

one foot in the city and one in their extra-urban estates, whereas the new civic elites grounded their authority and status firmly within the city itself and within its various *rione* or districts. These civic elites articulated a new moral economy characterized by ideas about Christian virtue and good governance.

The book includes a study of all surviving fourteenth-century Roman testaments. They were private but also public. They were written to maintain and forge kinship ties as well as ties in the community within particular neighborhoods. They speak to the close relationships between spiritual economy and personal property. Wills provided for the souls of the deceased (shortening their time in purgatory by means of donations to the living for interventions such as prayers and masses) and for the distribution of goods, including real estate. In a chapter on bequests for private chapels, Palmer shows that baronial chapels displayed the union of secular power and ecclesiastical authority, whereas new civic elites endowed private chapels to show the virtue and rewards of good governance. A chapter on women's houses integrates the lives of women into the spiritual economy of the city, in that pious and virtuous women were considered an essential part of a well-governed city. Palmer then turns to the study of the ways in which violent conflict could be resolved by ritualized peacemaking, in which elite Romans played a central role.

Palmer uses his complex study of fourteenth-century Roman society as a basis to argue that the new Roman civic elites were willing to govern but not to rule, that they gladly ceded sovereignty to the returning papacy (in the person of Boniface IX in the 1390s), and that they became cooperative administrators of papal dictates instead. This view is dependent on Paolo Prodi's thesis of the sovereign papacy. But the popes were often far from sovereign in fact. Nor can most communal magistrates of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries be described accurately as cooperative administrators carrying out the pope's will. Palmer's thesis involves an oversimplification of the complex relationships between the increasingly powerful popes and the still functioning (and often resistant) communal government in these centuries. In sum, this book represents an important addition to scholarship on fourteenth-century Rome, while its concluding thesis contributes to the ongoing debate centered on papal sovereignty and the growth of the papal state.

Pamela O. Long, *Independent Scholar*
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La Roma dei papi: La corte e la politica internazionale (secoli XV–XVII).

Maria Antonietta Visceglia.

Ed. Elena Valeri and Paola Volpini. I libri di Viella 300. Rome: Viella, 2018. xii + 402 pp. €36.

If you wanted to update the encyclopedic synthesis of Ludwig von Pastor on the foreign relations of the popes, this volume is where you should start. The editors have gathered

eleven articles tightly focused on the international dimensions of the early modern papacy by noted Italian historian Maria Antonietta Visceglia, only one of which has appeared in English. Visceglia's message to foreign and Italian scholars alike is that the pope's territorial concerns were a constant of his international politics and policies, but at the same time the papacy always remained an institution above states. The papal court and capital city Rome were by definition supranational; foreign affairs took place not only when the pope received diplomats or called for a Crusade against the Ottomans but also when Portuguese fought Spaniards in the city streets or when cardinals claimed precedence over ambassadors in a palace antechamber. Reflecting the author's unusually broad historiographic reading (Spanish, English, French, German, and Italian studies) and engagement with multiple historical problems and methods, the collection is an invitation to look freshly at many settled interpretations.

The essays cover etiquette, diplomacy, plots, ceremonial, factions, and war over the period 1485 to 1720, immediately revising the presumed end to the papacy's international importance with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Unconventionally, Visceglia begins her story (chapter 8) not in Rome but in the Kingdom of Naples, where the baron's plot of 1485, instigated by Innocent VIII, foreshadowed the disastrous invitation to foreigners to intervene in Italy, which took place in the 1490s and led to the subjection of the peninsula. On the other hand, as Machiavelli pointed out, the papacy's own territories emerged stronger rather than weaker from this debacle. The pontificate of Clement XI (1700–21), with his hard line on Catholic rites in China and inability to defend his state in the war of the Spanish succession (chapter 9), seems a more fitting conclusion to the story of the early modern papacy's international role than the end of the Thirty Years' War.

In a brief review I will highlight two essays that display the author's characteristically learned, multifaceted, and unpolemical but not uncritical approach. Contributing the Roman case to the comparative study of royal ceremonial, chapter 3 on the Corpus Christi procession discusses the liturgical substratum that underlay papal politics and the ways that alterations in the public cult over time revealed changing power relations. Focusing on a discrete ceremony, Visceglia braids together the many strands of interest—papal, local, religious, political, international—that made Rome a stage set for which all Europe was the audience. While the sixteenth-century popes and Curia promoted a Vatican-focused festival at the expense of civic religious traditions, they did not foresee that the populace would embrace the concept so heartily that it would soon establish fifty separate Corpus Christi processions in addition to the pope's. This spiritual effervescence lost its popular dimension by the end of the seventeenth century, and the ceremony became a feeble vehicle for elite display. When conflict between the Catholic powers in the war of the Spanish succession sparked crisis in Rome, however, the long marginalized civic leadership took back its role in organizing collective public ritual.

Visceglia opens a completely different perspective on papal foreign policy in chapter 10, when Clement VIII moved to Ferrara in 1598 apparently (according to the traditional view) to integrate the Este lands into the Papal States, but more importantly to urge directly the war against the Ottomans in Transylvania. Her emphasis in this and other essays on the popes' commitment after 1570 to evangelizing Eastern Europe and fighting the Turks on land, not sea, is a welcome corrective to the conventional spotlight on the great powers. It is also a reminder to scholars overly focused on the pope as a territorial prince not to neglect the spiritual ambitions and supranational nature of the papacy. By keeping both dimensions constantly present in her many finely grained studies, Visceglia not only offers us new questions but outlines the places from which additional new questions might spring.

Laurie Nussdorfer, *Wesleyan University*
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Neither Disobedients nor Rebels: Lawful Resistance in Early Modern Italy.
Angela De Benedictis.

Viella History, Art and Humanities Collection 6. Rome: Viella, 2018. 230 pp. €55.

Participants in the 1647 revolt of Naples argued in subsequently published accounts that they were neither rebelling nor acting disobediently, but were defending their privileges. Angela De Benedictis takes this claim seriously. This book, published in Italian in 2013, builds upon an insight of Mario Sbriccoli, who had identified a distinction in Roman and canon law traditions between revolt and lawful resistance. De Benedictis draws upon a similar distinction in the common law literature to reconstruct a set of concepts elaborated as early as the thirteenth century around the topics of "licit resistance" and "the unpunishable multitude" (192). The historiographic consensus among scholars who study popular resistance (Rosario Villari, in particular) posits that, over time, arguments justifying resistance to oppression and tyranny weakened in the face of political discourse that defended state power. The author's critique is that this historiography has relied almost entirely on "authors in the reason of State tradition" (193). She argues that texts drawn from Latin juridical and theological culture display a continued and influential presence of rights-based defenses against accusations of rebellion and *lèse majesté*.

De Benedictis's defense of her argument begins with a detailed study of a tumult (a neutral, source-based term in her view) in Urbino in 1572–73. This case, like several others discussed in the book, began with a dispute over taxation in which the community's response was declared by the prince to have been rebellious. Two key issues arose during this conflict: first, whether a community that acted as a "single collective protagonist" could be punished (33), and second, whether communities had the right to