

## Review

**Abulafia**, David, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic, Religious, Political, 1100-1550*, Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 2000;-cloth; pp. xvi, 352 (in various pagination); RRP £57.50; ISBN 0860788415.

David Abulafia is a distinguished scholar in the field of Mediterranean studies. This is the third collection of his articles to be published by Variorum which usefully brings together material published over the last decade in a variety of sometimes obscure collections of conference papers which would otherwise be fairly inaccessible, particularly to the Australasian scholar.

In the introduction Abulafia, who has for 20 years been substantially revising aspects of Braudel's overarching survey of the Mediterranean as fundamentally a unity, explains the rationale for dividing these papers into three groups, the first devoted to trade across the Muslim-Christian frontier, the second to the impact of Mediterranean merchants on the wider European world, the third more focussed on his primary love, the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples. Inevitably, these divisions are somewhat artificial as the papers represent chips off the scholarship of a formidable expert, shaped to the particular needs of time and audience. Each has its own individual interest, particularly as Abulafia's background gives him a distinct perspective on the various cultural groups who came into contact and sometimes conflict in the Mediterranean. Understandably, he is least comfortable with the paper which takes him out of the Mediterranean to the cold northern waters of Southampton and the unfamiliar politics of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts.

As well as his knowledge of the major Iberian and Italian kingdoms, Abulafia has researched the history of a large number of the lesser kingdoms of

the Mediterranean especially Sardinia and Majorca on which he has already published a substantial book. The papers collected here do much to elucidate the separate history of these kingdoms and help to explain some of the complexities of the political structures underpinning life in the Mediterranean.

The papers on the economy range from a reassessment of the role of the well-known Italian banks – such as the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli – to studies of trade. While his conclusion that their power came in large part from their political links is hardly startling, his analysis of the way in which ‘Black’ Guelph banks could maintain ties with political powers who were usually in conflict with one another is illuminating. He seeks to rescue the trade in bulk essentials such as grain, indigo and cotton from the general perception that trade was focussed on luxury goods such as spices. He is also committed to restoring a religious element to the commercial activities of the various parties involved in international trade which he presents as putting a new complexion on the participation in the crusades of the major trading states. He also downplays the extent to which economic contact led to a great intellectual understanding of unfamiliar cultures. His close understanding of Jewish life and thought gives him a particular insight into the tensions between Jew and Muslim which are often ignored in more two-dimensional discussion of inter-cultural friction.

Much of these insights can only be teased out of detailed study of the fragmentary remains of merchants’ accounts and state tariff lists. Abulafia is understandably furious that forgery, in the form of a travel diary attributed to one Jacob of Ancona, has been allowed to muddy the waters. His painstaking uncovering of the improbabilities of various aspects of the diary, stripping away the layers of deception, leaves no doubt of its spurious nature.

Some of his broader-brush reflections on the relationship between monarch and economic matters and between monarch and minority groups in the kingdom during the Middle Ages are stimulating. Abulafia deftly fits them into the more familiar political rivalries of the principal families of the kingdoms and the destructive fights for territory. My personal preference is for the careful studies of the Jewish communities in the Mediterranean, which clarify for me the relationship in the Middle Ages between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities and the divergence in their scholarly traditions. His study of the role which fifteenth century Jews played in humanist developments in the Aragonese court, where there was considerable cultivation of learning, comes to the pessimistic conclusion that the Ashkenazi Hebrew community at the time was valued for its economic contribution and had little influence at court. When one of the Sephardi

Jewish courtiers, expelled from Spain in 1492, came to Alfonso's court he brought some scholarship with him but Naples was not a centre of Hebrew learning despite its involvement in the printing and circulation of Hebrew books.

We must look forward to a substantial new book which will synthesise these important insights.

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**Barnes**, Geraldine, *Viking America: The First Millennium*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2001; cloth; pp. xx, 187; RRP £40.00, US\$75.00; ISBN 0859916081.

This monograph surveys some 700 years or more of literary endeavour inspired by the Scandinavian landfall and possible colonisation in the New World. The treatments it covers range from the reverential to the caustic – the latter exemplified by the Morris & Co catalogue where a design for commemorative stained glass commissioned by a wealthy American patron carries the caption, ‘Norse heroes on the sea, making for other people’s property.’

Geraldine Barnes’s Introduction offers a brief critical conspectus of *Grœnlendinga saga* and *Eiríks saga rau\_a* and other minor sources, along with some account of the vast scholarly literature that has accumulated around them. While acknowledging the possibility that the construction of the new-found land in the sagas was influenced by the Bible, encyclopaedic works, and vision literature, Barnes notes that memories of genuine geographical and ethnographical observations may also be embodied in them. Parallels from the descriptions of Early Modern European landfalls in the New World are invoked to support this viewpoint.

The author’s objective in what follows is not, however, to winnow ‘fact’ from ‘fiction’ or to evaluate the various supposedly medieval Scandinavian artefacts with North American provenances. Rather, alluding to recent historiographical and postcolonial theory, she concentrates on the different kinds of construction and stylisation to which the basic textual materials have been submitted over the centuries, each with its immanent ideology.

Chapter 1 considers *Grœnlendinga saga* and *Eiríks saga rau\_a* as narratives of land-taking and colonisation, culminating in the ultimate ‘loss’ of

Vínland. Taking her cue from the setting of these sagas at the Conversion moment, the author argues that contestation between pagan and Christian values and ritual centrally informs the narratives. By contrast, the actual 'land-takings' achieve surprisingly little affirmation in these texts, which conspicuously lack the confident ethos and cultural richness that is such a marked feature of *Landnámabók*. If anything, there is a tincture of Christian guilt.

Barnes tackles the saga accounts of cross-cultural contact with salutary caution, but her criteria for authenticity could with advantage have been made more systematic. On the one hand, she is obviously right to treat the story of the uniped as a literary construction, based on standard encyclopaedic lore (though the explanation she adduces, suggesting indebtedness to riddles, is fanciful). On the other hand, her scepticism about the indigenes' alleged thirst for milk is not really explained or justified.

Then we move to the reception of these saga traditions in nineteenth-century England and America. Chapter 2 addresses the 'scholarship' of the day, exhibited in both its would-be rigorous and its wayward forms. It resulted in one useful by-product, the founding of Scandinavian studies in America, a topic that Barnes develops in considerable, perhaps even excessive, detail. More negatively, she points to the disproportionate efforts devoted to the reports of 'discovery' in the so-called 'Vínland sagas', to the detriment of an understanding of these texts in their broader significance.

In chapter 3, considering the more popular side, Barnes attributes an astounding proliferation of schemes promoting the colony to 'dreams of Nordic empire, scholarly error, nineteenth-century missionary fervour, Yankee ingenuity, and perhaps Balkan fraud' (p 71). Concomitantly, she traces a hardening of attitudes towards the indigenous peoples, particularly on the part of enthusiasts for the 'master race'. Nonetheless, reservations concerning Viking savagery occasionally surface – not least, I imagine, because the European ancestors of these publicists had notoriously suffered under the same treatment.

Chapters 4 and 5 consider uses of the Vínland story in British and American fiction from the early nineteenth century to the end of World War II. Here the value of the survey depends upon Barnes's capsule summaries and evaluations of the individual works, since coherent trends are more difficult to discern and the British contribution in particular can hardly be described as 'substantial'. At the same time, the author's cultural contextualisations add some sense of direction to the synopses. She explains renewed glorification of Viking heroism as an antidote to perceived feminine (worse, effeminate) tendencies in

nineteenth-century British fiction. Early twentieth-century enthusiasm about Gu\_rí\_r's powers of lactation (smuggling in the theme of milk again) is linked to a contemporary social mission to foster a virile younger generation (witness the 'Karitane' movement in New Zealand).

The book is rounded off with an Epilogue, glancing at postcolonial treatments of the story in late twentieth-century British and American literature. Here Vinland is shown evolving from a robustly physical to a metaphorical location. The schema of necessity excludes Canadian contributions, such as Farley Mowat's *The curse of the Viking grave*, not to mention his insouciant 'historical' reconstruction *Westviking: the ancient Norse in Greenland and North America*. That is perhaps a pity considering that the only known New World Viking site is on Canadian territory.

At all stages Barnes's discussion is elaborately documented, drawing on a great mass of material, but thanks to an diverting prose style and a series of well-chosen and often entertaining quotations it never sinks under its own weight. The book is handsomely produced, with attractive readable fonts, high-quality paper, and elegant binding. Very few misprints appear. One might harbour niggling doubts as to how far the literature dissected in this monograph deserves such dedicated scholarly attention, but there is no doubting Barnes's verve in communicating it to us.

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**Chibnall**, Marjorie, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Issues in Historiography), Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999; cloth; pp. viii, 168; RRP £45.00; ISBN 0719049121.

The Norman Conquest of 1066 has been a fecund source of historical interpretations for a 1000 years, each generation seeing it through eyes of their own constitutional, social and cultural preoccupations. 'Few subjects', writes Marjorie Chibnall in this collection of historiographical summaries and reflections, 'provide a more significant touchstone of the way historians in every generation have interpreted the world in which they live.'

Chibnall's elegant, but regrettably short, chapter on the medieval historians surveys their chronicles which were accumulated accounts of dispossession and

legal restraints, the sufferings of the poor, and debasement of the native language because ‘children in their schools...are compelled since the coming of the Normans to abandon their own tongue.’ The priest Robert Mannyng’s *Chronicle* (1338) alleged that William ‘sette the Inglis to be thralle.’ These historians, lacing their chronicles with accusations that the Normans were guilty of ‘unbearable tyranny, injustice and oppression’ in England and Wales, saw the Conquest as a ‘Norman Yoke’ imposed upon freeborn English people.

Seventeenth-century historians picked up the subversive implications of these medieval chronicles in the decades before the Civil War, when historical precedents were so politically explosive that even London’s venerable Society of Antiquaries was closed by the government. Contemporary academic lawyers made several penetrating studies, especially Matthew Hale, whose *History of the Common Law* argued that because William had formally claimed the English throne his conquest secured him only those rights his predecessor had enjoyed, implying that any changes were illicit. Thus, Henry Spelman’s argument that the Normans had introduced tenurial feuds formed the basis of legal challenges during the 1630s, and tenurial abolition by the Long Parliament. Equally explosive was the view that oppressive Norman ‘feudalism’ had subverted ancient Saxon liberties, the ‘Norman yoke’ so hated by Civil War radicals.

Hale’s work also implied that the conquest was not entirely imposition, but involved some adaptation of existing Anglo-Saxon law. A century later Wright developed the idea, arguing that post-Conquest feudal tenures were merely an adaptation of existing English law: the crucial implication was that England was not the monarch’s demesne, which in turn implied the freedom and consent of the *commune consilium* – the underlying premise of the protest of Magna Carta. These highly significant historical questions encouraged the systematic publication of official records, notably Rymer’s *Foedera*, Madox’s *Formulare Anglicanum*, Abraham Farley’s *Domesday* volumes and the *Rolls Series*, which in turn stimulated nineteenth-century constitutional and institutional scholarship, as well as the popular historical novels of Kingsley, Scott and Disraeli.

As Maitland observed, the word ‘feudalism covers a multitude of ignorances’, and it became clear to those who worked in archives that the term required deconstruction. During the early twentieth century, the earlier emphasis on constitutional and political history was widened by painstaking archival investigations into the centralised Norman feudal state, and the social, legal and religious history of the lower ranks of society. Archival work rarely produces rapid results but a new picture is now emerging, for example in Susan Reynolds’

*Fiefs and Vassals* (1994), not of an orderly feudal pyramid, a hierarchy of tenure and property rights and corresponding services, but a complicated and messy network of lordship and tenure, ducal and royal rights, custom and law, fealties, and oaths. This network, rather than royal authority, constituted the bonds of society. It was not a new order imposed by the Normans but a new and distinctive system which slowly developed within the new environment created by the Conquest.

Historians no longer see the conquest as imposition, adaptation or ‘the cradle’ of a slowly emerging free nation state. Reflecting the modern context of receding nation states, the growth of European unity and global economies, the Conquest is studied as itself a formative period of governance, a maelstrom of new ways in which political authority was shaped and exercised amidst changes in power, lordship, political federations, family structures, peoples, economic movements, national identities, political ideas and constitutional conflicts. It is now being asked what ‘conquest’ actually involved. How was centralised royal power restrained by the Witenagemot, the forces of local law and custom and by its own *curia regis*? How important was the local aristocracy and formal personal relationships? Were the English completely dispossessed or did they suffer only diminished possession and status, and by what processes of law did it happen? After 1066 frequent complaints of violent dispossession of land were being heard in baronial and local law courts under customary law and sworn oral testimony, but cases which involved vassals of different lords or defects of justice increasingly came into the royal courts. The result was not a mixture of two different national laws on land but a new blend of law possessing its own distinctive characteristic, the foundation of later common law.

The present debate on the Norman Conquest also reflects modern issues of colonialism, race, women’s history (1066 was less harmful than previously thought to Anglo-Saxon rights for women, especially in property), regionalism, international and civil war, dismantling empires, national identities (the Norman invaders very quickly became ‘English’), political ideas and constitutional conflicts, as well as the methods and theories of counter-factual history, interdisciplinary perspectives and cliometrics. The rich cornucopia of Conquest studies flows stronger than ever.

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**Cohen**, Adam S., *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany*, University Park, Penn State University Press, 2000; cloth; pp. xiv, 276; 16 colour plates, 74 b/w illustrations; RRP US\$65; ISBN 0-271-01959-X.

The interplay between word and image is a subject of ongoing fascination for art historians, and particularly for those working with manuscripts where the relationship is central. Adam S. Cohen's work *Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* tackles this issue in masterly fashion. Based on a PhD dissertation, the book reflects the particular areas of interest explored by such scholars as Herbert Kessler who have researched Carolingian and Ottonian art. Cohen's careful reading of the Uta Codex highlights the advantages of exploring both the iconography and design of the image together with the textual components, demonstrating both the indivisibility of these elements and the need to look beyond textual analysis to see the wealth of meaning held within the visual.

The Uta Codex (Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm. 13601) is an evangeliary, a collection of gospel readings (or pericopes) for the Mass. While the manuscript is still in its splendidly bejeweled, eleventh-century book box, it was rebound in white leather in recent years. The work was produced for Uta, the Abbess of Niedermünster, probably in Regensburg at the scriptorium of the nearby monastery of St. Emmeram, sometime between 1025 and 1045, although this dating is debated. The manuscript is noted for its elaborate and beautiful sequence of 4 frontispieces, as well as for the four full-page Evangelist portrait pages with their accompanying initial pages.

In his introduction, Cohen demonstrates how this book is of relevance to those interested in current 'hot' topics in recent medieval scholarship. These include the broad issues of female monastic patronage, intellectual activities, spirituality and artistic production, as well as questions concerning how images may have operated within medieval memory systems. Cohen also opens out the discussion of Ottonian manuscripts from a more narrow focus on provenance and the identification of visual sources, or the search for the archetype, to a more considered examination of content and meaning. He also discusses the relationship between Uta, monastic reform and the iconographical programme of the manuscript. While these avenues are all explored within the book, in greater or lesser detail, readers interested in female intellectual or artistic activity or spirituality will find that there is still much to be done in terms of Ottonian

manuscript studies. It is in Cohen's analysis of each of the full-page images that the particular strength of this work is found.

The book is organised into three sections, examining the four frontispieces, the Evangelist portraits, and a section dealing with broader questions concerning the manuscript such as the construction of the illuminations and the making and use of the Uta Codex. The first section on the frontispieces devotes a chapter to each page, the subject matter of which are: The Hand of God; The Dedication to the Virgin, which also shows Uta, the manuscript's patron; The Symbolic Crucifixion and Saint Erhard Celebrating the Mass.

In these chapters Cohen ably shows how the relationship between the geometry of the underlying framework contributes to the active contemplation of the meaning of each page as much as an understanding of the imagery and tituli. He also draws out the way meaning is spread across the folios, something often overlooked when analyzing the iconography of particular illustrations. The visual harmony conveyed by the continuation of geometric pattern across these folios unifies the visual experience while at the same time strengthens the ongoing unity of the themes depicted. The analysis demonstrates also how the construction of these pages drew on complex understandings of Augustinian and Neoplatonic thought, such as found in the writings of Eriugena, as well as mathematics and medieval studies of musical theory. While very few of the tituli, of which Cohen provides a comprehensive translation, are direct quotations, they concisely convey ideas based on these writers, revealing a sophisticated grasp on contemporary theological thought.

The images themselves are also complicated with references to both established and evolving iconography. Cohen contextualises their visual contexts, linking them to both the work of Regensburg scriptoria, as well as to Carolingian and more recent Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. He explores the obvious model provided by the ninth-century Codex Aureus (Munich, Clm. 14000) and how the Uta manuscript differs both from it and from the related Sacramentary of Henry II (Munich, Clm 4456), highlighting the shifting patterns of meaning found across the three works. As is demonstrated in his analysis of the Symbolic Crucifixion, one of the most discussed images in the Codex, these pages provided a rich site for monastic meditation, indicating the work's usefulness beyond its liturgical function.

The Evangelist pages continue this sophisticated use of the full-page image. Each contains a portrait of the evangelist, which is individualised by both age and activity. These representations are not based on established iconographical types. The variations mark both the different philosophical elements of each

Gospel, as well as linking the evangelist symbols to one of the four major events in the life of Jesus: the man with the Incarnation; the lion with the Resurrection; the ox with the Crucifixion and the eagle with the Ascension. Cohen's exposition of these symbols is perhaps the most sustained and clear account I have read. He then points out how the accompanying imagery in each of the border compartments reflect too the first pericopes in each Gospel in their iconography.

In his final section Cohen discusses briefly the various stylistic influences played out in the manuscript as well as discussing in a more focused way the Codex's geometrical schemata and the sources of the tituli. It is, unusually, in the final section that he also discusses the production of the manuscript, linking it to the intellectual environment in Regensburg and in particular to such figures as the monk Hartwic of St Emmeram, who had studied liberal arts at Chartres and had contributed to the St Emmeram library, as well as to other noted scholars and to St Emmeram's reputation as a center of education. Uta's contribution is less easily demonstrated as is the possibility of the manuscript's production in Niedermünster itself. Cohen argues that, like other books associated with nunneries, the content of the work resists a gendered interpretation. This section is perhaps the most open to challenge, although his arguments are compelling.

While I do think that more could be made of the female audience and patron of this work, Cohen has ably demonstrated the significance of the Uta Codex in the development of Ottonian manuscripts and its connections to Regensburg's scriptoria and intellectual culture. He also demonstrates how fruitful this approach can be for the study of a particular manuscript.

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**Collett, Barry, *A Long and Troubled Pilgrimage: The Correspondence of Marguerite D'Angoulême and Vittoria Colonna 1540-1545*** (Studies in Reformed Theology and History New Series 6), Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary, 2000; pp. xix, 155; RRP US\$12.00; ISBN 1889980099.

The appearance of this volume is a tribute to the memory of a long-standing and much valued member of ANZAMEMS's precursors, Dr Heather Vose. The original preface she and Barry Collett wrote together in 1990 underlines our loss.

The five surviving letters are included in the original Italian in Appendix D and in modern translation into English in Appendix B. Appendix A gives details of their provenance and publication as well as a discussion of letters which once existed but are now lost. Appendix C is a list of Biblical citations and allusions. Appendix E is a translation of the dedication of Adam Fumano's edition of a work of St Basil to Vittoria Colonna – and Appendix F contains selected letters from other eminent theologians and scholars – Luigi Alamanni, Pier Paolo Vergerio and Reginald Pole – to Vittoria and Marguerite.

The relationship of these two women, each in their own sphere important players in the dangerous game of Renaissance religious politics as well as creative writers and patrons, must lead any reader to seek more information than is likely to appear, even encoded – some of Vittoria's passages are well described as 'tortuously obscure' (p.xix) – in formal letters which were probably read by various interested parties in the process of transmission. How far their sex and gender affected their approach to one another, beyond a brief and possibly conventional reference to childbirth, adds imaginative interest to the interchange. Barry Collett has tiptoed cautiously through a careful analysis of the text in which he strives to set them in the context of a catholic reformation that is currently being reassessed by modern scholars. The links between humanism and evangelism evolved at various levels and illustrate various degrees of complexity all of which must be taken into account when examining quasi-formal letters as literary artefacts which can, nevertheless be persuaded to yield implications beyond their outer skin.

Marguerite, in France, was part of the Briçonnet circle and did not hesitate to entertain preachers and theologians who were to be the founders of the protestant church although her evangelism did not take her into heresy. Vittoria was part of the Viterbo circle of *spirituale* who under the influence of the Capuchins, like Bernardo of Ochino, sought to revive the emotional, pious devotion of all good church people, lay and religious.

Collett stresses the difficulties in the period 1520-1545, before the Council of Trent, of putting individuals into watertight compartments with distinctive labels since the personal and ideological relationships of those who are with hindsight classified in different or even opposing camps were often close. In a period when individuals and groups in many places were seeking regeneration, they were drawing their inspiration from a variety of sources frequently older and distant from that of the protestants. Complexity, ambivalence and contradiction characterises catholic movements for reform in this period and Marguerite and Vittoria were not immune to this.

Collett is principally concerned with the Italian movements – to the extent of ignoring some recent work on the French catholic reformers – but his arguments about the position given to the Holy Spirit in the movements, carefully set in its long chronological context, is enlightening. Some of us may not agree that Cosin’s translation of *Veni Creator* is the best, although it is probably the one that best serves his purpose, but this is a minor quibble. The role assigned to the Third Person of the Trinity in the Middle Ages is sometimes overlooked and its relationship to Neoplatonism is rarely made clear as it is here.

The role of the Spirit in personal redemption, in revivification, as it appeared to Marguerite and to Vittoria in their letters and in their writings, is discussed at length in a way which clarifies what is elsewhere a tedious theological discussion of the idea of God’s free gift and at the same time illuminates the drive and function of their poetry. The need to focus on the letters makes the discussion of the two ladies’ lives somewhat unbalanced and incomplete but it serves its purpose and provides the occasional sharp insight into previously obscure moments in their careers.

Collett’s survey of the recent historiography would be an excellent introduction for students who have a basic knowledge of the concepts involved. His final speculation that the doctrine of the spirit provided the *spirituale* and the *evangeliques* with an answer to their problems of allegiance to a church which seemed to have a dead heart will surely provoke further debate.

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**Dalrymple, Roger**, *Language and Piety in Middle English Romance*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2000; cloth; pp. x, 270; RRP £40.00/US\$75.00; ISBN 0-85991 598-0.

In the *Lay of Havelok*, the hero is described as ‘the wighteste man at nede/ That thurte riden on any stede’ (ll. 9-10), and shortly thereafter the formula is reiterated: ‘He was the wightest man at nede/ That may riden on any stede’ (ll. 25-6). Then King Athelwold is similarly categorised: ‘He was the beste knight at nede/ That evere mighte riden on stede’ (ll. 87-8). Such repetitive formulae are part and parcel of the metrical romance style. At one time dismissed as mere redundant

padding, now, in the light of current thinking about transitional-oral stylistics and narrative technique, they are regarded more sympathetically as bearing a particular kind of semantic force through cumulative use. In this study, Roger Dalrymple explores one subcategory of such relative-clause formulae – those that modify references to God – and argues that in fact formulae such as ‘Jhesu Crist, that Lazarun / To liue broucte fro dede-bones’ (*Havelok* 331-2) should be examined closely for their contextual appropriateness, and, furthermore, that cumulatively they create resonances, and associative links. Or as John Miles Foley puts it, formulae are ‘highly echoic *metonyms* that comprise a referential code’ (p. 27). Dalrymple argues that these pious formulae link audience, narrator and fictional characters in a ‘shared devotional consciousness’.

Dalrymple’s study consists of two parts: five chapters of discussion and analysis, followed by a comprehensive catalogue of the pious formulae that constitute his data, organised according to text, then again by semantic category. The formulae in the catalogue are rigorously limited to references to the Deity (normally noun or pronoun) modified by a relative clause. Thus phrases of the type ‘God that made the myddelerd’ are included, but appositive phrases of the type ‘God, Maker of the world’ are excluded. Also excluded are pious references to Mary (such as ‘Be mary that is mayden floure!’ *Morte Arthur* 2310) or other holy figures, or inversions of some God-formulae (accordingly, *Havelok* 2404 ‘Crist that wolde on rode blede’ is included, but *Havelok* 431 ‘the leve holy rode,/ That God himselve ran on blode’ is excluded). Thus the study is focussed on one particular set of pious references, although these typically occur in conjunction with other kinds of Christian reference. In *Havelok*, for example, assertions of good faith are recurrently sworn by God and Saint John, and oaths are taken upon the instruments of the Eucharist, formulaically listed: ‘the messebook,/ The caliz, and the pateyn ok,/ The corporaus, the messe-gere’ (ll. 186-8). The usurpers in the story are consistently characterised as Judases, and so forth.

Chapter 1 sets out some of the preliminary problems and technical issues. How is it that romance writers should set out to incorporate such pious, meditative content in their stories, yet have their work condemned as impious by moralists both in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance? How do we distinguish pious exclamation from sinful oath-swearing? Dalrymple sees an essential difference between fragmentary expressions (‘Goddess blood’, for example) that are torn from their full context, and dismember Christ anew, and the fuller, doctrinally loaded formulae of the type ‘God ... that for us shedde his blode’ (*Sir Ysumbras*

cf1 Cotton MS 134-5). Dalrymple also considers how these pious phrases work prosodically within an orally-originated and formula-based verse system.

Chapter 2 examines the range and function of pious formulae in devotional and doctrinal texts of the period. The romance formulae echo those of vernacular manuals of religious instruction, verse prayers, healing charms, religious drama, and saints' lives. Middle English religious literature, by its wide use of pious formulae, inscribes such structures with a profound devotional and doctrinal tonality that flows through to the romances, Dalrymple argues.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide close analysis of the formulae in particular romances, chosen to cover a broad stylistic and chronological range. Chapter 3 examines *William of Palerne*, in which Creator-formulae predominate, and the stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, where, in contrast, Passion-formulae match its 'more ascetic, more elegiac perspective' (p. 147). Chapter 4 focuses upon the Auchinleck manuscript, where, taking the collection of texts as a coordinated, collaborative whole (following Loomis's 1942 study), Dalrymple finds that the pious formulae 'take on an incremental force as they are reiterated in the contrasting texts which constitute the codex' (p. 103). In romances such as *The King of Tars*, *Otuel*, and *Roland and Vernagu* Christians are able to reify their God through formulae, whereas the pagans cannot do so for theirs. In *Guy of Warwick*, formulae expressing God's omnipotence and Christ's suffering 'motivate the penitential quest of the hero' (p. 137).

Chapter 5 briefly traces the 'afterlife' of formulism and the romance genre. Dalrymple argues that later romances exhibit a drift to shorter, exclamatory oath-phrases, which reflect popular speech more than religious, didactic formulae. Indeed, he considers the possibility that the romance-writers' appropriation of pious tags from religious, didactic writing may have drawn additional opprobrium from those clerics already hostile to the secular, literary genre.

Dalrymple's study is a deliberately chosen cross-section of the data that might be explored for a wider view of language and piety in the romances. It is nevertheless an illuminating one, and even a cursory reading of the catalogue immediately throws up many interesting patterns or idiosyncrasies of usage that lead one back to renewed study of the texts.

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**Dunn**, Maryjane, and Linda Kay Davidson, eds., *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages*, New York, Routledge, 2000; paper; pp. xlvihi, 188; 16 b/w plates; RRP US\$13.39; ISBN 0415928958.

The paperback reissue of volume 1829 in the Garland Reference Library of the Humanities (1996) is very welcome. Dunn and Davidson's 'Preface' on time and place in the pilgrimage to Compostela is a lively introduction to the meaning of the Camino for modern people, with particular emphasis on Americans; their bibliographic 'Introduction' reviews the literature on Saint James and the pilgrimage from the medieval period to the present. The experiences of pilgrims and their response to the journey and arrival provide common threads, while the final section of the essay details the rapid growth in 'Santiago studies' since the 1965 Holy Year, with a few thoughts about the future of the pilgrimage in the wake of virtual internet pilgrimages and other cultural and religious changes.

Alberto Ferreiro's important 'The Cult of Saints and Divine Patronage in *Gallaecia* before Santiago' carefully reviews early medieval (chiefly Frankish) sources for the cult of Martin of Tours among the Suevic kings of Galicia, and the way in which Martin becomes a precursor to Santiago (in his Matamoros guise) when the Suevi fight the Arian Visigoths, under his protection. In the reign of Alfonso II in the eighth century the bones of Santiago were discovered, and he displaced Martin as the protector saint of the Asturian kingdom.

Colin Smith's 'The Geography and History of Iberia in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*' concentrates on the image of Spain which the intending pilgrims possessed and the guidebooks which were written to assist them in their travels, particular the *Pilgrim's Guide* (Book V of the *Liber*). These sources were supplemented by the *chansons de geste* and sundry chronicles, which, in Smith's view, left the intending pilgrim 'badly confused by the authorities about the religious history, the political and physical geography, the cities, and much else in the Peninsula' (p. 36). Greater certainty is offered by Vincent Corrigan's quite technical 'Music and the Pilgrimage', which investigates the *Codex Calixtinus*, with a view to elucidating the nature of its liturgical uses.

This bibliophilic theme is continued in Jeanne E. Krochalis's '1494: Hieronymus Munzer, Compostela, and the *Codex Calixtinus*' which focuses on the 1495-6 travels of the Nurnberg physician and his three companions. Munzer traveled for pleasure, although he did occasionally treat patients, and he wrote an account of his circuit of the Iberian Peninsula. In this he noted 'the presence of scientific or specially beautiful books' and his conversations with scholars (p.

71). The bulk of this paper is a most useful translation of Munzer's observations 'as they concern Compostela and the Pseudo-Turpin' (p. 72).

Connie L. Scarborough's 'The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*' examines the collection of 427 songs to Mary collected by Alfonso the Learned in the second half of the thirteenth century as an act of personal piety. Pilgrimage appears in these hymns as a perilous activity, one where the pilgrim might well need the assistance of the Blessed Virgin. Unscrupulous inn-keepers and false pilgrims abound, but so do miracle cures and other signs of grace. The essay by David M. Gitlitz, 'The Iconography of St James in the Indianapolis Museum's Fifteenth Century Altarpiece' continues this concern with the Camino as a concrete setting. The presumably Flemish 12-panel altarpiece depicts nine episodes from the life of St James, and the paper engages in offering interpretations and sources for these.

The panels include scenes of the translation of Santiago's body, Santiago in the guise of the Moor-Slayer, and the saint's visit to the magician Hermogenes. Gitlitz believes that the triptych 'might well have served a pilgrimage church on the route to Compostela as a comprehensive indicator of the principal aspects of the St James legends' (p. 123). This essay is illustrated by four photographs of the altarpiece. The next essay, Vicente Almazan's 'The Pilgrim Shell in Denmark,' is also illustrated (with line drawings) and deals with material evidence relating to the medieval pilgrimage.

The final contribution, John Dagenais' 'A Medieval Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela on the Information Highway', describes the development of a course taught by the author which includes the performance of medieval texts, the viewing of slides to become familiar with the landscape, and discussion on a listserver. A Web site was then developed to allow students to participate in a 'virtual pilgrimage'. Dagenais developed icons appropriate to the medieval setting (for example, a choir of monks for sound), and his enthusiasm for the project may assist teachers of Medieval Studies wrestling with the ways in which technology may be incorporated into tertiary teaching.

The volume is well-referenced, with (766) fairly detailed notes on the contributors, a solid index, and a helpful bibliography. It is readable, lively and interesting, and suitable for the student, scholar, or interested amateur.

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**Dunn**, Diana, ed., *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2000; paper; pp. vii, 213; RRP £14.95; ISBN 0853238855.

This is in no way a general study of the topic of war and society in 'Britain', focused as it is on England, with glances at Wales and the Celtic fringe. In all it is an interesting but somewhat eclectic collection of nine chapters which were originally papers presented at a colloquium held in Chester College in association with the University of Liverpool. This may explain the apparent randomness of the topics covered.

Most contributors are locally based scholars and not surprisingly several chapters tend to be focused on the north western region of England and the Welsh border areas, or related fields. Wars not fought on English soil are largely ignored, so Tudor era conflicts, such as Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of Scotland, and Elizabeth's forces in Ireland or the Netherlands, are excluded. Similarly there is silence on naval matters, and economic aspects of supplying campaigns are not dealt with.

There appears to be an unstated leaning towards cultural studies, but judging by some chapters there is simply too little in the sources for much satisfying work to appear. As for any traditional military fare, that is eschewed. A specialist seeking a discussion of campaigns, hardware, and specific tactical or strategic issues will be disappointed.

The book covers various aspects of some conflicts within England from the 1100s to the 1640s. However the claim that it 'focuses on three English civil wars' is misleading. It is clearly medieval with two thematic chapters on general issues and three chapters on the civil war between Stephen and Matilda (1138-43 approximately), and one on the Hundred Years War in France (1420s). The Wars of the Roses chapter (to 1471) is followed by a temporal jump over the entire Tudor period, bringing us to a rearguard of two chapters on the 1640s Civil War, a token Early Modern inclusion. There is no attempt at comparative analysis of these 'three civil wars'; they are treated in isolation.

The first thematic chapter deals with medieval accounts of wars, relating reports to attitudes about warfare from the 1100s to 1415 (Agincourt), noting a change from an emphasis on individual heroism and chivalric values to an awareness of an army as a whole, implicitly leading in to the Early Modern era of the 'military revolution'. Next comes an analysis of the process of naming battlefields (950-1450s approximately). Covering five centuries in 14 pages, this

is rather scrappy with its 'Typology of Battlefield Names' promising more than it delivers. Lacking a systematic framework, it fails in creating a useful typology. Parts of this chapter seem motivated by antiquarianism rather than analytic rigour.

The issue of foreign mercenaries is an important part of warfare but the chapter on this issue in the reign of King Stephen is not tightly focused. In common with several other chapters an excessive amount of space (almost half) is given over to summarising the general background of events in this war. In a work of scholarship, knowledge of this basic material might be assumed and space given over to more useful original analysis and presentation of research findings.

The grand strategic issue of forging internal alliances is the only link of the theme of war and society with the chapter on King Stephen's creation of an unusual number of Earls. But the relation to the war is not so clear as there were some recent precedents for this and the process was abandoned before the war ended. Indeed the issue appears of more direct relevance to the history of the peerage or of local administration and its relation to royal government.

The dynamic figure of Queen Margaret of Anjou in the Wars of the Roses receives an interesting treatment. Her 'unwomanly' image, one magnified by Shakespeare for dramatic purposes, is set against five other Queens with absent or otherwise weak husbands. It is argued that the failings of Henry VI were blamed on Margaret as a means to avoid the political problem of directly impugning the King.

With just two out of nine chapters, the 1640s Civil War appears very thinly represented, and on closer examination even more so. The discussion of 'Images of the Welsh in the London Press' is on national and cultural identities and English stereotypes and prejudices of the Welsh are analysed. Here the war is largely irrelevant, except insofar as the war excited prejudices and facilitated the collapse of censorship which enabled this brief efflorescence of pamphleteering.

The Index consists of names, battles, places and titles, but in a book which is more oriented to socio-cultural studies, it is a pity that themes are excluded. Also a general map illustrating the specific areas of England discussed would have been useful. The two illustrations are poorly reproduced.

To conclude then: the book is too wide ranging, no theme is explored in depth, at best some chapters are intriguing, but most themes and periods are unrelated to each other. Others, good in themselves, would be better published elsewhere and some are far removed from issues of 'war'. The recurrence of biographical digressions on various people, and extensive summaries of events

and background in chapter after chapter, is an approach which seems to be aimed at the 'general reader' rather than a scholarly audience.

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**Eisenbichler**, Konrad, ed., *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001; cloth; pp. xxi, 262; 19 b/w illustrations; RRP £45.00; ISBN 0754602672.

As Konrad Eisenbichler observes at the opening of his introduction to this edited volume: 'The [15] articles in this volume re-evaluate and present to an English-reading public the figure of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici ...' (p. xi). Its focus is on Cosimo's political culture, with the term 'culture' being interpreted in the broadest way possible to include not only artistic and literary patronage but also political patronage and Cosimo's military and territorial ambitions. It is surprising that Duke Cosimo's cultural politics have received so little attention from English-speaking scholars of late Renaissance/Early Modern Italy and this book is all the more welcome because it fills succinctly such an important gap.

The (unfortunately too brief) introduction provides a biography of Duke Cosimo I and then proceeds to introduce the various articles in the book and their thematic interrelationships. Broadly, the first three authors (Simonetta, Hewlett and Hunt) discuss Cosimo's attempts in the early years of his rule to consolidate and extend his political control both in Tuscany and abroad, with a view to his becoming a major political player in Europe, through attempted careful territorial expansion in Tuscany (not always successful as Hewlett illustrates in the case of Lucca), the moving aside of the old Florentine oligarchy from positions of influence as Simonetta persuasively argues, or the use of Florentine merchants abroad as sources of diplomatic information and as negotiators who enable Cosimo to be seen outside Italy as a political leader of import, as skilfully illustrated by Hunt. Margaret Gallucci's perceptive analysis of Cosimo's reaction to Benvenuto Cellini's appeal for clemency after his sodomy trial; powerfully illustrates how Cosimo could on one hand be seen to be strong ruler with his tough anti-sodomy laws, yet on the other be viewed as a wise and clement one through his commutation of Cellini's sentence, which also served to send a strong message to an otherwise very difficult to control Florentine subject.

The theme of Cosimo's self-fashioning is strong throughout this book. The young duke's ability to learn the lessons of his Medici predecessors during his brief stay in the Medici Palace between 1537 and 1540 serves as an example of 'patronage as receptivity' while his move to the Signorial palace and later Palazzo Pitti and his patronal activity there are indicative of the active patron. Roger Crum has little surviving evidence of Cosimo's brief sojourn in the Medici Palace to work with but as he points out such lack of evidence is telling in itself of Cosimo's motives as a patron of art who is seeking to establish himself as a ruler. Crum's methodology is wonderfully exploitative of what material is available and reminds us of the importance of analysing the gaps and silences in the historical record. Tinagli and Gibbons then discuss the contribution of Vasari's *ragionmenti* and Giambologna's equestrian statues of Duke Cosimo to shoring up his claims to hereditary and princely rule.

Literary patronage and how Cosimo used it to further his own cultural political and economic agendas is the subject of the next three chapters with Ricci focussing on Cosimo's control of the printing industry, Watt on his appropriation of Dante and Basle's discussion of his support for the courtesan poetess, Tullia D'Aragona. All of them illustrate the intertwining of Cosimo's political and cultural agendas. Kirkham discusses this from another angle, that of a poetess's representation of Cosimo and Eleanora of Toledo, his wife. These last two articles point to Eleanora herself as a source of influence.

Cosimo's setting up and control of artistic academies in Florence and his efforts to control subversive ideas are the subject of chapters 12 to 13, with the last two articles dealing with the complex issue of Cosimo's attempts to manage and control the Florentine economy and its charitable institutions as well as his and his son Francesco's interest in tapestries and luxury carpets as economic, political and cultural products.

The themes and material contained in each of these individual chapters are not only informative in their own right but help to build up an intriguing and complex picture of the political culture of Duke Cosimo I's reign and of how he self-consciously sought to ensure virtually absolute control in his domain. The Duke's keen political eye is obvious many a time, but what is missing is an overview that places the individual authors' contributions in their historiographical context and also outlines directions for future work. The brevity of an introduction that cites no sources of additional information should perhaps have been supplemented by a broad overview at the conclusion. While the book is thematically and logically integrated, the very fact that so little is available in

English on the themes raised in the book makes a comprehensive contextual and historiographical overview all the more necessary. The individual bibliographies at the conclusion of each chapter are very useful, but, for the reasons outlined above, a selected bibliography is also required.

Such a fine collection of articles should be a stimulus to further research and hopefully an English-reading public will one day have access to even more stimulating works by the authors in this collection and/or by others, so that Duke Cosimo I's political and cultural agenda will become as well known as those of his Medici ancestors whom he chose to emulate as well as to supersede.

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**Fassler**, Margot E. and Rebecca A. Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000; cloth; pp. xxiv, 632; 5 b/w illustrations,; 29 tables, 55 musical examples; RRP £50.00; ISBN 0195124537.

The Divine Office remains an area of medieval studies which is still a 'great relatively unexplored frontier' as the Preface of this fine book reminds us (p. viii). Although not included in the title above, a further subtitle indicates that this is a festschrift 'written in honor of Professor Ruth Steiner'. Steiner is a leading musicologist in the field of chant studies and more specifically in studies of the Office. Her contributions have been wide-ranging and significant as is demonstrated in part by the bibliography of her writings given in the book, and also in her vision and leading role in the establishment of CANTUS, a computerised database for the study of Office manuscripts now available on-line through the University of Western Ontario (<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus>), as well as in her roles as teacher and mentor based for many years at the Catholic University of America.

Study of the Office can present many problems and complications to the beginner and to the experienced scholar. This book will offer assistance to both. Those of us who have struggled to grapple seemingly in the dark with some detail or larger issue related to the Office and its sources may well wish we had had the book available years ago. Its contents are diverse, covering many different aspects of recent research into the Office, and also pointing in new directions.

As is to be expected in a volume dedicated to a musicologist and edited by musicologists, there is certainly and rightly a prominence given to music. The volume will nevertheless be of interest and value to scholars in a diverse range of areas of medieval studies. The contributors represent the international field of Office and chant studies, and they have endeavoured, although with perhaps mixed success, to make the often complex subject matter accessible to the non-specialist, whether this complexity be in regard to music or liturgy.

The book opens with a useful Prelude by Lila Collamore, introducing the divisions and content of the cycle of the Office and clearly explaining differences between the parts of the Office. Following this the 23 chapters the book are arranged into sections which reflect the aspects named in its subtitle. Thus it begins with 'A Methodological Introduction' with articles by Margot Fassler and László Dobszay intended to demonstrate ways of studying and interpreting the manuscripts and how they can be used in researching problems.

Section two is full of interest and focuses on the pre-Carolingian office pointing at directions for developing research. The late James W. McKinnon's paper sets out to offer 'the viewpoint of a music historian' on the origins of the Office in the Western church, and Joseph Dyer studies psalmody in the monastic rule of the Master. The section also includes a substantial study of the Office of the little understood early Irish church. 'Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours' is by Peter Jeffery, who has written extensively on the early eastern church and is able to bring wide insight to this intriguing study, one of the most interesting in the book.

Section three titled 'Manuscript Studies' presents studies of single sources: the early Compiègne antiphoner (Paris, BN lat. 17436) by Ritva Jacobsson, a Saint-Martial antiphoner (Paris, BN lat. 1085) by James Grier, and a Cluniac processional (Solesmes, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, Réserve 28) by Michel Huglo. A fourth paper by Susan Rankin interprets versions of songs in diverse styles of source notably in Cambridge UL Ff.1.17(1) and the major conductus source Florence, Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1.

Section four offers 'Regional Developments' from the Carolingian period to the late Middle Ages including studies of the Ambrosian Sanctore by Terence Bailey, and the early versified offices by Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, as well as practices in Saint Gall by Hartmut Möller, northern France by Anne Walters Robertson, Chartres by Craig Wright, Cambrai by Barbara Hagg, and Le Puy by Wulf Arlt. Articles on a selection of saints' offices form the following section: St Olav by Gunilla Iversen, St Augustine by Janka Szendrei, St Julian

of Le Mans by David Hiley, the Little Office of the Virgin by Rebecca A. Baltzer, and the Presentation of the Virgin by James John Boyce. The sixth and final section introduces the use of large computerised databases in the study of the office, the papers being Andrew Hughes' discussion of his Late Medieval Office project, and a second by Lora Matthews and Paul Merkley which introduces the CANTUS database and their own work on tonaries.

Without a doubt this is a book of major significance for the study of the Divine Office and it is enthusiastically recommended.

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**Graves, Michael A. R.**, *The Parliaments of Early Modern Europe*, Harlow, Longman, 2001; paper; pp. ix, 230; 1 map; RRP US\$22.00; ISBN 058230587X.

Professor Graves, an authority on Tudor Parliaments, has written a very useful overview of elected European representative assemblies, from the late medieval period to around the 1660s. Handling an impressive range of material he introduces the multifarious Cortes, Diets, Estates, and Reichstags, from Poland to Portugal and Sweden to Sicily – even provincial bodies receive some treatment. Obviously such a work relies on secondary materials and contains no new research and is therefore best judged as a potential textbook.

After an interesting introduction to medieval ideas and assemblies, the book is organised in a straight forward fashion with four chapters devoted to centuries, one on the fifteenth century, two on the sixteenth century, covering 1500-59 and 1560-1600 respectively, and finishing with the seventeenth. Several chapters have numerous 'Case Studies' of various assemblies. In a few instances several are too short, e.g. Scotland (p. 52); and at times the parliamentary focus is lost with too much general history, e.g. the Thirty Years War (p. 117), or national summaries, e.g. James I (p. 114-15), best left for a general textbook. A 'Case Study' approach, while worthwhile, implies that particular themes or key assemblies are to receive more detailed examinations, but instead there are too many short examples. The periodisation into 50 or 100 year blocks sometimes breaks up and obscures some themes. One such is the interesting example of bodies that acted as tax collectors in Habsburg territories. The demise of the French Estates General would have been clearer with a more continuous treat-

ment, instead of being awkwardly split up (p. 87-89, and 116), while Richelieu's assemblies of notables (1617 and 1626) are simply ignored. The concluding part of the book usefully deals with more technical issues. To indulge in some nitpicking, chapter periodisation is not a reliable guide with many 'Case Studies' including chunks of material from other centuries, e.g. England (pp. 47-8), Castile (p. 92), Poland (p. 134), and the Empire (pp. 137-8).

The chapter on the seventeenth century discards the 'Case Study' approach, even though there is enough material on the various assemblies discussed to justify its retention. With nothing on the eighteenth century, the book has a certain imbalance. Here Graves's eschewing of a teleological focus on 'winners' actually obscures the 'rise' of the English Parliament, and this whole matter receives too little attention. Why index and discuss Wolsey's 'Amicable Grant' but ignore ship money, Hampden, and Pym? Also barely mentioned, and not indexed, are impeachment and the petition of right (p. 124). Coverage of the events of 1688 is too thin, and students expecting the familiar term 'Glorious Revolution' will not find it (p. 151).

As a student text it would have benefited from at least some discussion of historiography. Only H. G. Koenigsberger is regularly mentioned. 'Revisionism' receives glancing treatment relating to Spain (p. 90), but one looks in vain for Conrad Russell and the debate on the English parliament as 'event' vs. 'institution'. On p. 30, Graves appears to favour an emphasis on institutions, but with a stress on loyalty of assemblies to monarchs. However, various depositions or rulers are usually only mentioned in passing, e.g. of the Dutch: 'in 1581 allegiance to Philip II was formally ended' (p. 95). This is a tame presentation of the context and Act of Abjuration (which is not named or indexed). The publisher would have benefited many students by adding a glossary and perhaps some diagrams or tables and more than the sole map of the early 1500s. A bibliographic essay or guide to further reading would also assist as footnotes are awkward substitutes, and not always clear.

Despite some ideological background in the introduction, there is no attempt at discussion of any developments by subsequent theorists, whether critics or apologists. Apart from slight references to Fortesque, the assemblies appear to operate in an intellectual vacuum. Huguenot theorists, and later Locke, are absent. Although rulers have an 'autocratic *mentalité*' (p. 36) or increasingly 'absolutist ideology' (p. 127), Bodin, Filmer and others are not mentioned.

Inevitably a few small slips occur: the King of Bohemia, not the Duke of Bavaria was named as an Elector in the Empire in 1356 (p. 23); the Habsburgs

were not ‘normally’ the Emperors from the ‘thirteenth century’ (p. 23), since their dominance only dated from 1438; and the ‘General Crisis’ of the seventeenth-century debate was not launched in the 1970s by Trevor-Roper (who actually wrote on it in 1959), but by Hobsbawm in 1954 (p. 142).

Quibbles aside, Graves’s book will justifiably replace A. R. Myers’s older, briefer survey in university and survey courses on Early Modern Europe. With its invaluable references to a wide range of works it will also prove a valuable start for students of parliamentary history.

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**Greenblatt, Stephen, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001; cloth; pp. xii, 322; 8 plates, 10 figures; RRP US\$29.95; ISBN 0691058733.**

This is a masterly book, which deserves to be read by everyone interested in Shakespeare. Stephen Greenblatt, with a rare personal intensity, combines thorough and lucidly-presented scholarship with deft and sympathetic attention to Shakespeare’s verbal and theatrical power, reading *Hamlet* in the context of sixteenth-century England’s shift from Catholicism to Protestantism and the Reformers’ dismissal of Purgatory as ‘a poet’s fable’ (Tyndale).

His book is constructed to lead us towards *Hamlet* in the last chapter via consideration of Protestant attacks on earlier Catholic teachings and revelations about Purgatory, whence King Hamlet’s ghost appears to his Wittenberg-educated son. In a well-established Greenblattian manoeuvre, he starts with a text some distance from his goal, but this one turns out to be far more central than many of the works that in his earlier studies have formed a tangential opening. Simon Fish’s *A Supplication for the Beggars* (1529, reprinted, and hence canonised, as it were, in Foxe’s *Acts and Martyrs*, 1563) invited Henry VIII to repossess and redistribute to the poor the wealth of the Church, extracted from the populace in payment for prayers and masses for souls in Purgatory. (But this is the king whose last will speaks of the ‘wealth [*not* ‘health’] of our soul’ (p. 23).) In its defence, Sir Thomas More promptly responded with *A Supplication of Souls*, in which souls in Purgatory plead not to be forgotten by their relatives, who should precisely be offering suffrages for their relief.

Between his considerations of these two texts, Greenblatt offers a rich evocation of the way Purgatory was imagined in late medieval writings, such as the *Vision of Tundale*, the *Vision of William of Stranton*, and the *Revelation to the Monk of Evesham* (properly *Eynsham*). He concentrates on a knight's journey to the otherworld at St Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, as recounted in the Middle English Auchinleck manuscript version of *Owayne Miles*, and a purgatorial ghost's interrogation by a priest from southern France, known in Middle English versions as *The Gast of Gy*; both stories survived well into the seventeenth century. As with Heaven and Hell, Purgatory can only be imagined, whether you believe in them or not, and because the third state was a late-comer, lacking secure Biblical sanction, its hold on belief depended all the more on how vividly the imagination could present it. Purgatory was a fiction, as Protestants claimed, but then so was the afterlife *tout court* – yet the afterlife still lived where it always had, in people's minds, and ghosts still appeared.

They appeared on stage too, most compellingly in Shakespeare's plays. Greenblatt offers incisive and suggestive accounts of spectres in *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth*, amongst others, and finally arrives at *Hamlet* in chapter 5 'Remember me'. He contends that, as for all purgatorial souls, the Ghost's appeal 'remember me' is paramount, and in obvious contradiction to his Senecan appeal to avenge his murder. But what the Ghost forgets, although he regrets his unreadiness at death, is to ask for suffrages, and Hamlet 'forgets' to offer them too. Horatio had intimated that the Ghost might request them, but got no response. Shakespeare, in other words, knew 'exactly how far he could go without getting into serious trouble' (p. 237).

And he had gone, as usual, a long way in absorbing and feeling for the rightness of verbal detail, as Greenblatt shows, 'distributed in tiny, almost invisible particles throughout [his] account' (p. 5): e.g. Fish's 'thing out of joint' (p.11), *Sarum Horae's hic et ubique* (pp. 16, 235), 'for a certain time' (or 'space', cf. *Gast of Gy*, p. 287 note 30), 'Yes, by Saint Patrick', recalling Owayne's adventures.

Shakespeare may have had Catholic sympathies and a Catholic father (d. 1601), but for Greenblatt the primary interest is not what Shakespeare privately believed, but what he theatrically imagined. What he salvaged for the stage, amid Protestant attacks on the mere theatrical make-believe of Purgatory, was the weird psychic power, the longings, fear, guilt, and love, the human passions born of relationships between the living and the dead that Purgatory had focussed, and which still needed expression.

Greenblatt was personally and professionally prompted to try and account for Shakespeare's power to disturb us still at these levels. The starting point for his book was exploring the Jewish kaddish, prayers for the dead, which, 'scarcely knowing how to pray', Greenblatt tells us, he undertook for his own devout father. He was moved by, and moved to write about, *Hamlet's* 'magical intensity', regretting that 'my profession has become so oddly diffident and even phobic about literary power, suspicious and tense, that it risks losing sight of – or at least failing to articulate – the whole reason anyone bothers with the enterprise in the first place' (p. 4).

A brief review cannot do justice to the scholarly range, poetic attentiveness, and sheer critical grip of this thrilling book; niggles about minor slips would be an impertinence. It is one of those all too rare works of criticism which make you want to cheer in gratitude, for Greenblatt articulates with enviable elegance and intelligence Shakespeare's complex capability of being, as Keats put it, 'in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts'.

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**Heidecker, Karl, ed.,** *Charters and the use of the written word in medieval society*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000; pp. xi, 253; cloth; RRP EUR50.00; ISBN 2503507719.

One needs to be wary of the titles of edited collections. Frequently they can be entirely misleading and, unfortunately, this is the case in this instance. The volume contains some of the proceedings from two meetings, 'Charters: the development of writing in medieval society' (Utrecht, 29 April 1999) and 'Charters and the use of the written word' (Leeds, 12 July 1999), both organized by the *Utrecht Pionier Project Verschriftelijking*. Karl Heidecker contributes a short and rather disappointing 'Introduction' which actually says very little. For some unexplained reason he has decided to elaborate his own contributions to the meetings, whatever they may have been, and to publish them separately as a monograph. This volume is left much the poorer for the decision to do so.

The result is an uneven volume, heavily inclined to Northern and Eastern Europe and to the peripheries of medieval Latin Europe in general. Even Heidecker appreciates and acknowledges this, almost apologetically. The proffered explanation, that '... for simple reasons of logistics ... [it was not

possible] ... to cover all of Europe' reads weakly since no attempt has been made to do so. Only one contribution is concerned with Italy, and that with the marginal issue of Milanese court procedures for handling documents as proof, and none with Occitania or Iberia. The title of the volume is seriously misleading.

Another annoying feature of the volume is that the contributors remain unidentified by institution or in any other way. This can be revealing, for example in the paper 'Towards a reappraisal of Carolingian sovereign charters'. This consists of bibliographical notes and a series of methodological observations and questions which currently occupy the author in the preparation of his thesis, to none of which are any answers or fresh insights provided. Reports on work in progress can occasionally be useful but much more often it would be far better to wait for the results before going into print.

David Postles's paper on 'Country *clerici* and the composition of English twelfth- and thirteenth-century private charters', even though it appears not to have been contributed to either of the two original meetings, is nevertheless an interesting and welcome addition to the volume. However, as with many of the other contributions, it suffers from lack of any real attempt to engage the relationships which existed in the Middle Ages between charters as forms of proof of contract and the various modes of making of contract, especially orally. The same comment can be made of Philippe Depreux's otherwise very interesting contribution: 'The development of charters confirming exchange by the royal [i.e., Carolingian] administration (eighth-tenth centuries)'. In fact this is an overall weakness of the entire volume. There is a pretence to engage the relationships between the oral originality and the surviving written texts which to us must be the reality, but these relationships are inadequately explored. In some of the contributions the jargon of orality and literacy substitutes for proper explanation, and in some others the authors' grasp of English is inadequate. The volume ought to have been copy-edited by a native speaker.

Well! There are many other contributions on topics as diverse as written evidence in late medieval Austrian courts, the transition from orality to literacy in medieval Poland, the development of charters in the Netherlands, Scotland and Ireland, and Bohemia. There are also three contributions on the copying of charters into cartularies, of which the most important is undoubtedly that of Georges Declercq: 'Originals and cartularies: the organization of archival memory (ninth – eleventh centuries)'.

Not to be excessively negative, there is much original and worthwhile research reflected in the various contributions to this volume. However, a failure

to engage the relationships between the orality of action and the literacy of record in medieval society and also a misleading statement of focus in the title seriously detract from its value.

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**Hesketh**, Glynn, ed., *La Lumere as Lais by Pierre D'Abernon of Fetcham*, Vol. III (Anglo-Norman Texts 58), London, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2000; cloth; pp. vii, 218; RRP £30; ISBN 0905474392.

*La lumere as lais*, a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman text known to specialists as a kind of theological encyclopaedia loosely based on the *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun, is one of three texts attributed to Pierre d'Abernon of Fetcham, alias Pierre de Peckham, described in 1950 by M. Dominica Legge as 'one of the most well-meaning but stupendously dull writers in Anglo-Norman'. Pierre's other two texts (*Le Secré de Secrez* and *La Vie seint Richard evesque de Cycestre*) have both been published in the ANTS series, in 1944 and 1995 respectively.

Volumes I and II, containing the complete text of the *Lumere as Lais*, were published in 1996 and 1998. The *Lumere* is a sort of lamp for the laity, cast in the form of a scholastic catechism. The text is structured as a series of comments made and questions posed by a pupil, designated in the text as [D], to a master [M] who replies and illustrates. Please refer to my review of Volume II (*Parergon*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2000, 252-54) for a more detailed discussion of Professor Hesketh's text of the *Lumere*.

Volume III, which appeared in 2000, gives Hesketh's introduction, notes, glossary and indexes, to facilitate scholars' consultation of this mysterious Anglo-Norman writer's work.

In a brief 'Preface', Professors Rothwell and Short are thanked for their guidance to the editor. The evidence on the 'Author and Date' of the *Lumere* is then summarised, without the continuing uncertainties surrounding the author's double identity (Peter d'Abernon of Fetcham/Peter of Peckham) being much elucidated, although a *terminus ad quem* of 1267 is established for the date of composition. A valuable section on the background of the *Lumere* then sets our text in its proper context with important influences highlighted. Concerning the

content of the work, Hesketh emphasises the importance as a background to the *Lumere* of those edicts of the fourth Lateran Council (1215-16) related to the examination of ordinands and the regular instruction of parishioners in the vernacular. Other Anglo-Norman instructional manuals composed with similar intentions, such as the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*, the *Chasteau d'Amour* and the *Manuel des Péchés*, are mentioned and shown in relationship with the *Lumere*.

Concerning the form of our text, the editor establishes that the *Lumere* partakes of elements of the two principal teaching methods of the European universities in the Middle Ages, namely the lecture and the disputation. The *Lumere as Lais* is shown to be part of the encyclopaedic Aristotelian movement of the 13th century, mention being made by Hesketh of its larger Latin analogues, Vincent of Beauvais's *Specula*, for example, or the works of Thomas de Cantimpré and Bartholomaeus Anglicus. In the section on sources, we learn that the *Elucidarium* is followed fairly closely for the first book of the *Lumere* and a little of the second, but then is abandoned in favour of the much larger work of Peter the Lombard's *Sentences*. The editor suggests other texts Peter may have used as sources, although there is quite a large section of the *Lumere* whose sources have not been definitively identified. Whilst further research may well discover other sources, Hesketh puts forward tentatively that Peter may even have been the author for certain sections of 'sermonising' material, marked by very concrete and worldly subject matter. There are clues in the text, cited by Hesketh, which do in fact strongly suggest that Peter is claiming authorship of certain material.

The necessarily highly technical and precise section on the recension and description of manuscripts is most competently done by our editor, and his 'Editorial Practice' is equally clearly and concisely described. The introductory remarks are concluded with a long section on language, subdivided into phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax, lexis and versification. The descriptions are clear and competent, with the conclusion that all aspects of the text seem to be 'typically Anglo-Norman', although in the 'Syntax' section there are several examples noted of a curious accusative and infinitive calque peculiar to the *Lumere*.

Apart from the expected 'Glossary' (selective, but sufficient for a reader having experience in Anglo-Norman) and the final 'Index of Proper Names', the rest of this volume is made up of 'Notes on the Text'. A wealth of material is contained in their 110 pages. Sources and analogues are given for certain passages, and possible alternative readings of the manuscript(s); our attention may be drawn to peculiarities of syntax and vocabulary, or the sometimes ambiguous or unclear arguments of Peter elucidated for us by Hesketh. Those

notes where Hesketh remarks on the peculiar difficulties facing his ingenuity as editor, where he must explain, for example, why he has had to modify ever so slightly his printed text to make sense of it for the reader, are particularly enlightening. Also, the general philological guidance given, with references to modern authorities on certain topics, for example the seven deadly sins (note to lines 3095-206) is most helpful. Certainly any medievalists wishing to read the *Lumere as Lais* in Hesketh's text, as published in volumes 1 and 2, will find their pleasure augmented substantially by having at hand these excellent notes.

With the publication of this final volume, the *Lumere as Lais* is now really accessible to a wide public of medievalists who will be pleased to note that the famous ANTS continues to maintain its high standards of text editing.

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**Hollander**, Robert, *Dante: A Life in Works*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001; cloth; pp. xvi, 222; RRP US\$25.00; ISBN 0-300-08494.

Hollander's short and readable book has a number of rivals (not least, in English, Stephen Bemrose's admirable *A New Life of Dante*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000; Rachel Jacoff [ed.], *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, Cambridge: University Press 1993; George Holmes, *Dante* [Past Masters], Oxford: University Press, 1980; William Anderson, *Dante the Maker*, London: Routledge, 1980). For those really interested in Dante's life (with the works fitted into the lived pattern), the Bemrose volume must be preferred, but for those primarily interested in the works themselves, with all the nuances of modern scholarship on them worked into a lucid and informative discussion by someone who knows both the sources and the modern writings intimately, Hollander's work can be warmly recommended.

The initial chapter, which covers Dante's life, is less satisfactory. One feels that Hollander is less at home here. The Black / White Guelf division is dated far earlier than most would date it (p. 5; Bemrose p. 45); was Dante that 'happy' 1312-21? (p. 6 - see pp. 42-43 and Dante Gabriel Rossetti *Poems and Translations 1850-1870*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965 pp. 48ff 'Dante at Verona'); Hollander's stress on Dante's 'writerly' qualities, his urge to be 'special', 'to storm the Olympus of Florentine lyric' (p. 12), perhaps needs to be contextualised more than it is (why should Dante have felt this way, why in this particular fashion,

how untypical was he, etc.). But there is much here that is memorable. The uniqueness and importance of the *Vita Nuova* are well stressed (pp. 14, 40) and its function as a precursor of the *Divine Comedy* itself interestingly brought out (esp. pp. 25, 28-29). The emphasis upon Dante's use of chiasmus (p. 31) supports my own contention in 'Realism, rhetoric and revelation: Dante's use of history in the *Purgatorio*' (Margaret Baker and Diana Glenn [eds.] *Dante Colloquia in Australia [1982-1999]* Adelaide, South Australia: Australian Humanities Press, 2000 [pp.165-91] p.168). Hollander stresses very usefully that Dante's 'vernacular has the power and status of Latin' (p. 32), and the relationship between the 'fictive' and the 'historical' in Dante's works is very well discussed (pp. 33-39). The high point of Dante's political career is interestingly related to an apparent absence of literary activity (p. 44 and cf. p. 129: 'None of Dante's writings between 1283 and 1305 or so shows any marked interest in political ideas, despite his vigorous involvement in Florentine civic life between 1295 and 1301'), and the discussion of the *Convivio* ('one of the richest and most intriguingly abandoned works that we possess', p. 88) and *De vulgari eloquentia* is ample and suggestive (though it would have been nice to have secured a comment on the highly original approach of Warman Welliver *Dante in Hell: the De vulgari eloquentia: introduction, text, translation, commentary*, Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1981).

The *Commedia* itself is discussed with great authority and insight. Dating, truth, allegory, historicity, the 'rediscovery' of Dante at the end of the eighteenth century (p. 104), the classification of sins, the role of Virgil, Bernard of Clairvaux and of Beatrice (it is interesting that the Council of Heaven which sends Beatrice to speed Virgil on to Dante [p. 21] parallels the infernal Council which empowers Megaera the Fury to visit Rufinus, in Claudian's *Anti-Rufinum* [a poem that lies behind the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille, which in turn lies behind the *Divine Comedy*] l.92) are all given their due. In addition, we have the wisdom deriving from a close acquaintance with the tradition of comment on the *Comedy*, telling us, for example, that 'Francesca, Ulysses and Ugolino represent perhaps the three most treasured and discussed of Dante's infernal characters' (p. 105), or that if we 'were asked to epitomize the central concern of the poem [*The Comedy*] in a single word, *justice* might embody the best choice' (p. 106), or 'that the rereading of the *Aeneid* reoriented Dante from writing in mixed verse and prose to composing a lengthy poem [*The Comedy*] intended to stand entirely on its own feet' (p. 117). The didactic aspects of the *Comedy* are well handled (pp. 124ff) and the essential political commitment behind the work is carefully stressed (p. 130). Hollander associates *Purgatorio* specifically with the epoch of Henry VII,

though ‘nothing in Dante’s text indicates a hope for an imperial return’ (pp. 131, 133, 138). I disagree with Hollander’s interpretation of the prophetic aspects of the *Comedy* (contrast pp.139-44, for instance, with my paper in *Dante Colloquia in Australia (1982-1999)*).

For Hollander, Dante shifts from being a Guelph to a Ghibelline c.1305 (p. 156). Many would consider Dante to have been inherently a Ghibelline, but Hollander is of the view that Dante was a late (re-)reader of the *Aeneid* and a late convert to Romanism, though his Romanism is always tempered by a traditional support for the spiritual role of the papacy (pp. 162-63). Richard Kay’s *Dante’s Monarchia, translated, with a commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998) provides confirmation of Hollander’s hunch that the *Monarchia* was written after 1316 (p. 167).

All Dante’s works, including his late Latin writings, are treated sympathetically and with understanding in this excellent book. Behind it lies a life-time of study of the poet’s writings, the conviction that ‘his poem [the *Divine Comedy*] [is] one of the few absolute monuments of human achievement’, and that Dante ‘has eclipsed, for most readers, all but Homer’ (p. 179). For any inquirer wanting to know what the latest thinking is about Dante’s poetry, its chronology, its inner meaning and its relationship with the man himself, and what the worth of such thinking is, Hollander’s book is essential reading. No-one will come away from the book at all uncertain about the claims just made for the significance of the *Comedy* and its author.

A ‘Chronology of Dante’s Life’, very full and scholarly notes, a ‘Bibliographical Note’ and an index complete the volume.

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**Kleinschmidt**, Harald, *Understanding the Middle Ages: The Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval World*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2000; cloth; pp. xix, 401; 50 b/w illustrations, 1 colour plate; RRP US\$75.00, £45.00; ISBN 085115770X.

In what French scholars call ‘un travail de longue haleine’, Harald Kleinschmidt has undertaken a conceptual history of medieval culture in western Europe between the fifth and sixteenth centuries, with some reference also to the Roman

Empire and the post-Renaissance centuries. His descriptive approach, he states, eschews explanations and cross-cultural comparisons (p. 335). His aim is an interactionist revision of the general systems theory (p. 11, 335) through description of change in various concepts, situating them in a context, as defined by Michel Foucault (pp. 1-2). He acknowledges the influence of Edgar Morin and Claude Lévi-Strauss and one perceives also a certain influence of the French *Annales* historians, notably Jacques Le Goff, whose work is listed in the bibliography (p. 343). Given ‘the fuzziness of the concept of “Europe”’ (p. 6), the author has defined it in terms of the fusion of the ancient concepts of ‘Europe’ and the ‘Occident’, including Scandinavia and east-central Europe as a consequence of the spread of Christianity, and excluding Greek and Roman antiquity apart from the impact of its heritage.

Harald Kleinschmidt has thus carefully defined his terms of reference, method, purpose and scope. The book is throughout well organised, with clear introductions, summaries and conclusions which bind the work together. In style the author favours the ternary sequence of ideas as is particularly evident in the Introduction. The book has four parts each with several chapters: Generalities – Experiences of Time, Conceptions of Space, The Body – Modes of Behaviour, Groups, Men and Women; Action – Production and Distribution, War, Thinking; Interaction – Communication in a Given Present, Commemorating the Past, The Movement of Persons and Groups; Images of Order – The Old and the Young, Rule and Representation. The author usually divides the discussion on each aspect chronologically into the two broad *tranches* of the early Middle Ages and the High and Late Middle Ages. Evidence relating to England and Germany predominates with much reference to Latin sources and secondary material in German.

Discussion of concepts is amplified by examples such as the invention of mechanical clocks, the evolution of the cemetery, genealogies and explanatory comment on the illustrations integrating them with the narrative. It is inevitable that readers from different perspectives will wish to supplement or modify some of the information. I was prompted to think: what about the evocation of landscape in the *Chanson de Roland* (p. 42) and the role of the *iuvenes* as an age-specific group (p. 92)? Could one refresh the ideas on love and courtly life as depicted in lyric poetry and romance (rather than epic, as stated) in order to stress both the aristocratic ideal of social behaviour and the pleasure obtained in pursuing the dialectic of love in poetry and conversation (p. 136)? The discussion on new weapons and tactics introduced from the thirteenth century (pp. 177-85)

should be complemented by mention of the earlier Norman innovative use of the lance, documented in the Bayeux tapestry. Jean Flori's research on the evolution of chivalry (which recently Jean-Louis Kupper lucidly summarised in 'Chevalerie et croisade. Sur l'œuvre de Jean Flori', *Le Moyen Age*, 107 (2001), 321-8) is under-represented here. Perhaps, in figure 48, the pair identified as 'bishop-saints', one of whom appears feminine, might be compared with the two figures beside the Christ in figure 49 and identified differently. A new critical edition of Etienne de Fougères' *Le Livre des manières* was published in 1979 (p. 115, n. 78). The references to Christine de Pizan's *La Cité des dames* are imprecise and misleading (pp. 132-3, n. 38 and 41). It is now more practical to consult this work in E.J. Richards' translation (*The Book of the City of Ladies*, New York/London, 1982/1983) than in the unpublished thesis. Christine named the book which prompted her to write her defence of women: Matheolus' *Liber Lamentationum*, which she read in Jean Le Fevre's translation.

Based on extensive reading of primary and secondary material, the book shows through study of major concepts the lines of cultural change from, for example, heterodynamic and group-centred action and interaction to autodynamic, verging on individualist, action and interaction. Images of order reflect increased human control, evolving relationships between men and women, and social orders becoming classes.

A useful chronological table (312-1499) precedes the Introduction. A select list of secondary material classified according to the development of each chapter (pp. 343-86) and an Index (pp. 387-401) follow the Conclusion. It is curious that the entry 'men and women' (p. 395) has no equivalent entry or cross-reference under *w*, only the entry 'women's work houses' (p. 401).

The book needed editing and correction of details. Errors in spelling and omissions occur: e.g. p. 39 'severe' for 'sever', p. 42, l. 16 omission of 'as', p. 144, 193, 350 omission of French accents, p. 334 'lead' for 'led'. Proper names are incorrect: p. 125, 127, 313 'Hinkmar', p. 166, 399 'Appolinaris', p. 316 'Cassiodore'. Infelicities of expression appear: p. xvii 'his fragment *Canterbury Tales*', p. 42 'itinerate', p. 84 'their own behalves', p. 335 'the periodisations which emerges'. The CNRS is the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (p. 1). An unfortunate inversion of key words mars the conclusion to chapter III where the transformation from heterodynamic to autodynamic behaviour has been described (p. 63), and not the opposite as stated on p. 88.

Harald Kleinschmidt has tackled a vast subject and overall presented in a modern social sciences framework some interesting general findings on

medieval cultural concepts and changing attitudes. Readers will have to judge their validity for deepening understanding of the Middle Ages.

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**Koff**, Leonard Michael and Brenda Deen Schildgen, eds., *The Decameron and the Canterbury Tales: New Essays on an Old Question*, London, Associated University Presses, 2000; cloth; pp. 352; RRP £42.50; ISBN 0838638007.

*The Decameron and the Canterbury Tales* comprises a Foreword by Giuseppe Mazzotta, an Introduction by Leonard Michael Koff, essays by 11 scholars, an Afterword by David Wallace, a bibliography, and a full index. It thus has all the markings of a major contribution to a field of study that has been remarkably productive in recent years, thanks in large part to Wallace's 1997 book *Chaucerian Polity*. But that contribution is decidedly more modest than one might have expected. To be sure, those interested in Chaucer's response to Italy will find much of great interest here – that is inevitable in a 300-plus page collection of essays, including some by major scholars – but the book is hampered by the 'oldness' of its governing questions.

A more accurate title for the book would have been simply *The Canterbury Tales and Boccaccio*. One of the entries, Richard Neuse's 'The Monk's *De casibus*: The Boccaccio Case Reopened,' has nothing to do with the *Decameron*; that work is subordinate in James H. Mc Gregor's 'The *Knight's Tale* and *Trecento* Italian Historiography' as well. A bigger problem is the nature of the 'old question' mentioned in the subtitle, which refers not to Chaucer's failure to mention Boccaccio, but to the extent of his knowledge of *The Decameron*. The opening salvo comes from Peter G. Beidler: 'Just Say Yes,' his title enjoins, 'Chaucer Knew the *Decameron*'. Yet the other essays tend to take the safer route, as in Schildgen's remark that '[w]hile these similarities may not prove that Chaucer knew the *Decameron*, they do suggest ... some variety of influence' (p. 104). The other editor even says that 'the full case is still out' (p. 281). Why, then, privilege the question in the first place?

Most of these essays make tried-and-true claims about the comfortable topic of the teller/tale relationship. John M. Ganim claims, predictably, that the tales and prologues of the Wife of Bath, Merchant, Franklin, Pardoner, and Canon's

Yeoman 'reveal much more about their speakers than one would expect' (p. 139). Robert W. Hanning concludes his otherwise provocative and fascinating study of the problem of 'mediation' in medieval society with the banal remark that 'the Man of Law's performance of the tale of Custance becomes, in effect, a counterfeit letter,' a 'gravely compromised' conduit of truth (p. 200). We have always known, after all, that Chaucer couldn't really have *believed* what he wrote in the religious tales. The flip side to this procedure appears in Neuse's essay, mentioned above: in order to argue that the Monk is a stand-in for Boccaccio, the author feels compelled to rescue the teller from those who judge him ill (p. 254).

The upshot is that these essays in large part retreat to the critical worldview of Lumiansky's *Of Sundry Folk* – or, to be a bit more charitable, to a depoliticised version of that world of 1980s and '90s debates in Renaissance New Historicism, which went round and round on the 'subversion/containment' debate. Indeed, this is the explicit model for the essays by Linda Georgianna (Boccaccio's tales and frames contain the collection's anticlericalism; Chaucer's don't, so that his anticlericalism has 'bite': see esp. p. 150) and Ganim, who clunkily claims that 'the new languages of commerce, travel, science, social dislocation, and protest ... are contained within a syntax still structured on the model of a discourse designed at least partly to contain these new forces' (p. 142).

There are some fine essays in this collection. Karla Taylor's 'Chaucer's Uncommon Voice: Some Contexts for Influence' argues that in *trecento* Italian literature Chaucer 'found provocation to imagine from this position [on the margins of the court] a vernacular poetry independent of court patronage' (pp. 58-9). Robert R. Edwards's 'Rewriting Menedon's Story: *Decameron* 10.4 and the *Franklin's Tale*' finds a 'dual historicity, at once literary and contemporary' in both authors' revisions of Menedon's story from the *questioni d'amore* of the *Filocolo*. I also found much fascinating material in the chapters by Ganim and Hanning, which place Boccaccio and Chaucer in the context of large-scale historical movements concerning the church's role as institutional mediator between individuals and God.

But others are unsuccessful. N. S. Thompson, in an essay on 'local histories', is prone to treat Chaucer's characters as if they were real people (how could the Prioress have known that the street was 'free and open at eyther ende', he wonders [p. 92]), and gravely comments that Chaucer 'adds the greater reality behind the pilgrimage as a grimly ironic reminder of where certain of his pilgrims, if not most, might be going' (p. 91). The essays by the two editors are perhaps the weakest in the collection. Among the many irritating elements of Koff's essay,

'Imagining Absence: Chaucer's *Griselda and Walter without Petrarch*', is its tendency to *emphasise* things, *as if we might not otherwise follow what he is saying*: he does so at least 73 times (including in the title). Schildgen uses poor grammar and syntax to make very dubious and oversimplified claims. The result is nothing much more than an argument that Boccaccio and Chaucer think storytelling is a good thing.

As is often the case with such collections, this is uneven. Then again, so too are the *Decameron* and the *Canterbury Tales*: perhaps, then, this very divergence of approaches and quality can be seen as a tribute to a topic that will retain our interest so long as we enjoy storytelling.

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**Laiou**, Angeliki E. and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, eds., *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001; cloth; pp. viii, 297; 35 b/w plates, 1 b/w map, 3 b/w illustrations; RRP US\$48.00; ISBN 0884022773.

The 15 studies in this collection began as presentations at a 1997 Dumbarton Oaks symposium. At a time when many conferences were examining the nine hundredth anniversary of crusading from a western perspective, this particular conference concentrated on the Byzantine and Muslim experiences of crusade.

The volume begins with an historiographical survey. Here Giles Constable provides a helpful breakdown of trends in crusading interpretations, from 1095 to the present. Strangely, given that the premise of the collection is non-western experiences of crusade, the essay concentrates on western scholarship only. While the essay is certainly no less useful for that, the disjunction between the content of the individual essay and the volume's overall guiding principle is a noticeable one. Common to many collections of ex-conference papers, this volume is more a collection of separate ideas than it is one cohesive idea, question, or approach.

The first section focuses on holy war. Roy Parviz Mottahedeh and Ridwan al-Sayyid survey the Islamic idea of *jihad* before the crusades, tracing how various legal ideas became more normative over time. George T. Dennis examines what Byzantine writers meant by the term 'holy war', concluding that wars were important first of all because they were imperial wars, and only secondly because they were religious.

The second section concentrates on perceptions and literary representations. M. C. Lyons begins with a fairly general study of how Arabian hero cycles represented Europe and Europeans. To a reader unfamiliar with the Arabic sources, such as myself, this essay needed to spend much more time establishing the background and context of the literature under investigation. This goes to a larger point – surely, if western-focussed scholars are to have a better appreciation of Muslim experiences of crusade, then full introductions to the relevant primary sources are essential. In the following essay Nadia Maria El-Cheikh discusses Muslim representations of Byzantium in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, pointing out that early slurs against Byzantines were no longer current by the end of the period since these same slurs were now levied against western crusaders. Robert W. Thomson then investigates Armenian perceptions of crusaders. He concludes that there was not as much attention to the crusaders as one might imagine; when there was attention it was mainly to incorporate the crusaders into the long tradition of Armenian history and literature, and to present crusaders as fulfilments of earlier prophecies. Here Thomson makes an important point – when non-western authors discussed westerners, they were first and foremost describing, defining, and indeed constituting their own identities and cultures. Western crusaders were used and put to the service of an agenda totally separate from the agenda of the crusades. The next essay is Alexander Kazhdan's study of western-Byzantine relations in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Arguing that scholars have over-emphasised the effects of the so-called schism of 1054, Kazhdan reminds us that there were many examples of western (particularly Norman Frankish) influence in Byzantine politics and military affairs. Following this Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Jeffreys discuss two poems from their forthcoming edition of the corpus of 'Manganeois Prodomos'. Praising the city of Constantinople, praising the emperor, praising the Byzantine people as the chosen Israelites, castigating the crusaders as beasts – these poems show how very quickly the crusader images of 'us' and 'them' were codified in writing. In this instance, the poems were written and probably performed within weeks of the Second Crusade's passing, commissioned by the emperor himself as a kind of medieval press release. Finally, Tia M. Kolbaba presents a strong study of Byzantine theologians and their assessments of Latin religious errors, covering the period 850-1350. Like Thomson, she argues that writing about an other tells us more about the author than the group being described. In this case, Byzantine religious identity was created by the very process of defining and excluding others.

The third section investigates the economic effects of the crusades in the eastern Mediterranean. Olivia Remie Constable studies the terminology for ‘merchant hostelryes’ to show the changing commercial infrastructure for long distance trade in the Near East as European traders increased. Angeliki E. Laiou (with Cécile Morrisson) then argues that the crusades and the crusader states played a greater role in Byzantine Mediterranean trade than previously thought. David Jacoby investigates the economic changes in Latin Romania after the Fourth Crusade. He identifies a redirection away from Constantinople and towards the west, facilitated by the rise of Venice as an economic and political power.

Finally, the fourth section examines the artistic and architectural impact of the crusades in Byzantine and Islamic regions. Oleg Grabar’s essay on the crusades and Islamic art is fairly general, while Charalambos Bouras argues that Frankish architecture generally left little influence on Byzantine architecture, although the Morea was a notable exception. This emphasis on the Morea continues in Sharon E. J. Gerstel’s essay on the influence of the Frankish conquest on the monumental art of the Morea. Like many other scholars at present, Gerstel sees the Morea as a particularly rich site for artistic symbiosis between Latins and Greeks.

In conclusion, these essays are generally quite specific studies which rarely stray from their chosen subject matter. They add to our body of case studies and, indeed, they will most likely be read and appreciated as discrete case studies. Notwithstanding the historiographical study of western scholarship at the beginning, the volume rarely ventures into the wider area of consequences or broader historiographical trends.

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**Lubac**, Henri de, *Medieval exegesis* (Ressourcement: retrieval & renewal in Catholic thought), Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1998-2000; paper; vols. 1-2; RR.P US\$45.00 per volume; ISBN 0802841457 (v.1), 0802841465 (v.2).

The most characteristic feature of the study of the Bible in the medieval West was an emphasis on the mystical and spiritual interpretation of the sacred text. Almost all medieval authors accepted the premise that there were multiple levels of meaning in the Bible, and that the literal or historical sense was only a starting-point in Biblical interpretation. Words, objects, events, actions – all had a set of

deeper symbolic meanings arising from the divine origin of the Scriptures. These meanings were to be found particularly in the Old Testament, where they prefigured the life and teachings of Christ and the establishment of the Church. Most of the Western commentators on the Bible, over more than ten centuries, took this as their guiding principle and devoted many thousands of pages to the careful delineation of different types of meaning – the literal, the allegorical, and the moral in particular.

There is an obvious gulf between this and modern textual criticism of the Bible. Beryl Smalley, in her standard work on *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, is representative of much modern scholarship. In her view, there was no Biblical scholarship ‘in the strict sense’ before the thirteenth century. Medieval monastic writers ‘subordinated scholarship to mysticism and propaganda’, and preferred ‘subjective modes of interpretation’ to ‘objective’ textual criticism. She describes the spiritual interpretation as ‘fanciful’ and ‘extravagant’, and reserves her approval for those writers who focused closely on the literal meaning of the text in something approaching the modern sense. More sympathetic modern scholars – among them Bischoff, McNally and Spicq – have also tended to focus on the development of the historical, critical sense in medieval Biblical scholarship.

Henri de Lubac’s massive work, which originally appeared in French between 1959 and 1963, had a very different purpose. Rather than writing off medieval exegesis as bizarre, senseless and strange, de Lubac aimed to ‘appreciate the past on its own terms’ and to provide ‘an historical and literal study of the ancient commentators on Scripture’. His motive for doing this was essentially a theological one; as a member of the *ressourcement* movement of the 1930s and 1940s, he was strongly committed to a return to the patristic and medieval sources of Catholic theology, in order to draw out their meaning for the contemporary world. De Lubac was an important figure in the twentieth-century Catholic Church, who had a significant influence on the Second Vatican Council – as well as on the present Pope, who made him a cardinal shortly before his death in 1991. The 1,800 pages of *Medieval exegesis* are the major manifestation of the remarkable breadth and depth of his knowledge and interests.

This English translation is long overdue. It covers the first two volumes of the original four-volume work, with the remainder expected to appear in the future. The first volume introduces the theme of the four senses of Scripture – history, allegory, tropology and anagogy – as well as tackling such wider topics as the interrelationship between theology and exegesis, and the unity of the two

Testaments. De Lubac looks for the origins of the fourfold interpretation of the Bible, as well as other similar schemata, in the Greek and Latin Fathers, and particularly in Origen. The second volume contains a more detailed examination of the use and understanding of the historical, allegorical, tropological and anagogical meanings in the period from the Fathers to the twelfth century.

This is a difficult book for a historian to evaluate, since – as de Lubac makes clear – he is writing as a theologian, not as a professional historian. He tends to treat the whole patristic and earlier medieval period as a unity and to take an ahistorical approach which emphasises continuity over almost a thousand years. But does this make his work irrelevant to historians today, as John J. Contreni has recently suggested? At the very least, *Medieval Exegesis* is invaluable for the vast array of primary sources marshalled by its author. In fact, almost 40% of each volume consists of notes and references, mostly to patristic and medieval authors. Although these notes have not been updated for this translation – and hence the editions and secondary sources used are no later than the 1950s – de Lubac still provides the most wide-ranging guide to medieval Biblical commentaries. His book is a goldmine of detailed references to major and minor writers alike. Unfortunately, the index is fairly perfunctory and contains only names; an index of themes and subjects would have made such a lengthy work much easier to use.

At a deeper level, though, de Lubac's work still has considerable value in at least two ways. For the theologian, it is, of course, a significant historical document in its own right, as one of the major contributions made by its author to Catholic theology and spirituality in the mid-twentieth century. The theology expressed in *Medieval Exegesis* flowed – directly or indirectly – into the Second Vatican Council, which was nothing less than a revolution in the history of the Catholic Church. For the medievalist, though, this book is still the best study of what exegesis actually meant to medieval authors. Despite his theological agenda, and despite his tendency to minimise the process of change over time, de Lubac manages to convey in a real sense the mental framework of the medieval exegete – and, in particular, the delicate balance between the literal and the mystical, and the interrelationship of both these aspects of Biblical interpretation.

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**MacCulloch**, Diarmaid, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (British History in Perspective), Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave, 2001; paper; pp. ix, 173; RRP US\$18.95; ISBN 0333921399.

Studies of the English Reformation are flourishing as shown by MacCulloch's select bibliography, which lists no fewer than 22 major publications in the 11 years since the first edition of this book in 1990. More popular books like Alison Weir's recent *Henry VIII* draw huge sales, and we may anticipate even more interest because the central questions have an uncanny relevance to modern ears: national identity, ideological changes that develop their own momentum and get out of hand, the volatile cocktail of politics religion and learning, vehement propaganda, wars, and fascinating windows into the minds of numerous individuals.

This second edition keeps to the 'general picture' of the first edition, but with the developments, refinements and nuances of MacCulloch's recent research – principally his *Thomas Cranmer: a life* (1996). Not surprisingly the most substantial changes to this edition are in chapter 2 'Protestant and Catholic Failure 1547–1558', a coherent general picture of those crucial 12 years, laid out with a chronological stateliness, and enlivened by neat turns of phrase, such as the way foreign Protestant refugees 'provided Cranmer both with welcome advice and unwelcome criticism of his programme'.

The argument is that Edwardian Protestantism was a carefully constituted masterpiece. Cranmer had led a team of 12 divines who wrote 12 set homilies, setting out the central themes of the evangelical doctrine of salvation and guidelines for the Christian life. Somerset's government ordered their use in every church. Cranmer again used language as a tool in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, particularly in the way the liturgy to reiterate that the Holy Communion was a thanksgiving and not a sacrifice or an event of adoration.

If MacCulloch is correct, Cranmer's cautious reforms were not the result of compromises between Catholic and Protestant theology, but part of his intention to construct, carefully and without national or international turbulence, an English and European religious commonwealth 'freed of Romish error'. For this reason he allowed the Continental Protestant refugees to London, the 'Strangers', to have almost no influence on the English Reformation.

The 1552 *Prayer Book* was the apogee of Protestant reform, together with the unratified 42 Articles, but Edwardian religious reform unleashed another wave of secular greed on church property, from chantry foundations to bells, episodes

possible based on piety but also possessing ‘an element of ambiguity’. These elements of ambiguity are re-examined in the section on Mary’s ‘struggle for Catholicism’. But here the ambiguities were far more damaging to the Catholic cause than they had been to Cranmer: too much confiscated monastic land was in the hands of Catholic families; papal obedience aroused lukewarm enthusiasm, and the papal legate Reginald Pole was rendered impotent either to rebuild or to reconcile. Incidentally, I think that MacCulloch underrates Pole’s knowledge of evangelical views and his sympathy for the Reformers; after all, in Italy he had been Protector of the Benedictine Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua whose monks had grappled deeply with Protestant – Catholic theological differences.

The last chapter is set in the final years of Elizabeth’s reign, by which time, he argues, the Church of England had effectively marginalised both Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants, ‘creating a new orthodoxy’. At this point MacCulloch has set the principled dissent of both Roman Catholics and strong Protestants against an unenthusiastic national reception of the Reformation. Contemporary Protestants held gloomy views of ‘low temperature’ religious observance, which may well have been an accurate reflection of social realities. Consequently, MacCulloch asks, how much influence did the Church have on the populace?

He suggests that the explanation may lie with the level of reading literacy required by Protestantism. There seems to have been a division between the poor, illiterate and ungodly, and the more prosperous, literate and godly section of the population. This division did not begin with the Reformation, but nevertheless it still may be part of the explanation for Elizabethan ‘low temperature’ religion. On the other hand, there were notable signs of lay piety – Geneva psalms were popular and catechisms were recited. Yet again, there was considerable popular attachment to the supernatural world of angels, demons and witches. There was official disapproval of such magical ideas, which leads MacCulloch to ask whether there really was an ‘alternative society’. He says that there is little evidence for it in church records and private papers, but he is still not sure. He has therefore raised yet another question to be answered.

This edition advances more strongly than ever MacCulloch’s earlier argument that the Elizabethan church was a long slow retreat from the Protestant apogee of the early 1550s and the Prayer Book of 1552. The church remained in a state of ‘arrested development’, and ‘although continental advances could sway the minds and hearts of the majority of the clergy and activist laity, they could not

proceed to move the structure any further forward from its idiosyncratic anchorage in the medieval past'. Thereafter the English church never dared to define itself as Protestant or Catholic, but instead has made a virtue out of necessity.

This second edition of *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* brings new refinements and nuances, mostly from his own research, but still a supplemented and polished version of the first version. On those grounds alone this edition is a considerable contribution to ongoing research.

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**Maxwell-Stuart, P. G., ed.,** *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999; cloth; pp. xvi, 241; RRP unknown; ISBN 0312217528 (cloth), 0312217536 (paper)

This is an excellent collection of sources which documents the extraordinary interest in what we now call occult studies or occult sciences in the Early Modern period. As Maxwell-Stuart comments in his brief introduction, in this period such studies were 'an intensely serious endeavour to uncover the secrets of nature (*occultas res naturae*) in order the better to understand the mind of God, and so prepare oneself in some measure for the fullness of knowledge (*scientia*) which would come with the soul's achieving the Beatific Vision'. The wide-ranging sources reproduced in the book exemplify the intellectual curiosity and religious fervour which characterised this endeavour.

Though the authors included are a necessarily small sample of those who wrote on subjects such as portents, dreams, divination, spirits and ghosts, possession, exorcism, superstition, astrology, Kabbalah, witchcraft, alchemy and the broad field of magic, they are nevertheless representative and provide the reader with a sense of the lively contemporary discourse concerning such topic. The most well-known authors whom one would expect to find in such a collection are certainly there: Ficino, Paracelsus, Agrippa, Giovanni Pico, Reuchlin, Bodin, Weyer, Cardano, Daneau, Lavater, Menghi, Del Rio, Bossuet, to name a few. But there are also those not so well known: Johannes Indagine with a fascinating extract on physiognomy; Carolus de Baucius on types of superstition; Benito Pereira on natural and unnatural magic; Adam of Bodenstein's graphic letter concerning his conversion from scepticism to appreciation of the true value of

alchemy; Denis Zacaire's detailed account of alchemical practice; Manuel do Valle de Moura's description of three magicians who dealt directly with demons; and Francesco Torreblanca Villalpando's commentaries on a wide range of magical subjects.

The collection is organised under four main chapters: a world of signs and spirits, astrology, magic and alchemy. The chapters on astrology and alchemy are most circumscribed, but also very revealing. The opinions on astrology range from Girolamo Cardano's description of it as 'beautiful in itself, an understanding of how lower things are linked with higher' (p. 68), the most noble of arts, the most lofty of the branches of knowledge (p. 83), to the fierce condemnation of judicial astrology by authors such as Calvin, Pico, Pithoys and Bossuet. However I find the first and third chapters most fascinating. The first exemplifies how the world was considered full of extraordinary signs and forces in this period, and how their source or appearance was identified with the stars, occult virtues, all kinds of spirits, with angels, demons or the divine. Indeed, in an gripping story which Cardano tells of his father (p. 34f.), the spirit-world takes on a terrifying and very palpable presence. The third chapter documents the range of magical techniques which were developed to tap into and exploit these forces, or alternatively, to protect individuals and communities from their evil effects. It points up the many forms magic takes, its close association with medicine, the support it drew from ancient magic as well as from esoteric traditions such as Jewish Kabbalah, and its increasingly frequent condemnation as a form of witchcraft.

The book is well produced and the translations remarkably lucid, especially given the difficulty of some of the material. I think that students would benefit more, however, if the brief introductions to extracts contained a little information on the work from which they were taken as well as on their authors. And given that several extracts from the same work or by the same author are located at different points through the collection, it would have been more user-friendly had this data been located in the one place in the book, say in a listing at the end. Even more importantly for student use, the list of sources would have been more useful if English translations as well as original editions been listed in the bibliography.

There are a number of small mistakes in the book. On p. 18, we have 'send' for 'sent'. The first name of the German writer Johannes Indagine is inexplicably given as the Italian Giovanni (p. 23) and his work *Chiromantia* is dated 1537, whereas the first edition appeared in 1531; while the author of the 1610 *Basilica Chymica*, Oswald Croll, is given a birth date of 1609, the actual

date of his death! Sometimes the brief introductions to authors and their works can be misleading – as in the case of Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, which is described as written in 1510 and published in 1531. A particular version was certainly written in 1510, and Book I of the three-book work ultimately published in 1533 was first published in 1531; but this was a quite different version to that written in 1510. It is almost inevitable that in such a vast enterprise some small errors will creep in. It is far more important to acknowledge the fundamental contribution which this collection will make to the positioning of the occult at the centre of Early Modern European culture.

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**O'Malley, John W., ed.,** *The Jesuits: Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999; cloth; pp. xix, 772; illustrated; RRP US\$80.00, £45.00; ISBN 0802042872.

This book recalls the unsettling fact that very often the historical questions we ask reflect our present history. Amidst the seeming dominance of globalised corporate culture, in 1997, the organisers of a conference at Boston College asked participants to consider two questions about the Society of Jesus, perhaps the first truly global corporation. Was there a 'Jesuit way of proceeding', and was there such a thing as 'Jesuit corporate culture'? The overall argument of the papers collected in this sumptuous book, that Jesuit 'style' evolved over time and through interaction with local conditions, should cause us to question our glib generalisations not only about the Jesuits but about recent 'globalisation'. The 35 essays are grouped into seven unequal sections. The first sets the Society in historiographical context, the others examine its Roman context, the cultural freight of its overseas missions, Jesuit interaction with indigenous cultural agency, the transformation of Jesuit intellectual culture over three centuries, and the impact of prose, music and art on conversion, while the last draws some conclusions while suggesting further inquiry. The overall tone of revisionist assault upon common assumptions about the Jesuits makes this an important book about some of the core issues of early modern cultural and intellectual history.

John O'Malley opens splendidly by surveying historiographical traditions about the Jesuits, particularly the transformation of historical questions in the last

20 years as research on the origins of Protestantism has perforce brought more attention to the Catholicism which encouraged it and the Catholicism which opposed it. Ironically his emphasis on the Jesuits as missionaries and educators for the Christian life, especially the Spiritual Exercises, the Constitutions, and their schools, highlights the one glaring absence from this collection, theology. The Society's 'substance' in saving souls thus appears neglected by comparison with the 'accidents' of the visual arts, including architecture, music, science, literature and casuistry which embellished that soteriological core. Gauvin Alexander Bailey surveys and attacks received arguments for an identifiable Jesuit style in the visual arts. He argues rather that the Jesuits adapted to circumstances and integrated much from local cultures, which Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Clare Robertson exemplify in subsequent essays. Marc Fumaroli describes Jesuit rhetorical education, emphasising its flexibility in framing all forms of knowledge, which explains the enormous Jesuit contribution to knowledge of geography and natural history in the absence of specific training in these areas. Humanist education also explains the diversity of Jesuit interest in indigenous languages and cultures as less the automatic response of an 'intellectual' Society than a structured way of looking at the world. This very adaptability of Jesuit education undermines the notion of a monolithic Jesuit culture, as Nicolas Standaert points out in discussing their nuanced adaptations to different regional cultures within China and in Japan. Qiong Zhang also shows how translators melded Confucian beliefs about human nature with very alien Aristotelian-Scholastic philosophical concepts.

Rivka Feldhay's introduction to the political, religious and institutional 'cultural fields' of Jesuit science, rather than setting the scene for subsequent papers, emphasises Christoph Clavius's impact in structuring Jesuit astronomy and Paul Guldin's strategic textual control over Jesuit mathematical knowledge. More valuable are Michael John Gorman's survey of Jesuit responses to the Galileo affair and the consequent denigration of Jesuit science adopted by Protestants in response to perceived incipient Jesuit rigidity. This perception, which has insidiously gripped the minds of many historians since, naturally did less than justice to the adaptability of Jesuit thought, as Marcus Hellyer's discussion of German Jesuit writings on physics reminds us. He argues for a gradual decline in Aristotelian orthodoxy and an emerging respect for experimental proof indistinguishable from other physicists – yet another example of Jesuits 'going native', despite their opposition to Copernicanism.

The remaining essays cannot be summarised in the space available, but their enormous bibliographical richness is easily accessed through a splendid index.

From their very mixed conclusions about the question of a distinctive Jesuit corporate 'style', a rather familiar story of the gap between the ambitions and the achievements of early modern institutions emerges. Within the predictable transformations of Jesuit culture over the two centuries of the 'Old Society', from its foundation in 1540 to its suppression in 1773, and within the geographical range of its missions, a functional process emerges. In relation to the Roman headquarters of the Order, Jesuits had to gain approval for their plans by conforming to the corporate orthodoxies of senior management. In relation to local circumstances they had to adapt to human diversity, partly because of their humanist and classical education, but mostly because the material limitations of time and money regularly compromised the grandiose ambitions of Head Office. The parallel for the modern university need not be laboured, though we might envy the Jesuits' comparative individual freedom within the conformist corporate body.

As an institutional study, this book re-evaluates the Jesuits in ways that raise many new issues for research, as the concluding essays point out. It especially caused this reader to reflect on the nature of Catholicism in England, and how the official English response to Jesuit missions has echoed in the insular indifference that many English historians still display towards the Jesuits. This richly textured book will make that insularity much harder to sustain in the future. Yet at the heart of the question whether there was any distinctive Jesuit culture lies the issue not discussed in this collection, and the one perhaps least accessible to modern historians. The interior spiritual formation of individual Jesuits, which made them such committed members of the Society, may in the end be their distinguishing characteristic, immune both to corporate orthodoxy and local contingency. Before the events of September 11 it seemed an open question whether our secular age was up to the task of exploring questions with such little resonance in our current history. But now our history is changed, and we must change with it.

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**Ormerod**, David and Christopher Wortham, eds., *Andrew Marvell: Pastoral and Lyric Poems 1681*, Nedlands, University of Western Australia Press, 2000; paper; pp. 1, 337; R.R.P. AUS\$38.45; ISBN 187626814X.

This new edition of a number of Marvell's poems is both outstanding and disappointing.

Outstanding is the scholarship displayed in the areas of commentary and annotation. The general introduction is excellent, as are the briefer prefaces to the groups of poems ('The Dialogues', 'The Amorous Poems', etc.) which the editors have chosen to present. There is an extraordinarily detailed bibliography which will prove helpful to numerous scholars and advanced students (undergraduates will probably find the entries too long). The editors – whose earlier edition of *Doctor Faustus* (1985) rightly attracted great praise – are truly fine scholars, and their knowledge of Marvell's poetry and matters related to it is massive. Other readers will be enormously grateful for the erudition and insight here brought to bear on explanation of the text, especially in the long, detailed notes which accompany each poem. Sometimes one might wish for notes a bit shorter and perhaps more directly to the point; there is a tendency to move rather too readily into consideration of what used to be called 'background' knowledge. For example, the phrase 'sea-monsters' in 'Bermudas' seems primarily an allusion to whales, and only secondarily to 'the Biblical Leviathan' with which the editors immediately start their comment. Even so, this book provides an important contribution to the knowledge and understanding of Marvell's poetry, and to much of the mental world which that poetry expresses.

I am a little unhappy with the title used. *Pastoral and Lyric Poems 1681* may well suggest to prospective buyers that there is a volume with this title, but there is not. Nor is the edition confined to pastoral and lyric poems from the 1681 *Miscellaneous Poems*, even though they are in the majority. It includes, for example, the 'Horatian Ode' (as part of a section called 'Elegy and Panegyric'). So, of course, should any sensible edition of Marvell's poetry, but the poem is neither pastoral nor lyrical, and the editors should have chosen a title like *Selected Poems*, especially as many more poems might have been presented. However, it is probably fair to say that this edition does offer us most of Marvell's finest poetic work.

It comes as a disappointment, then, to find the text much less satisfactory, and that fact would make it impossible for me to set this volume as a student text. Indeed, I could not in all conscience recommend it for attention to anyone

except fellow scholars who are prepared to do comparative work by consulting the work of other editors, and of course the 1681 *Miscellaneous Poems* on which the text is based. Other readers would be best advised to use, as a modernised text, the Penguin *Complete Poems* edited by Elizabeth Story Donno (1972; henceforth 'D'), or, if they wish to consult an 'old-spelling' edition, that of H. M. Margoliouth's *Poems and Letters* (Oxford University Press, 1971, 3rd ed., rev. Pierre Legouis).

The editors repunctuate the 1681 text 'in order to obtain, in a non-Empsonian sense [*sic*], one single unambiguous literal meaning' (p. v). I am all in favour of clear, modern punctuation, such as presumably the author would approve of if alive today. But what do we get? The end of 'The Garden' is presented like this:

How could such sweet and wholesome hours  
Be reckoned but with herbs and flowers.

Here we have, I am convinced, a punctuation mark Marvell would *not* approve of, and I have difficulty understanding how anyone could. Undoubtedly, this sentence is a question. Often this fact has been expressed by – acceptably enough – an exclamation mark at the end (a tradition followed by D), but a question mark, as in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, Vol. 1 (6th ed., 1993), is obviously better. A full stop is either incomprehensible, or suggests a kind of ambiguity we can well do without. This instance is not unique. A similar unwise full stop occurs in the same poem at lines 10 and 60.

There are several instances where the use of a full stop suggests that a sentence has finished when it is essential for a reader to see that it has not. Thus at the end of l. 20 of 'The Definition of Love', or ll. 28 and 80 of the 'Horatian Ode'. It should be stressed that such instances are not a matter of subjective opinion, but of sense or non-sense. Sometimes strange punctuation marks are not as damaging, but look clumsy and ungrammatical to such an extent that one would correct them in a student essay: thus 'Thou, by' in 'To His Coy Mistress' (l. 5), should be 'Thou by', and l. 19 should have, not 'For lady', but 'For, lady'.

In some instances sense is really very difficult to find. 'Bermudas', ll. 19-20, occurs in D (and elsewhere) as follows: '[God] does in the pom'granats close/ Jewels more rich than Ormus shows'. I take this to mean: 'God encloses within the pomegranates jewels (i.e. seeds) richer than those shown by Hormuz (even though that is famous for the gems it trades)'. The sense gets lost completely in this new edition, which has '[God] does, in the pomegranate's close, / Jewels more rich than Ormus show's'. Not the least of the difficulties

here – and the editors leave it unexplained – is what, in this interpretation, *close* would mean, which surely is a verb depending on *does* (not a noun meaning ‘enclosed place’, as the reference is to what is *revealed*). The structure ‘does ... show’s’ is inherently forced and un-English.

Something needs to be said about the handling of Marvell’s prosody in this text. It is regularly obscured and violated. Conventionally, l. 44 of ‘To His Coy Mistress’ has contained ‘Thorough the iron grates of life’, not ‘Through ...’. ‘Thorough’ is essential, not optional, as we need eight syllables within the overall prosodic scheme, and the line as it has come down to us not only has those syllables, but appropriately starts with a ‘weak’ one. Nor are the editors consistent about the matter, for in the ‘Horatian Ode’ they correctly have ‘through’ in l. 11, but ‘thorough’ in l. 15. The 1681 text – which the editors unjustly consider ‘corrupt’ (p. xix) – is most punctilious about matters like this. This is not least the case with respect to syllabic versus non-syllabic *ed* as a verbal ending. Thus, in the ‘Horatian Ode’, for example, we should have, as modernised forms, ‘armèd’ in l. 55 and ‘forcèd’ in l. 66, not ‘armed’ and ‘forced’, which modern readers will automatically, but wrongly, pronounce as monosyllables. D maintains distinctions like this religiously, and similarly precisely prints e.g. ‘flow’rs’ in line 7 of ‘The Garden’ where Ormerod and Wortham have ‘flowers’.

In short, then, this is an edition of a very uneven nature. Much of it is very distinguished, but one hopes the editors will thoroughly revise the text of the poems for a future reprint.

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**Perry**, Curtis, ed., *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 5), Turnhout, Brepols, 2001; paper; pp. xxiv, 246; 16 b/w illustrations; RRP EUR50.00; ISBN 2503510744.

In the words of its editor Curtis Perry, this collection of essays marks a ‘return to the hard facts of material culture in order to critique and revise received critical paradigms’ (p. x).

By ‘hard facts’ Perry seems to mean that most of these essays call on a world of things that can be touched and seen as a means of understanding that

which cannot – the imagined world of ideas so central to more traditional critical modes. Overall, the essays assembled here *do* substantiate this claim while also presenting several different ‘materialisms’ that collectively challenge the assumptions of existing critical practice.

Despite a plurality of approaches and a broad chronology, there is an undeniable sense of cohesion here. What unifies the collection is the willingness of its various authors to openly confront the challenges faced by materialist criticism. Identifiable in almost every essay is the issue of how to account for cultural production on the basis of financial, property, labour and class issues, *prior* to the ascendancy of widespread capitalism.

These concerns come together wonderfully in Alan M. Stahl’s essay ‘The Venetian Mint in the Age of the Black Death’. Stahl offers an interesting account of how civic policing in medieval Italy coped when material realities impacted on the day-to-day functioning of the state. In this case, Stahl examines how the Venetian council managed to keep a steady, manageable production of coins going in the face of a plague-induced labour shortage. Of central concern to Stahl is to draw attention to the materiality of money itself, as opposed to the abstract terms in which we usually refer to it, because of its omnipresent status as a system of valuation in our world.

Stahl’s essay is complemented by Joerg O. Fichte’s “‘For coueitise after cros; the crown staut in golde’”: Money as Matter and Metaphor in *Piers Plowman*’. Fichte too draws attention to money as a material object, which in turn helps uncover its true significance as metaphor in *Piers Plowman*. Fichte emphasises the increasing importance of money in successive revisions of the poem. The overall effect is a clear exposition of the fact that money is not simply a material agent of valuation in Langland’s work, but something that alludes to and codifies other less tangible forms of reciprocity and exchange.

Other essays in the collection that deal effectively with the image of material objects in literary texts include William Joshua Phillips’s ‘Staking Claims to Utopia: Thomas More, Fiction and Intellectual Property’. Focussed on the 1551 English translation of More’s *Utopia*, the essay resituates the text amid the changing print culture of England, and an emerging sense of writing as ‘property’. Written in Latin for a select intellectual minority, More’s *Utopia* received popular circulation once translated and became an almost self-fulfilling prophecy of its own egalitarian social content. Complementing Phillips’s essay is Christopher Warley’s “‘The English straine’”: Absolutism, Class and Drayton’s *Ideas*, 1594-1619’. Through Drayton, Warley shows how the function and public persona of

the sonneteer changed over time in Early Modern England, especially after the sonnet boom of the early 1590s. The essay looks closely at Drayton's revisions, through which there develops an increasingly authoritarian literary persona, protective of his literary property.

While the best essays in this collection tend to be those based on the analysis of literary texts, Jonathan J. G. Alexander's "'The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker": Images of Urban Labour, Manufacture and Shopkeeping from the Middle Ages' offers a wonderful exception. Despite his particular focus on illustrations, Alexander manages a successful theoretical commentary on the ways and means of accurately assessing how all the arts bridge the gap between representation and practice.

Other essays concerned with theoretical practice include R. Malcolm Smuts's 'Material Culture, Metropolitan Influences and Moral Authority in Early Modern England' which actively combats the notion that the emergence of Early Modern England was driven by metropolitan development and the simultaneous decline of rural, feudal culture. Equally impressive is Kathy M. Krause's 'The Material Erotic: The Clothed and Unclothed Female Body in the *Roman de la violette*' which continues an important mode of recent investigation into the materiality of the human body. The difficulties of historical analysis are taken up in Lisa H. Cooper's excellent essay 'Chivalry, Commerce and Conquest: Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London*'. Cooper looks at the play's (and our) attempts to negotiate competing notions of how to evaluate class and social status in an historically distant culture like early modern London.

The final essay, Douglas Bruster's 'The New Materialism in Renaissance Studies' should be essential reading for anyone familiar with Bruster's influential 1992 study *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*. Here, Bruster offers an overview of the history of materialist criticism, including an attack on what he calls the fragmentary 'new materialism' of the last decade, led by people such as Patricia Fumerton and Debora Shuger. Their emphasis on the 'everyday' is, for Bruster, a form of materialism that makes an unnecessary break with the more marxist-based principles of previous material practice by focussing too narrowly on the material object, divorced from the historical circumstances that produced it.

Overall, the collection fulfils many of its aims simply by presenting essays on medieval and Early Modern culture in a single volume. One of the central precepts of materialist criticism of the Renaissance has been to prove that the emergence of a distinct 'early modern' world relied on a newly emergent sense

of the materiality of culture. The editor's desire to 'critique and revise received critical paradigms' (p. x) is therefor achieved here through the inclusion of essays that clearly show a similar cultural awareness identifiable in much earlier modes of cultural production.

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**Prest**, Wilfred, ed., *British Studies into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perspectives and Practices*, Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1999; paper; pp. vi, 118; RRP AUS\$29.95; ISBN 1875606696.

This slim volume, published in 1999, is a selection of papers on British Studies given by Australian and New Zealand scholars at conferences held in 1997 and 1998. During the gap of three or four years between the conferences and the present review, some changes prognosticated by the papers have come to pass, and others have not.

Wilfred Prest's introductory definition of 'British Studies' observes that 'British' no longer includes Britain alone but now includes the 'Atlantic archipelago' and former colonial possessions. Consequently, within the national identities of former colonies the term 'British' may also mean 'non-British'. Prest also observes that 'British Studies', once predominantly historical now include broadly cultural topics.

Mary Griffiths believes that an interdisciplinary approach to British Studies in Australia will avoid both nostalgia and the 'amnesia' of rejection of the past, building new and culturally positive relations between Australia and Britain. Following Foucault, she argues that studying our past develops our capacity to change the way we have been shaped, but Griffiths' enthusiastic description in 1998 of a new republican dawn shows that the flux of history may divert the most confident prognostications. In Romania, free of the need to shape such identities, Ioana Petrescu describes how traditional textual studies of Old English have been joined by modern developments in, for example, psycho-analysis and the English language.

Lloyd Davis suggests that Australian scholars adopt new post-colonial approaches to the British literary canon. Following Greenblatt, he anticipates a resolution of the tension between ideological identity produced by power relations,

and our freedom of self-creation. Davis clearly expects self-creative new knowledge and enlightenment to achieve radical social reforms, as implied by the ‘theoretical and pedagogical innovation’ of his title. If his intention is to ‘to inspire critical debate’ (rather than dragoon into radical righteousness), it is welcome.

Robert Phiddian wants British Studies to turn to philology (or rhetoric) for the love of the English language. He argues that a movement of English literature away from literary criticism to creative writing would engender intelligent, clear communication. Although Phiddian does not say so, his argument combines Newman on the idea of the university and Juan Luis Vivès on rhetoric as the elegant shaping of personal perceptions and understanding. There is a similar sense of elegant analysis shown by Patrick Allington and Lenore Coltheart in a study of the stately home ‘Carrick Hill’, built during the late 1930s as an Arcadian English idyll in South Australia. Their account of evolving perceptions of heritage might have included a brief reference to Henry Lawson’s poem ‘Riley’s Run’, a nationalistic rejection of English Arcadian dreams.

John Pocock’s essay is more directly historical, and admirably employs the much-neglected historical tools of paradox and interaction. He places Irish history within, yet not within, British history, and observes that, for the British, government of themselves and of others was seen as the same thing. Because British history embraces both Britain and others with whom they interact, it is therefore an expanding and evolving discipline, and continues to shape the present.

Judith Richards has written an *apologia pro vita sua* with sharp wit, at times finely acerbic. Her question whether it is valid to teach Tudor and Stuart history is answered by high enrolments and the way her students gain new understandings of Australia’s social and political foundations: the functions and necessity of parliaments, the episodes of absolutist power, natural rights, the powerful input of Anglo-Celtic ideas, energy and traditions. Students are assisted by what E. P. Thompson called the ‘English peculiarity’ – principles expressed in empirical language rather than abstract ideas. Richards concludes that Australian students both want and need Tudor and Stuart history because the British brought to Australia not only convicts, but also political principles.

Wilfred Prest rebuts the popular myth that before 1972 schools did not teach Australian history, and he regrets that ‘those who control the classrooms’ are taking the study of history out of schools – a trend that since then has begun to change. He recalled Kathleen Fitzpatrick’s famous lectures in Tudor history, and deplores Anglophobia amongst academics, journalists and others – an unpleasant xenophobia even more prominent during the constitutional referendum of 1999.

Prest finishes with an optimistic forecast of a renewed appreciation of British history in Australia and New Zealand. He detects a stronger sense that historically 'British' comprised an amalgam of identities, including Australian, he observes that recent historiography shows that relations between Britain and its colonial periphery was more mutual and reciprocal, and less controlled by London, and he expects that the slow move to constitutional separation will diminish anti-British sentiments. What I observe of students in the two years since he wrote suggests that his analysis is accurate.

Marie Peters writes the last essay on the concept of sovereignty as it developed in Britain and extended to the colonies during the eighteenth century. The absolute sovereignty of 'king-in-parliament' was a practical tool, which secured cohesion in the body politic, especially in times of social and political change. She argues that because this constitutional concept is not necessarily tied to territory or identity, it could be used as a concept of absolute sovereignty over a diverse nation to acknowledge separate legal systems (as with Scotland), and it could acknowledge the separate claims of indigenous people. As she observes, 'we must practice a sovereignty appropriate to such a community. And there are tools in our European inheritance to help us do so'.

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**Scott, Kathleen L., ed.,** *An Index of Images In English Manuscripts From the Time of Chaucer to Henry VIII: The Bodleian Library, Oxford. Vol. II, MSS Dodsworth-Marshall.* London, Harvey Miller Publishers, 2001; board; pp. 192; 24 b/w illustrations; RRP £35.00; ISBN 187250115X.

This is the second volume of a three-part survey of the English manuscripts held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The focus is the listing and identifying of all illustrations found in these works from the time of Chaucer to that of Henry VIII. Ultimately, the plan is to have produced a comprehensive list of all such images. The general editor is Kathleen Scott, who also produced the 1996 *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490* volume of Harvey Miller's important *Survey of Manuscripts Illustrated in the British Isles*, as well as studies on the Caxton Master and the Bodleian illustrated version of *Piers Plowman*. In this work she is assisted by a team of three other scholars: Lynda Dennison, Martha W. Driver and Ann Eljenhom Nichols.

In this fascicle the collections covered are from Dodsworth to Marshall. Each manuscript is listed in order of its catalogue number and reference is also made to the earlier work by Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Because of the definition used as to what constitutes an English manuscript, some works in the *Index* are not found in Pächt and Alexander. The definition is based on the nationality of the scribe and of the appearance of minor decoration such as borders and initials that are in an English style. The nationality of the miniaturist is not taken into account because illustrators are known to have worked both in Continental Europe and in England, and there were considerable cross-cultural influences in style and iconography. Thus both English and Continental illustrations may be included. The basis for exclusion is on the script, decorative initials or both of these factors.

The work is accompanied by a lengthy user's manual that explains both the selection of manuscripts and the layout of each entry. It is intended that almost every image found in the manuscripts be included with the exception of such things as non-representational diagrams and crosses that occur in liturgical manuscripts to instruct the priest to make a sign of benediction. Thus this is a far more comprehensive selection than most such works, as it includes minor decoration such as ascenders and *nota bene* signs, such as pointing fingers. In addition to the entries themselves, there is also substantial indices for Authors and Texts and Pictorial Subjects.

This is an extremely useful text and the entire series will be of immense help to manuscript scholars specializing in this field.

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**Semler, L. E., ed.,** *Eliza's Babes: or The Virgin's Offering (1652)*, London, Associated University Presses, 2001; cloth; pp. 202; 2 b/w illustrations; RRP £30.00; ISBN 0-8386-3872-4.

*Eliza's Babes* is a collection of poetry and prose meditations published anonymously by 'a lady, who onely desires to advance the glory of God, and not her own' (title page, reproduced as frontispiece) in 1652. Since that date, it has not been republished until this edition by L. E. Semler. The scholarly original-spelling critical edition is a useful one, not only because it puts 'Eliza' – or rather, her

writing – back into visibility where she belongs, but also because it is lavishly annotated and includes an interesting introduction. Semler concludes his introduction with the statement that ‘[i]t is the interfusion of the genres of spiritual experience, devotional verse and Protestant meditation with one another and with the overarching aesthetic design of the text that makes *Eliza’s Babes*, with no exaggeration, a highly valuable literary work’ (p. 43).

The introduction discusses the historical contexts of the collection in the Interregnum, ranging widely across legal, political, and religious writings of the period (as does the annotation) in an attempt to place ‘Eliza’s’ theological stance. Once Semler has concluded that *Eliza’s Babes* is ‘theologically grounded...in the Presbyterianizing of Anglican doctrine’, however, he goes on to add that ‘the very essence of [‘Eliza’s’] Puritanism lies in the vigorous living out of this faith’ (p. 21). The text, in Semler’s view, ‘is the enactment of a pun...a “publication” of salvation, of the truth’ (p. 21). Its discourse is peppered with terms of compulsion not necessarily negative, over against its author’s fears of ‘the censure of the world’; clearly those fears of the censure of her writing are bound up with her gender. Semler draws our attention to a variety of references throughout ‘Eliza’s’ work and that of others such as Anna Trapnel and Jane Turner, which reveal the difficulties faced by ‘the female saint going public’ (p. 24). The anonymity of the printed text becomes one way of negotiating the barrier to women’s publishing: ‘for Eliza, the transition to publicity is simultaneously a transition to personal invisibility’ (p. 23). Semler argues that the plain style of the poetry is linked with this: ‘it is the message that is important, not the teller nor his [*sic*] oratorical skill’ (p. 31), although he also argues that her poetry occasionally makes use of the language of Neoplatonic contemplation, and occasionally also emulates the vocabulary, form and tone of Herbert and Herrick.

*Eliza’s Babes* revivifies a well-used literary trope, the trope of poetry as literary childbirth, which is discussed by Semler in relation to the paradigm of marriage to Christ. The early poetry marks out ‘Eliza’s’ rejection of earthly marriage, with its ‘supposed “strife” for a woman’, since she sees her ultimate freedom in heavenly marriage. This idea continues in her poems about her actual marriage, where she deviates from the orthodox positions on the good wife. Semler records, for example, that she represents herself less as god’s ‘gift’ than merely ‘lent’ to her husband; ‘the earthly [husband] must submit to the claims of the prior and superior heavenly husband’ (p. 34). Nor will she remain silent, and she ‘struggles...with the charge of being proud’ (p. 35). Semler points to the way she (like Anna Trapnel, although less explicitly) models herself on the

apostle Paul, so that 'it is a Pauline confidence and theology that enables her to rise above Pauline restrictions' on women's independence (p. 36).

'Eliza' makes use of prose meditation in much the same way as she makes use of poetry; both 'arise from the same meditative framework...and, therefore, assist in the same project of weaning herself from the world and its comforts and confirming her union with Christ' (p. 39). Once again, Semler provides us with a wide range of analogues, from Quarles to Lancelot Reynolds, Joseph Hall to Richard Sibbes. However, such comparisons also suggest differences; so, for example, Semler sees her prose meditations as writing 'her own specific, lived, godly practice', revealing various aspects of her biography, in a manner quite unlike the 'impersonal, general models' of Sibbes or Reynolds (p. 41). Here we have the 'interfusion of the genres of spiritual experience, devotional poetry and Protestant meditation' that Semler sees as the value of this text.

Semler's annotations largely add Biblical references or contemporary analogues which help to situate *Eliza's Babes* firmly in their spiritual context. Semler is not afraid of adding his own questions without attempting an answer, such as 'Is Eliza referring to a specific event?' (p. 175). There are certain infelicities, however; I think, for example, of the phrase 'Eliza means that...', which attributes intention somewhat naively, in my view. The method of indicating textual notes vs commentary seems rather unusual – textual notes (which largely consist of obvious typographic mistakes, like 'blessedt' for 'blessed') precede commentary in the normal way, with the emended reading followed by the original reading divided by a square bracket. But commentary simply uses italics for the reading, indented after the first instance or an initial general comment, followed by a full-stop rather than a square bracket.

Very occasionally, annotations of the prose meditations (which do not have line numbers) have got out of order, as for example on p. 180, for the meditation '*On ECCLES. 9.7. Goe eat thy bread with joy, &c.*'. Also occasionally, a line of text in italics has been misplaced as a title of a new meditation, centred on the page and set off from the comment that follows it, as on p. 183, '*My God! I will not...good on earth*'. Apart from such literal errors, the annotation is relatively full and accurate. The one aspect that, in my view, could have done with further comment, in either annotation or introductory remarks, is 'Eliza's' shifting use of pronouns, which makes for some confusion at times. For example, *thee* and *thou* in 'My Second Part' refer variously to God and to (elect) women in general (and more specifically to herself). This leads to ambiguity in one instance: 'For thou [God] alone that blisse canst send. / For should our Husbands love fixt be /

Upon some others, not on thee. [God? women?] / Heavens Prince will never thee [women / “Eliza”] forsake, / But still his darling will thee make’. In this instance, that ambiguity is compounded by the full-stop that follows ‘not on thee’. But there is no textual note or comment to this passage.

This edition brings yet another of those unheard women’s voices back into audibility, in print, at a time when, as Semler states (p. 13), the need to understand its early modern piety, the piety of a distinctly protestant, even puritan, woman, makes this kind of scholarly annotation both desirable and necessary.

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**Smythe**, Dion C., ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider; Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 8), Aldershot, Ashgate/Variorum, 2000; cloth; pp. x, 269; 14 b/w illustrations; RRP £45.00; ISBN 0860788148.

Commendably the annual British Byzantine Spring Symposia are now regularly published. In the first of 18 papers Margaret Mullett (Belfast) provides an introduction which balances theory with wide-ranging examples and many references to recent scholarly literature. Everyone is an outsider in relation to the networks of others, and definitions depend on the kind of labelling used. We, outsiders to Byzantium, must remember that we are also ‘strangers to ourselves’.

The papers have been grouped primarily by subject matter, with four focusing on monasticism and one on the otherworld, four on distinct groups, women, Jews and traders, five on the provinces and the capital, and two on foreigners.

Monasticism entails an act of detachment. McGuckin argues that this notion, deriving from Stoicism, was coupled by Evagrius Ponticus with silent reflection, while remaining a preliminary to authoritative discourse. For John Climacus *xeniteia* was only the third step on the ladder of ascent to the divine. Rutherford asks what doctrinal questions interested monastic communities outside of the Trinitarian and Christological issues. Her examples are the fifth-century Diadochos of Photike, concerned with the kinship of the soul with God and the practice of prayer, and the eleventh-century Paul, founder of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis monastery in Constantinople whose florilegium, based

on the desert fathers and early writers on prayer, was for centuries a sourcebook for ascetics. What may appear to us mere *topoi* provided useful guidelines, Orthodoxy only a context. Jordan compares the *Typikon* of John, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of the Forerunner at an unknown Phoberou, with its model, the *typikon* of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. John, who refounded his monastery in 1112, placed greater emphasis on fasting and the evils of sexual temptation. \_ev\_enko sees the desert fathers from a new perspective, not as outsiders but as intruders into the world of the desert. Here they learnt to coexist with, and even have the companionship of, its animal population, including lions, still found then in Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

Baun takes two texts of the Macedonian period, the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* and the *Apocalypse of Anastasia* which significantly alter the late antique genre in which male Biblical figures visit the 'otherworld'. A woman, the Virgin, intercedes for the sinners, but Christ grants little or no respite from their gruesome punishments, the worst of which are reserved for corrupt government and ecclesiastical figures. This vision of hell would correspond to contemporary Byzantine prison conditions and the punishments, including mutilation, were already evident in the *Ekloga* and the laws of Basil I. The futile efforts of the Theotokos would indicate a desperate protest against the Byzantine penal code. Beaucamp covers ground she knows well, mustering the evidence of Byzantine canon law for women's exclusion from the priesthood, the sanctuary, even from the church during menstruation, and from communion during confinement. Canon law relating to women was framed from the point of view of the man.

de Lange examines the Byzantine Jews' sense of identity c.1000 to 1200. Indistinguishable, he believes, in appearance, they were subject to some legal restrictions and distinguished by their religious rites and expanding Hebrew culture. Jacobsohn describes the distinctive low two-storeyed tombs with half-cylinder 'roof' found in 1994 in the old Jewish cemetery of Chalkis in Euboea and dating from across the Ottoman period. Earlier examples elsewhere lack the deep recess in the western, short end of the tomb concealing at the back an inscribed epitaph.

Jacoby sees Byzantine traders paradoxically as outsiders within the Empire, since the Empire's élite considered trade a lowly occupation. But they were also outsiders because they lacked the privileges and exemptions granted to their Italian rivals. The situation became more complex with intermarriage with resident Italians and changes to citizen status in both directions. Magdalino observes that the Byzantine idea of an outsider was someone who did not belong within Constantinople. Constantinople had increasingly become the focus with

the loss of the east to the Turks, while the growth of provincial centres in the twelfth century enabled the Empire to weather the loss of the city to the Latins. Recent prosopographies should help us flesh out this picture. Beaton shows how in the novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*, the Hellenistic pattern is broken in which characters leave the familiar and become outsiders in some exotic and threatening environment. Instead the hero and heroine are mostly in the familiar world of biographical or historical time and only briefly enter 'adventure time' which now mirrors their own world except for their change in status from free to slave.

Jeffreys examines lexical clusters connected with the words *xenos* and *monos* in the earliest manuscript versions of *Digenis Akritis* of c.1300 and 1480 which would have behind them a lost proto-*Digenis*. In one to be a *xenos* is to be outside a supportive family unit. In both texts for a woman to be *mone* is cause for concern, whereas *Digenis*, living alone, appears an heroic figure. Roueché solves the problem of there being three or four men whom Kekaumenos calls *pappos*, of whom two were foreigners who fought successfully against Byzantium. These 'grandfathers' are introduced merely as protagonists in a story. Other foreigners, the Vlachs, Kekaumenos damns in what must be a rhetorical exercise, consistent with a writer indebted to Hellenistic models. Byzantine manuals of education and admonition, like Kekaumenos', made Hellenism or Romanitas, not ethnicity, the key to cultural acceptance.

Greatrex doubts Procopius' *Secret History* was either anomalous or an exercise in blame. The material could have been incorporated in the *Wars* had Justinian died prior to its publication, just as it included criticism of John the Cappadocian following his demise. Criticism occurs in the works of his contemporary, John the Lydian, and the histories of his successors. Procopius need not have been either a senator or a conspirator to express hostility to the regime.

Stephenson accounts for the way Bulgarians ceased to be called 'Scythians', but did not become 'Romans' after the annexation of Bulgaria in 1018, and the Pechenegs, who moved into Bulgaria in the 1070s, were transformed from wild beasts into men once recognised by a treaty under Alexios. Ancient geographical names were applied in the areas of conquest to bolster the empire's facade of immutability.

Robin Cormack's 'Afterword' is a synopsis of a volume which should 'splinter the monolithic image of Byzantium'.

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**Stock, Brian**, *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001; cloth; pp. 132; RRP US\$32.50; ISBN 0812236025.

Augustine never ceases to generate enthusiasm from a wide range of readers, for many different reasons. Brian Stock is interested in him not as a theologian, but as a theorist of meditative reading, responsible for developing the idea that it is by reading narrative texts, in particular the text of sacred scripture, that we gain insight into the ethical life. In this slim little book, more a collection of essays than a monograph, Stock traces how Augustine's understanding of reading both drew on and differed from that of the ancients, and then gradually shifted in the Latin West through Petrarch's own re-reading of the Augustinian legacy. Brian Stock's intellectual journey is characterised by a long-standing preoccupation with notions of text and interpretation. In these lectures, he extends ideas originally developed in *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Harvard University Press, 1996) into reflection on the theory of meditative reading that Augustine inspired. This is an engaging, provocative book that is worth reading for anybody engaged with broader issues about the character of the Western tradition.

Stock is fully familiar with that grand philological tradition represented by Auerbach and Curtius, for whom Western cultural identity was to be found in the story of continuity and change in language. He loves the Latin medieval tradition, but is aware that their philological vision is in potentially terminal decline. His way of revisiting that tradition is to focus not on language per se, but to see reading as a path to a way of living. Fascinated by Pierre Hadot's *Philosophy as a way of life: spiritual exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Blackwell, 1995), he sees Augustine as transforming this philosophical attention by an attention to the truth-telling power of narrative, in a way that effectively transformed the classical tradition with which he was so familiar.

Inevitably, the essay-type format of *After Augustine* runs the risk of encouraging impressionistic assertions rather than carefully argued analysis. The best sections are those on Augustine's theory of reading and on Petrarch's re-working of the *Confessions* in his *Secretum*. The potential criticism that could be made of these lectures is that they flit from one text to another, without ever engaging in any depth. Stock simply sidesteps the theological ideas that Augustine sees as underpinning the narrative of sacred scripture. His sympathy is more for the meditative reflections of the *Confessions*, than for the authoritative assertions of Augustine's *City of God*.

Stock argues that a concern with intentionality behind a text first begins to surface in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Adopting a quite traditional stance that this is the age of new awareness of individual identity, he mentions, but does not develop the claim that this new age begins with Otloh of Emmeram (ca. 1010-70). While he comments on Abelard's *Historia calamitatum* as attesting to a new degree of intentionality, the prologue to the *Sic et Non* would have provided a more important clue to the way in which Abelard shifted Augustinian paradigms of reading, by appealing to Aristotelian dialectic.

Stock's comparison of Augustine and Petrarch is more satisfying in being based on specific text. Whereas Augustine presents reading as serving a higher end, Petrarch reads Augustine's *Confessions* as autobiography, thus making him the first 'modern' author. I suspect that Petrarch on Augustine is a metaphor for the author himself, similarly engaged in a never-ending dialogue with the master. The final chapters of this little book are chronologically confusing. He moves from Petrarch to More's *Utopia*, contrasted with Augustine's *City of God*, and then reflects on an apparent transition in the High Middle Ages from *lectio divina* (meditative reflection based on scripture) to *lectio spiritualis* (meditation on mental images, inspired by a wide range of reading). He sees this transition as prefiguring a move away from monastic concentration on scripture to a more highly personalised form of meditative reading, given a new twist by Petrarch. While Stock acknowledges that he does not wish to be too schematic about this division, he is postulating a transition that is difficult to prove with any degree of authority.

Part of the difficulty here is that so much more work needs to be done on the notion of *lectio divina*, that such quick claims about *lectio spiritualis* must remain highly conjectural. Stock clearly likes the idea of *lectio spiritualis*, as a form of reading that is about philosophical formation, but that is not tied to scripture alone. I would suggest that Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon* provides a key source for developing the idea that meditation was based not just on scripture, but on a wide range of reading. The gulf between Hugh and Abelard in their attitude to reading suggests that there was never any agreement in the High Middle Ages about how reading should be undertaken. The true legacy of Augustine was surely this disagreement, rather than any single trajectory.

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**Stubbs**, Estelle, ed., *The Hengwrt Chaucer Digital Facsimile: Research Edition*. Leicester, Scholarly Digital Editions, 2000; 1 CD-ROM; RRP £70.00/US\$130 (individual buyers), £150/US\$240 (institutional and library buyers); ISBN 0953961001.

The Canterbury Tales Project, under the general editorship of Norman Blake and Peter Robinson, has been revolutionising Chaucer studies since the appearance of an electronic edition of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* in 1996. The aim of the project has been to present every one of the surviving pre-1500 witnesses to the *Canterbury Tales*, whether manuscript or printed, in a form suitable for advanced textual research. This has meant going beyond the obvious advantages of the electronic form – full transcriptions and digital images of each witness – to provide more analytical materials, particularly databases of word forms and occurrences in each witness, both regularised and un-regularised. All these materials have been extensively inter-linked to enable browsing and searching. Software normally employed in genetics has also been used to analyse the textual tradition and to produce stemmata. All these features were well demonstrated in the recent edition of the *General Prologue*, edited by Elizabeth Solopova (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

The latest addition to this corpus of material takes a rather different approach. It contains the whole of a single manuscript – Hengwrt – rather than many witnesses to a single section of the *Canterbury Tales*, and uses new software called Anastasia to present the text. At the heart of this edition are colour images of each page of the manuscript, accompanied by diplomatic transcriptions of Hengwrt and of the Ellesmere manuscript for comparison. A range of supplementary materials is also provided, including a detailed description of the manuscript (by Daniel Mosser), an essay on the language of the scribe (by Simon Horobin) and a study of Hengwrt (by Estelle Stubbs).

The power of this edition comes from the sophisticated ways in which the corpus of interlinked materials can be displayed and navigated. Any given section of the text can be viewed in various forms: as image, as image with transcription, or as parallel Hengwrt and Ellesmere transcriptions. Even the underlying SGML-based text encoding (using TEI) can be seen if required. Images can be displayed as a single page, or as an opening (facing pages), or as conjugates (two pages on the same side of a sheet). They can be viewed at sizes from 25% to 200%, with 50% as the default, and a magnifying glass can be used to enlarge sections of a page. The user can browse, either by going sequentially page by page, or by picking from a list of sections and tales or from a list of quires, or by going directly to a

specific page number. The Hengwrt transcription can be searched for words or phrases, and searches can be limited to specific areas of the text.

The presentation and navigation of this edition have managed to outstrip even the high standards set by the previous *Canterbury Tales* Project publications. Not only are the images marvellously clear and the transcription very accurate, but there are also numerous unobtrusive ways in which the materials are made easier to use. I particularly liked the visual assistance provided: the diagram for each page showing its place in a quire, the colour-coded analysis of the different inks used, the highlighting of variants in red in the parallel transcriptions, the 'keyword in context' display of search results, and the colour-coded listing of the different orders of the tales in the two manuscripts. The different navigation panels for the whole edition and for each page are clear and concise and easy to follow.

The ability to search and analyse the text is satisfactory, but less sophisticated than in the previous publications. Though this is mainly the result of the different aims of this edition, there are a few significant limitations: only the Hengwrt transcription can be searched (not the Ellesmere), while the restriction of wildcards to right truncation makes it difficult to allow for spelling variants (such as 'lycour' versus 'licour'). Limiting a search to a specific area of the text requires an understanding of the SGML encoding.

The Hengwrt Chaucer comes in two versions, the Research Edition (reviewed here) and a simplified Standard Edition. The latter contains only the key elements of the edition: the same images but at lower resolution (100 dpi), the transcription of the Hengwrt manuscript and the editorial materials. It does not include the collation with the Ellesmere manuscript, and does not have the search engine and the navigational tool.

The Research Edition runs on both Macintosh and Windows computers. It uses Web browser software as the interface – either Netscape or Internet Explorer (5.0 is recommended), though there are some minor problems with Netscape. PCs must have Windows 95 or a later version, but some (and possibly most) Windows 95 users will have to download a 'Winsock2' upgrade from the Web and install it before the CD-ROM will run. Macintosh users must configure their machine to run as a local Web server. The instructions for doing this are provided with the CD-ROM and are fairly straightforward; the Remote Access/PPP system software must have previously been installed. System requirements include a 1024x768 screen, 24-bit colour and 64 MB of RAM.

The Hengwrt manuscript is generally regarded as the earliest – and with Ellesmere the most important – witness to the text of the *Canterbury Tales*. As

Estelle Stubbs notes, it is possible that parts of Hengwrt predate Chaucer's death and that he may have had some involvement in its compilation. While this edition cannot give a definitive answer to the many questions raised by this crucial manuscript, it provides the fullest available corpus of materials about Hengwrt, in a remarkably powerful and usable form.

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## Short Notices

**Burns, R. I., ed.,** *Las Siete Partidas*, trans. S. P. Scott, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001; paper; 5 vols.; RRP unknown; ISBN 0812217381 (v. 1).

The great Castilian-language code of law in *Seven Parts*, the *Siete Partidas*, was compiled under the auspices of King Alfonso X, *el sabio* (the learned) (1252-84). Its production had been foreshadowed by his father Fernando III (1217-52) as an attempt to unify the plethora of traditional laws and customs prevailing throughout León and Castile. However, nothing was accomplished until the production of a *Libro del fuero*, most probably in 1255. Resistance to this code led royal jurists to revise and expand the work until what is now known as the *Siete Partidas* was produced, probably around 1290 after Alfonso's death. However, even then the code was not officially promulgated and therefore was reworked privately by many jurists with the result that there are considerable differences between the various surviving manuscripts. Not until 1348 did Alfonso's great grandson, Alfonso XI, give the *Siete Partidas* official legal status equal to the customary law of the realm. There is still no critical edition of the code. S. P. Scott's translation was done from the edition of I. Sanpontos y Barba, et al., *Las "Siete partidas" del sabio rey don Alfonso el IX [= X]*, 4 vols (Barcelona, 1843-4), which was itself an edition of the accepted edition of 1555 by Gregorio López

Heavily indebted to medieval Roman and Canon law, as well as to the Lombard *Libri feudorum* and the customary maritime law of the Bay of Biscay, the *Roles of Oléron*, the *Siete Partidas* was a code of law quite different to other

medieval codes of law. It also utilized philosophy and theology in the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, and Thomas Aquinas, amongst others, to provide the principles lying behind the Laws. Limited in its medieval influence by the fact that it was written in Castilian rather than Latin, the *Siete Partidas* nevertheless had great influence on the development of law in the Iberian peninsula and then throughout the Spanish and Portuguese diaspora. The 1931 translation by Samuel Parsons Scott, the only English translation, has long been extremely difficult to obtain and this reprint in five volumes will be welcomed. The three introductory essays by Robert I. Burns, S.J., 'The *Partidas* Introduction', Joseph F. O.'Callaghan, 'Alfonso X and the *Partidas*', and Jerry R. Craddock, 'The *Partidas*: Bibliographical notes' are also very welcome.

Rather than a dry and dusty law book, the *Siete Partidas* was a code enlivened by application to daily life. In some ways the code was more like an encyclopedia than a law book. The laws are fun to read and medievalists of all persuasions will find material in them pertinent to their own interests.

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**Copeland**, Rita, David Lawton and Wendy Scase, eds., *New Medieval Literatures*, vol. 2, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998; cloth; pp. viii, 282; 21 b/w illustrations; RRP £47.50; ISBN 019818476X.

Rita Copeland's elegant introduction positions *NML* volume 2 as 'continu[ing] the critical conversations between medieval studies and the "project of the present" begun in the first volume.' This volume turns readers' attention to French, Anglo-Norman and Latin texts, traditions and textual cultures and consequently to the disciplinary and institutional relations between, for instance, medieval French studies in US, British and European discursive contexts. Given the predominance of Anglo-American dialogue within medieval literary and textual studies, Copeland's recognition of the constitutive conditions of such exchanges is refreshing.

Steven Kruger's 'The Spectral Jew' takes Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx: The State of Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International* as its theoretical paradigm to argue for a reconceptualisation of 'Jews, Jewishness and Judaism' as both prior to and essential to the identity of Christianity. In 'Unmanned Men and Eunuchs of God: Peter Damian's *Liber Gomorrhianus* and the Sexual

Politics of Papal Reform,' Larry Scanlon clarifies Foucault's 'utterly confused category' of sodomy to unpack the intricacies of Peter Damian's desire for 'heteronormativity' and its double – homophobia. 'Bel Accueil and the Improper Allegory of the *Romance of the Rose*' allows Simon Gaunt to expose the fallacy of C. S. Lewis's reading and logically claim Jean de Meun as a queer writer.

Helen Solterer's 'States of Siege: Violence, Place and Gender: Paris Around 1400' shifts the volume's focus to read spatial phenomena and spatialised metaphor. 'Metonymy, Montage, and Death in François Villon's *Testament*' similarly locates textual meaning within cultural space; this time in metonymic chains of significance circulating around death. In 'The Trouble With Harold: the Ideological Context of the *Vita Haroldi*, Robert Stein produces a skilful narrative account of the sources of Harold's death and their contextual meanings.

'Eliding the Interpreter: John Wyclif and Scriptural Truth' shifts the preoccupation with textual context allowing Kantik Ghosh to locate the 'basic dichotomies in Wyclif's thought' at the argument's centre. Wendy Scase's "'Strange and Wonderful Bills": Bill-Casting and Political Discourse in Late Medieval England' seeks to 'erect some of the structure necessary for making an interpretive framework' for bill-casting as a 'discursive practice.'

The stand-out essay is Susan Crane's brilliant 'Maytime in Late Medieval Courts' for its theoretical lucidity, intellectual rigour and convincing argumentation.

Louise Fradenburg's 'Analytical Survey 2: We Are Not Alone: Psychoanalytic Medievalism' is not only insightful as a survey but also makes a shapely return to the disciplinary concerns signalled in Copeland's introduction.

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**Kershaw**, Ian and David M. Smith, eds., *The Bolton Priory Compotus 1286-1325, together with a priory account roll for 1377-1378*, (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 154), Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000; cloth; pp. viii, 636; 2 maps; RRP £50.00, US\$90.00; ISBN 0902122932.

This is a truly collaborative work as Ian Kershaw, who wrote the authoritative work on this Northern Augustinian priory, built deep in the Pennine chain, was prevented by other responsibilities from completing the transcription on his own. The comptus, which covers the years from 1286-1325, is in many ways a unique

survival giving a remarkable insight not only into the economy of the priory itself, but also into the agricultural life of the area in which it was situated. Various segments or extracts from the volume have appeared in print before but the production of a critical edition of the entire, massive account book, first proposed by R. J. Whitwell before the First World War but only now realised, makes that material available to scholars interested in many aspects of the period from the accounting conventions used to the costs and returns of demesne farming to the money the house spent on the fabric of the churches under its control and its relationship with local lords such as the Cliffords.

The introduction gives a clear account of the structure of the accounts and the background to their compilation which probably derives from the financial reforms ordered by the bishop in 1280 that also resulted in an up-to-date rental. The structure is not static, and the ways in which it altered over time are explored. As Kershaw makes clear, these accounts do not include all the income and expenditure of the house as the sacrist and the refectorer had their own funds which were separate. In some respects, the accounts are abstracts of the particular rolls kept by the individual obedientiaries. Nevertheless there was a central financial system headed by the receiver and the *compotus* roll is a form of balance sheet with the cash account followed by the granary, larder, stock, and profit calculations to which the subsidiary accounts, only a few of which survive, are complementary. Auditing was carried out by the senior monks, assisted by lay professionals, so that the prior could provide the community with a reckoning. Critical to the priory's profitability were the returns from the manors.

After 1325 there are no more accounts for 50 years although the isolated 1377-8 account shows the changes brought about in the decades following the Black Death. Kershaw's earlier book which relies heavily on these accounts gives a clear idea of the overall economic position and management of the priory and should be consulted before any general use of the text is made, but those looking for detailed information about such things as the work of the blacksmith will find it a useful source. The purchase of 'sea-coal' for the forge is significant as is the indication that it was used elsewhere for burning chalk. The excellent index enables those with particular interests to find them with the least bother. This is a work which should be in every library so that scholars of the medieval period can have easy access to it.

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**Raban, Sandra**, *England under Edward I and Edward II* (A History of Medieval Britain), Oxford, Blackwell, 2000; paper; pp. xii, 204; 9 b/w illustrations, 7 maps; RRP £16.99; ISBN 0631223207.

Raban notes that medieval studies have tended to concentrate upon economic and political factors, providing a 'top-down' view of the period. However she has employed a 'bottom-up' approach, seeking to establish an understanding of the worldview prevailing at the time (p. 5). She states that whilst 'the profusion of written evidence makes the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a most exciting time to study' (p. 3), we know very little about the individuals who compiled the extant records. Therefore, studies of the period should recognize that the influence of temporal and religious authorities and the impact of social and economic conditions upon the medieval individual could well be at considerable variance from our contemporary mindsets.

In art, for example, 'The modern world sees colour primarily as a matter of hue, while our medieval predecessors saw it in terms of brightness' (p. 84). Raban observes that a society reliant upon oral and visual communications and educated to seek meaning within the symbolic structure of medieval art will have viewed life differently.

Raban uses the chapter headings to emphasis her 'bottom-up' approach. Progressively, she deals with the land and 'its acquisition and retention' (p. 37); a compelling preoccupation for both rural and urban dwellers of the time, the predominant presence of the Church, medieval culture, government administration, politics and England's international role during this period.

Raban stresses the overwhelming influence of the Church upon the medieval population. In comparison with modern western society, 'life was unpredictable ... most natural phenomena were inexplicable ... and the promise of protection and salvation offered by Christian teaching proved infinitely comforting' (p. 62). It is noteworthy that such a widespread acceptance of the ecumenical is at variance with current attitudes. The inevitable comparisons between the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, are reserved for the closing chapters, with Raban concluding that as a youth, the father 'was prone to the same weakness as his son' (p. 173).

This is a concise and well-presented book. The structure of the work is cogent and relevant, providing a balanced and comprehensive study of medieval England during the period 1259 to the early fourteenth century. The Bibliography is comprehensive and the maps and illustrations support the text.

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**Saunders**, Corinne, *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2001; cloth; pp. 343; RRP £50.00; ISBN 0859916103.

This is an impressive book. Corrine Saunders offers both a comprehensive overview of English medieval writings about rape and ravishment, and also detailed and sophisticated analyses of particular texts.

The first two chapters outline the relevant secular and canon laws, impressively detailing the nature of these legal traditions, and highlighting the confusion in medieval law between rape and ravishment. Saunders is particularly to be commended for her use of evidence from case law as well as statute law, since this adds complexity to her sketch of the legal process.

The bulk of the book consists of chapters exploring the depiction of rape and ravishment in saints' lives, tales of legendary women, romances, the works of Chaucer, and Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*. These are arranged in roughly chronological order, and provide an excellent overview of the subject. The amount of textual analysis varies from chapter to chapter, with chapters differing in length. This stems, of course, from the divergent state of research in various areas. The chapter on Chaucer is complex and engages with the current critical debates arising from feminist Chaucerian research. Much less critical work exists for *King Horn*, *Sir Gowther* or *Sir Degarré*, and the chapters on these romances are correspondingly thinner.

Saunders' work thus functions on two levels: she offers her own reading of the representations of rape and ravishment in medieval stories, and she also provides a review of current research which will doubtless benefit future generations of scholars. In this sense, her bibliography alone is a valuable compilation, bringing together an impressively comprehensive list of primary and secondary sources.

The only possible scope for further extending *Rape and Ravishment* would be by including detailed studies of particular manuscripts. Saunders understandably relies on printed editions of the texts, and so she does not address potential links between the stories and the images chosen to exemplify them. Her book can, then, be profitably read in conjunction with Diane Woffhal's *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and Its Alternative* (1999) which focuses on the images used to illustrate the subject in medieval Europe.

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**Short**, Ian and Roy Percy, eds., *Eighteen Anglo-Norman Fabliaux* (Plain Texts Series 14), London, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2000; paper; pp. 1, 42; RRP not for sale to public; ISBN 0905474406.

In his important survey of work done in Anglo-Norman from the end of the Second World War till the mid-sixties ('Anglo-Norman Studies: The Last Twenty Years', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, II (1965), 113-55; 225-78), Keith Sinclair regretted that Dominica Legge had omitted all mention of the fabliau genre in her studies of Anglo-Norman literature. This Anglo-Norman genre has indeed been traditionally disparaged, so it is a pleasure to see here collected in one volume items written in Anglo-Norman which seem to fit into the envelope 'fabliaux'.

There are 18 fabliaux published in this slim volume. Each is edited from a single manuscript, clearly identified under the title of each text. The most recent earlier editions are briefly mentioned at the same place, and, where relevant, a reference is given to any published discussion of the manuscripts containing a version of that text. Manuscripts serving as witnesses for texts include MSS London BL Harley 527, 978 and 2253; MS. Oxford Bodleian Digby 86; MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College 50; and MS. Clermont-Ferrand Archives du Puy-de-Dôme F2. Rejected readings are collected in a section at the back of the book, though no notes or glossary are offered to the reader.

The literary quality of these texts is, it must be admitted, not of the highest level, the principal themes being the guiles of women and their innate lechery. The obscenity of many is indicated by the titles of a few: *Du chevalier qui fit les cons parler* (No. 14); *De .iii. dames qui troverent .i. vit* (No. 15); *Cele qui fu foutue et desfoutue* (No. 17). Yet this is of course a trait common to most fabliaux, both Anglo-Norman and Continental. Four of the published fabliaux come from Marie de France's *Fables*; seven already figure in A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm's 1922 edition of the *Disciplina Clericalis*. Of the remaining seven fabliaux, some have often been published, others have hitherto only been the subject of diplomatic editions in the twentieth century.

The introduction, though short, is of high interest for its succinct tracing of changes in the definition of the word 'fabliau'. Short and Percy find that fabliau humour has as its basis logic, and this is their criterion for inclusion or exclusion of candidates for their collection. The editors justify the existence of this small anthology by first referring to 'linguistic heritage', then to the question of what constitutes a fabliau, from the eighteenth-century edition of Legrand

d'Aussy to the latest '*Recueil complet*' of W. Noomen and N. van den Boogaard, and, finally, to a desire to demonstrate what contribution the Anglo-Norman corpus made to the genre as a whole.

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**Sutton**, Marilyn, ed., *Chaucer's Pardoner's Prologue and Tale: An Annotated Bibliography, 1900-1995* (The Chaucer Bibliographies), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2000; cloth; pp. liii, 445; RRP US\$95.00; ISBN 0802047440.

In 1940, G. G. Sedgewick, reviewing commentary on 'The Pardoner's Tale', observed that 'research and criticism and interpretation have been busy with the *noble ecclesiast*'; 60 years later, the busy-ness goes on apace, with well over 1,000 items published up to 1995. Much of this discussion is sharp and full of interest, as Marilyn Sutton says, treating a figure who disturbs, fascinates, but also compels responses that reveal as much about his audience as him. So it always was, from the moment of the Host's retort; the Tale seems to have been admired by its first audience, while the fifteenth-century response, according to Strohm, was to write out the discordant and disreputable, or to ignore the tale altogether.

Sutton's *Bibliography* performs its necessary, referential task, but also reveals the extraordinary range of issues that have interested critical readers: drunkenness, irony, satire, voice, homodiegetic and heterodiegetic narratives, eunuchry, homosexuality, the plague, post-plague playfulness, animal symbolism, number symbolism, rhetoric, sermon practice, liturgy, institutional context, the 'paradox of art', 'theological despair', transubstantiation, speech act theory, theatricality, masochism, banana-skins (yes), the 'hegemonic discourse of identity', and so on. The *Bibliography* also shows critical discussion turning to dissension, often in reviews Sutton usefully includes, allowing us to mark the shifting patterns of critical fashion. If Vance finds Benson's criticism outdated, that speaks of a late twentieth-century obsession with theory; in the most recent critical turn, the Pardoner's much discussed homosexuality is in question again, but, prompted by queer theory, the critic drives the question to radically new conclusions.

After sections devoted to editions and bibliographical materials, criticism on the Pardoner is presented according to two chronologies: dates of publication, within sequences determined by the Pardoner's several appearances in the

'General Prologue' and the tales. This necessarily complicated arrangement makes for a certain clumsiness and repetition, but Sutton does a fair job of articulating her categories one to another. On the other hand, her bibliographical practice sometimes buckles surprisingly under pressure to get the book into print. Numbering fails from time to time: so 516 is followed by 516a, and 516b, not 517; this might not matter, but the Index refers under 'Sexuality' to an absent 516c. Item 994 simply reads 'Item canceled'. The Index, crucial to the success of such a volume, is usefully detailed, but often feels cumbersome and again it is not always correct. The survey is comprehensive, but there are omissions: so, the Heiatts' 1964 edition of *The Canterbury Tales* is described, but not their 1961 illustrated, bowdlerised children's edition. And it is regrettable that 'Analogues' could not stretch to modern instances like the film 'Shallow Grave'.

Bibliographies, however accurate and informative, necessarily suffer from their own obsolescence, which suggests that the true future of these retrospective publications, as the General Editor recognises, lies not in print but electronic text, where the past becomes an ever reviewed, renewable, present. In the meantime, there is much help to be had from Sutton's *Bibliography* of scholarship and criticism on Chaucer's Pardoner, and not a little pleasure.

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**Treadgold, Warren**, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001; cloth ; pp. ix, 273; RRP £42.50; ISBN 0333718291.

While Western Europe declined and later revived, Byzantium remained a relatively affluent and centralised Christian power. There are so many points of contact and influence between the two regions, that scholars of one cannot fail to have at least some interest in the other. Warren Treadgold has endeavoured to produce the sort of beginner's guide to Byzantium that should serve as a handy reference when scholars of early Western European history want to look up events, people, geography, politics and culture. He makes use of the research that went into his longer work, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (1997), here completely rewritten for the 'general and less specialised reader'. His greatest challenge has been to condense this material.

he timespan between 285 and 1453 is divided into six parts, each broadly

characterised and dealt with in its own chapter: formation (285-457); reconquest and crisis (457-602); catastrophe and containment (602-780); recovery and victory (780-1025); wealth and weakness (1025-1204); and restoration and fall (1204-1461). Recognising but not enslaved by ‘modern academic fashion,’ Treadgold undertakes to provide both narrative history and descriptive sections dealing with society and culture. As a corrective to Gibbon, whom he holds responsible for the popular view that Byzantium was decadent, Treadgold seeks to show that the course of Empire had both downs and ups.

The introduction and the conclusion talk about the idea of decline, and how it might be measured. Treadgold produces figures which show that the area, population, revenue and army of Byzantium remained relatively large for a very long while. Where there were dips, he explains that some could be accounted for by natural disaster or changes in measurement, rather than negative features of Byzantine governance. In all, he covers 1,169 years in 273 pages. Allowing for indexes and maps, that leaves one page for every five years, or eight lines a year. Some things are going to be left out. Treadgold has chosen to put in all of the 114 emperors, with a brief description of each, what they did, and how they came to be replaced, and some reference to their generals and advisers. That takes up the narrative sections, which are concise to the point of terseness. The descriptive sections discuss such fascinating topics as iconoclasm and doctrinal debates within Byzantium, and the doctrinal reasons for the religious split with West. But this remains as theory.

Treadgold has taken aim against Gibbon, who covers the same period. Gibbon had literary style. His narrative is suspenseful, his description vivid, his judgement incisive, and his digressions engaging, even when malicious. Treadgold, in contrast, is somewhat episodic, and provides neither a rattling good yarn, nor word pictures of people and places. The reader may be left wondering about the essential nature of Byzantine society. Why, for example, did people choose to riot, when they heard the findings of Church Councils? What were the Byzantine people like? While Gibbon can be criticised for fictionalising, Treadgold has not helped his own case by completely omitting references, and offering a somewhat partial bibliography.

His strengths are the discussion of leadership and succession, and the marshalling of statistical information. A series of essays on themes in Byzantine history might prove the ideal format for concisely illuminating the general reader.

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**Trindade**, Ann, *Berengaria: In Search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999, cloth; pp. 240; RRP US\$29.50; ISBN 1851824340.

This attractive and interesting book attempts a full-length biography of one of the Middle Ages' least-known women. Berengaria of Navarre, daughter of king Sancho IV El Sabio (the Wise), married Richard the Lionheart, king of England, on 12 May 1191 at Limassol on Cyprus. During their marriage they were often apart, Richard famously being engaged with crusading, and the marriage was childless. He died on 6 April 1199 in Normandy, and she lived out her widowhood in Le Mans, dying in December 1230. Few contemporary sources mention her, and it would seem that the task of writing her biography would require considerable inventiveness.

Trindade's approach is interesting, in that she gives attention to the attitudes of historians over the centuries and also to the novelists who have been attracted to the glittering hero Richard and have been forced to depict his shadowy wife in their fictions. Thus, the book covers the contemporary sources, the development of scholarly arguments regarding Richard and his circle, and the way in which these people appeared in the popular imagination. This enables Trindade to flesh out the bare bones of Berengaria's life story, and to draw on broader works of scholarship for illumination about subjects such as the upbringing of royal daughters, the kingdom of Navarre in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the religious duties of queens and royal widows.

Although palatable to a popular readership, the book is well-referenced, with extensive notes and bibliography. Its structure is based on the stages of Berengaria's life, first as the daughter of the Navarrese monarch, then as bride, wife and widow of Richard the Lionheart. The dependence of medieval women's lives and identities on those of the men who surrounded them – fathers, brothers, husbands, sons if they had them, and the male chroniclers who wrote of their lives – is everywhere apparent in Trindade's narrative. She makes good use of the insights of Georges Duby, the scholar of medieval marriage in the 'male' Middle Ages, and also of various feminist scholars who have transformed our knowledge of the medieval landscape in the last 30 years.

It is not possible to know very much of Berengaria, as she is much less prominent in sources than other women who were associated with Richard, chief of whom is his mother, the redoubtable Eleanor of Aquitaine. Trindade's method largely consists in stating the 'facts' as they are known, then interrogating the various possible interpretations of these facts. Her discussion of the problem of

Richard's sexual preference is a good example of this method: she cites the relevant passages from chroniclers, discusses the ways in which historians have interpreted them (including the general negativity among French historians and the heroization and defence of Richard by English historians), and indicates her own views. The argument is sophisticated, but always attractively written and readable, and authorities are cited from a wide range of medieval disciplines, with a clear awareness of the difference between modern categories such as 'homosexuality', and the realities of medieval life.

The discussion of Berengaria's widowhood acknowledges that until recently widows were not of much interest to historians. The vulnerability of many royal widows is emphasized, with contested dowers often not returned, and childlessness an especial sign of 'failure'. Berengaria was loyally supported in the long years of her widowhood by her sister Blanca (Blanche), the widow of Count Thibaut III of Champagne, and regent for her son Thibaut IV. Berengaria's residence in Le Mans was brought about by her vulnerable position, as she decided to acknowledge Philip Augustus of France (her husband's former intimate and later enemy) as her overlord and to hand over her dower lands in Normandy in exchange for Le Mans. After Eleanor's death in 1204 she became involved in a protracted struggle to regain her dower income, as she had insufficient funds to run a household. Papal support for impoverished royal widows was strong.

The other area in which her widowhood was spent was endowing an abbey (*Pietas Dei*) and pursuing other religious duties. She achieved popularity in Le Mans as a protector of the aged, the weak and the sick. She donated monies to the cathedral chapter, the abbey of La Couture, and the hospital of Coeffort; and donated land to the Franciscans and Dominicans. Trindade's final chapter, 'Shall These Stones Speak?' reviews the history of the abbey she founded, and the tomb erected for her, bringing the survey up to the present.

In conclusion, this is a lively and intelligent 'biography', which tells more about the context and the afterlife of Berengaria than it does of the woman herself, and asks many interesting questions about how scholars approach and interpret medieval materials.

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**Waite**, Greg, *Old English Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign* (Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature 6), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2000; pp. xiv, 394; RRP US\$90.00; ISBN 085991-591-3.

This is an excellent and invaluable tool for those pursuing studies in Old English generally, and particularly for those interested in the various translations now generally attributed to Alfred, or to his influence: Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, Augustine's *Soliloquies*, the Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter, Orosius' *History*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Gregory's *Dialogues*. It is a convenient reference of bibliographical information, but also offers the reader the pleasures of browsing through informative overviews of fields of research.

The edition will appeal to scholars, but also to undergraduates and those new to Old English studies because both the Introduction and the sections on each of the texts provide a comprehensive review and an instant introduction to the development of scholarship in the Anglo-Saxon period. Sweet saw Alfred's *Pastoral Care* as 'of exclusively philological interest', but the growth of interdisciplinary approaches has led more recent scholars to appreciate the complexity of the period.

The comprehensive Introduction is a microcosm of the whole edition. It reviews the life and times of Alfred, Asser's *Life*, and the history of scholarship since 1550. Authorship, chronology and sources of the texts are also examined. Sections on language and style are included, as is the social, political and intellectual context. Waite also covers the important area of translation studies as a new way to interpret Alfred's rewritings. Another aspect which makes this edition so widely valuable is the inclusion of articles on literacy and orality in Anglo-Saxon England, which would serve as a useful chronological base for studies of later periods. The Introduction then provides a concise summation and critical analysis of the interdisciplinary scholarly approaches so that the reader can contextualise the individual works, and assess how the various articles fit in the complex web of interlocking associations. The temperate and judicious discussion shows which areas of research have become influential, and which areas could receive further research.

Following the Introduction, the book is divided into 15 sections. Sections one to eight deal with bibliographical works, general studies of Alfred's life and works, history, literary history, anthologies and readers, translations, linguistic studies and manuscripts. A delight is the section on biographies of Alfred which

provides a mirror of historical writings over the centuries, and concisely conveys how each age writes their hero to reflect its times. Sections nine to 15 deal with the secondary material of the individual texts, including editions and manuscript sigla, editions of the Latin source, translations and studies.

A particular attraction is the chronological arrangement of materials from 1550 to 1996 which allows, as Tom Burton the unflagging general editor of this excellent series writes, a ‘sense of the development of scholarship in the field’. Such organisation encourages browsing: the sections illustrate the broad sweep of changing aesthetic and theoretical interpretations of Old English literature, and trace the development of more subtle and nuanced understandings of the period as more scholars from different areas have engaged with the material.

The brief but comprehensive entries maintain objectivity yet reveal the flavour of the article or book – essential in these cash-strapped times when one has to think twice before ordering inter-library loans. One needs to know, for instance, whether the author is one of those who considers Alfred’s prose ‘rude and rudimentary’ (p. 153). The reader is also informed of the various participants in discussions of key topics: in the numerous interpretations of Alfred’s *Consolation*, for instance, it is made clear who is responding to whom in the continuing debate about whether Alfred followed or rewrote Boethius. Attention is paid to Jane Chance’s interesting idea that Alfred’s reworkings influenced continental translations, and also to how her position is viewed by others. All in all, a practical and balanced guide to encourage further research.

Although browsing is well rewarded, three indices are provided for the busy scholar: an index of authors, a general index and, importantly, an index of Old English words. The general index deals mainly with people, places and books. Abstract concepts such as *wisdom* are found in the Old English, but not always in the general index. To pursue philosophical points in the OE texts, one needs to know the Old English – *mod*, *oncnawan* and *ongietan*. Nevertheless, entries such as the ‘limits of human knowledge’ are listed under the subheadings of *Soliloquies* and *Consolation* in the general index.

In other hands this could have been a very dry tome; I finished it feeling refreshed and enthusiastic to return to the original and secondary sources. An edition, indeed, which is ‘most necessary for all men [and women] to know’.

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Weiss, Judith, Jennifer Fellows and Morgan Dickson, eds., *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation*, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2000; cloth; pp. xii, 196; 3 b/w plates; RRP £40.00/US\$75.00; ISBN 0-85991 597-2.

This volume presents selected papers from the sixth biennial conference on Romance in Medieval England, held in 1998, and provides a snapshot of the current state of research and preoccupations in the field. The fluidity of texts and contexts, and indeed of the romance genre itself, is a common thread in the papers and one which Judith Weiss highlights in her introduction to the volume. She also stresses the importance of exploring theoretically issues of translation, a topic addressed explicitly in the first paper in the volume, and incidentally in some others, several of which consider Anglo-Norman or both English and Anglo-Norman texts.

In 'Mapping Medieval Translation' Ivana Djordjevic discusses some methodological problems of medieval translation studies, pointing out that translators in the Middle Ages worked within a poetics entirely different from those of classical or modern practitioners, around whom modern theories and classifications of translation are usually built. Djordjevic teases out some of the problems particular to translating romances from Anglo-Norman to English. She looks to *Sir Bevis of Hampton* to exemplify the intricate socio-linguistic and socio-cultural issues that surround the creation of such English Romances.

Rosalind Field's 'Waldef and the Matter of/with England' deals with a neglected text that she argues is pivotally situated within a cohesive body of Anglo-Norman romance narrative. *Waldef* should not be considered a mish-mash, but rather a markedly intertextual work, that in its portrayal of an anarchic England 'rejects the providential optimism of romance ideology' (p. 38). Other exercises in rehabilitation are W.A. Davenport's 'Sir Degrevant and Composite Romance' and Roger Dalrymple's "'Evele knowen ye Merlyne, jn certeyn": Henry Lovelich's *Merlin*'. Davenport highlights the eclecticism of *Sir Degrevant*, with its medley of plot elements, shifts of register, and modulations of pace and tone, ranging from violent action to leisurely exploration of love themes and courtly refinement. We find here, perhaps, a lesser practitioner of the kinds of fusions and contrasts to be found in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* or the work of the *Gawain*-poet. Dalrymple urges some reconsideration of Lovelich's much maligned work, which he claims strongly reflects the writer's urban London milieu, and may characterise him 'as a kind of crude metropolitan Malory' (p. 167).

Morgan Dickson studies the theme of disguise in some Anglo-Norman romances, arguing that this markedly 'Insular' plot-device privileges the self (the hidden, but true identity) and allows for the hero's self-definition and development of character. A later manifestation of the disguise theme is explored in Rachel Snell's essay on 'The Undercover King', where the late fourteenth-century *King Edward and the Shepherd* forms the focus of her discussion. *King Edward* and kindred 'king-and-subject' romances form a distinctive English sub-genre of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at once more comic in design than earlier romances involving disguise, such as those of *Horn* or *Havelok*, yet at the same time reflecting some of the urgent social issues of England in time of war, plague, and peasant rebellion.

Elizabeth Archibald discusses problems in defining the Breton lay, its transformation in English versions, and employment of the term in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A unique late-thirteenth-century list of lay titles in a manuscript preserved at Shrewsbury School attests to the continuing popularity of the genre. Chaucer's description of *The Franklin's Tale* as a Breton lay, she argues, is predicated upon his audience's knowledge of the Breton lay as a story of adultery, and further seems to assume a connection between the lay and *compleynt*.

Amanda Hopkins provides an incisive reading of *Emaré*, arguing that the rich robe the heroine wears is neither magical nor functional in the plot, as objects often are in romances. Rather, the robe serves to cloak the reprehensible behaviour of her father and others, and to emblematisé Emaré's vulnerability. The vulnerable heroine of *The Erle of Tolous* comes under Arlyn Diamond's scrutiny in her feminist reading of this text. The virtuous Beulybon embodies *trowthe* and fidelity, but is rendered socially impotent by her virtue. The narrative and the *erle* himself, rather, assert the virtue of prudence. 'Desire is rewritten and controlled, but not repudiated' (p. 92) in this late romance.

Paul Price examines the Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* and English versions of the story, all of which share the curious turning where Guy confesses to and repudiates a past life of culpable violence – a life that up to this point narrators consistently portray in positive heroic and chivalric terms. Guy's confession and the hagiographic conclusion to the romance allow the audience 'to have our cake and eat it' (p. 110), however contradictory that may seem.

The volume concludes with Helen Cooper's essay on William Warner's retelling of the Havelok/Curan story in his *Albions England*. His curious reshaping of the narrative as a pastoral fantasy and its incongruity within the

larger chronicle leads Cooper to conclude that he was at pains to provide his readers with a foreshadowing of Queen Elizabeth's exclusion from court and subsequent triumphant return.

If this volume deals with some of the romance-genre misfits and lesser luminaries, it nevertheless provides a coherent and interesting exploration of the titled themes of translation and innovation. The standard of editing is high, and the book usefully includes both general index and an index of manuscripts.

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**Williams**, Janet Hadley, ed., *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems* (The Association for Scottish Literary Studies 30) Glasgow, Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2000; paper; pp. xxvi, 348, 1; RRP £12.50; ISBN 0-948877-46-4

*Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems* offers readers scholarly texts of Lyndsay's major works aside from his most familiar one, a morality play titled [*Ane Plesand*] *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*. This selection thus reminds us of the particular concerns as well as the skill and diversity of the Lyndsay canon. Only four poems are not presented here and two of those are unsubstantiated attributions. This is volume 30 in an important series produced by the Association for Scottish Literary Studies which provides a textual, cultural and historical context for Lyndsay as poet, courtier, reformist and diplomat.

The 10 poems published here – ranging from dream vision to complaint, bird fable, flyting, formal lament, mock-tournament, tragedy, heroic romance, literary testament and dialogue – give ample evidence of Lyndsay's metrical, generic and rhetorical skills. These poems also provide the opportunity to gauge the composition and capabilities of the 'vernacular language of Lowland Scotland, now called Early Middle Scots (1450-1550)' in which Lyndsay wrote. There is evidence too of the political and cultural debate around the relation between Middle Scots and late Middle English. Stanza 2 of *The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo* praises 'Chawceir, Goweir and Lidgate laureate' alongside the works 'Of Kennedie ... /Or of Dunbar, quhilk language had at large,/As maye be sene in tyll his *Goldin Targe*'.

Nine of the 10 poems are presented as full texts and the tenth, *Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour*, is an excerpt of 684 lines. Sadly, no

authorial manuscripts of Lyndsay's poems survive. A letter written in 1531 preserves the single extant instance of Lyndsay's signature in holograph. The earliest printed editions of the poems are not only scarce but also made problematic by the editorial practices of sixteenth-century printers. Thus close study of Lyndsay's language, including its East Central regionalisms, is difficult.

Janet Hadley Williams is a reliable, if conservative, editor and the result is a usefully mainstream edition. The texts here are critical editions based on the most reliable printed edition as exemplar (not invariably the earliest) collated against editions both earlier and later – sometimes unique copies elsewhere bound into other collections – where they are available. Spelling has been lightly modernised; abbreviations are silently expanded; capitalisation, italicisation and punctuation are according to current usage; line and stanza numbers are additional.

On two particular points, Hadley Williams shows herself to be a scholar of acuity: the chronology of the poems is as exact as the documents will allow since she resists speculation, no matter how tempting. Second, the Notes, treating the various Scottish, French and occasionally London texts used and consulted, the sometimes extravagant titles, poetic form (and departures therefrom), date (and the attendant doubts) and metre (with apposite comparisons), are expansive without being either pedantic or prolix and invariably explanatory.

The page is neat and clean; the texts are accessible and legible; the apparatus is helpful without being intrusive; emendations are restrained and comprehensible. The reader is everywhere assisted with reading the poems without being distracted by the scholarship – intelligent and secure though it is.

Hadley Williams's primary editorial achievement is to allow the poems to speak for Lyndsay's claims on literary history against those of his more familiar predecessors – Robert Henryson (?1424-?1506), William Dunbar (?1456-?1513), Gavin Douglas (?1475-1522) – and his more famous auctors from south of the border (John Gower, ?1330-1408, Geoffrey Chaucer, c.1343-1400, and John Lydgate, ?1370-1449).

It is a pleasure then to appreciate the range of Lyndsay's concerns and his vision, his metrical skill and flexibility and, above all, his genuine sense of political urgency and ethical sensibility, and his gutsy sense of humour. *The Dreame*, c.1526, a dream vision poem preceded by a petition to the King, evidences Lyndsay's familiarity with one of the most popular poetic forms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and its classical antecedents. *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, c.1530, more familiar to readers, combines bird

fable, exemplum, complaint and literary testament to produce robust, perhaps even courageous, political critique. *The Answer to the Kingis Flyting*, c.1535-36, shows Lyndsay revelling in another popular genre, that of ‘mutual abuse of a scurrilous yet highly inventive and controlled nature’. There is something of the flavour of the Australian vernacular in this genre: the Hill at the SCG midway through an Ashes Test as Stuart McGill comes in to bowl.

*The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene*, 1537, shows Lyndsay in formal poetic mode lamenting the early death of James V’s young queen, Madeleine de Valois. *The Tragedie of the Cardinall*, 1547, in the tradition of Giovanni Boccaccio’s *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, probably known to Lyndsay through John Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes* (c.1438), is formally a tragedy but uses the form’s potential for satire to expose the vicissitudes of contemporary religious reform and persecution. These two poems, in particular, show Lyndsay working with the political complexities of the moment in Scottish history during which he had the fortune – or otherwise – to conduct his career.

Through his life-long intimacy with the monarchy during the reigns of James IV and James V and the long minority of James V’s daughter Mary, Lyndsay was an active and influential participant in the workings of internal political power, the negotiation of royal and dynastic marriages, the management of relations with both England and France and, complicating most events, the conduct of religious reform. For Lyndsay, poetry is a means of engaging with the political and social questions of his day: its cultural function is neither limited to nor circumscribed by its status as ‘high art’.

In his review for the *TLS*, Patrick Crotty argues, following Ezra Pound, for Lyndsay as ‘an impeccably sensitive detector of the way the wind was blowing in the Scotland of his time’. However, Hadley Williams’s edition of these poems also makes a contribution – a scholarly and authoritative one – to contemporary cultural and political debates around Scottish national identity. Packaged as a readily available paperback, *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems* makes available a powerful political Scottish voice that is recognisable today.

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**Yates**, Frances A., *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*, London and New York, Routledge, 2001; paper; pp. xi, 255; RRP US\$14.95, £9.99; ISBN 0415254094.

How times have changed in the interpretation of Renaissance occult thought! This paperback reissue of Frances Yates' classic 1979 study, which itself distilled her previous books on the occult Renaissance in England and Europe, reminds us of the speculative strengths and concomitant weaknesses of her approach. Her willingness to triangulate across vast areas of Renaissance thought, felicitously interweaving previously unrelated evidence, produced illuminating readings of salient literature from the period, later silently acquired by more famous literary scholars. Yet this may explain the historical ineptness which has subsequently infected literary studies of Renaissance occultism.

For Yates's 'daring arguments', as she called them, reduced the Elizabethan Renaissance philosophy to a narrowly defined occult philosophy of Hermeticism and Christian Cabala, wrapped closely around a Neoplatonic core. Intermittently aware of accretions to this synthesis by Reuchlin, Giorgi and Agrippa, she yet persisted in presenting essentially unchanged its visions of imperial, magical reform, avidly pursued through the works of Spenser, Chapman and Shakespeare. No wonder this book carries lavish praise from two other purveyors of the reductionist method, Christopher Hill and Hugh Trevor-Roper.

Yet what we gain in interpretative clarity we lose in historical sensitivity, as we find at the heart of this book in her interpretation of John Dee's imperial visions, for Yates the cynosure of the Elizabethan Renaissance. Dee the Hermetic-Cabalistic magus, the inspired Saturnian melancholic and angel conjuror becomes at once the poster-child for apocalyptic magisterial reform of a decayed world and the butt of Marlowe's and Jonson's sneering dismissal of these naive airy fantasies. We need to be reminded of the opposition to magical notions of reform, given the weakness in more recent scholarship for taking Dee at his own estimation. Yet Yates's account of the formation of Dee's ideas again assumes his wholesale acceptance of a ready-formed occult philosophy, rather than the complex, hesitant intellectual odyssey by which he travelled from exhausted Aristotelian orthodoxy, through selective responses to occult signs, towards a new world order.

The methodological problems raised by her impatience with contextualising these ideas, in favour of obsessively reiterating their components, appear in the strongest parts of this book, where momentarily Yates places both the occult

philosophy and its manifestations in Elizabethan literature into political context. Then even the most innocent student reader might become aware of the historical crudity in drawing a rhumb line from Pico della Mirandola to *The Tempest*, without considering the wide ocean of events in which all those strange creatures swam.

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**Zettersten**, Arne, and Bernhard Diensberg, eds., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle: The 'Vernon' Text* (Early English Text Society O.S. 310), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000; cloth; pp. xxx, 130; RRP £30.00; ISBN 0197223141.

In 1976, Arne Zettersten edited the text of *Ancrene Riwle* from Cambridge, Magdalen College MS Pepys 2498 for the Early English Text Society, as part of a series of diplomatic transcriptions of the text in English, French and Latin. This edition of the text as it appears in the Vernon manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet. a. I) is the final volume of the sequence.

In the introduction to this edition, based on materials supplied by the editors, H. L. Spencer discusses the context for the inclusion of the thirteenth-century *Ancrene Riwle* in the manuscript, produced in the second half of the fourteenth century in the West Midlands, along with other religious texts in the vernacular. Spencer argues that the presence of the text is witness to the continued popularity of *Ancrene Riwle* in the fourteenth century and its status as a safe and orthodox text, suitable for audiences that included female religious.

Spencer also briefly introduces the complex question of the relationship of the Vernon recension of the *Ancrene Riwle* to other versions. The Vernon text represents a scribal attempt to collate a text similar to that recorded in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 402, known in the EETS editions as *Ancrene Wisse*, with the other branch of the textual tradition, which exists in more numerous versions. Vernon is the only text to incorporate a Latin Marian hymn by Marbod of Rennes (16-18).

Following the editorial method used in earlier editions in the series, errors in the manuscript are reproduced in the text and corrected in the footnotes. Most

abbreviations have been silently expanded. Collation has been provided with the Corpus text and the text of London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. xiv, which are closely linked to Vernon, and at times with other manuscripts.

The publication of this volume completes part of a significant project, which will be of lasting importance for scholars both of the *Ancrene Riwe* and the Vernon manuscript. The current volume also forms a useful accompaniment to the Vernon facsimile published in 1987 by D. S. Brewer, with an introduction by A. I. Doyle. The next step for *Ancrene Riwe* textual scholarship will be the appearance of Bella Millett and George Jack's critical edition, also for the Society.

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