provocative insight, sit outside, that is, are tacitly divorced from a consideration of their potential interplay with musical structure, form, pitch, and rhythm. Her methodology 'position[s] sound, listening, and creative community at the center of the picture normally driven by analytic, textual, and philological imperatives' (p. 332).

How this approach works in practice is the stuff of Chapter 1 in which a range of text-critical approaches is brought to bear on a genre of prime interest to Dillon, and an aspect of it that has long puzzled musicologists, namely: In what sense do polytextual motets make sense? To press the case for verbal sound in this genre taking precedence over verbal sense, Dillon explicates in turn each voice of *Le premier jor/ Par un matin/ Je ne puis plus/ Iustus* demonstrating their intelligibility as independent monophonic songs before revealing that, in fact, they constitute a single composition: three French-texted parts sounding simultaneously over a Latin-texted tenor.

Chapters 2 to 4 deal with external sound worlds. Adducing evidence from sources such as the manuscript illuminations of the Vita of St Denis, and literary works by Guillot de Paris, Jean de Jandun, and John of Garland, Dillon proceeds to a close reading of a trouvère *chanson de recontre* and two motets from the Montpellier Codex H.196. In Chapter 3, the focus is on the rambunctious carry-on of charivari as evidenced in Paris, BnF. fr. 146, the illuminated reworking of the *Roman de Fauvel* by Chaillou de Pesstain that is suffused with over 169 musical interpolations. Readers familiar with Dillon's first monograph, *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), will recall the imaginative flair and analytical insight she brought to this much-studied manuscript showing how music can be expressive in ways that are unperformable apart from visual representation. In *The Sense of Sound*, Dillon turns to the *sotes chansons*, specifically, the sub-genre of *fratras*. Its playful use of nonsense lyrics and sparseness of musical notation she sees as the very embodiment of charivari. She deftly traces the complex web of interconnections that link the refrain of the *fratras*, *An Diex*, with one of the most complex pieces in the *Roman de Fauvel*, the polytextual motet *Quasi non ministerium/ Trahunt in precipicia/ Ve qui gregi/ Displicebat ei*. The interpretative ramifications are dizzying; Dillon's command of this material is little short of virtuosic.

By the end of Chapter 3 Dillon's contention regarding the polytextual motet has been well established, namely, that by virtue of its texture and its multiple texts it has the potential to explore facets of linguistic sound that poetry alone could not (p. 161). Chapter 4 adds two more case studies, motets by Adam de la Halle. While the connection she posits between the depiction of madness in the composer's literary work, *Jeu de la feuillée* and the play of rhymes in two of his motets might seem a bit strained, Dillon's

analyses of the musical works in this case do marry, and effectively so, textual with musico-analytical insights.

The second half of *The Sense of Sound*, Chapters 5–8, explores the internal sound world of prayer through an examination of iconography in Books of Hours and, by extrapolation, plausible connections in terms of like manner of presentation and decoration with a group of motets in the Montpellier Codex. The integral connection in religious communities between singing and praying, between the sound world of *opus Dei* and books of hours for personal devotion, is aptly expressed: ‘Praying with sound was infused with a kind of musicality, was itself a kind of music-making’ (p. 242).

The ‘triptych’ of Chapters 6–8 examines the significance of marginalia and framing decoration in a number of prayer books. Drawing on a wide selection of secondary literature, the work of Roger Wieck and Michael Camille in particular, Dillon convincingly highlights the ‘innately musical’ aspects of the presentational *mise-en-page* of these books. Although the bulk of her attention is devoted to the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux (New York, Cloister 54.1.2) and Book of Hours of the Passion (Baltimore, Walters W102) there are throughout gems of observations about numerous other manuscripts. For example, her keen observations on another Walters manuscript (W88) sheds light on the sequence, *Que est ista que ascendet transiens deserta*, by the early thirteenth-century poet and major figure in the history of medieval music, Philip the Chancellor. In the final chapter, Dillon returns to the polytextual motet applying to a number of pieces in the first fascicle of the Montpellier Codex insights derived from the study of devotional books.

Dillon’s is a major contribution to a rich field of study. It deserves a wide readership.

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Duncan, Thomas G., ed., *Medieval English Lyrics and Carols*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2013; paperback; pp. xvi, 466; R.R.P. £25.00; ISBN 9781843843412.

A fresh edition of these lyrics and carols is a welcome addition to literature of the genre. This one is not entirely new, but presents, in revised and accessible form, Duncan's previous editions, *Medieval English Lyrics, 1200–1400* (Penguin, 1995) and *Late Medieval English Lyrics and Carols, 1400–1530* (Penguin, 2000), as Parts I and II of this book, with 132 and 150 poems respectively. The format is inviting, with marginal glosses for words in context, a helpful Introduction, and endnotes on individual poems. Duncan normalises the language of Part I to the late fourteenth-century form of Chaucer, and defends his inclusion of sixteenth-century lyrics in medieval style. He prints those of Part II 'largely as found in the surviving sources' (p. x), for example leaving Scots lyrics in Middle Scots.

The selection has much of the range of specialised collections, including those of Carleton Brown, Rossell Hope Robbins, Richard Leighton Greene, G. L. Brook, and Douglas Gray. In scope it resembles those of R. T. Davies and of Maxwell S. Luria and Richard L. Hoffman, but differs in the additional material provided. As headings, Duncan uses first lines of poems. This is unexceptionable, of course, but some titles in frequent use are not obviously derived from the first lines, for instance the 'Corpus Christi Carol' ('He bare hym up, he bare hym down') and 'Sunset on Calvary' ('Now goth sonnë under wode'). Thus it would be helpful to mention them, perhaps in the endnotes. In those notes, Duncan supplies numbers in the *New Index of Middle English Verse*, manuscript sources and textual variations, general remarks, and notes on significant lines and words. In both parts the poems are grouped as those of love, aspects of religious life, and 'Miscellaneous' and 'Popular,' but without practical verses, such as those of the calendar. His choices cover a wide range, with many fascinating examples of the lyricist's art. The Introduction uses the same order for its expositions.

Duncan relates early love lyrics for a lady to Old English poems of devotion to the lord of a *comitatus*, considering the influence of troubadour lyrics and conventional structures and tags. He prefers Chaucer's urbane lyrics, and rather sweepingly finds others of the period inferior, excepting those of MS Harley 2253. Part II has more courtly love lyrics, and Duncan commends the graceful works of Charles d'Orléans.

Early religious lyrics present Old English themes in newer ways. For example, Duncan contrasts the treatment of the *ubi sunt* topos in *The Wanderer* and that of 'Where ben they before us weren' (Part I, p. 47). The poems are not unsophisticated, but voice tender devotion in the style of *sermo humilis*, and some exploit conventions of secular love, such as the *chanson d'aventure*.

Later poets drew on more complex imagery and convention. Duncan uses aureate diction masterfully, and the *chanson d'aventure* frequently appears. Other lyrics encapsulate sermons. Both parts offer moving complaints of Christ and the Virgin, and Duncan shows their techniques of relating to the reader, as in the touching pieta, 'O alle women that ever were borne' (p. 75). Lyrics of penitence include the warning *memento mori*, and those of death are among the more affecting examples. Duncan chooses 'Farewell, this world! I take my leve for evere' (p. 102) as one of the finest, for its 'poise and restraint' (p. 35). Many religious lyrics, mostly from the fifteenth century, are carols. Duncan's account of their flavour and strengths is concise and sensitive, conveying abilities to engage the audience and express emotions, as some lullabies of the Nativity impart the anticipation of sorrow, unlike the livelier carols of festive joy.

'Popular' and 'Miscellaneous' enclose a wide and zestful range, with songs of love, laments of betrayed girls, and jolly secular carols of drinking, feasting, and games. There are patriotic carols such as the 'Agincourt Carol' (p. 132), ballads of Judas ('Hit was upon a Shere Thorsday', p. 112) and Stephen ('Seynt Stevene was a clerk', p. 126), anti-feminist and anti-clerical jibes, and satire, varying in subtlety between elegant and coarse.

After the Introduction's general remarks there are sections on metre, reading, manuscript sources, language, and a guide to pronunciation, with appendices on music and analysis. Such generosity makes asking for more seem ungrateful. However, one could hope for greater attention to extent and variety in criticism. Duncan's acknowledgment of diversity in interpretation of the 'Corpus Christi Carol' (p. 79) and 'Bryd onë brerë' (p. 15) is exceptional. He does not mention, among others, alternate readings of 'The Maid of the Moor', 'Westron Wynde', 'Foweles in the Frith', 'I synge of a myden', and 'The Fair Maid of Ribbesdale'. We may compare the inclusion by Luria and Hoffman, without comment, of apposite extracts of critical opinions on several poems.

In sum, the edition is an inviting guide, which, with others, could accompany the reader from the introductory level onwards.

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Dyer, Christopher, *A Country Merchant, 1495–1520: Trading and Farming at the End of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012; cloth; pp. xiv, 256; R.R.P £65.00; ISBN 9780199214242.

Christopher Dyer's most recent book shows his characteristic impeccable scholarship and ability to illuminate the lives of otherwise obscure people. Since his *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), Dyer has been known for his creative use of financial records to illuminate the detail of the daily lives of medieval people, making his statistical analyses accessible. *A Country Merchant* also follows this pattern, focusing on the economic transactions and social networks surrounding the central figure of John Heritage, a Gloucestershire merchant, a study made possible by the remarkable survival of Heritage's account book, which covers the years 1500 to 1520. The book relies on an exhaustive trawl through extant sources, from rental and taxation material, through court records, to archaeological evidence. *A Country Merchant* is a late-career book pulling together themes and material from many years of historical scholarship in the Midlands that Dyer knows so well, addressing big questions around the transition from an agrarian society to the modern world, the impact of population change and alterations to family structures, trade and commercial mentality, enclosures of land, and changes in cultivation practice.

Dyer begins by setting the scene of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He reminds us of concurrent events in the European world and the way news was disseminated, alongside the role of travelling merchants like Heritage in linking local to international markets. Population remained fairly stable at a low level compared to the high of the early fourteenth century, wages were on the high side but beginning to decline, and entrepreneurial landowners (of whom Heritage was one) were starting to disrupt long-standing land-holding arrangements. Dyer also outlines the complex interrelationship between town and country, commerce and manufacturing, and the growth of the merchant group.

Dyer divides his book into six sections, examining Heritage's family and household; the countryside in the late fifteenth century with its landscape, long-established villages, towns, and parishes; Heritage's wool business with its complex credit arrangements, laid out in his accounts; changes in land use across the period 1495–1520 from arable to pasture and the associated alterations in population distribution, work, and sheep and wool management; the way rural society changed over several centuries, comparing the roles of the aristocratic and church elites with those of innovative peasant farmers; and finally Heritage and his contemporaries in their social, economic, religious, and cultural environment.

Heritage's father was a well-off farmer selling grain, wool, livestock, and dairy produce with a household of about sixteen, and was able to send

his sons away to school. He organised the marriage of his son John into a similarly positioned family with whom there had been earlier business connections. At his father's death in 1495, John, at twenty-five, became head of household with three brothers and four sisters to provide for. Dyer describes how, rather than following his father's farming and trading patterns, John made significant changes over the next few years. He appears to have collaborated with the new lord of the manor, a man of his own age, to improve the manor's profitability. To this end, John sold the family holding in the open fields (including probably the family house) to facilitate leasing a larger consolidated land area that was then enclosed for pasture, a break with traditional practice. In the process, sixty former workers were turned off the land, the lord increased his rent and Heritage had the opportunity for high cash returns for the sale of wool and livestock. Soon afterwards, John and his wife Joan moved to Joan's hometown, eighteen miles distant, when she inherited a burgage. This was a further unusual undertaking, leading John to move into trade and supervise his farming interests from a distance with a reversal of the common pattern of a wife moving to her husband's home. By 1500, John was established as a wool merchant.

In the course of his book, Dyer outlines the family and financial pressures that may have led to such an ambitious career change but shows how difficult it was for a 'small fish' like Heritage to work with the bigger producers without capital to fund his trade or to give him a pastoral property base. The business wound down in the second decade of the sixteenth century and Heritage disappears from historical view. Dyer uses Heritage's struggles to show the adaptability of the upper peasantry in their new social and economic world and also looks at the regional networks of merchants, farmers, and graziers that made increased commerce possible. He makes clear that *A Country Merchant* is not a biography but nevertheless, as Dyer has hoped, following the life and career of an individual has made this complex historical analysis accessible.

I am a great fan of Dyer's work and can wholeheartedly recommend this book to other readers.

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Elliott, Elizabeth, *Remembering Boethius: Writing Aristocratic Identity in Late Medieval French and English Literature*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. 178; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9781409424185.

Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* was highly influential in medieval France and England, primarily through the many translations of the work into the vernacular. These translations offered models to a wide variety of writers seeking to interpret experiences of exile and imprisonment, and, ultimately, to help readers '[alter] personal character to achieve a moral standard' (p. 16). Elizabeth Elliott's reading of six texts that draw upon the *Consolation* (she refers to the medieval translations collectively as the *Consolation* to distinguish these translations from Boethius's *De Consolatione*) carefully traces how the authors transformed Boethian material into images appropriate for new collective memories, encoding the political in the erotic in their own works. Far from 'parodies or subversions' of Boethius's work (p. 1), these texts privilege amorous activity for the purpose of instructing readers in the self-mastery necessary to effective political action.

A political actor wrongly accused, Boethius served as a particularly relevant counterpart for noblemen disgraced after finding themselves on the losing side of a conflict, Elliott explains in the Introduction. More broadly, the *Consolation* was regarded as a repository of moral wisdom, of exempla, that could be assimilated in different ways by aristocratic audiences for their moral edification: it could help them to amend 'natural deficiencies through the construction of a disposition or *habitus* towards ethical behaviour, which is mediated by the contents of memory' (p. 10). The memory, thus, was key to ethical training, providing images to be reflected upon and finally embodied in personal behaviour. Moreover, the reworkings of the *Consolation* examined by Elliott 'insist upon their own origins in the personal experience of the vernacular writer' as they 'contribute to the emergence of vernacular authorship and establish a space for the practice of life writing' (p. 16).

The first three chapters focus on Guillaume de Machaut's poetic reworkings of the *Consolation* into programmes appropriate to the politics of the day. In Chapter 1, Elliott reads Machaut's *Confort d'ami*, addressed to the imprisoned Charles II of Navarre, as a guide to cultivating the faculty of memory, an activity that helped readers better endure the slings and arrows of Fortune (Charles had been incarcerated, wrongly as far as Machaut was concerned) and behave ethically. The art of creating images with which to populate one's memory is delicate work: images can be deceptive. But the poet, uniquely suited to distinguish good from dangerous images, leads the secular prince to consolation and moral living.

In Chapter 2, Elliott shows that in Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* too, memory is the foundation for virtuous living. Through his teachers, Love, a Lady, and, later, Esperance or Hope, the narrator learns to overcome Fortune

through memory. He channels his love for his lady into a politically useful emotion, deploying her image to transcend earthly desire.

In the third chapter, Elliott traces how Machaut, with his *Fonteinne amoureuse*, redeems imprisonment as a place of moral learning. Taking the imprisonment of young Jean of Berry by the English following the Treaty of Brétigny as its founding theme, the work participates in a 'burgeoning literary tradition which expounds Boethian philosophy in amatory terms' (p. 62). The complaint of the prince, filtered through the narrating poet, comes to represent a 'disciplined mode of loving' (p. 73), which itself represents the positive social influence wrought by the prince capable of reconciling desire and reason.

In Chapter 4, Elliott considers Jean Froissart's *Prison amoureuse* and argues that Froissart reworks the Boethian model in his depiction of the incarceration of his patron, Wenceslas of Brabant, by transposing this literal situation into an allegory of imprisonment by love. *Amours* is not unbridled in this work, but, like Boethian divine love, the figure takes on the role of charioteer, aligning the appetitive will with reason.

Elliott crosses the channel in the last two chapters, examining Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love* and the anonymous *Kingis Quair*, both of which present an imprisoned narrator reworking his own sorrow in explicitly Boethian terms. Elliott notes that Usk's biography has long bled into his work, causing it to be dismissed as a self-interested excuse for his political defection. Elliott, however, taking seriously the work's claim to be a consolation, focuses on Usk's philosophy of the common good, which is served by loving the correct object. The narrator is redeemed in the end by his 'amended' memory.

In the final chapter, Elliott discusses how the narrator of *Kingis Quair*, presumably James I, redeems his capture and imprisonment by Henry IV of England through Boethian imagery. The ideal philosopher-prince, he is strengthened and perfected by his imprisonment. Like the other works examined in the study, this one 'brings Boethius, politics, and arts of memory into a significant conjunction' (p. 128).

This study is a fine contribution to recent scholarship on the influence of medieval translations of Boethian models. With its emphasis on memory as a means of consolation and also ethical perfection, the study sheds new light on the erotic imagery so striking in the works analysed, making a strong case for a moral significance that contradicts the intention traditionally attributed to Boethius. Moreover, by insisting on the political and ethical significance of such amatory writings, the study opens up new paths to explore.

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Fletcher, Stella, ed., *Roscoe and Italy: The Reception of Italian Renaissance History and Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. viii, 256; 17 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781409404910.

William Roscoe (1753–1831) lived in interesting times, and in Liverpool, then described by a contemporary as ‘a remote commercial town, where nothing is heard of but Guinea ships, slaves, blacks and merchandise’ (p. 98). He and his immense contributions to the cultural life of his native city have never been forgotten (most recently, Arline Wilson, *William Roscoe: Commerce and Culture* (Liverpool University Press, 2008)). The aim of this volume, however, is ‘to lift its subject out of his home town and onto the wider stage of the international republic of letters’ (p. 20).

At its heart are Roscoe’s two Medici biographies, *The Life of Lorenzo de’ Medici, Called the Magnificent* (1796) and *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* (1805). It was the first of these that made Roscoe’s name at home and abroad. In Britain, it was frequently reissued until 1895 and it was translated into French, Italian, German, and Greek. In readily available digital versions, they and their treasures of documentary evidence (see p. 47) are probably more familiar now than in the period when, at least in Australia, they had become Rare Books. Not negligible achievements in their own time and place (Roscoe never went to Italy), as history both have been thoroughly superseded. But, unlike *The Life of Lorenzo*, *The Life of Leo* has not yet been replaced. Information about the various editions is to be found in footnotes, especially in Cecil H. Clough’s ‘William Roscoe and his *Lorenzo de’ Medici*’. A consolidated bibliography of these at the end of the book would have been a boon.

After a valuable and substantial Introduction on Roscoe’s life and works in context by the editor, Stella Fletcher, the volume is divided into four parts: ‘Roscoe and the Revival of the Arts’, ‘Roscoe as Biographer’, ‘The Roscoe Circle and Italy’, and ‘Wider Dissemination’ (consisting of M. M. Bullard’s interesting ‘Roscoe’s Renaissance in America’). Readers of this journal will probably be most engaged by what this volume has to tell us about the genesis, the intellectual context, the sources and their procurement, the approach, and the impact of the biographies (especially in Clough; John E. Law, ‘William Roscoe and Lorenzo de’ Medici as Statesman’; D. S. Chambers, ‘William Roscoe’s *Life of Leo X* and Correspondence with Angelo Fabroni’; and Arline Wilson, ‘William Clarke and the Roscoe Circle’).

One theme that emerges strongly is the role in Roscoe’s vision of the visual arts and literature, the ‘sister-arts’, as they were called (see especially Emanuele Pellegrini’s contribution). Roscoe was influenced by Tiraboschi’s *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1772–82) which gave him a model for an inclusive concept of culture. Pellegrini quotes Roscoe himself: ‘The patronage

of the family of the Medici is almost contemporary with the commencement of the art [i.e., ‘culture’]’ (p. 23). At the same time, from the 1750s onwards, there had been a rising flood of all kinds of books dealing with the visual arts. It was also the period of the rise of the Academies, the Royal Academy in London opening in 1769. In 1773, Roscoe was one of the youthful founders of the Liverpool Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Painting, and Design and in 1814 helped found the Liverpool Royal Institution. He was pioneering, but he was also a powerful expression of his time.

The collection presents Roscoe and his achievements from a variety of perspectives, but with a certain amount of repetition, contradiction, and lack of clarity. Take his ‘invention’ of the Renaissance. J. R. Hale in his classic *England and the Italian Renaissance* (1954), often mentioned by the contributors, drew a distinction between the use of the term in its ‘art-historical sense’ and as the established term for a temporarily defined period and a ‘period as a whole’ – the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is not surprising that Roscoe had the notion of a revival of arts and letters (‘artium literarumque renascentium’, p. 100); the question is to what extent he contributed to the ‘modern’ concept of ‘The Renaissance’ (p. 119; cf. the more or less cautious claims at pp. 3, 36, 101, 214). Hale’s chapter ‘The Medici and William Roscoe’ has a slightly superior tone (noticed by David Rundle in ‘*Un amico del Roscoe: William Shepherd and the first modern Life of Poggio Bracciolini* (1802)’), but it presents a more incisive assessment of the historical failings of Roscoe’s work than can be found in this volume. That the present contributors are more sympathetic to Roscoe’s predominantly cultural approach says something about how ‘history’ has changed.

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Gillespie, Vincent and Kantik **Ghosh**, eds, *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England* (Medieval Church Studies, 21), Turnhout, Brepols, 2011; hardback; pp. xix, 657; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €135.00; ISBN 9782503534022.

This monumental tome contains eleven sections and thirty papers. Its gargantuan scale betrays its birth in a conference, held to mark the 600th anniversary of the promulgation of Archbishop Thomas Arundel's anti-Wycliffite Constitutions. The brief Introduction by editors Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh merely gestures at major themes, so readers are left to make their own sense of the collection and to speculate, perhaps, whether it might have been more appropriately entitled 'After Nicholas Watson', around whose influential articles so many of the contributions pivot.

Part I, 'Opening Salvos', gives the Big Guns (Gillespie, Michael G. Sargent, and Ian Johnson) plenty of space to canvas broad ideas and discharge their artillery on such questions as, how important really were the Arundel Constitutions for the development of fifteenth-century English religious writing compared to, say, the Council of Constance or the Black Death, and is the vogue term 'vernacular theology' now passé? The historian Jeremy Catto's elegant contribution on the openness of the English ruling class to French culture seems out of place here.

Part II, 'Discerning the Discourse: Language, Image and Spirituality', offers James Simpson on attitudes to images, Christopher Bradley criticising Watson's readings of Love's *Mirror* and the still-unedited *Pore Caitif*, and David Lawton on 'voice', particularly in fifteenth-century writings on the Psalms.

Part III, 'The Dynamics of Orthodox Reform', focuses on the institutional Church, with Alexander Russell on the ambivalence of Thomas Netter (a still neglected figure) towards conciliarism, David Lepine on Salisbury Cathedral's liturgical and administrative reforms, Sheila Lindenbaum on reforming London clerics, clerical education, and teaching, and James Willoughby on the establishment of freely accessible libraries in London, Worcester, Bristol, and Norwich.

In Part IV, 'Ecclesiastical Humanism', Daniel Wakelin writes on an unedited English translation of Book I of Petrarch's *Secretum* and Andrew Cole on humanist 'mirrors for bishops'.

Part V, on the reformist but orthodox Reginald Pecock, offers Allan F. Westphall on the bishop's *Reule of Crysten Religioun*, lay education, and the 'hool' (i.e., 'mixed') life, and Tamás Karáth on his *Folewer to the Donet* and its classification of knowledge, compared with *The Court of Sapience*.

Part VI, 'Literary Self-Consciousness and Literary History', signals a textual turn, especially towards texts associated with religious orders: Helen Barr historicises the (probably Benedictine) *Digby Lyrics* through its syntax and 'homely' diction; Susanna Fein excavates the Augustinian canon John

Audelay's neglected *Counsel of Conscience* and its fantastically indulgenced prayers, 'spiritual exercises' composed for a noble family; W. H. E. Sweet writes on the piety of the Benedictine Lydgate, and his poetic palinode in old age.

Part VII, 'The Codex as Instrument of Reform', sharpens the focus to individual manuscripts, with Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry on devotional compilations (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 789 and Laud 23), and the shifting boundaries of orthodoxy and Wycliffite belief, Niamh Pattwell on Augustinian canons and the vernacular *Sacerdos parochialis*, and Amanda Moss on the devotional anthology Westminster School MS 3, with its mix of orthodox and heretical items.

Part VII, 'Translation', could have been called 'Translations', as it too concentrates on individual texts: Jennifer N. Brown on the well-known collection of lives of Liégeoise saintly beguines in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 114, and its vernacular orthodoxy; Matthew Giancarlo on Peter Idley's intra-linguistic translations and adaptations of Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*; and Laura Saetveit Miles on Richard Methley's Latin translation of the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Mirror of Simple Souls* as an 'enclosing' device to confine the audience to male contemplatives.

Part IX, 'Acting Holy', contains Catherine Sanok on literary saints' lives, specifically Lydgate's, and their role in defending Benedictine (and by extension English) independence from papal authority, Karen A. Winstead on women saints' lives by Capgrave and Bokenham that teach the laity the doctrine of the Trinity, and C. Annette Grisé on 'cleanness of heart' and vernacular texts, in both manuscript and print, associated with the Syon nuns.

Part X, 'From Script to Print' consists of a single paper: Susan Powell on the possible influence of Arundel's Constitutions on the predominance of devotional texts among the vernacular theological and religious books printed between 1476 and 1526.

In Part XI, 'Closing Reflections and Responses', Ghosh's paper, in spite of its title, is mainly concerned with Wycliffe as a European 'public intellectual'. And finally Nicholas Watson, without whom there would have been no conference and no collection, offers an exemplary exegesis of a little-known proto-humanist English sermon by an obscure Benedictine, framing a virtuoso critique of the preceding essays, which this reader wishes had been placed at the beginning, rather than the end, of this demanding volume.

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Gray, Douglas, *The Phoenix and the Parrot: Skelton and the Language of Satire* (Otago Studies in English, 10), Dunedin, Department of English, University of Otago, 2012; paperback; pp. viii, 235; R.R.P. NZ\$20.00; ISBN 9780473235031.

Douglas Gray begins his book by declaring that it is the ‘work of a Skelton addict rather than a Skelton expert’, but this modesty is misplaced: this is a book full of learning and ideas, deriving from a long career spent in the study of late medieval literature. The book originated in the De Carle lectures given at The University of Otago in 1989 on Skelton and the language of satire; revised and updated versions of these constitute Chapters 5 to 10. But to these are added some hundred pages of introductory material and an account of Skelton’s life and career. The book does tend to fall into two halves, but it is no less valuable for that.

Gray, like most scholars, sees Skelton as a poet of contradictions and extremes, hence the emblematic birds of his title – the divine ethereal phoenix and the mundane chattering parrot – and he finds both praise for his learning and disapproval for his ‘railing and scoffery’ in Skelton’s early commentators. He generalises from this in a comment which very much shapes his approach to the poet: ‘Skelton was deeply in tune with both learned and popular traditions; he draws on such a wide range of both learned and popular experience that no single mode is allowed to have a monopoly of the truth’ (pp. 10–11). Gray sees Skelton’s inconsistencies, his changes of mind and stance, his variety, and makes no attempt to smooth them over.

While Gray recognises that Skelton was aware of both the ‘learned’ and the ‘popular’ forms of satire, his treatment of them is uneven. He writes: ‘although he alludes to Jeremiah, Juvenal and Jerome, he seems to be closely in touch with the forms and techniques of popular satire in particular’ (p. 109). But Skelton not only ‘alludes’ to Juvenal. He refers to him at least seven times that I can think of, in both his English and his Latin poems, and he appears to have framed *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?* on the basis of Juvenal: Skelton claims that he wrote the poem ‘At Juvynals request’ (l. 1211); he twice quotes him, once in Latin to end the poem (ll. 1216–17); and he may have derived the question and answer technique, which moves the poem on, from Juvenal’s *Satire IV*. But Gray, interestingly, stresses the popular traditions to which Skelton had access – the *charivari*, taunting verse such as the *blason populaire*, flytings, and ‘doggerel rhyme’.

He prefaces his analysis of Skelton’s language of satire with an interesting chapter on what he identifies as ‘a constant interest’ (p. 128) in linguistic matters in the later Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. This was generated, he argues, by a number of factors – translation, which brought English into contact and comparison with other languages, the increasing status of English at the expense of Latin, a sense that the language had changed

considerably since Chaucer's time, the way that colloquial vocabulary was finding its way into literary and formal texts, and a general tendency for 'experimentation, sometimes playful' (p. 133). The intellectual context in England was favourable to Skelton's capacity for exploiting different styles – ranging from the highly aureate to the grossly demotic – just as it was in France for Rabelais, and some of Gray's comparisons between these two writers are striking and genuinely illuminating, though it is unlikely that either knew of the other's work.

In the first of three chapters in which he addresses directly the language of Skelton's satires, Gray discusses the poet's well-known capacity for neologising (usually creating English words from Latin originals), his creative way with prefixes and suffixes, and with compounds including reduplicating compounds. He uses snatches of other languages than English, especially in *Speke Parrot*. He plays word-games and uses puns a great deal. A number of his poems are macaronic, like the mock-epitaphs on two of his parishioners in Diss, with whom he had quarrelled, but mock-epitaphs had existed earlier in both Latin and English, so it looks as though Skelton simply combined them. A second chapter concentrates on demotic language and Skelton's use of the opaque and seemingly nonsensical, especially in his poems in the Skeltonic metre, and a third explores his inventive capacity for using odd personae and quasi-dramatic scenes involving colloquial language.

Skelton delighted in the possibilities of linguistic *copia*, but, as Gray demonstrates, his inventiveness serves satiric ends through the skilful deployment of rhetorical figures and the exploitation of sudden shifts of linguistic register. Language, like epideictic rhetoric, is not an end in itself, but is deployed for moral reasons: it is 'the art of persuasion or argument for praise or for blame' (p. 151) – in Skelton's case more often for blame. There is a highly intellectual basis for much of Skelton's satire. This book does not propose a view of Skelton that is very different from the one that is familiar, but it does highlight areas of his practice which are too commonly ignored.

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Gwynne, Paul, *Poets and Princes: The Panegyric Poetry of Johannes Michael Nagonius* (Courts: Medieval and Renaissance Court Cultures, 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; cloth; pp. xxiv, 544; 30 b/w illustrations, 8 colour plates; R.R.P. €150.00; ISBN 9782503531601.

Some years ago, searching for Latin topographical poetry on Rome c. 1468–1513, I was fascinated and frustrated alike by BAV, MS Vat. lat. 1682, a luxurious vellum manuscript dedicated to Julius II. Originally covered in red velvet, it contains eight books of Nagonius's poems, not to mention a magnificent frontispiece in red, green, and lapis lazuli, and an illuminated depiction of Julius II and his nephew in a triumphal chariot *all'antica* (Plates 7 and 6). I found my long passage of topographical verse in the three-book epic with which the manuscript begins, but did not get very far in understanding its context. Not much has been known about Nagonius for a long time. If I had then been able to consult Paul Gwynne's Warburg Institute PhD thesis (1990), the basis of this excellent book, I would have learned that the topographical description had been included in many earlier versions of the epic, the first surviving being for Maximilian I (1494).

The aim of Gwynne's study is to understand Nagonius's work in multiple contexts: literary, historical, and political. In Part I, he attempts to reconstruct the poet's career, for which there is very little independent evidence, and some deliberate disinformation (the invention, in the later part of the sixteenth century, of a fictitious rival, 'Pingonius'). Part II (in eight chapters) treats the works in chronological order: that is, the eleven versions of the epic from 1494 to 1509 presented to a range of eminent dedicatees, and some other compositions. Part III contains edited excerpts with translations, commentary, and explanatory notes from these works (sadly for me, no topography) and a detailed Catalogue of manuscripts and printed books by Nagonius.

None of Nagonius's works was printed in his lifetime, and none seems to have circulated independently. Tailored for the specific occasions of their presentation, in both appearance and content, once accepted, his *carmina* were lodged in the dedicatees' libraries and some 'have remained part of the library of the court for which they were intended' (p. 14, n. 7; cf. p. 60, n. 75). This partly explains how Nagonius was able to recycle his mini-epic (it gradually grew from one to three books) and other verses to make them fit the series of different dedicatees who received them. For example, Maximilian, the hero of the 1494 version dedicated to the same, becomes the exemplary villain of that dedicated in 1497 to Vladislav II, King of Bohemia and Hungary. The manuscript presented in person to Henry VII in London in 1496 belongs to a diplomatic effort to bolster resistance to French expansion in Italy under Charles VIII but, after Charles's death and the accession of Louis XII in 1499, Nagonius expanded his narrative to celebrate Louis's expedition

against Milan. Gwynne comments: ‘These manuscripts were never intended to be compared’ (p. 138).

It appears that from the early 1490s, Nagonius’s ability to compose competent Latin verse in the manner, and sometimes the very words, of the ancient poets provided him with a career. But what sort of a career? Though he proudly signs himself *poeta laureatus*, he was not remembered as a poet (he is missing from L. G. Giraldis’s *Modern Poets* (1551), for example). The reason is not that he wrote panegyric. His contemporaries understood panegyric. Indeed one of the strengths of Gwynne’s book is his running ‘apology’ for panegyric (esp. Chapter 2), usefully presented as occasional poetry tied to the events it describes and celebrates, ‘an important ceremonial genre’ (p. 59). Not a poet but a pen in search of a patron? Or one in the service of high diplomacy? Raising the question, Gwynne can point to an association with Cardinal Todeschini-Piccolomini (later Pius III) but there is little evidence, and Nagonius never mentions a papal appointment.

This book for the first time presents Nagonius whole. The considerable labour of reading and meticulously analysing everything Nagonius wrote, in conjunction with the manuscripts’ physical formatting, has enabled Gwynne to identify and exploit the contemporary references in the poems. These, in turn, allow many interesting excursions into contemporary history and culture. In the version for Henry VII, for example, there are references to Perkin Warbeck’s rebellion and the gift of a sword and Cap of Maintenance sent by Pope Alexander VI. At the same time, Gwynne demonstrates, not only in Part III but also in the many excerpts translated and discussed in Part II, Nagonius’s exploitation of the Latin literary and panegyric tradition. This was important for the poems’ composition but also for their contemporary significance as bearers of humanist-promoted *Romanitas*, with all its associated prestige. The book bears on many aspects of the culture of its period, including the visual, and is recommended to those interested in papal relations with northern Europe, France, and Venice, in courtly ceremonial display (especially triumphs), in the *Renovatio Imperii*, the role of prophecy, and the theme of the crusade against the Turks.

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Howard, Peter, *Creating Magnificence in Renaissance Florence* (Essays & Studies, 29), Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012; paperback; pp. 173; R.R.P. US\$19.00; ISBN 9780772721266.

Magnificence has long been acknowledged as a key concept in the study of Renaissance Florence. It underpinned private financing of public activities, such as the endowment of charitable institutions or palace-building booms, and lies behind Giovanni Rucellai's oft-quoted rationale for the personal dimension of his commissions: 'in part they serve the honour of God, as well as the honour of the city and the commemoration of myself.' A. D. Fraser Jenkins, Alison Brown, F. W. Kent, and Dale Kent have each made significant contributions to this field.

Yet, as Peter Howard begins this study by noting, it has long been argued that Florence's preoccupation with magnificence intensified only in the middle of the fifteenth century. It was precisely in this period that Cosimo de' Medici stepped up his patronage: at the library of the San Marco monastery, in the new family palace on the Via Larga, and in his involvement in the civic ritual of the Magi, to take only a few examples. In fact, the sheer extent of Cosimo's mid-century public and private expenditure gave rise to grumblings and veiled criticisms of his perceived magnificence, reflected in a spirited defence by Timoteo Maffei (c. 1415–1470).

An edition of Maffei's tract (composed 1454/56) is one of the useful appendices to this study, but Howard's core interest is to demonstrate that magnificence was publicly theorised and propounded earlier than has been thought. St Antoninus Pierozzi (1389–1459), Archbishop of Florence and a celebrated Dominican preacher and theologian, had in fact been developing the concept since the 1420s, through his sermons and in his *Summa Theologica* (1450). Howard reveals new sources for Antoninus's study of the virtues and of magnificence, and demonstrates how preachers could act as creators and mediators of a 'theology of the piazza'.

The work opens with a contextualisation of the concept of magnificence in Renaissance Florence, and this section provides a useful summary for students of art and architecture in the period. In Chapter 2, Howard investigates the increasing interest in magnificence in the 1420s and locates it in public discourse – in, for example, the Lenten sermons of Augustinian friar Francesco Mellino, which contemporaries credited with inspiring the Brunelleschian building programme later undertaken at Santo Spirito (pp. 35–40). Particularly important here is the investigation of sermon reception, as raised by Manetti's *Life of Brunelleschi*. Manetti's presentation of Fra Mellino's sermon gives us a sense of how public discourse was understood, remembered, and sometimes retrofitted by its audience.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 move to a discussion of Antoninus's work on magnificence, particularly in the *Summa*. Chapter 5 presents the crux of

Howard's argument, locating the preacher's discussion of the concept in a much wider debate of public interest, that of the virtues and vices. Interacting with the writings of Thomas Aquinas – and, through him, Aristotle and Cicero – and Seneca, Antoninus made an important intervention on the topic of lavish spending, which would have been particularly relevant to citizens engaged in building sumptuous *palazzi*. This chapter – which centres on the mid-century – would be of particular interest to architectural historians, and to those investigating constructions of virtue and vice in the fifteenth century.

The final chapter is an interesting discussion of a Renaissance preacher's *auctores*: who they were, where they were found, and how those who used them conceived of such interactions. As Howard argues, 'Antoninus's *Summa* is a record of reception as much as the transmission of texts' (p. 91). The key writer here is Henry of Rimini, whose influence on Antoninus has not been discussed previously. Henry's work on the cardinal virtues emerged from his time as prior of the Dominican convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. Howard's close reading of Antoninus's *Summa* – a work that relies almost verbatim on Henry's in significant passages – shows how the Venetian text was re-membered from its specific context for a contemporary Florentine relevance. Such mediation also allowed for the incorporation or influence of new currents. As Howard points out, this could include the circulation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* in Antoninus's Florence. The appendices offer editions in Latin and English of Antoninus's key texts on magnificence, and also Maffei's defence of Cosimo de' Medici.

Howard convincingly demonstrates that we must relocate the earliest discussions of magnificence, as he has argued in a *Renaissance Quarterly* article, 'Preaching Magnificence in Renaissance Florence' (2008). This book emerges directly from that long study, but its key extension is the development of a 'theology of the piazza' (p. 68). This has been the thread running through Howard's previous works on Antoninus – most fully in *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus, 1427–1459* (Olschki, 1995) – but it emerges even more clearly in *Creating Magnificence in Renaissance Florence*.

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Jefferson, Judith A. and Ad **Putter**, eds, with Amanda Hopkins, *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 15), Turnhout, Brepols, 2013; hardback; pp. xxiv, 292; 2 b/w illustrations, 4 b/w tables; R.R.P. £80.00; ISBN 9782503542508.

The essays comprising *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain* were first presented at a 2008 conference under the same name at the University of Bristol. That conference concluded a four-year collaborative project on *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages*, a period in which medieval multilingualism became increasingly visible in scholarship. This collection therefore makes a thorough contribution to what is now a vibrant part of medieval studies, and its content is critical for considering ‘where we go from here’.

The volume’s sixteen essays are not categorised by language, genre, geography, or chronology. Such themes can be identified, but the editorial choice to forgo such distinctions conveys the varied richness of approaches to multilingualism in medieval Britain.

As editors Judith A. Jefferson and Ad Putter make plain in their Introduction, there is much more to multilingual medieval Britain than the tri-glossic relationship of English, French, and Latin. For example, in addition to essays on those languages and their varieties, the volume includes important commentary on the complex language situation in Wales (Paul Russell), analysis of the linguistic practices of particular communities, such as English Jews (Eva De Visscher), and the evidence in Middle English texts of earlier linguistic contact with Old Norse (Richard Dance). These areas are not currently as well represented as studies of England’s medieval French and Latin, and are flagged as areas which merit further work.

While highlighting aspects of medieval Britain’s multilingualism underrepresented in scholarship, the volume also extends existing work on English, French, and Latin. Two essays on macaronic sermons consider some of the more challenging areas of historical language study: respectively, the reconstruction of spoken discourse as compared with the written record (Alan J. Fletcher); and the social functions of code switching (Herbert Schendl). Aspects of orality also feature in Richard Sharpe’s study of eleventh- and twelfth-century charter addresses and Richard Ingham’s analysis of French and English in Latin land management documents. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne considers another trilingual source: a *confortatio* letter-treatise. Wogan-Browne upturns the typical practice of interpreting medieval multilingual texts primarily via language by considering not the treatise’s French, Latin, and English, but the styles and themes conveyed by the use of each of these languages.

One of the most pertinent points made by the volume is the rich potential of monolingual sources for evidence of, and attitudes towards,

Britain's languages. Haruko Momma's essay considers the representation of other languages in Latin in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum* and questions the implications of this linguistic flattening for medieval readers. In a study of Middle English prologues to late medieval versions of Scripture, Cathy Hume analyses the role of these works' commentary on their own multilingual contexts, both within and outside of the Lollard debate. The focus of Dance's essay, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, is an outlier in this group of monolingual sources, including not only occasional French and Latin, but hiding a history of Old Norse contact with English. Elizabeth Dearnley uses an English translation of the *Trotula* to suggest a gendering of English due to social roles and to examine evidence for female audiences of vernacular translations. At the opposite end of the spectrum from these monolingual sources, Jane Griffiths's essay presents a reading of the most linguistically diverse text represented in the volume, John Skelton's *Speke Parrot*. Griffiths finds that Skelton's multilingual text and its multilingual marginal glosses encourage a new, critical mode of reading.

Alderik H. Blom's essay shows that languages in the Middle Ages were not always perceived with the degree of distinctiveness we retrospectively assign them. He contends that the glossator of the *Vocabularium Cornicum* understood the varieties of Cornish and Welsh contained in that text to be the same language. Laura Wright also discusses the difficulty of dating the points at which languages in Britain were considered distinctive through a focus on late medieval account records. The findings in both essays highlight the importance of recovering medieval language communities to better our understanding of how different groups of people within Britain and across the Middle Ages perceived the language varieties that they spoke, read, and wrote.

Thea Summerfield refers to the absence of bibliographical distinctions between languages in the Auchinleck Manuscript's multilingual works, evidence that writers presumed the audience of the stories could accommodate, at least, the occasional appearance of French. Bibliographic evidence is also used by Jefferson to consider the reception of medieval multilingualism in a study of scribal responses to Latin in fourteenth- to sixteenth-century copies of *Piers Plowman*.

As well as presenting alternative interpretations of familiar multilingual texts, and original perspectives on new or underused sources for language study, each of the essays interrogates *how* its chosen sources can be used for evidence of multilingualism. The volume represents an important benchmark for the study of languages in medieval Britain, and scholars in any area of medieval studies will find it a valuable resource.

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Jenks, Susanne, Jonathon **Rose**, and Christopher **Whittick**, eds, *Laws, Lawyers and Texts: Studies in Medieval Legal History in Honour of Paul Brand* (Medieval Law and its Practice, 13), Leiden, Brill, 2002; hardback; pp. xxii, 416; 1 colour plate, 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €164.00; ISBN 9789004212480.

This volume is both a worthy tribute to the person it honours, Professor Paul Brand, formerly of All Souls, Oxford, and recently visiting Professor in the University of Michigan Law School, and a significant contribution in its own right to the areas of research made possible by Brand's scholarship. As the Encomium by Barbara Harvey indicates, Brand's area of interest was the 'long' thirteenth century from the limit of legal memory in 1189 to the death of Edward I in 1307. In particular, Brand is perhaps best known for his 'authoritative account of the development of the legal profession' (p. xii) in England and the origins of the common law in the era of Henry II. His scholarship is characterised by its use of unpublished and manuscript material, evidenced in his role as editor of four volumes of the Law Reports for the Selden Society.

A series of chapters add nuance and complexity to Brand's account of the early legal profession. Sandra Raban's study reveals more information about the individuals and institutions that retained lawyers during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), shifting the traditional focus (adopted by Brand) away 'from the vantage point of the lawyers themselves' (p. 201). Charles Donahue, Jr applies Brand's definition of what constitutes a 'profession' to the fourteenth century and concludes that the plural term 'professions' is more apposite to describe each of the variegated groups that constituted the common lawyers and canon lawyers who plied their business in that time. David Crook's chapter focuses on a senior justice of the bench from the mid-thirteenth-century, Robert of Lexington: his lack of legal training and longevity at the bench suggest a counterpoint to Brand's depiction of a professionally trained profession.

Several papers add detail to the 'Angevin legal revolution' that gave rise to the common law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 51), a phenomenon for which Brand has proffered compelling evidence starting with his 1990 article '*Multis Vigiliis Excogitatem et Inventam*' in the *Haskins Society Journal*. John Hudson's study suggests that the infamous clause 3 of the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), dealing with criminous clerks, not only formed a platform for dispute between the King and his famous archbishop, Thomas Becket, but was also a central part of Henry II's legal reforms that sought to channel legal business into the King's court, via the chief justiciar. This subtlety is missing from Brand's account. In a different vein, Sarah Tullis takes the Glanvill treatise, 'the first detailed exposition of the English common law' (p. 327), and traces its afterlife in early modern

England and colonial America as a vehicle for political polemics. In typically iconoclastic yet rigorous manner, Paul Hyams tackles the reasons for the 'technical discourse' (p. 21) that characterised the common law in its origins (and remains today), tracing linguistic depictions of land tenure (the 'fief') from its origins in 1066 as personal bonds to 1230 when it came to represent what we now understand as 'ownership'.

Running through several chapters in this collection is a theme that the 'learned law' (Roman and canon law) played a part in the development of the early common law – a contribution hinted at in Brand's work. Bruce O'Brien points to the continuing use of 'conquest-era' legal texts in the second half of the twelfth century and beyond, as exemplified in the *Holkham lawbook*, a legal encyclopaedia containing material from both Roman law and Saxon codes. David Ibbetson and Richard Helmholz also emphasise the possible influence of Roman and canon law on particular English common law writs, in their studies of the historical development of annuities and rights of re-entry, respectively. Although their conclusions are similar, their sources differ: Helmholz argues for the influence of the Roman and canon law sources, while Ibbetson suggests that the commentaries on these sources were as important.

There is much here for readers interested in the history of specific actions in the English common law: Henry Summerson explores the action of arson between 1200 and 1350 in England, in particular explaining its relative rare use; John Baker attempts to explain the requirement that arose after 1290 that certain contracts (or covenants) be in the form of a deed, that is in written form; Suzanne Jenks traces the history of the 'surety of the peace' between its establishment by the end of the thirteenth century and the fifteenth; Janet Loengard provides a study of the means available to litigate for the obstruction of light from one's windows after the thirteenth century; and Jonathon Rose provides a case study of medieval estate planning, or will-making, through the example of Sir John Falstaff (1380–1459).

Other chapters stand as independent contributions to the editorial forays that Brand has made into medieval legal history. David Carpenter's account of Henry III and the Jews in 1255 is a remarkable counterpoint to Brand's editorial scholarship on the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews in England*. Robert Palmer, in addition, describes his development of the digital archive, the *Anglo-American Legal Tradition (AALT)* web site (<http://aalt.law.uh.edu>), which contains an un-indexed and massive repository of single copy documents previously only available in the National Archives at Kew (of which Brand was Assistant Keeper from 1974).

This book deserves a wider readership than the specialist nature of its subject matter will no doubt allow. This is to compliment the editors and

contributors for appositely paying tribute to their dedicatee; on the other hand, such rich scholarship deserves to read by all.

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Jónsson, Már, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)* (Viking Collection, 20), Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2012; hardback; pp. 274; 15 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. DKK300.00; ISBN 9788776746469.

‘I would rather spend my time reading an old book’ (p. 119). *Parergon* readers will undoubtedly relate to this comment by Árni Magnússon, the Icelandic scholar and great collector of Old Icelandic manuscripts who is the subject of Már Jónsson’s beautifully written book. We surely owe the survival of the better part of the extant collection of medieval Icelandic manuscripts to Árni; his collection forms the basis for those of the twin manuscript institutes in Reykjavík and Copenhagen that now bear his name. This book is part biography (Már’s Icelandic-language biography of Árni was published in 1998), part meticulously researched history of how that collection came about. ‘Detailed knowledge of the preservation of medieval texts is necessary for their understanding and interpretation’, argues Már in his statement of aims (p. 10). This book offers that contextual information in a convenient and very readable format.

The book is arranged chronologically with each chapter, following the introductory one, covering a different period of Árni’s life. Each chapter is nicely presented, headed by a quotation from Árni or one of his fellow scholars, and prefaced by a concise and convenient abstract. Chapter 1 also contains a very useful table showing numbers of extant Icelandic manuscripts and charters, divided into categories of vellum and paper, by century between 1101 and 1600 (p. 11), and another concerning Icelandic vellums according to the number of extant leaves for the same period (p. 13). As Már notes, ‘it is indeed striking that among preserved manuscripts there are very few cases where we have a vellum and its direct copy’ (p. 11). There are fifteen black and white figures arranged throughout the book, many illustrating Árni’s ‘impressive notes’ (p. 118) in his clear, neat handwriting.

Már describes his subject as an ‘enchanted man’ (p. 21), and Árni is brought to captivating life through spirited quotations from his correspondence (Már also draws on Árni’s notes, working papers, and transcriptions; the recorded observations of contemporary scholars; and, with reservations, two eighteenth-century biographies). ‘I have so much to do, and almost all of it worthless, that I am sick of myself’ (p. 105), is another of Árni’s

pronouncements we may perhaps feel some scholarly sympathy for! We learn of his friend, fellow scholar, and fellow Icelander Þormóður Torfason, who asks Árni to check whether his deerskin underpants have been found in the guest-house in which he stayed while visiting Árni in Copenhagen, and of Árni's later years, during which colleagues mischievously suspected he 'sat at home gnawing on his old vellums' (p. 188). Details like this, liberally sprinkled throughout, enliven this meticulously researched account of Árni's life and scholarly activities.

In charting Árni's career, the book also provides an account of the beginnings of the scholarly study of Old Norse philology and the foundations of the discipline today. Árni lamented the common practice of destroying or recycling (often as binding for other books) old manuscripts which were no longer seen as useful, given that more modern copies or printed versions of the text in question had been produced. He also advocated the practice of making diplomatic or 'semi-normalised' (with expanded abbreviations) copies of older texts, rather than modernising them to the orthography and language of the scribe (p. 80). During his scholarly career, he developed a 'moderately sceptical' (p. 94) attitude and a critical approach to sources and argument that was cutting-edge, and controversial, in contemporary scholarship but is fundamental today: weighing all the evidence and considering the nature of each source rather than accepting it uncritically. The aforementioned Þormóður compared Árni favourably to the celebrated medieval scholars Sæmundr *fróði* (the wise) and Snorri Sturluson (p. 81). Yet Árni is not uncritically sanctified by his biographer: we see both sides of the coin. Árni tended to go about his own thing, chasing manuscripts for his personal collection when he was supposed to be in Iceland in the service of the Danish king; he lacked patience with or interest in variant readings, or the whole genre of liturgical texts; he was apparently unable or disinclined to finish scholarly projects (he blamed the printers, for example, for the non-appearance of his edition of *Sögubrot af fornkonungum*, but the survival of his draft work betrays its unreadiness (p. 111)). When all is said and done, however, Már concludes 'he could not have done a better job at collecting and transcribing manuscripts and documents' (p. 215), adding, quite justly, that 'we should be grateful and do much more to ensure that the memory of this remarkable man does not fade'.

November 2013 marked the 350th anniversary of Árni Magnússon's birth, and this appealing and well-produced volume makes a timely tribute that indeed should do much to keep his endeavours and accomplishments in the minds of scholars who owe him an enormous debt of gratitude.

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Jorink, Eric, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 191), trans. Peter Mason, Leiden, Brill, 2010; cloth; pp. xxii, 472; 70 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$172.00, €133.00; ISBN 9789004186712.

Eric Jorink's stimulating book prompts the reader to reassess the relationship between religion and the observation of the natural world in the Dutch Golden Age. He argues that while the natural world was increasingly the object of empirical scrutiny and measurable observation during this period, its theological status as the Book of Nature (second only to the Bible) remained critically important, fundamentally shaping, and in turn being shaped by, new biblical scholarship that engaged with natural history. Jorink draws upon an extensive range of primary sources and deftly utilises methodologies drawn from the history of science, theology, and intellectual history. The work reflects the 'cultural turn' that has contributed to making the history of science such an influential sub-field in recent historical scholarship.

Reading the Book of Nature is thematically structured and weaves together analyses of texts and collections created by humanists, natural historians, and biblical scholars. It identifies a range of key figures including Constantijn Huygens, Nicolaes Witsen, Johannes Swammerdam, and Bernardus Paludanus, characterised by Jorink as 'the well and sometimes lesser-known scholars and *curiosi*' (p. 29). A particular strength of Jorink's book lies in his discussion of publications and discourses at a range of levels, rather than focusing on 'canonical natural philosophers' (p. 29) like René Descartes and Christiaan Huygens (who still feature, but do not dominate the narrative). Jorink argues for a very wide conception of early modern science that incorporates contemporary concepts including 'exegesis, the humanist tradition, natural history and the culture of the collecting of curiosities' (p. 19), and the book is accordingly wide ranging, though it does not lose focus. Following extensive preliminary material that conceptually teases out and historically contextualises the Book of Nature, the strands of the argument are woven together through a series of thematically organised chapters that provide convincing and coherent case studies.

In a substantial chapter on comets, Jorink builds upon traditional studies in the history of science that stressed the importance of comets for the development of techniques of precise observation and measurement, and on more recent analyses that have foregrounded early modern humanist debates about comet theory from antiquity. The chief contribution of this chapter lies in Jorink's examination of a series of Dutch authors who combined biblical and classical understandings of comets and in so doing subjected the astrological and prodigious functions of comets to increasing scrutiny. The overarching trend was a move towards a worldview in which comets still

functioned as signs, but signs quite simply of ‘God’s almightiness’ (a frequent phrase in the book) rather than as portents of events to come.

The following chapter examines the new seventeenth-century fascination with insects as objects of observation and representation. While this is relatively well-trodden ground in studies of scientific method and scientific instruments, and in studies of the iconography of Dutch art, Jorink throws new light on this field by situating lesser-known figures within a chronological overview, and especially by intensively reassessing the religious dimensions of Johannes Swammerdam’s studies of insects in the 1660s and 1670s.

The two concluding thematic chapters – on collections of curiosities, and on printed books of wonders – work particularly well in tandem and provide nuanced readings of how evidence from the natural world, broadly conceptualised, was collected, scrutinised, and presented to wide publics through print as well as to smaller groups of connoisseurs. The discussion of collections extends to incorporate categories of objects beyond those found in the natural world, and most notably Egyptian artefacts. This allows Jorink, in one of the most compelling sections of the book, to establish how biblical scholarship and debates about language and chronology affected the changing categorisation and presentation of many forms of knowledge. He also traces an eventual shift towards a focus on regular rather than exceptional phenomena.

The final chapter examines how Dutch publishers and authors built upon the publication genre of the ‘wonder book’ that had been developed by predominantly German and French authors in the sixteenth century. Jorink examines popular compilations of wonders that appeared on the Dutch market, often repetitively based upon earlier models though sometimes also newly concerned with strange local events. The chapter concludes with a lengthy analysis of new interpretations of extraordinary natural phenomena developed by some theologically minded Dutch authors in the later seventeenth century, demonstrating the intersection of popular print culture, natural history, and religion at work in this particular time and place.

Originally published in 2006 as *Het Boeck der Natuere. Nederlandse geleerden en wonderen van Gods schepping, 1575–1716*, this updated version (beautifully translated by Peter Mason) now makes the book available to early modernists well beyond Dutch specialists. It is richly illustrated and impeccably presented. Jorink’s extremely readable and insightful book will be an essential work for scholars interested in the entwinement of science and religion in the early modern world.

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Keizer, Joost and **Todd M. Richardson**, eds, *The Transformation of Vernacular Expression in Early Modern Arts* (Intersections, 19), Leiden, Brill, 2011; hardback; pp. 404; R.R.P. €109.00, US\$149.00; ISBN 9789004212046.

This edited collection is a recent contribution to Brill's series 'Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture'. As expected, therefore, this is an interdisciplinary collection, in terms of not only examining works and topics from a variety of European cultural contexts but also examining various literary, visual, and historical discourses.

The binding theme is the emergence of vernacular forms of cultural expression. The texts and traditions examined by the authors are all set within a common European intellectual framework where Latin was the *lingua franca* and the standard means of intercultural and international intellectual, legal, and religious exchange. As such, the collection moves back from this supra-national intellectual dominance of Latin to look at a variety of local vernacular expressions from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Local should not be taken to mean obscure: some of the most significant names in late medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque art and letters are represented and examined, including Hans Memling, Donatello, Frans Hals, Dante, and Serlio, the architectural theorist. They are, however, evaluated as carrying local significance and as inscribed within local rather than international frames of reference. In particular, editors Joost Keizer and Todd M. Richardson suggest the limitations to contemporary theoretical ideals that art carried universal understanding. Beginning with Leonardo da Vinci's expressed ideal that painting needed no interpretation and carried universal meaning, the editors propose an alternative reading that binds the meaning and style of the visual and plastic arts as well as architecture and letters to historically and geographically distinct areas.

Although the essays span the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the collection makes important contributions to understandings of the Renaissance and the intersection of a supposed rebirth of the classics with vernacular idioms, forms, and priorities. The collection builds on recent re-evaluations of Italian Renaissance art in particular, including works by Elizabeth Cropper. In earlier works, Cropper proposed a realignment of understandings of Renaissance art as grounded in 'life, corporeality, and vividness'; in other words bringing the Renaissance down to earth (p. 6). Doing so suggests that what have often been evaluated as works that revived the classical past could instead be thought of as in dialogue with the past, doing so in ways salient to a particular time and place. Alongside works by Martini, Leonardo, and Raphael that are read this way, the collection also invokes Petrarch and Dante as vernacular writers.

The collection surveys not only literature and art that are expressions of the vernacular, but also surveys medieval and Renaissance debates on the value of the vernacular. The efforts to make vernacular languages adhere to rules and styles is one outcome that is assessed, as is the irony that non-classical languages were subjected to treatment as though they were classical languages with rules of style following the principles of Cicero or Quintilian.

Engaging with the vernacular brings with it questions about the arts of the period, such as those relating to the intersection of high art and low art, and folk art versus the polite (p. 99). The essays draw diverse conclusions about the distinctions between these categories or even the validity of making them. Lex Hermans suggests that making these distinctions is not necessarily a methodologically valuable approach, although in studying Dutch landscape art Alexandra Onuf insists on this particular vernacular form as being a locally distinct counterpoint to the universalising tendency of classical art (p. 232). Vernacular art forms were capable of carrying multiple meanings and the acceptance of the vernacular by different levels of society is also addressed, an approach that again permits evaluation of the links between high and low and even the artificiality of such distinctions. For example, David A. Levine's chapter on Frans Hals, the celebrated Haarlem portraitist, discusses at length the artist's distinctive brushwork that removes him from the naturalistic tendency of earlier Dutch art, but which was nonetheless demanded and accepted by patrons (p. 182).

This is a rich collection in terms not only of the approaches taken and the questions asked, but also the variety of artistic forms and cultural expressions examined, from literature and the visual and plastic arts, to vernacular poetry, landscapes, music, and even oral culture. Overall, it contains tightly argued papers and a number of significant and original insights.

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Krötzel, Christian and Katariina **Mustakallio**, eds, *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Studies in the History of Daily Life (800–1600), 2), Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; hardback; pp. xix, 345; 22 b/w illustrations, 5 b/w tables, 1 b/w line art; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503532165.

Like many collections, the essays in this volume have been generated from papers first presented at a conference, in this case at the University of Tampere in 2005, which examined issues of ageing, old age, and death in ancient and medieval societies.

There are several brilliant essays in this collection that draw on detailed research findings to present interpretations of how old age and death have been regarded over a long period of time. The aim of the collection is to present studies of ageing, old age, and death in ancient and medieval societies from a comparative perspective. In large part, the collection succeeds in this aim, and there is commendable interrelation between the chapters, which have clearly been developed in workshops before finally coming together in this publication.

Mary Harlow and Ray Laurence set the tone in providing evidence to correct many views that have been generally held, particularly with regard to the longevity of the elderly. The popularly held view, that in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages life expectancy was low, is shown by hard evidence in several essays to be misleading, since it relies on statistical analysis, and ignores the high incidence of infant mortality at birth, during the very early years of childhood, and often during the years of youth. While this may not be a new finding, the variety of evidence used leads the various authors to draw quite subtle distinctions about longevity, treatment of the elderly both as revered and valued, and as a worthless burden.

I found the work on antiquity quite riveting; five of the sixteen essays deal with issues of respect, treatment of older women, interpretation of the challenging Roman saying: ‘sixty year olds over the bridge’, and the social importance of the old. In addition to these essays, there are two more on old age: a study of the fate of aged priests in the Middle Ages, and a second study of the medieval elderly in Hungarian towns. Both of these contributions bristle with fascinating facts, such as those concerning the familial care of the elderly as provided in wills. Again, much of this material is similar to findings of scholars who, for example, study English wills, but the wealth of detail and the soundness of the conclusions drawn makes these chapters important additions to our collective understanding of old age in greater Europe.

The nine essays on aspects of death, dying, and memorialisation are well researched and fascinating each in its own right. Unlike the essays on old age, I found it hard to discern any logical connections between the essays, but taken separately each widens the approach to death, with studies on medical

perspectives, ritual games in antiquity, miraculous cures, martyrdom, tombs, and the personification of death.

I strongly commend this volume for its content. Yet, for this reader, the book would have had more coherence if the essays had been organised so that all the interpretations of old age in antiquity and the Middle Ages were grouped together, particularly as the essays consciously draw on each other's findings. As it is, these topics are scattered through the three parts of the volume, and I found the tripartite sections to be artificial. Many essays overlap and it is not clear how closely they reflect the subheadings under which they are grouped.

It is also disappointing that the book lacks an index, an essential tool to help readers navigate and make the best use of this densely illustrated text. And it would have been good to know who these fine scholars are and where they are to be contacted: a brief biography of each author is another must in this kind of work. Many of the authors are not native speakers of English, and their work is even more to be admired in this respect, but I felt they had been let down on many occasions by the copyeditor. It would be mean-spirited to list all the infelicities that should have been picked up by the publisher, but these and many typos detract from the volume.

A final cavil is about the time lapse between the 2005 conference that generated the essays and their final publication in 2011. One scholar (Jill Bradley) has to note that the chapter was written two years before her 2008 monograph that 'draws on parts of this article and develops many of these issues more fully'. The chapter by Emilia Jamroziak bears some close similarities to her 2010 article published in *Parergon* 27.2. It is a pity when the dissemination of scholarship comes so long after it was formulated, and is overlapped by later studies that have made it into print more swiftly.

These comments should not, however, detract from the intrinsic excellence of the chapters. They are of a uniformly high level of scholarship and important in the way they reveal continuity over the centuries in perceptions of old age, death, and dying.

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Lawrence, Clifford H., *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society*, London and New York, I. B. Tauris, 2013; paperback; pp. x, 245; R.R.P. £22.50; ISBN 9781780764672.

Since its first publication in 1994, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* has provided a succinct and lucid introduction to the rise of the medieval mendicant orders. It provides an excellent basis for anyone starting out or simply interested in the field. Revised and reissued under a slightly altered title, *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society* is still one of the best syntheses on the subject available.

C. H. Lawrence delivers both a wide-ranging and in-depth view of the mendicants by positing in the first chapter the problem that the mendicants were the solution to, and the difficulties and challenges that would face them as religious orders within twelfth-century society. He argues that the end of the twelfth century saw Church and society in crisis, in particular as a consequence of rampant heresy and the rise of the cities. Visionaries, heretics, and extremes of poverty were both the symptom of and the ignition for the decline of existing social and religious structures that were unwilling to change. Lawrence argues that the different Orders arose to fill this gap; beginning with St Francis and the foundation of the Friars Minor, before moving onto Dominic and the Order of Preachers. It is from these two that the spiritual and organisational inspiration informed and influenced the other mendicant orders: the Servites, the Crutched Friars, the Carmelites, and the Austins. Each represents a slightly different discussion about the role of poverty, money, conversion, and reform.

The second part of the book moves from the stories of the Orders and the main themes that they embody to the different areas of society in which they participated, how they impacted on these, and were changed in turn. Lawrence covers their activities within the towns and their preaching, the way they took the universities by storm, and the corresponding impact they had not just on their formation, but also on theology and the development of scholastic thought. He also tracks the mendicants' political engagement with the courts and the role they played within papal service. This itself covers a diverse range of topics from the anti-mendicant movement, the inquisition, diplomacy, and conversion of the Far East. Each of these interactions equally affected the structure and integrity of the Orders themselves, driving them to complacency and reform in turn.

Essentially the structure of *The Friars* has remained the same in this. What changes there are, are best reflected in the alteration of title. No longer is the book solely about the impact of a mendicant movement, but rather the contribution of the mendicant orders, with their calling to the apostolic life and their different interpretations of this. This shift in perspective breaks down what had previously been a trajectory that was inevitable and more unitary

than reality could be. It is also more contained, playing down the impact of the Orders on the West as a whole, but rather looking at the thirteenth century as a period of change and innovation, especially in terms of religious practice that began to enter all aspects of life.

Despite the revisions there are still some fundamental issues that time is only accentuating, especially because of the interest that has been generated in the last decade about the mendicant orders. Since 1994, a great deal of research has been done not only on the individual orders themselves, but also on the social context from which they arose. Unfortunately, in this new edition, this social context has not been updated. Also not updated is the select bibliography, which now overlooks some of the very important recent work on the mendicants. This is particularly the case within studies of heresy and the inquisition, even though there have been quite significant changes within the field regarding the composition of the Cathar heretics, and the role played by the Orders within inquisition tribunals. The same is true for more recent studies regarding the crusades, conventual education, scholasticism, and the anti-mendicant movements.

While none of this would change Lawrence's argument, it would certainly give a much better basis for his study of their impact and origins. It would also bring more nuances to Lawrence's tendency to romanticise the friars, and disregard the reality that they were not always incorruptible, detached, or unfairly persecuted by their secular masters. That, in fact, these representations were just as often rhetorical representations in turn. Given that much of this work and interest is undoubtedly indebted to the legacy of *The Friars*, it is somewhat disappointing to find it not reflected a bit more in the revised edition. Nevertheless, despite this and a number of typographical errors and the misspelling of a few names, there is still no better general introduction to the impact of the mendicant orders.

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Lemmings, David, ed., *Crime, Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1700–1850*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012; hardback; pp. 248; 23 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781409418030.

This edited collection covers a time period from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century and thus falls outside the early modern period that might be of interest to most readers of *Parergon*. Nonetheless for readers and researchers with an interest in the history of criminal justice, this selection of essays has much to recommend it.

The unifying theme across the collection is the charting of the gradual emergence of lawyers in ordinary criminal trials across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While it is now axiomatic that a courtroom is a space dominated by lawyers, the authors that David Lemmings has brought together demonstrate that this has only been a gradually developing circumstance. Accordingly, the chapters interpret the gradual change in not only rules of evidence and the conduct of cases but also courtroom etiquette, moving from what were clearly the more disorderly courtrooms of the eighteenth century to more recognisably professional courtrooms that took shape in the nineteenth century.

Although the book's title proclaims that the British Isles in general are incorporated into the analysis, in reality the bulk of the book is about English courts, and the chapters on the very different Scottish legal system are in a minority. This collection follows in the wake of major studies into the field by J. M. Beattie, some of whose students appear in this collection.

Early chapters discuss the conduct of cases and the reporting of them in the eighteenth century. Esther Snell's chapter on the reporting of rape cases in Old Bailey *Proceedings* addresses the impact on the perceptions of both readers and participants in trials (including prosecutors and witnesses) during trials. In particular, she suggests that reading of the *Proceedings'* accounts of rape trials makes clear an enduring tension between demands for full disclosure of such matters and the medical impact of a rape, and a female defendant's experience during rape and the expectations of female modesty. Robert Shoemaker's chapter also assesses the *Proceedings*, evaluating the gradual development of the role in trials of adversarial barristers, and the way the *Proceedings* initially showed distrust of the advocates for the accused.

Snell's chapter also establishes an emphasis that develops across subsequent chapters on the performative dimensions of eighteenth-century trials. The performance could be witnessed 'live', by attending a trial, or read about later in *Proceedings*. Andrea Mackenzie's chapter on readership for the *Select Trials* considers the principles of selection that these records present over a period of several decades. She suggests that the highly selective nature of the trials closely reflects the partiality and discretionary nature of many judgements themselves.

Simon Devereaux's chapter continues this focus on the performative aspect of eighteenth-century trials and on the reception of adversarial barristers by the wider public, comparing the public performance of barristers with contemporary Georgian actors. Devereaux's chapter is a particularly salient contribution to this book as it brings together these twin threads of the burgeoning importance of barristers as representing the interests of a client and the public interest in trials and the way they were played out in the public sphere. Devereaux further suggests that the development of the legal profession and the acting profession was more or less cognate in the Georgian period, as both came to acquire a new respectability that both had lacked in the early modern period. However the principal contribution of this chapter is the analysis of the inherent theatricality of trials and accordingly the developing importance of an eloquent defence counsel. He includes interesting reflections on the continuing interest in the entertainment factor inherent in courtroom proceedings, from the trial of O. J. Simpson to the production of courtroom dramas such as *Rumpole of the Bailey*.

Later chapters focus on the reporting of trials and the factors that influenced the newspaper reports of early eighteenth-century trials. Scotland receives a measure of attention in Anne-Marie Kilday's analysis of popular attitudes to criminality in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland.

The final sections of the book focus on the early nineteenth century. Of course, there is attention to Charles Dickens's journalistic writings, as part of the analysis of a much broader nineteenth-century trend for increased scrutiny of the functioning and professionalism of the legal system.

Overall this is a cohesive collection that substantially accounts for the developing professionalism of trials, changes in attitudes to the courts, the way the workings of the courts were reported to a wider public, and especially the way that the emergence of a professional body of criminal advocates changed not only the conduct of trials but also public perceptions of the legal system. The case studies are meaningful and well chosen, although for a collection that is about both Britain in general and the period 1700 to 1850, both jurisdictions outside England and the period after 1800 are under-represented.

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Martin, Craig, *Renaissance Meteorology: Pomponazzi to Descartes*, Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011; cloth; pp. viii, 213; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$50.00, £26.00; ISBN 9781421401874 (review copy supplied by Footprint Books).

Craig Martin's study sheds light on a subject area that has received relatively little attention within wider interpretations of the processes of the 'scientific revolution', and the place of Aristotelianism within these. Yet, as Martin persuasively argues, scholarly meteorology – concerned with the causes of meteorology rather than its predictive potential – had unique dimensions which makes it a particularly valuable as a lens through which to analyse the transition of these processes across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Martin considers 'renaissance meteorology', as it is termed here (somewhat misleadingly given that it involves mostly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian works), a field that can demonstrate carefully nuanced positions, suggesting the vibrancy and renewal of Aristotelianism from within a conservative tradition. This, he argues, was in part a consequence of the strong contemporary interest in understanding such meteorological phenomena within religious, political, and practical contexts.

In Chapter 1, Martin examines the epistemology of renaissance meteorology. He argues that because nature was too uncertain, scholars concurred that demonstration would not be possible in this domain – only possible or rhetorical statements could be made. This solution resolved the difficulty that contemporaries' own observations and experiences contradicted some of Aristotle's statements. They concluded that Aristotle himself had been conjecturing. This view also supported those Catholic scholars who were keen to assert the gap between divine and human knowledge, as well as potential knowledge. Only tentative conclusions could thus be drawn about meteorology.

In the second chapter, Martin investigates whether scholars considered there was nonetheless a deeper meaning to meteorological phenomena. Aristotle offered little assistance: he had not ruled out the possibility of formal and final causes but had restricted his analysis to material and efficient causation. Here, religious persuasions were the key. Despite the limits of human knowledge, most Catholic scholars were convinced that such events must have a purpose. A few, such as Pomponazzi, were not certain such events were part of a divine plan, leaving room for the possibility that they were accidents of material excess, as Aristotle had surmised. For Lutherans, such phenomena were instead universally accepted signs of God's wrath. Indeed, that these were portentous signs of an impending apocalypse only proved the righteousness of their own faith position.

In Chapter 3, we see such intellectual and religious positions tested by the particular political and social contexts of the Ferrarese earthquakes of

the early 1570s. Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, commissioned a series of learned publications to refute the pope's claim that the earthquakes were divine retribution for the Duke's failure to acquiesce to papal plans. Scholars were forced to negotiate their ideas anew in response to widespread public interest combined with specific political goals. This context, Martin suggests, generated politically astute forms of writing about meteorology as an intellectual proposition – not least the employment of Ciceronian dialogue through which a variety of ideas could be rehearsed and no conclusion advanced too firmly. This format also affirmed renaissance meteorology as a subject about which little conclusive knowledge could be formed, whether by scholars interested in Aristotle, antiquarianism, or geology, and the unknowability of God's purpose. Such doubt about divine meaning of the events satisfied Alfonso's political purposes.

The events in Ferrara had pushed scholars to look beyond Aristotle to find explanations in emerging fields and technologies. Martin's fourth chapter examines the use of chymical, mineralogical, and balneological ideas, as well as experiences with gunpowder and engineering, in shaping new insights in learned meteorology. The influence of moderns and ancients, from Seneca and Pliny to Paracelsus, are present in the suggestions that new substances (sulphur and bitumen among them) helped explain such phenomena, even if the acceptance of Paracelsan ideas was fairly limited. These are demonstrated in the analyses made of the 1646 blood rain in Brussels, which highlighted the ways Aristotelianism was being recast from within.

This investigation leads to two final chapters about individuals who were considering Aristotelian meteorology at this period. One was the Jesuit Niccolò Cabeo who used Aristotle's work as the textual foundation for a theoretical meteorology that embedded chymistry and valued observation and experimentation. He did not discount the possibility of the supernatural, but considered the events he witnessed in his own lifetime to be natural, and thus to be understood in terms of physical properties. Such a scholarly position continued to value Aristotelianism, rendering it flexible to new knowledge against alternative interpretations.

Among the scholars formulating these alternatives was Descartes, who appeared to shift Aristotelianism rather more radically from the centre of his interpretive framework. In part, Martin argues that this impression was gained more from Descartes's bold claims to novelty than his interpretive focus on material and efficient (rather than formal and final) causes. Key to Descartes's view was his desire to limit wonder as an approach to the natural world, rejecting metaphysics and looking to epiphenomena for understanding – a view in the seventeenth century that increasingly marked out Catholics against Lutherans' continued acceptance of the wondrous as signs from God. Martin posits that the shifting place of Aristotle in relation to meteorology

(demonstrated by Descartes's thought even if this was perhaps not as radical as his claims suggested) situates it among the processes that have been seen as the 'scientific revolution' in this period.

This then is Martin's key claim for his study and for early modern meteorology – that it was a field that demonstrated the continued use, rather than rejection, of Aristotle among scholars, who modified and resituated his ideas in relation to the new techniques, experiences, and social contexts of contemporary natural philosophy. The scholars who reflected upon meteorology may have had their foundations in a conservative intellectual culture, but meteorological events affected whole societies, and demanded explanation in terms that many could understand. As such, early modern meteorology could never be a wholly academic affair, and contemporary interest was reflected in flexible and ultimately adaptive responses to Aristotelianism.

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Matter, E. Ann and Lesley **Smith**, eds, *From Knowledge to Beatitude: St Victor, Twelfth-Century Scholars, and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Grover A. Zinn, Jr*, Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 2013; cloth; pp. 488; R.R.P. US\$75.00; ISBN 9780268035280.

Grover Zinn, Jr has played a key role in promoting a renewal of interest in the intellectual and religious culture of St Victor, at least within the English-speaking world. The publication of this volume is thus a fitting tribute to his achievement, in drawing together a distinguished range of contributors, some of whom work directly on Victorine authors, while others consider contemporaries, directly or indirectly influenced by their achievement. Contributions to *Festschriften* often suffer from being excessively specialised. While this is the case with certain of the contributions in this collection, others introduce important themes generic to medieval Victorine culture. The words 'and beyond' in the title allow certain contributions to wander considerably beyond the twelfth century. Their common theme is sympathy for a Victorine mystical outlook of huge influence on medieval religious thought.

The first contributions in this volume focus directly on art and architecture, some in quite a specialist vein. Thus Catherine Delano-Smith examines the depictions of the maps of the Holy Land and of the Temple within the numerous surviving manuscripts of the commentary by Richard of St Victor on Ezekiel. Richard was fascinated by the description of the Temple given by Ezekiel. The consistency of designs in these manuscripts leads

us to think they were integral to the work from the outset. Of particular interest is the possibility that Richard was drawing on designs preserved in Rashi's commentaries on scripture, or alluded to within his writings. This is also the case with the map of Canaan. After Richard, Nicholas of Lyra in the early fourteenth century preserved this tradition of visual commentary in relation to Ezekiel. While this study does not examine the content of Richard's exegesis, we do learn about his fascination with the visual imagery of the Bible.

An essay by Walter Cahn on an illuminated manuscript of the writings of Hugh of St Victor (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 729) is similarly descriptive in focus, examining the work of an illuminator in the mid-twelfth century, fascinated by the personifications implicit in Hugh's work. A more useful opening to the volume might have been William W. Clark's essay on the twelfth-century church of St Victor, a building largely known only from surviving drawings. Oddly, Clark seems unaware of the entry in the necrology about the church being built in the time of Bishop Girbert (Gilbert), namely 1117–24. He offers stylistic arguments for assigning the beginning of the church to 1135–40. The paper by Thomas Waldman, on the 1131 privilege of Innocent II for St Denis, has nothing to do with St Victor, but presents Suger as himself writing the papal privilege to proclaim the grandeur of his ambition for a newly constructed church.

Franklin T. Harkins offers a synthetic essay on the role of reading at St Victor that provides an easier *entrée* into Victorine studies than the earlier art historical contributions. His theme is that Hugh transforms the ancient theme of philosophy as a way of life by setting it within the context of scripture. Whereas some readings of Hugh focus on his interest in the historical level of scripture, others (like Harkins) take the tropological goal as its defining characteristic, in this case drawing on the *De institutione novitiorum*. The novice was taught to reflect on the *historia* of scripture, not for its own sake but to become himself spiritually transformed. Lesley Smith provides a focused study of the large collection of glosses of books of the Bible given by a non-Victorine master, Robert Amiclas, to the Augustinian abbey of Buildwas. In more spiritual mode, Hugh Feiss reflects on the broader theme of preaching by word and example in various Victorine authors, including Richard, Achard, Walter, Godfrey, and Maurice de Sully, perhaps the first author whose sermons survive in French.

Boyd Coolman, Dale Coulter, and Dominique Poirel provide three of the most penetrating introductions to Victorine thought. Coolman identifies a core theme in Hugh's thought as *justitia*, a quality possessed of primal beauty, realised in creation and most fully in the person of Christ. Hugh's respect for appropriate measure provides a core link between scriptural *historia*, allegorical truth, and tropological self-fashioning. Coulter's analysis

of contemplation as *speculatio* is valuable for showing how both Hugh and Richard transformed Boethian speculation into a process of abstraction by which divine wisdom works on the soul, drawing it to itself. Poirel's essay on the spirituality and theology of beauty in Hugh echoes that of Coolman, giving particular attention to Hugh's fascination for *pulchritudo* as the path of communication between the visible and the invisible, mediated not just through scripture, but through architecture and liturgy.

The last essays in this volume lean more in a mystical direction, beyond the scriptural framework provided by Victorine exegesis. The fact that not all are easily connected to each other does not detract from their inherent interest. Jeremy Adams offers a more worldly reflection on how ecclesiastics wrote about returned crusaders, not all endowed with saintly reputations. Rachel Fulton Brown interprets Hildegard's theology of revelation as expounded in *Scivias*. Whereas Victorines took scripture as the guiding framework of spiritual insight, Hildegard singles out particular scriptural images that spoke to her, rather than specific texts. As Raymond Clemens shows, visionaries like Hildegard were eagerly promoted in the early sixteenth century by Lefèvre d'Étaples. Frans van Liere considers what Andrew of St Victor has to say about Jewish apocalyptic tradition (drawing from Jewish sources, beyond Jerome) in a way that contrasts with much contemporary anti-Jewish literature. Barbara Newman reflects on the theme of exchanging hearts, from the *Epistolae duorum amantium* (whose attribution to Abelard and Heloise she accepts) and the Tegernsee love letters from the later twelfth century to mystical writers like Mechtild of Magdeburg and Gertude of Helfta. She observes that for these women, exchanging hearts reflects a broader communal intimacy than the declarations of exclusive love found in male writers. Her paper connects up to a closing essay by E. Ann Matter, connecting Richard of St Victor's reading of the Canticum with that picked up by Bach.

This volume offers a potpourri of essays on the great internal diversity of Victorine spiritual culture, and much else besides.

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Müller, Wolfgang P., *The Criminalization of Abortion in the West: Its Origins in Medieval Law*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. 280; 1 illustration; R.R.P. US\$55.00; ISBN 9780801450891.

This work, dry and didactic as its presentation is, is in essence highly controversial. Despite its apparently limited subject matter, its underlying discussion covers the development of medieval canon law from the twelfth century as a whole. It also takes in the role of professional university canonists and civilians from Bologna, especially Gratian, in the clarification of jurisprudence, whose analysis, Wolfgang Müller argues, transformed pre-twelfth-century 'vaguely perceived notions of right and wrong' (p. 95) into a logical system by which lawyers in most courts were ruled. Müller, who has devoted his life to its study, comes from the German school that sees this 'rediscovery' of Roman law as 'scientific jurisprudence'. He asserts that rulers, and the laws they passed, played a minimal part in the construction of law. Traditional custom and social expectations were largely irrelevant. Treating English common law as exceptional, he argues that its lawyers were nevertheless clearly influenced, indeed empowered, by the *ius commune* of the scholastics.

Abortion, because it raises important issues in both moral and legal contexts – when does God put the soul into the body? – and involves all four professional faculties – theology, medicine, canon, and civil law – makes a good focus for such a study. In the Scholastic texts, abortion principally means the destruction of a foetus by someone other than the mother and depends on the Septuagint version of Exodus 2. 22–23. In secular courts, however, attention became focused on the use of abortifacients associated with poison and the likelihood of, or concealment of, pregnancy that became such a cause of anxiety and statutory legislation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Müller points out, the surviving records cannot give us a statistical overview of the frequency of abortion at any time since many factors would influence the number of cases brought, but they do show what was seen as important in the cases that were brought and how and when there were changes in attitudes.

Müller seeks to stress the different meaning that the term *crimen* had in the Middle Ages and how assuming present day meanings is misleading. Wrongdoing defined as '*crimen*' during the twelfth century came under four possible procedures: as a crime against God, sacramental confession and penitential denunciation in the religious arena; as an offence against society, accusation and inquisition. He distinguishes what he sees as the application of penance for sin to clerics or those aspiring to clerical orders and (less clearly) to the laity from the punishment of what seem to us similar actions under secular law. Since in Anglo-Saxon and Irish Penitentials various penances were imposed on parents who killed their children before or after baptism,

the only distinction that seems to apply is the well-known fact that the clergy could not be convicted in secular courts.

Müller's dismissal of pre-twelfth-century jurisprudence as unformed is in clear opposition to the many legal historians, such as J. H. Hudson and Daniel Lord Smail, who have held that users of the law in early medieval Europe had a satisfactory and rational, if largely unwritten, judicial system before the twelfth century. Müller, however, seeks to rely solely on contemporary written material which is largely confined to the Poenitentiales and to the occasional dissimilar territorial laws such as those Charlemagne had written down. The desire for common principles he attributes to the increase in international trade and commerce which required certainty.

Müller's argument that academic legal reasoning eventually came to inform secular law depends on the assumption that wherever a city or a state adopted a code that included ideas also found in academic texts, those ideas were derived from the academic and did not exist in the (by implication, inferior) practice that had preceded it. The same applied to the replacement of generally milder practices by the 'coercive arsenal of Romano-canonical procedure' (p. 208). This is to ignore the many places such as northern and western France where various forms of customary law were maintained and written down in the later Middle Ages with hardly any reference to the *ius commune*. His brief references to the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* compiled by Philippe de Beaumanoir in 1283 give a misleading impression of an adoption of scholastic doctrine (pp. 228, 238). He ignores the fact that sixteenth-century French humanists rejected many scholastic readings of Roman law and resisted the idea that they would be a suitable foundation for a unified law in France.

It may be widely agreed that in the period from the eleventh century onwards increased literacy led to the writing down of law, but this does not necessarily support the weight that Müller seeks to give the school of Bologna in contributing long-lasting legal principles to European ideas of justice. This is, nonetheless, a study that anyone writing on the subject will need to encompass.

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Petts, David and Sam **Turner**, eds, *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 24), Turnhout, Brepols, 2011; hardback; pp. xiii, 332; 41 b/w illustrations, 4 colour plates; R.R.P. €115.00; ISBN 9782503528229.

This collection of fourteen essays originating from a conference held at Newcastle University is an important addition to works on early medieval England. In particular, the scope of the collection allows for important contributions on Northumbria both before and after its well-documented ‘Golden Age’ of c. 650–750.

The volume is divided into two parts, ‘Regions and Places’ and ‘Identities and Material Culture’. It begins with Rob Collins’s examination of Roman military communities, in which he argues that the forts continued to be occupied after the official withdrawal of 410, and that the soldierly communities evolved into local war bands. Mark Wood’s essay is an important study of rarely used place-names in the context of Bernicia. Although Wood demonstrates some correlation between early place-names, archaeological sites, and churches, the dating of none of these forms of evidence is secure, making his argument somewhat circular. The late Richard Hall provides a short overview of ‘Recent Research into Early Medieval York and its Hinterland’, and includes information on many yet-to-be published excavations such as Ainsbrook and St Helen, Skipwith.

Through an investigation of monumental sculpture in Cumbria and Dumfries and Galloway, Nicola Toop demonstrates that the historical and sculptural evidence for the Northumbrian expansion to Whithorn does not sit comfortably together, as the Northumbrian bishopric at Whithorn is an area devoid of sculpture showing Anglian influence. Toop suggests that the Northumbrian bishop may have arrived at Whithorn through the invitation of its community, as they recognised the growing power of Northumbria.

The focus on Western Northumbria continues in a paper by Felicity Clark in which she applies frontier theory to the region for the period c. 600–800 through three case studies: a chapter of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*; two chapters of the *Vita Wilfridi*; and the excavation of a small settlement at Fremington, Cumbria. The paper demonstrates that frontier theory can suggest new research avenues, and a number of future doctoral candidates are likely to gain inspiration from this paper.

Julian Richards and John Naylor provide an overview of the Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy project, which created a database of early medieval metal-detector finds, and suggest ways in which portable antiquities can be used to enhance our understanding of settlement and economy. Their research suggests that Northumbria was a distinctive cultural zone, and that there is less metal-work and coinage the further west and north one travelled in early medieval England. Saxo-Norman Northumbria

is the focus of Aleksandra McClain's paper, in which she suggests that the 'harrying of the north' was not as severe as traditionally thought, and that Saxo-Norman sculpture is more often found in peripheral regions than new and rebuilt churches.

Part II opens with Martin Carver's 'Intellectual Communities in Early Northumbria', in which he continues his work on questions of ethnicity and identity and the importance of ideology and politics in burial rites, and stresses the importance of water transport in early medieval Northumbria. Colm O'Brien then provides a summary of the ongoing debate over the Yeavinger site and offers some new ideas. Yeavinger is also the focus of a paper on socio-political and religious performances in halls by Jenny Walker, where it is compared to the nearby site of Doon Hill. Her research shows a move towards an increasingly hierarchical society, and it complements a study by Frands Herschend on the positioning of high seats within halls. Sarah Groves explores the relationship between burial practices and biological data at the sixth- to eighth-century Bowl Hole cemetery at Bamburgh, suggesting that the deliberate placement of animal bone in male burials indicates social stratification.

Through the aid of new technologies, Michelle Brown offers a fascinating description of the making of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which itself included technological innovations. She also suggests a wide distribution of books and influences in the same style during the Mercian hegemony. Carver's point, continued by Christopher Ferguson, about the importance of water transport, in which he suggests that travel within the North Sea world would have been quicker and easier than has been generally assumed, means that the links between coastal communities, including river sites, need to be reassessed. While I agree with the general argument, not all of the evidence is convincing: in particular, a single coin of Æthelred of Wessex (r. 866–71) found on Lindisfarne should not be used as evidence of continued contact between the island and southern England. The volume concludes with a study of Viking Age combs by Steven Ashby, in which he questions the assertions of Ambrosiani and demonstrates there were regional variations across Europe.

Despite some flaws – the discussion of the Lindisfarne Gospels, for example, would have benefitted from having the plate within the chapter rather than elsewhere – this volume is often thought provoking and is sure to be of interest to anyone interested in early medieval Northumbria.

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Richards, Judith M., *Elizabeth I* (Routledge Historical Biographies), London, Routledge, 2012; paperback; pp. 220; 10 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £16.99; ISBN 9780415481571.

Judith Richards's concise biography of Queen Elizabeth I offers a fresh perspective, in comparison to the many lengthy, speculative accounts promoting a powerful monarch. Richards sticks to the historical facts rather than glamorising a troubled queen. The Introduction details Richards's aim to challenge the myths surrounding Elizabeth's apparently straightforward restoration of Protestantism, her celebrated Tilbury speech, her actual authority in relation to policy, and her influence over her infamous courtiers.

Chapter 1 summarises Elizabeth's early life. Henry VIII's annulment of his first marriage to his brother's widow and her older sister Mary's mother, meant that Elizabeth, at her birth, was the heir to the throne. Mary, seventeen at the time, was forced to declare her own illegitimacy. Richards emphasises how these 'nuanced issues' created 'difficult relations between the two sisters as long as Mary lived' (p. 11). The chapter concludes with Elizabeth's apparent romance with Thomas Seymour who was eventually executed for high treason. Richards highlights the fact that there is scant evidence of Elizabeth mourning for him, contrary to more romantic imaginings.

Chapter 2 focuses on the influence of Mary I on Elizabeth. Elizabeth copied Mary's spectacular procession through London, which marked her as Queen of England. When her sister died, Elizabeth argued that although female, she was still ordained by the body politic to rule; an argument earlier used by Mary. Also, like her elder sister, Elizabeth used the royal healing touch to cure her subjects suffering from scrofula.

Richards begins Chapter 3 with an amusing anecdote in which a woman, seeing Queen Elizabeth for the first time, remarked that she was a woman. This detail highlights the extent to which the propaganda surrounding Elizabeth was 'originally directed at the literate few' (p. 47). Richards also discusses Elizabeth's failed attempt to reclaim Calais in 1562. She comments on how much easier it is 'for later historians than [it was] for Elizabethan contemporaries' to argue 'that the loss of Calais was neither a financial nor a strategic disaster' (p. 58). Richards gives a stern reminder for historians who approach Elizabeth's reign anachronistically.

Chapter 4 addresses the twin concerns of Elizabeth's unmarried status and the threat from Mary Queen of Scots. When Mary gave birth to the future James VI and I, the pressure increased on Elizabeth to marry or at least nominate an heir. Richards builds up the intrigue by stating that Mary's arrival in England gave Catholics hope of restoring the 'true' faith to England. The chapter ends with Richards reminding the reader that together with Elizabeth's illegitimacy, her Protestant status, and her affairs with Seymour and Robert Dudley, the Queen's rule was under threat.

In Chapter 5, Richards examines those closest to Elizabeth, what might be described as her family. She then debunks the myth that the Queen travelled widely throughout her realm on progresses, despite never straying far from London. On the significance of the verb 'love', Richards's clarifies that Elizabeth did not attract infatuated subjects or admirers, but 'love' simply denoted social respect. Chapter 6 details the growing threat from Catholicism and the arrival in 1580 of the first Jesuits, Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons. Against that tense religious backdrop, Elizabeth began her courtship with the Catholic Duke of Alençon. The French duke became her last suitor.

Chapter 7 examines the dual crisis of Mary Queen of Scots's eventual execution, and the 1588 Spanish Armada. In particular, Richards challenges the Queen's Tilbury speech. The fact that the speech was published long after the event and contained inaccurate language indicates it was never spoken at all. Richards also emphasises the unlikelihood of Elizabeth being dressed in armour in a potentially dangerous situation. In Chapter 8, Richards describes the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. It examines the personal costs to the Queen as well as the hardships affecting her subjects.

Chapter 9 begins with the curious observation that Elizabeth never spoke of her mother during her reign, or even attempted to repair her reputation. It then examines Essex's influence on the Queen, and the problems concerning Ireland. The final chapter considers the problems of providing an accurate portrayal of the Queen. Richards acknowledges that the surviving early modern sources are dubious. She then examines the possible reasons behind Elizabeth's insecurities.

For students of Tudor history, Richards's biography is an essential text. Not only is it well researched, but *Elizabeth I* is also a reliably informed book. It debunks the many myths surrounding the Queen, which many scholars are guilty of propagating. In this context, Richards highlights the dependable sources she has used. Also, through an uncluttered narrative, she gives a lively portrayal of Elizabeth I.

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Rokison, Abigail, *Shakespeare for Young People: Productions, Versions and Adaptations* (Arden Shakespeare), London, Bloomsbury, 2013; paperback; pp. 256; R.R.P. £19.99; ISBN 9781441125569.

Just about every young person has struggled at some point with the works of William Shakespeare. What approaches and strategies do authors, artists, and filmmakers implement in order to ensure Shakespeare appeals to young minds and help them understand and learn not to be scared or bored of his work? Abigail Rokison's new book is an overview of the myriad interesting and dynamic ways in which recent texts have attempted to make Shakespeare and his works, understandable, relatable, and entertaining for young people.

Shakespeare for Young People is divided into three sections, 'Shakespeare Productions for Young People', 'Short Shakespeare', and 'Rewriting Shakespeare'. Each section includes chapters on film, stage, and print versions of Shakespeare for young people. The scope of the types of texts covered by Rokison is impressive, with films (both animated and live action), television series, novels, children's literature and picture books, plays (both full-length and cut-down performances), and comic books and graphic novels all analysed in depth.

In the Introduction, Rokison claims that her work is 'concerned less with the teaching of Shakespeare in the classroom' (p. 1). While *Shakespeare for Young People* analyses how the various texts adapt Shakespeare for young people, there is also a strong pedagogical focus on these adaptations throughout, with questions such as, for example, how can these texts be used to introduce and help teach Shakespeare, and at what age should Shakespeare be introduced to young people? Subsequently, the analysis seems at times overly critical and harsh on popular culture adaptations and their pedagogical worth in the classroom (and beyond).

Rokison, for instance, states that film is no substitute for '[r]eading a play in its entirety' (p. 53). Shakespeare's works were meant to be seen in performance, not read, and I am puzzled as to why Rokison would advocate a practice which young people would find more challenging and (likely) less entertaining, engaging, and relevant. Her statement is also at odds with her strong focus on stage productions of Shakespeare's works, which are favoured in this book. Rokison champions 'irreverent, non-elitist' (p. 110) stage adaptations of Shakespeare's work, yet these same aspects in non-stage adaptations are viewed as 'troubling' (p. 73) in that they interpret the text for young people (surely this is essentially what adaptation is?), and are likened to 'plot synopsis in a theatre production' (p. 79). The examination of the pedagogical worth of these popular culture engagements with Shakespeare such as in film, novels, and illustrated works thus outweighs any analysis into young people's reception and enjoyment of these texts. I refer here specifically to the power that a positive and entertaining early introduction

to Shakespeare can have in eliminating both the negative stigma associated with Shakespeare and the subsequent reluctance by young people to tackle his works.

I found Rokison's book most engaging in the examination of stage productions of Shakespeare targeted at young people, offering invaluable audience responses, detailed description, and in-depth analysis of these productions. There is a particular focus on the challenges faced by writers, directors, and performers when deciding what to cut, what to leave in, and why, when adapting Shakespeare's works for the stage. The interviews that follow each chapter on the various stage productions are a fascinating insight into the creative process of adapting Shakespeare for young people. It is a shame that this feature is not present after every chapter, as interviews with others who have tackled adapting Shakespeare for young people such as film director Baz Luhrmann and Australian author of Young Adult books, John Marsden, would have been an exciting addition.

The variety of films, comics, and other works discussed throughout is a highlight, with the inclusion of works from several countries including Australia, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Russia. While Rokison acknowledges that her work is a 'snapshot' (p. 13) of the range of texts for young people that tackle Shakespeare, I would have liked to see the same variety in the stage productions discussed. In particular the inclusion of non-British stage productions, for example Australian theatre company Bell Shakespeare's critically acclaimed and successful stage production *Just Macbeth!*, would have strengthened Rokison's analysis.

The text in *Shakespeare for Young People* is clearly written, and notes follow every chapter, with the chapters on stage productions also including links to various online resources. A standard bibliography, which is conveniently divided into sections on films, theatre productions, books, and articles and interviews, is included, as is a cumulative index of references. *Shakespeare for Young People* deals predominantly with visual media (film, stage plays, comic books, etc.), and so the book would have benefited greatly from the inclusion of a number of well-chosen stills and images. *Shakespeare for Young People* is primarily aimed at an academic market, and offers scholars interested in Shakespearean adaptation and pedagogy, and the broader study of adapting canonical texts, close readings of several recent engagements with Shakespeare targeted at young people.

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Sackville, L. J., *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages), Woodbridge and Rochester, York Medieval Press, 2011; hardback; pp. 240; R.R.P. £50.00; ISBN 9781903153369.

The intensity with which historians have tackled medieval heresy has resulted in an impressive accumulation of literature. It has also produced, as Lucy Sackville points out, a range of occasionally irreconcilable interpretations: some historians seek to find evidence of actual heretical practices, while other interpret the phenomenon as almost entirely constructed by clerical discourse. Sackville's *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth century* is a response to this historiographical problem. Rather than looking for the outlines of actual heretical practice, or discounting the clerics' rhetorical strategies as insignificant, Sackville endeavours to 'access the contemporary idea of what heresy was' (p. 9).

At the core of Sackville's book is an impressive range of mostly thirteenth-century texts divided into four chapter-length categories – polemical, edificatory, canon-legal, and inquisitorial – followed by a chapter synthesising her observations on the idea of heresy. Sackville approaches each thematic cluster by first describing select sources and then extracting from them the different aspects of the idea of heresy. The intuitive, well-organised structuring of the material, much of which is available in edited versions, makes *Heresy and Heretics* a valuable survey of sources often ignored by scholars. In her analysis, Sackville, whose work is influenced by Peter Biller, convincingly illustrates that most thirteenth-century texts assume that heretics are literate, that their literacy can subvert the efforts of orthodoxy, and that they must be fought by literate clergy using literate means.

Thirteenth-century Northern Italian polemics in particular assume a common ground between orthodox and deviant Christianity, and treat heresy as doctrinal error. Yet the sides are not equal. While orthodoxy is portrayed as united in its fight against error, heretics themselves are seen as splintered into disorganised groups. Even edifying texts, as Sackville shows, are not free from polemic. The shadowy figure of the deceptive heretic is a recurrent theme, a foil around which writers built morally stimulating exempla and constructed rhetorical demonstrations of orthodoxy. The Dominicans found in heretics an essential agent of defining their own legitimacy and identity.

Canonistic literature, as Sackville reveals, offers another perspective. On one hand, the Fourth Lateran Council is an important indicator of the move to gather heresies under one category of condemned beliefs and practices in opposition to an increasingly better-defined orthodoxy. Local councils, however, showed little interest in analysing abstract heretical beliefs, and focused on ways of identifying and declaring culpable movements and persons. This tendency is confirmed by inquisitorial material instructing practitioners

to determine levels of error, guilt, and association. Figurative descriptions of heretics also undergo change: the stability of the metaphor of the fox is only seeming, and so are the descriptions of heretics as duplicitous and corrupt.

The sheer scale of material covered and its detailed analysis constitute a significant contribution to medieval scholarship. Another contribution lies in Sackville's engagement with a fundamental historiographical challenge. Although she does not intend to write about actual heretical beliefs and practice, her exploration of the idea – or rather ideas – of heresy in the thirteenth century nevertheless outlines the scaffold of something suggesting exactly such underlying 'reality' of heresy. Thus in polemics, for instance, 'heresy is presented as learned because that was the guise in which it was encountered – that the polemicists were in contact with the wider "textual community" of their local heretics and that this encounter, whether written or oral, is as much a part of the source material as the anti-heretical tradition' (p. 40). The straightforward way of reading this observation is to acknowledge that the construction of heresy is the result of a dialectic between perceived heretical practice and the agendas of writers of anti-heretical tracts. But the tacit distinction between the rhetoric of medieval documents and the reality of heretical lives (e.g., p. 169) assumes a dichotomy between the heretic as a figure of flesh and blood, and the very documents from which the figure along with the idea of heresy are drawn.

The implied tautology is perhaps unavoidable, and Sackville astutely calls it out when relevant. Yet the process also results in a smooth bypassing of the fact that the 'idea of heresy' presented in *Heresy and Heretics* ultimately is and will remain a modern construct – the result of gathering together documents and applying critical approaches inaccessible to the medieval writer. In this context, the author's ambivalent engagement with methods of critical analysis can be disorienting, considering how much of the evidence points not so much to a stable and easily identifiable idea of heresy as to a decentralised yet sophisticated medieval machinery through which a range of ideas concerning heresy was constructed. In bringing out this tension, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century* is a welcome contribution to the discussion of the possibilities and limitations of talking about medieval heresy in the twenty-first century.

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Seabourne, Gwen, *Imprisoning Medieval Women: The Non-Judicial Confinement and Abduction of Women in England, c. 1170–1509*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011; hardback; pp. xiv, 219; 3 tables; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781409417880.

The subject of medieval incarceration has enjoyed something of a revival of interest in recent years. A number of new monographs have been published (Julie Claustre's *Dans les geôles du roi. L'emprisonnement pour dette à Paris à la fin du Moyen Age* (2007); Guy Geltner's *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (2008); this reviewer's *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination* (2011); Adam Kostó's study of *Hostages in the Middle Ages* (2012)) and a growing network, mostly of French scholars, has generated a significant number of conferences and publications devoted to 'Enfermements', the relationship between monasteries and prisons between antiquity and the Middle Ages. Gwen Seabourne's book may be situated within this newer literature that emphasises the cultural and social history of imprisonment. The author particularly identifies her study as sitting within the parameters of both legal history and women's history. In this way, *Imprisoning Medieval Women* certainly adds much to our understanding of both women and the law – loosely defined – in medieval England. Seabourne's primary area of interest is non-judicial confinement, that is, the many situations where women were enclosed or confined (or participated in enclosure and confinement) outside the formal judicial processes of trial and sentence.

Given its social history framework, then, it is odd that none of the newer literature on forms of imprisonment is cited in the book or its bibliography. This is a shame, as some of the fascinating and insightful material presented throughout the book might have been framed in the context of what we now know to be the highly multivalent nature of medieval confinement. Likewise, the value of exploring notions of confinement and imprisonment outside of the conventional parameters of legal history has been tested over the last half-decade and some of the theoretical aspects of this may have furnished Seabourne with further methodological clarity in her endeavours to understand the prevalence of confinement throughout the high Middle Ages.

That said, however, this is an excellent study of the situations of confinement that medieval women all too frequently experienced. It is based on an impressive range of sources and it is well written and carefully argued. The book is broadly divided into three parts, dealing respectively with cases of royal confinement, the issues of wrongful imprisonment and abduction, and women's agency as captors themselves. Some of the material certainly makes for distressing reading, as we are told of women used as hostages, raped and murdered during times of war, abducted from their homes, and separated from their families. On the other hand, Seabourne is reluctant to buy into the paradigm of women as victims and the final section of her book is an

attempt to show that some women were able to negotiate the imprisonment of themselves or others through petition, intercession, and intervention. The time period covered in the book is lengthy – from c. 1170 until 1509. This allows the author to consider both individual cases and broader shifts in the thinking behind non-judicial confinement throughout the Middle Ages, using gender as the primary category of historical analysis. The concluding argument is that confinement for women could be effected in a range of different places and contexts and that ‘such uncertainty must have been an important factor in the lives of medieval women’ (p. 192).

Further discussion of the categories used in the book would have given the book additional intellectual depth. Although readers might infer from the title of the book, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, that processes of imprisonment will be the focus, it is the book’s subtitle that more accurately reflects the content. What is meant by ‘imprisoning’ could have been teased out, especially in the Introduction, although the categories of abduction, *raptus*, and even the looser ‘non-judicial confinement’ are explained carefully. I would also like to have read a little more on the religious contexts of non-voluntary confinement and it may have been helpful to connect the interesting material on convents and nunneries with the well-established practice of *detrusio*, or penal cloistering (most recently studied by Geltner).

Overall, however, the wealth of detail relating to women’s experience makes this book an original and important contribution to the burgeoning field of medieval captivity and imprisonment.

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Spearing, A. C., *Medieval Autographies: The ‘I’ of the Text* (Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies), Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 2012; paperback; pp. 360; R.R.P. US\$32.00; ISBN 9780268017828.

A. C. Spearing’s latest book continues the work begun in *Textual Subjectivity* (Oxford University Press, 2005) on characterisation and narration in medieval literature. ‘Autography’ is – according to Spearing – a super-genre that centres on a written, rhetorical first person. Unlike the tendency of modern scholarship to assume a division between hidden authorial meaning and explicit narrative content, autography entails the convergence of author, narrator, and written expression. Also central is Spearing’s premise that speech in autography creates an illusion of orality but is really grounded in written rhetoric often inseparable from the physical existence of the text. Autography has the tendency to be about writing and this reliance on textual

deixis – in Spearing’s words – ‘liberates discourse by distancing it from the communicative I/you context in which the spoken word originates’ (p. 10).

The first and second chapters serve as an introduction to the concepts of autography and an exposition on the implications of the united author/narrator. The second chapter then discusses first-person prologues and the *dit* – a style of French poem characterised by the illusion of speech in a form dependent on writing.

Chapter 3 continues the discussion of Geoffrey Chaucer’s prologues, with a particularly enjoyable examination of the Wife of Bath and her textualised existence. In *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer revels in ‘textual deixis’ (p. 68) and in undermining the illusion of orality by continued reference to the tales’ textuality and material existence as words on a page.

The fourth chapter is a somewhat generic excursus about why the autography super-genre was so appealing for English and French authors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Despite the digression, this chapter reminds us, importantly, that medieval poets were creators and inventors who enjoyed textual freedoms and experimentation.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus on Thomas Hoccleve, beginning with the preamble and prologue to *The Regement of Princes*, then focusing on his *Series*. Hoccleve’s autography teeters on the brink of autobiography: the persona specifically names himself, we can document traces of the ‘real’ Hoccleve, and the poems constantly negotiate the idea of the self, shifting between introspection and opinions of. Yet, for Spearing, the rhetoric surrounding the Hoccleve-persona obscures the ‘real’ Hoccleve, and ‘it is enough for the poem to produce *effects* of proximalty and experientiality’ (p. 145).

The final chapter introduces the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, an all-female hagiography by Osbern Bokenham, a fifteenth-century Augustinian friar and poet of the Chaucerian tradition who has received little critical attention. The Bokenham painted by Spearing is a lively storyteller who, through his first-person narration, relishes the entertainment value of his *vitae*.

Medieval Autographies is sensitive, wide-ranging, and engaging. Spearing aims to attract a wider audience: quotes are translated and each text is carefully summarised and contextualised. However, inexperienced readers would be advised to equip themselves with a good encyclopaedia to cope with the jargon and name-dropping inescapable in such a theory-heavy subject. The structure is logical, with texts increasing in complexity with regards to their author/narrator, foregrounding the beginnings of the shift from autography to autobiography, and the development of modern ideas of selfhood.

Particularly valuable to this study is the discussion of the influence of *dits* on Chaucer and, in turn, Hoccleve and Bokenham. The *dit* provides the means by which a series of unconnected stories can be held together as a

cohesive narrative by a narrator and its influence perhaps contributed to the growth of first-person writing in fourteenth-century England.

Although the discussion covers extensive ground, Spearing's analysis is limited in scope to 'homodiegetic' texts – that is, texts in which the narrator is also present as a character. This carefully skirts around the problematic areas of the generic narrators of romances and chronicles, and the transferable personas of medieval lyrics. The analysis also (to its detriment) avoids discussing the performance of texts, preferring rather to examine texts only as they are read on the page, not presented by prelectors or performers who are not the author/narrator.

Medieval Autographies engages with writings in the first person in a way that is sensitive towards what we know of medieval textuality and ideas of self, rather than resorting to modern categories such as 'dramatic monologue' or 'stream of consciousness'. Spearing encourages the reader to appreciate the free and loose structures of the poems discussed, rather than imposing cohesion through analysis. We should take pleasure in incompleteness, in ambiguities, in pluralities, in uncertainties, in works that may not adhere to modern aesthetics or notions of worth, just as medieval readers and writers seemed to take pleasure in 'free composition and the evocation of experientiality' (p. 217).

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Teeuwen, Mariken and Sinead **O'Sullivan**, eds, *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on 'De nuptiis' in Context* (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 12), Brepols, Turnhout, 2011; hardback; pp. viii, 396; 17 b/w figures; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503531786.

This is a collection of fourteen papers derived from a conference, organised by Mariken Teeuwen in 2008, that considered aspects of the *scholia* and glosses associated with the ninth-century transmission of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*. The collection is preceded by a useful and lucid Introduction by Teeuwen herself.

The book is eminently readable in its own right, for the team of authors assembled is a strong and distinguished one, but there is a sense in which it might be regarded as no more than a comprehensive series of footnotes to a much larger enterprise. Six years before the conference took place, Teeuwen began her 'Martianus Project', the development of a digital tool called eLaborate, the aim of which was to facilitate the 'collaborative transcribing

and editing of texts'. I recommend a visit to the project's web site at <<http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl>> before reading this review further.

Readers who visit the site will discover an exciting new approach to the editing of commentary, that most elusive, fugacious, and insubstantial branch of ancient and medieval literature. Here is a kind of apotheosis of a Wikipedia article: it offers the reader all the available information and invites contributions from those scholars who wish to take part in its workshop in the Cloud!

It also discloses a high degree of scholarly cooperativeness: Sinead O'Sullivan was engaged in another field of research on Martianus when she heard of Teeuwen's work and agreed to join forces. Most works of this kind have been, in the past, quite literally closed books: the scholar or scholars write their book, print it, and wait (for months and probably years) to see what reception it receives. Nowadays – surely one of the genuine blessings of the internet age – a 'book' such as this one is a work in progress, to which scholars from all over the world, already distinguished or quite unknown, can make their own contributions.

It is fitting that this kind of approach should be adopted for the editing of *scholia* and commentary. Teeuwen clearly recognises that a collection of commentaries cannot be a closed book, but rather something more akin to a growing organism, whose component parts have been invented, borrowed, and transcribed (sometimes inaccurately) by many hands. Only when such a set of commentaries is printed does it assume the appearance of something that it is not, a finished and integrated literary work. Teeuwen summarises thus: 'the search for a single author should be abandoned, since the gloss tradition shows characteristics of being the work of multiple authors ... and the scholarly nature of the gloss tradition should be reconsidered and viewed outside the old frames of the schoolbook discussion' (p. 5). Much as one admires the diligence and intelligence of the great scholars of the nineteenth century, there is no doubt that much of their work on commentary was flawed by their perception that there was a single 'author' behind each collection.

Having formerly edited *scholia* on Virgil, I found this book and its associated web site particularly exciting. I recall the difficulty of explaining the nature of the commentary as well as Teeuwen has succinctly done. The invention of the modern printed volume has taught us to see books as final objects, the productions of scholarship, and all authors like to think (or at least hope) that their book will be the last word on their subject. Only those who have worked with manuscripts can appreciate how little respect (in a sense) the scholars of the past had for the written word. It is a strange paradox: books were vastly more expensive and precious than they are today; yet nobody hesitated to write and draw in the margins, to disagree with the author, to explain, to correct (often in ignorance, with disastrous results),

or to expand. Yes, there was a 'final object', the actual words of the author as they left his lips and pen, but the manuscript was merely a set of signs, however splendid to look upon or carefully wrought, that might lead us back to the source. If the central text, the work being commented on, could be subjected to correction (as every Carolingian scholar knew) how much more were mere *scholia* grist to the editor's mill?

I am delighted and relieved that Teeuwen and her associates have recognised this so clearly, and I recommend the book and the web site without reservation as an innovative and realistic tool of scholarship.

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Wei, Ian P., *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100–1330*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012; hardback; pp. xiii, 446; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9781107009691.

Peter Abelard spent a lot of time thinking about thinking, and Ian P. Wei has written an erudite book subjecting major themes of medieval theology to the same lens of examination. Intellectual and institutional histories do not form the core of Wei's study. Instead, he looks carefully at currents of thinking among theologians and examines these in terms of their specific context. Wei succeeds in showing the relevance of theology to such diverse considerations as sex and marriage, money, ethics, purgatory, and matters of law, and makes all of it compelling reading.

Medieval theologians generally tried to avoid doubt and hammered home their convictions about truth and those matters about which they could be intellectually certain. Abelard may have been the exception: his *Sic et Non* stands above the deceptive placidity of religious assurance in its desire for readers to experience the virtues of doubt. Questions were salutary, contradictions were no cause for lack of faith, and open-minded inquiry could lead to truth. Medieval theologians sometimes pretended they were on to new truths but in fact they were all too often rearranging previous understandings to suit new situations and provide answers for the questions of the next generation. While John of Salisbury may have been commenting on a specific matter, his general disgust at the lack of progress among theological thinkers has wider applicability, as Wei shows. Scientists strove for new discoveries, lawyers seized hold of new insights but theologians fiercely opposed challenges to established truths, rendering theology one of the rare disciplines to regard progress as a vice.

That said, it is nevertheless unfair to denigrate medieval theologians as backward, unenlightened, and obtuse. Abelard's mind was second to none. Aquinas towered above the intellectual landscape of the Middle Ages.

Bonaventure almost completely reconfigured human knowledge. Meister Eckhart was so intent upon the examined faith that he became impervious to contradiction. Wei makes no bones about bringing necessary nuance to uninformed and anachronistic charges that the theologians of Paris were misogynistic. He does not miss the subtlety of his subject nor does he fail to underscore that knowledge was not an osmotic possession of those taking holy orders. Herein lies one of the key contributions of the book. Abelard may have been the dragon, according to his arch-foe the abbot of Clairvaux, but he had a point when arguing that one had to acquire knowledge. If theologians insisted upon theologising, then consensus and conclusion would never be universally reached. This did not render theology impotent. Instead, it contributed to the energy and relevance of the discipline. Perhaps, as Wei convincingly demonstrates, one could obtain the knowledge of truth apart from revelation. Jean de Meun, Marguerite Porete, and Eckhart certainly thought so. Moreover, the business of doing theology in the Middle Ages also raised a crucial challenge to the entrenched idea that virtue was essential to knowledge and the former could be institutionally guaranteed. *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris* provides ample evidence that virtue and knowledge had no definite relation.

Peter Lombard drew conclusions and his *Sentences* became the theological textbook of medieval Europe. Abelard praised the questions and contradictions and died in exile. Eckhart raised too many indefinite or troublesome perspectives and found himself stained with the label of heresy. Hugh of St Victor appears to have attained a synthesis from various means of learning, combining traditional approaches cultivated by the medieval schools and monasteries. Wei rightly warns of the peril of exaggerating the differences between these institutions. Conflicts remained, polemics raged, but theology flourished. Wei argues that Paris had few rivals in this respect and his assertion is difficult to refute. There remains, however, the deeper core of motivation among the theologians that Wei does not entirely explain. Why did these men devote so much time and energy to developing new arguments around various subjects when there already were unambiguous biblical and patristic authorities on any given topic?

What Wei does achieve in admirable fashion is the demonstration that theology and social life were deeply interconnected in the Middle Ages. Dealing with money, for example, had spiritual advantages. The academic *quodlibet* was applied theology when it was related to political and social issues throughout society. One would like to see the nature and extent of the evidence that Wei insists proves this conjecture. He tangles with Jacques Le Goff and Ruth Karras on important matters but his arguments command more than causal examination. He has forgotten Abelard in the declaration

that all theologians condemned sexual pleasure but his treatment of sex among the theologians deserves careful consideration.

The book contributes mightily to the history and understanding of medieval theology. Wei's new and stimulating ideas should be foundational for a reassessment of theology and its relevance in the Middle Ages.

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