

many poems and from the tongue-in-cheek deflection of his own likeness in the description he gives to his Host. Gone are conventions of humble deference or presentation to a superiority that qualify much medieval vernacular writing and representation of authors. Writing has, so to speak, become gentrified and the author authoritative. However, had this plausible trajectory been in some measure anticipated? For I could wish Drimmer had felt able to include discussion of the flamboyant frontispiece to *Troilus and Criseyde* in the early fifteenth-century Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 61. Some claimed this lovely, enigmatic, picture shows Chaucer reading to a courtly audience, and attempts have been made to identify others in the picture. Whatever the truth of that – the picture is certainly not journalism – Chaucer is shown speaking (or performing, if you prefer) in the authority position of a pulpit. That interesting sidelight on the discussion does not sit wholly happily with the case made for the indeterminacy of authorial status in the early 1400s, but this expensive picture certainly does indicate the illuminator's importance. This MS was a very high-status object: someone important valued Chaucer's work very highly. Yet the MS is unfinished: spaces were left for illuminations that were never executed – eighty in all, and eight initials, were planned – and these spaces often correspond to marginal notes in other MSS.

Drimmer then explores with equal resourcefulness how Gower and Lydgate were handled. They, with Chaucer, constitute the authors 'everyone must know' by the late 1400s (if Skelton, who knew everybody, and was Henry VIII's tutor while that prince was still a promising lad, is anything to go by).

Part 3 of her book, stressing her argument that illuminators were integral to English verse's rising prestige, examines how Lydgate's works were presented as both contemporary commentary and as future history. Moreover, she has a persuasive discussion of how the narrative illuminations in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M116 (of c 1470), re-present that wonderful poem (a subtle multi-voiced Mirror for Princes as well as a profound meditation on change and time) as highly specific to Edward IV during the Wars of the Roses – indeed, as diagnostic and prophetic. Here, the long-dead author's work is doing things of which he could never have thought – though he might have approved.

She closes with discussion of an issue that has lurked on the sidelines of her whole

argument: if illustrators/illustrations were central to English verse's rising prestige, why were there no illustrations to the tales in *Canterbury Tales*? She suggests, in effect, that the tradition begun by Ellesmere of prefacing each tale with an image of the pilgrim set up a reflexive dynamic between tale and ostensible teller that might be prejudiced by foregrounding events in the narrative. Whether Chaucer ever wanted this quasi-psychological relationship of tale to teller seriously to qualify a reading is doubtful, though for many students nowadays it is a default position despite its palpable nonsense when the Shipman's Tale's narrator is female, the Nun's Priest exists *only* as a picture and the Knight cannot be a first-person narrator without being a time traveller. The way so many modern readers so commonly give the pilgrims, created in Chaucer's imagination, quasi-authorial status is ironic tribute to the power of those Ellesmere illuminations.

'It was not just poets and scribes who made literature: it was illuminators too' (p 230). Does the closing claim of this good book stand? Given the effective redefinition given to that problematic word 'literature', I think so. It offers a way of exploring and appreciating books, poems, we thought we knew in a newly-nuanced historical context. But for few readers without access to the actual MSS, or facsimiles, will this be actually possible? Meanwhile the lavish illustration – twenty-seven full colour – of this book will have to do.

The book is decently produced – though the typeface chosen for its large pages is mean, and a trial to aging eyes. I checked the index a few times and found some errors: better proofreading might have helped.

Camille, M 1998. *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the making of Medieval England*, University of Chicago Press

C W R D MOSELEY

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*Stone Fidelity: marriage and emotion in medieval tomb sculpture*. By JESSICA BARKER. 240mm. Pp xv + 336, 33 col ills, 63 b&w, maps, plans. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2020. ISBN 9781783272716. £50 (hbk).

This is an excellent book. It is lavishly illustrated, almost exclusively in colour throughout, with the plates sensibly embedded within the

text of each chapter. There are ninety-five images of church plans, maps, family trees, images of sculptured effigies, incised slabs and brasses in high-definition and of good quality. The author and publisher are to be commended on such a high standard of production, as images are an important part of any discussion on tomb monuments. The material is organised very well and a pleasure to read; it is elegantly written and full of new ideas on the patronage and purpose of medieval funerary commemoration (although some may appear controversial to one or two traditionalists). All too often monuments of the dead are shown in splendid isolation with little regard to the context of their surroundings or, indeed, in their relationship with other types of memorial nearby. Dr Barker has swept away this old-fashioned approach and considers all types of tomb monument in her quest for the double tomb, and in particular those where man and wife are to be found holding hands. What is particularly enjoyable is the 'what does this mean?' question, for, as we soon learn, double tombs and handholding reveal much not only on the construction and patronage of these designs, and also the obvious association with the liturgy and prayers for the dead, but also medieval attitudes towards companionship, marriage, emotion and love.

The introduction begins with the final stanza from Philip Larkin's poem 'An Arundel Tomb', which sets the scene for what follows. We learn of the author's comprehensive understanding of her subject matter where her questions are placed within the historiography of the topic. This is further demonstrated in the excellent bibliography of almost thirty pages to be found at the end of the book. The first chapter, however, is on 'The Double Tomb: marriage, symbol and society', an informative and erudite account of the origins of joint tomb commemoration. The remarkable and under-used collection of drawings by Roger de Gaignières of largely lost tombs from western France, Burgundy, Paris and its region has been used to reveal the origins of the double tomb from the second quarter of the thirteenth century and their gradual popularity until around 1350 and followed thereafter by a rapid increase. Good use has also been made of another under-appreciated resource, the catalogue of brass rubbings from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, produced in an updated catalogue by Muriel Clayton. In England, the popularity of Continental influences came about a century or so later. As the author rightly notes, this represented an enormous

shift in funerary culture for now the living would gaze on themselves in death with the surviving spouse often responsible for their dead partner's memorial as well as their own. The author considers different reasons for this development, but rightly concludes that 'the emergence of the double tomb was entangled with the increasing personalisation of the funerary monument' (p 49). And indeed this opens the door for a consideration of what the author has termed 'queer tombs' of two English knights in Constantinople, of about 1391, and the well-known brass for two ladies at Etchingham in East Sussex, about eighty years later. One or two readers might raise an eyebrow at this, but it is an innovative way of thinking about double tombs and the author is right not to shy away from it.

Chapter 2, 'Love's Rhetorical Power: the royal tomb', notes the variation in royal commemorative programmes in medieval Europe. It is notable that, during the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth centuries, the monarchs of France and England were largely marked by single composition effigies as expressions of continuity, in contrast to those in, for example, Denmark and Iberia. The earliest example of this is the tomb of Charles IV of France and his consort Jeanne d'Evreux, and this reveals the agency of the widow in the commission and construction of their shared memorial. This was to continue with their successors, while in England only three examples from the late medieval period suggest any interest in this design, namely the tombs of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, Henry IV and Joan of Navarre, and Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. This break in royal tomb tradition is considered further in the relationship between Richard and Anne and the king's influence and direction on their joint tomb in the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster Abbey. The iconography of this royal monument, their initials engraved onto their robes, the handholding and expression of shared power, and the texts from their epitaphs reveal a public affection absent from the tombs of their predecessors. Their tomb, it is argued, is also used as a tool to transform the couple's infertility into evidence of their saintly virtue, and it was perhaps no coincidence that images of Christ and the Virgin were included on the tester immediately above the royal couple. A double handholding tomb was commissioned for King Richard's cousin, Philippa of Lancaster, and her husband João I of Portugal at the Dominican convent of Santa Maria da Vitória in Batalha. Theirs is the centrepiece of

the Founder's Chapel and is truly enormous: one has to see it in person to gain a true understanding of the sheer magnificence of this splendid tomb monument – and indeed to enjoy the magnificence of the monastery more generally. Queen Philippa died before construction of the royal tomb began, but her influence is clear for all to see. Yet, as well as an expression of English influence in a Portuguese monastery, the memorial for João and Philippa brought legitimacy to the royal house (he was illegitimate) and continuity, with their tomb flanked by those of their children, whereby 'the royal family becomes the model for a broader familiar order' (p 146). The epitaph on the base of the tomb is a remarkable 1,700 words and emphasises the union of the royal couple together with their love. It also describes the exhumations and reinterments of their bodies and of those present – in their order of precedence – at their eventual reburial.

The development of the double monument paved the way – quite literally – for multiple effigies of subsequent spouses: an excellent photograph of Robert Ingleton and his three wives from Thornton (Bucks) has been used to illustrate this point. Their brass opens chapter 3 on 'Gender, Agency and the Much-Married Woman'. Dr Barker notes that this was a feature largely for men and that it is rare to find a wife flanked by more than one husband. This reflects the complexities of remarriage felt by many well-off widows in the late medieval period, which is briefly considered. More often than not it was social status, length of marriage and emotional attachment that led particular widows to choose which husband to join in death, and a number of iconic examples are taken to demonstrate this: Queen Joan, for example, was able to include her many identities on her tomb with Henry IV at Canterbury, while Beatrice of Portugal, an illegitimate daughter of João I, chose to be buried and commemorated with her first husband, Thomas earl of Arundel, at Arundel (West Sussex), where their tomb reflects her choices. The agency and influence of the widow in the commissioning of tomb programmes is skilfully discussed in the section of this chapter devoted to Margaret Holland, duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II and (half) sister-in-law and later daughter-in-law of Henry IV. There are close comparisons with the chapel and tomb of King João and Queen Philippa in Batalha, for it was the duchess who played a guiding hand in the construction of her own tomb and chapel, as well as requesting the exhumation and reburial of both husbands from

elsewhere in the cathedral with her in the Holland Chapel. It was resplendent with the heraldic arms of not only her husbands but also her natal family and of her sons. The joint tomb has three effigies carved of alabaster, with Margaret at the centre flanked by each husband on either side; such a display was almost unheard of at this time. The tomb, the chapel and the heraldic motifs are an excellent example of a wealthy aristocratic widow, with strong royal connections, who took her commemorative responsibilities seriously while at the same time making herself the focus.

The final chapter, 'Holding Hands: gesture, sign, sacrament', identifies thirty-six surviving examples of handholding couples on mostly English compositions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The author has also found a further nine now lost instances of this fashion. All of them show married couples and all of them show the man on the left-hand side with his right hand joining that of his bride. The significance of the right hand is evident from images in other mediums of the period, the rubrics of service books from England and France and the practicalities of construction. Dr Barker demonstrates that this was a largely English phenomenon over a seventy-year period from 1370 to 1440, with a brief burst of popularity by members of the Troutbeck and Boteler families of Cheshire in the 1450s and '60s. They are shown in a variety of different materials: in brass, on incised slabs, as carved effigies from alabaster and freestone and of copper-alloy. This is important as it suggests that handholding tombs were not peculiar to one workshop but that different craftsmen were involved in the production. The point is emphasised that these memorials were intended to command attention. The magnificent tomb for Ralph and Katherine Green at Lowick (Northants) once again demonstrates the agency of the widow in its commission. In this instance a contract has survived that identifies the craftsmen involved as Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton of Chellaston (Derbys) and that the tomb cost £40. There was a highly distinguished workshop, and Katherine wanted the best. Yet she was not buried with Ralph, and instead chose to be interred and commemorated before the high altar of the Black Friars church in Norwich with the remains of her second husband, Sir Simon Felbrigg, which brings us back to questions of choice, identity and audience. After a final word in the Epilogue, the book concludes with a complete bibliography, a place and name index and a thematic index.

This new book brings to life the history of the double tomb monument. It is informative and readable and draws on both extant and lost material. It places the subject matter in the contexts of the age and considers all forms of tomb alongside each other and not in isolation. The fashion for handholding raises important questions about production, motive and networks, and about the environment in which they were placed, and the author has provided much to consider and reflect upon. *Stone Fidelity* is a must not only for the already groaning shelves of tomb enthusiasts but also for anyone interested in, to borrow a phrase, effigies with attitude.

CHRISTIAN STEER

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*Latin Erotic Elegy and the Shaping of Sixteenth-Century English Love Poetry.* By LINDA GRANT. 233mm. Pp viii + 263. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2019. ISBN 9781108493864. £75 (hbk).

This is a learned book, and I learned much from it. In exploring interrelationships between Latin and English elegiac poets – and in being willing to work outside of the idea of chronological influence to consider contemporary readerly experience which may be ahistorical – Grant constructs her own intertextual readings ‘which are nuanced, selective and, sometimes, revisionary’ (p 189). She makes excellent use of sixteenth-century commentaries on Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid, which, when combined with her accounts of Wyatt, Donne, Philip and Mary Sidney, Mary Wroth and – refreshingly – Nashe, offer a breadth of view of the alternative and inconsistent characters of the Latin elegists as perceived in the English Renaissance. She writes especially well about Renaissance approaches to Sulpicia (the woman poet to whom several of Tibullus’s poems are attributed, albeit unsafely); a section (pp 73–7) comparing the versions of the fictional Lesbia and historical Clodia in Catullus and Cicero is remarkably enlightening.

However, there are tactical risks in Grant’s avowed choice to supply ‘detailed readings of a few carefully selected and juxtaposed texts highlight[ing] the interpretational value of reading these chosen poems together’ (p 10). Why choose these and not others? Grant’s observation of the ‘untroubled “pick-and-mix” approach of sixteenth-century poetics’ (p 191) to the Latin

elegists might be seen to sum up her own methodology. I sometimes regretted the absence of particular intertexts: in discussing Catullus 83 (pp 68–70), Donne’s ‘Jealousy’ sprang to mind, as did ‘His Picture’ or ‘The Relique’ in her commentary on Propertius 1.19 and 4.7 (p 99). It seemed odd to find no mention at all of Petronius, while Lucian also made it into neither Bibliography nor Index, even though he is quoted by Spenser in a gloss Grant reproduces (p 58).

I was more troubled by an absence of evidence of much enjoyment of the comic wit of the English writers (a pleasure better evidenced in her writing about the Latins) and an almost moralistic tone in regard to male protagonists; Grant is more willing to acknowledge ‘authentic female voices’ (p 153) in Sulpicia, Mary Sidney or Mary Wroth than any equivalent masculine authenticities. Choosing to overlook the narrative experience of Philip Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella* and Petrarch’s sonnets in the *Rime Sparse*, Grant reads backwards, claiming from the conclusion of *Astrophil* that ‘[f]rom his opening sonnet, the aim of Astrophil’s poetry is shown to be corrupt’ (p 113) and that Petrarch’s ‘sonnets turn out to be purposeless, almost comically mistaken, and Laura’s revelation [in *The Triumph of Death*] throws the Petrarchan mode into existential crisis’ (p 151). What these retrospective readings ignore is the temporally lived experience of reading Petrarch and Sidney; we may in the end be educated out of desire into spiritual enlightenment, but there is a lot of fun to be had along the way.

There are minor errors: the Field of the Cloth of Gold did not take place in France (p 55), but within what was at the time the English Pale around Calais, and Petrarch wrote the *Trionfi* not *Triumph* (p 171). The decision to modernise English texts sometimes destroys the metre (especially in Chaucer: pp 49, 88), and it might have been better to use Marlowe’s version of Ovid’s *Amores* rather than the archaistic Loeb. There are careless misquotations (pp 111, 171, 176, 180–1) including words omitted – again wrecking the metre – from two of the lines from Golding’s *Metamorphoses* which act as epigraph to Grant’s ‘Conclusion’. Less nigglingly, when Grant writes (p 182) of the ‘blazoning’ of Cleopatra’s body in the final act of Mary Sidney’s *Antonie*, ‘[i]n the absence of a male body to blazon’, she overlooks both the lines indeed blazoning his body (5.1986–90) and the fact that Antony’s physical body is actually – imaginatively, since this is probably a