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‘Devils Liquore’ and ‘Virgins Milke’: Fashion, Fetishism and Jonson’s Line

Elizabeth Moran

Many observers of the nascent consumer culture of early modern London asserted that fashionable consumption encouraged the creation of ephemeral identities at the cost of the family line. Ben Jonson had a particular interest in fashion’s corrosive effect upon the line, given his sense of his own patrilineal literary inheritance. His satires of fashion, notably in *Epicoene* (1609), *The Devil is an Ass* (1616), and many poems, allow us to consider the precise mode of perception by which consumption may destroy the line – a barren, fetishistic mentality which displaces generative appetites from bodies to objects.

I. Fashion and the Line

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, English satirists and moralists produced a considerable anti-fashion discourse. Modern and post-modern analyses of fashion tend to proceed on the premise that a person gains an identity on assuming the latest style. Yet many early modern observers instead consider what is abandoned and effaced: the family line. There is a strong sense that families are destroyed in economic terms by excessive consumption and, as a result of the perceived promiscuity of fashionable women, may be wasted biologically as well. ‘The Funeral Obseques of Sir All-in-New-Fashions’¹ distills exactly this sense that fashion may erase a family: the modish corpse of Sir All-in is mourned by tailors and spurriers, but no heir.² Ben Jonson is only the most eminent satirist to show an interest

1 F. P. Wilson, ‘The Funeral Obsequies of Sir All-in-New-Fashions’, *Shakespeare Survey*, 11 (1958), 98–99. Wilson dates the engraving to c.1625–30.

2 Sir All-in New Fashions is laid out in the style of the mid-1620s, with wide-topped boots, a feather in his hat and beard gummed to a stiletto point. His fellow ‘gallantes’ lead the cortege, while behind them march the deceased’s tailors, shoe-makers, spurriers, and haberdashers – an entirely acquired commercial community. In place of flags bearing the familial coat of arms, the gallants display Sir All-in’s clothes, which strike lifelike postures on their journey to the pawnbrokers in Houndsditch or Longlane. Mode denies both history and posterity and instead, like the cortege itself, circulates in the present. The purpose of the heraldic funeral is ‘to commemorate the deceased’s role within society and to perpetuate this beyond the apparent dead end of mortality’ (Susan Vincent, *Dressing the*

in such matters of fashion and lineage in his *Discoveries*, his poetry, and in *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) and *Epicoene* (1609).³ It is unsurprising that he should do so, given that he considered himself heir to a patrilineal literary inheritance stretching back to antiquity, yet worked in a literary marketplace which reduced plays to fashions of choice. Mode, in its Jonsonian incarnation, encourages its adherents to confuse separate moral and ontological categories: to treat people like things and to treat things like people. And on occasion, Jonson represents this mentality in explicitly sexual forms as idolatry (or, in modern terms, fetishism) by which desire is displaced from fecund bodies to barren commodities; the inevitable casualty is the line.

It is well known that a bourgeois consumer culture came to full bloom in the eighteenth century in England.⁴ Only now, however, are we coming to understand that this culture's first intimations were evident in early modern times.⁵ By the turn of the seventeenth century, London boasted many public arenas in which the conspicuous display of modish attire was a daily phenomenon: the centre aisle of St Paul's, the Royal Exchange (which housed merchants as well as up-market stores), the New Exchange (a sort of Renaissance shopping mall), and the public and private playhouses. Such arenas of fashion were understood to share a mode of performative selfhood typical of the conspicuous consumer.⁶ Thomas Dekker offered satirical advice to one of his 'fashionate gulls': after your fifth turn around St Paul's, 'make your selfe away, either in some of the Sempsters' shops, the new Tobacco-

Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003) p. 62), but Sir All-in's supine corpse and upright attire send a terrible message of disorder: objects are immortal, bodies are barren.

- 3 All references to the *Discoveries*, the plays and the poetry of Ben Jonson are taken from *Ben Jonson*, eds C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925–52), vols 1–10.
- 4 See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997).
- 5 See Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- 6 I use the term 'conspicuous consumption' in the sense formulated by Thorstein Veblen as the most striking and excessive manifestation of 'pecuniary emulation' (*The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1925, London: Allen and Unwin, 1949), pp. 31–32).

office, or amongst the Booke-sellers, where, if you cannot reade, exercise your smoake, and inquire who has writ against this divine weede, &c'.⁷ Jonson aligned the theatrical metaphor with artistic form when he staged such gallants in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, whose entire third act takes place in St Paul's. However, the very insistence with which this surface-depth paradigm is deployed to debunk pretension and aspiration suggests that there are other ways to understand the relationship between people and their garments.

As Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass have brilliantly argued, attire could be understood to *constitute* identity:⁸ 'We need to understand the animatedness of clothes' say Jones and Stallybrass, 'their ability to ... mold and shape [subjects] both physically and socially, to constitute subjects through their power as material memories'.⁹ Such 'material memories' encompass present allegiances to a household or guild. However, for my purposes, it is important to note that a material 'memory' of necessity invests its wearer with a past, including a collective and hierarchical identity founded on the bloodline. Thus, Elizabethan nobility tended to purchase luxuries on behalf of the collective status of the family, rather than on an individual's behalf,¹⁰ while other practices, such as livery and investiture, materialized a family line in attire and constituted individual identity as an emanation of the line.¹¹ It was common, too, for testators to bequeath clothing to their relatives. For instance, in 1569, Thomas Myldmay, a squire, left to his brother 'one of my gowns, one of my jackets and one of my doublets' and 'a ring of gold price 30s. with the scripture on the same *Remember me*'.¹² Clothing was also

7 Thomas Dekker, *The Guls Horn-Booke* (London, 1609) in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. A. B. Grosart, vol. 2 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 231.

8 *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 3.

9 Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 2.

10 Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 13.

11 On livery and investiture see: Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 8, 18–21; David Starkey, 'The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts c.1350–1550', in *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen Medcalf (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 224–90 (pp. 264–65); Clare Gittens, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 176–77.

12 *Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex Gentry and Merchants*, ed. F.G. Emmison (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1978), vol. 4, p. 114.

pawned, hired, and sold secondhand, so many people would have worn attire well used by others.

Yet in the early modern period garments circulated in increasing numbers as commodities¹³ and a commodity, by its very nature, lacks a history or stable essence.¹⁴ According to the famous Marxian formula, the process of exchange strips an object of its past, as that object changes into money on exchange and resumes commodity form when a new purchase is made.¹⁵ Many seventeenth-century commodities must have seemed devoid of history for this, as well as other, reasons. Fashionable objects were often imported from abroad, their makers unknown. When John Stow catalogued the luxuries on display in London shops circa 1580, he included: ‘Gloves made in *France* or *Spain*, Kersies of *Flanders* Dye, *French* cloth or Frizado, Owches, Brooches, Agglets made in *Venice* or *Milan*.’¹⁶ Such *exotica*¹⁷ evokes foreign lands with no connection to history or home; indeed, that may be its allure. If heirlooms move down the line, looking to the past, commodities circulate without origin or destination, springing to life in the present and carrying with them the promise of future mutation in exchange.

This absence of history in the commodity form is matched, on occasion, by the ephemeral quality of its purchasers. No matter how much the man of mode desires individual pre-eminence, he also joins a group – those in style.¹⁸ A fashionable milieu, however, has no essence or history; it is by definition evanescent – distinguishable from and, in some respects, a substitute for, the original collective of the family. In *The Staple of News* (1626), Jonson’s prodigal young heir, Penny-boy Junior, creates an adult identity *sui generis*

13 Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 11.

14 Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 8; Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64–91 (p. 69).

15 See Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowlkes (London: Penguin, 1990), vol. 1, p. 200.

16 John Stow, *A Survey of the cities of London and Westminster; And the Borough of Southward ... Corrected, Improved, and very much Enlarged in the Year 1720 by John Strype ... brought down to the present Time by Careful Hands* (London: [n.pub.] 1754, vol. 2), pp. 278–79.

17 See Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, pp. 347–53 on imports.

18 J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1930) p. 140. See also Georg Simmel, ‘Fashion’, in *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings by Georg Simmel*, ed. Donald N. Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 294–323 (p. 304).

through the sartorial repudiation of his father:

There, there, drop my wardship,
[He throws off his gowne.]
My pupill age, and vassalage together.
And Liberty, come throw thy selfe about me,
In a rich suite, cloake, hat and band, for now
I'le sue out no mans Livery but mine owne.
(I.1.15–19)¹⁹

Penny-boy enjoys such liberty in part because mode was understood to thrive in the city and, as such, enjoys a special capacity to wipe clean the slate of history: who recognizes lineage on the streets of London, where thousands of city dwellers were deracinated rural people and, for the most part, strangers?²⁰ Urban subjectivity (unlike familial identity cultivated across time in a rural community) need not defer to the past but may result from sheer self-assertion in the present moment.

Such performances are underwritten by the spectacular nature of luxurious commodities themselves, understood by Walter Benjamin to create a 'phantasmagoria'

where exchange value no less than use value lost practical meaning, and purely representation value came to the fore. Everything desirable, from sex to social status, could be transformed into commodities as fetishes-on-display that held the crowd enthralled even when personal possession was far beyond their reach.²¹

Although Benjamin was describing nineteenth-century Paris, many observers of early-modern London intuit that city's similar propensity to catalyze identities founded solely on representational value.²² Jonson's own 'fetish-on-display' takes human form in 'On English Mounsieur', a fashionable man about town

19 Jonson, *The Staple of News*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 6.

20 See Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 39, and Patricia Fumerton, 'London's Vagrant Economy: Making Space for "Low Subjectivity"', in *Material London ca.1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 206–225 (p. 220).

21 Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), pp. 81–82.

22 See, for example, John Earle, *Microcosmography*, ed. Alfred S. West (1633; rpt. Cambridge: The University Press, 1920), p. 68.

likened to ‘The new *french*-taylors motion, monthly made,/Daily to turne in Pauls, and helpe the trade’ (15–16).²³ Urban identity may be nothing more than a fantasy of material display, purchased on credit or hired secondhand. In the playhouse, in particular, ‘young men were identified neither by pedigree nor by social standing but by “a mode of perception” whereby they made clothes “the object of an arrested or fetishistic scrutiny”’.²⁴

Fashionable people, then, seem to be stripped of their past and to live metamorphically from moment to moment. In 1589, Philip Gawdy reported to his sister-in-law on the latest styles of hood, and we can hear his exasperation still: ‘Some weare crispins some weare none. Some weare sattin of all collors with their upper border and some weare none ... I fynd nothing more certayne then their uncertaynty.’²⁵ Patrick Hannay’s fictitious knight (whose ‘chiefe *care*’ is ‘to tricke him neatly up’) is not much better, worthy of a place amongst ‘*Ovids* changlings’,²⁶ Such denunciations of fashion reflect in pejorative terms a belief held by modish people themselves: commodities carry a transformative charge so that associations derived from one context may be conjured up in new milieux.²⁷ The boundary between a person and his garments comes into question: ‘In fashion, the phantasmagoria of commodities presses closest to the skin.’²⁸ As the commodity is metamorphic by nature, and fashions change, is it any wonder that the man of mode is mutable? If heirlooms are a way of remembering; fashions are about forgetting.²⁹

No matter how frivolous or unthinking any individual act of mode might

23 Jonson, ‘On English Mounsieur’, Epigram 88, *Epigrammes*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

24 Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 44.

25 Quoted in Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p. 108.

26 *A Happy Husband Or Directions for a Maide to Choose Her Mate* (London: [n.pub.] 1618), B3^v.

27 See Wolfram Schmidgen, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Law of Property* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 125–29.

28 Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing*, p. 97.

29 The implausible denouement of Jonson’s *The New Inn* is a striking instance of attire effacing the past. The Frampul family, unknown to one other, spend the play in disguise and recognize one another only when items of misleading attire are removed. If heirlooms materialize the line in a way which reinforces biological identity, attire enjoys the opposite capacity to estrange a family.

have been, the practice is hardly innocent of ideology. Fashion challenges the feudal virtues of hierarchy, stasis, and above all, lineage. These values were already distended to breaking point by nascent capitalism³⁰ and mobility, both upward and downward, in the gentry.³¹ Gentility, the fundamental status distinction, was determined by criteria including lineage, leisure, and land but also by conspicuous consumption.³² And although lip service continued to be paid to a divine hierarchy of rank and calling, most aspects of gentility could be acquired rather than inherited:³³ land was bought, noble lineages were invented,³⁴ and by 1615, James I's inflation of honours extended to the sale of peerages.³⁵ Attire becomes an especially unreliable marker of status: in London, 'you shall meete with sir *Lawrence lack-land*, in a Cloake lined through with Velvet'.³⁶ Modish people, it appears, accept the power of materiality to constitute identity but trust that the commodity form liberates that power from the containment of the line and turns it to the ends of self-fashioning. Such challenges to social order were abhorrent to social conservatives: 'every one is permitted to flaunt it out, in what apparell he lust himselfe ... So that it is verie hard to knowe, who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is gentleman, who is not'.³⁷

This effacement of history and lineage reaches its apogee in the outright destruction of the family. If one believes that gentility can be attained purely through its signification, a family's economic resources might be dissipated by an heir sufficiently ambitious or insecure. Faddish devotees of tobacco vent 'more Smoke at their noses, then is in their Chimneyes ... making ... a puffe of all that their fathers so carefully purchast'.³⁸ Jonson's image of self-consumption of this type is redolent of unnatural inversion: the 'court worme' first appears in white silk, 'Where, afterwards, it grew a butter-flye:/

30 Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558–1641* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press: 1965), pp. 23–27, 35–36.

31 Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 36–39.

32 Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1982), p. 25; Stone, *Crisis*, p. 50.

33 Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 20.

34 Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 29. Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 23, 68–69.

35 Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 104–05.

36 Barnabe Rich, *The Honestie of this Age* (London, 1614), p. 8.

37 Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses* (London, 1583, rpt. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Company, 1972), C2^v.

38 *Muld Sacke or The Apologie of Hic Mulier* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1610) rpt in *Three Pamphlets on the Jacobean Antifeminist Controversy* (Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1978), C^r.

Which was a cater-piller. So't will dye' (3–4).³⁹ The acme of the wasteful aspirant is the man who has 'a *Farne* clapt upon his feete ... a *Mannor* wrapt about his body ... the *Tythes* (*Christs patrymonie*) ... turn'd to a Cap'.⁴⁰ Land, symbol of familial fertility and nobility, is turned to trinkets. Given the macrocosmic significance of the family, it is no wonder the Puritan, Philip Stubbes, denounced starch as the 'devils liquore'.⁴¹

It is clear, then, that fashion depletes the economic resources of the line. Yet the higher cost may be biological – a product of the supposed carnality of the fashionable lady. Mode is imagined consistently as a female preoccupation:⁴² 'who is it but ... *Lady new fashions*, that setteth a worke these new fangled *Tailers*, these *Body-makers*, these *Perfumers* ... and all the rest of these inventers of *vanities*'.⁴³ There is some truth to the notion that women enjoyed shopping for novelty.⁴⁴ Yet the femininity of fashion is at base an ideological observation, informed by the classical critique of luxury and its personification of that vice as a woman.⁴⁵ There is no question that the birthplace of many fashions was the court – a milieu over which King James presided with a lively appreciation of the well-dressed courtier – yet the court itself was troped as feminine in its indulgence of appetite at the expense of reason in the form of feasting, music, dancing,⁴⁶ and, I would argue, fashion.⁴⁷

39 Jonson, *On Court-Worme*, Epigram 15, *Epigrammes*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

40 John Williams, *A Sermon of Apparell* (London, 1620; rpt. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and Walter J. Johnson, 1979), p. 18.

41 Stubbes, F4^v.

42 Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, pp. 61–71; Elizabeth Moran, 'Hatching Fashion: Consumption, Femininity and Fashion in Early Modern London', in *The Touch of the Real*, ed. Philippa Kelly (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2002), pp. 125–42.

43 Barnabe Rich, *My Ladies Looking Glass*, London, 1616, p. 12.

44 Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 69.

45 See John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), Chapters 1 and 2, esp. pp. 44–45.

46 David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 61.

47 Anne of Denmark of course exerted a significant cultural role at court, principally through her involvement in court entertainments, including masques written by Jonson: see Clare McManus, "'Defacing the Carcass": Anne of Denmark and Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness*', in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon*, eds Julie Sanders, Kate Chedgzoy, and Susan Wiseman (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. 93–113.

Nevertheless, once mode is understood to be a feminine vice, terrible sexual hazards ensue. Barnabe Rich's social climber, 'my Lady *New fashions*', in her previous social incarnation was 'a common Strumpet'.⁴⁸ The demarcation between modish women and 'whores' is at best porous, at worst non-existent; it was only too easy for country maidens to undergo a sexual and sartorial transformation into city 'whores'.⁴⁹ The putative promiscuity of modish ladies is more likely to reflect patriarchal anxiety than female behaviour, but women certainly did display themselves in the theatres, the Exchanges and St Paul's,⁵⁰ and it is clear that human beings, as well as objects, may become commodities. Many who traduce the fashionable lady intuit an erotic force in the marketplace which transforms 'everything that is for sale into an object of desire, and all that is desirable into an object of exchange'.⁵¹ Critics of fashion repudiate the notion that attire transforms social status, yet have no doubt that mode entails real reification: 'in London she buyes her head, her face, her fashion'.⁵²

Thus, modish women are both consumers and sexual commodities⁵³ and their dual capacities adulterate the line in both biological and economic terms. The figure of the fashionable lady often evokes the displacement of carnal appetites from bodies to objects: a woman who 'buyes her head' is reduced to a barren constellation of objects. The flip side of the figure – the fetishized object – has similarly disastrous consequences for the line. Thomas Dekker personified the deadly sin of pride as a '*Lemman*' [prostitute], impregnated by

48 Rich, *My Ladies*, p. 11. See also Adam Hill, *The Crie of England, A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse* (London, 1595), for the cautionary tale of the 'Bactrians, whose wives fell from the pride of apparell to whoredome' (p. 42).

49 See Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy 1598–1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 128–34.

50 Levy Peck also notes the sexual anxieties surrounding female consumption and provides examples of women who shopped independently in public spaces (*Consuming Splendor*, pp. 68–71).

51 Naomi Schor, 'Before the Castle: Women, Commodities, and Modernity in *Au Bonheur des Dames*', in *Bad Objects: Essays Popular and Unpopular* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), (pp. 149–55, p. 154).

52 Thomas Tuke, *A Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women* (London: 1616), p. 60.

53 See Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) and her discussion of early modern representations of women as good, and goods as feminine (p. 133).

a tailor to produce ‘*Phantasticality and Fashions*’. Such novelties ‘no sooner came into the world, but the fairest Wives of thy Tennants snatcht them up into their armes, layd them in their laps and to their breasts’.⁵⁴ Illegitimacy here figures conspicuous consumption, with its power to dissipate a family’s wealth through the fetishism of objects, yet the flesh-and-blood carnality of the modish woman underlies the trope. Bastards, like fashions, are a paradox – a generation which contaminates, and so depletes, the line.

In short, where the commodity enables individual ascent,⁵⁵ it erodes familial and historical allegiance, replacing linear subjectivity with disjunctive self-fashioning.⁵⁶ Modish people – solipsistic and reified, barren or bastardized – efface the past and consume the future. This is the end of the line.

II. Ben Jonson – Fashion and Nobility

Ben Jonson displays a keen interest in matters of attire, including fashion, and one attitude recorded in his commonplace book, *Discoveries*, serves as a pithy summation of his sartorial conservatism: ‘Would you not laugh, to meet a great Counsellor of state in a flat cap ... and yond Haberdasher in a velvet Gowne, furr’d with sables?’⁵⁷ Although the disjunction between the haberdasher and his attire is a metaphor for linguistic abuse and deceit,⁵⁸ it also evokes the real material practice of dress as one aspect of a general tendency to value the superficial, sensuous, and material over the deep and intangible.⁵⁹ Jonson himself is depicted in the well-known portrait by Abraham van Blyenberch (c.1617) in a style befitting a Puritan – dressed in sober black and sporting no accoutrements or marks of lineage or social status.⁶⁰ A key

54 Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London in The Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. 2, p. 36.

55 See Lawrence Stone’s discussion of the growth of individualism in the seventeenth century in *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), pp. 223–31 and C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 53–68.

56 Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), discusses the fashionable self as frozen in time (p. 32).

57 *Discoveries*, eds. Herford and Simpson, vol. 8, lines 2056–60.

58 See Jonson, *Discoveries*, lines 314–15.

59 ‘If wee will looke with our understanding, and not our senses, wee may behold vertue, and beauty, (though cover’d with rags) in their brightnesse; and vice, and deformity so much the fowler, in having all the splendor of riches to guild them’ (*Discoveries*, lines 1429–33).

60 The van Blyenberch portrait is held by the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 2752)

aspect of Jonson's apparent distrust of materiality is the capacity for attire, including fashionable attire, to simulate and to debase the currency of 'true nobility', and with it, the line.

The classical notion of 'true nobility' was rearticulated in the sixteenth century in an attempt to 'match noble birth and political responsibility'. However, it was clear that 'signs of aristocratic status may ascribe a nobility that members of the aristocracy do not possess'⁶¹ Jonson's ideal of social order coincided largely, although not precisely, with a noble bloodline and his notion of true nobility comprehended intangible qualities of the self,⁶² such as humanistic learning.⁶³ While clothes should reflect one's birth, rank, and accomplishments, Jonson is concerned with the 'transformation of speech and clothes into signs intended to declare one's putative virtues, and to hide from others – and oneself – the fact of their nonexistence'.⁶⁴

If all attire entails the potential to lay false claim to nobility, fashion poses additional challenges for Jonson in light of the other component of his ideal subjectivity – the 'centered self' who attains moral stature by eschewing mutation: 'Good men are the Stars, the Planets of the Ages wherein they live, and illustrate the times ... For though the most be Players, some must be Spectators.'⁶⁵ Those who repudiate change attain a moral stature denied to people who, like players, transform themselves at will.⁶⁶ These complementary models of the 'truly noble' and the 'centered' coincide in Jonson's celebration of exemplary individuals whose virtue throws into sharp relief (and is defined against) the deficiencies of the fashionable subject.

Thomas Greene's seminal discussion of the Jonsonian 'centered self' acknowledges that several of these tributes 'come to rest at their conclusions upon an image of rooted stability, typically situated in an actual residence, a house or estate'.⁶⁷ Thus *To Penshurst* imbricates the centered, noble self of

and may be viewed at www.npg.org.uk/collections.

61 Michael McCanles, *Jonsonian Discriminations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 102.

62 McCanles, *Jonsonian Discriminations*, pp. 68–69.

63 McCanles, *Jonsonian Discriminations*, pp. 48, 121.

64 McCanles, *Jonsonian Discriminations*, p. 103.

65 *Discoveries*, lines 1100–01, 1108–09. See Thomas M. Greene, 'Ben Jonson and the Centered Self', rpt in *Ben Jonson, Modern Critical Views*, ed. Harold Bloom (New Haven: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987), pp. 89–110.

66 *Discoveries*, lines 1093–99.

67 Greene, 'Centered Self', p. 93.

Sidney with its material expression:

Thou art not, PENSURST, built to envious show,
Of touch, or marble: nor canst boast a row
Of polish'd pillars, or a rooffe of gold

...

Thou joy'st in better markes, of soyle, of ayre,
Of wood, or water: therein thou art faire.

(1–3, 7–8)⁶⁸

Sidney repudiates solipsistic or modish expressions of status and embraces acts of communal and familial hospitality of the type praised as an 'ancient custom of this realm of England ... [by which] all nobleman and gentleman ... did continually inhabit the countries, continuing from age to age, and from ancestor to ancestor, a continual house and hospitality'.⁶⁹ In the practice of hospitality, land and line sustain a permanent community; indeed, the passage of time was regarded by Coke as the 'efficient cause' of a family estate.⁷⁰ Fashion opposes these values almost exactly: individual consumption is oriented to the present moment, heedless of the past and destructive of the future. By contrast, Penshurst, with its bountiful soil, air, woods and water, is a landscape of enduring plenitude: 'Thou hast thy ponds, that pay thee tribute fish,/Fat, aged carps, that runne into thy net'(32–33).

Land is the absolute value which founds this order;⁷¹ its abundance a prophylactic against the market's invitation to exchange objects and social positions, to dissipate an inheritance. The fertility of earth both guarantees and figures the vitality of the line:

That taller tree, which of a nut was set
At his great birth, where all the Muses met.

68 Jonson, *To Penshurst*, in *The Forrest*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

69 Anon., *Of Cyvile and uncyvile life* (1579) STC 15589 quoted by R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Material Culture, Metropolitan Influences and Moral Authority in Early Modern England', in *Material Culture and Cultural Materialism*, ed. Curtis Perry (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 203–24 (p. 205).

70 *The Compleate Copy-Holder* (1641) quoted in Schmidgen, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, pp. 16–17.

71 Georg Simmel attributes this belief especially to feudalism: see *The Philosophy of Money*, trans. Tom Bottomore and David Frisby, ed. David Frisby (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 240–41.

There in the writhed barke, are cut the names
Of many a SYLVANE, taken with his flames.
And thence the ruddy Satyres oft provoke
The lighter Faunes, to reach thy Ladies oke.
(13–18)

As Donaldson points out, ‘The trees of this forest figure, and almost seem to *be*, the people whose names they carry. The “tops” of the wood are “fertile” ... in their apparent fostering of, and identity with, the Sidney family itself.’⁷²

Female centred selves, such as Katharine, Lady Aubigny,⁷³ with her changeless face and mind (123–24), have a special role to play in the sustenance of the noble line and the estate. Katharine’s great virtues, as an authentic self ‘not fashion’d for the court, or strangers eyes’ (115), are defined against milieux greedy for change and visual spectacle:

wisely you decline your life,
Farre from the maze of custome, error, strife,
And keepe an even, and unalter’d gait;
Not looking by, or backe (like those, that waite
Times, and occasions, to start forth, and seeme)
Which though the turning world may dis-esteem,
Because that studies spectacles, and shoves,
And after varied, as fresh objects goes,
Giddie with change ...
(59–67)

Katharine, unlike those modish people giddy with change, walks ‘alone’, ‘without companions’ (55–56). As the antithesis of a fashionable clone, she revels in her singularity, following no-one, eschewing all groups and standing aloof from other women’s wastage of the sustaining sources of the line – their bodies and the land:

Let who will follow fashions and attyres,

72 Ian Donaldson, ‘Jonson’s Poetry’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, eds Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 119–39 (p. 129).

73 Jonson, *Epistle to Katharine, Lady Aubigny in The Forrest*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

Maintayne their liedgers forth, for forraine wyres,
 Melt downe their husbands land, to poure away
 On the close groom, and page, on new-yeeres day.
 (71–74)

Katharine, instead, ensures that her family flourishes by ‘the glad encrease/ Of your blest wombe, made fruitfull from above’ (94–95).

A woman of such chaste privacy entails no threat to a husband’s line – unlike those gaudy ladies whose ‘brave sinne’ (like their brave attire) is to have ‘gone wrong to man’ (84–85). Centered *female* selves are valued, above all, for their generative capacity, a biological counterpart to the fecundity of the land. Thus Jonson, though echoing a broader preoccupation with fashion’s challenge to the hierarchy of rank, centers his critique on the reification of nobility: bloodline, land, and stasis oppose self-fashioning, dissipation and disorder.

III. Fashion and the Playwright

Yet Jonson the playwright found himself working in milieux highly attuned to the imperatives of fashion: the patronage economy, the court, and, above all, the theatre.⁷⁴ Players were exempt from sumptuary laws and thus enjoyed a ‘metasocial’ status which allowed them to be clad on stage in the hand-me-downs of real aristocrats and courtiers.⁷⁵ The private playhouses, in particular, were in turn understood to be arenas of fashion in which ambitious playgoers mounted their own sartorial displays. And plays themselves were commodities to be taken up or dropped at whim. Jonson understood and resented his own economic dependence on such fickle tastes:

Expectation of the *Vulgar* is more drawne and held with newnesse, then goodnesse; wee see it in *Fencers*, in *Players*, in *Poets*, in *Preachers*, in all, where *Fame* promiseth any thing; so it be new, though never so naught, and depraved, they run to it, and are taken.⁷⁶

The choice to attend a play by Jonson could be a fashion-conscious expression

74 See R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1987), pp. 59–61.

75 Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 34, 37, 39.

76 *Discoveries*, lines 405–09.

of social status⁷⁷ – a truth acknowledged by the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* which mocks the playgoers at the Hope with their moth-eaten Tudor tastes: 'Hee that will sweare, *Jeronimo*, or *Andronicus* are the best playes, yet ... a man whose Judgement shewes it is constant, and hath stood still, these five and twentie, or thirtie yeeres.'⁷⁸

Jonson's immersion in this economy of fashion casts in a different light his famous anti-theatrical tendencies. Fearful that audiences will be distracted by the gaudy materiality of the stage, Jonson directs them to cover their eyes and attend to the author's meaning, lodged at the heart of immaterial words: 'Words, above action; matter, above words.'⁷⁹ The admonition rearticulates a Christian, Stoic, and Platonic distrust of impermanence and illusion,⁸⁰ yet it is also a quite contemporary rejection of those playgoers who assume that the price of a ticket has purchased the right to recode the work of art. To buy a play is an expression of self by which the object yields to the shaping will of the Ego.⁸¹ When censuring a play, or praising it, audiences construct a public identity⁸² and impose 'new meaning and definition to the cultural productions themselves'.⁸³ If a play is fashionable, the modish status of its interpreter is confirmed; conversely, the modish nature of an audience makes the play itself *au courant*. Jonson chafes against exactly this knowledge that interpretation (or misinterpretation) can be a shaping act of ownership – an act performed in odious style by the 'Caprichious gallants' who 'sit disperst, making faces, and spitting, wagging their upright eares, and cry filthy filthy'.⁸⁴

The most sustained Jonsonian evocation of a fractious, fashionable audience

77 See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979; London: Routledge, 1989): 'Choosing according to one's tastes is a matter of identifying goods that are objectively attuned to one's position and which 'go together' because they are situated in roughly equivalent positions in their respective spaces, be they films or plays, cartoons or novels, clothes or furniture' (p. 232).

78 Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, 'Induction', 106–09, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 6.

79 Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, 'The Prologue', 20, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 4.

80 Jonas Barish, *The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 143; Peter Carlson, 'Judging Spectators', *ELH*, 44 (1977), 443–57 (pp. 454–55).

81 Simmel, *Philosophy*, pp. 321–22.

82 Bourdieu refers to this process as a 'mode of appropriation' of a work of art (*Distinction*, p. 270).

83 Ann Bermingham, 'Introduction', pp. 1–22, in *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800*, eds Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 15.

84 Jonson, *The Case is Altered*, II.7.74, 78–79, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 3.

occurs in *The Staple of News* (1626) and it is notable that the rebels are female. The play begins with four ‘Gossips’ taking their seats on the stage, ‘persons of quality ... and women of fashion’ who ‘come to see and to/be seene’ (‘Induction’, 8–10). Their self-fashioning extends to acts of gleeful interpretive violence on the play itself. Having been disappointed by various turns of the plot, their rage boils over when, in Act V, an ostensibly deceased patriarch returns from the dead and thwarts the consumptive excesses of his heir. This is no return of the prodigal son but an irksome resurrection of the frugal father. The playwright, they determine, should be placed in the pillory. Jonson’s ‘Note to the Readers’ complains: the ‘purpose of the Author hath hitherto beene wholly mistaken, and so sinister an interpretation beene made ... [by] these ridiculous Gossips that tattle betweene the Acts’ (‘To the Readers’, 3–5, 6–7). The Jonsonian distrust of audience interpretation appears, at least on this occasion, to constitute a rejection of the feminized consumer culture which adopts interpretive liberty as a mode of self-fashioning.

Jonson is implicated in the fashionable monde on other grounds, too, and these go to the heart of his creativity. As an imitative artist in the humanist mould, he called upon the example of classical forefathers as teachers, models, and sources of moral authority. Following Quintilian, *Discoveries* noted approvingly that those writers who ‘are familiar with the best Authors, shall ever and anon find somewhat of them in themselves’.⁸⁵ The imitator must:

convert the substance, or Riches of an other *Poet*, to his owne use. To make choise of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him, till he grow very *Hee*: or, so like him, as the Copie may be mistaken for the Principall.⁸⁶

This passage exhibits a ‘contradiction between total self-surrender to the other ... and total assimilation of the other’⁸⁷ and the notion poses obvious dangers to a poet who sought to impose his authority as poetic producer on mere reader-consumers. Imitation might appear to be mere copying⁸⁸ analogous to the modish man’s aping of his superiors. Indeed, the charge of plagiarism

85 See Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 274.

86 Jonson, *Discoveries*, lines 2468–71.

87 Greene, *Light*, p. 275.

88 Marjorie Swann, ‘Refashioning Society in Ben Jonson’s *Epicoene*’, *SEL*, 38 (1998), 297–315 (p. 305).

was levelled at Jonson during his lifetime and posthumously.⁸⁹ Imitation also sits oddly with the Jonsonian 'dialectic of selfhood' by which the morally centred figures are opposed to the negative and 'absolutely protean' ones⁹⁰ as well as with the *Discoveries*' suggestion that the imitation of others leads to the loss of an authentic self.⁹¹

A partial resolution to this apparent incoherence lies in the fact that *imitatio*, as opposed to other modes of copying, places the humanist writer within a patrilineal tradition. Thomas Greene has described imitative texts as having the 'intent of reanimating an earlier text';⁹² though indebted to history and memory, imitation is no mere replication. The 'heuristic' mode of *imitatio* (that is, the mode identified with Jonson) proceeds by choosing from 'the indefinite number of texts stretching behind it in endless regression ... one text as its putative genesis and it defines itself through its revisiting, its "modernizing" ... of that text'.⁹³ Thus true *imitatio* entailed an act of transmutation and individual expression, rather than simple mimicry;⁹⁴ a writer rearticulated classical authorities but spoke within the tradition in a unique voice.⁹⁵ Indeed Jonson was the 'first [English poet] to practice the method in his work in a thoroughgoing way...in the great line of descent from ... Cicero, Horace, the two Senecas, Quintilian, and others'.⁹⁶ The patriarchal nature of this enterprise is obvious. In Seneca's terms, the imitator resembles his forebears 'as a child resembles his father'.⁹⁷ Jonson takes his place as a living son to classical antecedents. This attachment to lineage is unsurprising in a man who was the posthumous son of a minister. Throughout his life, Jonson 'sought his true paternity outside the family' in men such as Raleigh and Hoskyns,⁹⁸ in part, it seems, because of the social decline he suffered

89 Ian Donaldson, "'The Fripperie of Wit': Jonson and Plagiarism', in *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 119–33 (pp. 129–30).

90 Greene, *Light*, pp. 276–77.

91 See the well-known passage in *Discoveries*, lines 1093–99.

92 Greene, *Light*, p. 37.

93 Greene, *Light*, p. 41.

94 See Seneca's 84th Epistle, cited in Donaldson, 'Fripperie', p. 122.

95 Jonson, *Discoveries*, lines 129–39.

96 Richard S. Peterson, *Imitation and Praise in the Poems of Ben Jonson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 5.

97 Peterson, *Imitation and Praise*, p. 20, citing Epistle 84.8.

98 Ian Donaldson, 'Fathers and Sons: Jonson, Dryden, and Mac Flecknoe', in *Jonson's Magic*

upon his mother's remarriage to a bricklayer.⁹⁹ However, if the weight of an exalted classical lineage lends moral authority to the heir, it also excites fears of being subsumed by one's textual fathers,¹⁰⁰ thus 'Jonson sought to represent his poetic autonomy in two ways: a struggle against discursive fathers, and a fathering of his own sons'¹⁰¹ – the Tribe of Ben.

Nor is it the literary heir alone who is subsumed in the Jonsonian line. The *Discoveries* praises the (masculine) author who aspires to leave an almost paternal imprint on his readers: 'How he doth raigne in mens affections; how invade and breake in upon them; and makes their minds like the thing he writes.'¹⁰² And of course, most famously, Jonson figured his late son as his 'best piece of *poetrie*' (10). The dead boy is a poem, but conversely, Jonson's works are themselves intellectual offspring:¹⁰³

The poem's rhetorical *coup* is to convince us ... that what we hear in this language is a chastened father's diffidence toward art ... And yet *On My First Sonne* is Ben Jonson's best piece of poetry ... In this sense the lost boy really is buried in, and by, his father's language.¹⁰⁴

In short, whether the progeny are poets, poems, or readers, 'no other writer in English ... is more firmly associated with the notion of literary paternity'.¹⁰⁵

If *imitatio*, properly practised, is generative and patrilineal, a failure of *imitatio* entails depletion, even theft.¹⁰⁶ Yet this is not the random misappropriation of the cozeners; rather, it constitutes an act of violence against the line. Jonson was 'the first English writer ... to give to the literary thief

Houses: Essays in Interpretation (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 162–79, (p. 163).

99 David Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 9.

100 Douglas Lanier, 'Brainchildren: Self-representation and Patriarchy in Ben Jonson's Early Works', *Renaissance Papers* (1986), 53–68 (pp. 55–56).

101 Lanier, 'Brainchildren', p. 67.

102 Jonson, *Discoveries*, lines 791–93.

103 See Jonson, *On My First Sonne*, Epigram 45, lines 9–10, *Epigrammes*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

104 David Lee Miller, 'All Father: Ben Jonson and the Psychodynamics of Authorship', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 131–47 (p. 140).

105 Donaldson, 'Fathers and Sons', p. 165.

106 Peterson, *Imitation and Praise*, pp. 16–17.

the special name of "plagiary", from Martial's *plagiarus*, or kidnapper'.¹⁰⁷ Plagiarism 'is like the theft of a living thing, indeed of a child from its father'¹⁰⁸ as evidenced by the Jonsonian warning 'To Proule the Plagiary': 'Forbeare to tempt me, PROULE, I will not show/A line unto thee, till the world it know.'¹⁰⁹ Proule's tendency to snaffle a 'line' suggests both a depletion of the true poet's resources and an abbreviation of his literary posterity. And the violence done to a patrilineal literary structure by plagiarists is allied, tellingly, to fashion. Just as a pawnbroker chooses secondhand garments to purchase and resell,¹¹⁰ 'Poet-Ape' scavenges amongst the choice off-cuts of others' literary labour:

Poore POET-APE, that would be thought our chiefe,
Whose workes are eene the fripperie of wit,
From brocage is become so bold a thiefe,
As we, the rob'd, leave rage, and pittie it.¹¹¹

Women participated to a disproportionate degree in the clothes trade (as brokers, agents, and customers)¹¹² and so Poet-Ape's own trade in secondhand literary goods marks him as effeminate. Rather than take his place as the latest emanation of a masculine tradition stretching back to antiquity, Poet-Ape trades in his own 'fripperie', depleting the works of his peers while bringing forth nothing of any value.

The highest and most enduring expression of Jonson's sense of his own patrilineal inheritance is the publication of his Folio *Workes* (1616) in imitation of the *Opera* of Horace and Virgil.¹¹³ The *Workes* thus elevates the plays above

107 Peterson, *Imitation and Praise*, p. 18.

108 Peterson, *Imitation and Praise*, p. 20. See also Peterson's discussion of Jonson's *Old-end Gatherer*, Epigram 53, p. 20.

109 Jonson, *To Proule the Plagiary*, Epigram 81, *Epigrammes*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8, lines 1–2.

110 Ian Donaldson notes 'fripperie' means to trade in secondhand clothes: Donaldson, 'Fripperie', p. 127.

111 Jonson, *On Poet-Ape*, Epigram 56, lines 1–4, *Epigrammes*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

112 Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 31.

113 Joseph Loewenstein, 'The Script in the Marketplace', in *Representing the English Renaissance*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 265–78 (p. 273).

a literary and theatrical marketplace,¹¹⁴ effacing the occasions of theatrical performance¹¹⁵ and instead sets the plays in amber, allowing them to enter libraries as immutable, timeless, and permanent works of art.¹¹⁶ Thus when Jonson sets out to circumscribe the consumptive liberties taken by playgoers and Poet-Apes alike, he does so by placing himself in a lineage of authors and laureate poets stretching back to antiquity.¹¹⁷

IV. Fashion and Fetishism

The discourses of fashion thus illuminate one aspect of Jonson's cultivation of his role as a patriarchal poet laureate, but Jonson in turn illuminates a mode of perception which propels fashion's destruction of the line. *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) and *Epicoene* (1609), I shall argue, crystallize Jonson's preoccupations with attire, line and nobility. *The Devil* centers upon an ambitious squire, Fabian Fitzdottrel, who wishes to ennoble himself through the making of money and the conspicuous display of his material success:

To day I goe to the *Black-fryers Play-house*,
 Sit i'the view, salute all my acquaintance,
 Rise up between the *Acts*, let fall my cloake,
 Publish a handsome man, and a rich suite.
 (I.6.31–34)

Although Fitzdottrel lags one step behind the latest fashions, buying secondhand items from pawnbrokers, he 'thinkes/Himselfe still new, in other men's old' (I.4.24–25) and forces his virtuous wife, Frances, to dress in similarly modish style. When he meets a projector who promises to make him rich and noble through various monopolistic (and entirely imaginary) schemes, his appetites

114 Sara Van Den Berg, 'Ben Jonson and the Ideology of Authorship', in *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, eds Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen (Newark: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Press, 1991), pp. 111–37 (p. 121).

115 Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 182–83.

116 Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 76. See also Timothy Murray, *Theatrical Legitimation: Allegories of Genius in Seventeenth-Century England and France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 79.

117 See Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 101–84.

know no bounds.

This is familiar territory, but uniquely in Jonsonian comedy, *The Devil* invests London with a satanic presence. Occult matters were of considerable topical significance¹¹⁸ in 1616 and *The Devil* begins in hell, where Satan acknowledges his 'trade' in vices of 'quality' and 'fashion', such as 'yellow starch' (I.1.109–13). Fashion, it seems, is a vice, just as vice is fashionable. Yet the allusion to yellow starch brings to mind its most infamous exponent (the accused witch Anne Turner, executed for the murder of Thomas Overbury in 1615) and suggests that the sins of London will give the Devil a run for his money.¹¹⁹ When Pug, a demon, begs Satan to allow him to foment corruption on earth (taking with him a Vice figure from the old Tudor Interludes) we see that the Devil, too, has his doubts:

... But *Pug*,
 As the times are, who is it will receive you? ...
 they are other things
 That are receiv'd now upon earth, for Vices;
 Stranger, and newer: and chang'd every houre
 ...
 Tissue gownes,
 Garters and roses, fourscore pounds a paire,
 Embroydred stockings, cut-worke smocks, and shirts,
 More certaine marks of lechery, now, and pride,
 Then ere they were of true nobility!
 (I.1.88–89, 100–02, 126–30)

118 In London c.1616, occult practices had become very fashionable indeed and the Overbury murder, with its allegations of witchcraft, was a current *cause celebre* (see Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell and the Defence of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 89–90). However, the source of the concern with the incarnation of devils derives from two works of the chaplain to the Bishop of London, Samuel Harsnett. The title of the play refers to an incident recounted by Harsnett in which a demoniac spoke in the voice of Satan, rebuking a priest who had called him names: '*I am no Asse, I will not be mocked*' (Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, in *Shakespeare, Harsnett and the Devils of Denham*, ed. F. W. Brownlow (London: [n.pub.] 1603; rpt. Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1993), p. 290).

119 Anne Turner wore yellow starched ruffs as she went to her death, but not before renouncing pride, yellow bands and other courtly vanities (David Lindley, *The Trials*, pp. 179, 184).

It seems that the city's special sin is a preoccupation with materiality and mis-signification. Yet Pug prevails and comes to earth incarnate in the corpse of a freshly executed cutpurse. When he materializes before Fitzdottrel and duly announces his true name and nature ('devil') the squire and his circle cannot credit the demon's provenance. In London, signs have no reliable connection to referents: Pug must be a Norman – more 'De Vile' than 'devil' (IV.4.187–190).

By coincidence, Fitzdottrel has been trying to conjure the Devil for some time, and the practice provides the first intimation that the squire's worst vice is his incapacity to continue the line. The 'Divell-given *Elfine* Squire' (I.6.95) leaves the long-suffering Frances alone at night, in 'cold Sheetes' (I.6.91–92), so that he may conjure and find hidden treasure. This manifest neglect of his issue reaches its apogee in the squire's love-struck plea to Satan: 'Pray thee, come,/I long for thee. An' I were with child by him,/And my wife, too' (I.2.30–32). The squire's bizarre wish is that both he and his wife might be impregnated by the Devil – in effect, producing a parodic anti-incarnation. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more corrupt form of generation and it is one which hardly constitutes a continuation of Fitzdottrel's line. Its inevitable concomitant is the prostitution of Frances, by which the squire would lend to Satan:

my wives wrought pillowes:
 And as I am an honest man, I thinke,
 If he had a minde to her, too; I should grant him,
 To make our friend-ship perfect. So I would not
 To every man.
 (I.2.47–51)

In this easy elision of some 'wrought pillowes' with his wife as equivalent sources of comfort we first sense Frances's abjection and reification.

In short order, Fitzdottrel grants Frances to someone else entirely – the young gallant, Wittipol, who is struck by Frances' beauty and is well aware that she is married to a fool. The squire will exchange a quarter of an hour of his wife's attention to Wittipol, in exchange for a sumptuous cloak. Frances herself must remain silent (I.6.48–49). The silence of a woman was understood,

typically, as a form of patriarchal compliance,¹²⁰ yet here, Fitzdottrel's gagging of his wife both figures and enables her objectification, and compels her to enter the sexual marketplace he later frankly acknowledges in his description of her as 'a fruite, that's worth the stealing' (II.1.159). Similarly, Fitzdottrel propels Frances into a circle of modish ladies so that she may become a paragon of faddish behaviour, ripe for ennoblement:

Fitz-dottrell: ... yo'are come into the Schole, wife,
Where you may learne, I do perceive it, any thing!
How to be fine, or faire, or great, or proud
...
Bend this stubborne will; be great.
(IV.4.110–12, 127)

What Frances is more likely to learn from this fashionable circle is how to be a 'whore' (IV.4.96–98) as, unbeknownst to Fitzdottrell, the group has been infiltrated by the 'Spanish Lady' – an English widow supposedly returned from Spain, but in reality the transvested Wittipol, still intent on seducing Frances. The squire cheerfully consigns his wife to the 'Lady':

Do with her what you will!
Melt, cast, and forme her as you shall thinke good!
Set any stamp on! I'll receive her from you
As a new thing, by your owne standard!
(IV.4.253–56)

Frances is nothing but a 'new thing', 'any thing', an infinitely malleable property apt to assist her husband's imagined social ascent as a freshly minted noblewoman, severed from history and family. In truth, Frances may become the instrument of Fitzdottrel's destruction – a sexual consumable who causes the line to degenerate into bastardy. The travails of Pug (beaten, cozened, and variously harassed until Satan carries him home to hell) demonstrate that demonic intervention in London is not impossible, just

120 Constance Jordan notes that 'A woman's "modesty" is linked to her silence, and a man's control of her to the forfeit of her sexual and her speaking self. Lacking expression for her self as subject, she becomes merely an object to be used' (*Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 47).

otiose, in the end a joke.

Fitzdottrel's tendency to reify women and to blight his line is adumbrated by Morose, an idiot of similar proportions, in *Epicoene* (1609). Morose is a wealthy member of the gentry who lives in London, but his horror at the city's pervasive noise leads him to lock himself away at home, in a street too narrow for carts or coaches (I.1.167–68) with padded doors, 'double walls, and treble seelings; the windores close shut, and calk'd' (I.1.184–85). Although noise was one of the undoubted disadvantages of urban living,¹²¹ in *Epicoene* it carries a broader significance. Much of the noise to which Morose is pathologically averse emanates from commerce. He enters treaties with fishwives and orange-women to silence their spruiking and 'cannot endure a Costard-monger, he swounes if he hear one' (I.1.154). It is London markets which intimidate Morose, a true agoraphobic, *avant la lettre*. And this implies a deeper fear: he cannot abide the city's overabundance of signification.

At one level, Morose cannot bear to hear words. More subtly, he fears other types of signification equally associated with the marketplace and strongly associated with femininity:¹²² the fashionable 'collegiates', who live apart from their husbands, dress up, gad about, and take lovers. The correlation of female promiscuity with female loquacity was a commonplace¹²³ and when these talkative women invade Morose's home, he retreats to the rafters. An effeminate man who lives in a perpetual fear of violation by sound has no hope of resisting feminine consumption – too late he cries 'barre my dores! barre my dores!' (III.5.33). Morose, it seems, cannot process London's excess of verbal and sartorial signification, especially in its female modes: it is nothing more than terrifying and meaningless 'noise'.

Morose's unmanly fear of city women means that his opportunities to beget an heir have been severely restricted. Indeed, though he has formulated this wish, it arises, paradoxically, from a desire to repudiate biological

121 Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 488.

122 This sense of language and consumption as complementary modes of signification is reinforced by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's notion that commodities are a way of making sense of the world and 'sharing names' with other individuals and households who, in turn, comprise social groups (*The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Allen Lane, 1979), p. 75).

123 See Newman, *Fashioning Femininity*, p. 134, and an example of the speech/sex analogy in Rich, *My Ladies*: 'A harlot is full of words, shee is loude and babbling' (p. 44).

connection in favour of individual ascent. Morose wants to get an heir solely to disinherit his nephew, Dauphine – to 'thrust him out of my bloud like a stranger' (II.5.100–01) – in a fit of pique brought on by Dauphine's purchase of a knighthood which surpasses Morose's own status. Aware of his inability to control *female* signification (and the sexual license such powers imply) Morose therefore seeks a wife who cannot signify – that misogynous, oxymoronic wonder, the 'silent woman'. When he thinks he has found one in the shape of Epicoene, he delights in her silence (and metonymic chastity) but anticipates a scenario in which wilful female linguistic and sartorial signification might coincide:

How will you be able, lady, with this frugalitie of speech, to give the manifold (but necessarie) instructions, for that bodies, these sleeves, those skirts, this cut, that stitch, this embroyderie, that lace, this wife, those knots, that ruffe, those roses, this girdle, that fanne, the tother skarfe, these gloves?
(II.5.76–81)

'I'll leave it to you, sir', she answers (II.5.82). Of course, the wife's willingness to cede her powers of expression is too good to be true: Epicoene is a boy, a 'woman' constituted by objects, and a punishment engineered by Dauphine.¹²⁴ Too late Morose learns the truth and ends the play without issue. This is a world which 'no longer revolves on a reproductive axis'¹²⁵ – Morose, the accidental fetishist, marries a boy, the collegiates abort their foetuses (IV.3.56–61), the gallants are childless, and one of their number harbours an entirely non-reproductive interest in an 'ingle'.

If the line is faltering, both *Epicoene* and *The Devil* locate the principal source of its demise in men. Morose attains his reificatory imagination's desire – an object: 'Did you thinke you had married a statue?' (III.4.37–38) asks Epicoene. Similarly, the fashionable Mrs Otter is nothing more than a constellation of commodities in whom vendors retain a proprietary interest.¹²⁶ 'All her teeth were made i' the Blacke-Friers: both her eye-browes i' the Strand, and her haire in *Silver-street*. Every part o' the towne ownes a peece

124 Swann notes that Dauphine is working both sides of the 'socioeconomic street, trying to maintain his position in a traditional hierarchy of status while also exploiting new opportunities for economic advancement' such as the purchase of a title ('Refashioning Society', p. 300).

125 Swann, 'Refashioning Society', p. 299.

126 Swann, 'Refashioning Society', p. 310.

of her' (IV.2.92–95). But an object, as opposed to a woman – or a woman treated as an object – is incapable of sustaining the line: 'You would be friends with your wife upon un-conscionable termes', Truewit tells Morose, 'her silence' (IV.4.45–46). Frances Fitzdottrel is subjected to similarly unconscionable terms: prohibited from managing domestic affairs, deprived of social engagement or children, she endures Fitzdottrel's 'objectifying jealousy'.¹²⁷ The line can flourish only when men are sufficiently confident to take their place in the public realm and to marry women whom they feel no need to tyrannize or objectify.¹²⁸

However, this impulse to treat women as things is only one half of the mentality which Jonson sets out to discredit. 'The corollary to treating people like property is to treat property like people'¹²⁹ and Fitzdottrel is an excellent exponent of this complementary vice: fetishism. We know early on that Fitzdottrel is attracted to his wife's attire, rather than to her body: 'Himselfe be sordide, hee is sensuall that way./In every dressing hee do's study her' (I.4.17–18). When Pug, eager to experience his unfamiliar carnality, sets out to seduce Frances, Fitzdottrel confronts him: 'Would you be acting of the *Incubus*?/ Did her silks rustling move you?' (II.3.26–27). The squire's tastes are unique in the play, but hardly so in the Jonsonian oeuvre. In 'An Epistle to a Friend, to perswade him to the Warres', the poetic voice muses:

How much did *Stallion* spend
To have his Court-bred-fillie there commend
His Lace and Starch; And fall upon her back
In admiration, stretch'd upon the rack
Of lust, to his rich Suit and Title, Lord?

127 Helen Ostovich, 'Hell for Lovers: Shades of Adultery in *The Devil is an Ass*', in *Refashioning Ben Jonson*, eds Sanders, Chedgzoy, and Wiseman, pp. 155–82 (p. 169).

128 In the shadow of these negative examples of failed masculinity, Jonson gestures towards a form of female subjectivity which avoids the evils of reification at the hands of fools. Frances' reward for repudiating Wittipol's advances is described by Helen Ostovich as a 'de-gendered friendship' (p. 175) rewarded, ultimately, with a life lived autonomously in a state of 'pseudo-widowhood'. Frances is the antithesis of the play's reified fashionable ladies, like the unfortunate woman who falls over to become a 'helpless erotic object' ('Hell for Lovers', pp. 177, 171 respectively).

129 Gail Kern Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 154.

...
To do't with Cloth, or Stuffles, lusts name might merit;
With Velvet, Plush, and Tissues, it is spirit.¹³⁰

The courtesan fetishizes the material expression of aristocratic status so thoroughly that 'Stallion' himself almost disappears, his identity not so much signified by his clothing as dissolved in it. Similarly, 'Sir Voluptuous Beast' has always been more interested in petticoats than the women inside them. He instructs his 'innocent' wife

In the past pleasures of his sensuall life,
Telling the motions of each petticote,
And how his GANIMEDE mou'd, and how his goate,
And now, her (hourely) her owne cucqueane makes,
In varied shapes, which for his lust shee takes.¹³¹

Such practices are not confined to the aristocracy. Nick Stuffle, the tailor in *The New Inn*, has sex with his wife while she wears dresses destined for her superiors, including Lady Frampul.¹³² Stuffle's fantasies are undoubtedly powered by a transgressive desire to possess women otherwise unobtainable by reason of rank and Fitzdottrel's fetishism is similarly ambitious, a heightened expression of every aspirant's faith in the transformative properties of cloth. Indeed, as mode enacts the urban phantasmagoria of commodities on a consumer's very skin, is it any wonder that fashion tips into fetishism?

We should remember that the Marxian and Freudian use of the term, 'fetish'¹³³ is grounded upon a religious trope – the magical beliefs of 'primitive', non-European cultures which imagined objects to exercise supernatural power

130 Jonson, *An Epistle to a Friend, to perswade him to the Warres*, *The Underwood* 15, lines 47–51, 57–58, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

131 Jonson, *On Sir Voluptuous Beast*, Epigram 25, *Epigrammes*, lines 2–6, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

132 Jonson, *The New Inn*, IV.3.63–81. Compare *Volpone*, III.7.200–25 and *The Underwood* 42, *An Elegie*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8, lines 37–42.

133 For Marx's theory of commodity fetishism as an instance of false consciousness see Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, pp. 163–71. See also Sigmund Freud, who opines that an 'inanimate object' which replaces a person for sexual purposes is 'with some justice likened to the fetishes in which savages believe that their gods are embodied' ('The Sexual Aberrations', in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905; rpt. London: Imago Publishing Company, 1949), pp. 13–50 (p. 32)).

over humanity. For many seventeenth-century Englishmen, however, fetishists existed far closer to home, in the form of idolatrous Roman Catholics.¹³⁴ When Jonson depicts what we understand as ‘fetishism’, he displays to his own culture a form of sexual idolatry.

Idolatry is elaborated in various modes in the Judaeo-Christian tradition but its essence is ‘an objective representation of something that is, in reality, subjective’¹³⁵ or divine. The Hebrew Bible locates idolatry in specific practices such as the worship of gold, silver, and the products of human labour,¹³⁶ while the Pauline and later Christian elaboration of the sin is more capacious, extending to a post-lapsarian ‘carnal orientation’ fixated on the things of this world.¹³⁷ Augustine understood idolatry as a ‘habit of mind’ by which the idolater failed to comprehend that the material world refers beyond itself to the spiritual realm.¹³⁸ This is a teleological problem. On the Aristotelian view that informs Augustine, the telos of any object is its cause and final end but ‘idolatry ... misconstrues the telos of the material sign, mistaking it for the spiritual referent’.¹³⁹ The idolater thus embraces a ‘fleshly’ or ‘fetishistic consciousness’¹⁴⁰ and accords to mere materiality powers proper to man or God.

The Reformation critique of Catholic ritual locates such idolatry principally in transubstantiation, in which the priest stands accused of objectifying humanity as well as divinity, co-opting Christ to ‘make him meat, when it pleaseth’.¹⁴¹ Relics evince a similar reduction of the subjective, as saints became ‘novelties’: ‘*Saint Annes thumbe ... Saint Peters tooth ... a peece of the fatte of Saint*

134 See Jones and Stallybrass for instances in which the fetishism practised by colonized peoples were understood as akin to Catholic ritual practices (*Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 8–10).

135 David Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature 1580–1680* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 58.

136 Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace*, p. 54.

137 Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace*, pp. 56–57.

138 Katherine Eisaman Maus, ‘Idol and Gift in Volpone’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 35 (2005), 429–53 (p. 433).

139 Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace*, p. 53.

140 Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace*, p. 58.

141 Thomas Becon, ‘The Displaying of the Popish Mass’, in *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon*, ed. John Eyre (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), pp. 251–85, (p. 259). See also William Tyndale, ‘A Brief Declaration of the Sacraments’ (1536) in *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures*, ed. Henry Walter (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1848), pp. 345–85, (pp. 373–74).

Laurence.'¹⁴² Jonson and other satirists proceed to transpose this religious paradigm into the commercial realm. Thus John Marston's gallant, 'Publius',

... laughs that Papists honor Images,
 And yet ...
 I saw him court his Mistres looking-glasse,
 Worship a busk-poynt, (which in secrecie
 I fere was conscius of strange villanie.)
 ...
 But if he get her itch-allaying [hair] pinne,
 O sacred relique, straight he must beginne
 To rave out-right ...
 Kisse, blesse, adore it, *Publius*, never linne,
 Some sacred vertue lurketh in the pinne.¹⁴³

If Publius's putative mistress embraces the sexual mode of idolatry, the gallant has fetishism thrust upon him, enacting his unmaning through the worship of her dildo.

Fitzdottrel undergoes a similarly ridiculous abasement: he falls 'desperately enamoured' of the Spanish Lady, pronouncing her to be, 'The top of woman! All her sex in abstract!/I love her, to each syllable, falls from her' (IV.4.244–45). It is appropriate that the Lady should attract a fetishist, given her own idolatrous association as an advocate of fashions drawn from Catholic Spain and of cosmetics, such as 'The Virgins milke for the face' (IV.4.52), which enjoy miraculous properties associated in popular belief with relics.¹⁴⁴ The

142 Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel* (London, 1599), p. 220.

143 John Marston, *The Scourge of Villainie, Satire VIII*, in *The Poems of John Marston*, ed. Arnold Davenport (London: [n.pub.] 1598; rpt. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961), pp. 152–53, lines 85–86, 93–94, 100–02, 108–09. For further examples of the trope see Ester Sowernam, *Ester hath hang'd Haman*, in *Female Replies to Swetnam the Woman-hater*, ed. Charles Butler (London: [n.pub.] 1617; rpt. Bristol: Thoemmes, 1995), p. 23; Joseph Swetnam, *The Araignment of Lewde, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women in Female Replies* (London: [n.pub.] 1615, rpt in ed. Butler), p. 3; Thomas Nashe, *Christs Teares Over Jerusalem* in *Works of Thomas Nashe*, vol. 2, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1910), pp. 7–175, (p. 136); William Prynne, *The Unlovelinesse of Lovelockes* (London, 1628; rpt. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and Walter J. Johnson, 1976), pp. 5–6, 9, 58, 63.

144 It is possible that Jonson is alluding to Anne Turner's occult and Catholic associations, having repudiated her Catholicism before her execution (Lindley, *The Trials*, p. 181).

squire is in fact in love with Wittipol in drag – a ‘woman’ composed entirely of objects and conceived in the projector’s imagination from a gown (II.8.23–24). Indeed, transvestism itself may be considered an instance of fetishism,¹⁴⁵ so that the squire’s infatuation validates his own proclivities. Fitzdottrel’s fetishism is a sexual extrapolation of his general tendency to divorce signs from their referents (treating attire, or a tract of land, as a substitute for true nobility) so that finally, his love for the Spanish Lady is directed towards a referent which does not exist. It is London’s nascent consumer culture which nourishes this mentality: femininity is a matter of commercial construction. In this sense, Fitzdottrel’s love of objects expresses tacit proclivities which afflict every gallant in love with a fashionable lady.

The Spanish Lady therefore embodies two very serious threats to the line: ‘she’ inserts herself into the marital breach with an agenda of seduction but becomes in turn a fetishistic object of desire. Walter Benjamin’s observation is apt: ‘birth ... the natural engendering of life [is] ‘overcome’ <*aufgehoben*> by novelty in the realm of fashion ... [while] death ... appears in fashion as

145 Freud’s theory of the fetish rests upon the notion that a male child begins by believing that his mother too has a phallus, and, despite evidence to the contrary, is not quite disabused of this belief, as the recognition of such a ‘lack’ implies the threat of castration; for the fetishist, an object comes to function as a substitute for the maternal phallus which he both credits and disavows. See Sigmund Freud, who argues ‘the fetish is a substitute for the woman’s (the mother’s) penis that the little boy once believed in and ... does not want to give up ... for if a woman had been castrated, then his own possession of a penis was in danger ... It is not true that, after the child has made his observation of the woman, he has preserved unaltered his belief that women have a phallus. He has retained that belief, but he has also given it up ... Something else has taken its place, has been appointed its substitute’ (‘Fetishism’, in *The Standard Edition*, ed. James Strachey, vol. 21 (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1961), pp. 152–57 (pp. 152–54). Marjorie Garber, noting Freud’s example of a fetish which conceals the genitals so that castration is both disavowed and affirmed (Freud, ‘Fetishism’, p. 156) argues that cross-dressing is itself a type of fetishization: ‘a figure *for* the undecidability of castration, which is to say, a figure of nostalgia for originary ‘wholeness’ – in the mother, in the child. Thus the fetish, like the transvestite – or the transvestite, like the fetish – is a sign at once of lack and its covering over’ (*Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 121). The cross-dressed ‘Spanish Lady’ and Epicoene are fetishistic in this sense – women constructed of garments (signifying ‘lack’) who also reinstate the maternal phallus under those garments, as the plays’ metafictional jokes about the true sex of the player make plain.

no less 'overcome' ... through the sex appeal of the inorganic'.¹⁴⁶ The natural fertility of women, with its implication of inevitable death, is repressed in a ceaseless quest to be modish (that is, ageless)¹⁴⁷ as fashion lures 'sexuality into the world of the inorganic'.¹⁴⁸ Fitzdottrel's unwitting passion for the Spanish Lady exemplifies exactly this displacement of desire. Another Jonsonian analogue is Sir Epicure Mammon, whose seductions, even in the idealized world of fantasy, play out to the virtual exclusion of the female body: 'she shall feel gold, taste gold, hear gold, sleep gold:/Nay, we will *concumbers* gold'.¹⁴⁹ Sir Epicure imagines that gold itself will ensure his posterity, promising his intended bride that as Danaë received Zeus: 'it shall rain into thy lap, no shower,/But floods of gold, whole cataracts, a deluge,/To get a nation on thee!' (IV.1.125–28).

Fitzdottrel, bereft of heirs, has succumbed to a similar delusion and his biological failure is soon mirrored by economic dissipation. Wittipol engineers the passage of the squire's land to another gallant, Manly. The dispossession is a displaced cuckolding in the face of Frances's obdurate chastity, but Fitzdottrel, blind to his wife's virtue, laments:

Oh!

What will the ghost of my wise Grandfather,
My learned Father, with my worshipfull Mother,
Thinke of me now, that left me in this world
In state to be their Heire? that am become
A Cuckold and an Asse, and my wifes Ward;
Likely to loose my land.
(IV.7.73–79)

The squire, it seems, is trapped in the present, purchasing a noble past he never had, while wasting his posterity.

If *The Devil* demonstrates that fetishism kills the biological line, Jonson elsewhere employs the trope to evoke a threat to his patrilineal literary inheritance. Thus in 'An Elegie'¹⁵⁰ a court poet who, like Jonson, lays claim

146 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 79.

147 Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing*, pp. 99–101, commenting upon Benjamin.

148 Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 70.

149 Jonson, *The Alchemist*, IV.1. 29–30, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 5.

150 Jonson, *Underwood 42*, eds Herford and Simpson, vol. 8.

to a Horatian lineage, takes as his subject the poetic praise of female beauty. In this world, women are muses who inspire true poets to celebrate female beauty, but pseudo-poets, fixated on other objects, abound: ‘Silke will draw some sneaking Songster thither’ (26). Though the poetic voice itself is not immune to the lure of silk and whalebone (29–31), age puts him beyond such courtly appetites: ‘It is not likely I should now looke downe/Upon a Velvet Petticote, or a Gowne’ (37–38). By contrast, the fetishism of inferior poets is alive and well, akin to a servant observed as he

did make most solemne love,
To ev’ry Petticote he brush’d, and Glove
He did lay up, and would adore the shooe,
Or slipper was left off, and kisse it too,
Court every hanging Gowne, and after that,
Lift up some one, and doe, I tell not what.
(53–58)

As the ‘poore wretch’ violates, adoringly, the gloves of his betters, such deficiencies are replicated by the songster in literary terms:

Such Songsters there are store of; witnesse he
That chanc’d the lace, laid on a Smock, to see,
And straight-way spent a Sonnet.
(65–67)

The songster overlooks the female body to praise mere lace,¹⁵¹ wasting his line in acts of barren and solipsistic composition. The true poet repudiates such fetishism, striking a balance between the celebration of female beauty and its material adornments: ‘No face, no hand, proportion, line, or Ayre/Of beautie; but the Muse hath interest in:/There is not worne that lace, purle, knot or pin, /But is the poets matter’ (14–17). A ‘true lover is he whose poetry addresses the lady herself and not her clothes’,¹⁵² while the false poet makes a fundamental mistake of teleology and arrests his line in both biological and poetic manifestations.

151 ‘Verse in this perspective both articulates and displaces sexual activity, thereby doubling the displacement of female sexuality onto their clothes’ (McCanles, *Jonsonian Discriminations*, p. 125).

152 McCanles, *Jonsonian Discriminations*, p. 123.

Finally, it seems, the special contribution of Jonson's anatomy of fashion is his evocation of the psychological mechanism by which modish appetites erode the line. Fetishism, and its complementary mode, reification, are barren mentalities which conflate subjects and objects, laying waste to a family's collective resources and displacing sexual desire into non-reproductive materiality. Such corrupt modes of perception threaten Jonson's literary eminence and authority too. The works of great poets may be treated as mere commodities – objects to be plagiarized, pawned, or assimilated to the fashionable self by force of misjudgment. An obsession with materiality to the exclusion or diminishment of human subjects produces the same result in social, sexual, and poetic spheres: where objects become a locus of desire, where people are confused with things, the line must surely die. Fetishists have no heirs.

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153 This article revises research originally conducted for my PhD thesis in English at The University of Western Australia, 1998: 'Phantasticke gallants and devill-comedians: fashion, theatre and subjectivity in early modern London and in two plays of Ben Jonson'.

Protestant Bishops in Restoration England¹

Marcus Harmes

The reconstruction of the Church of England's hierarchy after 1660 has attracted extensive scholarly attention. Scholars have evaluated how far the doctrinal and ecclesial positions of the Laudian Church shaped the reconstruction of the episcopal hierarchy up to and beyond 1660, especially the Laudian recourse to theories of *Jure divino* episcopacy as justifying episcopal status and power. Detailed analysis of two texts, John Gauden's *The Loofing of St Peters Bands* and Arthur Duck's *Life of Henry Chichele* (a medieval archbishop of Canterbury) will demonstrate how the restored episcopate was prepared to appeal to its late-medieval past and to its immediate context in order to justify its authority and demonstrate its self-conception as being an agent of reformed authority.

Introduction

During the seventeenth century in England individual bishops and the episcopate in general came under increasingly intense censure for being a popish dreg. As a Romanist relic, the episcopate was perceived by its detractors more as a problem than a solution to the settlement of the English Church. Attacks against bishops culminated in the abolition of episcopal government by the Long Parliament in the 1640s, leaving episcopacy in abeyance until the Restoration of 1660. During the seventeenth century, other challenges came from the often drastic reductions in episcopal revenues made by royal authorities, which themselves impacted on the capacity of bishops to fulfill their functions and exercise their authority.²

Censure provoked defence; from the 1570s onwards, the English episcopate had faced various demands for further reform or else its total extirpation.

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was read at the 2008 ANZAMEMS Conference at the University of Tasmania. I am grateful to the reviewers of *Parergon* and to Dr Sarah Ferber who read an early draft of this work.
- 2 On the revenues of the reformed episcopate see: Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: a Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Heal, 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange of 1559', *Historical Journal*, 17.2 (1974), 227–46; Heal, 'The Archbishops of Canterbury and the Practice of Hospitality', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33.4 (1982), 544–63 (p. 544); and Sybil M. Jack, 'English Bishops as Tax Collectors in the Sixteenth Century', *Parergon*, 14.1 (1996), 129–63 (p. 130).

These demands for further reform of Church polity and hierarchy persisted into the seventeenth century and would result in the constant re-evaluation of episcopal status and discipline throughout the seventeenth century and the marshalling of arguments for not only the retention of episcopacy but more importantly its authority. Some scholars have further stressed episcopal efforts to locate a valid basis for the existence and authority of bishops. At the Restoration in 1660, the crown and the bishops faced a range of choices about the nature of the ecclesiastical authority to be created after 1660; these choices derived from the reformed episcopate's history as an object of ecclesiastical controversy.

Before the Restoration, a number of bishops, among them John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1576 to 1604, rested content with an Erastian underpinning to their authority and looked to the magistracy and the royal supremacy to make sense of the source and weight of episcopal power. Whitgift's contemporaries, such as Matthew Hutton (Archbishop of York 1596–1606) likewise defended the royal supremacy and looked to it as the basis of his episcopal authority.³ It was not only bishops who advanced these ideas. In 1641, the religious controversialist William Prynne claimed that English bishoprics 'proceeded from the Crown and Kings of England'.⁴ By the 1640s, this Erastian assessment of episcopal power caused affront to Archbishop William Laud (in office 1633–1644), and scholars have since stressed that Laud and his associate clergy held to ideals of episcopal significance and authority which were indebted to *jure divino* theories of apostolic lineage.⁵

However, this essay questions the extent to which *jure divino* ideas, often associated with the Laudian Church, dominated the Church and the episcopate after 1660 in providing explanations for retention and authority. It reconstructs a context in which bishops faced attacks for being unreformed dregs and posits that in this context appeals to apostolic antiquity were not helpful in

3 On Hutton's attachment to the Royal Supremacy see Peter Lake, 'Matthew Hutton – A Puritan Bishop?', *History*, 64 (1979), 182–204 (p. 186). Hutton also exercised the presidency of the Council of the North and therefore maintained the authority of Elizabeth I in northern England (R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921), p. 347).

4 *The Substance of a Speech Made in the House of Commons by Wil. Prynne of Lincoln's Inne Esquire, 4th Dec. 1648* (London: Michael Spark, 1649), p. 47.

5 See especially Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians 1649–1662* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1951), pp. 82–87.

justifying the contemporary authority of bishops. Instead, bishops and their defenders more likely resorted to historical rather than spiritual grounds in their defence of episcopacy.⁶ Restoration churchmen found compelling statements of episcopal power in textual evidence which stressed the distinctively reformed character of the restored English bishops. This essay argues that a distinctively reformed idea of the authority of bishops had emerged by the later seventeenth century, but that this idea of reformed episcopacy also interacted with other explanations of and justifications for episcopal authority which emerged from clerical contexts, including the *jure divino* authority of bishops. Seventeenth-century statements of reformed episcopal authority by Bishop John Gauden of Exeter (1605–62) and Arthur Duck, the chancellor of the diocese of Bath and Wells (1580–1648), located the power of the episcopate in a specifically reformed context and drew together the implications of exercising episcopal power in post-Reformation England.⁷

I. Restoration and Recreation: The Episcopate in 1660

Both Gauden and Duck produced printed commentaries on episcopal history and the restoration of the Church's hierarchy. These were contextualized by a body of works which celebrated the recreation of English church order. Among these were William Sancroft's sermons in Westminster Abbey at the consecration of new bishops in 1660 and Thomas Ken's *Ichabod* of 1663, which adduced evidence for the suffering of the clergy.⁸ Gauden made his own contribution to the literature marking the restoration of episcopacy with the *Pillar of Gratitude*, a text delineating the providence behind episcopal resurrection.⁹

6 John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 135.

7 Arthur Duck, *The Life of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, Who lived in the Times of Henry the V. and VI. Kings of England* (London: Ri. Chifwell, 1699); John Gauden, *Analysis: The Loofing of St Peters Bands; Setting Forth the True Sense and Solution of the Covenant in Point of Conscience So Far as it Relates to the Government of the Church by Episcopacy* (London: J. Belft for Andrew Crook, 1660).

8 Thomas Ken, *Ichabod: or, Five Groans of the Church* (Cambridge: J. Greaves, 1663); William Sancroft, *A Sermon Preach'd to the House of Peers, Novemb. 13th 1678. Being the Feast Day Appointed by the King to Implore the Mercies of Almighty God in the Protection of his Majesties Sacred Person, and His Kingdom* (In the Savoy: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for Robert Beaumont, 1678).

9 *A Pillar of Gratitude Humbly Dedicated to the Glory of God* (London: F. M. for Andrew

After 1660, bishops had in fact faced a range of choices in asserting and defending their newly-restored authority. The contemporary historian Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, recorded that restored bishops were by no means ‘all of one mind’ and surviving and newly appointed bishops in 1660 reached different conclusions about the extent and basis of their authority.¹⁰ This diversity of opinion reflected earlier debates among bishops regarding their office.¹¹ Archbishops such as the Elizabethan Whitgift were comfortable with the association between magistracy and episcopacy.¹² More particularly, claims by bishops during the sixteenth century to be anything more than royal servants alarmed members of Elizabeth’s council; churchmen who enunciated such ideas noticeably diverged from the ecclesiastical mainstream. The courtier and politician Sir Francis Knollys protested against writings by the churchmen Thomas Bilson and Richard Bancroft which obliquely suggested the sacramental independence of bishops from the royal settlement.¹³ Although a layman, Knollys’ objections to these claims reflected those of churchmen such as Whitgift, who identified the source of episcopal authority as lying in the royal supremacy.

During the seventeenth century, Erastian underpinnings for episcopal power proved more difficult to sustain. Members of the restoration episcopate confronted a royal supremacy actively opposed to the English episcopate and these bishops expressed belief in alternative sources of episcopal authority. For instance, the divine Henry Dodwell argued that episcopal authority lay not in Erastian connections with state authorities but with the sacramental authority of bishops.¹⁴ Charles II and Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon (in office 1663–76) experienced a troubled and strained relationship, an irony given that

Crook, 1661).

- 10 Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *Continuation of his Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1827), vol 2, pp. 119–20.
- 11 Charles Carleton points out that the majority of bishops appointed in the mid-sixteenth century were sympathetic to the supremacy (*Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520–1559* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995)).
- 12 Robert Ashton, *The English Civil War: Conservatism and Revolution 1603–1649* (London: Phoenix, 1997), p. 113.
- 13 Claire Cross, ‘Churchmen and the Royal Supremacy’, in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, eds Felicity Heal and Rosemary O’Day (London: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 15–34 (p. 30).
- 14 Cited in Martin Greig, ‘The Thought and Polemic of Gilbert Burnet, ca 1673–1705’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1991), p. 111.

in 1660 Sheldon's sermon *David's Deliverance* celebrated the joint restoration of crown and episcopacy and offered a largely Erastian perspective on the functions of bishops.¹⁵ The events of 1688, when English bishops revolted against their sovereign, most emphatically declared the divergence between episcopal and royal priorities after the Restoration.¹⁶ The exchange between clergy and King James II preserved in the State Papers captures the King's expectation of the loyalty of the Church of England's senior clergy and his bewilderment at their disloyalty. These exchanges emerged from the Magdalen College election controversy masterminded by Bishop Henry Compton of London, in which college fellows refused the King's order to elect his own nominee as president. The King rhetorically commented 'Is this your Church of England's loyalty?'¹⁷ Although he was speaking in the light of a specific crisis, James's words reflect more broadly the different trajectories which royal and episcopal thought followed in the Restoration and reveal that the leaders of the Restoration Church were at the forefront of political and religious crises such as the Exclusion Crisis and the Glorious Revolution. These crises impaired relations between crown and Church.¹⁸ Specific bishops, such as the martial Henry Compton of London, pursued policies which directly conflicted with royal priorities, such as Compton's patronage of anti-Catholic preachers.¹⁹

Some modern scholars have argued that in a context which debated and contested the necessity and functions of bishops and their association with the royal supremacy, members of the seventeenth-century episcopate advanced *jure divino* theories of episcopal power.²⁰ Kenneth Fincham argues that the pastoral activities of bishops were intended to embody apostolic ideals, especially those which St Paul outlined to Timothy. He notes that a bishop

15 Gilbert Sheldon, *David's Deliverance and Thanksgiving: A Sermon Preached before the King at Whitehall* (London: Timothy Garthwaite, 1660). Jeffrey R. Collins points to the mutual hostility between Charles II's court and the Restoration episcopate in 'The Restoration Bishops and the Royal Supremacy', *Church History*, 68.3 (1999), 549–80.

16 The earlier obedience of bishops to James II is revealed by their presence at his coronation; Lambeth Palace Library: Sancroft's Register fols 336–37.

17 S/P.31/2, p. 39.

18 For a summary of Restoration political crises see John Spurr, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain: The Post-Reformation 1603–1714* (Harlow: Pearson, 2006), p. 174.

19 Bodl. MS Tanner 31, fol. 268.

20 For a study of *Jure Divino* episcopacy see J. P. Somerville, 'The Royal Supremacy and Episcopacy "Jure Divino", 1603–1640', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34.4 (1983), 548–58.

such as Martin Heton of Ely (in office from 1599) assiduously presided over his diocesan visitations, became personally acquainted with his parochial clergy, and preached often.²¹ In essence, Fincham shows how Heton could seem to be an apostolic bishop. Other bishops fulfilled their obligations in a similar fashion. The diary of Heton's contemporary at Durham, Tobie Matthew, reveals Matthew to have been in frequent contact with parochial clergy and lay members of his flock.²²

The historian Ralph Houlbrooke has also examined the pastoral responsibilities of sixteenth-century bishops, reconstructing the emphasis which they gave to these responsibilities as well as noting the influence of pastoral work in shaping the form and substance of reformed episcopacy.²³ R. B. Manning argues that contemporary churchmen gave theoretical cohesion to these actions and asserted episcopal authority through *jure divino* claims of apostolic authority.²⁴ Likewise, Stanley Archer argues that Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* grounded the episcopate in apostolic origins. In assessing the evidence for *jure divino* episcopacy, scholars have pointed to the complex relationship between royal supremacy and apostolic episcopacy, arguing that as the seventeenth century progressed individual bishops were more inclined to stress their apostolic origins rather than their functions as royal agents.²⁵

It is useful at this point to address some of the evidence for *jure divino* episcopacy; doing so reveals some seventeenth-century claims for apostolic episcopacy but also indicates that the reformation of the Church became an immediately compelling argument for the authority of restored bishops. A text written at an unknown date after the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 argued that apostolic precedents inhered in the Church of England and declared that

21 'Ramifications of the Hampton Court Conference in the Dioceses', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36.2 (1985), 208–27 (p. 210). A contrasting account of Heton is in Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, pp. 227–28.

22 York Minster Library Additional Manuscripts 18: The Diary and Journal of his Grace Toby Matthew, Lord Archbishop of York from the 3rd Sept. MDLXXXIII to the 23rd Sunday after Trinity MDCXXII.

23 'The Protestant Episcopate, 1547–1603: The Pastoral Contribution', in *Church and Society in England*, eds Heal and O'Day, pp. 78–98.

24 'The Crisis of Episcopal Authority During the Reign of Elizabeth I', *Journal of British Studies*, 11.1 (1971), 1–25.

25 Stanley Archer, 'Hooker on Apostolic Succession: the Two Voices', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24.1 (1993), 67–74 (p. 71).

‘the candlestick of any church might be removed’, a metaphor indicating that apostolic authority existed elsewhere than Rome and could inhere in the English episcopate.²⁶ A more explicit assertion of this same point was contained in the ‘Sermon defending the honorable function of Bilhops’ preached by Dr George Downame in 1608, which asserted the ‘divine inflitution’ of the English episcopate.²⁷ Calvinist bishops such as George Abbot also patronized clergy who preached on the topic of ‘the Apostolick Bishop’.²⁸

Ideas of *jure divino* episcopacy reached their fullest expression during Laud’s period of power. Archbishop Laud’s contemporaries accused him of ‘unchurching’ non-episcopal churches and of giving undue emphasis to the sacramental origins of bishops.²⁹ The imprisoned Bishop Matthew Wren, Laud’s associate, identified the necessity of bishops in the order’s apostolic origins, as the order was ‘instituted by Christ himself and the apostles’.³⁰ Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted* emerged when the order of bishops was under particular strain. Hall feared that the apostolic line in England would be extinguished by natural attrition as elderly bishops died yet were forbidden by Commonwealth authorities to consecrate successors.³¹

II. Reformed Episcopacy

Yet a survey of evidence for apostolic episcopacy stresses that these ideas cannot be taken too far, as voices which might be expected to declare the apostolic basis and necessity of episcopacy instead sounded forth clearly on

- 26 Anon., ‘England’s Mourning Garment, Worn Here by Plain Shepherds, in Memory of their Sacred Mistress, Elisabeth’, in *The Harleian Miscellany; or, a Collection of Scarce, Curious and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts* (London: for Robert Dutton, 1808), pp. 481–507 (p. 496).
- 27 Downame’s sermon was subsequently refuted (anonymously) in a tract of 1609; Anon., *An Ansvvere to a Sermon Preached the 17 of April Anno. D. 1608* (1609). For background on Downame and his views see Austin Woolrych, ‘Puritanism, Politics and Society’, in *The English Revolution 1600–1660*, ed. E. W. Ives (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 87–100 (p. 91).
- 28 Cited in Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: the Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 11.
- 29 Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, p. 135.
- 30 Matthew Wren, *A Petition to Parliament in Defence of Episcopacy*, cited in Peter King, ‘The Episcopate during the Civil Wars, 1642–49’, *English Historical Review*, 83.328 (1968), 523–37 (p. 525).
- 31 See Collins, ‘The Restoration Bishops’, p. 554.

the reformed basis of episcopacy. Surveys of the ancient origins of episcopacy could more likely uncover evidence to condemn rather than support it. Tudor synods condemned the Bishopric of Rome for error, but also condemned the ancient bishoprics of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch.³² Voices sympathetic to bishops in parliamentary debates in 1640 noted that claims by bishops to rule by divine right merely made the bishops seem popish.³³ Less sympathetic participants in parliamentary debates, such as Sir Edward Derring, conceived of episcopacy by divine right as a ‘crown’, pointing out in a deadly comparison that ‘The Pope, they say, has a triple crown.’³⁴ For a fellow speaker, lordliness inhered in apostolic status.³⁵ Great age did not necessarily give authority or justification to the episcopate.

Defenders of episcopacy during a longstanding period of contestation found more compelling statements of episcopal power in textual evidence such as a sermon by Richard Bancroft preached at Paul’s Cross in 1588, which addressed the apostolic but also the reformed origins of bishops. Bancroft later became Archbishop of Canterbury (in 1604) and throughout his public career at university, court, and parliament defended the episcopate’s singular significance. His sermon was resurrected in the seventeenth century, and so too was his point that ‘S. Ierom faith, and *M. Calvin* seemeth ... to confesse that Bilhops have had the said superiority ever since the time of S. *Mark* the Evangelist’.³⁶ In this sermon, Apostolic, Patristic, and Reformed (in this case Genevan) authorities all combined to acknowledge the authority of the episcopate; thus Bancroft located episcopal authority in both ancient and reformed contexts.³⁷

32 Edward Cardwell, *Synodalia: A Collection of Articles of Religion, Canons and Proceedings of Convocations in the Province of Canterbury from the Year 1547 to the Year 1717* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1842), vol. I, p. 25.

33 *CSP Dom Charles I 1640–41*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (London: Longmans and Co., 1882), p. 295.

34 *CSP Dom Charles I*, p. 295. On Derring’s statements in Parliament see J. P. Salt, ‘The Origin of Sir Edward Derring’s Attack on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy’, *Historical Journal*, 30.1 (1987), 21–52.

35 *CSP Dom Charles I*, p. 498.

36 *Dr Reynolds His Letter to that Worthy Councillor, Sir Francis Knolles, Concerning Some Passages in D. Bancroft’s Sermon at Pavles Croffe, Feb. 9. 1588 in the Parliament time* (London: W. I., 1641), p. 8.

37 Bancroft became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604. The Paul’s Cross sermon of 1588 was preached in retaliation to the publication of the Marprelate Tracts. The sermon was

While Bancroft acknowledged the apostolic as well as reformed authorities for the English episcopate, his citation of these different poles of authority indicates that the notion of a *jure divino* episcopate could serve as a limited explanation for the power and functions of bishops. Influential Elizabethan defenders of the English ecclesiastical hierarchy, including John Jewel the Bishop of Salisbury and John Whitgift the Archbishop of Canterbury, both rejected ideas of apostolic authority, although both were bishops, declaring they were uneasy with the idea.³⁸ Senior bishops at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended not to stress divine or apostolic origins of the episcopate.³⁹ Matthew Hutton, appointed Archbishop of York in 1596, although a bishop himself, would only concede that bishops were 'set apart from other ministers', and hesitated to identify the divine origins of the episcopate in the Early Church.⁴⁰

Elizabethan bishops hesitated to make apostolic arguments in the face of the demands of the Queen's supremacy and the scrutiny of councillors such as Knollys. Yet other voices from within the English Church which might have been expected to make claims for apostolic authority were muffled on the issue. During the debates in the Long Parliament in 1640 for the abolition of episcopacy, regional petitions defended episcopacy, but avoided claims to *jure divino* status. Petitions from Somerset and Gloucestershire pointed out that episcopacy was ancient, but not actually apostolic.⁴¹ This is not to say that the idea of *jure divino* episcopacy did not exist. A petition in the same period from the City of London to the House of Commons identified that episcopal claims for authority derived 'directly from the Lord Jesus Christ'.⁴²

published in 1588 but the comments from Reynolds to Knollys may have come from the 1634 re-issue; Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached at Pavls Crosse* (London, 1634). On Bancroft see Stuart Barton Babbage, *Puritanism and Richard Bancroft* (London: SPCK, 1962), pp. 23–24.

38 Archer, 'Hooker on Apostolic Succession', p. 68.

39 Cross, 'Churchmen and the Royal Supremacy', p. 177.

40 Cited in John Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D.D.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1829), vol. 3, pp. 224–28.

41 Judith Maltby, 'Petitions for Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer on the Eve of the Civil War 1641–42', in *From Cranmer to Davidson: A Church of England Miscellany*, ed. Stephen Taylor (Boydell Press/Church of England Record Society vol.7, 1999), pp. 103–69 (p. 109).

42 Cited in S. R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. 138.

Yet the nature of these objections makes clear that apostolic episcopacy became more a problem than a solution to the issues faced by the seventeenth-century episcopate and therefore its supporters resorted to other poles of authority.

Seventeenth-century debates over the basis of episcopal authority necessarily draw attention to a complex dialogue between the episcopate's past and present. Defenders of English bishops, as well as bishops themselves, stressed the existing reformed character of the order and its authority. In doing so, it can also be claimed that bishops were, *ipso facto*, claiming an ancient lineage of their order; many reformers in Tudor England as much as on the continent concurred in claiming that their actions were intended to restore the ancient face of the Church.⁴³ It can be difficult to discern distinctions between arguments for their origins as being reformed in character and arguments for them being of divine and apostolic origin since these ideas converge. But contemporaries were alert to some distinctions between ancient and reformed churches. Archbishop Matthew Parker caused consternation during Elizabeth's reign for disparaging the 'best reformed churches overseas', or those of 'Germanical natures'.⁴⁴ Parker drew meaning in holding high ecclesiastical office from the Ancient Church and clearly demarcated between it and reformed poles of authority.⁴⁵

For Parker, the comparison between apostolic and reformed was negative, but in other episcopal writings the distinctive character of reformed authority underpinned the powers of bishops and more positive appeals were made to reformed contexts in order to justify the episcopate. The new Archbishop of Canterbury in 1660 was William Juxon (in office 1660–63). Notwithstanding his amicable relations with Oliver Cromwell during the Commonwealth, after 1660 Juxon attempted to efface the memory of the Commonwealth years.⁴⁶ He rebuilt those portions of Lambeth Palace that Cromwell had demolished, and commissioned a portrait of himself which echoed Antonis Van Dyck's

43 Mark E. VanderSchaaf, 'Archbishop Parker's Efforts Towards a Bucerian Discipline in the Church of England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8.1 (1977), 85–103 (p. 101).

44 *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury*, eds John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), p. 125.

45 Patrick Collinson, 'The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and an English Bucerian', *Journal of Religious History*, 6.4 (1971), 305–30 (p. 313).

46 Thomas A. Mason, *Serving God and Mammon: William Juxon, 1582–1663, Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), p. 149.

portrait of Laud.⁴⁷ Although Juxon's suffering during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth was slight compared to Laud's, implicit in this portrait was Juxon's reconstruction of the martyred primate's policies and doctrines.⁴⁸

Juxon's visual and architectural appeals to Laudian influence have fuelled a particular reading of the Restoration episcopate at the time of its reconstruction in 1660 as being indebted to Laudian ideals of *jure divino* authority and the sacramental significance of bishops. It is certainly clear that the earliest years of the Restoration marked episcopal triumph. The episcopal influence over the Cavalier Parliament elected in 1661 and during the Savoy Conference of 1661–62 was decisive.⁴⁹ The episcopal view dominated this conference, which was an attempt to resolve tensions between the episcopal and Presbyterian parties, and the Conference made only conservative revisions to the prayer book. At the same time, bishops reclaimed their cathedrals and episcopal revenues and returned to the House of Lords.⁵⁰ Restored bishops also reasserted their exclusive sacramental significance, enforcing the point of Church polity that entry to the ministry could only be via episcopal ordination.⁵¹ I. M. Green's analysis of the restoration of the episcopate and the implications of this restoration for the exercise of Church discipline after 1660 is largely confined to the constitutional and legal recreation of episcopacy, especially the re-appointment of officials such as chancellors, vicars general, registrars, and archdeacons.⁵² His work reveals how bishops had regained the legal status to enforce the validity of their office and their powers of consecration, and makes sense of the political and legal influence of the restored episcopate.

47 Tim Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Houses* (London: SPCK, 2000), p. 77. Samuel Pepys admired the results when he visited Archbishop Sheldon (*Pepys: Extracts from the Diary*, ed. Robert Latham (London: Bell and Hyman, 1978), p. 229 (entry for 14 May, 1669)).

48 John Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait 1559–1835: A Catalogue* (published privately by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1981), p. 250. The only significant difference between the portraits was that Juxon was holding the thin white wand which betokened his office of High Treasurer.

49 Boshier, *Making of the Restoration Settlement*, p. 207.

50 Norman Sykes, *Old Priest, New Presbyterian: Episcopacy and Presbyterianism Since the Reformation with Especial Relation to the Churches of England and Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), Chapter 3.

51 See *The Savoy Conference Revisited*, ed. Colin Buchanan (Cambridge: Grove, 2002).

52 *The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660–1663* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 120–30.

Other historians resort to the sacramental functions of bishops to explain the ideas and authority underpinning their restoration. The triumph of episcopal authority by 1662 seems also to mark the vindication and the continuing salience of Laudian churchmanship. Historians point out that an older generation of churchmen, who had known Laud and who knew themselves as the ‘sufferers’ under the Commonwealth regime, returned from exile or house arrest to exert influence over the Restoration settlement. Old age and death had claimed the actual bishops of the Laudian period, but bishoprics vacant in 1660 gained incumbents including Gilbert Sheldon, George Morley, John Cosin, and Humphrey Henchman, all of whom had served under Laud, although not as bishops.⁵³ There was also the elderly Juxon.⁵⁴ Robert Bosher’s study of the Restoration ecclesiastical settlement endeavoured to demonstrate the continuing influence of Laudian churchmanship as exercised through the appointment to bishoprics of clerics associated with Laud, such as Cosin, the Bishop of Durham.⁵⁵ As John Spurr also points out, Laudian clerics such as the energetic Gilbert Sheldon, an Oxford don appointed to the diocese of London in 1660, exercised significant influence on the Cavalier Parliament.⁵⁶

However as Spurr also argues, the years of the Commonwealth produced a younger generation of clergy who had collaborated with the Cromwellian forces yet who also emerged as conforming members of the restored episcopal Church after 1660. Among these were Gauden and other members of the Ussherian circle, whose major preoccupations had been to defend episcopal

53 Claire Cross, *Church and People 1450–1660* (Glasgow: Collins, 1976), p. 224.

54 See C. P. Hill, *Who’s Who in Stuart Britain* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1988), p. 81. The late-seventeenth-century clergyman John Walker collected biographical data on the clergy who suffered under the circumstances of the Commonwealth and he gave cohesion to the idea of a distinct generation of ‘sufferers’ (see Walker, *An Attempt Towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c. who were Sequester’d, Harrass’d, &c. in the Later Times of the Grand Rebellion: Occasion’d by the Ninth Chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy’s Abridgement of the Life Mr. Baxter: Together with an Examination of that Chapter* (London: by W.S. for J. Nicholson, R. Knaplock, R. Wilkin, B. Tooke, D. Midwinter and B. Cowse, 1714)).

55 *Making of the Restoration Settlement*, pp. 183, 233–35.

56 *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain*, p. 146. For a narrative of Sheldon’s actions as Bishop of London see Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, I, ed. Martin Joseph Routh (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969), pp. 349–50.

rule according to the standards of Protestant ecclesiology.⁵⁷ It is possible to reconstruct the influence of members of this generation and to identify justifications for episcopal rule based on compellingly reformed ideas of Church polity and discipline.

It is instructive that Juxon's own views contained insights which derived from reformed precedents to define the authority of bishops. In *Some Considerations upon the Act of Uniformity*, written while he was archbishop, Juxon argued that the reputation of the Church of England under other reformed churches revealed its reformed character.⁵⁸ He wished to see 'Our ancient Church recovered to that beauty, order, glory, and majesty for which it was spoken of throughout the reformed world.'⁵⁹

It is also instructive that, at what historians such as Bosher reconstruct as a moment of Laudian triumph and the resurrection of Laudian churchmanship, Charles II offered bishoprics to a number of Presbyterian divines such as Edward Calamy, Richard Baxter, and Edward Reynolds.⁶⁰ Likewise, an early and anonymous biographer of Archbishop Tillotson, the Restoration prelate, recorded that Charles II offered the Presbyterian divine Edward Calamy a bishopric, and that while Calamy rejected the offer, his response revealed a Presbyterian conceding the superiority of episcopal rule. That 'good old man deliberated about it some Considerable time, professing to see the great inconvenience of the Presbyterian parity of Ministers'.⁶¹ John Gauden also narrated a Presbyterian flirtation with episcopacy in *St Peters Bands*; only Reynolds accepted the offer (becoming Bishop of Norwich) but these works indicate resort to justifications for episcopal power beyond the Laudian.

John Gauden, the Restoration Bishop of Exeter, was elevated to the episcopate in 1660, serving only briefly until his death in 1662. However, during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth and therefore during the suppression

57 Spurr, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain*, p. 146; Gauden's place in episcopal debates of the 1650s is discussed in William Abbott, 'James Ussher and "Ussherian" Episcopacy, 1640–1656: The Primate and His Reduction Manuscript', *Albion*, 22.2 (1990), 237–59 (p. 256).

58 In *Memoirs of Archbishop Juxon and his Times*, ed. William Hennessey Marah (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1869), pp. 202–42 (p. 203). On the popularity of van Dyck's portrait and the frequency of its reproduction see Michael Jaffé, 'Van Dyck Studies I: The Portrait of Archbishop Laud', *Burlington Magazine*, 124.955 (1982), 600–07.

59 Juxon, *Some Considerations*, p. 204.

60 Cross, *Church and People*, p. 224.

61 BL Birch MS 4236 fol. 92.

of the episcopate, Gauden developed a fully thought-out explication of the reformed episcopate's origins and unique powers and character. By 1653, Gauden had been associated with a group intellectually allied to James Ussher, the Primate of Ireland, and was promoting Ussher's scheme for a reduced episcopacy, meaning that Ussher proposed reducing episcopacy to levels of Presbyterian superintendence.⁶² His work on this theme, *Hieraspistes*, argued for the preservation of the episcopate; Gauden stressed that the 'ancient and Catholick Government of Godly Bishops' conformed to ancient presbyterial standards of Church government.⁶³ He described the conditions of the Solemn League and Covenant, which required the '*abjuring or extirpating of all Episcopacy*'. Gauden found this requirement rhetorically inexplicable, for the episcopate thus suppressed was 'reformed and regulated as it ought to be'.⁶⁴ According to Gauden, English bishops were acceptably reformed.

Gauden's text offered a precise understanding of reformed episcopal authority; the immediate context of his work is important to understanding the claims he made on behalf of episcopacy. In 1660, plans existed to make episcopacy more reformed than it ever had been. Charles II's Breda Declaration had promised that bishops would operate in a more Presbyterian fashion, governing and administering discipline with the advice of other clergy.⁶⁵ These intentions came to nothing, largely due to the active opposition of newly appointed bishops.⁶⁶ Gauden's work therefore emerges from a context in which proposals to make the episcopate more reformed were abandoned. In this context his work makes sense as an appeal to the already-reformed character of episcopacy and as appeal against contemporary suggestions to continue reforming the episcopate. He placed the English episcopate in a wider, reformed context of European confessions, including the Calvinists, and therefore acknowledged that reformist principles were often inimical to the government of bishops. Gauden excused the anti-episcopal impulses coming from other Protestant communities and inverted them. As he explained, 'a few *reformed Churches of later daies*'

62 Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 235–44.

63 John Gauden, *Hieraspistes: A Defence by Way of Apology for the Ministry and Ministers of the Church of England* (London, 1653), p. 219.

64 Gauden, *Analysis: The Loofing of St Peters Bands*, p. 8.

65 *English Historical Documents vol. VI: 1660–1714*, ed. Andrew Browning (London: Routledge, 1966), pp. 367–68.

66 Green, *Re-establishment of the Church of England*, p. 127.

were not governed by bishops because ‘the necessity of times’ resulted in such feelings becoming manifest. Gauden thus sought to make clear the basis on which European Protestants could approve of bishops in England. While foreign Protestants disapproved of their bishops, ‘they approve and venerate *Episcopacy* in others’. Gauden argued that continental foreign confessions had no objections to bishops but particular circumstances meant that they were unable to have any bishops themselves.

Gauden stressed that anti-episcopal impulses in other Protestant churches could signify approval for English bishops, a paradoxical argument which he achieved through an historical survey of different reformed communities. He was not the only English episcopal writer to bring European reformed authorities into his work, as Bancroft had earlier cited Calvin as supporting episcopacy when preaching at Paul’s Cross in 1588. Earlier still, John Whitgift drew Calvin into the orbit of reformed episcopacy and its relations with magisterial authority.⁶⁷ Gauden was therefore not alone in finding approval for episcopacy as emanating from non-episcopal confessions and nor was he alone in suggesting that European reformers explicitly expressed approval for English bishops.

Gauden drew evidence from different Protestant communities to demonstrate approval of bishops. According to him, the Church of Scotland ‘once enjoyed the best *constitutions* of *Episcopacy* in the world’.⁶⁸ Gauden was disappointed at the evolution of the Presbyterian government of the Scottish Church. The Kirk in Scotland functioned in Gauden’s text as an illustration of exemplary Protestant episcopacy; although it had no bishops, it had formerly accepted the government of bishops. Appeals to the Kirk as a model of conservative church government had earlier been made in sermons by Lancelot Andrewes (Bishop of Winchester 1619–26) and Bancroft, who had appropriated words from the Scottish reformer John Knox and transposed them into an episcopal context.⁶⁹ Gauden’s text, written in June 1660 for the benefit of the returning King and government-in-exile, looked to a temporarily un-episcopal Church to argue that a cleric could be both reformed and a bishop.

These points emerged from a long history of condemnation of the English

67 John Whitgift, *Works*, III, ed. J. Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853) p. 400.

68 Gauden, *Analysis: The Loofing of St. Peters Bands*, p. 9.

69 Peter McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 342.

episcopate. Critics of the Church of England before the Civil Wars evinced rhetorical confusion between Romanist and reformed bishops and for this reason viewed bishops as an unreformed relic of Roman Catholicism. From the 1570s, the English episcopate had faced a full-blown Presbyterian attack which gained intensity and momentum during the seventeenth century; this dispute turned on the question of whether the episcopate could be reformed. By 1572, the Admonition Controversy of the Elizabethan period had come and gone, during which time contesting episcopal and Presbyterian forces clashed on the issue of scripturally endorsed church government.⁷⁰ Episcopacy prevailed during these disputes until its abolition by the Long Parliament. However lectures delivered in 1570 on ecclesiastical hierarchies by the divinity professor Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) indicate the substance of arguments made against bishops and argued against unreformed episcopal rule and in favour of congregational episcopacy.⁷¹ In the 1570s, the parliamentarian Peter Wentworth spoke in the House of Commons against bishops, denouncing them as mini-popes.⁷² In 1588, the ‘Martin Marprelate’ tracts, issued from underground presses outside of London, repeated many of these statements and argued that bishops were an impediment to the settlement and good order of the reformed Church.⁷³ Thomas Rogers (*d.* 1616), the theologian and chaplain to Richard Bancroft the Bishop of London, also specified the nature of complaints about the Church of England’s hierarchy. He noted a widely-held belief that, ‘our church, for all the reformation wrought ... be much awry, and far from the truth it should profess’.⁷⁴ Andrew Foster, the modern biographer

70 Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 20.

71 Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 120.

72 Michael A. R. Graves, ‘Thomas Norton the Parliament Man: An Elizabethan M.P., 1559–1581’, *Historical Journal*, 23.1 (1980), 17–35 (p. 29).

73 ‘Martin Marprelate’, *The Epistle [September–November 1588]*, ed. Edward Arber (London: English Scholars Library of Old and Modern Works, 1880); Joseph Black, ‘The Rhetoric of Reaction: the Martin Marprelate Tracts (1588–89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28.3 (1997), 707–28; and Black’s edition of the tracts, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), especially p. xvi on ‘Martin’s references to earlier debates on hierarchy.

74 *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* [1621], ed. J. J. S. Perowne, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1854), pp. 12–13.

of Archbishop Richard Neile of York, draws points such as these together, quoting a contemporary opinion that bishops were 'intolerable withstanders of reformation' and arguing that the imperatives of the Reformation and the reformers conflicted with the authority and the status of the bishops.⁷⁵

Such was the intensity of criticism of bishops before the Civil Wars that writers fixated on what bishops looked like and episcopal dress became a trope for criticizing the popishness of bishops in general. The letters of the controversialist William Prynne to Archbishop William Laud from the Tower of London in the 1630s dwelt on the traditional garb of bishops. Prynne facetiously observed of Laud's 'unfaithfull dealing' that 'how well it became your Lordship's rochet'.⁷⁶ An anonymous writer at the time of Archbishop Laud's arrest in the early 1640s referred disparagingly to 'wearing the white Surplice, Lawn Sleeves, Tippet, foure corner cap etc'.⁷⁷ An anonymous Quaker tract recounted item by item the garb of a bishop, such as 'White coats, or Black coats, Tippetts or Hoods, or Square Caps, or Lawn Sleeves', all of which items were deemed to be popish.⁷⁸ A further work delineated 'the scandall of the Rochet, the lawne fleeves, the foure corner cap, the Cope, the Surpleffe, the Tippet, the Hood, the Canonical Coat. etc'.⁷⁹ Given the level of detail in not only condemning but also describing bishops, one contemporary writer ironically observed of 'the pluming of some Bilhops' that anti-episcopal writers are 'fo acquainted with every feather of them'.⁸⁰ Lord Falkland used 'a paire of Lawne sleeves' as a metaphor to describe the unfortunate transformative effect which episcopal office had on the personalities of clergymen.⁸¹ These

75 'The Function of a Bishop: The Career of Richard Neile, 1562–1640', in *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church of England 1500–1642*, eds O'Day and Heal (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 33–54 (p. 34). The actual words are from one of the Marprelate Tracts.

76 S. R. Gardiner, 'Documents Relating to the Proceedings Against William Prynne, in 1634 and 1637', *Camden Society*, n.s. XVIII (1877), p. 39.

77 Anon., *Englands Reioycing at the Prelats Downfall* (1641), p. 3.

78 Anon., *A Test and Protest against Popery, from the Conscientious Christian Protestants called Quakers* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1680), p. 7.

79 Helen Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640–1645', *Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2004), pp. 809–48, pp. 819–20.

80 George Digby, *The Third Speech of the Lord George Digby, to the House of Commons, Concerning Bishops, and the Citie Petition, the 9th of Febr 1640* (for Thomas Walkley, 1640), p. 9.

81 *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949), p. 474.

references to episcopal choir dress indicate the importance attached to symbolic and ceremonial forms of dress, but as Helen Pierce's recent survey of mid-seventeenth century graphic satire has demonstrated, the appearance and robes of bishops were established as a convenient trope for condemning episcopacy in general by the 1640s.⁸²

III. Reformed and Unreformed Bishops

The often facetious comments on the appearance of bishops made their point that reformed bishops were indistinguishable from unreformed prelates. Yet any sense that English bishops sought to distinguish their actions and conduct from that of unreformed bishops can also be an elusive quality in episcopal writings. Juxon's successor as the primate, Gilbert Sheldon (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1663–76), made clear that he associated episcopal functions with discipline. He recruited King Charles II as a mouthpiece for his justification of episcopal authority. Referring to 'his Ma'ty speaking much againſt these diforderly meetings' [i.e. conventicles], Sheldon stressed that the King 'had laid some blame upon ye B:ps for want of care in this affair'.⁸³ If Charles II spoke these words, he was merely saying what Sheldon wanted to hear, but the significance of Sheldon's report lies in the perspective it offered on episcopal authority and the place of bishops in disciplining dissent and punishing revolt from the Church of England.⁸⁴

A further indication of the authority of episcopal office is provided by George Morley (1597–1684), Sheldon's contemporary and the Bishop of Winchester during the Restoration. He wrote of the disorder among the religious communities of New England, a circumstance which he attributed to the absence of episcopal oversight in the colony.⁸⁵ Likewise John Sudbury, a Restoration prebendary of Westminster Abbey, asserted the importance of bishops for maintaining ecclesiastical order, stressing that there was 'a *neceſſity*

82 'Anti-Episcopacy', pp. 819–20.

83 BL Add MS 4358.

84 There were also notable deficiencies in episcopal authority, for which see: H. Gareth Owen, 'The Episcopal visitation: its limits and limitations in Elizabethan London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 11.2 (1960), 179–85 (p. 180), and William Sheils, 'Some Problems of Government in a New Diocese: The Bishop and the Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1560–1630', in *Continuity and Change*, eds O'Day and Heal, pp. 167–87.

85 *A Modest Advertisement Concerning the Prefent Controversie about Church-Government; Wherein the Maine Grounds of that Booke, Intituled, The Unlawfulneſſe and Danger of Limited Prelacie, are Calmly Examined* (London: for Robert Bostock, 1641), p. 11.

of *this* Office ... to preserve *Truth* and *Peace* and *Unity*'.⁸⁶ Both Morley and Sudbury noted the importance of bishops to maintaining ecclesiastical order, although Morley was later to be stung by a 'calumny' by the religious controversialist Richard Baxter (1615–91) as Baxter, so Morley wrote, would 'make the world believe, that they were *his* Flock, and not *mine*'.⁸⁷ Episcopal statements on the application of the order's authority can therefore convey a limited impression that bishops were especially concerned to draw out such distinctions.

But some contemporaries did identify the manner in which reformed bishops differed from unreformed bishops. Strikingly, Gauden's understanding of reformed episcopal power was given fuller elaboration in the writings of Sir Arthur Duck, who elucidated his conception of reformed episcopacy by studying the medieval Church. Duck's actual authorship of the ideas on reformed episcopacy is difficult to establish as they are in a text attributed to Duck, but translated and augmented over forty years after his death in 1648.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, a work with Duck's name on it traced the characteristics of the reformed episcopate back to the fifteenth century and to the archbishopate of Henry Chichele, a fifteenth-century archbishop. Duck did not so much judge Chichele to be a reformed bishop because Chichele placed new emphasis on aspects of his office, but rather considered Chichele to be a fully formed reformed bishop in an unreformed context. Duck's means of elucidating Chichele's reformed character was through a comparative analysis of the man and his context.

According to Duck's biography of Chichele, the Archbishop could have been a Protestant bishop and his exercise of office in the fifteenth century gave meaning and substance to the reformed episcopate of the seventeenth century. Duck, a diocesan official and chancellor in the diocese of Bath and Wells, interpreted Chichele's career through the prism of reform of the Church. In his own lifetime, pamphlets and polemic associated Duck with William Laud, Matthew Wren, John Lambe, and other churchmen condemned by the

86 *A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Gilbert Lord Bishop of London, Humphry Lord Bishop of Sarum, George Lord Bishop of Worcester, Robert Lord Bishop of Lincoln, George Lord Bishop of St Asaph* (London: R. Roylton, 1660), p. 5.

87 *The Bishop of Worcester's Letter to a Friend For Vindication of Himself from Mr. Baxter's Calumny* (London: R. Norton for Timothy Garthwaite, 1662), p. 3.

88 For some details of Duck's life and career see Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy', p. 824.

religious authorities of the Commonwealth.⁸⁹ As a diocesan chancellor, Duck wrote with insights into diocesan organization and worked closely with the bishops of Bath and Wells. Duck's work therefore rested on the episcopal organization of the Church of England and he discerned in Chichele a reformed bishop more than a century before the Tudor reforms.⁹⁰ His *Life of Henry Chichele* was originally a Latin tract published in the 1640s but was eventually translated into English in 1699 (by which time Duck had died). The work in either its earlier or later manifestation was one of the few explorations of this medieval prelate's life to be produced in the seventeenth century.⁹¹ The work, specifically its preface, eschewed analysis or interpretation of Chichele's life and instead transmitted biographical data. It is of value here because of the comments which Duck offered in the dedicatory epistle. In this preface, Duck expressed his conception of a reformed Chichele, one who could have offered his allegiance to the reformed Church of England. Archbishop Chichele simply had the misfortune to be born in the fourteenth century and serve as archbishop in the fifteenth, rather than the sixteenth or seventeenth. Except for this impediment, he would have belonged to the Church of England. Duck wrote: 'If this Prelate had lived in happier Times, he would probably have exerted thofe great Talents which he carried far in fo dark an Age, in Services of a high nature.'⁹²

Duck's most singular claim about Chichele concerned his metropolitical relations with the papacy.⁹³ In Duck's assessment, Chichele was an early

89 See Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy', p. 824.

90 On the period assessed by Duck see B. Wilkinson, 'Fact and Fancy in Fifteenth-Century English History', *Speculum*, 42.4 (1967), 673–92 (p. 673).

91 Chichele and other medieval primates including John Morton and John Peckam also received attention in Archbishop Parker's history of the archbishopric of Canterbury, *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae & Priuilegiis Ecclesiae Cantuariensis cum Archiepiscopis eiusdem* 70 (Londini: In aedibus J. Daij, An. Dom. 1572), and in other catalogues of bishops produced in the seventeenth century, including: Anon., *Catalogue of All the Bishops Which Have Governed in the Church of England and Wales, since the Conversion of the Saxons. Together with the Honourary Offices Which They or Any of Them Have Enjoyed in the Civil Government* (London, 1674), John Harington, *A Supplie or Addicion to the Catalogue of Bishops to the Yeare 1608*, ed. R. H. Millar, (Potomac, Maryland: Jose Porrua Turanzas S.A., 1979).

92 Duck, *The Life of Henry Chichele*, dedicatory epistle.

93 In his own lifetime, Chichele had been accused of anti-papalism, a charge which he denied and which emerged from a complex controversy regarding parliamentary legislation

exponent of reformed episcopacy, for the Archbishop ‘asserted the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of this Church against Papal Usurpations’. According to Duck, Chichele’s archiepiscopate was strikingly anachronistic for the fifteenth century, for he possessed ‘great Qualities, and so much the greater, because the Corruptions of the Clergy from the Papacy down to the Begging Orders, were then to an insupportable degree’.⁹⁴ In the midst of this corruption, Chichele stood out as an early advocate of reform.

Duck’s appeal to a medieval churchman as a herald of reformed religion can be contextualized by earlier appeals to the unreformed Church as containing harbingers of the Reformation. In 1608, Thomas James’s *An Apologie for Iohn Wicliffe, shewing his conformitie with the now Church of England* depicted Wyclif as congruent with the post-Reformation Church.⁹⁵ But by the seventeenth century, Wyclif had long stood within the ranks of the reformed tradition, in a way a medieval archbishop did not.⁹⁶ The distinctiveness of Duck’s work lies in his choice of subject matter on which to rest arguments for the early manifestations of reformed episcopacy. Duck’s political context makes sense of these decisions. Identified in popular polemic with Archbishop Laud and serving as a diocesan chancellor, Duck emerges from a context preoccupied with the claims of bishops to govern their dioceses, and his exploration of the early-medieval Church rested upon the qualities which made a bishop reformed.

Duck’s work stands in tension with Gauden’s assessment of the basis of episcopal rule. Gauden’s work identified the distinguishing features of reformed bishops and filled in characteristics of reformed episcopacy by drawing comparative points from European reformations. Duck’s attempt to delineate reformed episcopacy differed from Gauden’s. Duck’s argument complicates the approach which Gauden had taken, which was to distinguish between medieval and reformed episcopacy. Duck blurred what were for Gauden separate ecclesiastical realities, bringing a member of the medieval prelacy into the orbit of reformed episcopacy.

concerning Church lands (E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399–1485* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 235).

94 Duck, *The Life of Henry Chichele*, dedicatory epistle.

95 Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1608.

96 See Marcus Loane, *Pioneers of the Reformation in England* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1964), pp. ix, 24.

Conclusion

Justifications for the authority and status of the English episcopate became implicated in challenges posed to the rule of bishops and the question of whether one could be reformed and be a bishop. Defences of episcopal authority transmuted over the course of the seventeenth century, incorporating citations of Erastian, Apostolic, and reformed authority. John Gauden proposed that the reformed character of English bishops was reflected in the ecclesiastical polities of contemporary European churches. For Duck, such reflections came from a distinct historical personage. Bishops' detractors (and often their victims) traced a largely negative continuity in episcopal rule, rhetorically failing to find divergent conduct between unreformed to reformed bishops. But neither Gauden nor Duck summoned up in writing an episcopate which had dropped from the sky fully reformed. Rather, the reformed episcopacy was a matter of emphasis, a point made by Duck's delineation of a medieval prelate who stood out markedly from his brethren. Seventeenth-century writers identified the reformed basis of their power and offered statements reconciling their office and the reformation of the English Church. Gauden wished to convince firstly the religious authorities of the Commonwealth and then the returning royal court that reformed approval could be found for the exercise of episcopal authority. The ambiguous circumstances of the translation and publishing of Duck's work make questions of actual authorship as uncertain as questions of audience, but in casting Chichele as a harbinger of reform, his point on the distinction between reformed and unreformed bishops was clear. However, his making these points does not mean that these perspectives prevailed. The reputation of the episcopate and of individual members of the bench of bishops for being popish dregs persisted throughout the seventeenth century. But this reputation merely gives added significance to episcopal statements of reformed authority, as bishops stressed not merely their power but their purpose, one which they insisted could cohere with the imperatives of reform.

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Reviews

Alfonso, Isabel, ed., *Rural History of Medieval European Societies: Trends and Perspectives* (The Medieval Countryside 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2007; hardback; pp. viii, 310; R.R.P. €60.00; ISBN 9782503520698.

Even if a dedicated scholar were to speed read for 168 hours a week, 52 weeks of the year, it would still be impossible to master the research done Europe-wide in a subject as fundamental as rural history. Moreover, as Piotr Górecki notes in his discussion of Poland, '[a]n accurate representation of current thought requires more – tracing the long resonance of those major subjects that have long constituted that scholarship, right into its current authoritative state' (p. 255). And, as several other contributors point out, the individual proponents of key theories and ideas have been able to direct understanding and research towards their own positions, not only by their writing, but also by their control of appointments and journals.

Gathering together several distinguished scholars from a number of European countries to analyse and present the significant developments in rural history of the last twenty years – or as it turns out, the last 60 or more – is a valuable way of allowing others to fit their own understanding into a wider framework. Those brought together in this volume consider how historical studies of rural life have changed in their particular country. They also show how national ideologies in those countries have shaped the direction of research and how certain topics are selected as important at the expense of others.

Some topics are still largely neglected, a state of affairs often blamed on a lack of material with which scholars might work. Importantly, José Angel García de Cortázar and Pascual Martínez Sopena have identified three 'most resounding silences' (p. 122) of Spanish medieval rural history: economic structure; technical equipment; and organization of work. Spain is not alone in having such silences. With the exception of Spain and England, there is little on the history of the environment and the effect cultivation had on the land, although landscape studies are fashionable in Italy.

Fortunately, archaeological work has provided new sources of information on material culture in the rural communities of most of the countries surveyed here as, to a lesser extent, has palaeo-environmental evidence. Such evidence has provided a means of accessing the countryside, vital for places where written documentation is late and limited. By uncovering artefacts that were

used by peasants and rural communities, archaeological work has shifted interest towards technology and farming practices, as well as agricultural innovation and a reconstruction of the countryside.

One difficulty that emerges from this collection of essays is how present national boundaries affect historical perspectives. Despite differences in medieval boundaries, local laws and structures that were specific to particular areas, and changing rights and responsibilities, those of the presently central area are often assumed to be the norm. The chapter on Britain, for instance, is wholly focussed on England with a single passing reference to Scotland and none to Wales or Ireland. Benoit Cursente, in considering France, tackles this problem head on, stressing the recent development of work on hitherto neglected provinces of France and the inspiration that a comparative European perspective has produced. In Italy too, as Luigi Provero shows, intense local studies have enabled major reassessments of regional specificity.

A problem with surveys of this sort undertaken by particular scholars is that they may marginalize or omit work by individuals with whom they are not in sympathy. The ‘converging’ account of agreement on fundamentals by what is deemed ‘the majority of researchers’ that is presented, may thus leave out alternative accounts and insights that the ‘other’ may possess. Two historians of English rural society whom I regard as providing stimulating insights – the late Herbert Hallam and Rosamund Faith – are dismissed as eccentric by Dyer and Schofield. Julien Demade, writing on Germany, is very conscious of the difficulty of providing an objective description. He describes as ‘illusory’ the idea that a single value can be placed on any one approach.

The utility of a collection such as this, however, is that it lays bare the holes in the research currently being undertaken, so that with good will from the mentors of up-and-coming scholars, new approaches and (forgive the pun) groundbreaking work can be undertaken. We are still ignorant, for instance, about the changes that may have occurred in the choices of particular species of grain, or livestock, made by generations of farmers. The occasional claim that farming practices were destructive needs to be revisited.

Perhaps, as several contributors hope, more people may turn to collective research enterprises that, in the computer era, may properly and fully be able to exploit difficult source material such as fiscal records. All the

contributors are anxious that future work is not moulded by the political exigencies of the ruling parties in the present day states of Europe. One may look forward to the updating of this survey in another ten years time.

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Andrew, Malcolm and Ronald **Waldron**, eds., *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Fully Revised Fifth Edition with New Introduction and Incorporating Prose Translation on CD-ROM*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2007; paperback; pp. 380; R.R.P. £12.99; ISBN 9780859897914.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, when the *Gawain*-poet's works first appeared in print, readers have delighted in their inspired yet intricately crafted poetry. Evocations of civilisation's elaborate hoaxes and of nature's beauty and power contextualize the poet's subtle explorations of the inner life, ethics, and spirituality. The poems' West Midland dialect and expansive alliterating vocabulary account in part for their survival in only a single undistinguished manuscript, of the late fourteenth century. These same features have exacerbated difficulties faced by the poems' modern editors and translators. The publication of the present complete edition, following its first appearance in 1978, through revised versions in 1987, 1996, 2002 and now again in 2007, is a tribute to its editors' success in engaging with these difficulties. The editors' aim: 'to facilitate and enhance the reader's enjoyment of these splendid poems' has been achieved (p. 26).

Research into background has continued now for nearly two centuries, but the poems' manuscript, British Library MS Cotton Nero A. x, remains the most important external source for deductions about authorship and composition. The non-correspondence of the manuscript's gatherings with the beginnings and ends of the texts indicates that the scribe copied them as a collection. A congruence of themes, including an extended investigation of patience, *trawþe*, *cortaysye*, and *clannesse* as richly meaningful virtues; shared structural features; humour, excitement and high comedy; similarities of clerical and chivalric reading and experience; and above all a unique excellence further support common authorship.

Despite many hours spent discussing *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* with colleagues and students, I found that reading the poems in manuscript

sequence, as reproduced here, suggested many fresh insights. By emphasising the poems' intertextual solidarity and the conditions of their first production, this reading also highlighted the exotic nature of recent approaches to *Sir Gawain* under the aegis, for example, of Foucault, queer theory, pulp fiction and the cinema. If such approaches are to be validated, cross-checking of arguments against the values and concerns of *Sir Gawain's* companion poems would seem to be desirable.

Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron's implicit promotion of the integrity of the *corpus* counterbalances the poems' printing in single or selective editions and translations, in a tradition that began with Sir Frederic Madden's 1839 publication of *Sir Gawain* in a collection of Gawain romances. Among other early printings, Sir Israel Gollancz's separate editions of all four poems; J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon's *Sir Gawain*, revised by Norman Davis; and E. V. Gordon's *Pearl* are works of enduring scholarship. Andrew and Waldron have placed comprehensive textual and literary notes and etymological glossaries in separate sections after the texts, in a presentation that assumes specialist readers. They are thus at the opposite pole from the many modern English translations of the *Gawain*-poet's works that cater for popular Arthurian interests.

The present edition is a compendium that bridges these polarized scholarly and popular spheres. Explanatory notes, including translations of difficult passages, accompany the text at the foot of each page, and a new translation, 'into plain and unadorned prose, staying as close to the original as modern English idiom will allow', accompanies the volume on CD as a printable PDF file. Allusions in the notes to etymology and to other medieval works confine themselves to manuscript cruces, errors, omissions, and the texts' numerous interpretative puzzles. The solutions proposed engage with decisions by earlier editors, thereby empowering the reader to choose among options. This method also encourages readers to explore independently the poems' multiplying dimensions of meaning, which usually stem from the evolution of chosen words or images.

The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript is a doorway into the debates that have enlivened modern commentary on the *Gawain*-poet's works. Of the major revisions, the rewritten introduction lengthens discussion of the manuscript, summarizes speculations about the author's identity, and outlines the genre, narrative, structure, sources, themes, images, and key vocabulary of each poem in manuscript order. It is therefore systematic and comprehensive rather than

individualistic. The ‘practical’ Glossary, listing unfamiliar words and words whose meaning has shifted over time, the Note on Language and Metre, and the Note to the Text are unchanged from earlier issues. Like the explanatory textual notes, the Select Bibliography has been updated to include recent scholarship and criticism.

In sum, I recommend to readers this revision of an edition that several generations of students and teachers have preceded me in endorsing. In a book of manageable size, the editors have succeeded in reconciling reliable scholarship with modern accessibility, and in balancing attention to individual poems with encouragement to explore the *Gawain*-corpus as a whole. Their edition provides a setting that can only deepen twenty-first-century appreciation for these luminous Middle English poems.

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Barr, Helen and Ann M. Hutchison (eds), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson* (Medieval Church Studies 4), Turnhout, Brepols, 2005; hardback; pp. xxii, 448; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503522098.

Through her work and inspiration, Anne Hudson has not only transformed our understanding of important aspects of late medieval English religion and culture, but has also created one of the most productive fields of cross-disciplinary collaboration. In bringing together scholars from a range of disciplines, and presenting a series of papers whose scholarship transcends their disciplinary roots, this volume is itself a considerable tribute to her achievement. It begins with George Rigg’s affectionate *encomium* to the honorand in Latin verse (with English translation!) and the editors’ useful introduction to the collection. It closes with a list of Hudson’s books and articles preceded by a sketch of her work in progress on ‘texts and religious sensibilities in the late medieval and early modern periods’.

The book comprises twenty papers, grouped under the headings of ‘The Question of Sources’, ‘Wyclif’s Influence and Reputation’, ‘Controversies and Reform’ and ‘Contexts of Vernacular Wycliffitism’. Though the papers are more for specialists than students, they all engage in the larger enterprise of reframing and reconceptualising aspects of the religious culture of late

medieval England. The geographical range of the papers is extended by Peter Biller's analysis of modes of interrogation used by the inquisitors in Languedoc and František Šmahel's examination of the *acta* of the trial of Jerome of Prague.

It is impossible to do more than note some of the findings of a few of the papers. By focussing on evidence for the clerical reception of the *Twelve Conclusions*, Wendy Scase offers new insights into the politics of 1395 and a new solution to the problem of the relationship between the Latin and English texts.

In the *notabilia* of Thomas Moston c.1410, Jeremy Catto finds further testimony to the continuing reputation of Wyclif as a logician at Oxford, and suggests 'how painful and inconvenient the uprooting' (p. 130) of his teaching on the orders of Archbishop Arundel must have been to many masters.

In a close reading of Reginald Pecock, who sought to engage with the Lollards in their own language and win them over by reason, Kantik Ghosh finds evidence for the coherence of the Lollard challenge and for the existence of a lay audience in London which had the ability and interest 'to engage, in a spirit of anxious religious inquiry, with vernacular theology and philosophy, in fact, with vernacular scholasticism' (p. 253).

Focussing on three parchmenters and a bookbinder involved in the Lollard rising of 1414, and drawing deeply on the relevant archives, Maureen Jurkowski throws new light on the production and dissemination of Lollard books in London. The story of John Godsell is particularly interesting. After brief imprisonment in 1414, he moved to Ditchingham in Norfolk, where he became a leading light in the Lollard conventicles in the district, organising the supply of Lollard books from London.

In a rich and wide-ranging discussion, Vincent Gillespie demonstrates and helps to explain the success of the Birgittine house of Syon as a bastion of reformist orthodoxy, from its foundation in 1415 to the Reformation. Favoured by the quality of its patrons and recruits, it was by no means 'immune to the tides and seasons of external opinion' (p. 139), as is apparent from the range of books in its collection, including a fifteenth-century Wycliffite glossed gospel. From the short lections included in the house's *Martiloge*, Gillespie reveals the emphasis placed on the quality of priests and sermons, and on the linkage between sound doctrine and good living. The resources of the library underpinned sound doctrine, while 'the lived example of the priest[s]' enhanced the effectiveness of their preaching.

All in all, the papers make up a rich tapestry. The editorial attempt to group the contributions under four headings was worthwhile, but none of them fit comfortably in any box. A lot of the interest in the volume comes from the raw angularity of the findings, the multiplicity of connections, and the subtlety and complexity of the picture that takes shape. The editors, Helen Barr and Ann Hutchinson, and the publisher, Brepols, have served scholarship well. But honour and gratitude are most due to Anne Hudson. As the last stanza of Rigg's *encomium* puts it:

Pro multis laboribus, post tam longum bellum,
 Tibi preparavimus sapidem morsellum
 Partibus durissimum, partibus tenellum
 Oramus, accipias hunc parvum libellum!

[For your efforts for us all, after all the labour,
 For you we've prepared a dish, full of taste and flavour;
 Some of it's rather tough, some of it is tender:
 Please accept this little book, from a grateful sender.]

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Blanton, Virginia, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St. Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007; cloth; pp. xiv, 349; 16 illustrations, 2 maps; R.R.P. US\$65.00; ISBN 9780271029849.

Virginia Blanton has herself a devotion to St Æthelthryth (also known as Etheldreda or Audrey) of Ely, if this beautifully presented book is any sort of evidence. It would pass as a cult object, with its interleaved grey pages with a tasteful medieval motif, its autumnal embossed end papers, and its full-colour dust jacket reproducing a painting from Ely Cathedral of the saint's translation. One wonders whether it was a conscious addition to the extensive catalogue of cult objects with which the book concludes. The one drawback to all this beauty is that it apparently left insufficient budget for the important illustrations to be reproduced in colour. Since the artefacts in question are mostly painted panels from roodscreens and the like, colour photographs would almost certainly have added to the reader's appreciation.

The book is divided chronologically, the first chapter covering Æthelthryth's lifetime up to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the second chapter considering the times of Æthelwold and Ælfric, the third chapter examining the early Norman period, the fourth chapter spanning the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, and the final chapter considering lay texts and material goods of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries.

The opening chapter presents a now all-too-familiar view of Bede's presentation of women, where the usual arguments alleging Bede's denial of agency to women are rehearsed. The arguments are at best weak. The idea that Bede's placement of the Cædmon story after the narration of Hild's death silences Hild is groundless: Bede wished to set out two exemplary lives, and in separating the narratives had to place one before the other. Doubtless the same critics would have accused Bede of relegating Hild, had Cædmon's story come first. Similarly, the attribution of ignoble motives to Bede's non-reproduction of the text of Cædmon's hymn can be disregarded, for a vernacular text would have no place in the Latin composition that was the *Ecclesiastical History*.

In the same vein, Blanton notes, as if with surprise, Bede fails to report Æthelthryth's personal interactions and miracles, which are 'a conventional element in hagiographical texts' (p. 38). Given that the *Ecclesiastical History* is not a hagiographical text, the surprise hardly seems warranted. Blanton also remarks on the absence of posthumous miracles performed by the saint in Bede's text, with the miracles that do occur being a result of contact with the linen or coffin in which she was buried. Since this is quite a standard motif in the period, the point of Blanton's claim that the miracles 'do not disclose her sanctity so much as they support it' (p. 53) is obscure. It is difficult to see how this kind of textual exegesis adds value to our understanding of Æthelthryth or Bede, given its refusal to engage with the writer in his own context.

A similar perspective seems to colour the second chapter, with some contradictions emerging. Having pointed out a visual focus on Æthelthryth's womb implicit in the drapery arrangement in the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold* and imputing an emphasis on her 'chastity as a woman' (p. 95), Blanton then goes on to explain that the miniatures of Christ, Benedict and Swithun share the same characteristic. Presumably she does not mean to suggest that the three last-named also had wombs or were chaste women. In recounting Ælfric's story of a thegn and his wife who

choose to live chastely, in reward for which the thegn is admitted to the heavenly company, Blanton makes much of the fact that the wife 'does not warrant a position in the saint's celestial company simply because she did not become a nun' (p. 119). This, however, is not stated by Ælfric, who simply omits the wife from his account. This is unsurprising, given that, as Blanton points out, Ælfric is trying to deliver a particular message to his male target audience.

Space does not permit a similarly detailed comment on the final three chapters here. It is probably worth mentioning, though, that there are methodological issues with the survey of material objects in the final chapter. Insufficient consideration is given to accidents of survival and recording, and while these are referred to in passing, they almost certainly mean that the tentative conclusions drawn in the course of the discussion are flawed.

The book is an interesting enough account of the changing perspectives and purposes of those who depicted Æthelthryth over the course of some thousand years. It certainly reflects wide-ranging research amongst primary texts, secondary sources and material objects, and for that reason is worth reading. The exhaustive list of material objects relating to Æthelthryth appended to the book is similarly valuable, although more extensive annotation would have rendered it considerably more so.

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Brundage, James A., *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2008; cloth; pp. xvii, 492; 5 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$49.00; ISBN 9780226077598.

James A. Brundage maps the development of the legal profession as the institutions of Roman law are rediscovered in Western Europe from the early twelfth century to the mid-thirteenth century. He argues that Roman law and its institutions were eroded during the Barbarian invasions of the early sixth century, but when they were rediscovered in the twelfth century, a recognizably modern legal profession developed and flourished. Brundage carefully illustrates this process by examining how the law was written down, how the courts worked throughout this period, the development of

legal education and professional ethics, and by describing the various roles found in the legal profession such as advocates, proctors, judges, and notaries.

The opening chapter begins with an account of the structure and institutions of the Roman legal system. Setting the tone for chapters concerned with the medieval development of the legal profession, Brundage demonstrates that the law in Rome followed a path of democratization. The beginnings of a Roman legal tradition are based in the religious institutions of the early Roman Republic. Knowledge of the law was confined to the college of pontiffs acting under an archaic procedural system known as the *legis actiones* (p. 11). The chapter examines how the law escaped from its initial religious confines to become available to any Roman citizen who was able to pay for the services of an advocate to represent their case in the courts. The process occurred as the law was written down in a form that was accessible to those outside the college of pontiffs, leading to the development of advocates, legal education, legal ethics, and highly sophisticated legal procedures. This path is followed up to the sixth century and concludes with an examination of the beginnings of canon law.

The next chapters show how Roman law and its institutions were seemingly lost and then rediscovered in the medieval period. Brundage says that although Roman legal procedures and codes did not survive the Barbarian invasions that forced the schools of law to close (pp. 59-60) he acknowledges that canon law continued to develop within the church. Even so, there was no recognizable legal profession following the collapse of Rome. The rediscovery of the legal profession in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries follows the same route as the discussion of the development and democratization of Roman law and institutions in the first chapter.

As a law school began to emerge in Bologna, there was a need to write down what was known about the law in textbooks, and legal teachers turned to Roman sources to complete this task (pp. 81-9). These early developments foreshadowed Gratian's *Decretals*, which provided a written platform so that the law could be studied and applied. Thus, as shown in the first chapter, the basic step towards a legal profession was to have a body of written laws. Moving onto other aspects of the developing legal profession, Brundage's examination of legal education, procedure, ethics and the various roles found in the legal profession provides the reader with a detailed picture of the medieval legal system that can seem remarkably modern.

The structure Brundage has adopted, of returning to the same subjects (education, procedure, ethics, and the roles of various legal practitioners) in each of the eras discussed, gives the reader the opportunity to take each particular aspect of the legal profession and follow its development from the early Roman Republic to the late medieval period.

This is a book that will have appeal for a generalist reader looking for a broad-spectrum understanding of the subject as well as a more specialist reader whose specific interests lie in one of the aspects of the legal profession. Brundage's style is easy to read and his descriptions of what actually occurred in the legal faculties or in the courtrooms of the period are entertaining. This is a book that will appeal, and be of great value, to anyone who is beginning their research in legal history. Not only does it provide a comprehensive understanding of the subject, it also extensively lists both the primary and secondary sources available on the subject. This is a significant work that will assist researchers and students for many years.

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Butler, Todd, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardcover; pp. x, 200; 5 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754658832.

This is an original contribution to the crowded scholarly field that investigates intellectual history and the scholarly and artistic circles of seventeenth-century England. While Todd Butler's title refers to the seventeenth century in general, much of his text in fact relates to the Caroline period. He is largely concerned with manifestations of imaginative capacity during this time, especially as shown in the court masques and political crises of the era. His approach throughout is strongly multi-disciplinary, drawing on constitutional history, literature, scientific discourse and other seventeenth-century approaches to the imagination.

The author's originality stands out in his interpretation of the Civil Wars. He broadens familiar scholarly conceptions of a clash between King and Parliament into a reading of the Civil Wars as a cognitive process and an assessment of the very real political power which resided in imaginative capacities.

The introduction surveys philosophical thought in imagination and phantasms from Plato onwards. Overall, Butler asserts the power which resided in imagination. He makes sense of this claim by revealing the varying degrees of suspicion or approbation that different thinkers have ascribed to the imagination, especially Plato's disapproval for poetry and its inherent untruthfulness. Butler also places historical debates about the implications of imagination into an English context, especially the religious contests about images which occurred during the Tudor period under King Edward VI. Again, Butler argues for the imagination as conveying potentially dangerous insights and provoking harmful thoughts.

His chapters further express the ambivalent place occupied by the imagination in seventeenth-century English thought. His first chapter reveals this ambivalence in the writings of Francis Bacon, who argued for imagination as a primary element of human thought in his *Advancement of Learning*. Yet as Butler points out, modern interpreters of Baconian science have tended to view Bacon as hostile to imaginative capacities (p. 18). Butler offers an alternative reading, taking Bacon's metaphor of imagination as both citizen and magistrate as his starting point for arguing that Bacon's approach to imagination was to stress its necessity and discipline. Butler's analysis of Baconian science stands forth distinctively from earlier surveys by stressing the intersection between politics and imagination; according to Bacon, imagination was a force which could gain and maintain political power if harnessed correctly (p. 55).

In part, he shows any ambivalence towards imagination as being due to imagination's confluence with politics, a point he also draws out from Caroline court masques. Again Bacon's philosophical works are used as an interpretative device to explain masques as having functioned as a stimulation to the imagination.

Caroline masques have received extensive scholarly attention. For many years, it seemed that Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong had had the last word on them, not simply through cataloguing plot, music and costume but in reading them within the context of the history of ideas. Yet Butler shows imagination to have been a contested property during the Caroline period, especially popular imagination. He ties together sharply divergent Caroline stages, namely courtly masque and Charles I's scaffold in 1649, in order to demonstrate the potency of displays that provoked imaginative capacities. Assessing Charles' execution as an act endowed with imaginative potency,

Butler also stresses the importance of the *Eikon Basilike*, a text purportedly authored by Charles I himself and which he also reads in terms of its imaginative potential (p. 93).

Of course Butler is not the first historian to stress the inherent theatricality of Charles I's execution or the impact of the *Eikon Basilike*, but his work is distinctive for the intersection he charts between political events and the imaginary sphere. Further chapters also pursue interpretation of the public image of the martyred Charles I, especially Milton's acknowledgement that Charles and his supporters used the power of the imagination as a key to political authority (p. 136).

Overall the text would have benefitted from a slightly sharper focus. Given that Butler argues for the intersection of imagination and politics, his treatment of the constitutional history was at times disjointed, as political events floated in and out of his analysis as occasion demanded, rather than receiving systematic treatment. But his central idea of the nexus of politics and the imagination is clear and strong and this is a fresh and valuable contribution to existing studies, not only of seventeenth-century politics, but also the History of Ideas.

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Cowan, Alexander, *Marriage, Manners and Mobility in Early Modern Venice* (Historical Urban Studies), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; hardback; pp. xvii, 209; 9 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754657286.

This book provides a unique perspective on attitudes to marriage, concubinage and social mobility amongst the Venetian Patriciate in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its aim is 'to examine upward social mobility through marriage in early modern Venice' (p. 13). It does so via a systematic analysis of the surviving *prove di nobiltà*, the investigations of a governmental magistracy – known as the *Avogaria di Comun* – into whether or not proposed marriages of Venetian noblemen to brides from outside the Venetian Patriciate, and/or those of natural daughters of Venetian noblemen to members of the Venetian nobility should be approved for registration by the Venetian State. Records survive for the investigations into the social and moral backgrounds of approximately 500 women who wished to marry into

the Venetian nobility, from the time the laws pertaining to outsider brides and natural daughters were enacted in 1589 until the study's end date: 1699. If the investigators found in favour of the petitioners, then any sons from these relationships would be eligible for membership of the Grand Council, the Republic's supreme governing body made up of the men from Venice's most noble families.

Alexander Cowan uses both qualitative and quantitative methods in this study. He draws extensively on the written testimonies recorded (always in first-person) by the women concerned, who were not physically present at the hearings. For his qualitative evidence, Cowan documents the attitudes, prejudices and ideas of his protagonists. Quantitatively, he uses demographic characteristics of petitioners, marriage contracts and the recommendations of the investigations for the statistical data from which to describe broad social trends.

As the book's opening example illustrates, petitioners were concerned to demonstrate that they were the legitimate or natural daughter of their parents; that their fathers were of high social status in their home town; that their fathers and grandfathers had always lived 'civilly and honourably'; and that their mothers and themselves had lived 'modestly and honestly' (p. 1). Both 'outsider brides' and the natural daughters of patricians who wished to marry into this closed caste had to demonstrate that they and their families were of appropriate social and moral standing so as to ensure that the purity of the Venetian nobility would not be tainted.

Cowan argues that the 1589 law was evidence of the Venetian State's concern with increasing social differentiation and the need to preserve noble status. These claims for recognition of patrician status were not speculative and would only be brought if negotiations were at an advanced stage. Sometimes couples married before the, often lengthy, investigative process undertaken by the *Avogaria di Comun* was completed. The investigation would then be stopped and registration refused but petitioners could apply to have their marriages and their offspring recognized at a later date, so that marrying before the process was completed was not an insurmountable hurdle to eventual registration.

The second chapter discusses the *Avogaria di Comun* and its functions and the process undertaken during an investigation of a *prove di nobiltà*, including the interrogation of witnesses, the types and validity of evidence, including hearsay and the use of quite elderly witnesses to testify to the noble

status, or otherwise, of a claimant's father or grandfather, or of the moral standing of a mother.

The later chapters then take up various themes such as outsider brides and their families. Cowan argues that the opportunity to marry outsider brides opened up a tight Venetian marriage market in which often only one male was able to marry and many girls became nuns because of the spiralling costs of dowries. Outsider brides offered additional dowry capital. These outsider brides were from a very restricted social circle that included doctors, lawyers, merchants, high level officials, rentiers and nobles from the Venetian territories or beyond. Many of them could be subsumed within the Venetian *cittadini* (citizen) class, which was a semi-privileged group of high status but Cowan argues that a more accurate term would be *huomini civili*, a group between the nobility and majority of the *cittadini* class. A key criterion for determining a bride's social status was how her father and grandfather made a living: any suggestion that these men engaged in 'vile' trades that involved directly selling and handling goods (as opposed to supervising the process) meant automatic disqualification.

The last part of the book concerns the natural daughters of patricians. The factors taken into account here were: whether the daughter had been recognized by her father at birth and had been supported by him; whether the patrician's relationship with the mother had been long-term, stable and exclusive; and the moral conduct of mother and daughter. These relationships garnered wide acceptance in Venetian society perhaps because it was so difficult for Venetian noble men and women to marry. Concubinage was the next best option, providing a marriage-like environment for bachelor noble men, as well as for many unmarried or widowed women from across the social spectrum.

Some of the contextual material on Venetian social mores in the last chapter of the book would have provided necessary information earlier in the book, and would have prevented the need to repeat information. But this is a minor criticism of a very thoughtful, lucid and suggestive book that should inspire further research into the relationship between gender, marriage and social mobility in early modern Europe.

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Cruz, Anne J., ed., *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Transculturalisms, 1400-1700), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback; pp. xxvii, 176; 9 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754662150.

This remarkably comprehensive collection, edited by Anne J. Cruz, focuses on the crucial 50 years of relations between England and France, beginning with the marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip II in 1554 and ending with the death of Elizabeth I in 1603.

The first of three parts addresses ‘the physical and representative connections across the channel’ (p. xix) in that period, including trade alliances against France, royal marriages, and religious conflict and its effects in each country. William D. Phillips, Jr contributes a retrospective discussion of trade relations since the thirteenth century addressed in terms of the countries’ location in ‘Atlantic Europe’. Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales, in turn, examines the complex, drawn-out process which transformed traditional allies against France into warring enemies. While it is hardly groundbreaking to stress ‘the key and decisive role’ played by ‘their religious opposition’ in the eventual ‘showdown between the two monarchies’ (p. 13), de Pazzis Pi Corrales shows why and how this conflict was deferred for decades – despite mutual aggravations – due to Phillip’s crucial support for Elizabeth’s succession in preference to that of French-allied Mary Stuart.

Elizabeth Wright details the paradox that Francis Drake’s fame was, in a sense, a Spanish fabrication: the result of ‘exaggeration of his efficacy’, used to ‘cover for shoddy defence systems’ and to gain ‘greater crown subsidies’ (p. 29). Remarkably, accounts by witnesses, prisoners and diplomats culminated in Drake’s lionization in a Spanish epic poem, Lope de Vega’s *La dragontea*, which Wright incisively interprets as a cautionary work for the future Phillip III, to whom the work was dedicated (pp. 34-8).

Anne J. Cruz’s own chapter deals with the process of ‘symbolic warfare’ in response to acts of desecration committed during Drake’s raid on Cadiz in 1587. Cruz focuses on the politico-religious deployment of desecrated religious statuary, both in the immediate aftermath when a damaged statue of the Virgin was granted to the English Jesuit College in Valladolid (p. 49) and in the commissioning and deployment, as late as the 1670s, of paintings on the subject (pp. 50-1).

The highlight of Part II, 'Circulating Fictions of the Other', is arguably Barbara Fuchs' essay on the English 'Orientalizing' of 'Iberia' in such plays as Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*. Fuchs discusses the 'English conflation of Spain and the world of Islam ... part of a sustained orientalizing discourse', even more intriguing for being deployed against a Western-European country, the better to 'emphasize the alterity of England's most powerful enemy' (pp. 63-8). But, in her denouement, Fuchs also notes the cultural fascination exercised by that other, so influential were Spanish literary models in England (pp. 68-70).

María Cristina Quintero discusses Antonio Coello's 1633 play, *El conde de Sex* ('The Count of Essex'), unusual for portraying Elizabeth. Quintero stresses the noteworthy portrayal of a queen – albeit a long-dead, foreign one – in an eroticized role (pp. 77-9). Indeed, as Quintero argues, Coello's *embodiment* of the queen in key scenes requiring a scantily-clad actress, constituted a playful, witty manipulation of the discourse of the monarch's two bodies, which the historical Elizabeth had famously exploited (pp. 81-5).

Part II concludes with Frederick A. de Armas' discussion of two of Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*, *La gitanilla* ('The Little Gypsy Girl') and *La española inglesa* ('The English Spanish-Woman'), shown to be linked to contemporaneous interest in purportedly momentous astrological phenomena which occurred between the death of Elizabeth I (1603) and the birth of the future Philip IV (1605). As de Armas shows, the novellas' defining assertion of seemingly magical possibilities of harmony and tolerance, are, fascinatingly, analogous with the spirit of 'wish-fulfilment' with which James' envoys to the Spanish court – engaged, at that time, in negotiations to end the protracted war between the two nations – reportedly displayed 'a very Catholic behavior' in the course of their mission (p. 95).

Part III, 'Wars of Discourse, Discourses of War', commences with a discussion of Pietro Martire, Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt; David Boruchoff observes that the Renaissance promise of 'freedom to make one's way' was accompanied by 'trepidation wrought by the disintegration of the medieval world-system' and of 'the certainties of classical and Scholastic *auctoritas*' (p. 103). Boruchoff would locate desire for such lost *auctoritas* in the moral idealism of the discourse of discovery, whereby the work of Eden and Hakluyt, 'despite its importance as an instrument of national pride and propaganda in Tudor England, aspired to more lofty ideals and objectives that ... transcend political and sectarian differences' (p. 103). The providential

character which Hakluyt ascribed the successes of empire – namely, his assurance that Spain’s waning glory manifested her loss of divine favour, as England’s star rose – is the subject of Boruchoff’s warning against the modern temptation to see it as mere ‘lip service to spiritual ideals’ (p. 120).

Carla Rahn Phillips, in turn, discusses rival accounts of the actions of Drake and Raleigh in the 1580s and ‘90s. In examining Henry Savile’s translation and virulent refutation of the original Spanish account of Drake’s last, fatal mission in the Americas – where following military failure Drake himself succumbed to dysentery – Phillips contrasts the ‘clear, dry Spanish prose’ of ‘official communications’ (p. 127), in which Avellaneda, a Spanish admiral, had written his account, with the ‘intemperate’ language and ‘emotional invective’ to which Henry Savile, and his endorser, Thomas Baskerville, resorted in *A Libell of Spanish Lies* (1596), marked by a desire to ‘vilify Spain and Spaniards’ (pp. 128-9, 133). Phillips’ coda is a sobering observation that, ‘once invoked’, xenophobic pronouncements, ‘take on a life of their own’, such animosities surviving, decades later, as an obstacle to reconciliation (p. 134).

In the final essay, Bernardo J. García García examines the voices advising the abandonment of large-scale military action, which gradually gained the ear of the Spanish crown. Alamos de Barrientos is singled out as a leading thinker who had considerable influence upon the young Philip III; he advocated defensive naval measures, the establishment of maritime taxes, and the disruption of foreign trade as ways to target England’s economic resources – even recommending privateering, in imitation of the English (pp. 138-43). However, as García García illustrates, the catalyst for peace negotiations would not be political discourse but the material circumstances of warfare and the death of Elizabeth. Thus, it was the dismal failure of the 1601 Spanish landing at Kinsale in aid of an Irish Catholic uprising, and their defeat by the English over the following year, that led to Philip III’s peace negotiations with England and, indeed, for Philip’s open ‘support’ for the pro-peace ‘James’ accession to the English throne’ (pp. 146-8).

Taken as a whole, the ten essays in this well-documented and fascinating collection make it very worthwhile for historians and literary scholars of Early Modern Spain and England.

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Dell, Helen, *Desire by Gender and Genre in Trouvère Song* (Gallica 10), Woodbridge & Rochester, D. S. Brewer, 2008; cloth; pp. x, 241; R.R.P. £50.00, US\$95.00; ISBN 9781843841647.

This carefully constructed book on a complex topic extends ideas of which Helen Dell gave a foretaste in *Parergon* 22.1 (2005). The lyric poetry of the northern French trouvères has been less studied than that of the Occitan troubadours, which makes this a welcome publication. Although Dell has drawn on recent troubadour scholarship, notably that of Pierre Bec, Simon Gaunt, Jean-Charles Huchet, and Sarah Kay, her own approach is different and original. She explores the gendering of desire, reading the lyrics in connection with the psychoanalytic theory of Jacques Lacan, trying 'to follow seriously the logic of signification of difference' (p. 1). With a corpus showing northern appreciation of a wider range of genres, she analyses desire in the low, uncourtly register, where the feminine voice is more often heard, and in the high register of *fin' amor*, the masculine domain. Working across genres and genders, she aims to reveal 'a discourse of unspoken desire, masculine and feminine in trouvère song' (p. 22).

In chapters 1 and 2, she describes the song system, distinguishing genre and register. She begins with the masculine high-style song of *fin' amor*: Thibaut de Champagne's 'Ausi conme unicorne sui', where desire impedes the lover's rational thought, and the playful rondeau 'C'est tot la gieus en mi la prez' (pp. 36-41). Whereas in courtly love lyrics the lady is silent and absent, in low-style, feminine-voice songs, the 'textual' woman is present and ready for action, as illustrated by 'Deduxans suis et joliette, s'amerai', a *chanson de femme* of the *chanson d'ami* type (pp. 62-6). Feminine and masculine voices are unequal, resembling Aristotelian matter and soul.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with desire: masculine desire, firstly in the low-style *pastourelle*, where lust makes the man try and seduce the shepherdess with varying outcomes, and then in the high-style *chanson* where among contradictions and obstacles hope of fulfilment is evoked but unrealized, creating unsatisfied desire. On the other hand, low-style feminine desire brings both sorrow and joy. Sometimes the defiant *amie* can triumph; but other women lament failure. Behind these feminine voices must, however, be presumed a masculine author, as there were few women among the trouvères.

The next two chapters are on the chronotopes of desire, i.e. desire in relation to time, space, change, etc., beginning with the low-style *chanson de femme*, the *chanson de mal mariée*. With narrative implications and circularity, it supposes a triangular situation where the woman is an object between her jealous husband and a lover, and lacks the will to change. Dell then explores in the *chanson* the ambivalent masculine propensity to look up at courtly ladies and down at shepherdesses, oscillating between serious ethical issues and free-time diversion. Lacan's notion of extimacy (p. 156) supports discussion of the *cœur/corps* separation. A good conclusion (p. 165) brings together both voices as victims of a situation, which neither acts to change, although one resorts to defiance and the other to self-abasement.

In a particularly interesting final chapter, Dell studies nine *chansons*, which might be considered truly feminine, where the lyric subject 'has stated something of herself in her desire' (p. 168). One senses a story behind the utterance, especially of the pain of having loved and lost through the lover's death or departure on a crusade.

In Afterthoughts (pp. 204-9), Dell reflects on the absence of satisfactory answers, and the surprising discovery that it has not been possible for anyone 'to place woman securely within the trouvère song system' (p. 207). In the writing process, she has gained this knowledge, which curiously reflects the position of the trouvères who live their desire in the process of composing a song.

Examples are quoted with parallel English translation. Editions with English translation and English translations of Lacan are used. A useful Index completes the book. Given the care with detail, it is surprising that numerous errors appear on pp. ix-x, including the former names of the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Also the running headings of chapter 6 have 'Chronotypes' instead of 'Chronotopes'. Occasional typos occur, e.g. 'c'a;pot' (p. 151, v. 7). Perhaps 'escarlate' (p. 133, v. 4) should be translated by its alternative meaning 'best quality fabric'.

Helen Dell writes with ease and clear definition of concepts, sometimes expressing ideas more than once in different terms and introducing many literary and cultural parallels. The author of 'Por coi me bait mes maris' would no doubt be surprised at the length of the analysis (pp. 121-6), that includes reference to Aristotle's *Physics* and Heidegger's *Being and Time*. Colourful turns of phrase, e.g. 'this juggernaut of a woman' (p. 177), 'the pressure-

cooked erotic' (p. 165), enliven the dense argument that frequently moves from Lacan to a poem and back to Lacan, for the book is to some extent an assessment of the critical theory as well as an analytical study of the poetry.

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Einbinder, Susan L., *No Place of Rest: Jewish Literature, Expulsion, and the Memory of Medieval France* (Middle Ages), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008; cloth; pp. 267; 2 illustrations; R.R.P. US\$55.00, £36.00; ISBN 9780812241150.

Close to half of this book is made up of notes, bibliography and index, but these scholarly materials truly enhance the analyses and discussions of the six constituent chapters, as well as Introduction and Epilogue. By diverting much of the technical matter related to her main argument, Einbinder gives a more powerful flow to her elegant text. In many places, it is eloquent and charming, rather than, as happens all too often these days, full of jargon and ideological sludge.

The main arguments may be set out as follows: the series of exiles and other disasters in the fourteenth century that displaced and shook to its foundations the Jewish communities of what is now the France of the Mediterranean coast seems to have left little or no direct record in the rabbinical writings that have survived. Nonetheless, in indirect form – through seemingly obscure and baroque poetry on biblical themes, especially in liturgical hymns, but also in medical texts and romantic lyrics – the history of people's experiences may be traced out, as can the attempts by communities to reconstitute themselves and their social and individual memories, and the specific cultural strengths of Jewish cultural discourses revealed.

In addition, Einbinder argues that re-examining the documentary record is also illuminating of the dynamics of Jewish cultural memory. In this she means both literary expressions themselves, in the sense of poetic, exegetical or scientific texts, and in the sense of physical manuscripts owned by particular individuals, transferred from place to place in the *diaspora*, and recreated by scribes, redactors and *ad hoc* scribblers of notes on the pages of these manuscripts and later printed versions. By so doing, the author finds it necessary, as she says, to trample modern interdisciplinary boundaries, thus

knocking down paradigms that set Ashekanzi against Sephardic, binary codes established both by the overwhelming of previous models of Jewishness when the Sephardic Diaspora at the end of fifteenth century exploded across Europe and the Eastern world and by the academic penchant for simplified codes to analyse circumstances in which only fragments of books and hallucinated memories of trauma remain.

Still further, this book addresses the problem of how to read poetry in styles the nineteenth-century Science of Judaism could not fathom in their positivistic search for meaning to justify the traditions of their people in Central Europe, and that also present difficulties for modernist literary prejudices and tastes shaped by Romantic and post-Romantic sensibilities. Going beyond Paul Zumthor's ingenious rhetorical readings of Christian ('secular') poetry in the medieval period – something in itself a revolutionary advance beyond the reading technologies of both classical and romantic criticism – Einbinder finds the Jewish search for stability and meaning in a world that appeared to have been shaken from its axis and evacuated of significance in the kinds of creativity most at odds with modernity in all its forms, in acrostics, pantogrammes and micrography. Rather than simplistic or mystical attempts to graft mythic dimensions on to catastrophic events or to replace traumatic memories with familiar biblical promises of messianic and apocalyptic revenge and renewal, these poets sought to make in and of their poetic lines an active, midrashic experience, one that at once generated meaning, stabilized the processes of thought through minimalist language, and 'elevate[d] social chaos to its truer spiritual meaning' (p. 52). The elitist authors and readers 'found in the formal difficulty and monotony of the pantogram a meditative tool, a linguistic challenge and a path to enlightenment' (p. 59).

Yet truth to tell, these efforts for the most part were lost, along with the memories they contained and the hopes they embodied. What did remain as traces, however, were usually occluded and misunderstood – and hence vehicles of a nostalgia and aspiration that could be shaped by subsequent disasters – but can be teased out again, as Einbinder demonstrates, in *piyytim*, dietary manuals, and other seemingly unrelated documents. As she says, in almost her last sentence in the Epilogue, 'I have tried to convey in these pages that there is a way to read a series of forgotten texts and detect within them the echoes of the expulsion's trauma' (p. 162). She has succeeded better than she allows herself to hope – 'We can only hope that as we struggle to find the past, the future will someday look for us' (p. 162) – because her

models of scholarship to recoup lost histories of event and inscription can be generalized beyond the texts, authors and redactors she studies, and the ways of thinking and writing she begins to illuminate, can once again inspire us in our creative engagement with the traumas of our experience.

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Ewan, Elizabeth and Janay **Nugent**, eds, *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback; pp. 206; 4 b/w illustrations, 3 tables; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754660491.

Scholarship on medieval and early modern Scotland has usually focussed on political, religious and economic studies. Over the last twenty years, social and cultural history has made its mark, followed closely by gender and women's history. However, there is still a huge gap in the historiography and as the editors emphatically state, 'the study of the medieval and early modern family is still in its infancy' (p. 1). This could be perceived as somewhat strange considering the family, as a foundation for order, played a pivotal role as 'the building block of all other social institutions' (p. 8). The interdisciplinary essays in this collection have been combined in a text that assesses the importance of the family by expanding on broader historiographical debates.

Section one's four essays detail many of the sources available to the scholar of the family. Cynthia Neville explores medieval charters to garner information about the local and private concerns of families with regard to land and property. Such evidence demonstrates the patriarchal structures of Scottish society while highlighting the role of women in the disposition of landed estates, as wives and widows. As Neville explains, the emotional side of family life still remains hidden but the charters illuminate other areas of family life, such as religion, kinship ties, and family management.

Marriage is a key to any discussion of family relations, however, as Katie Barclay argues, marital relationships have come under little scrutiny until very recently. Using the medium of ballads, she examines marital relationships between 1650-1750 in order to explore attitudes towards and tensions between

love, courtship, marriage, and economics. Barclay concludes that the ballads reveal a change in family dynamics between 1650 and 1750, underpinned by complex familial and gender relationships.

Dolly MacKinnon locates the family within the world of music, arguing that music negotiated and reaffirmed social and gender roles, and suggesting it illuminates 'the more intimate aspects of Scottish life' (p. 48).

Scott Moir highlights how integral the family framework was to tensions surrounding witchcraft accusations and trials. Using a small sample of records to further his argument, Moir shows that expectations, failures, emotions, and relationships demonstrate the social construction of both the family and the concept of witchcraft.

Section two focuses on the family, presenting us with a collection of essays that analyse early modern social constructions of fatherhood (Melissa Hollander) and the emotional relationships between evangelical Protestant parents and children (David G. Mullan). Other essays in the section examine the historical records outlining the urban activities of married women with regard to debt litigation either as individuals or as part of the marital economy (Gordon DesBrisay and Karen Sander Thomson) and the information that tombstone inscriptions can give regarding familial relationships, both real or rhetorical, accurate or exaggerated (Barbara C. Murison).

The use of the family in examining broader historiographical issues is taken further in section three which looks at the interaction between family, kin and community. Mairi Cowan shows that in late-medieval Scotland there was concern with the spiritual ties of family, beginning with baptism and ending with the preferred care of the soul by blood kin. For Cowan, this emphasizes the importance of the material model of blood kinship over the spiritual model of kinship (p. 125).

Alison Cathcart also examines blood kinship but suggests that over time its significance lessened as clans looked further afield to extend their ties of influence. Focussing on marriage and the manipulation of women in order to achieve political and economic goals, Cathcart concludes that kinship, real or imagined, 'was a fundamental means of executing clan policy which aimed at preserving and enhancing the family line' (p. 138).

The final three essays look more to the inextricable links between family and community and the consequences for both of disobedience, famine and murder. J. R. D. Falconer focuses his inquiry on sixteenth-century Aberdeen court records examining ideologies around social order and honour, and

the part families played in restorative and retributive justice. Karen Cullen looks at the impact of the last national famine on the family. Decreases in baptisms and marriages were such that long-term recovery of the family was severely affected.

Murder in the wake of the 1745 rebellion, outlined in the final essay by Deborah A. Symonds, informs the reader of the effects political disorder, war and the emergence of a new textile economy had on the family. While the evidence points to a breakdown or failure of a family's formation around an illegitimate child, it is also indicative of the breakdown of wider family relationships, and the heavy impact on women, as the community sought to re-establish the order of society and the economy.

By unearthing aspects of the pre-industrial Scottish family that have hitherto been hidden, it is hoped this broad collection of essays has opened the door to further interrogative research on this slowly emerging area.

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Fabiani Giannetto, Raffaella, *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design* (Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008; pp. 328; 54 illustrations; R.R.P. US\$55.00; ISBN 9780812240726.

Medici Gardens: From Making to Design is a study of the early Renaissance Medici gardens outside of Florence: Trebbio, Cafaggiolo, Careggi and Fiesole. Raffaella Giannetto begins with the historiography of the Medici garden, especially as it was shaped by the idealising visions of nineteenth-century foreign intellectuals and then by the political motivations of fascism in promoting the idea of a *giardino all'italiana*. This idea identified the Italian garden with geometric principles and a symmetrical layout that reflected the architecture of the house, the design of which was dated to Renaissance Rome. The author seeks to challenge previous critical assumptions that the Medici gardens were prototypes of a *giardino all'italiana* and that there existed an established design practice to which the creation of the early Medici gardens conformed.

The author examines the historical contexts of the Medici gardens, meticulously considering the evidence, which includes letters, books of memoirs, tax returns, notarial deeds and drawings. She identifies the risk of using later

images, such as the painted lunettes by the Flemish artist Giusto Utens (1599), as evidence of the appearance of the properties in the Quattrocento.

Enquiring into the intentions and motivations that produced the gardens, orchards and kitchen gardens within the Medici properties, Giannetto places them within the material culture context of the lives of the Medici. Family members had different attitudes towards the countryside. (Cosimo apparently took a direct, hands-on approach to gardening while Lorenzo was not interested in actually getting his hands dirty.) Giannetto seeks to place these early gardens in the context of Early Modern Italian society rather than presenting the gardens as discrete and isolated art objects.

Giannetto's approach is distinguished from earlier studies by its emphasis on the practice of garden making as preceding its evolution into a theory of design. Her argument is that the gardens developed in a more organic way; a shaping of the landscape that was primarily a physical exercise rather than a theoretical one. The emergence of design principles she identifies as a later development. She seeks to trace the evolution of gardens, and human relationships with such spaces, from kitchen gardens and orchards, providing food for household consumption or sale, to designed spaces that could embody complex allegorical programmes and provide theatrical arenas.

The book takes an interdisciplinary approach. As well as considering the historical evidence of the social fabric surrounding the gardens, the author also considers humanist representations of man's engagement with the natural world in literature and philosophy. The fictional gardens of Petrarch and Boccaccio (together with Petrarch's gardening notes) provide comparisons with, and insights into, the nature of actual gardens. Literary gardens were not conceived as objects but projections of the feelings of the poet and readers. In Boccaccio's literary gardens (which inspired subsequent illuminators and painters) he approaches an idea of design that would not be explored in actual gardens until a few centuries later. In Marsilio Ficino's philosophical writing, the *locus amoenus* is not an object of aesthetic appreciation but rather comprised signs of God. His work is not directly related to the layout of Careggi, the seat of Ficino's Neoplatonic Academy, however, Giannetto relates his interpretation of human creativity, as an instinctual activity not requiring discursive reasoning, to the creation of gardens.

In the final section, Giannetto considers the process by which gardens began to be laid out according to drawings and models previously used in other disciplines, after which a theory of garden making emerged. Leon

Battista Alberti in *De re aedificatoria* (1485) sought to promote architecture as a liberal art and, by including a chapter on gardens, which had previously been included with agriculture as a mechanical art, contributed in part to the elevation of their status. Alberti suggested the plan of a garden should be in the manner of a building, using geometrical shapes for layout and the planting of trees. From the sixteenth century, manuals codified traditions of garden making and horticultural experience. The process of garden making evolved from habit and repetition into what we would term 'design'. The manuals postdate the establishment of garden praxis, while a theory of garden design emerges in text after the significant gardens have been designed. Overall garden making moved away from the practice of agriculture and acquired the image of the Roman *castrum*, the planning of cities.

Giannetto's book is part of the Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture series, edited by John Dixon Hunt which is 'dedicated to the study and promotion of a wide variety of approaches to landscape architecture, with special emphasis on connections between theory and practice'. The series received the Award of Honor in Communications from the American Society of Landscape Architecture in 2006. Luke Morgan's *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (2007) is another work in the same series.

Medici Gardens: From Making to Design engages the reader's interest throughout with its thorough and multifaceted approach. It will be of interest to scholars in areas of garden and landscape history, literature and architecture. With its interdisciplinary approach it will no doubt bring new insights to readers in particular disciplines and those interested in connections between them. It is accompanied by a generous number of illustrations: photographs, maps, plans and paintings.

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Gascoigne, John, *Captain Cook: Voyager Between Two Worlds*, London & New York, Hambledon Continuum, 2007; hardback; pp. 304; R.R.P. \$49.95; ISBN 9781847250025.

Encounters between cultures have become a fashionable topic and John Gascoigne has adapted his long-term interest in eighteenth-century voyages of scientific discovery to a consideration of the misunderstandings that arose

from face-to-face dealings between alien English crews and the native dwellers in the islands the ships visited. To do this, he has sought to interweave the comparatively well-known (and primarily written) English source material with later anthropological assessments of the non-literate inhabitants of the more remote Pacific Islands.

This is a valiant and interesting attempt to match the conflicting viewpoints of those about to be colonized and of those about to take over. Alas, as the material is so lopsided, the result is still largely a one-way exploration of British perceptions and objectives. Surprisingly, Gascoigne has little to say about the implications of these encounters for Enlightenment thought. He has limited himself to Britain, taking little notice of the European culture of which it formed a part.

Because James Cook had a complex early background, Gascoigne divides his study into a number of separate parts – agriculture, sea, trade, politics religion, sex and death – in each of which he considers Cook's experience and what can be ascertained of his encounters with the parallel field in Pacific societies including New Zealand.

Although endless details of Cook's life have been collected they do not provide an insight into what Cook himself made of life in a remote Yorkshire village, or his early time at sea. Instead, it is necessary to use extraneous information – in religion, for example, what little can be said of local Protestant observance and evidence of surviving superstitions – to supplement our ignorance of what Cook accepted about belief and ecclesiastical structures. If it were possible to say what Cook's reaction to these various aspects of life was so that his reaction to the unknown could be assessed, this would be a groundbreaking work. As it is, Gascoigne can only show what attitudes or expectations were probably common, or even, with regard to sex, what he claims 'Cook's men thought' (p. 176). This is thought provoking but also frustrating.

Summarising the changes that were taking place in British society during Cook's lifetime, both globally and in the specific areas with which Cook was familiar, is problematic. Gascoigne has decided to treat the period as one of up-coming critical change and to present Cook as a symbol of that change in a number of ways.

Foreshortening the long run up to the economic changes of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produces a dramatic but somewhat misleading construction of Cook's early experiences. This is in part due to

the impossibility of avoiding minor errors, in part to the difficulty of setting very particular circumstances into a wider framework – in agriculture, for instance, enclosure was changing many people's lives in Yorkshire but Great Ayton had been enclosed 70 years before Cook's birth.

The plotting of the narrative in this work depends on creating sharp contrasts between the two worlds, but one may ask how convincing is this? How far was Cook in fact conscious of irreconcilable differences either between Britain and the Pacific or even between his Britain and that which had gone before? Colliers, after all, had tramped up and down the coasts of Britain since the Middle Ages – London had been dependent on the coal they brought since 1500. Trinity House Newcastle, whose authority covered Whitby, had licensed Pilots since the sixteenth century and had been the body that provided the safety net for local shipping almost as long.

Trade is the driving force that Gascoigne sees as lying behind the missions of exploration Britain sent out in the mid-eighteenth century but was such exotic trade visible in Whitby? Cook would have mainly encountered only routine, local trade in fish, food and clothing. Gascoigne is too good a scholar to say merely about Cook's knowledge of the smuggling that was endemic on the East Coast that 'he must have known of it' and nothing on what was brought in and the way in which it was tied into more legitimate trade. There are too many gaps in what can safely be said about Cook's understanding of the wider financial structures underlying the growth of trade in the period to make it clear what trade he thought should result from his voyages. Gascoigne's account of trade and of the coinage ignores the many earlier centuries in which coins were already the small change of business and in which early forms of banking activities linked Northern counties, especially Yorkshire, to London and overseas markets. He downplays the role of trade in the Islands as peripheral but in many ways it would not have differed except in volume from local Yorkshire marketing.

Gascoigne presents the Pacific islanders' concept of the gift as wholly foreign to British ideas of trade as an exchange, arguing that this led on both sides to embarrassment, confusion and ultimately conflict. The idea of the gift-exchange, however, had existed in Europe for centuries and had formed a part of royal and noble politics, and Europeans had encountered sophisticated forms of the practice in other areas of Asia well before Cook. The implications of such encounters with the Islanders and the ways in which such things as gift-exchange were intertwined in their culture with other fundamental social

concepts need to be more carefully teased out if we are to comprehend the distance between the mental worlds of the two societies.

In contrasting Cook's attitude to mapping with that of the Islanders, for instance, Gascoigne emphasizes Cook's commitment to what is presented as scientific surveying and claims that he failed to appreciate how Tupaia envisaged space, distance and direction. Certainly, this would be the appropriate official account to send to the Admiralty, but coastal pilots in Britain, even down to the mid-nineteenth century, used knowledge, written down in printed or private rutters, that had much in common with Tupaia's mental maps. Did Cook in his time as an apprentice and in merchant ships never encounter this?

This is nevertheless an easy-to-read book that stimulates readers to consider matters they had perhaps previously taken for granted and to go away and look for their own answers. In assessing its success one should, I think, say: 'Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, Or what's a heaven for?'

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Goldin, Simha, *The Ways of Jewish Martyrdom* (Cursor Mundi 2), trans. Yigal Levin, C. Michael Copeland, ed., Turnhout, Brepols, 2008; hardback; pp. xiv, 399; 7 b/w figures; R.R.P €70.00; ISBN 9782503525235.

This is a book that is not like other scholarly books, and it is more important than most. As you can see from the bibliographical title-line above, it is not only a translation from Hebrew, but also a text that required an editor. My suspicion is that the manuscript was two or three, or more, times longer than the text we now have.

It is a book that is not like other scholarly books because, rather than claim objectivity and disinterestedness, it begins with an account of personal experience during the Gulf War of 1991 when Israel was subjected to sustained Iranian missile attacks. It concludes with a discussion of how Jews in Israel and in the Diaspora still remember and talk about their experiences during the *Shoah* when Jews, Judaism and Jewishness were close to annihilation. It is from this perspective that the author looks at Jewish history but also at Christian martyrology and pagan Judeophobia. Simha Goldin feels Jewish history as a Jew.

In a way, most of the chapters are repetitious and confusing, while, at the same time, the argument is intriguing and searching. Goldin is trying to

do many things, if not all at once, then in a process of interweaving and overlapping. The book seeks to explain Jewish martyrdom, *Kiddush ha-Shem*, by placing it in a number of contexts: the pagan and Christian traditions of the ancient and medieval worlds; the developing and shifting circumstances of Jewish life in different parts of Europe and the Mediterranean littoral; the emergent modern world; and contemporary events in Israel. It is for this reason that the same statement must be repeated in each new context, then modified, then extrapolated, and then evaluated.

Under the crisis of overwhelming persecution during the First and Second Crusades, the Jews of Ashkenaz, especially in the Rhineland cities, created new ways of confronting their oppressors and murderers. They constructed a sense of sanctifying the Holy Name through acts of collective suicide, with whole communities, families, and individuals performing these roles in public. But as Goldin shows, it was not so much the performance of these martyrdoms that distinguished Jewish men and women from their Christian or – as the contexts widen ever further – Islamic counterparts; as the way in which these deeds were memorialized, codified in chronicles, liturgical hymns, and other poetry. These new concepts of sanctification became internalized habits of feeling, thought, conduct and theological ideal.

And yet, two other things need to be taken into consideration. First, that previous and subsequent waves of persecution did not necessitate similar acts of self-murder, where mothers killed children, husbands slew their wives, and the surviving killer committed suicide. In other times and other places, Jews did not feel compelled to do such things; sometimes they accepted execution by persecuting authorities, if running away or bribery failed; sometimes they engaged in preventative deceptions, such as conversion or temporising. It depended on the nature and intensity of the threats.

Second, and most important of all, significant because here Goldin comes very close to what I have written about extensively as the process of midrashing, the Jewish response to efforts to make Judaism and/or Jews disappear through conversion, expulsion or genocide were continuous with the way in which they were taught to imagine their place in the world. That is, as a world of history, of Talmudic analysis and discussion, and of covenantal relationship with God and the Law.

Therefore, for all its other merits in historiography – describing, analysing, and comparing medieval texts and their generic relationship to Christian events and accounts – what is most valuable in this book centres on chapter

12 'Memory as Action' and chapter 13 'Theology and Memory' because it is here that the whole subject of *midrash* is focussed on. 'Jewish martyrs,' we are told at the start of chapter 13, 'of the Middle Ages used a variety of images in order to transmit and to internalize the message of sanctification of God's Name' (p. 325). How is explained at length, with many examples. For it is the process of memorialization, and then of transforming memory into a textualized experience that is understood and felt deeply as part of an ongoing rabbinical project of adjusting history to Judaism and Judaism to history.

Nevertheless, rich and exciting as these two chapters are – and they reverberate throughout the book – they do not tell the whole story. Goldin remains too much the professional historian to step very far outside the protocols of his craft to deal with the unconscious, oblique and implied dimensions of midrashing. Readers therefore should do more than stand in awe of the meticulous scholarship this book evinces. We should be provoked – the term to use is not 'joyfully' because of the tragic qualities of the subject – into greater and greater investigations. I cannot recommend this book too highly.

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Hamrick, Stephen, *The Catholic Imaginary and the Cults of Elizabeth, 1558-1582*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009; hardback; pp. 232; 12 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754665885.

In his fascinating book, Stephen Hamrick offers a chronological analysis of the poetry written in the first 25 years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign. Hamrick states that this period of poetic history has been much neglected by critics. It is also a time of religious turmoil enabling Hamrick to examine the texts through what he terms '*Reformation Petrarchanism*' (p. 3). Reformation Petrarchanism is a purposefully wide-ranging term that considers both a Protestant and Catholic imaginary within the narrow historical period being examined. It is a term that allows the book to analyse 'how Elizabethan poets ... combined Catholic and erotic discourses to fashion, refashion, and/or reject the political, religious, and courtly identities crafted for the Queen' (p. 2). Hamrick achieves this through combining a historicist, formalist and cultural-anthropological approach to examine the underrated poetry. However, the terms a Catholic and Protestant imaginary (that have psychological

implications as Jacques Lacan's notion of the Imaginary springs to mind) are not clearly explained. They simply serve in the book as convenient shorthand to indicate that Catholic and Protestant practices are being used, adopted or alluded to in the poetry and other historical material.

Chapter 1 gives a detailed analysis of how Queen Elizabeth transforms the Catholic imaginary through not properly participating in a 1558 Christmas Mass at Whitehall. Hamrick's original observation is that, before the mass, Elizabeth told the Bishop of Carlisle not to elevate the Host for adoration. Yet, she knew he would disobey her request. Instead of claiming ill-health and simply not attending, Elizabeth left the mass at the critical moment when the Bishop elevated the Host. Hamrick interprets the Queen's sudden departure as having both an 'immediate and long-term political impact' (p. 18). It served as a critique of Catholic religious practice that emphasized Elizabeth's commitment to Protestantism.

In Chapter 2, Hamrick analyses Barnabe Googe's *Eclogues, Epitaphes, and Sonnets* (1563) as a critique of Elizabeth's implied choice of husband. Googe's poetry also denounces her succession through implying it replicates Catholicism's vain dependence on iconic paraphernalia. Hamrick stresses that his reading of Googe's work – as addressing contemporary political concerns – is an approach that has been ignored by critics.

Chapters 3 and 4 mainly concentrate on George Gascoigne's *The Delectable Historie of the Sundrie Adventures Passed by Dan Bartholmew of Bathe* (1573, 1575). Hamrick reconstructs, for the first time, how Gascoigne's role in the Queen's coronation and his early court experiences influenced his work. This leads to Hamrick demonstrating how Gascoigne uses the Catholic imaginary to create a male fantasy of Elizabeth being dependent on her courtiers. In an absorbing account, Hamrick connects Gascoigne's image of a devotional Queen to John Bale's *A Godly Medytacyoun of the Christen Sowle* (1568), which contains an illustration of a young Elizabeth kneeling before Christ. The implication is that Gascoigne emphasizes the Queen's subordination, or the need to protect her through containment, as a reflection of patriarchal domination.

In Chapter 5, Hamrick argues persuasively that Thomas Watson uses the Catholic imaginary in his sonnet sequence *Hekatompathia or Passionate Century of Love* (1582) to defend the reputation of his patron Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford. This defence is emphasized by the sonnet sequence's frequent allusions to Oxford, and the fact that *Hekatompathia* is dedicated to

him. Hamrick also discovers in the sonnet sequence's allegory, the use of the 'Catholic imaginary to assert the possibility of being both Catholic and loyal to Queen Elizabeth' (p. 153). This seemingly oxymoronic identity functions as an apology for the Earl of Oxford's apostasy. It indicates that he is only briefly involved in Catholic causes harmful to the Queen. Watson's religio-political allegory maintains that Oxford's conversion to Catholicism does not include violent actions against the Queen. Hamrick's discussion is enhanced by drawing on historical material from the 1570s and early 1580s, including Oxford's own poetry published in *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576).

In conclusion, Hamrick restates the importance of Catholicism to his study of Elizabethan love poetry, and its continual influence on Elizabethan readers. His reflection also identifies the complexities of Elizabethan culture entangled within the competing Catholic and Protestant ideologies. The book ends with an analysis of 'Sonnet 5' of Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* to illustrate how the Petrarchan representation of the Elizabethan Catholic imaginary is continually used as a critique of Queen Elizabeth. This is because she adapted the same Catholic language and imagery to create her powerful identity as the Virgin Queen.

Hamrick's book is an important and original contribution to the understanding of early court culture in Elizabeth's reign. It is stronger, however, on reconstructing Elizabethan religious and political history than close reading of the poetry. Despite this, the book is a well-researched, exhaustively argued, highly readable and challenging scholarly work. It is essential to both academics and students interested in early Elizabethan Petrarchan poetry, and the religio-political context of the Reformation.

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Harris, Jonathan Gil, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009; cloth; pp. 288; 8 illustrations; R.R.P. US\$59.95, £39.00; ISBN 9780812241181.

Jonathan Gil Harris' new book challenges Early Modern scholars to reconsider the temporality of objects and the agency of seemingly inanimate objects. As Harris notes, much New Historicist criticism in the new millennium focuses on material objects, but does not understand those objects in any significantly

new fashion. Instead, such readings adhere to older conceptions of time as a one-way street, stressing the strangeness of early modern objects only to reinforce our sense of the past's alterity, its radical difference to us today. However, as Harris convincingly argues, such approaches do not sufficiently account for 'the time of the thing' (p. 2) because they focus on the passive form of objects and do not conceive of matters as 'untimely' – that is, as potentially active and disruptive.

Drawing on the work of Michel Serres, Harris distinguishes between three ways of theorising temporality: the logic of supersession, which regards time as a series of events replacing one another in a linear, synchronic fashion; the logic of explosion, in which the old shatters present-day illusions of wholeness and universality; and the logic of conjunction, which understands temporality as an active process in which old and new collaborate. We might think of supersession as the Old Historicist way of reading time, explosion as the New Historicist model, and conjunction as Harris' way of theorising time, one that is much more complex than either of the other two approaches.

Harris suggests that conjunction, as a theoretical approach to texts, allows us to read matter 'not just synchronically in relation to its moment of production or use, but also for the traces of other times – past and future – legible within it; and by doing so, recognize how matter, like a palimpsest, exhibits a temporality that is not one' (p. 24). Throughout the book, Harris uses the metaphor of the palimpsest to structure his theory of multi- or polychronic matter – that is, material objects that bear the traces of many times in ways that disturb present-day assumptions and suggest innovative ways of re-imagining both the past and the future.

The book is divided into three sections, each of which contain two chapters. The first section focuses on failed supersession in George Herbert's *The Temple* and William Shakespeare's Second Henriad – that is, the difficulty of imaging a future without dragging along the past, which inevitably haunts any attempts to transcend it. Section two, focussing on the logic of explosion, examines John Stow's recording of a line of Hebrew, written on a stone unearthed from Ludgate, in his *Survey of London*, and the smelly implications of *Macbeth*'s first scene direction: '*Thunder and lightning*' (p. 120, italics in Harris). Both texts, Harris argues, construct 'polychronic objects' from the Jewish or Catholic past to 'flash up' and challenge the assumptions of the Protestant present (p. 94).

The book's third section turns to the logic of conjunction, which synthesizes supersessionary and explosive temporalities, but, Harris argues, does so in a metonymic, not metaphoric, fashion. As a metonymic synthesis, conjunction does not depend on any perceived resemblance between supersession and explosion, and thus exists side by side with the other two, neither cancelling nor transcending them.

Harris uses this model in Chapter 5 as he places the writings of Hélène Cixous and Margaret Cavendish in dialogue to suggest a queer temporality that disrupts binaries of self and other, masculine and feminine, and western and oriental. In Chapter 6, Harris examines the notoriously unstable temporality of Shakespeare's *Othello*, arguing that we should understand the handkerchief as a palimpsest that pulls multiple times together in conjunction – not just within the play, but also for today's readers and audiences. In a coda, Harris turns to a modern text, Amitav Ghosh's 1992 ethnographic narrative *In an Antique Land*, to suggest how untimely matter from the past can 'help confound the fantasy that insists on treating the orient and the past as synonyms partitioned from the west' (p. 194).

Untimely Matter is rigorously researched, well argued and skilfully written, and follows its own argument by using the past to suggest alternative ways of imaging both present and future. It is, of course, not flawless. At times, most notably in the *Macbeth* chapter, Harris' readings become a little too New Historicist – that is, they pay so much detailed attention to historical contexts that the texts themselves get short shrift. However, Harris' book impresses with the depth and breadth of his knowledge, and the skill with which he brings together multiple branches of theoretical discourse to inform and advance his argument. In short, *Untimely Matter* must count as one of the more significant works of literary scholarship of recent years.

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New Zealand

Hentschell, Roze, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback, pp. viii, 209; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754663010.

Employing a detailed analysis of very disparate texts, Roze Hentschell argues that cloth was fundamental to the construction of English national identity in the early modern period. By cloth she means broadcloth, 'a dense, tightly woven woollen, which was manufactured into large pieces, approximately 28 to 30 yards long and weighing up to 90 pounds' (p. 3). Raw wool had been England's staple export throughout the middle ages. In the mid-sixteenth century, a shift to cloth production ushered in an economic boom that was checked by conflict between Spain and the Low Countries, England's main market. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a misguided attempt by James I to increase value by prohibiting the export of unfinished cloth caused a depression.

Hentschell focuses on the period between 1575 and 1615 – the crisis and the slump. The book is divided into three sections of two chapters each. The first section, 'Resistance in the Flock: Labour Rebellion in Pastoral Literature and Prose Romance' provides an original reading of works usually treated from a very different perspective. In the first chapter, the rebellion of the rustics in Sidney's *Arcadia* is seen as an aristocratic response to anti-enclosure pamphlets denouncing landowners who replaced peasants with sheep. Next, the popular prose romance, *Jack of Newbury*, an idealized account of the career of a successful clothworker, is revealed as an extension of the political activism of its author, the silkweaver Thomas Deloney.

In the second section, 'The Circulation of Subjectivity in the Cloth Trade', the focus shifts to international trade and its role in constituting national identity. The first part examines how promoters of American exploration and settlement, such as Hakluyt and Raleigh, fancifully presented it as a massive trade opportunity which would compensate for the Spanish disruption to England's traditional export markets. Minor details, such as the natives' interest in converting to woollen clothing or their capacity to purchase it, were glossed over.

The central role of clothing in defining ethnic identity comes most strongly to the fore in the next chapter which confronts the treasonous nature of imported cloth. Ben Jonson was one of many writers who ridiculed their countrymen's infatuation with foreign fashions. Mere imitation would not

in itself have been such a problem were it not for the added difficulty that these foreign garments were made of imported materials, expensive silks and velvets whose purchase indebted the nation and damaged domestic industry. Amid the satires and sermons denouncing foreign clothing and associating it with vice, idleness and sexually transmitted diseases, the most amusing is surely Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: or A quaint dispute between Velvet breeches and Clothbreeches* which ends with the expulsion of Velvet Breeches from the land. The cover, depicting an elegant courtier and a simple worker, effectively alludes to the class dimension of this conflict.

The final section, 'Staging the Cloth Crisis', examines the cloth industry in city comedy and civic pageantry. Hentschell demonstrates that the profession of the crook and the nature of the swindle in Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* reflected a widely held mistrust of drapers, their methods and the quality of the goods they sold. Hentschell concludes with Anthony Munday's pageants of 1614 and 1615 for the Drapers' Company celebrating the lord mayoral inauguration of two of their members. These clearly political events served both to criticize royal policies that had ruined the industry, and to exhort the merchants themselves to seek remedies by appealing to memories of former glory.

The common thread through all the texts is the antiquity of the English wool industry, and it is this emphasis on a venerable tradition, a golden age of prosperity and domestic virtue, which most clearly ties cloth to national identity. The centrality of cloth to the English economy is indisputable, but how far a concern for the economic health of the nation and a polemical engagement in contemporary socio-economic debates can be equated with such a nebulous concept as national identity is more debatable.

This is an intelligent and interesting book. The writing is engaging, there is an excellent bibliography, particularly valuable for its obscure primary sources, an adequate index and few proof-reading errors. The extensive use of discursive footnotes amounts to a parallel text but it is mercifully placed at the bottom of the page. The introduction provides an excessively detailed account of what is to come instead of giving a general context and the book suffers aesthetically from the lack of a conclusion. It ends abruptly with a scant paragraph of recapitulation where a few pages would have sufficed to draw together the various threads and complete the knot.

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Hermann, Pernille, Jens-Peter **Schjødt**, and Rasmus Tranem **Kristensen**, eds, *Reflections on Old Norse Myths* (Studies in Viking and Medieval Scandinavia 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2007; hardback; pp. xiv, 176; 3 b/w figures; R.R.P. €50.00; ISBN 9782503526140.

This slim volume is the first in what promises to be an exciting, high-quality new series from Brepols publishers: Studies in Viking and Medieval Scandinavia. *Reflections on Old Norse Myths* stems from a symposium convened at the University of Aarhus in 2005, and comprises reworked versions of papers given there, together with supplementary articles by each of the three editors. As suggested by the title, the volume is broad in scope, and is consciously multi-disciplinary, aiming to gather together perspectives on Old Norse myths and mythology from various fields of study to allow an overview of current directions and developments in the area.

Jens-Peter Schjødt opens the volume with a critical, interdisciplinary review of recent research in the field (including pre-Christian Scandinavian religion in general), focussing on major (i.e. book-length) studies. Valuable in itself for those less familiar with the scholarship – indeed invaluable, as it includes a significant number of non-English-language publications and, like each of the subsequent essays, a sizeable current bibliography – the article also provides a useful orientation for the chapters to come, each of which takes a more specific focus.

Pernille Hermann revisits the staple Old Norse text *Íslendingabók*, drawing attention to its necessary subjectivity and showing, with reference to the *Papar* that the text claims to have been the first inhabitants of Iceland, how it conforms to patterns of medieval Christian thought on signs and their significance. John McKinnell considers the problem that, with a few exceptions, extant mythological writings were recorded in Christian contexts, and wonders why pre-Christian survivals were handled with more vigour, detail and literary sophistication in Iceland than in other Germanic contexts. Ultimately, he suggests, mythological poems afforded secular Icelanders the flexibility and freedom to ‘experiment with human problems’ (p. 50) in a way that Scripture could not.

Rory McTurk’s article posits the existence of a fertility goddess Lopkona, traditions about whom, he suggests, became intertwined with various historical figures and memories of whom may be preserved behind the protagonists of *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, Ragnarr and his wife Áslaug. Applying Jan de

Vries' model of the heroic biographical pattern, McTurk speculates that the saga may reflect female as well as male initiation practices, but cautions that influence from Greek romance may provide another explanation for the phenomena he observes. Stephen A. Mitchell discusses Nordic aphrodisiac and anaphrodisiac charm magic, and reconsiders *Skírnismál* in this context, highlighting the importance of speech acts and performance.

Judy Quinn then looks at Snorri Sturluson's use of the valkyrie motif in his *Edda*, particularly in *Háttatal*, where the *valmeyjar* ('maidens of the slain') 'gather in numbers' (p. 97). Quinn's close reading sheds light not only on this relatively neglected part of the *Edda*, but also on the martial culture of thirteenth-century Iceland, where it seems that despite the incompatibility with Christian theology of the notion of an afterlife in Valhöll, the poetic concept of the valkyrie had an important role in glorifying battle and promoting the comfort of death.

Next, Catharina Raudvere examines themes and motifs in *Völsunga saga*, arguing that the *fornaldarsögur* ('sagas of ancient times') need not be dismissed as sources for the study of the history of religions, since their exploration of ideological concepts and values can be analysed as an alternative mode of religious expression to literal statements of belief.

This is followed by Jens Peter Schjødt's second contribution to the volume, a reading of Ibn Fadlan's account of a Rus funeral alongside what can be pieced together about pagan Scandinavian rites from Old Norse sources and Saxo's story of Hadingus. Using Van Gennep's (1909) model of rites of passage as a framework, Schjødt argues that structural and semantic parallels between the accounts demonstrate that the pagan rituals of the Rus and the Scandinavians were aligned, implying that Ibn Fadlan's account should be taken seriously as a model for the reconstruction of pagan Nordic rites.

Finally, Rasmus Trandum Kristensen's essay is a structural analysis of kinship in Old Norse mythological texts dealing with the creation and ending of the world, which draws attention to the structural parallels between Óðinn and Fenrir and suggests that this makes them natural adversaries at Ragnarök. Trandum Kristensen proposes that the boundary-testing relationships in Norse myth explained and justified the rules of Icelandic kinship systems.

Each of the papers found here is thought-provoking in its own right, but the volume is particularly welcome as a collection which covers a range of methodological approaches and a diversity of primary sources, both drawing

to the fore little-studied material and bringing new insights to more familiar texts. It thus makes both a valuable introduction to work on Old Norse mythology for the relative newcomer, and a stimulating addition to the field for the more experienced.

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Hiatt, Alfred, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600*, London, British Library Publishing, 2008; cloth, pp. xii, 298; 47 b/w illustrations, 8 colour plates; ISBN 9780712349314.

In recent years there has been a burgeoning of publications focussed on medieval map-making. Books by Evelyn Edson, Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J. P. Kain and Naomi Reed Klein, amongst others, have done much to open up this material to a broader range of readership, beyond those interested in the history of cartography. Art historians, literary scholars and those involved in the history of science have begun exploring this material in a more nuanced way. The British Library has published some of the most interesting of these texts, including both this work and Hiatt's previous book, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, that included a discussion of John Hardyng's maps of Scotland.

Medieval diagrammatic representations of the world, the *mappae mundi*, have been one important strand in recent research. Such maps are less a geographically precise measure of the world and more a symbolic one. In this book, Hiatt focuses less on these visual representations, although these continue to constitute a significant element in his discussion. Instead he examines these works within the wider context of scientific, philosophical and theological thought from the Classical to the Early Modern periods.

Having first encountered the weirdly speculative maps of *terra australis* in primary school, it is fascinating to read Hiatt's tracing of the idea of the antipodes from the classical period. As he points out, the concept of the 'antipodes' is a product of classical Greek geometry. The term means literally 'with feet against', referring to the people who live opposite to the known world. It was not originally limited to a north-south dichotomy, encompassing east-west as well. Given that maps were often 'orientated', with the east at the top, this is not so surprising.

The appearance of a southern land is first depicted visually in zonal maps. The division of the planet into five distinct zones, apparently invented by Parmenides in the fifth century BCE, can be found in works from both antiquity and the Middle Ages. These zones consisted of two frigid, uninhabitable zones at either end of the earth, around the poles, a central zone of intolerable heat and two temperate zones in either hemisphere. It is a conceptionalization anchored in both symmetry and logic. The fifth-century Martianus Capella proved through geometry that the world was a sphere with two hemispheres.

Christian responses to these scientific theories were mixed. Augustine was troubled by the idea that there might be people beyond the reach of Christianity, separated by an impenetrable zone of heat at the equator. While this was theologically challenging, he was prepared to conceive of these lands as being inhabitable. Tertullian and Origen were more accepting; the latter regarded the antipodes as a sign of both divine knowledge and human ignorance. Lactantius was at his most extreme in his rejection of classical science in general. He explains as he ridicules the Stoic process of ‘hypothesising false positions from false suppositions’.

In Chapters 5 and 6, Hiatt outlines the shifting attitudes to both the idea of the antipodes and of the physical makeup of the world. Although Christopher Columbus’ epic journey is included, his achievement is grounded within this wider context of discovery and debate. After all, in a world that knew the writings of Marco Polo and John Mandeville, the idea of searching for a world beyond the known seems less suicidal, even while being an act of remarkable boldness.

Hiatt brings into his discussion such significant proto-scientists and theologians as William of Conches and Roger Bacon. Bacon argued for the importance of geography in theological terms, referencing both exegesis and conversion and the Antichrist. His scientific reasoning, in which he explores the physicality of the world, draws on Aristotle, the Old Testament and Church Fathers. Another strong element in Hiatt’s discussion is the political interests of both royal and ecclesiastical power.

Throughout the very different periods covered, the role of the antipodes as a site for critique of European values is also referenced, including the satirical writings of Lucian and Seneca as well as Thomas More’s *Utopia*. In the final section, however, we also enter the more familiar territory with the impact of exploration and cartographical science, of Mercator and the continuously changing shapes found on globes and splendid printed Dutch

maps. Yet, despite the growing knowledge gained through increasing contact with other lands, both in the New World and South-east Asia, speculative representation of the antipodes persisted.

This is a very useful compendium of ideas and information about historical geography and science. The scholarship is exemplary and the range of sources drawn on is masterful. This is a beautiful looking book, well illustrated with clear manuscript and printed images of early maps and diagrams. I know that this is one work I will be continually consulting. It is also one that I will be recommending to colleagues working on Australian and New Zealand history.

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Howe, Elizabeth Teresa, *Education and Women in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback; pp. xvi, 240; 12 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN: 9780754660330.

In her preface to this well-researched study, Elizabeth Howe suggests that, though under-represented in the early modern Hispanic literary world, some women *did* 'take up the pen' and this fact raises questions about their education and their roles as advocates for the education of other women (pp. x-xi).

The first chapter traces classical ideas which 'came to fruition in the Renaissance' (p. 1), along with biblical exempla, which Patristic writers like Saint Jerome appropriated, passing over female heroism and other so-called 'masculine' or 'Amazonian' traits while praising the female 'embrace of chastity' (p. 7). Howe also addresses the Renaissance '*querelle des femmes*', discussing Boccaccio and Jean de Meun, and their respondent, Christine de Pizan, who argued, in the *Book of the City of Ladies* (1404), that women's 'natural curiosity' equips them for intellectual pursuits (p. 15).

Indeed, Howe shows that intellectual women routinely hijacked patriarchal arguments about gender difference. Thus, Sor Juana de Cartagena argued that, just as it is 'easier to accept eloquence in a woman than physical strength ... it is easier for a woman to wield a pen than the sword' (p. 27). Likewise, when female dramatist Maria de Zayas (1590-1661/9) revisited 'the question of educating women', she maintained 'women's aptitude for letters' (p. 145).

Chapter 2 examines Isabel of Castile's educational initiatives, from efforts to 'remedy the deficiencies of her own early education' (p. 42) to her commissioning of dictionaries and grammars for the 'ladies of her court' (p. 43). Howe also notes Isabel's exemplary role, 'influenc[ing] other women to undertake study' (p. 44), all the more significant in the context of recommendations by humanists (discussed in Chapter 4), that even the daughters of royalty should do domestic chores (p. 104). Nevertheless, Isabel's image was open to patriarchal re-inscription, transformed in a eulogy given by the royal confessor, from powerful queen into a 'faithful wife and mother' (pp. 39-40).

Chapter 3 explores Saint Teresa's overcoming of the obstacles of her mercantile background and Jewish origins – as well as a 'middling level of education', which, Howe argues, makes Saint Teresa 'an example of the nature and extent of it' in the period (p. 62). Yet, Teresa skilfully deployed a rhetoric of female subordination, 'bow[ing] to the authority of male confessors and *letrados*' to attain her ends (p. 68). Beyond gender, this rhetoric of intellectual modesty was a shrewd move by a monastic reformer who wanted to avoid accusations of Protestantism (p. 71). It is also ironic that literacy was a rarely-waived requirement for entry into the discalced Carmelite order, in which solitary reading and meditation were an integral component of daily life (p. 74).

Chapter 4 considers the inclusion of pens and books in religious iconography before broaching the broader issues announced in the title: 'Home [and] School[ing] for Girls in Spain and New Spain'. Firstly, Howe discusses representations of the Virgin Mary and of Saint Anne in educational roles; for instance, Mary was portrayed 'with the Christ Child and an open book or with pen and ink', whereby 'the role of mother as teacher is underscored' (p. 94).

Also discussed in Chapter 4, however, is the canon of humanist treatises, represented by the work of Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540). Vives argued that Woman's capacity to attain virtue is severely limited due to her natural 'ignorance', which 'precludes her from reading edifying works such as the Fathers of the Church' (p. 101). Moreover, Howe observes that, unlike the writings of elite female intellectuals, works by male humanists – such as Vives' *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (1528), reprinted seven times in the sixteenth century – were widely read, arguably indicating their influence upon the education of girls (p. 99).

Chapter 5 explores commentaries on women's education. For example, Doña Oliva de Sabuca de Nantes defended her decision 'to write in the vernacular' and 'decree[d]' the pretentious – and exclusionary – 'use of Latin over the vernacular by contemporaries' (p. 135). Howe also discusses female dramatists, Maria de Zayas, and Ana Caro, and concludes that their participation in a male-dominated arena was more significant than their plays, for the unruly femininity in their plays ultimately only 'affirm[s]' conventions 'with a feminine twist' (p. 155).

Howe's final chapter is devoted to Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-95), whose career illustrates the patriarchal containment of female exemplarity through the praise of 'uniqueness' (p. 158). As a nun, of illegitimate birth, and also marginalized by her birth in colonial Mexico – though white and relatively wealthy – Sor Juana found some independence in the clergy; but, even in the Hieronymite order – allowed to pursue her scholarly interests and to maintain an intellectual circle (pp. 163-4) – she would be 'caught up in the maelstrom of secular and religious currents within her society' (p. 159). Her work included secular plays, scriptural criticism and the defences of women's right to education, which attracted perhaps the harshest censure. The unauthorized publication of an epistolary debate about women's intellectuality and further controversy following her defence, the *Respuesta a Sor Filotea* (1690), led to her retirement from scholarly and literary pursuits for her remaining years (p. 183). Sor Juana associated herself with learned women of the past, particularly with 'monastic women'. Stressing their 'exemplarity', she implicitly defined herself as 'a worthy model to be imitated by other women' (p. 178).

Sor Juana's withdrawal from the public and intellectual spheres, and her celebration in the posthumous editions of her works, sums up the central argument of Howe's study. Devoting herself 'to nursing her fellow nuns', until her own death during an epidemic (p. 183), Sor Juana ironically conformed to the norms of domesticity which she had formerly breached, while her posthumous lionising as a literary 'phoenix' served to marginalize and limit her 'exemplarity' (pp. 184-5).

I recommend this study for its well-researched insight into what, until recently, was a largely unexplored area of study: the intellectual lives of Early Modern women in the Spanish-speaking world.

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Jamroziak, Emilia and Janet **Burton**, eds, *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Europa Sacra 2), Turnhout, Brepols, 2006; hardback; pp. xiv, 399; 2 b/w illustrations, 9 b/w figures; R.R.P. €75.00; ISBN 9782503520674.

Arising from a 2003 conference on the religious and the laity held at the University of Leicester, this collection includes nineteen interesting, solidly researched, and useful essays. Consistent attention to religious and lay interactions provides a thematic unity to the collection, which thus avoids the random nature that occasionally characterizes some essay collections.

The book has three sections. The first, on patrons and benefactors, features nine essays on patronage of religious institutions. Marjorie Chibnall demonstrates the political function of patronage, as the Plantagenet Henry II patronized monasteries which were on political borders, such as those of the Fontevraudine and Grandmontine orders. Belle Stoddard Tuten wonders how the establishment of Fontevraud affected patronage patterns; she finds that upwardly-mobile families favoured this new house but that well-established families were more likely to continue their old patronage patterns.

Janet Burton also examines the politics of patronage, looking at Roger de Mowbray's patronage of monasteries in twelfth-century England. Emilia Jamroziak's study of Rievaulx abbey demonstrates that, in the absence of a patron, Rievaulx's monks had to create bonds through other means, such as via lay burials, confraternity admissions, and commemoration practices. Linda Rasmussen compares monastic benefactors in England and Denmark. Among her findings, she identifies more royal benefactors in Denmark, and points out that in both countries some benefactions came from lower down the social scale than hitherto thought.

Kim Esmark's study blends the large scholarly area of family and kinship studies with the topic of monastic patronage. We learn that patronage of the Danish Cistercian abbey of Sorø helped create an identity for the otherwise disparate kin-group of the Hvide 'family'. Hence, patronage does not just reflect group consciousness but it also constitutes such consciousness and so is a fruitful source for our study of medieval group identities.

Moving away from monasteries, Sheila Sweetinburgh's essay examines two southern English hospitals to find, via the study of gifts, that the hospital at Orspringe was embraced by its local community whereas St Mary's at Dover was not. Karen Stöber, author of a recent monograph on the role of

the laity as founders and hereditary patrons in English and Welsh monasteries, continues this theme in her chapter, with a focus on the changing meaning of patronage to lay families over time, and using examples from the de Clare family. To complete this section, Hans-Joachim Schmidt analyses the close relationship between the Luxemburg dynasty and the mendicants, especially the political role played by the Dominicans.

Section two, on 'lay and religious: negotiation, influence, and utility' has links with the first section, but emphasizes relationships between lay and religious that were exhibited in areas other than patronage. Stephen D. White's essay fits into the large historiography on the feudal mutation of the year 1000 and the scope, functions, and meanings of violence at this time. Using miraculous/hagiographic material concerning Sainte Foy at Conques, White suggests that it is not a question of either violence or peace, nor is it a question of either physical violence or oral resolution. Rather, the relationships between and among individuals and institutions around the turn of the first millennium were much more complex and subtle.

Next, Marsha L. Dutton examines the *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, written by abbot Aelred of Rievaulx. She shows that Aelred presented St Dunstan as a model of how church and king should cooperate, a topic of genuine relevance in mid-twelfth-century England. Anne E. Lester examines religious women in northern France, specifically the links between women caring for lepers and women joining and establishing Cistercian nunneries. She finds that Cistercian convents often started out as leper houses. This emphasis on the apostolic and active nature of Cistercian nuns' early history is an important addition to scholarship. In the next essay, William Chester Jordan studies documents composed in order to facilitate Louis IX's canonization, and in so doing finds interesting evidence of ideal lay/monastic relations.

Erin Jordan examines the religious patronage of Jeanne, countess of Flanders and Hainaut in the thirteenth century. Differences in Jeanne's patronage of Cistercian, Franciscan, and Dominican houses suggest that ideas about the correct balance between patronage of monasteries and the monastic ideal of poverty were undergoing change and redirection at the time.

Finally, Constance H. Berman examines the meaning of the Latin term *conversus/conversa* in southern France. She identifies changing meanings over time. Before the 1160s or 1170s, the distinction between monks (or nuns) and *conversi* (or *conversae*) had not yet become established; at this early stage a *conversus* was simply someone who had converted as an adult, and it would

not be until later that *conversus* took on its meaning of the peasant laybrother who possessed, in practice, second-class status within the monastery.

The final section focuses on confraternities and urban communities. Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld provides not only a thorough study of monastic and lay confraternities in the Southern Low Countries but also a useful overview of past scholarship on the area. His case studies confirm previous scholarship that sees lay confraternities developing out of the earlier (Benedictine-inspired) monastic confraternities.

James G. Clark examines the curiously under-studied *Liber benefactorum* from St Albans Abbey, with attention to its listing of the confraternity of St Albans. Over 300 names are included, covering entrance to confraternity over a period of about five centuries. Sometimes portraits of the confrères were included, sometimes individual monks from other houses were admitted to confraternity, sometimes domestic servants of the abbey were admitted – all of this provides valuable evidence for the varieties of relationship that confraternity could both reflect and enable.

Next Jens Röhrkasten provides a broad study of the English mendicants, especially their links or otherwise to the towns. Bram van den Hoven van Genderen and Paul Trio conclude the book with a helpful survey of scholarship on confraternities in the Low Countries from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. With most of the scholarship written in Dutch, and many important studies lying in unpublished theses in continental European universities, this is a very helpful guide for the English-language scholar.

To conclude, this collection is a credit to all involved in its production. The 2003 conference was clearly the occasion for excellent scholars to gather together, and the resulting collection is a fine example of essays which are strong in their own right and also united by a general attention to an overall theme, in this case the many forms and functions of the relationship between religious and laity in the high Middle Ages.

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Klausner, David N. and Karen Sawyer **Marselek**, eds., *'Bring furth the pagants': Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston* (Studies in Early English Drama 9), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007; hardback; pp. 355; R.R.P. US\$60.00; ISBN 9780802091079.

This *Festschrift* builds on research findings generated since the early 1970s by the distinguished team of mainly Canadian and British scholars who have produced the Records of Early English Drama (REED) Series. A history of REED can be gleaned from the tributes and wider recollections contained in the essays, and from David Klausner's biography of Professor Sandy Johnston who, with University of Sydney lecturer Dr Margaret Rogerson, co-edited the first REED volume in 1979. The collection casts light on medieval and Renaissance cultural history, and specifically on the evolution in England of drama and other performance arts. In a manner helpful to both beginners and experts, the essays uncover the line that currently divides answered from unanswered questions. I found the book to be, like its subject matter, hugely entertaining.

The first and longest section, 'The Records', maintains the regional bases of REED research. Meg Twycross and Peter Meredith analyse data selected from the large civic archive of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York. Barbara D. Palmer traces cross-country and local travels of jugglers, conjurors, fiddlers and players. Sally-Beth Maclean elucidates performance venues and patronage by prominent families and town authorities in southwest England, and Alan Somerset extends the study of patrons to other shires and to Coventry and London by reference to the REED *Patrons and Performances Website* (<http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed>). Caroline M. Barron describes production methods in fifteenth-century London Bridge pageants. Finally, Rogerson shifts the focus to modern records, in order to show how revivals of the York mystery plays since 1951, with associated poems, fiction and drama, have shaped popular perceptions of the genre.

Much of Part One is taken up with a detailed recounting of facts, some of which are intrinsically engaging. Examples are Meredith's narrative of a young man's late-night drinking escapade, painfully punished under statutes that reinforced loyalty to Queen Mary (pp. 41-2, 45-6); and Barron's descriptions of pageant constructions: 'Certainly on almost every occasion there was a giant standing on top of the Stonegate. In 1415, he was particularly large, and held a great axe in one hand' (p. 95).

Other material assembled from the records is less striking, and resists the writers' efforts to ascertain the deeper attitudes of the people involved. However, the cumulative effect is to vivify the authentic conditions under which the performing arts flourished. The contributors are careful not to press arguments beyond their evidential base. Their inconclusiveness nevertheless has the advantage of maintaining excitement about discoveries still to come, and some essays do report significant findings. An example is Twycross' revised attribution of the main hands in the York *Ordo Paginarum*, which is 'arguably the most important surviving document in the history of medieval theatre, other than the scripts themselves' (p. 105).

In Part Two, 'Medieval Plays', Klausner's analysis of 'modular' structure in the moral entertainment, *Wisdom*, and Chester Scoville's partial rehabilitation of *The Conversion of Saint Paul* position their arguments in relation both to recent studies and to records of the time. David Mills' discussion of theology in the Chester plays, and K. Janet Rich's examination of presenters (i.e. prologues, preachers and expositors), likewise draw on contemporary records, specifically the revisions to the Biblical drama texts undertaken by Protestant reformers. In a study likely to be a turning point in the field, Rich derives additional insights from detailed comparisons with presenters in French Biblical plays. In opposition to the Brechtian alienation theory dominant in earlier commentary, she concludes that presenters furthered the wider purpose of medieval dramaturgy, which was to foster community.

Essays in Part Three, by co-editor Karen Sawyer Marsalek and by David Bevington of the University of Chicago, base elucidations of well-known Renaissance plays on medieval Biblical drama. Marsalek applies the theology, characterization and dramatic techniques of Resurrection plays to the staged revival of Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale*. Bevington contrasts hell in the Towneley *Harrowing of Hell* and *Last Judgment* with the non-literal, Calvinist hell of the *Dr Faustus* A-Text, and goes on to demonstrate the B-Text's reversion to a theatrical physical hell.

Bevington has actively studied and edited early English drama since the 1960s. In forming the finale to this state-of-the-art collection, his essay, 'One Hell of an Ending', validates the traditional research practices that scholars associated with REED have maintained for half a century. Undeterred by the '80s theory tsunami, they have persisted in bringing to light and assessing documentary evidence that has transformed the field. For example, they have shown that single productions of Biblical plays were more common than

performances of cycles; they have corrected the entrenched identification of the Towneley Marian compilation with a 'Wakefield cycle'; they have downgraded the significance of drama for Corpus Christi Day; and they have dismissed inn yards as venues for performing plays. Readers concerned with cultural history can no doubt look forward to further seismic shifts in understanding, as analysis of the records continues to unfold.

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Krafl, Pavel, ed., *Sacri canones servandi sunt: Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII-XV* (Opera Instituti historici Pragae, Series C, Miscellanea 19), Prague, Historický Ústav CR, 2008; pp. xl, 686; R.R.P. unknown; ISBN 9788072861217.

The power to punish with imprisonment or worse is an accepted element of legal command. The idea that people live under a single national legal code enforced by the government of the particular state that alone has authority in its territory to fine or imprison, goes almost unquestioned in Western society today. A little thought may suggest that the military have legal codes, powers and enforcement rights that differ from ordinary civilian laws but the assumption is that they are ultimately also under government authority. While churches may still today hold courts, hear and settle cases with ecclesiastical punishments such as excommunication, they have no effective ability to compel obedience.

This is a major difference from the situation in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period when there were ecclesiastical prisons and other means of enforcing Church law on individuals. The common Christian life and creed that resulted, stressed by the clergy, who used pastoral penitentials, shaped social life at the time.

Communist governments in central Europe discouraged the study of this ecclesiastical authority but recent changes have opened the way for a reconsideration of the role of Canon law in Czech, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. Krafl in his foreword uses the phrase 'emancipation as an independent academic discipline' for the position of the recent scholars who have studied the relationship of these countries with Rome, and the means whereby general Canon law was brought to them.

The division of authority between the secular power, the moral authority of the church and the influence of one on the other varied from country to country and historians need to know more about its structure in central Europe. The extent to which the size of the bishoprics, the power of the metropolitan and the influence of patrons affected the enforcement of the law is important. Historians also need to appreciate how papal authority was maintained despite local Canon law courts by the use of such Roman offices as the Apostolic Penitentiary that could grant particular graces such as an overriding power of absolution or dispensation, as Kirsi Salonen shows in a study of void monastic professions.

Peter Wiegard uses the particular conflict in Meissen where the authority of the metropolitan archbishop of Magdeburg was deployed to remove Meissen from the authority the pope had granted, as *legatus natus* to the archbishop of Prague, to show this had a significant influence on the law promulgated by the local synod. As several of the chapters make clear, within the overarching Canon law laid down by the major Church Councils, there were local laws, specific to the diocese, and laws specific to various religious orders. Another distinctive aspect of church culture in some countries like Georgia is the local influence of the Byzantine church's different Canon law.

This substantial collections of essays covers a wide range of subjects related to the law. These include the basic issue of ecclesiastical law in the different kingdoms, the mutual interaction of ecclesiastical and secular law, ecclesiastical legislation and the role of bishops and Episcopal synods, the judicial structure inside the church, the influence of the papacy, the position of the monasteries and the secular clergy and particular aspects of canon law such as matrimonial rules. Mary E. Sommar's chapter on Innocent III's doctrine of spiritual marriage shows how such ideas were manipulated by Canon lawyers to underpin papal authority.

The education of hundreds of clergy in Universities such as Bologna and Paris adds to our understanding of the way concepts that held Western Europe together were disseminated, and underlines the contribution such clergy were eventually to make to doctrines like the law of nations as well as to important later Councils like that of Constance (1414-18). There, Charles J. Reid Jr shows, Paulus Vladimiri made a major restatement of natural rights, which developed an argument on the nature of human freedom that was to have considerable influence on the later development of Western political ideas.

Tuomas Heikkilä illustrates through the life of Johannes Hundebeke, how the brightest of the local canonists were intimately tied into the Roman network by being appointed to important curial positions, such as Auditor of the Rota, before returning to an Episcopal position.

A number of contributions examine the role of ecclesiastical law in the local society and its culture through a detailed study of local synodal decrees. Others look at the relationship of such law to theology and to church practice in the areas of liturgy and the sacraments. With the coming of Hus and his continuing following, many aspects of a continuing development and modification of Canon law were brought under stress, as is shown in several chapters.

There are one or two important essays on areas outside the main focus, such as Frederik Pedersen's analysis of the political imperatives that underlay the conversion of Southern Scandinavia, that offers some fascinating insights into the movement of missionaries from England and elsewhere. Sverrir Jakobsson's piece on the Peace of God in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shows how the church might become involved in the secular imposition of government in order to ensure its independence and the peace of the country.

From the point of view of those familiar only with English and the romance languages some of this is disappointingly inaccessible. Translation is a difficult and delicate art but one must hope that more can be done in the future to enable the sharing of this important knowledge and understanding of developments in a critical border area of medieval Europe. Indeed, an integrated study of Canon law throughout Europe in the period is much to be desired.

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McAvoy, Liz Herbert, ed., *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place and Body within the Discourses of Enclosure* (Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages), Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2008; cloth; pp. xvi, 239; 2 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £75.00; ISBN 9780708321300.

In recent years, the University of Wales has published excellent work in its Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages series. This volume is no exception. Arising from the Rhetoric and the Anchorhold conference held at Gregynog, Powys in 2005, it features twelve essays and an introduction. Pleasingly, the essays all illuminate the volume's overall theme, namely, the ways in which

the rhetoric of anchoritism did or did not reflect anchoritic life and, further, the ways in which anchoritic rhetoric travelled to and from the anchorhold and the wider world.

The first section is 'Public Performance: Rhetoric and Place'. Allison Clark analyses administrative documents produced by the Sienese commune in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In recording the commune's almsgiving to hermits, the records provide useful information on the names and sexes of hermits and also where in Siena the hermits lived. As time passed, it seems that hermits were more inclined to live in groups rather than individually, although there remains the possibility that the rhetoric of the record-keeper was at work here, creating groups on the page which did not exist in reality.

Next, E. A. Jones provides an excellent and much-needed analysis of the rite of anchoritic enclosure in medieval England. Jones examines the extent to which the rite's focus on death and enclosure was reflected in anchoritic daily life, with the conclusion that the evidence is mixed.

Bella Millett wonders who the audiences of the *Ancrene Wisse* were, given that some sections of text in the early manuscripts refer to general lay audiences while other sections refer specifically to anchoresses. But the references to the general laity may have been rhetorical devices aimed at flattering the anchoresses, which prompts Millett's conclusion that the immediate audiences were anchoritic.

Cate Gunn also analyses the rhetorical elements of *Ancrene Wisse*, in this case finding similarities between the text and thirteenth-century sermons. This leads her to suggest that the differences between so-called pastoral spirituality and so-called contemplative spirituality may have been overstated.

In section two, the focus is on 'Private Performance: Rhetoric and Space'. Deviating from recent scholarship, Anna McHugh argues that it is time to pay less attention to *Ancrene Wisse*'s focus on the body and more attention to its focus on the soul. Images of enclosure in *Ancrene Wisse* actually refer to the soul. This is a liberating enclosure because, following the logic of the store-house of memory, enclosure both stores and makes retrievable the images of God, hence facilitating the dialogue with God that anchorites seek.

Michelle M. Sauer examines Middle English anchoritic texts and the physical remains of English anchorholds to argue that privacy (pure physical isolation) was discouraged but that solitude (with its links to exile, and its capacity to exist even in the presence of others) was encouraged within the medieval English anchoritic tradition. Privacy was passive and could lead to

acedia and temptation, whereas solitude was an active process of construction and something that the athletes for Christ of old would well have understood.

Liz Herbert McAvoy examines three lesser-known texts about medieval English anchorites, and notes that female anchorites were riskier for ecclesiastical authorities than were male anchorites. Authorities were not particularly interested in regulating the physical space of male anchorites, and the fourteenth-century *Speculum Inclusorum* assumed the best with respect to its male audience, but on the other hand our textual records of female anchorites show a cultural need to enclose women physically.

Next, Laura Saetveit Miles finds differences between Julian of Norwich and Bridget of Sweden. Julian's rhetoric of space held enclosure to be protective rather than restrictive; enclosure meant enclosure of all souls within an infinite God. But in Bridget's revelations the enclosed space was not shared with wider Christianity, no doubt because Bridget did not enjoy the real-life security of the anchorhold that Julian enjoyed.

Also studying Julian of Norwich, Fumiko Yoshikawa shows the power of linguistic analysis for our understanding of medieval spirituality. At a period when English was moving away from the use of the impersonal 'to think', Julian nonetheless used this construction. Yoshikawa finds that Julian wrote 'me thought' when she was interpreting a showing, and that she usually teamed this construction with a reference to a specific time. Yoshikawa concludes that Julian wanted to understand her revelations, but that she was conscious of the time-specific and provisional nature of her interpretations, something which might have implications for other mystical authors.

The third section is 'Bodily Performances: Rhetoric and Corporeality'. Anne Savage's discussion of feminine spirituality and the body provides examples from a very wide selection of texts, from the late antique period onwards. Robin Gilbank demonstrates that we can understand Aelred of Rievaulx's anchoritic text, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, more thoroughly once we appreciate Aelred's focus on Christ's incarnation. Aelred's earlier writings (e.g. *De Iesu Puero Duodenni*) placed Jesus' life at the centre of one's devotional activity and Aelred counselled the same thing in his anchoritic text.

Finally, Karl-Heinz Steinmetz examines the *latro* (thief, criminal) figure in eremitical tradition. An ambiguous figure, the *latro* crossed boundaries, just as monks, hermits and anchorites would do. It is argued that understanding the various meanings, good and bad, of the early Christian *latrones* helps us understand the later anchoritic texts and their rhetoric.

Prompted in large part by the Gregynog conferences and University of Wales' publications such as this one, the study of medieval anchoritism has recently gained a new lease of life and a much more critical focus on the relationships between textual theory and lived practice. Long may this continue.

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McDiarmid, John F., ed., *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; hardcover; pp. xi, 308; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9780754654346.

This collection of thirteen essays responds in different ways to an article published by Patrick Collinson in 1987, 'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabethan England'. As Collinson made clear in his original article, the term 'republic' and its connotations in meaning needed a precisely contextualised definition. Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*, an Elizabethan text on English polity which Collinson interpreted, referred more to a commonwealth than to a republic in its modern meaning. Collinson's article applied Smith's theories to various organs of Elizabethan government, such as the Privy Council, and to various legislative expressions, including the Bond of Association.

Collinson identified in the machinery and priorities of Elizabethan government certain quasi-republican practices, including a sense that Elizabethan politicians, including Sir William Cecil, thought themselves capable of some governmental action independent of royal will. Also examining legislation from 1585 that was intended to ensure Protestant continuity in government should the Virgin Queen die, Collinson discerned political apparatus capable of ruling England (albeit temporarily) without a monarch.

The authors of the present collection clearly acknowledge this intellectual debt to Collinson. Indeed while articles within the collection may disagree with each other, they rarely disagree with Collinson. While Collinson's article took issue with the constitutional theories of Maurice Powicke, the current authors augment but largely follow what Collinson has already laid down. There are also at times strong Eltonian resonances, especially in Stephen Alford's chapter 'The Political Creed of William Cecil'.

While indebted to a singular source, this is a diverse collection of essays based on a number of themes, including ideology, politics and social and cultural lives in early modern England (p. 9). Perhaps the greatest strength of the collection is the vitality of arguments which occur between the articles and the capacity for different works in the one collection to be enriched by divergent points of view. In particular, chapters by Markku Peltonen, Andrew Hadfield and Richard Cust offer strongly divergent readings of Elizabethan polity to Peter Lake's work in the same collection.

Although a Collinsonian consensus is largely followed, the authors reveal themselves to be in disagreement with each other on certain key topics. While the collection overall pursues and interprets manifestations of quasi-republican principles of rule before, during and after Elizabeth's rule, some authors also argue for the limits of republican ideas. Johann Sommerville and Lake in particular identify a 'tinge' of absolutism in Elizabethan government by the 1580s and Anne McLaren also adduces evidence for defences of absolutist rather than republican rule in early modern political theory (p. 13). Scholars within this collection also draw different conclusions as to the origins of the quasi-republican ideas originally charted by Collinson, attributing them variously to either Roman virtues (and therefore civic humanism) or to the heritage of English common law.

Despite these divergences, particular articles announce and develop themes which characterise the collection in general. Dale Hoak's chapter pursues quasi-republican ideas back to the Edwardian period and to the Duke of Somerset's regency council. He also examines Sir Thomas Smith in his Edwardian context (p. 52), reconstructing the origin of Smith's belief in the sovereignty of parliament whose full maturity Collinson discussed in his 1987 article. Alford's chapter likewise traces republican ideas in English constitutional theory back to the Edwardian period (p. 89) and John McDiarmid's own contribution again takes Collinson's theories of an Elizabethan republic to a point of origin further back in the Tudor period and to Humanist circles at Cambridge University in the 1530s (p. 55). In examining these points of origin, these chapters also contribute to a general understanding of the reformist origins of royal republicanism, the importance of Parliament in enacting Edwardian religious reforms and the Protestant underpinnings of Humanism being addressed across several chapters.

Alford's chapter in particular straddles issues at the heart not only of this collection but of Collinson's paper. He reconstructs the 'paradox' of

William Cecil as a royal servant but also as the promoter of legislation which theoretically allowed for conciliar rule without a monarch at the head of council (p. 75). His idea of paradox resonates strongly with Collinson's argument for the very notion of a royal republic being paradoxical yet also possible.

While much of this collection deals with political theory and therefore with the realm of the elite, regional manifestations of republicanism are also addressed. Ethan Shagan's chapter argues that there were two republics in early modern England, one concerning central government and the other being participatory local government (p. 35). His arguments again follow Collinson's lead, especially the latter's analysis of the Swallowfield case of 1596, a case of apparent republicanism emanating from regional England.

More than anything, this collection of essays, by mostly North American scholars, is a tribute to the richness and originality of Collinson's original essay, in that so much further analysis and interpretative argument can be extrapolated from it, including the study of humanism and philology. The substance of their arguments resided in Elizabethan London, regional England, in the reigns before and after Elizabeth's and even in the early colonies in North America.

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McHugh, Tim, *Hospital Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown, Urban Elites and the Poor* (The History of Medicine in Context), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; hardback; pp. 191; frontispiece; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754657620.

Tim McHugh's aim in this book is 'to reassess the relationship between the central government and the local elites responsible for the deliverance of assistance to both the sick and able-bodied poor'. Using 'under-utilised or ignored' hospital records for Paris, Montpellier and Nîmes, the cities at the centre of this study. McHugh's study innovatively and successfully demonstrates the central place the local elite had in the management and development of hospitals in Early Modern France. Most significantly, it also establishes why more in-depth research of the hospital archives must be undertaken in order to broaden our understanding of the history of the early modern hospital.

In Chapters 1 and 2, McHugh provides a fresh discussion of the contemporary attitudes toward charity and poverty, how they shaped poor relief and led to *enfermement* (enclosure) of the poor in the seventeenth century. By this time, though the act of charitable giving had retained its traditional quality of redemption for the elite, poverty had come to be viewed as a fault of the poor themselves, attributable to their lack of morality and unwillingness to work. Traditionally, French poor relief and hospitals were managed at the local level, the crown's involvement taking the form of a largely absent overseer. As McHugh demonstrates, however, the crown made occasional attempts to prevent the reform or establishment of new hospitals when such plans conflicted with royal interests. With the Edict of Nantes (1598) effectively ending the Wars of Religion, Catholic reformist groups, such as the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, and local elites believed *enfermement* to be the solution to the social, moral and religious problems assailing the kingdom.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the Hôtel-Dieu and Hôpital Général of Paris, with McHugh originally locating his discussion within the context of the hospitals' own records, sources greatly under-utilized in earlier studies of hospital reform and management. This is particularly so in the case of the Paris Hôtel-Dieu which was the largest hospital of its kind in France and viewed as the model institution for the rest of the country. What makes McHugh's chapter 'The Reform of the Paris Hôtel-Dieu' so welcome is that despite the hospital's importance, it has not recently had the lead role in a historical study (its last starring roles being in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), nor have its extant records been the focus of an in-depth analysis.

In this study, McHugh has blown the dust off the records and successfully utilized them in order to demonstrate the dominant role the elite had in the governance and reform of the Paris Hôtel-Dieu in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was they, not the crown, who kept strict watch over medical appointments and practices within the hospital, dismissing anyone whose actions compromised the care of the poor and undermined the reputation of the hospital and its governors. Using the same approach with the Hôpital Général sources, McHugh again demonstrates that it was the elite who succeeded in creating 'the most important social welfare institution in the kingdom', despite Louis XIV's claims to the contrary.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine the cases of Catholic Montpellier and Protestant Nîmes in the seventeenth century. One important fact that emerges from these chapters is that crown edicts concerning hospitals and poor relief reform were

not always followed outside of Paris, regardless of whether under Protestant or Catholic rule. It is the similarity of their paths toward hospital reform that makes these case studies so interesting. The elite of both cities ignored crown edicts they judged to be irrelevant to their individual religious and economic circumstances. In direct contravention of the Edict of Nantes (1598), the Montpellier hospital authorities denied Protestant inmates the ministrations of their own priests and actively sought to convert them, a practice the crown made no endeavours toward correcting. Nimois Protestants established their own hospital in 1653 for these very same reasons; the Catholic monopoly of the Hôtel-Dieu had led to conversion attempts on Protestant inmates. The elite of the Montpellier and Nîmes hôpitaux généraux ignored the crown dictates regarding hospital operations and opted for the less costly practice of assistance to the poor within their own homes, despite the crown's wish to hide away the morally-corrupt and unruly poor in institutions of confinement.

McHugh's book is a refreshing and informative contribution to the growing annals on hospital and poor relief reform in the Early Modern period.

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Mulder-Bakker, Anneke B., ed., Margot H. King and Hugh Feiss, trans., *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation* (Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 7), Turnhout, Brepols, 2007; hardback; pp. xii, 260; R.R.P. €60.00; ISBN 9782503517032.

Mary of Oignies (c.1177-1213), more usually known in her own day as Mary of Nivelles, is often known today as the first of the Low Countries beguines. Of course, she was by no means the first, but she was the one whom James of Vitry singled out from among the 'many women in the diocese of Liège' who exhibited 'shining sanctity' when he responded to Fulk of Toulouse's request to write about holy women in the Liège region. Writing his *vita* of Mary (this 'pearl of Christ') in around 1215, at a time when heresy was a clear problem and strict institutionalization of religious life was seen by some as a solution, James (as Anneke Mulder-Bakker argues) seemed to see Mary and her fellow *mulieres sanctae* as an alternative solution. That is, James presented these holy women as positive examples of everything that was

good in local and unregulated Christian life and he certainly did not think that clerics or university masters had to be the only role models.

Thus, one woman was presented as a model of James' greater vision of Christian life. This ideal life was a varied one – Mary worked in a leper hospital at Willambroux for more years than she spent as a recluse in her cell under the church at Oignies – and James' lack of interest in distinguishing between the various phases in her life suggests that he saw both as important parts of a greater journey. James did not even call the women 'beguines'; in his words they were true *religiosae* and presumably would have been diminished by any other name.

Inescapable from all this, of course, is the fact that when we seek Mary and her fellow holy women we tend sooner or later to find male hagiographers and their interests. But it is to the credit of this volume that the wider context of Mary and her world is illuminated. Mulder-Bakker calls the book a companion to Mary, and it is most certainly this. All scholars researching the worlds of the Low Countries holy women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will want to read this book. It contains an introduction by Mulder-Bakker and four texts translated into English: Margot King's translation of James of Vitry's *vita* (reprinted from King's 1998 translation, but with footnotes helpfully updated); Hugh Feiss' translation of Thomas of Cantimpré's c.1230 supplement to James' *vita*; Feiss' translation of the short foundation text of the Oignies church; and Feiss' translation of the liturgical office of Mary of Oignies (this office – based heavily on the office for Mary Magdalen – was composed at the Cistercian monks' abbey of Villers, and may have been composed by Goswin of Bossut).

There are two essays. Brenda Bolton adds an essay (based on her 1993 work 'Spiegels van Vroomheid: Relieken van Marie van Oignies') on the cult of saints and relics around Oignies. Along with the recent essay by Sharon Farmer on a similar topic, Bolton's work is undoubtedly going to open up a whole new avenue of scholarship on the amazing relic collection of Oignies. Finally, Suzan Folkerts examines the manuscript dissemination of Mary's *vitae* (both James' original and Thomas' supplement). James' *vita* was the most frequently copied of all the *vitae* of the southern Low Countries holy women and, interestingly, almost all surviving manuscripts come from monks' monasteries; Mary served as a role model to men and not to women. James' version was very popular in the fifteenth century. At this time it was not Mary's role as a prototype of Liège's holy women that was being stressed

but, rather, the status of Mary as ancestor of the duchy of Brabant. On the other hand, Thomas' supplement did not have much later popularity.

Although Mary is such a well-known individual, scholarship tends to have been fragmented into different specializations which have rarely influenced each other. Mulder-Bakker's introduction does an excellent job of identifying these threads and, in the process, provides an historiographical survey which is a boon to scholarship and more than the sum of its parts.

Bolton's essay shows how much James supported Oignies in ways other than by the writing of Mary's *vita*; he sent eastern silks to the community, he commissioned works of art for the church, and in particular he took advantage of his eastern connections to send relics to Oignies. James did all of this for many years after Mary died; his interest was not fleeting. Given such support, it is worth asking why Mary was never canonized, but Bolton points out that bad luck played a role. Key supporters died or were absent and a change of pope put a lid on the cult until the modern period. But the stunning relic collection remained – Mary herself would stay up at night to care for the collection – and the relics as well as the two *vitae*, the Villers' office, and the academic attentions of modern scholars all indicate the wide interest in Mary and her holy sisters.

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Newman, Barbara, *Frauenlob's Song of Songs. A Medieval German Poet and his Masterpiece*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007; paperback; pp. xxi, 241; 7 b/w illustrations, 1 CD; R.R.P. US\$25.00; ISBN 9780271029252.

Frauenlob was the popular name of Heinrich von Meissen (c.1260-1318), author of a remarkable corpus of Middle High German poetry, in particular of the *Marienleich* – an epic poem of over 500 lines in praise of the Virgin Mary. In this volume, Barbara Newman presents her translation of the *Marienleich*, luxuriously presented on facing pages alongside Karl Stackmann's critical text of the poem. This serves to introduce her study of Frauenlob and his milieu, as well as a more detailed study of the *Marienleich* and its influence, supplemented by a rich commentary on each of the twenty strophes of that poem.

Middle High German poetry is probably a closed universe to many medievalists brought up in an Anglophone, Francophile, or Italophile tradition. The great Germanic epics, like the *Nibelungenlied* or Gottfried von Strassbourg's *Tristan*, have long been known through the lens of Wagner, while the Minnesingers – often noble amateurs – are also celebrated for their writing about love. The religious compositions of Minnesinger like Frauenlob are perhaps less well known than their songs about love. Yet, as Newman argues, Frauenlob offers an unusually sensuous and earthy vision of the Virgin, as the Bride and lover of the Song of Songs. He was a contemporary of Eckhart and Dante, and stands in their company. Whereas many Minnesinger were noble amateurs, Frauenlob was a *spruchdichter*, a lyric poet who enjoyed the patronage of powerful nobility – including the Duke of Breslau and the archbishops of Bremen and Mainz. He seems to have been particularly active in the court of Prague. Perhaps most importantly, from the perspective of medieval music, his poetry survives with music, enabling his compositions to be appreciated in the original context in which they were composed.

The volume is best appreciated through listening to the accompanying CD of *Marienleich*, as interpreted by the ensemble Sequentia, directed by the late Barbara Thornton and Benjamin Bagby. Barbara Newman had already collaborated with Sequentia in their production of the songs of another great musical and poetic genius of the German Middle Ages, Hildegard of Bingen. As Benjamin Bagby explains in a moving note about their recording of the project, he and Barbara Thornton had originally recorded *Marienleich* in the early 1990s, and only through technological developments could that early recording be restored in digital form. For those who remember Barbara Thornton, the result is a particularly moving recreation of a voice from the past, in a double sense.

Marienleich is a particularly brilliant reworking of the dialogue between lover and beloved in the *Song of Songs*. In the recording, male and female solo and chorus combine with instrumental interludes to evoke a text that is both sensuous and mystical in its character. Newman's translation is itself richly poetic, successfully showing how the Bride is the archetypal lover, the Mother of God who holds all creation in her womb: 'I am the well of life on earth | as sweet as sugar – and the joy of birth | I am the mirror of great purity | in which God gazed before all time | I am the fire | in which the phoenix renewed its youth | I am the precious pelican's blood, | and well I know that this is truth.'

Newman draws on the same tradition of mystical discourse as she presented in the writing of Hildegard, but here we find that tradition given an earthiness through the vernacular that Hildegard never was able to achieve – even if she was pointing in that direction. *Marienleich* is celebration of the Virgin in a cosmic sense, as the eternal wisdom through which the universe was composed as well as the mother of the redeemer through which it was restored. It is also about the love between the Virgin and her Lord, as that of the archetypal lover and beloved.

There is much to appreciate in Newman's analysis. Particularly, it is helpful in presenting connections between the Latin culture, both religious and philosophical, on which Frauenlob draws. Alan of Lille provides a particularly apposite synthesis of these two traditions, combining Marian reading of the *Song of Songs* with Platonic respect for *natura*.

Newman's argument that Frauenlob may also have drawn ideas directly from Abelard is intriguing, given that the latter's theological writings never enjoyed wide diffusion. There can be no doubt, however, that Frauenlob is a sophisticated theorist of both worldly and divine love, convinced of their fusion rather than of their contrast. He was also a master of heterometric form, each strophe being unlike the other. Newman's comparison of Frauenlob to Gerard Manley Hopkins is not inapposite. Her account of Frauenlob's proclamation of his own genius, and the claims of his poetic rival, Regenbogen, demonstrates the literary sophistication of a poet who amply deserves to be listened to with respect. Newman's volume is a fitting memorial to the achievement of Frauenlob and his interpreters.

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Pearson, Andrea, ed., *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity* (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; cloth; pp. xiv, 228; 63 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00, US\$99.95; ISBN 9780754656661.

Andrea Pearson's Introduction to this collection of papers presented at the 2005 meeting of the College Art Conference in a session entitled 'The Face of Gender: Women and Portraits in the Early Modern World', asserts that although a number of important studies have addressed the topic of women and

portraiture in early modern Europe, this phenomenon has not been the object of study in its own right. Pearson wishes to address several themes in a novel way: the use of female portraiture as a mechanism by which women could negotiate the boundaries of gender; female agency in portraiture; alternative means of self-representation; and female spectatorship. In addressing these themes, Pearson asserts that 'the book is the first to consider the topic of early modern women's portraits as a discrete topic' (p. 2). Her brief literature review of studies on women, gender and art in Early Modern Europe (mainly in English with some German references) supports this view.

Pearson then focuses on understanding the complexities of the links between gender, identity and agency, using Joan Scott's well-known formulation concerning the interrelationship between gender and power. She also supports Sally McKee's warning that agency (the ability to take action on one's own) is not the same as having power to change existing inequalities between men and women (empowerment). In other words, some of the women under study in this collection may have, by their own agency, successfully negotiated gender boundaries to fashion their image and create a desired identity, but they did not have the power to change the existing subordinated position of women in society.

Pearson provides succinct and nuanced summaries of each of the chapters, of which the first three concern themselves with fifteenth-century Netherlandish and Burgundian portraiture (Rothstein; Pearson and Roberts), there are two dealing with sixteenth-century Italy (McIver and Levy), one on Hans Holbein's portrait of Christina of Denmark for King Henry VIII (Hertel), one on seventeenth-century English double portraits of women at court (Hallam) and one each dealing with eighteenth-century France and England respectively (Hyde and McPherson).

Pearson suggests that each of these essays will mark the beginning of an ongoing scholarly discussion of the topic of women and portraits. Indeed, the nine studies in this collection discuss a diverse range of topics and periods but together build a coherent analysis of the relationship between gender, agency and identity in female portraiture in early modern Europe.

The first two articles suggest that in fifteenth-century portraits the focus is on the representation of women and the visual codes that the placement of figures represented as well as the intent of those who commissioned portraits. An example to consider is Margaret of York, whose representation in portraiture was not of her own making but rather that of her husband and his courtiers. It is in her gifting practices, that her agency can be demonstrated.

In contrast, during her lifetime Mary of Burgundy was able to commission portraits that demonstrated her persona as an active ruler through invoking classical precedents. After her death, however, her husband commissioned portraits of her in profile that represented her as passive and a conduit for his own dynastic claims to her kingdom.

Christine of Denmark, on the other hand, was able successfully to manipulate her representation by Hans Holbein so as to ensure that her proposed marriage to King Henry VIII would never take place. Christine's 'fleeting' image became a constant reminder to the king of that loss. Christine's subtle use of a commissioned portrait to convey a particular message is repeated in the double portraits of women in the court of King Charles I of England. The women that were part of the court of the often vilified Henrietta Maria, used their own commissioning of double portraits to convey their conformity to gender ideologies, whenever their reputations and those of the Queen might have been sullied.

Madame Du Barry, mistress of Louis XV, could perform in plays at court as a man while dressed in a skirt, yet employ portraiture to create an identity that suggested a more masculine persona, or did it? By the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century in England, the famous actress, Sarah Siddons demonstrated agency through her self-representation in portraiture. As a sculptor in her own right, she fashioned images of herself, similar to those commissioned by Mary of Burgundy in her own lifetime, in which she invoked classical precedents as part of her strategy to fashion carefully her own image and identity for posterity.

All in all, this an excellent collection of studies, which makes a major contribution to the subject of female portraiture in early modern Europe as well as raising questions that will hopefully lead to further fruitful research.

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Richards, Jennifer, *Rhetoric* (The New Critical Idiom), London and New York, Routledge, 2008; hardback; pp. 208; R.R.P. US\$95.00; ISBN 9780415314367.

Belsey, Catherine, *Why Shakespeare?*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; hardback; pp. 208; R.R.P. £42.50; ISBN 9781403993199.

These two books are brief but not at all slight, both important in very different ways.

Jennifer Richards' *Rhetoric* is a volume in the New Critical Idiom series. The original series was aimed at students and was very limited in scope, each short volume confined to terminology and historical survey of a concept. The 'New' version encourages authors to develop a sustained argument, interrogating afresh a term from literary or cultural analysis in the widest sense, incorporating recent, theory-driven advances. As a result we have distinctive and expert contributions that do not shirk the difficult aspects of their subjects, such as Linda Anderson's *Autobiography* with its context of women's studies and John Frow's *Genre* with a philosophical and cultural studies emphasis. *Rhetoric* is a worthy addition, standing up as a significant and original monograph.

Richards begins where one would expect, with 'The Classical Art', essentially stemming from oratory and propelled by Aristotle and Cicero. The analysis develops into the more literary applications of 'Rhetoric Renewed' by Sidney and Puttenham through to the Enlightenment, and thence to 'Rhetoricity' in the twentieth century, another powerful 'renewal' as descriptive literary criticism and theory took over the functions of earlier, prescriptive receptions of rhetoric.

Adam Smith is an interesting pivotal figure. His *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, delivered in 1748-51, indicate that his equivalent today might not be known for an economic theorist but a literary one. Tom Paine, though Richards does not deal with his *Rights of Man*, would have provided an equally instructive application of rhetoric in the 1790s, in the service of influential and populist, political polemic.

Kenneth Burke is rediscovered and given credit for extending the implicature of rhetoric into complex, 'double-edged' social and philosophical fields. He demonstrates one of Richards' conclusions, that rhetoric's 'most valuable endowment lies in its flexible process of argument, which insists on the reversibility of all positions', so that rhetoric is not so much a mode of

expression but the root of critical thinking. Postmodernism, through writings like those of de Man and Derrida, is seen as building upon the concepts of 'old' rhetoric, yet at the same time paradoxically challenging its traditional assumptions and making them obsolete.

But the book does far more than mapping the field. Richards engages with the different usages, critiquing them within their own historical context and also from the perspective of the present day, showing acutely not only survivals and continuities but changes and ruptures to 'the art of persuasion' through time. Rhetoric emerges like Heraclitus' river, something which has always flowed but is never the same. Just as it is in danger of ossifying into a set of prescriptive rules, it is reinvented to meet the needs and purposes of new generations who forge an appropriate language for expressing ideas. Richards' analytical history shows that rhetoric can incorporate differences and even opposites, ranging 'from traditional art to postmodern play'. It can be used to produce an air of certainty or to undermine it, to assert a logical thought process and yet also underpins, for example, 'the false starts, the ramblings, the contradictions, the lateral rather than logical connections' in Montaigne's thought process.

At all stages, Richards allows the past to illuminate the present, while the present can recall the past, so a speech by Tony Blair justifying the war on Iraq becomes an example of Aristotelian rhetoric built upon a 'missing premise' that 'war safeguards peace'. Already President Obama's speeches are being combed through for the rhetorical structures of their language, their affective intentions, and their subliminal links with earlier and other cultural contexts (does his slogan 'Yes we can' owe anything to Australia's *Bob the Builder*, I wonder?). Richards' fresh and lively approach encourages such playful speculations, while the overall effect of her challenging book is one of rigorous and sustained argument, written with the elegant momentum of intellectual and historical engagement. It is as important for scholars for its originality, as for students who will welcome its lucidity in dealing with complex ideas – a successful example of fresh, academic rhetoric in its own right.

Meanwhile, Catherine Belsey's *Why Shakespeare?* is expansive and personal in tone, its irresistible sense of apparently innocent (but in fact artful) questioning captured in the musing title. It is a book that feels more like a friendly and evocative invitation to share thoughts than a debate or a systematic argument.

In its own way, the interrogative title itself is a sign of the open-endedness of Keatsian 'speculation', since it can and does raise so many possibilities. Why is Shakespeare still important? What is the secret to his plays' cultural adaptability? Why do we endlessly put his plays on the stage and read his words? Why is he apparently useful to new generations when his works are so old?

Belsey decides that language is not enough to provide answers and that appeals to 'universal significance are nowadays rightly treated with deep suspicion'. Instead, she uncovers a level of Shakespeare's narratives variously described as 'fairy stories', 'fireside tales' (classified as such in the Bibliography), 'traditional fables', 'old wives' tales' and other nomenclature. Belsey's preference is for the shorthand 'fairy stories' whereas I prefer 'folk tales' but a footnote indicates that she is not interested in the taxonomical debates.

What she means, more connotatively and allusively than denotatively, is that Shakespeare chose to dramatize stories already familiar to us from childhood. Patterns showing socially climbing females, rites of passage from childhood to adulthood, ghostly manifestations and magical events mirroring our fears and wish-fulfilment – an elfin beauty can fall in love with a beast who is disturbingly close to being 'one of us' – impersonations and disguises, and so on, Belsey argues, all ring bells for us as though we have already encountered Shakespeare's stories, as in a curious sense we have. Shakespeare adds to such narratives memorable and complex glosses, but the basis, the structural spine, is in each case a simple, recycled tale that we can recall from childhood in one variant or another.

Each chapter begins in a disconcerting and almost naïve way, describing the *donnée* of some unlikely folk tale or riddle in such a way that, to our surprise, we find ourselves pitched straight into the opening of a play like *As You Like It*, *King Lear*, or *Hamlet*. In meta-narrative fashion, the plays even announce allusions to such 'winter's tales'; 'I could match this beginning with an old tale', Celia tells Monsieur le Beau, as if Shakespeare is engaged in quite conscious folklore explication. He is even daring enough to risk subverting the plot by including a character sceptical of such 'antique fables ... fairy toys' as the very story in which Duke Theseus ungratefully resides. So compelling are the examples that willing readers will be instantly beguiled into assenting to the analogy.

The analysis then goes on to open up ways in which Shakespeare rings changes, exploring the initiatory situation until the play may become a murky

exploration of emergent themes concerning issues like adult sexuality, identity, gender confusion, spiritual exile, racism, and others that come to mind when we think of thematic criticism of plays like *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice*. One of the differences that emerges between comedy and tragedy is not their generic origin, which remains constant, but the fact that tragedy refuses the clear definition between good and evil which operates in comedy.

Not a source-study but a book *about* primal sources, not an analysis of narrative but a book *about* both the simple and complex nature of narrative, *Why Shakespeare?* is hard to categorize. There are only tangential similarities to the work of Auerbach, Frye and Barber, and the host of rather solemn folklorists and students of mythology who followed in their wake, and Belsey is suspicious of ideas of universal archetypes mined from a Jungian collective unconscious. Her topic is 'tales' pure and simple, and the ways Shakespeare adumbrates, embellishes, and all but conceals them.

The true presiders, though ones not mentioned by Belsey, are such *raconteurs* as old Gower in *Pericles* and the teller of tales in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* who keeps children from play and old men from the chimney corner. Katharine Briggs' *British Folk-Tales and Legends* and Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* are the true sources.

Considering Belsey's other works, which draw on the likes of Lacan, Derrida and all the contemporary theorists, we may realize how one may go along a very long and winding intellectual path to end up more or less where we began, in a state of suspending disbelief in stories half-remembered from childhood. Bettelheim's word is the right one. Partly due to Belsey's wondering tone and to her invitingly informal style, *Why Shakespeare?* is an enchanting and even, in some way, enchanted book.

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Rickman, Johanna, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback; pp. 244; 11 b/w illustrations & 5 tables; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754661351.

Johanna Rickman's study of illicit sex and the nobility is published as part of Ashgate's *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* series. Establishing its place within this collection, Rickman weighs into current debate surrounding 'competing notions of gender and alternative gender ideals' (p. 12), with a specific focus on what she terms 'the courtly love ideal' (p. 13). Referencing the work of such scholars as Barbara Harris and Merry Wiesner, Rickman suggests another approach to understanding notions of gender in the Early Modern world.

Specifically, Rickman considers what happened to noblemen and women in Elizabethan and early Stuart England who engaged in extramarital sex, through an investigation of cases of fornication, adultery and bastardy. Rickman suggests the study of these cases of extramarital sex illuminate understandings of sex and gender in this period, whilst also providing 'a better understanding of the *place* of women in early modern aristocratic culture, both as historical subjects (considering personal circumstances) and as a social group (considering social position and status)' (p. 2). Rickman argues that there were two different gender ideals operating simultaneously in this period; one a largely religious ideal, promoting silence, chastity and obedience, and another, here termed 'the courtly love ideal', exhorting wit, beauty and bravery – a more secular ideal (p. 13).

In early modern England, sexual sins were technically under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, but the nobility did not usually appear before these courts. Legal sources are, therefore, supplemented here by family papers (mainly letters). The collections of the Sidney, Cecil, Bacon, Dudley, Devereux, and Talbot families are engaged extensively. Rickman also draws upon state papers, both domestic and foreign, and contemporary literature. From these records, Rickman 'seeks to explain the circumstances – including gender expectations, social privilege and personal situations – that either allowed for a limited acceptance or prompted condemnation of illicit relationships among the nobility' (p. 2).

Chapter 1 considers illicit sex at the court of Elizabeth I, while Chapter 2 examines illicit sex at the court of James I. Rickman considers these topics

within the context of the gender and marital status of the reigning monarch, concluding that 'illicit sex was very risky during Elizabeth's reign, since the queen punished offenders severely, while it usually went unpunished during James' reign' (p. 4). Of course, marital status, political roles at court, family and social connections, monetary considerations, even public standing and public opinion, all contributed to the punishment, and these factors are also considered. Women too, were usually subject to greater social humiliation than men if they were involved in illicit sex. Rickman also discusses differing attitudes towards illicit sex throughout the period: to some it was a serious sin, to others, a minor indiscretion. Reactions to illicit sex during this period were, therefore, shaped by a multitude of factors.

The final three chapters are highly readable accounts of specific examples of illicit sex amongst the nobility. 'Conscience and Contention: Penelope Rich and Charles Blount' analyses a relationship encompassing affair, divorce and remarriage, demonstrating the protection offered by a strong social network, along with popular moral reactions when this relationship became public. 'Love and Letters: Mary Wroth and William Herbert' considers Mary Wroth's defiance of perceived gender roles through both adultery and literary publications on love. 'Preserving Honour: Frances Villiers and Robert Howard' offers a detailed exploration of the idea of female honour, crucial to understandings of competing notions of gender.

Rickman finds a variety of outcomes for nobles who engaged in illicit sex, and presents explanations for the circumstances surrounding these outcomes. Her examples are well chosen, and recounted in a manner which displays considerable narrative skill. Each chapter is absorbing in its own right. Overall, they work together to present a thorough consideration of the topic. Rickman makes a solid argument in regard to two different gender ideals operating simultaneously at this time. This study reinforces the complexity of notions of gender, along with the need for further research into this area.

An appendix presents the simplified genealogies of the five noble families who feature most heavily in the study. These genealogies highlight Rickman's observation that some families were more likely than others to engage in illicit sex. On this, Rickman refers to Peter Laslett's theory of a 'bastardy-prone sub-society' (p. 204), noting the possibility of further research into this area. This is an interesting sub-theme of the book.

A minor irritation was the shift from the use of 'I' in the introduction (p. 1) to 'we' (p. 77), as Rickman's choice of personal pronoun. The use of

terms such as 'drunken love fests' (p. 71), 'pushed the envelope' (p. 174) and 'in hot water' (p. 178) were also distracting from an otherwise well-written work. The footnotes are thorough.

This book gives the impression that it seeks an audience beyond the academic realm, and there is no reason to suppose it would not achieve this. This is not, however, to detract from its academic merit. I would recommend this book to students or specialists pursuing research in Early Modern history, particularly within the specialities of gender, sexuality, and life at court, along with those interested in the specific case studies simply for their own sake.

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Simpson, James, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and its Reformation Opponents*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, hardback; pp. xii; 346; 3 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$27.95; ISBN 9780674026711.

James Simpson's study of English evangelical reading habits between 1520 and 1547 is a polemical work that is bound to divide readers. It is, in effect, a refutation of a particular historical narrative that paints the Reformation as a decisive step in the West's evolution from medieval superstition to modern liberalism, in which the act of private reading (not having the text mediated by an institution) is celebrated as pivotal.

In the first chapter, Simpson sketches the scholarly stand-off existing between those advocating this position (e.g. David Daniell) and those English Reformation revisionists who raise doubts about the loss of Catholic forms of piety and bonds of community (e.g. Eamon Duffy). He then examines the process of translating the Bible into English and the heroic status accorded to William Tyndale and other Protestant martyrs who died in the fight to make the Bible available to the common reader. Simpson introduces Thomas More's arguments against Tyndale and reconsiders the way in which 'More and the bishops seem so behind the times, whether intelligently or not ... because the vernacular Bible was so unstopably popular' (p. 56).

In Chapter 3, 'Salvation, Reading, and Textual Hatred', Simpson shows his hand; evangelical reading, he argues, gave rise to four paradoxes which made it a negative, rather than a positive, experience. These are summarized

as: 'to love the text, one must hate it; "do it" means "you can't do it"; faith alone means no faith; and the plain text is premised on the ambiguous text' (p. 105).

These paradoxes require some unpacking. Simpson's argument is that reading was a type of 'works' but Reformers argued that salvation was only through grace. Thus, scripture rendered the reader abject and insecure; reading was a worthless activity if one was not saved, and yet Biblical reading became important as a *post hoc* sign of salvation. If faith alone were sufficient then reading scripture would be redundant, so devotion to Biblical reading erodes the place of faith as sole requirement for salvation; and although Reformers insisted that the 'literal sense' of scripture was available to any reader, their insistence on certain conditions, such as Tyndale's claim that 'the text of Scripture can be properly understood only if it is first written on the heart' (p. 125) and their castigation of 'bad readers' (those who read and came to different, non-evangelical conclusions), reveals that only a certain kind of guided reading would produce the 'literal sense' required. For Simpson, this is evidence that, rather than being the parent of liberalism, evangelical reading in sixteenth-century England was the parent of modern Fundamentalism, in all its illiberal glory.

Chapter 5, 'Bible Reading, Persecution, and Paranoia', analyses sections of scripture in terms of its telling a tale of loss and betrayal, in which foes persecute the godly, such as the Psalms. This interpretation is then very interestingly linked to the politics of the reign of Henry VIII. For example, Henry's desire for Anne Boleyn is paralleled by David's for Bathsheba. The fact that the Biblical picture is of grace deriving 'from a single source of unpredictable power' (p. 151) resembles the fragile position of the courtier dependent on the favour of the King, who may prove quixotic. The careers of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (beheaded on 19 January 1547) and Thomas Wyatt (suspected of being one of Anne Boleyn's lovers, pardoned and died aged 39 in 1542) are examined and the imperilled state of their existence exposed (despite both being devout Protestants).

Chapter 6, 'History as Error', argues that evangelical reading devalued history almost to nothingness, due to its need to abolish 'a particular history' (p. 186), that of the Church prior to the Reformation. Simpson observes the erasing of historical differences between the Old and New Testaments when discussing Luther's Law and Gospel: '[t]hese terms are not specific to a period of history, nor do they designate any historical unfolding. Instead

they designate the Law by which Christians are damned and the promises by which they are saved; Law and Gospel are both dispersed across the Hebrew and Christian scriptures' (p. 201).

In the last sections of the book, Simpson returns to Thomas More, and argues that his response to evangelical reading and the impact of the vernacular scriptures was more nuanced and intelligent than most historians have credited. His defence of an older Catholic tradition of reading was based on the premise that 'texts are trustingly made and remade in human history by human institutions' (p. 223). Simpson shows clearly how More's position opposes all the dimensions of evangelical reading he has thus far examined. Sadly, in his attempt to refute the new mode of reading advocated by English Protestants, More entered into the same state as those he opposed, eventually backing the persecution of those he viewed as heretics.

Simpson's conclusion that 'Tyndale and More were both the victims of a new, immensely demanding and punishing textual culture marked by literalist impersonality' (p. 282) is bound to be controversial. So too is his implication that we are still wrestling with the direct heir of that textual culture, religious Fundamentalism. This is a brilliantly written, fascinating book, and it deserves a very wide readership. Not all will agree with Simpson, but all will learn something new and valuable.

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Stahl, Harvey, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008; hardback; pp. 464; 60 colour & 50 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$85.00; ISBN 9780271028637.

Picturing Kingship, Harvey Stahl's posthumously published examination of the *Psalter of Saint Louis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 10525, c.1265) is the product of impressive scholarship sustained over many years. Stahl builds meticulously on the research of those that have preceded him. He also relates his investigation to contemporary interpretations of illustrated medieval histories, both biblical and secular. Many aspects of the manuscript are explored; it is presented as an outstanding example of Parisian medieval book production and as an expression of its royal owner's personal concerns with the ideals and practical demands of kingship.

Stahl's study of this splendidly illuminated manuscript includes a detailed codicological analysis, which he relates to the identification of different artistic hands. His discussion of the so-called 'court style' broadens this concept to include the expertise of illuminators working in relatively small groups or ateliers in the Parisian book trade, whose development has been highlighted in recent years by the productive research of Richard and Mary Rouse.

Stahl examines the style of the Psalter not only in relation to other manuscripts but also in the context of contemporary cathedral sculpture – especially that of the south portal of Notre Dame de Paris – of stained glass, monumental painting and ornamental works in precious metals and ivory. In itself, this approach is not new, but the author's detailed and perceptive analysis forms the basis for his argument that the Psalter 'reflects a new breadth of interest in techniques and effects of modelling, luminance and color, an interest that grows out of contemporary trends in the visual arts and is wholly consistent with contemporary thinking about vision'.

Stahl's chief interest, however, to which he anchors his study of the many facets of this manuscript, is the series of 78 miniatures of Old Testament subjects that preface the calendar and the text of the Psalter. He argues that this series, unusual for its exclusive focus on the Old Testament, reflects the growing contemporary interest in the historical and narrative aspects of the Bible, which is also expressed in the appearance of biblical manuscripts in the vernacular. Moral and typological interpretations of the Bible, Stahl comments, continued to be popular and gave rise to such elaborate programmes as that of the *Bible moralisée*, which was conceived for royal readers and whose pictorial programmes incorporate detailed political and social allusions. While he proposes both moral and allegorical interpretations of certain images in the Psalter, on the whole Stahl argues that the scenes from Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges and Kings are best interpreted as an expression of the growing interest in historical narrative.

In particular, he stresses the contemporary relevance of this pictorial programme for the book's royal owner. Stahl rightly presents King Louis as well educated in the various ways of reading and interpreting the Bible. As king of France, Louis was confronted not only with the challenge to govern his people peaceably, but to fight the enemies of Christendom as a leader in the Crusades.

Stahl's emphasis on a historical parallelism between the Old Testament and contemporary events is in tune with recent interpretations of the illustration

of vernacular texts such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Bersuire's translation of Livy's *History of Rome*, and in the early fifteenth century, Laurent Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*.

Understandably, such extensive coverage and occasionally venturesome interpretation prompt further questioning and in some cases alternative proposals. Stahl argues, for example, that the legends on the pages preceding the miniatures were written after the pictures were completed, while the ruling for them was done beforehand. It is difficult to envisage, however, the scribes writing on the back of these pages once their fronts had been so richly ornamented in costly colours and raised gold leaf.

It is also a matter of some regret that the historiated Psalter initials are not treated in any detail except for Psalm 1. This is especially the case with Psalm 52 which, instead of the usual pictorial representation of a fool in reference to the opening words of the Psalm: 'the fool has said in his heart there is no God', shows two wrestling men, nude, except for colourful loose draperies. Surely this unusual image warranted an explanation. On the other hand, considerable attention is paid to the illustration of the opening Psalm initial, which depicts the story of David and Bathsheba above, and below, a repentant David kneeling before the Lord. The interpretation of this scene, however, both as an expression of David's penitence, and as a symbol of ecclesial purification in the person of the naked Bathsheba, stretches the bounds of credibility.

Unfortunately this fine book has suffered in its final editing and course of publication. Between pages 211 and 212 appear colour illustrations of several of the prefatory miniatures. They are labelled only by folio numbers, and there is no reference made to these pages in the Table of Contents. It would seem that publication of the whole group of miniatures was intended, since many which are referred to in the text and notes are not reproduced elsewhere in the book. There are, however, 21 miniatures of the series missing, including some that are important for the author's arguments.

Furthermore, several of the English translations of the French legends introducing the miniatures, given in Appendix II are awkward or incorrect. For example, St Augustine interpreted the appearance of the three angels to Abraham at the tree of Mambré as an early intimation of the mystery of the Trinity: 'Abraham saw three but adored one'. This is cited in the original legend, and reflected in the distinctive rendering of the central figure in the

angelic group in the accompanying scene (fo. 7v). The translation incorrectly reads, 'Abraham saw three but adored one of them'.

To the best of my knowledge, this manuscript has never been reproduced in its entirety. Perhaps a CD of its contents might be designed to accompany the hard copy.

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Terry, Ann and Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007; cloth; 2 vols; 75 b/w illustrations, 226 colour plates; R.R.P. US\$95.00; ISBN 9780271028736.

In the Istrian town of Poreč, the sixth-century cathedral, baptistery and episcopal palace stand close to the Adriatic Sea. These buildings form one of the most complete and important surviving examples of such an ecclesiastical complex. Splendid mosaics adorn each of the three apses, the apsidal arch and the façade of the cathedral built by Bishop Eufrasius. This book presents a meticulous survey of the apse and arch mosaics, in the context of early illustrations, descriptions and restorations, and it explains their style, iconography and iconology in relation to other works of the time.

After briefly describing the appearance of the mosaics today, the authors make a critical analysis of the graphic and documentary evidence for what was visible in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Drawings, prints and photographs are carefully evaluated in relation to written descriptions of the mosaics and reports on their condition. In this way, the authors establish what was there before the controversial restoration of 1890-1900 by Pietro Bornia. Their aim is to distinguish between what dates from the sixth century and what from the nineteenth, and to ascertain whether the nineteenth-century restorers remade, copied or even 'improved' on the original work, according to the various theories of restoration then current.

The authors have undertaken a precise and very valuable examination of the mosaics from scaffolding erected in the cathedral at various times. This close inspection of the physical fabric of the mosaics has enabled them to see where the original plaster survives, where the original tesserae are still in situ, or have been reset, and where new tesserae have been added. The

‘andamento’ or patterning of the tesserae, in regular or irregular passages, also distinguishes original from restored work. The authors found that the range of hues identified as dating from the sixth century far outnumbers those added in the nineteenth century. The mosaicists employed more costly materials, like gold, glass tesserae and mother-of-pearl, in the central apse and less expensive cubes in the side apses, where the mosaics have not survived in their entirety. This painstaking survey of the mosaics is an important contribution to our understanding of them.

On the whole, close inspection of the mosaics has enabled the authors to conclude that Bornia’s restoration consisted mostly of replacing large stretches of gold tesserae and minor patching of other areas. In two places the images were remade: the Lamb of God in the centre of the soffit of the main arch was fabricated in Rome; and the lower part of the frieze of Christ and the apostles on the apsidal arch wall was largely refashioned after the fragments of surviving mosaics had been removed from the wall. In general, however, it seems Bornia tended to respect the fabric of the original mosaics, in contradiction to accusations at the time from his critic, Giacomo Boni.

Stylistically, the mosaics are related to those in the Arian Baptistery, S. Vitale, S. Apollinare in Classe and the second phase of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, works dating from c.526-556. The materials used are also similar, with coloured glass tesserae mixed with mother-of-pearl, stone and slate. It is likely that artists from Ravenna fashioned the *Poreč* mosaics.

By establishing which parts of the composition are original, the authors come to a clear understanding of their iconography, and are able to identify the figures and their attributes. They can confidently identify the figures of Saints Cosmas and Damian in the north apse, for example, because of their certainty that the surviving lettering is original. They can also see part of the medical bag, often the attribute of these saints, carried by Damian. After identifying some of the figures, it becomes possible to discuss aspects of the work’s iconology and to explain the deeper significance of these images. For example, they discuss their possible relation to the ‘Three Chapters controversy’, when the bishops of Venetia and Istria (including Bishop Eufrasius) opposed Emperor Justinian’s condemnation of the writings of Theodore of Mopseustia, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa at the Council of Chalcedon. They discuss possible reasons why the image of Susanna and the Elders appears on the incense box held by Zacharias. They note how the veil and belt of the Holy Mother of God allude to the mystery of the Incarnation. In these

most interesting sections on iconography and iconology the authors have used many contemporary works of art as comparative material.

This book combines meticulous research with convincing argument and fascinating discussion. It is lavishly illustrated with numerous illustrations, most of which are in colour. These display the mosaics with many details of their beautiful materials, as well as early depictions of them, and comparable works of art mostly from the sixth or seventh centuries. Printed in two volumes, the abundant illustrations are well organized and easily accessible, while reading the text.

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Throness, Laurie, *A Protestant Purgatory: Theological Origins of the Penitentiary Act, 1779*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback; pp. ix, 379; R.R.P. £65.00; ISBN 9780754663928.

Laurie Throness' new survey of the late eighteenth-century Penitentiary Act stands apart from much of the existing literature on English criminal justice history by virtue of its focus on the religious underpinnings to legislation and penal practice. The work makes several claims to originality. Firstly, Throness has adduced his arguments from a wide body of under-examined sources, including poetry and music. From this evidence he has drawn conclusions as to the religious origins of the Penitentiary Act, a point he argues is overlooked in much existing scholarly literature on eighteenth-century English legal history.

To substantiate these claims, Throness' text ranges far beyond legal history, reconstructing a religious and mystical context in eighteenth-century England in order to make sense of the religious influences on the Act. He explains the cultural parameters in Georgian England that placed God as supreme in Church and State. Throness pays particular attention to the coronation of King George III in 1761, inferring from the words and rituals of that ceremony the King's status as God's vicegerent (p. 18). Some of these points of course have already been widely acknowledged in existing surveys. However, other points, including the concurrences between Protestant conceptions of cells and hermitages and imprisonment, cover new ground (p. 234).

Based on this reading of the Act's cultural context, Throness reconstructs what he asserts are strongly religious resonances not only in the Penitentiary

Act but also in English penal practice in general. One task of this book is to explain the origin of the idea of a Penitentiary. Throness reads into solitary confinement the notion of the eye of God being placed on the prisoner (p. 295). He further stresses that the idea of a Penitentiary Act allowed for reflection and prayer, even while undertaking hard labour.

Throness' text takes this reading further, stressing not simply the religious context of the Act, but its explicitly Protestant context. In the absence of any Protestant conceptions of Purgatory, Throness argues that penitentiaries were intended to enforce redemptive practices through labour as much as prayer and sorrowful reflection (p. 296). Again these ideas are placed in a theological context that justified incarceration and lengthy penitence. Throness shows that a major subject for theological explanation was Christ's promise to the crucified prisoner that 'Today shalt thou be with me in paradise', and the necessity for divines to show this swift redemption as a one-off miracle (p. 262).

The emphasis on Protestantism in Throness' title indicates a theme which informs this argument in general and especially his reading of Anglican doctrine in this period. According to Throness, the origins and purpose of the English Penitentiaries can be meaningfully interpreted within these cultural parameters. He reads contemporary thought as viewing notions of purgatory as harmful in the salvific sense and reconstructs Protestant opinions that the idea of purgatory could actively endanger souls through adherence to a doctrinal error. Thus, the English penitentiaries were intended to take the place of purgatory, allowing the penitent an earthly venue for reflection and moral repair.

This text's major claim to originality lies in its interpretation of the religious underpinnings of the Act. In particular, Throness stresses the novelty of his argument that God permeated multiple aspects of eighteenth-century thought and conduct and that the Church of England, rather than dissenting congregations and ministers, was largely responsible for the spiritual underpinnings of the Penitentiary Act and associated activities, such as the promotion of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (p. 206).

In both these cases his claims to originality can stretch a little thin. Earlier studies, such as that of Jeremy Gregory, have for some time now pushed against the received wisdom of the eighteenth-century Church of England as somnambulant and pastorally insipid. Likewise, extensive studies of the Long Reformation, including its manifestations into the eighteenth century, make it seem all the less surprising to finding a preoccupation with divine justice

as infusing the terms of eighteenth-century political activity. Nonetheless, in other points Throness offers original arguments for the spiritual prominence of the Church of England in this time, pointing out for example that Methodist preachers such as George Whitefield were not yet widely known at the time the Act was prepared.

Exacting standards of scholarship underpin this work and this is an important new contribution to an act of Parliament but more generally to explaining a political and religious *milieu* set upon the saving of souls on Protestant terms. The work is richly detailed with resources from print and manuscript collections. It comfortably and cogently surveys a range of themes relating to criminal justice and ecclesiastical history.

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Tutino, S., *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; hardback; pp. xiii, 256; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754657712.

A burgeoning area of study for the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for the British Isles has been the re-examination of the historical trope of early modern Protestantism being an automatic response to the abuses and excess of Roman Catholicism. Recent historical enquiry has charted a less clear-cut division between Catholicism and Protestantism, and questioned whether the Reformation can really be understood as a break that signified a Catholic past and heralded a Protestant future. Gradually the narrative of polar opposition has been challenged and replaced by more subtle and sophisticated critiques of contemporary discourses concerning power, religion (both Protestantism and Catholicism), and politics. Complex and conflicting polemical debates flourished in the religious upheaval of post-Reformation society.

Stefania Tutino's study 'aims to analyse and interpret the relationship between religion and politics in English Catholic thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' (p. 1), from the decade after the Elizabethan Church Settlement until the death of James VI & I. This 'temporal arc', as Tutino calls it, 'allows us to discern and isolate a parenthesis in English religious history that is necessary for grasping the outcomes, uncertainties, and gains

of post-Reformation Catholicism' (p. 7). Tutino is primarily concerned with the evolving Catholic theological debates that enabled Catholics to cut their spiritual cloth in accordance with their duty of obedience to their sovereign.

Tutino attempts 'to consider and analyse the way in which the Catholics tried to interpret and resolve the problem of reconciling political loyalty and religious beliefs' (p. 4). The issue for individual Catholics was twofold: they must recognize their sovereign's right to govern them (setting aside the perplexing issue of their monarch as an heretical Protestant); and also respond to the Catholic Church's authority to regulate their individual conscience. Catholicism between c.1570 and 1625 generated divergent views on the relationship between temporal authority and secular power. The evolution of these Catholic theological views in turn forced the Church of England to re-evaluate its own position on some of these theological issues.

Tutino's book comprises an introduction, eight chapters, and conclusion, and is driven by its thematic focus. Polemical debates include those within the Society of Jesus, during the First Mission to England in 1580, as well as the consequences of the succession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603. After the Elizabethan Church Settlement, the frictions created by James' politico-theological views fundamentally shifted debates in new directions. The wedge between loyal Catholics and treacherous ones was further polarized. James' reign ended with debates about Catholicism being far from reconciled and it was one of the many sparks that ignited the repeated outbreaks of civil war throughout the British Isles during a large part of the seventeenth century.

A small criticism is that Tutino relies upon a discussion of Latin texts, and in doing so, needed to include English translations. I mention this, not because the book lacks any English translations, but because translations have been provided for only some of the Latin quotations. This would have been easy to fix, and would have ensured the broadest of readerships.

The success of this books lies in its capacity to focus on the 'theologians and intellectuals who theorized on the question of the relation between law and conscience' (p. 5) as demonstrated in the discussion of specific debates. Tutino's critical examination of the evolution and adaptation of Catholic ideology through a series of texts demonstrates the emergence of 'a complex set of different "Catholicisms", rather than a monolithic entity' that, in turn, was then juxtaposed with divergent views within Protestantism. For as Tutino concludes: Cardinal 'Robert Bellarmine reused Nicholas Sander, but Richard

Montague [bishop of Norwich] reused some of the arguments that we identified in the [John] Feckenham–[Richard] Horne controversy. And while they were doing so, they were taking positions that were profoundly controversial within their own churches' (p. 224).

This book offers a Catholic prequel to the standard religious history of the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Tutino demonstrates that the remnants of Catholicism (theology and practice) in its many forms evolved from the Elizabethan Church Settlement onwards, and proved both significant and influential. The topic remains worthy of analysis in order to gain an integrated understanding of the early modern religious history of England.

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Tyler, Elizabeth M. and Ross **Balzaretti**, eds, *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 16), Turnhout, Brepols, 2006; hardback; pp. x, 265; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503518282.

This is a valuable collection of conference papers examining texts from Italy, Francia, Scandinavia and England between the seventh and twelfth centuries, originally delivered at medieval congresses during 1999. The editors chose to forgo an introductory outline of chapters in favour of an explanation of key terminology. This introduction will help orientate readers who are more comfortable in either a History or an English department. Historians' fears especially may be allayed as the editors stress that while form is paramount, the 'linguistic mediation of history' is a way to consider the past; a way to contemplate 'real people' (p. 3). The introductory emphasis on interdisciplinary collaboration is reflected throughout particularly in contributions that grapple with the historical and literary approaches to particular texts (see especially Pizarro and Tyler). The introduction does not draw specific connections between chapters but hints at the overarching aims and structure of the book. The chapters are arranged to foreground form over other organising principles; to juxtapose contributions that deal with texts often not understood as history-writing (p. 3).

The role of narrative in legitimising and authenticating particular representations of the past emerges in each of the first three chapters concerning

documentary texts. Ross Balzaretti's 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records' briefly considers historians' attitudes to written evidence, oral history and narrative before comparing and contrasting spoken narratives in judicial proceedings and Andrew Bergamo's *Historia*. Balzaretti challenges his reader to reflect on the relationship between reported speech in 'documentary' and 'literary' texts. A stimulating aspect of this chapter is its several allusions to intersections between the study of spoken narrative in judicial proceedings and other areas of study, for instance the recovery of peasants' spoken narrative (p. 27).

Sarah Foot's 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters' considers performance, time and embedded narratives in the process of establishing individual charters as historical narratives. Foot draws attention to the opposite relationship between memory and history, whether history is concerned with preserving the past or preserving a version of that past.

Julia Barrow's chapter 'William of Malmesbury's Use of Charters' is focussed on the 'theme of narrative' not the 'identification of forgeries' (p. 69). Nevertheless, William of Malmesbury's knowing exploitation of forged charters is contemplated as Barrow considers authenticity and the desire to entertain among other reasons for the inclusion of forged, or even the forging of, documents.

Two subsequent chapters concern chronicles, which like documentary texts occupy a problematic niche in historical study. Joaquín Martínez Pizarro's immediate subject in 'Mixed Modes in Historical Narrative' is the lack of surviving fiction from the Middle Ages as he explains the literary scholar's interest in medieval historiography as the only extant source of 'narrative devices and styles and their evolution' (p. 92). Pizarro considers the incorporation of discordant narrative elements in the chronicles of Marcellinus and Fredegar, drawing attention to their evolution in the latter. Pizarro raises for discussion the relationship between examples of scenic narrative in the chronicles, popular legend and late antique romance; and the role of the latter as model or source.

Stuart Airlie's 'Sad Stories of the Death of Kings' contextualizes the *Chronicle of Prüm* and its author in part one as background to his particular reading of the text in part two. Airlie's interpretation of the chronicle focuses on the entry for 888, or rather the meaning attached to the events of this year by Regino and its pervasive impact on the representation of particular episodes but also the structure of the history.

Nick Everett's 'Narrating the Life of Eusebius of Vercelli' and Elaine Treharne's 'Ælfric's Life of St Swithun' consider how hagiography has been approached by scholars as a less than straightforward historical source and the possibilities it presents for studying the past. Everett attempts to redress the neglect which the only surviving hagiographic text about Eusebius of Vercelli has endured at the hands of historians willing to mine its contents for historical data while dismissing the *vita* itself as a 'corrupt construction of the past' (p. 135). In this respect Everett finds common ground with the *vita*'s anonymous author. He demonstrates the hagiographer's efforts to rehabilitate the Bishop of Vercelli, whose defence of orthodoxy was subordinated in earlier histories to other leading figures like Hilary of Poitiers. Treharne clearly demonstrates her initial observation that the study of individual texts or groups of texts within their 'textual and cultural context' may reveal the potential of a hagiographical text to become a 'historical narrative' capable of conveying the 'concerns' of the time (pp. 168-9). She attests to this process by considering the relationship between Ælfric the hagiographer, his account of the ninth-century monk St Swithun, and the Benedictine reform movement of the tenth century.

Catherine Cubitt's 'Folklore and Historiography' considers hagiographical texts but her specific interest is in oral tradition, a subject touched on by earlier contributors (e.g. Balzaretto, Airlie). Cubitt's purpose is to 'examine some of the evidence for popular oral stories in Anglo-Saxon England' and 'to explore reasons why this material has been neglected' (p. 190). She examines evidence of oral stories in three Anglo-Saxon Latin hagiographical texts (*Vita et Miracula sancti Kenelmi*, *Passio Eadmundi*, *Vita sancti Ecgwini*) summarising their contents and highlighting motifs that seemingly derive from or are modelled on oral stories. With great respect for pioneering scholars who largely ignored oral tradition, Cubitt concludes with a fascinating and detailed account of modern Anglo-Saxon scholarship assessing why such an important avenue into Anglo-Saxon culture was, until recently, overlooked.

Elizabeth Tyler's 'Poetics and the Past' clearly bridges the gap between the study of form and 'real people' in her discussion of the 'language of treasure' in Old English Verse and more specifically *The Battle of Maldon*. This chapter's study of form and content demonstrates the contemporaneity of 'timeless poetic convention' but also the way 'form and style' may inform modern scholars about 'late Anglo-Saxon society's relationship with the past' (pp. 225-7).

Judith Jesch, meanwhile, utilizes narratological techniques to explore 'The Meaning of the Narrative Moment' in two related texts; an anecdote describing

the context of a praise poem performed before Óláfr Haraldsson and the reconstructed poem itself. Jesch seeks to establish that the reconstructed poem *Hofuðlausn* can be studied as a narrative, why such a mode was adopted and its relationship to the historiographical aims of praise poetry.

From the perspective of this reviewer, more historian than literary scholar, this is an accessible collection of papers that help bridge the methodological gap, real or perceived, between disciplines. Judith Jesch alone identifies connections between her own and other contributions (Airlie and Foot). This offers insight into how contributors, who experienced the collaborative environment of the conference so vividly described in the preface, thought their work related to other contributors. Additional efforts to demonstrate the chapters' interrelatedness would not have been in vain. Still, read in concert, the different contributions are complementary. Together they provoke reflection on the permeable generic boundaries between different historical texts, between 'conventional' histories and documentary texts, between oral and written, fiction and non-fiction.

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Tyrwhit, Elizabeth, *Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning and Evening Prayers* (The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500-1750: Contemporary Editions), Susan M. **Felch**, ed., Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; hardback; pp. 216; 2 b/w illustrations, 3 figures; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754606611.

This critical edition presents the two versions of Elizabeth Tyrwhit's *Morning and Evening Prayers* to appear in print in the sixteenth century. First printed in 1574, Tyrwhit's prayer book was then included in a longer version, differently arranged, in Thomas Bentley's large compilation of devotional material, *The Monument of Matrones*, in 1582. Susan M. Felch prints both versions separately in her edition, allowing access to the full range of Tyrwhit's prayers and valuable comparison between their arrangements in the two Early Modern printed versions.

Elizabeth Tyrwhit served as a lady of the Privy Chamber for Queen Katherine Parr during the final years of Henry VIII's reign. She was a vital member of 'Parr's evangelical circle' (p. 5), at the vanguard of Lutheran-

influenced devotional reform in England. Felch's introductory material explores her relationship with Parr, as well as her less easy relationships after Parr's death with Thomas Seymour, Lady Jane Grey and the young Princess Elizabeth. Tyrwhit's 'commitment to the more aggressive forms of reformed Protestantism' (p. 7) is carefully teased out from the extant biographical and textual evidence, as Felch proves the devotional, literary and historical significance of Tyrwhit's prayer book. In establishing Tyrwhit as a prominent 'member of the first generation of reformers at court', Felch points out that her prayer book was printed in Bentley's *Monument* immediately after the works of the 'royal trinity', namely Queen Elizabeth, Katherine Parr, and Jane Grey Dudley (pp. 16-17).

Felch's introductory material includes a detailed section on the history of English private prayer books, a very useful explanation and exploration of this devotional genre and its social uses. (It is supplemented by a lovely photographic reproduction of the ornate cover to the 1574 volume, which gives readers a sense of the physical nature of these pocket-sized and much-used books.)

The materials Tyrwhit includes in her prayer book are set in the context of common sources, conventions and concerns, with Felch amply demonstrating that Tyrwhit's prayer book adheres to the Lutheran reformist culture of which its author was a part. Felch considers in the final section of her introduction the variances between the two printed versions of Tyrwhit's texts, arguing convincingly that the later version in Bentley's *Monument* is more likely to preserve the authorial agency of Tyrwhit herself. Her argument here is well evidenced and carefully nuanced, demonstrating a keen sense of questions of editorial framing and the reading and reception of women writers' texts that are of current interest to scholars. Felch's decision to print both versions of the prayers complete and separately from each other also attests to her consideration of these questions, and results in a resource which is of use to scholars with a wide range of interests, from female authorial agency through to wider cultural currents in which women participated and to which they contributed.

The texts themselves are presented in a clear, clean and accessible fashion, as we are coming to expect of this Ashgate series, *The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500-1750*. Light but sufficient annotations for the purposes of comprehension and interpretation (primarily definitions of words) are placed at the foot of each page, with more specialist notes of a textual variety being

presented at the end of each complete text. The edition in this way meets the needs of student readers, for whom clarity is paramount, at the same time as it provides the information necessary for more specialist scholarly readers. A comprehensive table of contents is presented as an Appendix to both texts, allowing the reader to identify specific items by an editorial numbering system, and to compare items' presence and placement in the two Early Modern printed texts.

The material in Tyrwhit's texts will be of great interest to scholars not only of Early Modern women's writing, but also of devotion, devotional poetry, and the English Reformation. Tyrwhit's prayers, and the critical material supplied by Felch, provide evidence for the centrality of women to religious reform in sixteenth-century England, which has recently been argued for by Kimberly Coles (*Religion, Reform and Women's Writing in Early Modern England*, 2008). More than this, Tyrwhit's texts contain unique poetic items, important additions to ongoing exploration of the emergence of original devotional poetry in English. Our understanding of private – or at least individual – devotion in the period is at an early stage, and Felch's edition (like her earlier edition of Anne Vaughan Lock's work) is a significant and authoritative contribution to the field.

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Walsby, Malcolm, *The Counts of Laval: Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century France*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; hardback; pp. xi, 220; 12 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. £55.00; ISBN 9780754658115.

In *The Counts of Laval: Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century France*, Malcolm Walsby offers an impressive account of the rise of the influential Breton house of Laval in later medieval and Renaissance France. Through the lens of Laval patronage and clientage, Walsby ambitiously seeks to explore 'the whole of the [family's] affinity' (p. 3) in order to understand the scope and nature of the Lavals' power within Brittany and at the royal court. One of a growing number of case-studies focussed on an individual house, *The Counts of Laval* engages with the larger historical questions surrounding the changing socio-political relationships

enjoyed by the nobility throughout this period. It also considers how noble families grappled with such challenges as demographic attrition, Protestantism, and war. Walsby's predominantly chronological exposition draws on a rich array of archival material, in both print and manuscript format, to argue that the nature of relations between the Laval family and their affinity was remarkably consistent across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Walsby presents his arguments across five chapters. Chapter 1 traces the pre-history of the baronial Laval family before exploring how they acquired socio-political influence over the course of the fifteenth century. Having cautiously balanced support for the French king with regional obligations towards the dukes of Brittany in the early 1400s, the Laval barony was elevated to comital status by the king in 1429. As individual members acquired important administrative and military positions at both royal and ducal courts, a series of judicious marriages enhanced the Laval family's territorial possessions. The author clearly shows how each of these phenomena contributed to the widening of the Laval sphere of influence as they developed a network of ties with individuals and families within Brittany and beyond.

Prior to analysing the composition and structure of the Laval affinity itself, Chapter 2 clarifies the complicated issue of terminology. In reviewing debates surrounding the definition and application of phrases such as 'patronage' and 'clientage', Walsby emphasizes the horizontal and vertical (both ascending and descending) nature of relations implied in the latter term. To an extent, some of this discussion might usefully have preceded or been integrated into Chapter 1, where these key terms are deployed without explanation.

Chapter 2 goes on to outline the author's investigative method before examining the different elements of the Laval affinity. Informing the chapter is an extensive prosopographical database comprising the details of 1200 people identified by Walsby as 'part of the affinity of the counts de Laval' (p. 47). Drawing on this database, the author illustrates the multilayered and intersecting relationships between the individuals and groups comprising the affinity. Members ranged from princes and noble relations by marriage, to court and territorial administrators, household officials, and vassals.

The second chapter paints a clear picture of the myriad ways in which influence could be exerted in various circles to the mutual advantage of the Laval counts and their clientage. However, it also raises some problems for the author. First, Walsby acknowledges that his identification of members of the Laval affinity depends on the presence of names in official documents,

thereby excluding those people whose ties with the Lavals were cultivated orally, in private, or informally (p. 49). He is thus unable to consider 'the whole of the affinity' as stated in the Introduction. Second, we are not given details as to how individuals were identified as affinity members prior to their names entering the database, aside from their apparent links with the Laval counts. Further, given the author's recognition of the important place of the extended Laval family among the affinity, the role of the affinities of the counts' brothers and close female relations in advancing comital interests is presumably pertinent to the wider discussion. In particular, this reviewer would have been interested in extended analysis of the networks that developed around important female heads of the family, such as Anne de Laval and Guyonne, whose clientage is only briefly touched on.

Chapters 3 and 4 advance the analysis of the Lavals and their affinity into the sixteenth century. Walsby's third chapter characterizes the early mid-sixteenth century as the apogee of Laval power, as suggested by the counts' consistent occupation of prestigious administrative, diplomatic, and military positions, and their accretion of land. Challenges to Laval authority in the shape of divided leadership and minority rule, Protestantism, and war are the focus of discussion in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 contextualizes the position of the Lavals explored in the previous sections by comparing and contrasting their activities with those of their nearest Breton rivals, the house of Rohan.

The text is supported by a series of illustrations and genealogical tables, the value of which might have been enhanced had they been explicitly integrated into Walsby's analysis. Although various typographical errors and stylistic infelicities were identified (e.g. pp. 25, 26, n. 51, 58, 61, 76, 116, 133, 164, 193-4), these did not distract overly from one's reading of the narrative. Whether the result of citation style or typographical error, this reviewer did find some of the footnotes confusing (e.g. p. 8, n. 23). Perhaps a note on the construction of the index may also have been useful, as the omission of the counts from Guy XIV onwards (including Guyonne) seems unusual.

In sum, *The Counts of Laval* offers much of interest to historians of the nobility and their power bases in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Walsby provides a valuable case-study to accompany the extensive theoretical literature on patronage in this period. Moreover, by demonstrating the continuity in the nature of the relationships between the Lavals and their affinity, the author

successfully challenges notions that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed an evolution from 'medieval' to 'early modern' modes of socio-political relations among the nobility.

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Walters, Barbara R., Vincent Justus **Corrigan** and Peter T. **Ricketts**, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006; cloth; pp. xviii, 562; R.R.P. US\$77.00; ISBN 9780271029245.

A revival of interest in the liturgy and a recognition of the role feasts such as Corpus Christi and its associated processions, guilds and plays filled in community life across Europe in the later Middle Ages has been developing over the last two decades. Variation in the liturgical practices of different provinces and dioceses, however, means that the texts and the music for any feast differ from place to place. Corpus Christi, as the last major feast established in the Middle Ages, has fewer versions, but nonetheless a complex set of manuscript sources survive. Seven of these, 'generally regarded as the central musical sources for the Corpus Christi office' (p. 77), have now been fully transcribed and annotated.

Professor Walters, with the expert assistance of musicologist Professor Vincent Corrigan, and French professor Peter T. Ricketts, has produced an indispensable critical edition of these liturgical manuscripts and their music for the feast together with a translation of the texts into English and the chants into modern musical notation. To this is added a transcription and translation of the poems of the 'Mosan' Psalters. These are biblical poems included in Psalters that come from Liège in the thirteenth century and were produced by the Beguines under the influence of the Dominicans. There are short introductions to the context that produced the new feast, especially the life of Juliana of Cornillon, and to the manuscripts edited but, comparatively little on the wider liturgical scene.

This is a specialist work but it provides some insights for medieval scholars generally into the working of both religious and secular society, especially in and around Liège at the period when the principal promoter of the new feast, Juliana of Mont Cornillon, was living. Her role in the composition of an office for the new feast also casts light on the wide knowledge that a

woman might have of theological works. Since the nature of the Eucharist was one of the critical issues that divided Catholics and Protestants in the Reformation, historians of religion who read the twelfth century doctrinal texts included in her version of the office, may find that a feast which was performed annually was an important source that ordinary people could draw on for their understanding of the nature of the Eucharist and the sacrifice of the Mass.

The volume will be an essential source for musical and liturgical scholars, although it makes no reference to rubrics, illustrations or other indications of the 'mise en scène', and so casts little light on ritual movements or the procession that was commonly associated with the service in many places. It is tightly focussed on the plainchant and musical historians will not find any reference to polyphony, harmony, dissonance and other changes occurring round about the same time as the new feast.

The presentation makes it difficult for the non-specialist reader to appreciate the argument. The discussion of the theory of three offices would be clearer if 'the profound reorganizations of the lections' (p. 59) for the feast were spelled out as well as the role of musical items in confirming the hypothesis. There are eight tables that index and cross-reference the seven manuscripts in a variety of ways, giving the titles of the music, the service at which they were performed, the pitch (according to John R. Bryden and David Hughes' code), the mode and any concordances. Whether they will, as claimed, enable future scholars to 'navigate with ease' (p. 58) through the manuscripts may be doubtful, but the information is there.

The first major office presented is the one attributed to Juliana. *Animarum cibus* is identified as a secular office based on twelfth century doctrinal texts about the Eucharist, including those of Hugh of St Victor and Gratian, and set to music. The second office, *Sapiencia [a]edificavit sibi* [SAS], was for monastic use and based entirely on biblical texts. The third, *Sacerdos in [a]eternum* [SIA], which is attributed to Aquinas, was also a secular office and became the official Roman office. The various manuscripts in which these texts appear have been analysed by earlier scholars whose work the present authors recognize as a cornerstone of their own. Walters agrees that SAS and SIA have a close relationship but she thinks that there is evidence for 'some independence' (p. 67), which is illustrated in a long and exhaustive table.

Some questions remain in this reviewer's mind. The seven privileged manuscripts probably pre-date 1320 but there is no discussion of why some

other significant early manuscripts, especially the Poissy Antiphonal (now in Melbourne) written in 1335-45 for, and perhaps by, Dominican nuns, are omitted. It is also surprising in so substantial a volume that there is no introductory section that considers some of the surviving controversial aspects of converting the neumes of medieval plainchant into present day musical notation.

Professor Corrigan, in his detailed consideration of the seven central manuscripts makes passing reference to issues of transcription, especially in relation to Graz 134 where there are problems of notation, but he does not explain his regular practice. While some things are reasonably evident to anyone with some experience in singing plainchant (such as the absence of key or time signatures since the pitch of plainchant is relative) one might, nevertheless, expect some consideration of how rhythm and stress are included. For example, the significance of the occasional use of a b Flat (e.g. p. 183) if medieval practice is to be represented is unclear to me. Since there is no reproduction of an original page from any of the manuscripts the transcription must be taken on trust. It would also have been useful if Corrigan had set his practice in the context of recent debate and books omitted from the bibliography, such as those of Carl Parrish, on whose interpretations many still rely.

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Short Notices

Bliss, Jane, *Naming & Namelessness in Medieval Romance* (Studies in Medieval Romance 7), Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2008; hardback; pp. 253; R.R.P. US\$95.00; ISBN 9781843841593.

Naming and namelessness, maintains Jane Bliss, are among the major themes of medieval romance. While they are indeed an important element in medieval romance, they are much more an aspect of characterisation than of theme: names have always been regarded as a quick, conspicuous way of attributing certain qualities to a figure, especially in the Middle Ages, when the art of characterisation was not as refined as it became later in the novel. To treat naming as a major theme in medieval romance, it seems to this reviewer, is to distort its overall role.

Bliss's book is a work of broad scope, but it is probably *too* broad. Having an extensive knowledge of Old French and Middle English literature, Bliss seems determined to include it all in the one book. There is so much material that it militates against a clear system of organization. While the two major categories of Bliss's Table of Contents ('Context and Content' and 'Themes and Meanings') are straightforward enough, the subsequent lists of disparate sub-categories are confusing and unclear.

Part I begins well with a discussion of 'The Context of Medieval Romance', which defines romance against other genres. But this is followed with a long section on 'Naming Patterns and Tendencies', which has sixteen sub-categories with titles like 'Meaning of name, and of Name', 'Introduction-Ritual', 'Disguise or Incognito', 'Doubles', 'Not-Names', 'Anonymous Women', 'Love-Madness', 'Intertextual References', and 'Local Effects'. The meaning and significance of some of these titles are far from obvious. Part II, 'Themes and Meanings', discusses twenty-one romances in detail, but they too are grouped under disparate headings similar to those in Part I: 'The Fair Unknown', 'Unknown Women', 'Women's Power of Name'.

This confusing situation could have been alleviated if a succinct statement of its main thesis and a highlighting of its main points had been placed at the beginning of the book. But there is no such statement and no such highlighting. There are too many points, one after the other, and they tend to have their force sapped by distracting asides.

Indeed, Bliss's style makes it difficult for her to communicate her extensive

knowledge effectively. Clarity struggles under the weight of unclear sentences, constant qualifications, and shifts in focus; passages frequently have to be re-read for their meaning. She is prone to overload her sentences with detail, as for example when speaking of pseudonyms: 'Some (alias, incognito) are taken by characters themselves; namelessness imposed within the text (by self or by others) tends to attract a pseudonym or nickname very quickly, unlike the Anonymity imposed as if directly by the writer' (pp. 22-23). Abstraction rules; this reviewer longed for the reassurance of a concrete noun.

Bliss has much to say that is insightful, but her contribution to scholarship would have been more effective if she had written a series of chapters focussed on quite specific, limited topics, avoided such extensive use of asides, and resisted the desire to convey the whole reach of her thoughts in a single volume.

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Bredehoft, Thomas A., *Early English Metre* (Toronto Old English Studies 15), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005; cloth; pp. 225; R.R.P. CA\$71.95; ISBN 9780802038319.

Thomas Bredehoft sets out ambitiously to establish a new system of metrical classification for Old English poetry. He also sets out to demonstrate that the rules which make up this metrical system, with minor developments over time, were in use from classical Old English through late Old English and into Middle English poetry. His attempt occupies a mere 120 pages – accompanied by 51 pages of notes. It soon becomes tiresome flicking back and forth to the notes, which are more or less necessary if one is to follow and, more importantly, to assess the argument.

Bredehoft's opening summary of the problems posed by Sieversian formalism is clear and unarguable: Sievers' system leaves too many examples of poetry unexplained, requiring recourse to the label 'bad' poetry; and it requires the evidence to be massaged to fit the rules. Unfortunately, Bredehoft's own metrical formalism, resting on three sensible and clear principles, gradually unfolds as having so many rules, exceptions and complications that it is difficult to see where it improves on Sievers'. This new formalism is perhaps no less satisfactory than the Sieversian (and as such deserves consideration) but it is hardly more so. A discussion of classical Old English poetics comprising a

sensitive and considered assessment of some examples of ‘secondary’ poetic effects may not contribute much to Bredehoft’s argument, but it is worth reading.

On the question of late Old English verse, Bredehoft really shines. His metrical formalism is applied here too, and it contributes to his argument that late Old English poetry is not a ‘debased’ variant of classical Old English poetry, but rather a slightly different form of verse. His dismissal of the rather bizarre concept of ‘rhythmical prose’ is masterful and deserving of much more respect than it is likely to receive. His argument from metrical evidence that this is clearly poetry, constructed under the rules of late rather than classical Old English poetry, is well supported by the physical evidence from manuscripts, on which he has published before and which he reviews here.

The argument that Middle English poetry, particularly Layamon’s *Brut*, has a direct line of descent from classical through late Old English poetry is solid. Less convincing is the argument for direct borrowings from late Old English material into the *Brut*. Bredehoft provides a valuable opportunity for those who read Anglo-Saxon poetry to think outside the square that tends to confine ideas about Old English metre. We should be grateful.

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Carlson, David R., ed., *The Deposition of Richard II: “The Record and Process of the Renunciation and Deposition of Richard II” (1399)* (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 29), Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2007; paperback; pp. vii, 104; R.R.P. C\$12.95; ISBN 9780888444790.

This is a scrupulously prepared edition of a manuscript source from 1399 and therefore one contemporary with the events it describes, the deposition of King Richard II by Henry Bolingbroke, who subsequently claimed the throne as Henry IV. This edition is a product of a long-standing series of edited medieval texts which present the text in the original language (in this case late-medieval Latin) with glossed comments.

The manuscript source emerges from constitutional conflict which followed the period of Richard’s personal rule, beginning in 1389, and the period of Richard’s ‘tyranny’ from 1397-9, which saw the banishment of Henry Bolingbroke.

A useful introduction by the editor David Carlson sets the narrative of the events in 1399 in their full context, starting with the political crises of 1386 when a 'Commission of Government' imposed parliamentary supervision on King Richard. While narrating the events over fifteen years – from Richard's conflict with the Commission to his forced abdication – Carlson also points to those events where 'causality and chronology become murky' (p. 2). By this he means especially the chronology of Richard's negotiations with royal justices over the possibility of charging members of the Commission *tanquam proditores* (as if they had committed treason).

The events of Richard's reign were narrated and received commentary in contemporary and later chronicles, including those of Adam Usk and Henry Knighton. But as Carlson points out, the document of 1399, while having a title that implies its contents is a narrative or a chronicle, should more properly be considered a record of 'parliamentary process-enactment' (p. 6).

This distinction is important to understanding the content and style of the work. As a record of contemporary parliamentary process rather than a monastic chronicle, the work could have been intended for oral delivery, albeit from a written source. Carlson's rigorous and detailed orthographic study makes clear the rhythmic pattern to the text. Carlson's commentary also demonstrates the literary qualities of a text that emerged from a literary milieu which included both Chaucer and Gower.

Marcus Harmes
History Discipline
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Holt, Mack P., ed., *Adaptations of Calvinism in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honour of Brian G. Armstrong* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; hardback; pp. 266; 1 b/w illustration; R.R.P. £60.00; ISBN 9780754651499.

This is a wide-ranging study of the spread of Calvinist ecclesiology and doctrine throughout northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Attention is given to the adaptations of Calvinism to the religious and constitutional circumstances in Geneva, France, the Netherlands and the British Isles. It comprises thirteen articles discussing Calvinism in these different centres of reformed practice.

This is not the first study to interpret the wide-ranging understandings of Calvinism throughout Europe and Britain and like others, it too follows the earlier survey edited by Menna Prestwich.

Overall the essays are intellectually united by their attempts to push against the earlier views of John T. McNeill, who viewed the spread of Calvinism from Zurich and Geneva as its 'fragmentation'. Instead these chapters promote and endorse more positive visions of the spread of Calvinism. They argue for confessional diversity and meaningful adaptation to local circumstances, repudiating earlier scholarly arguments for the inherent inferiority of Calvinism outside of the cities of its origins.

To this end, the different chapters chart the emergence of distinctive patterns of Calvinism, whether taken up at the magisterial or monarchical level. For example, Daniel J. Steere's chapter on the life of Bishop Joseph Hall offers fresh insights to the intersection of Calvinism and episcopacy, finding Calvinism in an unexpected location, at the court of Charles I.

In keeping with the major intentions of this collection, Steere declines to view a Calvinist bishop as adhering to a debased form of episcopacy and instead locates in Hall an adaptation of Calvinism to Erastian, episcopal and monarchical circumstances.

Other chapters in this collection indicate the scholarly complexity of viewing any particular manifestation of Calvinism as authoritative or definitive. Robert M. Kingdom's essay on the Jacques Royer affair, a French religious controversy of the early seventeenth century, makes clear that Calvinists could all draw on Calvin's writings or his actual practices, and still arrive at different conclusions regarding ecclesiology from this evidence.

As a tribute to the American scholar Brian G. Armstrong, this collection succeeds in illuminating the richness of Calvinist belief and practice in a Europe which scholars increasingly recognise as confessionalised.

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Lombard, Peter, *The Sentences*, Bk. 1-3, trans. Giulio Silano (Mediaeval Sources in Translation; 42-43, 45), Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2007-2008; 3 vols.; paperback; R.R.P. US\$39.95 (Bk. 1), US\$34.95 (Bk. 2), US\$34.95 (Bk. 3); ISBN 9780888442925 (Bk. 1), 9780888442932 (Bk. 2), 9780888442956 (Bk. 3).

Peter Lombard's four books of *Sentences* were one of the key texts of medieval Europe. Composed in the 1150s, they were compiled towards the end of a great period of debate, discussion and controversy in the schools, when masters like Peter Abelard, Hugh of St Victor and Gilbert of Poitiers were analysing a wide range of theological questions in a rational and systematic way. In the *Sentences*, Peter Lombard attempts to review all these theological questions and provide a reasoned solution to them.

The *Sentences* are arranged thematically: Book 1 covers the Trinity, Book 2 the Creation, Book 3 the Incarnation of the Word, and Book 4 the Sacraments. His opinions are based especially on Augustine, who provides something like 90% of the citations in the *Sentences*. Of his contemporaries, the Lombard was closest to the general approach of Hugh of St Victor, probably the least controversial of the masters of the time. But he also studied the writings of Abelard closely and directly, and was not immune from ecclesiastical condemnation himself.

The *Sentences* quickly became central to the study of theology and remained so until the Reformation. All the great theologians of the period studied and commented on them; even the young Martin Luther wrote glosses on the *Sentences*.

In the light of this, it is perhaps a little surprising that this is the first modern translation of the *Sentences* into English. Giulio Silano's translation is based on the Latin text of the 1971 edition by Ignatius Brady, published by the Franciscan Order. The scholarly apparatus of the translation is minimal, but adequate. Silano identifies the Lombard's sources in footnotes, but does not cite any editions of patristic and medieval works. Instead, he provides a bibliography which lists available modern English translations of authorities quoted in the *Sentences* – though he has generally re-translated these passages rather than using the existing translations. No editions are listed for works which are unavailable in an English translation. There is also an Index of Scriptural and Patristic Authorities cited, though it would have been helpful to have had the occasional references to the interlinear and ordinary gloss appear in this

index too. It might also have been helpful to present the Biblical citations separately from the patristic citations; as it stands, the Biblical citations are hard to notice in the full list.

Given the highly technical nature of this work, the English translation can hardly be intended to be read sequentially. Instead, it should serve as a reference book for students (and other researchers) who have little or no Latin, or who find the Lombard's Latin too technical to read easily. It is undoubtedly much more approachable and accessible than the Latin original. But with the footnotes generally limited to the brief identification of Peter Lombard's sources, the reader will need to go elsewhere to study the significance of particular theological debates and positions. Similarly, there are no notes on the translation of specific words, which tends to conceal the complexity of some of the original Latin terminology. The introductions are largely a summary of the contents of each book, rather than an account of the historical significance of its arguments, though the introduction to Book 1 does also contain an account of the life and significance of its author. Within these limitations, the translation is readable and clear. When it is eventually completed with Book 4, it will be a valuable introductory resource, especially for courses in medieval theology.

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Quinn, Judy, Kate Heslop, and Tarrin Wills, eds, *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 18), Turnhout, Brepols, 2007; hardcover; pp. xiv, 456; 7 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503525808.

Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World is another excellent volume from Brepols Publishers dealing with issues involving the Norse world/Viking Age. The volume comprises twenty essays divided into five sections: 'Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Old Norse Literature', 'Old Norse Myth and Society', 'Oral Traditions in Performance and Text', 'Vernacular and Latin Theories of Language', and 'Prolonged Traditions'.

As is to be expected from an edited work dedicated to Margaret Clunies Ross, the majority of the contributors focus on literary aspects of the sagas

and skaldic poetry emanating from Iceland. Perhaps the best of these is Gísli Sigurðsson's essay that challenges the existing orthodoxy and argues that the sagas were built upon a shared narrative tradition and represent 'an unbroken memory in an oral tradition reaching from the times they describe up to the time they were put into writing' (p. 204). Other notable contributions include John Lindow's consideration of the attributes of the dwarfs in relation to poetry, Vésteinn Ólason's examination of *Njáls saga* to show that although it includes elements of fantasy and exaggeration it was a response to the realities outside the text, and Diana Whaley's use of Þjóðólfr's *Magnúsflokkur* to suggest a supplementary model of analysis for skaldic encomia.

There are also a number of excellent essays not primarily concerned with the literature of medieval Iceland. Stefan Brink uses place-name evidence as a guide to the worship of different Norse gods, demonstrating that such worship was regional, and his list of theophoric place names in Scandinavia is sure to prove very useful to many scholars. Also of note are Jens Peter Schjødt's examination of pagan Norse ritual, especially that which is associated with Óðinn, M. J. Driscoll's account of the Icelandic version of the life of the fifteenth-century Albanian hero known as Skanderberg, and Kari Ellen Gade's appraisal of the use of Ælfric's vernacular grammar in Iceland.

Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World is a varied and fitting tribute to Margaret Clunies Ross, and the bibliography of her published works which concludes this volume, including important contributions to Australian Aboriginal studies, demonstrates the considerable influence she has had.

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Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict* (Cistercian Studies Series 212), trans. David Barry, Kalamazoo, Cistercian Publications, 2007; paperback; pp. v, 568; R.R.P. US\$49.95; ISBN 9780879072124.

Smaragdus was one of the more significant Western monks of the earlier ninth century. Abbot of the imperial abbey of Castellio (later moved to Saint-Mihiel, near Verdun) and an envoy of both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, he appears to have been closely associated with the efforts of Benedict of Aniane to reform monasticism in the Empire. Smaragdus was a prolific author, whose detailed commentary on the *Rule of Saint Benedict* was written as part of this

monastic reform programme and draws heavily on one of its key texts, the *Concordia Regularum* produced by Benedict of Aniane. The first complete commentary on the entire *Rule*, it was much copied and influential in later centuries, not least among the early Cistercians. Smaragdus' commentary was almost certainly one of the sources used by Robert of Molesmes and his colleagues to draw together their understanding of the *Rule*.

David Barry, who worked on this translation for almost twenty years, is himself a Benedictine monk at the Abbey of New Norcia in Western Australia. His main aim is to make the commentary of Smaragdus 'better known by monastics and those interested in the monastic tradition' (p. 36) – especially those who are unable to read him in the original Latin. The translation is clear and readable without over-simplifying or over-modernising; at the same time, it manages to be accurate and faithful to the original without becoming too Latinate in structure and style. There are footnotes dealing with the occasional difficult or obscure Latin word or phrase, while the original Latin word is noted in the margins when required to understand the etymological point being made by the author.

An introductory essay by Terrence Kardong covers the life and work of Smaragdus, while Daniel M. LaCorte examines the relationship between Smaragdus' writings and the early Cistercians. A third essay, by the late Jean Leclercq, discusses the relevance of Smaragdus to the monastic life today. Together, these essays provide a valuable framework for situating the translation in its historical and monastic contexts.

The Latin text used as the basis for this translation is that of the standard modern critical edition in the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticorum* (by Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, published in 1974). The footnotes, though based on those of the Latin edition, update and expand them where appropriate. A consolidated index to authors and works cited is given as an appendix. There is a similar index to biblical citations. The layout of the page makes it easy to distinguish text cited from the *Rule* (in bold) or from the Bible (in italics), as well as to identify the citations. The pagination of the Latin edition is also clearly marked. In all, this is a very well-presented, accessible and reliable version of a text which still resonates today, nearly 1,200 years after it was written.

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