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# SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

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FALL-WINTER, 2014

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# **SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS**

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Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly, eds. *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Vol. 1: lxxv + 504 pp. + 20 illus. \$135. Vol. 2: xix + 805 pp. + 22 illus. \$135. Review by JAMES MARDOCK AND ERIC RASMUSSEN, UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA.

A new Oxford edition of the complete poems of Robert Herrick is long overdue and quite welcome. Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly, two of Herrick's foremost scholarly champions, have produced a handsome and, for the most part, quite usable one. Their critical apparatus, in the main, consists of astute arguments, but it is spread among the edition's two volumes in such a way that it may present a bit of a hunt even for seasoned scholars. The commentary notes on the print poems in Volume 1 appear at the end of Volume 2, otherwise dedicated to the manuscript poems, but both the *Hesperides* collations and the fine thirty-two-page essay on *Hesperides's* printing and publishing history are tucked at the back of Volume 1 as appendices, potentially leaving a reader unfamiliar with that history baffled (for example) by the separate title page for *His Noble Numbers* in the text of the poems, as the relation between *Hesperides* and *Noble Numbers* is nowhere explained in the introduction.

The detailed discussion of the printing of the 1648 *Hesperides* quarto presents the specialist reader with much to admire: the editors make an enormous contribution to Herrick studies by identifying John Grismond as the printer of the first quarto (although their grand claim that the printer "has never been identified until now" [408] is technically not true since Connolly announced the identification several years ago in her Herrick entry in the *Blackwell Encyclopedia of English Renaissance Literature*). We do quibble, however, with the following passage:

Printing almost certainly began with B inner. This is strongly supported by the LLL [London Library] copy, in which B is the only sheet printed on the paper used most often for *Hesperides*, with the Durand grapes watermark. All subsequent sheets in LLL are printed from the least common of the papers used, that with a fleur de lis mark, presumably substituted because the Durand paper had been used up (421)

If we understand this correctly, the observation that Durand paper with a grapes watermark appears frequently throughout all known copies of the quarto except for the London Library copy, in which only sheet B is printed on this paper, is used as evidence for the conclusion that sheet B was therefore printed first, because the Durand paper must have been “used up” after sheet B was printed. But this makes no sense. If the supply of Durand was “used up,” how could it have been “used most often” for the subsequently printed sheets? A more likely scenario would be that whereas Grismond’s shop had a supply of Durand paper that was used for the bulk of the printing of *Hesperides*, a separate supply of fleur-de-lis paper may have been used exclusively for a handful of deluxe presentation copies; one can easily imagine that a sheet B printed on the more common Durand paper could have inadvertently been mixed with the fleur-de-lis sheets when the copy now owned by the London Library was gathered. This scenario, of course, provides no evidence that “printing almost certainly began with B inner.”

Cain and Connolly’s introduction, as one might expect, culminates in a brief but thoughtful history of the critical response and a justification for the rehabilitation of Herrick’s reputation after his celebrated sweetness ceased to recommend him to the critics of the early twentieth century. The greater part of the introduction consists of a biography of the author, painstakingly researched, clearly presented and informative, but betraying certain assumptions that can shade into questionable logic. The warning against equating the “Herrick” of the lyrics with the historical author is important, if commonplace; the reminder that even the historical Herrick is “himself a ‘construct’ of sorts” (xvi) is certainly familiar from New Historicist arguments about the self-fashioned poetic subject. This frequently repeated caveat, however, becomes oddly self-serving. The editors’ claims to know Herrick’s personality—and few scholars could claim to know more—are drawn primarily from the poems; what are we to make of the argument that his “liking for the miniature” (drawn from the poems) renders ironic his complaint (also in the poems) about his small kitchen (*A Thanksgiving to God, for his House*)? Surely, if the speaker is a construct, irony can point in multiple directions. We are

to attribute the poems' interest in decorous death, funeral rites, and ghosts to the fact that his father "Nicholas's presumed suicide haunted Herrick" (xx), also the impetus behind his seeking a father figure in Ben Jonson (xxvi). We are to trace his picture of the disdainful Julia with her cold, unwelcoming breast (*The frozen Zone*) to his distant mother Julian and his "bleak, loveless infancy" (xxi). But when faced with the question of why Herrick's experience of brutal war—he sailed with his patron Buckingham in 1627 to relieve the Huguenots in La Rochelle—makes no appearance in his poetry, the editors invoke the caveat again: it's "another sign, if one were needed, that autobiography is a selective process in *Hesperides*" (xli). The idea of the constructed subject allows the editors themselves to construct the Herrick they prefer, and the circularity of these arguments can be frustrating.

The most troubling aspect of this tendency is their treatment of Herrick's religious temperament. Rather than build upon Leah Marcus's more nuanced handling, in *The Politics of Mirth*, of the poet's leaning toward "innovation" and his reaction against the Calvin-influenced orthodoxy of the previous generation, Cain and Connolly regard his "Arminian" stance as a given, without discussing the contexts or implications of this assumption. They touch upon his "devoutly puritan" upbringing (xxii) and the religious atmosphere at Trinity and St. John's (xxx-xxxiv), but their discussion uses "puritan," "Anglican," and "Calvinist" as if their readers will agree on a particular and narrow mindset that these terms represent. This risks implying, despite a single warning to the contrary, that there was seventeenth-century consensus about such terms, or that they meant the same thing throughout Herrick's life, before, during, and after the Civil War. Thus we read that St. John's College was not Arminian enough to bother the Puritan student Simonds D'Ewes, but not so Calvinist that it alienated the young Herrick when he attended. The editors present with some puzzlement the fact that Herrick was granted his benefice at Dean Prior by the "fiercely anti-Arminian" Edward Giles (xlii), and continued in harmony with him throughout his life. Prior assumptions about religious experience and practice provoke the wrong question: "How could Herrick have gotten along with his landlord, if we know that they had incompatible theologies?" This precludes the opportunity to pose a better question: "Since these men got along,

how might we rethink the interaction among different theological positions in the seventeenth-century English church?"

The greatest achievement of the Oxford edition is its exhaustive consideration of Herrick's manuscript poetry, and a consequent repositioning of him as a poet of the 1620s and 30s. Following recent work by Arthur Marotti and others re-examining seventeenth-century manuscript culture, Cain and Connolly's edition gives just as much weight to manuscript publication and coterie circulation as to Herrick's printed anthology. Understanding the *Hesperides* in the context of the genre of manuscript miscellany does much to explain its structure, and the editors' focus on Herrick as a manuscript poet with a number of different coterie audiences vastly enriches his biography. Their meticulous approach to the transmission history of each manuscript poem is itself an immense contribution.

The edition should really be thought of as two editions of roughly equal size, with quite different styles of presentation: in the second volume, each manuscript poem is introduced by its own headnote, with commentary as footnotes on the page (as opposed to being relegated to a separate volume, as is the *Hesperides* commentary), and followed by a full collation of different manuscript witnesses. A further 279 pages of Volume 2 are devoted to a discussion of the manuscript poems' textual transmission and historical collation. The result is an edition of the Herrick manuscripts that is more immediately informative and more comfortably readable than the edition of the printed poems. The editors' rationale for separating out the commentary from the text of the printed poems is to allow readers to have both volumes open for comparison, but we wonder why they did not accomplish the same goal by using the same format used for the manuscript poems.

Cain and Connolly's text is supremely well-edited. We did not spot any slips in the text of the poems and our check of the textual notes yielded only one minuscule error of omission (the collation for the manuscript of *To a Gentlewoman objecting to him his gray hairs* should have noted the variant "O" in Benson's 1640 printed text where the MS reads "Ah" in line 11). The collations suffer somewhat from the editors' tendency to claim intellectual property that is not their own, such as the emendation "garbage" for "carbage" in *Upon Lupes*, which is flagged as original to "this edition" (454) but was, in fact, anticipated

in both Henry Morley's 1884 edition and in Alfred Pollard's edition of 1891. The odd convention of collation notes that provide the quarto signature, quarto page number, and line on the printed quarto page but *not* the line number in the poem sometimes makes it difficult to identify the reading in the edited text. In the textual notes for *Upon Love*, for instance, the editors record that "love," at "2A8a/367/16" has been emended to "love:."—an emendation claimed to be unique to "this edition" (454). And yet, given that "love:" appears in lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15 of the poem, there is no possible way for a user to deduce which reading has been emended without recourse to the quarto. In any event, the emendation is not original to Cain and Connolly, but should properly be credited to Pollard.

As a unique selling point of their edition, Cain and Connolly trumpet that they have collated "far more copies of *Hesperides*" than any previous editors. While this claim may be true, the editors' corollary assertion that they have located and examined "all fifty-seven surviving copies that could be traced" (vii) is made with somewhat too much confidence. One's faith in their claim to have made an exhaustively comprehensive search for all copies of the 1648 quarto "known to have been still in existence" (438) lasts only as long as it takes to run a search on an electronic database. After spending less than a minute on WorldCat, we located four further copies of the 1648 *Hesperides* quarto, at the University of Sydney (Fisher Rare Book Library), Columbia University (Butler Rare Book Library), Indiana University (Lilly Library), and Dartmouth College (Rauner Rare Book Library). A search of the electronic auction-house databases revealed a further copy sold by Sotheby's in 1990, another by Christie's in 2000, and yet another by Christie's in 2001. All told, then, we very quickly located seven extant copies that were unaccountably overlooked by the Oxford editors.

Although one might question the usefulness of auction sales records for textual editors—since the purchasers are generally anonymous and the transferred copies often difficult to trace—it's worth observing that both the H. Bradley Martin copy sold in 1990 and the John Ruskin copy sold in 2000 have leaves C7, M8, and O8 in the original, uncanceled state. Thus, Cain and Connolly's subset of known copies of the first issue should be expanded from three to five,

information that might have caused the editors to revise their estimate on page 423 of the probable number of copies that may have been sent out to booksellers before Herrick demanded that replacement leaves be printed to correct numerous errors. Moreover, a fascinating piece of reception history is provided by the Christie's database record of Ruskin's manuscript annotations in his copy: *Corinna's going a Maying* is "lovely" and the close of the final stanza is "Horatian," *His Poetrie his Pillar* consists of "quiet unaccented iambs," a passage in *The Mad Maids Song* is "curious," and *A Prognostick* is "low." Surely, this commentary from the arbiter of nineteenth-century aesthetic taste ought to have found a place in the Oxford Herrick?

Given the editors' obvious attention to textual detail, the errors and inconsistencies in other parts of the edition are surprising. Rather annoyingly, *contemporary* is used to mean "seventeenth-century" in some places—"contemporary trade binding" (439) and "contemporary hand" (445)—but "twenty-first century" in others: "contemporary readers rightly demand more attention to matters of political, historical, and biographical significance" (vii). And there's a genuine howler in the ownership information for Texas A&M's copy of *Hesperides*, which Cain and Connolly identify as belonging to "Texas Ancient and Modern University."

Siobhán Collins, *Bodies, Politics and Transformations: John Donne's Metempsychosis* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), x+202 pp. Review by ANNE LAKE PRESCOTT, BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

This informative if not always limpid study of John Donne's *Metempsychosis* (1601) does not make that poem fully clear—nobody could manage that—but as she follows the Edenic apple's soul through fifty-two stanzas (weeks?) of degeneration she offers a graduate course on Renaissance vegetables, animals, and human bodies, from the mandrake (a fine pair adorns the cover) to . . . ? Donne hints that these transmigrations will lead to a modern figure, sometimes identified as Robert Cecil. Tracking such shifts, Collins explores issues crucial to understanding the poem as it moves to its inconclusion. The "riddle in *Metempsychosis* is partly a mystery of union," she says, and since

to solve it necessitates conflating the “he” and “she,” body and soul, self and other, Donne offers plurality and openness, not clarity and certainty. His pre-modern self is fluid, fragmented, liminal, with “identity as process.”

Chapter I, on “Body / Word: Textual Materiality,” considers the pre-Cartesian body/soul, as well as how a “text cannot be conceived outside of its relation to the realm of matter” (15). I wonder: what of imaginary books like those Donne conceived for his *Courtiers Library*? Or must a “text” be woven into materiality to be “text”? Do kilobytes count? What of a printed book with imaginary books housed in it? Similarly, must “individual authorship” be “associated with the printed book” (17)? Ovid might wince. Collins’ pronouncements may not convince, then, but they do inspire meditation. Donne, she claims, “challenges the increasing polarity between subject and object, word and body” (25), and his manuscript circulation goes with his “poetics of selfhood as liminal and ever-changing rather than fixed” (26). When he does use print it is a “testament” to his “understanding of and adherence to the importance of materiality” (28). Perhaps, but to assert this may mean having one’s inky cake and eating it too.

Chapter Two considers “Thresholds: ‘Porches and Entries.’” For Donne, says Collins, a text is “both a temporal structure and an architectural anatomy” because both body and text “house the soul” (29). A prose epistle can be a threshold to such a house, after all, and the subtitle, “Satyricon,” recalls satyrs, mixed creatures (30; an appendix notes a possible allusion to Petronius’ *Satyricon*, to which I would add the recently translated *Satyre Ménippée*, a polemic in support of moderate Catholics). Donne’s preliminary phrase “Infinitati Sacrum” is also a mix, notes Collins: infinity is imperfect, and “Sacrum” recalls the “os sacrum”—the tailbone (31); yes, witty. Chapter Three, on “Separation: Genesis and the Fall,” examines Eve’s apple, the soul of which “prioritizes an image of mutuality between the sexes,” and Collins agrees with those who find Donne’s misogyny more mocking than serious. Wonder, an alternative to the curiosity that got Eve into trouble, lies “in the interplay of faith and knowledge.” Chapter IV, “Memory: Reading the Self,” comments on the poem’s ludic quality, citing Lucian’s *Philosophies for Sale*, and associates Donne’s “ambivalent concern with the permeable sexual body” (60) and hence his poetics

with “transformation and change” (61). This chapter is typical in its informative density: two paragraphs on pp. 63-64 offer the *Ad Herennium*, hybridity, Thierry of Chartres, the soul’s liminality, memory, reading, identification, the autobiographical mode, manuscript production, Walter Ong, rhetorical strategies, memory, desire, wonder, gifts, lack of closure, narrative, dismemberment, readerly imagination, and the passions. Exhaustive—and exhausting. What gives hope to Donne, says Collins, is memory that stretches from the Creation to Salvation (68). But we read through our bodies, and “Closure is resisted in favor of contemplation.” Related to Donne’s desertion of his Catholic faith, moreover, is the “battle of engagement and disavowal throughout *Metempsychosis*” as the poem “complicates and destabilizes any suggestion of transcending bodily desire.” Even Paul and Plato, of course, might agree that such a task is neither stable nor simple.

Chapter 5, on “Liminality: Plant/Human,” offers information on mandrakes and circles. “[P]reoccupied with the revolutions of grotesque bodies turned to dust as they swirl one into another irrespective of rank or gender,” Donne is obsessed by “the fragmented body” and “nullified self.” The thirsty mandrake root is Christ, we read, and Collins cites Isaiah: ‘he shall grow up as a tender plant... and as a root out of a thirsty ground’ (82). This hairy root is “the most abhorrent of all vegetation” (Collins says it recalls the genitalia, but my pure eyes see only bodies with branching limbs). [L]iminality,” moreover, is reflected in Donne’s reference to Noah as a “holie Janus,” door symbolism found also in “the erotic vulnerability and strength” of the poem’s “womb symbolism,” leading Collins to comment on “the womb of the ark.” A little later the ape and elephant are related to mandrake in “popular myth,” and there follows more on mandrakes, liminality and hybridization. Strain—but interesting strain. Chapter 6 is on “Devoured Bodies: Birds and Fishes”: we are born, sin assaults us, and we decay (97). This chapter explores eating (including plagiarism), and by linking “birth, food, sex and death in a degenerative cycle” Donne, his faith in transition, “parodies the Eucharist” (99). A note relates this to the “cannibalistic imagery” informing “many of Donne’s profane love poems” (102). Collins offers material on cannibalism in medicine—curative “mummy,” for example (103-105)—but then returns (106) to a complex analogy with the

Eucharist, although she might warn the inexperienced reader that the Church of England explicitly rejected the views described here. After commenting on the Bakhtinian grotesque body, Collins explores material on swans. The final chapter is on "Courting Politics: Vivarium of Beasts." Here Donne's narrator connects "profane time" with the court, and like others Collins associates the poem's torn whale with the death of Essex, although she doubts that the poet felt much sympathy for him. (Why on pp. 119-20 early modern elephants cannot kneel but on the next page they do just that needs explaining.) Can the elephant brought low by a mouse comfortably parallel, as Collins says, monasteries destroyed by corruption? Was that what happened under Henry VIII?

The "Conclusion" is nicely titled "Wonder." We wonder at Donne's universe but also wonder what he is up to. Her "contention," she says, has been throughout that Donne "does not allow for transcendence of the body" (137), and indeed that he identifies with it. Our nature is an "on-going cycle of appetitive desire" in a poem that "registers" both "degradation and celebration," yet degeneracy does not have the poem's "last word" (139). One appendix describes the manuscript and print versions, with criticisms of the ongoing Variorum Edition that this reviewer is not competent to judge. A second traces the poem's critical reception.

Some assertions in this clever book seem overdone. Did Donne's generation leave a "medieval world of absolutes" for "a new, rapidly changing world, a new realm of liminality or transitional space that challenges any notion of certainty" (87)? Donne's lines on the "new philosophy" are often quoted to sustain such assertions, yet many in 1601 were confident enough of the truth to kill for it, and earlier generations had lived with plague, wars, famine, conquests, heresies, rebellions, splits between Pope and Emperor, and Ottoman expansion: an older Europe stable in faith, safely stratified, and with little sense of self is one sustaining fiction of Renaissance studies. It is not wholly wrong, but sometimes to perceive increased complexity is to simplify. Other claims likewise give pause. Collins cites Donne's reaction to Galileo (34), but whatever Copernicus' ability to halt the sun, by 1601 Galileo had not yet further shaken the cosmos. She might be clearer, moreover, that the "new Philosophy" is more astronomy than the

increased mechanism that is a theme in this book: Descartes is still to come. Although Donne tended to resist sacramental clarity, moreover, even he might be baffled to read on the same page that the Eucharist is “memorial in essence” and that it “involves the transformation of wine to blood, bread to body” (63). One seems Calvinist, the other Catholic. Nor are Catholics alone in accepting the “real presence” (110); Lutherans do too. Do the four elements “correspond to the four humors of the Galenic body” (21)? Surely a humor *combines* two elements. As for the soul’s relation to the body, the period’s inconsistent terminology (*spiritus*, *anima*, *animus*, *ratio*) further obscures what is rational soul, what is generated by the body, what is condensed from air, what is super-rational, whether we inherit the immortal soul or God infuses it, and so forth. Donne expressed his own bewilderment, as Collins says, in a letter with no year specified but probably to Henry Goodere. He had company.

Despite some slips, this is a book for Donne scholars to ponder, not least for the (mis)information it offers about plants, animals, and even the puns thus rendered possible. If Collins’ pages can be as dense as diamonds her learning can shine as brightly.

Nabil Matar, *Henry Stubbe’s The Rise and Progress of Mahometanism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014. xiv + 274 pp. \$50.00.  
Review by JONATHAN BURTON, WHITTIER COLLEGE.

Scholarly work interested in Islam and early modern English literature may be divided into three eras, each with distinct hermeneutic tendencies: The first comprised works published between 1915 and 1937 take as their concern the historical accuracy and aesthetic merits of early modern literary works interested in Islamic worlds; a second wave moving through the 1960s and 1970s explored European images of Islam. Finally, a third, post-Saidian wave from the mid 1990s to the present has drawn on the analytical tools of postcolonial theory to highlight hybridity, multiplicity, and cultural permeability. Nabil Matar has been a leading figure in this third wave, steadily producing two complementary streams of work crucial to the field. Initially, he published *Islam in Britain* (1998), *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the*

*Age of Discovery* (1999), and *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (2005), monographs exploring the nuances of Anglo-Islamic relations in various settings. In shifting his focus from Britain to the Atlantic triangle and finally to North Africa, Matar's work has suggested for scholars a key strategy for disaggregating ideas about English representations of Islam. Professor Matar next commenced production of a series of works offering new, scholarly editions of early modern texts crucial to the field. These include *In the Lands of the Christians*. (2003) and *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (2009). His new edition of Henry Stubbe's *The Rise and Progress of Mahometanism* joins its second group in seeking to make available sources that will encourage a rethinking of the history of Anglo-Islamic relations and exchanges.

Matar's work has not been without its critics. While he is almost universally praised for archival work that brings into view non-European texts that otherwise lie beyond the reach of most Anglo-American scholars, it has also been suggested that his analysis of these texts tends to overcompensate for a long history of western bigotry by suggesting a comparative lack of bigotry and violence in the Islamic world. What can result is an inversion of Orientalist binarism, with the West homogeneously demonized and the East an idealized monolith. With a few minor exceptions (such as an overplaying of Muslim tolerance for other religions), the volume under review carefully avoids this problem. This may have to do with the fact that Matar's subject here is a western text that is remarkable for its own critique of western bigotry vis-à-vis Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. As such, it provides a greatly needed counterpoint to those early modern texts that notoriously circulated specious myths about Islam and the biography of the prophet. In other words, in producing this work, Matar will help to demonstrate that early modern English accounts of Islam were *not* uniformly negative. Matar does acknowledge that Stubbe occasionally "fell into some of the errors and misrepresentations that were endemic among European writers" but notes that "he carefully referenced his sources to show where he had found this information" (3). I would have liked to have seen these moments addressed a bit more fully, though perhaps there is little more than speculation that might be applied to the contrast of these "slips" and Stubbe's otherwise meticulous historicism.

Matar does an excellent job of enumerating a range of reasons why Stubbe's text is important and why we need a modern edition. *The Originall & Progress of Mahometanism* offered the first historical biography of the prophet in English, one that was "chronologically presented, and not theologically argued" (31). Stubbe's work was unique in contextualizing the rise of Islam in a long history of Arabia's religions and societies. Crucial to this is an emphasis on the ways in which Islamic teachings were continuous with practices from the Judaic and primitive Christian past. In other words, Stubbe's text was the first to fully demonstrate "how integrated Muslim history was with that of the Roman and Byzantine Empires" (3) and thus to what extent Islamic civilization might make entirely compelling claims on "the same Greco-Latin legacy that Britons claimed as their own classical patrimony" (17). Moreover, Stubbe's text marked a sharp methodological and historiographical break with earlier works on Islam by supplementing European works with the canon of Arabic histories and chronicles in Latin translation. The result is a work of significant historical revisionism, dedicated to refuting popular misunderstandings and presenting, for the first time, Christian Arab writers as "indispensable interlocutors who challenged western historiography and the western canon" (29). The upshot of this should not be understated: Stubbe's text helps to make clear that Arab writings engaged with and contributed to a reshaping of orientalist ideas about Islam and the prophet Muhammad, "the most misrepresented man in early modern European religious thought" (2). Stubbe showed Islam was "not the 'scourge of God' to sinful Christians, but a continuation of revelation" (32).

Despite the importance of this text, there is no trustworthy modern edition. Scholars are limited to a hundred year-old edition that fails to adhere to modern principles of textual editing. Matar offers a thorough discussion of the extant manuscripts and editions, justifying clearly his decision to focus on the earliest complete manuscript, and offering detailed and impeccable notes.

The opening of Stubbe's book is stylistically fascinating. Written in second person, it teases its reader with a promise to treat "this extraordinary person" (69) but goes on to withhold the name Muhammad (and his story) for a very lengthy chapter. Instead the book detours

into a history of the primitive church comprising nearly one-third of *The Originall & Progress*, prefaced by Stubbe's promise that it will "differ so much from the usual accounts thereof which are given by the divines and vulgar historians" (104). Matar never addresses matters of style or accounts explicitly for this narrative detour, but he fleshes out Stubbe's promise in his own careful delineation of the unique sources that Stubbe consulted. In addition, his introduction helps to explain not only how Stubbe's account of the primitive church matters for the historiography of Islam, Muhammad and early Christianity, but also how it participates in seventeenth-century English religious politics. So, for example, Stubbe refers to third-century Novatianists as "the Puritans ... of those ages" (98), and he later turns to an incident involving Oliver Cromwell while considering the Muslim doctrine of predestination. Particularly fascinating in this regard is Stubbe's account of the prehistory of communion. Also of interest, though never addressed by Matar, are the implications of Stubbe's treatment of continuities between Judaism and Christianity, especially as they might be applied to the debate over the readmission of Jews into England. These are, of course, questions that will be of most interest to scholars and advanced students of Reformation history as well as those interested in early modern European representations of Islam. The book is not likely to garner a broad audience, but it should be purchased by all serious research libraries and might be assigned in a handful of graduate level classes. While some may take issue with Matar's characterization of Stubbe's work as effecting a "Copernican Revolution" (1) in English ideas about Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, scholars are certain to agree that this is a very, very important text in disaggregating ideas about English representations of Islam, as well as in the English historiography of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad.

Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt, eds. *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013. 367 pp. \$52.20. Review by GREG BENTLEY, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY.

*Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions* edited by Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt addresses a significant gap in the intellectual and literary history of religion in seventeenth-century England. As the editors state, the rationale behind this eclectic group of essays is that “There is an undeniable emphasis on figures who were on the margins of the dominant religious culture—Catholics, Jews, women, and incipient secularists—but the assumption of all the contributors is that we cannot understand the culture as a whole without attending to the repressed, the marginalized, and the unacknowledged” (2). Without a doubt, this volume of essays goes a long way toward bridging the divide between the dominant religious culture and those on its margins.

The editors divide the text into five parts. Part I is entitled “Minority Catholic Culture,” and it contains three complementary essays. In “Marian Verse as Politically Oppositional Poetry in Elizabethan England” Arthur F. Marotti closely examines a number of Marian verses that extend through the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles I to claim that: “Through the Elizabethan period and beyond, during England’s slow religious transition from Catholicism to Protestantism the figure of Mary could be invoked by Catholic recusants and religious conservatives to proclaim religious resistance to what was officially being imposed on the country and what was anthropologically changing on a grassroots level. It was a losing battle for them, but their voices are still audible in what they wrote” (47). In contrast to Marotti’s focus on a particular figure, in the second essay entitled “Religious Identity and the English Landscape: *William Blundell and the Harkirk Coins*,” Phebe Jensen centers on England. Jensen explores how the life of the Catholic recusant William Blundell, his creation of the Harkirk burial ground on his family estate, and the discovery of Anglo-Saxon coins on that site challenge the project of government. After tracing a fascinating chain of events, Jensen concludes that “Although the Protestant narrative of English land and

nationhood ultimately won the day, it was forged in competition with an alternative, Catholic narrative that continued to see the English landscape through the dual lenses of the English medieval past and the Counter-Reformation present" (71). In the third essay in this section, "Remembering Lot's Wife: The Structure of Testimony in the *Painted Life* of Mary Ward," Lowell Gallagher focuses on *ressourcement* theology to trace the figural history of Lot's wife and its relationship to Mary Ward's career, concluding that "[t]he silent, patient witnesses to [her] legacy are the anonymous hands that invented a pictorial lexicon and grammar for expressing the strange but vital figural kinship between pillar of salt and the red chair in the *Painted Life*" (96).

This opening is followed by four chapters that also contain exemplary essays. Section II: Figuring the Jew contains two excellent essays: Avraham Oz's "Early Mimics: Shylock, Machiavelli, and the Commodification of Nationhood" and Aschshah Guibbory's "Milton, Prophet of Israel." In the four stimulating essays from Section III: Hebraism and the Bible one finds Chanita Goodblatt's "Performance and *Parshanut: The Historie of Jacob and Esau*," Anne Lake Prescott's "Exploiting King Saul in Early Modern England: Good Uses for a Bad King," Elliott M. Simon's "Prophetic Voices: Joachim de Fiore, Moses Maimonides, Philip Sidney, Mary Herbert, and the Psalms," and Noam Flinker's "Biblical and Rabbinic Intertextuality in George Herbert's 'The Collar' and 'The Pearl'." Section IV: Women and Religion contains two important texts: "Yaakov Mascetti's 'This Pretious Passeover Feed Upon': Poetic Eurcharist and Feminine Vision in Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*" and Jeanne Shami's "Reading Funeral Sermons for Early Modern English Women: Some Literary and Historiographical Challenges."

The two admirable essays that form Section V: Religion and Secularization function as fitting frame to the volume. In "Framing Religion: Marlovian Policy and the Pluralism of Art," Noam Reisner works from Richard Baines' claim that Marlowe allegedly professed that "if he were put to write a new religion, he would undertake both a more excellent and admirable method" to argue that "[i]n England in the late 1580s the line between a cynic who might note that state religion is a matter of policy designed 'only to keep men in awe' and a devout Protestant who insists on reforming the old faith as a matter

of policy was a very fine one. Marlowe, like many of his contemporaries who had to negotiate the violent cross-currents of reform and counterreform, used the art of writing and its theatrical expression to tread this line carefully, even as he exposed the hypocrisies that kept it in place" (312). Finally, in "Shakespeare's Secular Benediction: The Language of Tragic Community in *King Lear*," Sanford Budick starts from the idea that "ethical values continually emerge in the narrative of a community" (330) to claim that a narrative of community and an ethical language are, in fact, made central [in *King Lear*] by enlarging the focus of awareness from the tragic hero to a group of tragic protagonists" (330). From this initial observation, Budick states that he has two "larger contentions." First, "in *King Lear* the collective narrative from which ethical values emerge takes the form of a kind of tragedy in which humiliation and blessing are of central, transformative importance" and, second, "the efficacy of this form depends on structures of representation that are inherited from a religious narrative, yet in *King Lear* these structures are secular, which is to say that they do not require religious belief to achieve what Cordelia terms 'benediction'" (330).

Unfortunately, there is no formal conclusion to the volume, but the last paragraph of the introduction serves well as final comment on the text as a whole:

Religious struggles and crises in early modern England (and it Europe), which were intensified in the new medium of print, brought with them the large-scale cultural changes that produced, finally, the modern world. The blurred boundaries between Catholicism and Protestantism, the sectarian and theological fault lines in the established church, and the development of national and international religious diversity and the debates about the possibility and limits of religious toleration, the renewed examination of the Judaic roots of Christianity and of the importance of the Hebrew scriptures and commentary traditions, the conflict between religious authority and the spiritual autonomy of the individual (male and female) believer, the growing awareness of a space outside religion from which one could critically examine religious belief systems and truth claims—all these

factors were part of a complex and evolving culture. The essays in this collection address such issues, paying special attention to the importance of what was characterized at the time as marginal or peripheral (English Catholic, Jews and Hebraism, religiously active women, secularists or atheists). A master narrative of English religious and cultural history that does not highlight their importance distorts our sense of the past (17-18).

Despite the book's emphasis on diversity, all the essays in this volume have one thing in common: they are all firmly grounded in sound critical theory, yet none suffers from excessive theoretical jargon. In this regard, this text echoes one of the most traditional of religious paradoxes: there is unity in diversity.

Nicky Hallett. *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600-1800: Early Modern "Convents of Pleasure."* Farnham, Surrey, England: Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. xii+249. \$109.95. Review by ELENA LEVY-NAVARRO, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AT WHITEWATER.

In the last thirty years, scholarship of early modern religions has expanded our understanding of religious experiences and traditions by focusing less on a singular monolithic religious tradition, often assumed to be governed by a central official institutions, and more on multiple, more seemingly marginal religious experiences. Nicky Hallett's work has played no small part in this shift as she has immersed herself in the lives of early modern English Catholic nuns who left their Protestant homeland to become nuns in Carmelite convents in northern Europe (especially Antwerp). These nuns, unlike their more dogmatic militant brethren like the Jesuits, pursued a devotional life which seems rather indifferent to the authority of the Church. Hallett's nuns touch each other through their writing and reading lives. The book forms part of a diptych with her previous scholarly edition of their life writing, *Lives of Spirit: English Carmelite Self-Writing of the Early Modern Period* (Ashgate 2007). That edition made their writing broadly available to scholars; this one suggests a method of

reading those texts that illuminates their method of spiritually embodied reading.

Despite references to contemporary theorists such as postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha and queer theorist Eve Sedgwick, the strength of the book comes from her own intense engagement with the archives, the texts, and the writing, reading, and praying women themselves. Her careful readings of specific experiences and specific senses serve to frustrate modern secular sensibilities and expectations, especially of our own bodies. Unlike secular moderns, who since the enlightenment have typically seen bodies as distinct, and as objects to be examined by the investigator, the nuns took no such separation for granted. Indeed, they developed a “spiritual materialism,” in which their own embodied encounters with texts brought nun together with nun, even when they are divided by time, space, or even death (3). Theoretically, her book places the sense of touch methodologically front and center. As she announces, “Mine, I might say, is a history of contingency: things (most of all humans) touching” (3). Resisting even her organization of chapters, in which she approaches each sense individually, Hallett summarizes the organization of the book as follows: “I will focus in separate chapters on the seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting nun” (9). The gerund here underscores the extent to which each chapter gropes towards describing the “spiritual materialism” of the nuns, in which senses serve to bring the nuns in communion with each other.

Chapter one and two offer the methodology of the work in describing the “sensory reading” cultivated among these convents. Chapter one places the reading of the nuns’ lives with their experience of reading conduct manuals in England. Accomplished readers of conduct manuals, the nuns gradually learned to read the nuns’ lives with a similar goal of learning how to behave, comport themselves, and pray. The form of instruction, however, is not from the top down; instead, the nun learns to touch the other nun by their soulful engagement with the text. When two nuns were separated from each other, the Prioress of the Antwerp convent, Anne of Ascension (Anne Worsley) sent to her Carmelite sister, Catherine of the Blessed Sacrament (Catherine Windoe), a scapular. A text with a prayer written on it, a scapular was worn next to the body; thus in this piece of writing, the text serves

“as a means of keeping in touch both metaphorically and literally reducing the women’s separation” (74). What Hallett is underscoring would seem nonsensical to a (late) modern mind, since it depends on a “spiritual materialism.” The “literal” here is, as Hallett later suggests, something more like “sacramental,” as the two nuns’ are united with each other through a shared understanding of and commitment to a spiritual communion.

The way sense experience can touch others in unexpected ways is prominent throughout the chapters, but especially in chapter three on touch and chapter six on smell. Both suggest the extent to which experiences bring the sisters into communion with each other, including especially with the founder of their order, St. Teresa. Chapter three centers on the literal inheritance of Teresa’s hand, left to the Carmelite sisters at Avila. Hallett uses this story evocatively to suggest the extent to which they encounter Teresa bodily in encountering her in her writing. As Hallett explains, “The hands of Teresa are literally (well, literarily) central to her self-writing, and figuratively central to her posthumous iconography” (103). She explicitly argues that the hand of a St. Teresa functions very differently than other hands because, while other hands might signify a loss of individual agency, this hand defies such distinctions. When touched, kissed, and revered, it comes alive, “the dead giving something in return for the sign of lips’ fidelity” (107).

In chapter six, Hallett explores the transformative possibilities of smell. Arguing that it is a sense that is particularly challenging to modern linear understandings of time and space, Hallett focuses on how smell brings the nuns closer to their dead foremothers. Their experience of “sweet” smells brings them closer to their sisters. The nuns, for example, had communal experiences of the “sweet” smell of their deceased sisters, often on the anniversary of their death. Hallett describes this experience as having a sacramental quality, but one that is not mediated by a priest, but by their collective experiences: “Another account of the anniversary smell of Margaret of Jesus likens the scent specifically to the Teresian model, referring to ‘a Spanish perfume, which we call our BD Mother St Thereses smell’” (164). Her analysis demonstrates finally that, “sensory experience is quasi-sacramental and here specifically Carmelite.”

In short, this book will be of interest to a wide range of early modern scholars, whether interested in the history of reading, English Catholicism(s), or women's embodied experiences. Contemporary theorists of the body would do well to attend to the experiences of this small group of women precisely because they challenge some of our most basic assumptions of what be.

Susanne Woods. *Milton and the Poetics of Freedom*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2013. ix + 289 pp. \$58.00. Review by ANNA K. NARDO, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.

*Milton and the Poetics of Freedom* places itself alongside three "books arguing for Milton's continuing relevance" (247) that appeared between the turn of the millennium and the four hundredth anniversary of Milton's birth: Stanley Fish's *How Milton Works* (2001), Joseph Wittreich's *Why Milton Matters* (2006), and Nigel Smith's *Is Milton Better than Shakespeare?* (2008). Despite their considerable differences, all three of these Milton scholars would, I believe, agree with Woods's assertion that Milton matters now because he was "an important voice for defining freedom within the contestations of English-speaking culture" (1). Always aware of the plastic meanings and contradictory uses of the term "freedom" in Milton's culture and our own, Woods argues that Milton "more than any previous English writer, centers freedom in the act of rational, knowledgeable choice" (3). Woods's book approaches Miltonic freedom by mapping its antecedents in both political and literary history and by analyzing what she terms Milton's "invitational poetics" (5). She identifies a constellation of rhetorical and poetic techniques that take "advantage of interpretive spaces in metaphor and in varieties of indirect syntax" (196), through which Milton invites "his readers ... to enact their own freedom by choosing" (5).

Woods's readings of the 1645 *Poems, Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, Areopagitica, Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* will be familiar to most readers. "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" "set choices before the reader and invite the exercise of thoughtful choosing" (76); the stance of the Attendant Spirit at the end of *A*

*Mask* “is a posture of invitation toward right choice” (85); and in “Lycidas” the poet “leaves room for the reader to respond to questions his rhetoric raises, to complete or interpret the gaps and ambiguities the poet creates” (88). The divorce treatises reveal a mind rethinking “the transparency of Biblical authority” and modeling interpretive freedom for his readers (92); and in *Areopagitica* Milton delivers an eloquent “invitation to choose toward the virtuous self” (96). *Paradise Lost* presents the reader with “paradigmatic occasions that illustrate free will and put the act of choosing at the heart of creating an individual self” (104); both *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* confront the reader with “contradictory evidence, obscure purposes, ambivalent characters, and ambiguous signs,” in the midst of which the son, Samson, and the reader must know and choose (145).

Although these readings are not ground breaking, they amply demonstrate how, for example, the temptation scenes of *Paradise Lost* “put readers directly into the decision processes of Eve and Adam” (131). Here and elsewhere, Woods makes it clear why Milton is so much fun to teach. (In fact, a student might be inspired by her book to challenge her own statement that prelapsarian Eve does not know the experience of evil: “Professor Woods, don’t Eve’s tears of remorse after her Satanic dream signify a vicarious experience of evil?”)

Where Woods’s book does challenge us to think anew about Milton’s conception of freedom is by (a) tracing its roots in a native English tradition, (b) following its branches that grow toward opposing positions, (c) attending to the influence of Sir Phillip Sidney on Milton’s conception of poetic freedom, and (d) reading this ideation made manifest in words and syntax that invite qualifications, complications, even opposition.

Woods acknowledges the importance of “‘neo-Roman republicanism’ generated by early sixteenth-century humanists” (1) in the evolution of Milton’s idea of freedom. But she redirects our attention to the impact of “what may be called the popular tradition of English freedom” and its clash with James I’s theories of kingship (16). Likewise, she acknowledges that Spenser was Milton’s principal model for a national poet. But she again redirects our attention to what Milton learned from Sidney’s wrestling with the competing imperatives of poetic freedom and religious restraint (62) in a language that is “tenta-

tive, full of double negatives, surmise, and interrogatory constructions” (59), which challenge the reader to engagement.

Woods finds these linguistic challenges to the reader to a greater and lesser degree in all of Milton’s work. But her analysis of the metaphors, indirect locutions, double negatives, rhetorical questions, and surmises in *Areopagitica* persuasively demonstrates how Milton requires the reader to translate between the vehicle and tenor of his proliferating metaphors, to consider a statement in the context of its opposite, to answer his questions, and to weigh his surmises (99). Her study fittingly ends by tracing the effects of the “inspiring and indeterminate” rhetoric (173) of *Areopagitica* on two traditions of readers who have evolved “(what we now call) conservative and progressive definitions of individual freedom” (179). In the current debates by Washington think tank spokespersons between “‘liberty’ as free markets, unimpeded by government, and ‘liberty’ as social opportunity, aided by just governance,” Woods finds evidence that Milton’s “words ... have found force in the individual time and place of their interpreters” (195). Woods ends her contribution to recent testimonies to Milton’s continuing relevance with a brief excursus on the contribution of contemporary neuroscience to the discussion of human freedom, where the capaciousness of Milton’s mind, she argues, would have made him “quite at home” (197).

Barbara Wooding. *John Lowin and the English Theatre, 1603-1647*. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013. 209 pp. + 2 Figures and 1 Table. \$99.95. Review by NANCY M. BUNKER, MIDDLE GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE.

While John Lowin’s name may not be well known in the scholarly documents of theatre history, his career and role in early modern drama records a life spent working at the craft he loved. In this first comprehensive study, *John Lowin and the English Theatre, 1603-1647*, Barbara Wooding establishes the trajectory of a multi-talented man with deep ties to Southwark and the theatrical enterprise. She situates Lowin at the beginning of seventeenth-century drama, noting that his career developed after Shakespeare’s and after the death of theatre

pioneer James Burbage. Wooding examines Lowin's role as a performer, company manager, and parish leader.

Records of his function and purpose within the King's Men Company provide a narrative from which she traces the evolution of Jacobean then Caroline drama. From archives and snippets of information about his life outside the theatre, Wooding establishes a portrait of this less well-known man and the less-studied plays from which he fashioned a place among the players for over fifty years.

Wooding contextualizes Lowin's career from the beginning of the book, and maintains this emphasis throughout. She notes that his early credits on stage include roles in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus, his Fall* and John Marston's *The Malcontent*. Both plays involved controversy and censorship, which prepared him for the anti-theatrical prejudice hovering over the playhouse productions, and allowed him to study his craft among such greats as Richard Burbage, John Heminges, and Henry Condell. Partial cast lists show Lowin first undertaking the role of Politique Would-Be in *Volpone*, next Sir Epicure Mammon in *The Alchemist*, as well as Falstaff in Shakespearean revivals. Research indicates that he created the role of Henry VIII. Wooding points out that documentation of later roles relies on the printed texts because "for almost all of Lowin's known roles, there are no variant texts, and no surviving actors' parts (22). She addresses the treatise *Brief Conclusions upon dances, both of this age and of the olde*, Lowin's pamphlet written after the Gunpowder Plot and the playhouse closure due to plague in 1606, as a way of remaining professionally active with his peers while theatres were closed.

Wooding points out the critical shift in company history after the King's Men obtained Blackfriars. The opportunity for a wider repertory designed to meet both the newer "wealthier" audiences and the Globe's "citizen-based, mixed audience" intersected with works of Beaumont and Fletcher that had not been available to the King's Men (29). At this time, the role of Melantius in *The Maid's Tragedy* appears to be Lowin's creation, and he also participated in the pageant for the inauguration of London's Lord Mayor, Sir James Pemberton. Simultaneously, Lowin assumed a more active role as a citizen with duties and responsibility over apprentices and financial oversight in the rebuilding of the Globe. Wooding's commentary on the first decade

of Lowin's career advocates for his involvement as a player and for his work in a premier group with seasoned professionals. *All is True*, a Shakespeare/Fletcher collaboration, critiques "court extravagance" (48) during Henry VIII's reign; for Wooding, the blatant hostility of that play engages the wider political objective of interrogating England's dynastic leaders even as the "Empire was beginning to crumble" (49). The role as Bosola in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* marked career advancement as Lowin came to be associated with the play's long-standing popularity. Wooding suggests achieving the "balance between black humour and tragedy" proves his sophisticated and developing skills (58).

Among the more revealing facts of Lowin's career, his constancy remains a hallmark. Wooding's portrait of the actor's career explicates myriad sophisticated roles; the helpful Table closing Chapter 5 furnishes complete cast lists for seven plays in addition to *The Duchess of Malfi*, and delves into Lowin's roles amidst historical, political, and religious circumstances. She expertly examines his evolving development within the ever-shifting demands of public taste, treating each play as a case study, bringing clarity and understanding to the actor's roles. Lowin's repertoire included playing Domitianus Caesar in *The Roman Actor*, a new play that Philip Massinger brought to the stage upon taking over as lead playwright after Fletcher's death. The formidable character demanded a commanding stage presence who portrayed manipulative strategy and stubbornness but nothing that would threaten King Charles I. Lowin's old Counselor, Eubulus, in *The Picture*, portrays the voice of wisdom while addressing concern about powerful leaders who are inattentive to the "excesses of peace" (114). At this time, Lowin, along with Joseph Taylor, continued acting and took on administrative responsibilities for the King's Men after John Heminges' death.

*The Deserving Favourite* affords Lowin the role of Iacomo, a despicable character "without redeeming virtue, rapacious, cowardly, deceitful, and concupiscent," according to Wooding, demonstrating Lowin's superior acting accomplishments at a time when the distinction between court taste and public taste becomes noticeable (148). The one surviving manuscript of *The Swisser* affords textual scholars with a clean, carefully annotated text from which we can examine

Lowin's character, Andrucho. The actor works with "many of the preoccupations" (155) of earlier times as a disguised aristocrat who ferrets out lack of self-awareness and exploits dishonest appearances, especially those of "court deception" (156). *The Soldered Citizen* also has one surviving manuscript that suggests "notorious rather than successful highwayman" John Clavell's authorship (159). Lowin as Undermyne reprises comedic citizens echoing early sixteenth-century city comedy motifs; the character is the play's sole demonstration of self-discovery and personal development. Wooding's painstaking analysis of the facsimile deserves note as accounting of revisions and directions supports her claim for the text as a "working script for rehearsal" (175).

Lowin's role as Titus Flaminius in *Believe as You List* showed a vengeful and cruel behind-the-scenes catalyst for unrest and disorder. The controversial drama exploits the assurances of Fortune's wheel: once at the apex, a downfall begins immediately. Lowin as Belleur in *The Wild Goose Chase* embraces a comedy of humours that functions as a "paradigm for all the brittle battles of the sexes fought with wounding words rather than sharpened swords" whose popularity waned after the Restoration (192). Forever the craftsman, Lowin's comedic assignments in the repertory system of early modern theatre point to an exceptional actor who remained in the theatrical circle even during the civil war.

*John Lowin and the English Theatre, 1603-1647* offers scholars engaging insight into the activities of the King's Men Company, close critical readings of the plays foregrounding Lowin's characters, and his contribution to performance history. Wooding's straightforward methodology enhances her study: she brings aspects of early modern theatre history such as construction and management of the playhouse and "developments in dramatic practice and taste" (65) into a conversation about the company's leading playwrights and Lowin's roles, the economic and legal challenges, and the evolving prestige of players during the 60 years covered in her study. At every turn we are reminded that England's monarchs played a major role in the success of theatre; also, the omnipresent plagues threatened the viability of such entertainment, and players were among the most vulnerable of the nation's subjects. Her enquiry into Lowin's life deserves praise for

making familiar one of the leading actors of the London stage, especially for unearthing the historical documents with which we might re-envision the Jacobean/Caroline theatrical spectrum.

Jessica Dyson. *Staging Authority in Caroline England: Prerogative, Law and Order in Drama, 1625-1642*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013. 210 pp. \$109.95. Review by ELISA OH, HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

Encompassing literature, legal history, and politics, Jessica Dyson's *Staging Authority in Caroline England: Prerogative, Law and Order in Drama, 1625-1642* analyzes plays by Phillip Massinger, Richard Brome, Ben Jonson, James Shirley, and John Ford in the context of English legal debates about sovereign prerogative and legitimate legal authority in the two decades leading up to the Civil War. Building on Martin Butler's political readings of Caroline drama, Dyson contends that plays in the commercial theater during Charles I's reign debated the king's use of arbitrary sovereign prerogative over taxation, imprisonment, billeting troops, and monopolies. Dyson's welcome political approach to reading these plays argues that they increasingly criticized Charles's insistence on the divinely supported royal prerogative to act outside the law and that they presented alternative legitimate legal authorities. Furthermore, Dyson asserts that "[i]n over-asserting kingly and central authority, the plays suggest, Charles's policies raise the possibilities of destabilisation, fragmentation and disintegration of legitimate legal authority" (13).

In each chapter, Dyson frames her close readings of the plays with a specific seventeenth-century legal discourse of sovereign authority and the king's proper relationship to the law. Chapter 1, "Rights, Prerogatives and Law: The Petition of Right," situates Jonson's *The New Inn* and Brome's *The Love-sick Court* or *The Ambitious Politique* in the context of the dissatisfaction expressed in 1628 by Parliament's Petition of Right, which urged the king to limit his legal prerogative. Dyson argues that *The New Inn* "advocates the balance of subjects' rights against a moderated, if not curtailed, royal prerogative" (20). The play's mock court set up by women and ruled over by the servant Pru shows a struggle for individual rights when characters present

demands as petitions and debate the undeserved promotion of court favorites. Thus, on one hand, the play presents the complaints in the Petition of Right as legitimate, but, on the other hand, it also sets limits on the use of petitions and models a sovereign taking advice from counselors. Similarly, Dyson claims that *The Love-sick Court* references the Petition of Right “as an example of good government to advocate co-operation between the people, parliament and monarch, and emphasise the common good over individual concerns for power and privilege” (31). This play represents two unhealthy extremes—a court full of useless courtiers obsessed with debating neo-Platonism and a dangerously ambitious royal favorite—but ultimately proposes a “middle way” (44) of governing like the country swains, who embody active, loyal parliamentary figures.

Chapter 2, “Shaking the Foundations of Royal Authority: From Divine Right to the King’s Will,” begins by outlining relevant early modern political theories of royal authority. Divine right posited that the king’s power came from God and that, regardless of tyrannical behavior, he was subject to no person or earthly law. The related idea of patriarchalism justified the king’s sovereignty with the biblical primacy accorded to fathers, including “fathers” of their countries. However, contract theorists argued that the king derived his authority from the collective sovereignty of his people, who had the right to impose conditions upon his legal authority and revoke his power if he became a tyrant. Dyson traces the representations of kingly authority in three Massinger plays and points to the increasing emphasis on the kings’ fallibility and arbitrary individual will: while *The Roman Actor* (1626) presents legitimate though improperly wielded divine right royal power, *The Emperour of the East* (1631) questions the king’s authority over monopolies, taxation, and private property, and *The Guardian* (1633) criticizes unlimited royal prerogative.

Chapter 3, “Debating Legal Authorities: Common Law and Prerogative” turns to the early modern discourse of common law, its claims to legitimate legal authority, and its representation in Brome’s *The Queenes Exchange*, *The Antipodes*, and *The Queen and Concubine*. Dyson introduces legal arguments for the formation of unwritten English common law, and she explains how its authority comes from common law’s origins in immemorial custom. Legal theorists claimed

that it was derived from natural law and tested through so many years of experience that it promoted the good of all in society. Therefore, the traditional authority of common law discouraged the introduction of new laws or changes through royal prerogative unless a custom was proven contrary to reason. In each Brome play, “the state of the monarch-figure’s marriage is an index of the stability of the country. However...these plays go beyond advocating merely a marriage of law and prerogative, instead evoking images of monarchy governed by law” (89). Furthermore, these three plays represent unlimited royal prerogative, particularly when it attempts to overrule established law, as a descent into madness.

In Chapter 4, “Decentralising Legal Authority: From the Centre to the Provinces,” Dyson outlines the duties and descending hierarchies of legal authority from the king to the provinces to illuminate Brome’s *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, Jonson’s *A Tale of a Tub*, and Brome’s *A Joviall Crew*. These plays highlight how local officials such as constables and Justices of the Peace often faced conflicting loyalties and difficult negotiations between the demands of the central royal authority and the local communities where they lived. In contrast to other critics of the play, Dyson asserts that there is no divided authority in *The Weeding of Covent Garden* but rather the ultimate recognition of and submission to the legitimate authority of the Justice of the Peace. *A Tale of a Tub* presents “[t]he manipulation of law and legal authority for personal ends ... [and] critiques the Caroline court’s self-interested interventions in the provinces” (154). In *A Joviall Crew* Dyson contrasts fears of Charles’s prerogative rule in Justice Clack’s selfish, arbitrary absolutism with a respect for traditional liberties and rule by ancient customary laws akin to common law in the beggars’ “commonwealth.” For Dyson, Springlove and Amie’s meeting at the beggars’ commonwealth represents a much-needed compromise between harmful royal prerogative and a king who governs with parliament and within common law. However, this play still threatens a complete fracture in the “chain” of functioning legal authority from center to province and in society itself.

Chapter 5, “Theatre of the Courtroom,” outlines the jurisdictions of the different seventeenth-century courts yet resists drawing specific historical parallels in its close readings of trial scenes in Massinger’s

*The Roman Actor*, Ford's *The Ladies Triall*, Brome's *The Antipodes*, and Shirley's *The Traytor*. Unified by the premise of a trial, these scenes ask the audience to question the proper exercise of centralized legal authority, but all the other examples of legal functions and dysfunctions in the book could equally well make the audience question legitimate legal authority. While it is true that "[t]he empty seats of justice in *The Traytor*'s trial scene is the most obvious representation of the destabilisation of legal authority" (188) in the book, it would be more useful to join the discussion of the trials in *The Roman Actor* and *The Antipodes* to the discussion of these plays in earlier chapters. The Epilogue addresses Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace*, which was presented to the king by gentlemen from all four Inns of Court. Dyson claims that the masque's unusually public lawyers' procession comprised "a real triumph of the law through the Inns' successful appropriation of royal iconography" (190). Though troubling aspects of Charles's personal rule can be read in the ambivalent characters of the antimasques, the masque itself staged the triumphant union of the king and the law, instructing Charles through praise of a self-moderated royal authority.

Dyson's contextualization of these Caroline plays continues an important discussion of the legal and political history that informs their composition, performance, and reception. The close readings are sound and thorough, though Dyson's arguments are often difficult to locate due to her tentative claims about what the plays do beyond "explore," "engage," "examine," and "address" issues of legal authority and her tendency to reserve comprehensive, assertive statements for the ends of chapters. Furthermore, there is an embedded chronological argument that needs to be brought to the surface: the book indirectly demonstrates that English drama from 1625 to 1642 featured increasingly negative representations of royal prerogative and fragmented or absent legal authority. Though this chronological argument is made explicitly in Chapter 2, it is not foregrounded in the introduction, is buried in other chapters, and is only fully articulated in the concluding sentence of the book: "Charles I's attempts to gain greater and tighter control over the laws of the kingdom, asserting himself as the authoritative legitimate legal power, led to an increased emphasis on the legitimacy of the common law and local custom as meaningful

alternatives to the King's will as law in maintaining order" (199). The analysis of each play could also benefit from a fuller critical apparatus, and, though Dyson omits depictions of republics and republicans "to avoid temptation or accusation of reading with hindsight" (7), future work on this topic will hopefully interpret representations of these more radical political theories. Nonetheless, this study will be of interest to scholars of seventeenth-century drama, legal history, and the intellectual history of England's evolution toward royalist and parliamentary polarization.

Adrian Wilson. *Ritual and Conflict: The Social Relations of Childbirth in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. vii + 261 pp. \$124.95. Review by KAROL KOVALOVICH WEAVER, SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY.

Adrian Wilson's *Ritual and Conflict: The Social Relations of Childbirth in Early Modern England* considers the social networks that shaped childbirth in seventeenth-century England. Wilson looks at the "relationships, institutions, and customs" that dealt with childbirth. The author investigates illegitimacy, marriage, and the ceremony of childbirth, applying a method derived from Michel Foucault that looks at occasions when women worked with or against the prevailing gender order. Wilson's work is noteworthy because of its strong and clear analysis and its use of fascinating and intriguing case studies.

Wilson starts out his text by focusing on illegitimacy. He does so for three main reasons: to contrast it with marriage (the topic he addresses in the second section of the book); to show its connections to the church and state, institutions or social networks that had profound influences on childbearing; and to highlight how bastard-bearing was a circumstance that many women of the seventeenth century might find themselves dealing with. The author demonstrates that rituals affected illegitimacy. Due to social customs that sanctioned premarital sex, many couples found that they were expecting babies before their vows were exchanged. Regional practices like spousals, "contracts of marriage...lacking force in law (14)," for example, allowed for premarital sex and resulted in expectant mothers. Wilson also shows that conflict

also influenced bastard bearing. Differences in power between servant women and their male employers led to sexual harassment, forced sexual relations, and illegitimate births. Local, state, and ecclesiastical authorities opposed bastard-bearers, in large part because of the financial costs that would accrue to communities forced to support single mothers and their fatherless children. In some cases, women were forcibly removed from the town in which they lived. Mothers dealt with the prevailing gender order surrounding illegitimacy in a variety of ways: they accepted the punishments given them by the church and state, they relied on the kindness and generosity of their parents, they aborted their fetuses, and they abandoned their infants. Wilson thus demonstrates that illegitimacy forced women to work with or against the prevailing gender order.

Marriage is the second topic that Wilson addresses. Wilson assesses the ways by which marriage functioned as a reciprocal, symmetrical, and asymmetrical arrangement between the husband and the wife. He looks at these three characteristics in order to gauge the distribution of power in the marital relationship. He shows how the marriage ceremony in the *Book of Common Prayer* affirmed these three qualities and then analyzes how they played out in theory and in practice. Religious tradition, common law, and philosophical works all preached masculine dominance within marriage, but popular cultural traditions clearly indicate that the marriage relationship was characterized by conflict, cooperation, and contest. Wilson points out women were sometimes “on top” (193).

The author’s analysis of the marital relationship is well-written and engaging. For example, his discussion of the Skimmington ritual is a fine example of how he uses case studies to explain his argument. However, the two chapters (2 & 3) devoted to the topic of marriage make little reference to childbirth. The reader should not be discouraged by this lack of reference to the book’s main theme because Wilson skillfully weaves his strands of thought together and produces a rich and creative tapestry of ideas concerning childbirth in chapter 4.

The final full chapter of Wilson’s book concerns the ceremony of childbirth. Wilson shows how the rituals surrounding childbirth depended on social networks that tied the pregnant woman to her midwife and her gossips. He also highlights how these same customs

separated the new mother from her husband physically, sexually, and socially and that they demanded from the husband an outlay of resources and economic support; the husband endured “the gander month” (175). Women’s shaping of religious traditions, like churching and baptism, also points to the power that they wielded as a result of childbirth. Wilson concludes, “The underlying conflict [around childbirth] appears as a social one...as arising from the structural inequalities of the conjugal state” and “women’s collective practices actually abolished, male conjugal authority, albeit temporarily” (212). Wilson explains that, although women depended on and helped other women during childbirth, they also, at times, stood in conflict with these same women. An individual mother, for instance, might reject the midwife who served her at her previous birth, and, instead, opt for the services of another midwife, a decision she might make in concert with her husband. Wilson once again illustrates that women worked with or against the prevailing gender order.

Wilson’s book is an excellent read and a variety of scholars will be interested in his work. Gender historians will appreciate his skillful and nuanced analysis of illegitimacy, marriage, and childbirth. Historians of medicine, specifically scholars who specialize in the history of obstetrics, might heed his call that they pay greater attention to the social parameters of medical practice and care. Finally, historians in general will be inspired by his creative use of both primary and secondary sources.

William Kuskin. *Recursive Origins: Writing at the Transition to Modernity*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2013. xv + 278 pp. \$35.00. Review by THOMAS P. ANDERSON, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY.

*Recursive Origins* is an innovative account of literary influence between fifteenth-century English literature and Renaissance texts generally perceived to share a literary inheritance with classical sources and not the literature from Late Middle Ages. Shakespeare and Spenser figure prominently in this thought-provoking study, as William Kuskin connects their writing to late-medieval authors such as Caxton, Hoccleve, Lydgate, and Chaucer. As a case study in

intertextuality and influence, Kuskin's book is provocative and directs a colder eye to assumptions about early modernity's indebtedness to heretofore under-studied English authors; Kuskin, however, sets out to accomplish more than a study in literary influence. Indeed, the more ambitious aim of *Recursive Origins* is to unsettle assumptions about periodization as it theorizes a concept of literary history that, as Kuskin writes, seeks to redefine "the relationship between literature, period, and time" (13).

Kuskin's cogent seventeen-page introduction offers a clearly elaborated account of the concept of recursion as a form of literary history. He clarifies his philosophical understanding of time and literary history, informed by theorists such as Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, Marshall McLuhan, and John Guillory, through associations with cultural icons as disparate as Keith Richards of *The Rolling Stones* and M.C. Escher. For Kuskin, Richards and Escher are linked in that they intuit the power of recursion as a "trope of return that produces representation through embedded self-reference" (9)—a trope evident in acts of writing and reading that, for Kuskin, allows us to understand "connections in a non-linear pattern of association" (13). This insight is perhaps the book's most urgent for its humanist audience: the nonlinear pattern of association generates "unbounded movement" (13) that makes us "more capable of finding who we once were and who we might still be" (13). In emphasizing multiple temporalities over forms of time characterized by chronology or segmented history, Kuskin aligns his methodology with recent important work from Kathleen Davis and Jonathan Gil Harris. Like those critics, Kuskin seeks to escape the regulatory force of linear history to demonstrate that "[n]o longer constrained by period, we can move across literary time more fluidly" (14).

The book's five chapters demonstrate the value of this approach to literary history. The first chapter on Martial's epigram on authorship—"Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos"—establishes Kuskin's application of the concept of recursive origins as a form of literary history. His argument hinges on the idea that late medieval writers such as Lydgate or Caxton are rendered invisible, "barely an author" (46), yet their literary voices are present in the "spiraling references within the codes of literary production" (46) in the early modern pe-

riod and come to define the advent of modernity. The following four chapters—one on Spenser and the other three on Shakespeare—establish recursion as central to important originary moments for early modern literature, specifically the birth of the modern poet and the first emergence of dramatic literature in print. According to Kuskin, these moments thought to be singular expressions of modernity “are recursively interconnected with the literature of the previous century, demonstrably contingent upon and subordinating the literary culture of John Lydgate and William Caxton” (16).

Kuskin’s second chapter on Spenser clearly demonstrates the potential of a recursive literary history explored chapter one. Looking closely at the paratextual and intertextual traces of Chaucerian literary form in Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calendar*, Kuskin shows how Spenser and his contemporaries acknowledge the influence but alienate it into history “so as to write themselves modern while simultaneously reading deeply into the past’s rhetoric” (54). In the *Calendar*, according to Kuskin, multiple authorizing voices emerge to seemingly challenge the possibility of a unified poetic voice while also, in the end, speaking “as one, as Spenser” (60). In the transmission of literary authority from Chaucer to Spenser, Lydgate is an essential intermediary: “Lydgate represents himself as a poet by embedding the representation of Chaucer as a poet within his poetry, and, in turn, Spenser does the same to Lydgate” (61). Central to this argument is what Kuskin calls the lasting presence of books that complicate any “reckoning of time” (84) by allowing the literary past to intrude anachronistically into the present.

It is Kuskin’s insistence on including the technology of print culture in questions about the form and content of literary history that sets *Recursive Origins* apart from other accounts of textual transmission. Kuskin’s three chapters on Shakespeare offer exciting readings of the playwright and poet within this context; specifically, he examines the dramatic quarto of *2 Henry VI*, the intertextual and formal relationship between Caxton’s *Recuyell* and *Troilus and Cressida*, and the Pavier Quartos, a collection of ten plays published by a group of men who went on to publish the First Folio. Taken together, the three chapters on Shakespeare’s recursion establish the early modern playwright as the central figure in the type of literary history traced by Kuskin. Ac-

according to Kuskin, as an “icon to modernity” (7), Shakespeare’s debt to a more local and immediate past is often overshadowed by the critical desire to trace his allegiance to a more refined classical literary history. What *Recursive Origins* seeks to prove is that Shakespeare and his editors were reliant on what are now non-canonical texts from late-medieval writers such as Hoccleve, Lydgate, Caxton, and the anonymous chroniclers of the mid-fifteenth century. For Kuskin, Shakespeare’s long shadow of modernity, embodied in *The Folio* that proclaims the author dead, effectively “seals the past away from the reader, closing it off as a period that cannot be accessed directly and, paradoxically, resurrecting him as immortal in its place” (205). It is this alienation from history—a history that, according to Kuskin, is made immediate in the act of producing and reading books—which he seeks to redress in his study.

Some readers may fairly come away from Kuskin’s book feeling uneasy about how it characterizes recent scholarly accounts of literary history as “totalizing divisions that insist that things come from themselves” (5); others may think that Kuskin’s insights about the literary impact of the Late Middle Ages on the early modern period might have more in common with Harold Bloom’s anxiety of influence than the book admits. I think this would be a misreading of Kuskin’s original argument. In the end, Bloom understands supersession as the goal of literary achievement: the clineman, or swerve, a great poet takes to surpass a precursor poet. Kuskin refuses this premise, instead focusing on how literature from the fifteenth century is embedded in the greatest early modern literary achievements and actively disavowed in order to establish the impression of a break in time signaling the advent of modernity. Kuskin’s discovery that intertextuality and influence are, in fact, literary tropes that link past and present to a future reader is one more reminder, *pace* Bruno Latour, that we have never been modern.

Jacob Blevins. *Humanism and Classical Crisis: Anxiety, Intertexts and the Miltonic Memory*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2014. ix + 172pp. \$62.95. Review by ADAM SWANN, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Any new book on the relationship between Renaissance writers and the classical world is entering an already crowded field, but Jacob Blevins is right to note that the “psychic conflict between humanists and their rediscovery and literary representation of Rome” (31) has not yet been explored. Blevins finds the epicentre of the titular “classical crisis” in the material, textual, and ideological ruins of Rome, which was a “Rome that in one sense had to be recovered and restored, but ultimately replaced” (31).

He opens *Humanism and Classical Crisis* with the arresting contention that “the act of literary appropriation of classical texts and culture during the early modern period ... is primarily the result of a psychical process of identity construction and only secondarily a matter of historical literary development” (1). Blevins uses the term “psychical” rather than “psychological” throughout the book to sidestep the latter word’s associations with the clinical practice, and the psychoanalytical angle of his approach is evident in his claim that “one must approach intertextuality as fundamentally part of a psychical process, and any given text a kind of amalgamation of psychical influence” (1).

Blevins’s psychoanalytical approach, of course, is indebted to Harold Bloom’s *Anxiety of Influence*, and Blevins recognises that “Bloom’s ideas regarding the psychical origins of literary creation are the foundation of the current study” (3). Nevertheless, “one of the most obvious shortcomings in Harold Bloom’s theory of influence is that the key concept, ‘anxiety’, is never systematically or analytically dealt with” (14), and this shortcoming is ably and amply remedied in *Humanism and Classical Crisis*.

In a first chapter remarkable for its concision and lucidity, Blevins delineates his understanding of Lacan’s three orders of the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real. But this theoretical framework is not established in order to launch a Lacanian critique of Bloom; rather, Blevins intends only to “use Lacan as a supplement to realise more fully the implications of Bloom ... for Renaissance humanism” (25).

Chapter Two begins with a discussion of the Pléiade, and Blevins's analysis of du Bellay's *Les Antiquitez de Rome* yields a number of interesting tidbits that would have warranted more extended investigation. The subsequent section on Jonson and Shakespeare's Roman plays is more satisfying. Starting from the solid, if not exactly revolutionary, observation that these plays involve "an ideological struggle between a past Rome and a changing present Rome" (45), Blevins goes on to tease out the psychical ramifications of this assertion. In *Catiline* and *Julius Caesar* "all the characters struggle to come to terms with a vision of Rome that is idealised but not *realised*" (51), and this unresolved tension renders these plays archetypal embodiments of the humanist psychical anxiety regarding Rome.

Chapter Three's analysis of Marvell's twin poems, "Hortus" and "The Garden," provides a neat microcosm of the book as a whole. Blevins rightly identifies Marvell's classicism as "representative of humanism's pre-enlightenment culmination of literary expression" (67). Considered in isolation, "Hortus" contains "absolutely nothing English ..., nothing Christian, nothing that identifies or creates a seventeenth-century literary voice" (69); yet "The Garden" is more than just a straightforward imitation of its Latin counterpart. Blevins deftly unpicks the subtle differences between the two poems, showing how the "primary goal" in "The Garden" "seems to be to redefine and ultimately reassess the valorization of the classical in the Latin version" (70). By inserting Christian Neoplatonic considerations of beauty into "The Garden," Marvell, Blevins maintains, ruptures the classical unity of the original with a Christian anachronism. This strategy was a favourite of Marvell's friend Milton, so it is naturally to him that Blevins turns next.

Chapter Four starts from the observation that the Milton scholarship of the last few decades has moved away from persistently eliding the differences in Milton's corpus, and now attempts "to show that ambiguity, doubt, paradox, and irreconcilable ideological splits are at the heart of Milton's work" (86). For Blevins, the humanist anxiety regarding literary tradition is most pronounced in Milton, whose "dialogue with past literature becomes an integral part of his self-construction as a poet ... and his *Christian* ideological construction is constantly at odds with that" (88). Blevins makes astute selections

from across Milton's canon, ranging from "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" to *Samson Agonistes*. Milton's nativity ode is shaped by the conflict between classical and Christian, and Blevins finds the poem not only representing the classical past, but "explicitly and deliberately attack[ing it] ... and it is only through that attack that he is able to situate himself as a poet of the present" (105). But Blevins resists the critical tendency to judge the nativity ode as a success because it successfully elevates Christ above paganism or as a failure because its structure remains resolutely classical. Instead, he argues that the poem does not succeed or fail on such terms, because in all its vacillation and uncertainty it in fact embodies "the humanist *process*; this process is how literary identity is constructed" (106).

Blevins ably develops his discussion of Milton's relationship with the classical world in Chapter Five, which focuses on the representation of the heroic in *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*. Both works invoke classical forms—epic in *Paradise Lost* and tragedy in *Samson*—but these "initial identification[s] with the classical past ... will soon be usurped and challenged by [Milton's] poetic projection" (132). While Blevins adds little new to prior critical discussions of Satan's role as a hero, he argues that *Samson*, although avoiding "direct comparison with classical heroes," nevertheless depicts the eponymous character as a hero and "represents a mode of heroism that can be both classical and Christian simultaneously" (143).

Milton's classicism is "not a seamless blending of his past and present, but rather an active, anxious attempt at finding a balance" between classical tradition and Christian ideology (145), and in this he is emblematic of the other writers discussed in this book. Blevins is at his most persuasive when he rejects the fallacy of seamless literary influence and instead draws our attention to the joins in the fabric. *Humanism and Classical Crisis* therefore offers an incisive and insightful investigation of the anxieties of early modern intertextuality, and is a compelling portrait of humanists worrying at the edges.

Cristina Malcolmson. *Studies of Skin Color in the Early Royal Society: Boyle, Cavendish, and Swift*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. xii + 233 pp. + 3 illustrations. \$99.95. Review by KAROL KOVALOVICH WEAVER, SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY.

Cristina Malcolmson's *Studies of Skin Color in the Early Royal Society: Boyle, Cavendish, and Swift* considers how the Royal Society's interest in skin color contributed to the development of race theory and supported English colonialism. As her subtitle indicates, Malcolmson also analyzes fantasy authors, namely Margaret Cavendish and Jonathan Swift, who criticized the Royal Society's projects. Malcolmson's book is noteworthy for its clear argument, its excellent use of literary sources, its creative gender analysis, and its status as a metropolitan history in light of Atlantic studies.

The author clearly shows how the Royal Society made skin color an important topic of study and discussion in the seventeenth century, how this interest served the colonial agenda of England at the time, and how this focus influenced the elaboration of race. Malcolmson writes, "thus colonialism and science collaborated to focus attention on skin color, and the result was an increasing interest in race as inherent difference" (7). Furthermore, she notes that "the intertwined institutions of government, colonialism, the slave trade, and science were collaborating to usher [race] into public view" [5]. Specifically, Malcolmson concentrates on the work of Robert Boyle and she demonstrates that his study of skin color promoted the intellectual and colonial interests of men of science. The stress on skin color helped to formulate the experimental method and constructed the qualifications needed in order to be recognized as a skillful naturalist and scientist. Finally, debates over skin color shaped the treatment of slaves and the evolution of the slave trade.

In addition to presenting a clear argument, Malcolmson incorporates fascinating literary sources, including the works of Margaret Cavendish and Jonathan Swift. Specifically, the author analyzes the satirical fantasy novels written by Cavendish and Swift to highlight how these writers critiqued the Royal Society, its members, and its scientific projects, namely its skin color studies. Cavendish's *The Blazing World*, for example, exposes "the cultural bias of English scientists

in their observations of non-Europeans" (114). Moreover, Cavendish questioned the animal-human divide put forth by scientists. Malcolmson writes, "In *The Blazing World*, the 'creatures' are not passive objects to be observed, known, and manipulated; they are active participants in the development of knowledge" (130). Similarly, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* mocks the skin color studies undertaken by members of the Royal Society. According to Malcolmson, Swift saw their work "as a form of cultural narcissism and an attempt at domination" (177).

Besides her innovative incorporation of literary sources, Malcolmson does a fine job examining skin color with reference to gender and race. She notes that scientists identified a difference between European and non-European women—namely, that mothers were responsible for the change of color in their children as a result of imagination, but that only white women possessed this ability. The author states, "This concept racializes a distinction between European women, for whom pregnancy and the birth process is fraught with difficulties, and non-European women, characterized in the literature as experiencing painless childbirth with no vulnerability to mental influences" (149). Malcolmson concludes that this gender and racial divide subordinated both white women, whose imagination needed to be policed to prevent any potential ill effects, and women of color, whose perceived physicality was used to justify the sexual, bodily, and social abuse to which they were subject.

Malcolmson closes the volume by emphasizing that her book is significant to the history of science even though it is outside "the new model for studying the center and periphery" (189) which focuses on knowledge development by both colonizers and colonized. She acknowledges, "Obviously, I have not followed that model in this book. This study focuses on the 'gentlemanly natural philosopher,' and on the development of European knowledge. However, I hope I have exposed the 'dependencies and limits' of that knowledge, especially as it was constructed about and at the cost of ... 'radically different peoples'" (189). One wonders whether Malcolmson's explanation was prompted by a manuscript reader or suggested by an editor. Whatever the case, no explanation seemed necessary. She didn't need to justify her work or compare it to what Atlantic scholars are doing. Malcolmson's text succeeded in what it set out to do: it investigated seventeenth-century

studies of skin color by members of the Royal Society and showed how these research projects supported the imperialistic plans of England.

Finally, a variety of scholars will be interested in her work. Historians of science will welcome her discussion of the Royal Society. Literary scholars will enjoy her analysis of Cavendish and Swift. Persons interested in women's studies will appreciate her investigation of how gender differences between European women and women of color shaped notions of race in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Sir Thomas Herbert. *Travels in Africa Persia, and Asia the Great*. Ed. and Intro. John Anthony Butler. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012. xcvii + 904 pp. + 18 illus. \$120.00. Review by M. G. AUNE, CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Sir Thomas Herbert (1606-1682) is best known as a companion to Charles I in the last years of the monarch's life. Herbert was also one of a group of English and Scotsmen who emerged in the seventeenth century, journeying great distances and returning to write lengthy travel narratives about their experiences. Thomas Coryate (1579-1618), William Lithgow (1582-1645), and Henry Blount (1602-1682) among others, traveled east, alone or in small groups and returned to write accounts of their adventures with themselves at the center of their narratives. Their books were typically encyclopedic, indebted to humanist conventions of the previous century. Herbert's *Travels* was among the most popular, appearing in five printings between 1634 and 1677.

A distant relative of the earls of Pembroke, Herbert aspired to the bar attending Cambridge and Oxford. His family connections placed him in Sir Robert Sherley and Sir Dodmore Cotton's diplomatic mission to Persia in 1627. Upon his return three years later, Herbert was appointed esquire of the body to Charles I and supported the king during the English Civil War. One of the few men who served the king and then Parliament, Herbert spent the interregnum in Ireland as a commissioner. At the Restoration, Charles II made him a baronet. He spent the rest of his years writing about his experiences during and after the war.

The mission to Persia was ultimately a failure—both Cotton and Sherley died early in the journey. Little was left for Herbert and the other members of the embassy to do. Before returning to England, however, they made an extensive tour of Persia and the surrounding regions. Herbert made the best of the experience by composing a narrative of the journey there and back with digressions on the various places and peoples he encountered. The voyage out began in Dover, sailed via the Canary Islands, Robben Island, around the Cape of Good Hope, stopped at Madagascar, Ethiopia, Goa, and Surat seeing Coryate's grave, eventually arriving at Gambrun [Bandar Abbas]. The delegation traveled throughout Persia before arriving at the Shah's court in Qazvin, where Sherley and Cotton died. Herbert and the remaining English returned through India and again around the Cape.

After his return, while waiting to assume his position at court Herbert wrote the first version of his travel narrative, *A Description of the Persian Monarchy now beinge: the Orientall Indyas, Iles and other parts of the greater Asia and Africk* (1634). The book was an impressive folio with an engraved title page and thirty-five copperplate engravings and maps. Herbert continued to work on the book, producing an enlarged edition entitled *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* in 1638. A third revision that included still more, largely historical material, had three printings in 1664, 1665, and 1677. The 1665 edition is noteworthy for the inclusion of an engraving of Persepolis by Wenceslas Hollar, commissioned by Herbert. Modern editions include an abridged 1677 version (1928) and a facsimile reprint of the 1634 (1971).

Following the conventions of early modern travel writing, Herbert interspersed historical, cultural, geographical, and theological digressions throughout his itinerary. He included an account of Prester John, Noah's Ark and an early description of Persepolis. Word lists from Persian, Malay and other languages were also included. Of particular interest were the illustrations of people, animals, and places along with several maps, mostly based on Herbert's own sketches.

John Anthony Butler, associate professor of the Humanities at the University College of the North in The Pas, Manitoba has undertaken the editing of an annotated edition of Herbert's last version. As a biographer of Richard Cromwell, author of books on James I, and

editor of editions of Francis Godwin's *Man in the Moon* and Edward Herbert's *Pagan Religion*, Butler brings a depth of experience and wide research to Herbert's text.

The book begins with nearly one hundred pages of background materials. Butler provides a detailed, well-researched biography of Herbert, essays on seventeenth-century travel writing, Herbert's sources, historical sketches of Persia, India and their relations with England, Robert Sherley, and brief accounts of Herbert's representations of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Zoroastrianism. These sections helpfully establish a context for Herbert's books and a sense of his audience and draw together wide-ranging modern sources on early modern travel, travel writing, and the East.

The preface, however, disappoints on two accounts. First, it neglects the importance of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tradition of humanist travel and travel writing. Later notions of travel as self-promotional or educational, such as espoused by Bacon, are covered, but not the sense that a man would travel and write in order to create a *copia* of knowledge for the use of fellow humanists. This tendency is most evident in Herbert's continual revisions of his book, adding material from other writers about places he never visited. Butler characterizes these additions as motivated by Herbert's realization "that his great adventure would never be repeated" (*lxxxix*). While this insight into Herbert's personality may or may not be true, the practice of incorporating other writer's material into one's own travel narrative was a familiar practice at least since Marco Polo.

The second disappointment is the introduction's tendency to summarize Herbert's ideological positions rather than engage with them. As regards Herbert's depiction of Islam, Butler writes "Herbert's attitude toward Islam is that of a typical Protestant Christian; he is an inheritor, to a great extent, of all the prejudices and misconceptions about Islam and its prophet which had been expounded in the writings of Europeans since medieval times" (*lxxxi*). While this is certainly true; it is not universal. A number of Englishmen, such as Henry Blount, were aware of such prejudices and engaged with Islam (and other faiths) from positions of intellectual curiosity rather than anxious insecurity.

Butler writes that he prepared his edition for a general as well as a scholarly audience, modernizing the spelling and punctuation.

Sentence structure was also modified when he found it difficult to follow. Liberal quantities of footnotes clarify passages, though the majority are historical, geographical, and contextual. An extensive bibliography is divided into primary and secondary sources. Several appendices include passages from the first edition, omitted by Herbert in the last, as well as lists of Persian, Mughal, and Ottoman rulers.

Unfortunately, the text lacks an index and modern maps. It retains only about fifteen of Herbert's engravings, which seem to be derived from Early English Books Online page images rather than scans or photographs of the original pages. The images are legible, but blurry.

Altogether, this edition of Herbert's *Travels* will no doubt be helpful to scholars researching early modern travel writing and accounts of Persia and India. The footnotes will be of particular use. The rest of the ancillary materials and the absence of images and an index, however, cause the book to fall short of being as valuable a contribution to scholarship as it could have been.

Axel Erdmann, Alberto Govi & Fabrizio Govi, eds. *Ars Epistolica: Communication in Sixteenth Century Western Europe: Epistolaries, Letter-writing Manuals and Model Letter Books 1501-1600*. by With an Introduction by Judith Rice Henderson. Lucerne: Gilhofer & Ranschburg; Libreria Alberto Govi, 2014. xxv + 771 pp. with illustrations. 150 €. Review DONALD R. DICKSON, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

*Ars Epistolica* is clearly a labor of love for Axel Erdmann, Alberto Govi, and Fabrizio Govi, who are all prominent antiquarian booksellers and bibliophiles. Their meticulous documentation of the art of letter writing will be of interest to students and scholars of the Renaissance, who often seem to undervalue the significance of the familiar letter in *respublica literaria*. Certainly book collectors will also find *Ars Epistolica* an invaluable resource.

The volume is introduced by Prof. Judith Rice Henderson who offers an historical overview of the medieval *ars dictaminis* and the rise of new models for epistolography after Cicero's letters were recovered in the Renaissance. She describes the efforts of Erasmus and those of

Protestant scholars to provide guides that modeled effective letters. While her thirteen large pages paint this picture in broad strokes, giving many names and dates, one wishes more space had been allotted to this task. What principles do the most significant guides establish for the *ars epistolica*; what creedal differences are actually reflected in the various guides; how would an English schoolboy studying Roger Ascham produce a letter that differed from a German schoolboy studying Johann Sturm; etc. In a volume with over eight hundred folio pages, a fulsome introduction to the art of letter writing would not have been amiss.

*Ars Epistolica* is divided into two parts, the first of which is a descriptive bibliography of 171 works printed between 1501 and 1600, which are subdivided into three sections: a) letter collections by single authors and anthologies; b) letter-writing manuals; and c) various letter collections, fictitious letter collections and some letter collections by fifteenth-century authors (mostly schoolbook editions printed in the sixteenth century). Nearly two-thirds of the whole is devoted to the letter collections in this first section. Each entry has a full bibliographic description (i.e., its format and collation), a facsimile of the title page, a few pages of background on the author and the recipients, lengthy comments made by scholars on the volume, followed by an incredibly valuable table of contents for each collection. That is, the authors and recipients of each letter are specified and indexed, thus enabling access to a century's worth of published letters. The letter-writing manuals and other model letter collections are treated more cursorily (in about eighty pages) with bibliographic description and some background on the collection itself. But the index to this section, which includes over 30,000 letters, listing the authors, editors, senders, recipients, places, and names, is a treasure. This first part of ends with a number of bibliographical aids: a chronological list of all the epistolaries of the sixteenth century; a list of printers; and the index for the 30,000 letters (nearly a hundred pages). With the *Ars Epistolica* it is thus possible to reconstruct a good deal of the correspondence, for example, of Theodore Beza. The table of contents lists his letters to various recipients, and the index records Beza's many letters to Calvin and Ramus. For the many, lesser luminaries listed in the index, this is a boon indeed.

The second part of *Ars Epistolica* contains bibliographical tools useful for those interested in epistolography: a finding list of all the letter collections published in the sixteenth century (with multiple printings and or editions listed) and a similar list of letter-writing manuals, as well as a comprehensive list of 799 secondary sources (with a detailed index of these secondary sources).

To modern scholars and students, the *Ars Epistolica* shows how important letter writing was and how Latin bound together early modern Europe into the network we call the *respublica literaria*. And the index of far flung places and the long lists of recipients are just for the artifacts published in the epistolaries. When one examines the unpublished correspondence of such polymaths as Samuel Hartlib, for example—whose papers (over 25,000 manuscript pages, many of which are letters) are only now available at <http://hridigital.shef.ac.uk/hartlib>—the significance of the familiar letters in the intellectual life of the time becomes apparent.

Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, eds. *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, Farnham (Surrey): Ashgate, 2012. xii + 285 pp. \$128.20. Review by ROBERT LANDRUM, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA BEAUFORT.

*Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* is a collection of twelve essays spanning reformed, Catholic and non-conforming traditions as they evolved in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It appears alongside a companionate volume on worship in the parish church, two of the more than 100 monographs in the celebrated *St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* series.

“This is a book” editors Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie tell us “about how people in early modern England and Scotland prayed when they weren’t in church” (1). The Reformation demanded that long-established traditions of public worship be cast off, and so it too required new patterns of private worship. In many cases new devotional forms emerged from older practice; in others, and especially when clerical authority was pronounced, the faith that early-modern families practiced at home was strictly prescribed and carefully supervised.

One might imagine that the study of private devotion would require the exhaustive use of private sources—diaries, letters, prayer records and commonplace books—and while several entries in *Domestic Devotion* make profitable use of these, a majority do not. In the century following the Reformation, it appears, a crowded cottage industry of home-worship instruction manuals emerged. In *Domestic Devotion*, these manuals are treated as an approximation of private practice.

The how-to manuals, however, were not themselves in agreement. In the opening chapter of Ian Green's "Varieties of Domestic Devotion in Early Modern English Protestantism," Green sleuths through a multitude of sources and finds a "wide range of domestic devotions" (31). These are the product of divergent beliefs, idiosyncratic personal worship, and a factious crew offering advice.

One of those was *Eikon Basilike*, King Charles I's posthumous book of reflections and religious meditations. In chapter three, Erica Longfellow uses the *Basilike* as an entry-point to a discussion of solitary prayer. The image of the defeated and imprisoned King, denied a congregation and refusing to pray with his captors, is offered as a point within the spectrum of English views toward private devotion. No conclusion is offered except that "the English remained deeply ambivalent about solitude and solitary prayer" (72).

The survival of older traditions is affirmed in Tara Hamling's "Old Robert's Girdle: Visual and Material Props for Protestant Piety in Post-Reformation England." Hamling's essay describes an ingenious belted memory aid that enabled an illiterate seventeenth-century servant, "Old Robert" Pasfield, to quote any sentence of scripture. "Robert's Girdle" is just one of several pieces of material culture that demonstrate the long survival of totemic devotion within the intensely scriptural Protestant confessions of early modern Britain. Bibles, instructional images, home decorations—things as humble as a chamber-pot—were all employed to spur devotion.

In chapter two, "Hamely with God," Jane Dawson offers the only explicitly Scottish entry. In contrast to the diversity of English worship, the Kirk energetically suppressed divergent practices and enforced a clearly-defined private religious regimen. The church-courts enforced clerical authority and ensured that the weekly religious cycle came to

dominate private life. This state-sponsored Calvinism encouraged a “self-awareness and responsibility for one’s spiritual condition” (52) that Dawson connects to later developments in Scottish culture.

In “Sleeping, Waking and Dreaming in Protestant Piety,” Alec Ryrie asserts the “historians of early modern religion should pay more attention to sleeping and dreaming than we do” (73). In a culture of stern self-discipline, sleeping and dreaming were beyond the conscious control of believers. English and Scottish Protestants developed regimes of prayer around both. Dreams were especially troublesome; they could be prophetic or profane, offering solace or anguish.

*Domestic Devotion* boasts no fewer than four essays based on the Protestant use of the Psalms. Hannibal Hamlin’s “Sobs for Sorrowful Souls” effectively places the seven penitential psalms “at the core of private and domestic devotions.” The same is true for Beth Quitslund in “Singing the Psalms for Fun and Profit.” Like wheat bread, psalm-singing was both good and good for you, pleasurable and devotional. The psalms brought families together in song, gave comfort to the ill, consolation to prisoners, and repentance to condemned felons. Unfortunately, this conjunction of pleasure and piety was disrupted by the growth of Puritanism. “The Marian exiles’ return to England and the stream of Calvinist writing that followed helped . . . eventually to undermine the idea of singing psalms for fun” (242). Psalm-singing was increasingly relegated to formal worship except among Puritans. In chapter five, “Dismantling Catholic Primers,” Micheline White examines the evolution of Protestant primers. Through the use of Anne Lock’s 1660 translation of *Sermons of John Calvin* and analyses of primers, Hezekiah’s Song and Psalm 50/51, White unsurprisingly finds the substitution of Calvinist for Catholic interpretation for a number of texts.

In “English Reformed Responses to the Passion,” Jessica Martin examines the spectrum of passion devotions among English Protestants, where an ancient tradition conflicted with the demands of a new faith. The Passion might be contemplated through iconography or the viewpoint of the Virgin, but the former led perilously close to idolatry and the later to Mariolatry. Martin covers three centuries as she considers different approaches to this fraught issue.

In the final chapter, "Intimate Worship," Alison Shell follows the unlikely story of a cross-confessional manual, John Austin's *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices* (1668). Austin, a Catholic liturgist, "adapted the monastic office for devout lay people," prescribing a very personal liturgy to be practiced outside of a church environment. The *Devotion* was therefore "an aid to personal rather than collective piety" (278). In its first form it served the recusant community, but within three decades it "achieved even greater popularity when adapted for a Protestant readership" (273).

Taken together, these essays reaffirm Ian Green's conclusion: "the ether above early modern England must have been heavily congested as so many pious householders tried to construct their own stairways to heaven" (31). In an atmosphere of confessional transition, the business of personal salvation remained exactly that, intensely personal.

John C. Appleby. *Women and English Piracy, 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime*. Woodbridge, UK.: The Boydell Press, 2013. v + 264 pp. + 13 illus. \$ 95.00. Review by MELINDA S. ZOOK, PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

This book makes a strong contribution to the history of English piracy in the early modern world. The unsuspecting reader might be misled by the cover image of Ann Bonney, the American woman who actually did cross-dress and participate in piracy. That and the title would seem to suggest that this is a fashionable attempt to retell (and sell) folk stories of viragoes at sea. But this is not so. This book is an honest, balanced, and thorough examination of how the lives of women intersected with pirates and sea rovers in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. Women's lives were touched by piracy in more ways than we might imagine, with the female pirate having one the most minor roles in this rough, violent, and anarchic world of outlaws and outcasts. Appleby argues that many women were partners in the global game of sea robbery, most often as receivers of stolen goods, and many were victims of pirate violence and misogyny.

Chapter one surveys the history of English piracy, starting in mid-sixteenth century. From the outset, piracy exploited state weaknesses

and international conflicts and rivalries. Where the state was absent, pirates flourished. When the government went to war, pirates robbed enemy ships with impunity and masked their greed and violence in patriotism. During the war with Spain, as many as two thousand English pirates operated in the 1570s. The Elizabethan and Jacobean governments lacked both the resources and the will to do anything to stop piracy, and during wartime, they encouraged them. Most of the piracy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was short-distance, opportunistic and irregular. Pirate ships operated along the coasts and on rivers. Their booty was often commodities like blankets, hides, cloth, tools, rope, knives, and barrels of tar. Quite naturally, along the coast lines, especially in the southwest and along the Thames, “a hidden economy based on the disposal and dispersal of stolen cargoes” (14) grew up, which became an arena for female agency as receivers of such goods. By the early seventeenth century, English piracy ranged from southwest Ireland to North Africa, but it also began to focus increasingly on the Caribbean and South Sea. Inflamed by anti-Catholicism and avarice, English pirates, often with the assistance of the Dutch and French sea rovers, attacked Spanish shipping in the Caribbean. Appleby asserts that American-based piracy in the first half of the seventeenth century grew out of the chaotic nature of colonial settlement. Pirates found a ready supply of recruits, “poor and vagrant, runaway servants and transported criminals, as well as African slaves and seafarers,” who he aptly calls, “the social casualties of colonization.” ( 25). Yet once piracy began to threaten the very profitable business of sugar and slaves in the Caribbean, the governments of the late Stuart era began to take a more assertive stance against these outlaws. In the early eighteenth century, long-distance piracy grew in intensity, threatening the expanding imperial state, so much so that the government began to earnestly employ its legal and naval resources with the aim of eradicating these pests. After 1726, Appleby believes that “the pirate community was displaying signs of disarray and decline” (47-48). With more trials, executions, and pirates being strung up in chains, there were fewer and fewer willing recruits to this anarchic lifestyle.

Where do women come in? Women were on the shore. They were the wives, partners, protectors, brokers, prostitutes, and petitioners

for kidnapped victims. And when they were on ship, it was usually as passengers and migrants. The ones on shore were a bit safer. They received pirated booty, provided safe-houses, comfort, and companionship, and, when needed, they defended their outlawed husbands, kin, and friends. Their primary junction was as supporters: disposing and distributing their goods and providing sexual services. But women were just as likely to be victims of piratical violence. Women whose husbands were kidnapped by the corsairs and women who were gang raped, kidnapped, traumatized, humiliated, tortured, abused, bullied, or intimidated by pirates far outnumbered the very few that might have donned nickers, sword and sash. In other words, as Appleby makes clear, there is nothing to glamorize or romanticize here. Pirates were misogynists. Their culture was homosocial; it was a world of men and boys. Women ship-board disrupted this fraternal culture, and in the superstitious maritime world, a woman on a ship was a bad omen, capable of bringing about catastrophe—just as it was supposed witches on land could raise storms and sink ships—which is exactly what the witches in *Macbeth* do (“Though his bark cannot be lost, / Yet it shall be tempest-tossed”). Thus in the seventeenth century an elderly female passenger on a ship bound for Maryland was hanged as a witch when her ship encountered several stormy days. As Appleby puts it, the hyper masculine world of the pirate ship “held out little opportunity or appeal for women” (191).

This is a thoroughly researched, keenly objective study of piracy. It should dispel any further desire to see pirates as anything other than the unruly, violent-prone, gangsters that they were. What English piracy held out for women was rape, just as pirates raped the wealth of the Spanish galleons. In the end, there is nothing to glamorize here, and if Marxist ideologues, feminist scholars, or popular culture aficionados do so, it is in historical error.

Kevin Sharpe. *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. xxii + 849 pp. Review by CATHERINE PATTERSON, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON.

This hefty volume is the final work in Kevin Sharpe's three-part study of the images of monarchy in early modern England. Sadly, Sharpe succumbed to cancer before its completion. His colleague Mark Knights brought the manuscript to publication, and scholars will be grateful for his efforts. This is a significant and wide-ranging work.

As with the previous two volumes in this trilogy (*Selling the Tudor Monarchy* [2009] and *Image Wars* [2010]) *Rebranding Rule* takes an interdisciplinary approach to the problem of the representation of rule in early modern Britain. It rigorously interrogates a broad range of sources—portraits and poems, political pamphlets and panegyric prose—to analyze how the royal image of the later Stuart kings and queens was shaped and displayed. Organized generally chronologically, the book moves through the successive reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne, examining the multiple modes of representation for each monarch.

Continuing his theme from his two earlier books in this series, Sharpe argues that the successful fashioning of the royal image was vital to an early modern monarch's grasp on power and authority. For Charles II, this representation of rule was trickier than for his forebears. The events of 1649 and those that followed had profound revolutionary consequences, throwing the very meaning of kingship into question. The genie of republicanism, once released from the bottle, could never be completely put back inside. Powerful images of royal authority flourished after 1660, but they were not uncontested.

Upon his restoration, Charles had to construct his image to be accepted as king and to maintain royal authority despite many challenges. In his own speeches, the king was conciliatory, yet strong. Willingness to exercise mercy formed an important early element of the king's image; except for a modest number of regicides, few of those who opposed the royalist cause during the "troubles" were executed, even outspoken ones like John Milton. Royalist essayists, poets, and preachers emphasized themes of the king's sacredness, naturalness, and

power, perhaps even more than the king himself did. Yet the image of the king was not uncomplicated. Sharpe, carefully reading the words of Restoration poets, sees in them both images of sacred power and the ambiguities of a monarchy that was once laid low but now restored. Poetry, pamphlets, histories and sermons became “more topical and more partisan” as the reign progressed (83).

Visual images of the king were likewise powerful, yet restrained. Compared to his forebears, there are far fewer portraits of Charles II in state. And unlike his father, Charles II (for obvious reasons) was not portrayed surrounded by his wife and children. In a seemingly purposeful break from the past, portraits of the king rarely contained the neo-Platonic themes so common in generations past. As with literary images, the visual images of kingship, Sharpe argues, became more politicized as the reign continued. By the end of Charles II’s reign, the portraits of the king had become specifically Tory representations.

James II, on the other hand, had the bad fortune to have his lasting image largely created by the Whigs, his detractors, after his departure from the throne. But Sharpe argues that James fashioned a much more positive image of his monarchy during his short reign, one emphasizing his legitimacy and the divinity of his rule. The Whigs, suggests Sharpe, were concerned enough about the power of James’s image of legitimate kingship that they went to great lengths, across many written and visual genres, to “vilify” James and to “inscribe a new regime” through texts and images(226).

With the advent of William and Mary, Whig propagandists strove to create an image of legitimacy based on the support of the people to counter the Jacobite image that still lingered. They were in the ambiguous position of having to persuade people of the legitimacy of a monarchy that was in fact brought to power through a violent coup. Sharpe argues that although the Whig narrative ultimately won, it was not a march of triumph from 1689 to 1702. Rather he emphasizes the insecurities and anxieties that dogged representations of William and Mary’s royal authority throughout their reign.

By the time Anne, the last ruling Stuart, came to the throne, the ability of the monarch to “stage” her own majesty was much reduced. Whereas her Tudor predecessor Elizabeth I had placed herself at the center of the attention of all her subjects and had ruled, almost

goddess-like, by divine right, Queen Anne presented herself largely as a frail human being who, though she ruled by God's will, understood her position within a constitutional monarchy. Sharpe suggests that after the Glorious Revolution, English monarchs did not, or could not, make themselves the focal point for culture, politics, and society in the realm that they once had been. Even so, the success of later monarchs like Queen Victoria at crafting a meaningful public image suggests the power that representations of authority maintained (and perhaps still maintain) over people.

A short review can only scratch the surface of the arguments and details of this large and important book. The work speaks to historians, literary scholars, and art historians alike. One of its chief advantages is its sophisticated interdisciplinary approach to the subject. At the same time, the work is not without flaws. It does assume an "image is everything" point of view that not all readers may fully accept. Also, Sharpe's perspective tends more heavily toward the monarchs he investigates; the book focuses on the creation and projection of the royal image far more than on the reception of it. Nevertheless, *Rebranding Rule* is an excellent piece of scholarship, exhaustively researched and engagingly written. The book will be essential reading for scholars of the later seventeenth century, who will find much of value in Kevin Sharpe's final opus.

Donna Merwick, *Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. xx+ 219 pp.  
Review by LAURA CRUZ, WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY

Peter Stuyvesant, the long-serving and often beleaguered Director General of the New Netherlands colony, is a complex historical figure and many historians have wrestled with his character, his actions, and his legacy. Donna Merwick joins these ranks with her slender volume, *Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss across Time*, in which she focuses her analytical eye on the final days of the Dutch colony in the Americas, and Stuyvesant's decision to give it up without a fight. On the surface, this would appear to be a rather conventional historical exercise, i.e. a biography of a major historical figure, concentrated on a particularly

significant crossroads in the history of colonial America. Such a reading would do a disservice to the subtleties imbued throughout Merwick's text and the implied commentaries she makes through Stuyvesant.

The subtitle is the first clue that this is text with multiple meaning. *An Essay on Loss Across Time* can be construed as a double entendre, as Merwick uses the case of Stuyvesant's legacy to suggest her distinctive way of perceiving the past. A popular audience might wonder if Merwick suffers from a sort of increasing morbid obsession, as her other book titles include *The Shame and the Sorrow* and *Death of a Notary*, but an expert historian would likely sense that her language reflects her wrestling with her relationship with the historical actors that populate and enliven her accounts. In this case, Merwick expresses her grief in not being able to be somehow close to her central character, but she also grieves for historical death, or for the distance between the historian and the past that forever keeps us apart from the subject of our studies. In *Stuyvesant Bound*, she endeavors to show him as she wants to believe he really was and not bound by the trappings of modernity that have crept in to our own worldviews, but very much bound to his own particular, perhaps unrecoverable past.

Throughout the text, she depicts Stuyvesant's decisions as bound, or constrained, either by his own choices or by the circumstances in which he operated. While other historians have examined the complex power relationship between the colony and the distant governance of the West India Company, Merwick's treatment is more personal, as evinced by her frequent use of the first person and statements of intimacy, such as "in my early reading-journeys with him..." (62). Her depiction of Stuyvesant is as a flawed, but still admirable human being, who navigates in a tightly constricted space between his sense of duty to his country, his supervisors, and his constituents and his own sense of justice, morality, and self-preservation. In the frequent written contestations between Stuyvesant and his employers back in Amsterdam, she reads not primarily as a power conflict, but rather a form of psycho-social performance. From the WIC Directors, she describes the correspondence as "a bundle of pending or half-settled reproaches" (8) and Stuyvesant's responses as "a defensive craft" (9) or "self-fashioning" (163) that dealt as much with what was on the

paper as what was not. Other historians, she suggests, have been led astray by reading these documents too literally.

This latter ties to Merwick's explicit aim, which is to (partially) exonerate Stuyvesant and restore the complexity of his historical legacy by freeing him, partially, from the bounds of the written text. Her treatment of him is achingly empathic and she, in turn, admonishes those historians who have judged him by standards that would have been foreign to Stuyvesant himself. As she states plainly, "contextualizations matter." (108) In one example, the New Netherlands colony, she points out, may have been profoundly rural, but that does not allow historians "to deny him [Stuyvesant] those liberal values that have been, rightly or wrongly, conceived of as seeded in cities" (27). In another, she takes historians to task for blaming Stuyvesant "for personally legitimating an intolerance that would not otherwise have prevailed." (29). From Merwick's perspective, Stuyvesant's own spiritual views, as well as those of the colonists, cannot be captured in simple dichotomies (i.e. tolerant/intolerant; religious/secular) but rather she remarks that "their living present had a spaciousness in which those mysteries about human existence helped to shape their lives." (83) This almost poignant lament for the spaciousness of belief, lost to us in modern times, is indicative of the language of loss found throughout the text.

This longing to understand the past is a primary aspect of Merwick's implicit aim, which is to confront readers with a different way of understanding the past. Just as this text is not a simple revisionist biography, nor is it a simple attack on previous presentisms. In many ways, her treatment is about the heartbreak of historical distance, about what will remain elusive about the past, but at the same time it is an affirmation, even a tribute, to how loss is a shared experience across time. It is not by accident that she focuses her attention on a period of profound loss for the central character. While not all readers may fully relate to the questions Stuyvesant faced such as "what was it like to lose the power enjoyed in exercising the administrative skills on which he prided himself?" (108); it is more difficult to escape this one: what was it like "to lose the familiar ground of orientation towards a future?"

*Stuyvesant Bound* also serves to resurrect its subject matter to a wider audience. Many in the Netherlands have ignored or brushed aside the history of New Netherlands—it can be seen, after all, a story of failure, or loss. Those who have studied this region, including Merwick herself, have often been American, a tendency that has been bolstered by the herculean efforts to translate most of the records of the colony into English. These authors have found resonance by drawing the historiography of New Netherlands into that of the early U.S. colonies, including a recent interest in cultural contextualization, of which this text is an exemplar. That being said, *Stuyvesant Bound* joins a growing body of texts, written by historians from many places, which suggest that the history of this colony, this place, and this man may have much to tell us outside of the bounds of national historiographies.

Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie eds. *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. ix + 250 pp. \$124.95. Review by ROBERT LANDRUM, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA BEAUFORT.

*Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* is a collection of ten essays about public worship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The “Britain” in the title is a misnomer; there is little material about worship in Scotland, still less about Ireland. It appears alongside a companion volume on private devotion in the *St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* series.

The early modern period witnessed dizzying change in English faith, from Henrician supremacy to Edwardian reform and Marian reaction. Elizabeth’s *via media* brought comfort to many, but that stability gave way to Laudian finery, then Puritan ascendancy, followed by Restoration and another reaction. Worship necessarily followed, evolving according to the whims of monarchs, bishops and, sometimes, the aspirations of the English people. This narrative of haphazard and almost accidental protestantization is a theme of the volume.

For much of the period, English worship was conducted according to Cramer’s *Book of Common Prayer*. Four of the essays follow the story of the *Book of Common Prayer* through its inception to its proscription.

In “Teaching in Praying Words” Hannah Cleugh demonstrates that the static theology of the Prayer Book did not always cohere with evolving official orthodoxy. In both baptism and burial the services prescribed by the Prayer Book encroached on predestination, “jeopardising the Church of England’s claims to be a reformed Church” (25).

If the liturgy was theologically problematic, the conformity it enjoined was likewise imperfect. In “Special Nationwide Worship” Natalie Mears describes the days of repentance or celebration declared outside normal Sunday services. Entire new liturgies were commissioned for these events, then printed and distributed at considerable cost. Mears has appended a database of 101 special worship events: “once every 18 months during Elizabeth’s reign, once every three years under James, and once every seven months under Charles” (48). These rites gave national vent to calamity or blessings, and can be understood to be “inherently political” (56). It seems a bit ambitious, however, to call these irregular episodes “state-sponsored nonconformity” (55).

If the *Book of Common Prayer* remains the most important example of liturgical literature, another significant genre was the official primer. In “The Elizabethan Primers” Bryan Spinks follows the evolution of primers from 1525 to 1590. He identifies an unsurprising shift from Latin to English and an equally unsurprising gradual removal of Catholic features. Spinks attributes this deliberate ambiguity to “laity formation” (82) or “devotional weaning” (80) as the English people were slowly protestantized.

Literature gives way to practice in Alec Ryrie’s “The Fall and Rise of Fasting in the British Reformations.” Fasting was deeply embedded in pre-reformed piety and was never entirely discarded even as protestant leaders declared it nonessential. Private fasting, solidly anchored by biblical examples, continued as “a marker of unusual earnestness” (96). Public fasting, meanwhile, fell into near-disuse in the sixteenth century but rebounded with the accession of Charles I. National fast days, “a response to private or public sin or calamity,” proliferated during the Civil War, with both sides calling them regularly through the 1640s and 50s (100). Ryrie offers one last reason for the survival of a Catholic ritual: the eating of fish on fast days was vigorously supported by the Company of Fishmongers and the navy, who argued that fasting supported the English fishing fleet and the skilled mariners

it produced. Thus fasting, “like so many other aspects of Protestant devotional life, opened cracks through which popery could step back into the sterile ritual spaces which Protestant doctrine implied” (108).

Three of the volume’s entries are concerned with music and worship. In essays by Peter McCullough and Jonathon Willis it is made clear that the traditional narrative positing the triumph of “word- and sermon- centered piety” over “word-obscuring” music must be qualified (109). McCullough shows that a strong tradition of church music endured in a “unique and negotiable ... space,” bounded by the lukewarm endorsement of Jean Calvin, the active patronage of Elizabeth and subject, of course, to regional variation (137). As organs were silenced in London new ones were commissioned in the west. Lancelot Andrewes is singled out as one who skilfully integrated sermon and song well before Laud broke “the Jacobean equilibrium” in favor of “church beautification, both architectural and musical” (129).

One of the most delightful of the entries is Christopher Marsh’s study of church bells. From the mid sixteenth century, English puritans “dreamt of doing away with the bells altogether” as a remnant of popery (151). The dream was compromised, however, by the sheer weight of the bells, their usefulness as a medium of communication and, significantly, because the bells assumed “a new role in the recreational lives of the English” (153). A subculture of “recreational ringing” emerged in the seventeenth century on a surge of innovation in ringing mechanisms. Ringers were usually young, always male, and operated outside of ministerial supervision. It was an unruly and confrontational pastime, but Marsh labors mightily to invest it with at least some religious content:

it was surely better that the youth of the parish hung around the belfry than that they haunted the alehouse. Of course, there were also youths who put beer before bells, but even they understood that the primary associations of ringing were with organized worship (171).

Two of the essays are concerned with prayer in Reformation England. John Craig argues that “the mechanics of prayer—what one did with one’s hands, knees, eyes and voice—became a subject of intense debate” (178). Craig cites arguments over correct posture, the opening or closing of eyes, and the donning or doffing of hats. Judith Maltby

examines shifting patterns of corporate prayer. The *Book of Common Prayer* prescribed a set form, which was distasteful to Puritans. When it was proscribed in favor of the *Directory of Public Worship*, extempore prayer became law. This placed a significant new burden on ministers, some of whom took to memorizing the text of the old book and delivering it as new. The *Directory* limped along, a “mixed failure” until 1662, when the *Book of Common Prayer* and its set forms were restored.

One of the most fascinating essays is Trevor Cooper’s study of the semi-private worship of the Ferrar family. The entire Ferrar household, some 40 individuals, was driven from London by debt and took up residence at an old manor house in rural Huntingdonshire where they established a conservative family cult in the abandoned parish church. They practiced a demanding asceticism and fitted out the church as they wished, and all the while scrupulously avoided any association with non-conformity. As church practice changed, so too did Ferrar practice, if only to “keep a low profile” in dangerous times (219).

The debates about the source and pace of the English reformation have consumed much ink and felled many trees. This volume and its companion offer no simple answers to these questions, offering a kaleidoscope where one might want a laser. Even in a state determined to enforce conformity, the English experienced at home and in their parishes a diversity of reformations.

Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer, eds. *Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013. xviii + 286 pp. £75.00 (cloth). Review by ROBERT BATCHELOR, GEORGIA SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY.

Between 2007 and 2010, a consortium of university researchers led by Jane Ohlmeyer and Micheál Ó Siochrú digitized, transcribed and created a searchable keyword database of around eight-thousand depositions (Trinity College Dublin, MSS 809-841) concerning the rebellion of Catholic Irish in 1641. The deposed were largely Protestants interviewed in the 1640s and 1650s, but the people interviewed came from all walks of life. One finds the voices of lords and servants, men and women. Even though they give a decidedly one-sided view

of this remarkably violent period, they nevertheless offer a rare and profoundly complex view of Ireland in this period. If you have not yet seen them, go explore before reading further. [<http://1641.tcd.ie/>] The website is a more general model for digital humanities projects.

*Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions* compliments the online depositions project. It is also the second book in a series by Manchester University Press on Early Modern Irish History. The volume largely collects the papers from two conferences at Trinity College Dublin in 2009 and 2010 about the rebellion and the larger question of war and atrocity. This produces a good set of lenses through which the events of 1641 can be read. The 1641 depositions open debates about key questions in current early modern historiography—including Irish history as a driver of events in Britain and the Atlantic World more generally, the relationship of Irish history to European history, the significance of religious warfare, and the issue of the more global “general crisis” of the seventeenth century. They also bring up a number of more transhistorical questions about history and memory, the problem of representing traumatic events, the role of the state in managing conflict, the performative nature of violence, and the role of gender in warfare (including the remarkable phenomenon of “stripping” as punishment).

For this reader, the literal and conceptual heart of this highly varied volume is William Smyth’s data-rich analysis of the depositions. It includes four maps—the distribution of events and atrocities in the depositions, the percentage of depositions by barony involving killings, the urban geography of Ireland in 1641, and the location of Irish colleges and Irish writing projects across Europe in 1641. This data speaks volumes, and Smyth is right to point out the importance of urbanization and the Irish intelligentsia in this period, not to mention the administrative ways in which the depositions were gathered that make the conflict fundamentally linked to the question of “early modernity.” In fact, if one wanted to interrogate that concept more generally, Smyth’s maps would be an excellent place to start. In general, they reveal the nested contexts in which the depositions might be read and how complex of an archive they are.

The broader volume reveals, however, more of a garden of forking paths. The first half of the volume focuses on local events and the

memory of 1641 itself. An array of possible methodologies that could be used in approaching the depositions are on display. The first two essays by Ethan Shagan and Aidan Clark interrogate historical memory as a problem and seem inspired indirectly by fields like Holocaust Studies (even though the Holocaust goes unmentioned). They compare well with recent scholarship on the broader question of memory and remembrance in Catholic-Protestant conflicts, such as the Troubles or more benign Guy Fawkes Day celebrations. Other approaches include colonialism (Nicholas Canny), regionalism (David Edwards on provincial unrest as a cause of events in Ireland), performativity (John Walter), William Smith's aforementioned cultural geography, and Hiram Morgan's analysis of Iberian news pamphlets, which makes steps towards a critical analysis of print cultures.

The main weakness here is the lack of grander narratives, and, more surprisingly, too little use of the depositions themselves. It may be a function of length, but for pieces where the primary insights are methodological, framing and footnoting the debates more substantially with secondary literature would have been welcome. But perhaps that is too much to ask from an edited volume, and the fine work on display here suggests that much remains to be done in relation to this period. One hopes that the kinds of vaguely post-modern and revisionist skepticism employed might also inspire at some point a reconceptualization of old-fashioned and rather provincial ideas that are still staples of the profession, like the 'causes of the English Civil War.' The emphasis on methodology here appears to be an attempt to work through the minefields of historical memory—whether the events of the 1640s and 1650s were indeed a kind of 'holocaust' as more polemic authors on both sides of the religious divide have argued. This volume quite rightly avoids such language. As Aidan Clarke writes in a critique of the notion of 'massacres,' "In reality, the significant number is not the number who were killed in cold blood, but the number who died, by whatever means. The fact that this number is unknowable is unfortunate, but the truth we must learn to work with" (49). While such conclusions show good academic moderation, there are degrees of unknowability and precise delineation of what can be known is perhaps more productive.

The second half of the book is comparative, giving a much clearer perspective from which to weigh the events of 1641. There are essays on the Thirty Years War (Peter Wilson), the Dutch Revolt (Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann), the French Wars of Religion (Mark Greengrass), the North American colonies (Karen Ordahl Kupperman), the Atlantic World (Igor Pérez Tostado) and refreshingly as an afterforward Southeast Asia (Ben Kiernan). Methodology is on display here too, as in Mark Greengrass's interrogation of the problem of 'orality' in the context of a different set of documentation about the religious riot of Cahors in south-western France in 1561. Pushing the comparisons back in time to the sixteenth-century wars of religion helps moderate the tendency to read the depositions in the very precise context of the mid-seventeenth century. But the over-arching question here remains a careful and productive interrogation of the kind of global claims that Geoffrey Parker has made about the seventeenth-century general crisis, which at least some of the contributors refer to as "so-called." As in the case with the first half of the volume, one still wishes for more in this regard.

Students and scholars will be able to pick and choose from the wealth on offer here and then dig into the digitized primary sources to build their own interpretations. A few editorial errors made it into the final volume (most annoyingly the comma and colon confusion between the cover and title page), and the price is steep. A small amount of effort could have produced a companion volume highlighting the importance of the depositions themselves and selling at a much lower price point. Perhaps one will emerge. However, considering what the team of scholars has provided for free through the TCD website in an age of vastly more expensive databases, £75.00 seems like a reasonable price for libraries to pay for a landmark of seventeenth-century scholarship.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky. *History of Ukraine-Rus'* Vol. 6: *Economic, Cultural, and National Life in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Translated by Leonid Heretz. Myron M Kapral, Consulting Editor and Frank E Sysyn, Series Editor, with the assistance of Uliana M Paicznyk. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press: 2012. lxxii + 619 pp. \$119.95. Review by CAROL B. STEVENS, COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

Volume 6 of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, which focuses on life in Ukraine between Kyiv and the Cossack Age, was originally published in 1907 from Kyiv. The book offers an interpretation of the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries as transitional. Hrushevsky was faced with the difficult task of trying to distinguish the Ruthenian/Ukrainian elements within multi-national and changeable boundaries—a process that is key in Hrushevsky's definition of a nation as a people rather than a political unit. At the same time, there are no clear characteristics that delimit the period in question. Rather, the interaction of a variety of economic, cultural, political and religious factors frames the analysis.

The first two sections of the book offer a detailed discussion of the changing economic conditions in Eastern and Western Ukraine from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Hrushevsky argues that the nature of Ukrainian economic life changed dramatically during the Polish-Lithuanian period. Urban commercial centers and urban manufacturing, so important in Old Rus' life, declined rapidly from the thirteenth century, and in particular under Poland-Lithuania. Among other things, this took place in the context of Polish protectionism, noble controls, and competition from Polish cities. On the other hand, village economies grew significantly over the same period. While at the beginning of the era, some parts of the population remained outside the monetary economy, somewhat later forest products and other natural resources were ruthlessly exploited for export. By the end of the period, the export of grain had taken on great significance, especially from northern and western Ukraine.

Section III discusses the composition of Ukraine's population by stratum (magnates, nobles, burghers and peasants) as well as by specific region. Here, Hrushevsky examined the ethnic composition

of the different orders and the degree to which they retained their national identity in the face of spreading polonization. Especially in the western part of Ukraine, it was assimilation in the face of Polish cultural influences, rather than ethnicity, that proved the more important. And in many cases, burghers and noblemen were the most susceptible. Hrushevsky also discusses everyday ethical and cultural standards, basing his comments on wills, contemporary accounts and religious works. Part IV extends this discussion by providing in-depth information about cultural transitions, the mingling of religious and cultural traditions, the growth of western artistic elements and their merger with Eastern traditions to create a valued Ukrainian style. At the same time, Ukrainian letters and education were relatively late to appear. The religious lay brotherhoods and the guild system are also carefully analyzed.

The last two sections of volume 6 focus on the origins and development of the struggle within the Orthodox Church for and against church union with, Hrushevsky argues, deeply divisive results. Discussions of the role of the Catholic Church, the beginnings of a national cultural reaction, and an in-depth discussion of the religious lay brotherhoods, as well as related political debates, are all included. Also discussed are the literary polemics that shaped the struggle over the Union of Brest (1596) and the works of Ipatii Potii, Stefan Zyzanii, and Meletii Smotrytsky. The volume relates the course of the struggle to the first decades of the seventeenth century, and to the new role of developing Cossackdom in Ukrainian affairs.

Since this volume was published, the nature of scholarly debate about the region in this period has changed significantly. Comparisons with West European events, including the introduction of West European cultural labels such as the Renaissance and Reformation have transformed the discussion of social, cultural and economic themes. Studies that focus on rather various specific subtopics touched on by Hrushevsky, using source materials not available to him, have helped to transform the field further. And the creative nature of cultural syncretism has been carefully examined. Nonetheless, Hrushevsky's presentation of the Ukrainian lands as having a fundamental cultural and historical unity remains a key focus of Ukrainian historians of the era.

As one has come to expect of this series of translations in the monumental CIUS Press Hrushevsky series, Prof. Leonid Heretz, from the Department of History at Bridgewater State University, has provided a very readable and accurate text from the early twentieth-century original. Hrushevsky's own notes have been included and the editor has added some comments about the development of relevant historiographic topics. A glossary, two maps, a bibliography of works cited by Hrushevsky, two appendixes, and a comprehensive index have also been provided for the reader's benefit. Prof. Frank E. Sysyn, director of the Petro Jacyk Central and East European Resource Centre, remains the series editor, assisted by Uliana M. Pasiecznyk, managing editor. The consulting editor—Myron M. Kapral, director of the Lviv branch of the M. S. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies and professor of history at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv—offers a succinct and illuminating discussion of the volume and its historiographic context.

Gaby Mahlberg and Dirk Wiemann, eds. *European Contexts for English Republicanism*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. xii + 273 + 5 illus. \$124.95. MARC SCHWARZ, UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

This volume offers a series of papers delivered in Potsdam on the 400th anniversary of the birthday of James Harrington, the author of *Oceana*. That conference was held shortly after a manuscript of *Oceana*, originally from Tuscany, was discovered at a library in France. Arguing that while the study of English republicanism has sought to establish connections between it and America, its relationship upon the continent and likewise continental influences on England have been neglected and should be considered. The book is erudite and complex, but does provide a number of important insights into the transmission of ideas, as the English revolutions began to impact the world around it.

One of the most significant essays in the collection is that by Blair Worden assessing how the word "republic" has been used and what it really means. In a lucid and intelligent discussion, he takes issue with those, for example, who use the term to describe the Elizabethan polity,

suggesting that it contained republican elements and those who deny the monarchism lurking in much of the English revolutionary thought. It is only in its latter stages that aspects of republicanism begin to be expressed and are transmitted into the eighteenth century through the works of Harrington and Milton. Worden's comments are extremely valuable and timely. It reminds us that words have specific meanings and must be used carefully.

The Dutch connection to Harrington is the subject of a number of essays; one argues that Harrington was strongly influenced by the work of Hugo Grotius, who emphasized the role of the Sanhedrin as a model for Harrington's concept of government, while the other concentrates on the democratic aspects of Harrington's ideas that were taken up by such thinkers as Baruch Spinoza. At the same time, another contribution suggests that English republicanism had little effect on Dutch thinkers because they felt at heart it was imbued with monarchism and because they believed that the execution of Charles I was wrong. One of the most interesting parts of this volume deals with the discovery of the digest of Harrington's works by the German scholar Johann Wansleben in 1665, in the northern Italian town of Leghorn, when he was invited to stop at the home of Charles Longland, an English republican merchant (himself the subject of an essay in this volume.) His manuscript, according to Gaby Mahlberg, also came to the attention of the English republican thinker, Henry Neville, who was then a resident at the court of the ruler of Tuscany. As is suggested both Longland and Neville helped bring Harrington to the attention of foreign scholars, Protestant and Catholic alike. Wansleben, interestingly, became a Catholic convert.

Among the other essays is one by Thérèse-Marie Jallais, who discovered the Wansleben manuscript, which takes up the affinities between Harrington's republicanism and other movements, such as Jansenism and Gallicanism. The fact that Harrington's ideas could be embraced by Catholics is an eye opener in the sense that Catholicism has often been identified with absolutism. Insights like this can change a number of our assumptions. In addition, Rachel Hammersley does a fine job of tracing the influence of Harrington on the English commonwealth men, like John Toland, and on eighteenth-century French thinkers both before and during the Revolution. A further essay deals

with the transmission of Harringtonian ideas into late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Prussia.

There are some contributions that don't seem to fit into a collection that is dominated by Harrington's impact. Dirk Weiman, for example, discusses a Prussian tragedy about Charles I which goes so far as to compare the King's execution to the sufferings of Jesus, while Rachel Foxley delves into the intellectual journey of Marchmont Nedham before the Restoration, from Machiavellian distrust of popular government to an endorsement of it. Another essay disputes the common view that Harrington used the Hebrew republic as a model for *Oceana* by producing, in a number of instances, parallel examples from ancient history from which Harrington may have drawn. Then there is a discussion, almost comic at times, of the difficulty French thinkers had in comprehending the republicanism of Algernon Sidney. Although they finally came to recognize it, his penchant for multiple examples led them astray.

This book clearly illustrates that not enough has been done to discover the effect that the English Revolution had on contemporary Europe. While the external impact of the other great revolutions (American, French and Russian) have been closely examined, the English has not received similar attention. While it may be that not a spate of revolutions followed it, we can see from the case of Harrington the intellectual stimulation that his ideas caused in certain European circles. In the study of early modern Europe, the relationship of England to the continent has not been emphasized enough. It is true that in the case of foreign policy, these connections are drawn, but there are other areas that need to be evaluated.

Certainly, one of the high points of this book is the description of the discovery of the Wansleben manuscript. Such events are always a scholarly delight! As a whole this monograph is a valuable contribution to our understanding of how English thought generated responses on the continent. All of the essays are well written, but not all are entirely relevant. This seems to be typical of such collections. Still, students of the period will find this a helpful addition to our understanding of the English Revolution.

Jeffrey Glover. *Paper Sovereigns: Anglo-Native Treaties and the Law of Nations, 1604-1664*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. ix + 312 pp. \$59.95. Review by WILLIAM J. SCHEICK, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

In *Paper Sovereigns* Jeffrey Glover necessarily acknowledges the obvious fact that settler-instigated treaties tended to work against Native American interests, often with dire consequences. Nevertheless, Glover also finds that not all treaties were so one-sided in their design, instigation and result. During the early decades of European settlements in the New World, many Native Americans actively sought treaties to gain some advantage over their local rivals.

To foster their own agendas, several Native Americans even exploited transatlantic diplomatic channels, where alleged treaties could be internationally contested. This happened, for instance, when Narragansett sachems duplicated land claims based on government-approved treaties made by dissenters Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton. In such instances of Native American instigation, tribal interests were not always at the forefront of intention. Sometimes, as Glover observes, “speeches, gestures, x-marks, and pictographs represented individual rather than collective agendas.”

Glover offers a deeper understanding of this complex, if often unofficial, interaction in New England by pointing to a shift in the English court’s legal notions about treaties in general. Based on Roman precedent, the English court came to view treaties as an oblique means for making sovereign claims to new territories, including any trade conducted therein. “English colonists publicized treaties with Native Americans precisely to advertise this kind of possession,” Glover indicates. Theoretically, at least, treaties and treaty-related narratives were designed for an audience and, as such, they served as colonial devices enabling peaceful territorial conquest. This manner of proceeding prevailed until 1664, when the English crown’s assumption of imperial authority over the Native peoples of New England made the practice of publishing treaties pointless.

Up to that year, however, it had been important that arguments be made in support of the belief that Native people were competent to participate in treaties. English arguments advanced this case by

asserting principles said to be based on natural law. They also offered ample narrative exhibitions of *consensus ad idem*. But, of course, there was no firm ground in these arguments for any colonists unallied with the English court. "While the English crown had cited Native alliances in order to support its own rights in conflicts with Spain, it was not willing to recognize Native alliances as a source of rights for traders within its own waters." In the short term, at least, these traders tended to find greater legal stability locally within Native systems of exchange.

Asserting Native competency was one thing; proof of a voluntary and peaceful meeting of minds was still another. The latter required documentation beyond a published treaty. In fact, well before signed treaties emerged as a customary documentary form, early seventeenth-century New World settlers fashioned various other types of records that served as informal evidence of treaty-like *consensus ad idem*. These records included histories, sermons, land deeds, receipts, and ceremonial accounts that detailed positive individual or collective emotions (facial expressions, shouting, feasting) indicative of passionate indigenous assent.

Glover's five hefty chapters range from the settlement of Virginia in 1604 to the imposition of empire in Narragansett Bay in 1664. Each of these rewardingly detailed and well-researched chapters spotlights a particular treaty or cluster of treaties that reveal far more complexity in interpersonal colonial interactions than we have previously appreciated.

Andrew Casper. *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. xiii + 221 pp. + 84 illus. \$79.95. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Andrew Casper's *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy* breaks new ground in art historical literature by engaging recent research both in typological reassessment and in the plural temporality of works of art as well as the historical relations underpinning their meaning, form, and function. This represents a much-anticipated tack in El Greco studies, which have been dominated by questions of

iconography, connoisseurship, and patronage. The book deals with the ten years encompassing El Greco's Italian sojourn, from his departure from native Crete in 1567-68 and subsequent settling in Venice, to his Roman period from 1570-76, before his final relocation to Toledo, his adoptive Spanish town where the artist died in 1614. The book concludes with a thoughtful analysis of the Santo Domingo retablo in Toledo's Church of Santo Domingo El Antiguo as the culmination of El Greco's formal integration of his Italian Renaissance experience into his then-emerging pictorial discourse in Spanish devotional paintings.

The author's choice to examine El Greco's Italian activity leads to a discussion of the Cretan painter as if he were an Italian Renaissance artist *ab initio* or a painter associated with the *Bamboccianti*, the *Fiamminghi* or other sort of émigrés who trained at the high levels of Italian art instruction available to local Roman artists. This application of an Italian Renaissance-focused methodology to an Eastern painter enables the meaningful observations that El Greco is "far more conventional than what is normally said about him" (3) and that he used his Italian career "as a vantage point for reevaluating the religious image in sixteenth-century Italy" (7). Casper argues that El Greco's Byzantine retentions resurfaced in new and improved contours in Italy to openly respond to the creative conditions of devotional image-making after the concluding session of the Council of Trent (1563). El Greco inspiringly mastered the latent connections between the legendary role of Evangelist Luke as a painter of Marian icons and the Western perception that painting is a divine activity—one governed by "angelic artists" who depict a spiritual endeavor rather than the slavish imitation of natural forms (21-32). Notwithstanding these East-West rapprochements, the crowning achievement of El Greco's Italian career was not a mere translation from an Eastern into a Western idiom, but rather the ambitious enterprise of applying his artistic virtuosity to his efforts to create what Casper names "the artful icon" (75). Although the icon was not a novel category of image production in either Italy or in the Northern Renaissance, El Greco invested it with a heightened sensitivity and skill by displaying the most advanced Italian styles and techniques, as well as engaging with contemporary critical and philosophical issues when making his devotional images.

One of the overriding topics in the literature about devotional images has been the vexed question of whether aesthetic quality and devotional engagement together can flourish despite the restrictions upon religious image production in the sixteenth century. The artist's talent negotiated the ecclesiastical rules of decency and propriety. Addressing this issue, the book contributes to some remarkable efforts to elucidate the nuanced balance between artistry and devotion, including Alexander Nagel's *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (2011), Stuart Lingo's *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (2008), Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach's *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotion, and the Early Modern World* (2009), and Megan Holmes's latest research on miraculous images in Renaissance Florence. On the other hand, Casper disregards Marcia Hall's trust in style and her contention, in *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (2011), that El Greco reprised the visual representations he derived from his study of the Italian masters to amplify the affective tenor of his devotional images. Instead, Casper locates El Greco's stylistic emancipation from Byzantium in his blending of "the performative" and "the substitutional" modes of image making that Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood proposed in their collaborative opus, *Anachronic Renaissance* (2011). But while Nagel and Wood posit that the substitutive virtues inherent in medieval devotional practices and their demonstrated ability to link ancient prototypes to the early modern images of Renaissance painters eschew a linear chronology, Casper contends instead that El Greco's creative performance supersedes all medieval substitutive inclinations (37, 140). This reevaluation of El Greco's performativity at the expense of his grounding in a Renaissance tradition of replicas and painted copies of miraculous images from a medieval past seems problematic at best. This is especially so because El Greco's devotional virtuosity was put to the service of both art and devotion and thus cannot be isolated from notions of interchangeability with older originals, nor from the equilibrium between meaning and function in his medieval predecessors' artifact production. Casper carefully takes note that El Greco's "fictive materiality" (34) nevertheless maintains the boundaries between image and prototype that ensure devotional effectiveness and avoids the trappings of idolatrous images made by painters whose

art is an act of devotion to their own creativity (40). El Greco never substitutes his creative intervention to the divine referent, but only amplifies its aesthetic and devotional potential.

The book focuses on a typological reassessment of El Greco's paintings as the fruits of artistic agency and textual exchange. In the realm of devotional narratives, El Greco pushed the boundaries of Christocentric images to reassert their formal and iconic possibilities within new historical narratives that he created after some New Testament paradigms. Casper uniquely contributes to a hitherto-unexplored examination of El Greco's Venetian and Roman versions of *Christ Healing the Blind* and *Cleansing of the Temple* as a new category of images that El Greco conceived while working in Italy. These paintings constitute El Greco's most ambitious and innovative responses to the post-conciliar dictates of many ecclesiastical patrons and theorists to extend the image's devotional potential into spiritually enlightened narratives. Casper's examination of these two sets of narrative paintings sheds light on El Greco's ability to translate into visual language Angelico Buonriccio's *Le pie, et christiane parafrasi sopra l'Evangelio di San Matteo, et di San Giovanni* (1568; 2nd edition 1569), a tract of particular relevance to Venice's singular interest in New Testament narratives about Christ as a miraculous healer and wonder worker. The composition of the *Cleansing of the Temple* adapts drawings by Michelangelo and Parmigianino (75, 99) and simultaneously, like *Christ Healing the Blind*, marks a new entry of architectural treatises into El Greco's background scenes with three-dimensional urban monuments. Casper's book thus acknowledges El Greco as a humanist-painter and owner of Sebastiano Serlio's *Il secondo libro di prospettiva* (1545) and other similar treatises intended to challenge Italian Renaissance artists to further through architectural representations the narrative potential exhorted in Alberti's *istoria*. If Casper's book emphasizes "a far more conventional El Greco than we thought" (3), the reader would expect to see the author dealing with the immediate implications of El Greco's annotations in his 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*. El Greco's criticisms of Vasari were shared by Annibale Carracci and especially by Federico Zuccari, whom El Greco met in the early 1570s in Rome, and are illustrative of more than just an emerging movement of anti-Vasarianism in early modern art. El Greco penned

in the margins of Vasari's biographies his personal remarks on the critical reception of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian's legacy; his reevaluations of Parmigianino and Pontormo; and, most importantly, his revised attitude toward classical antiquity that maintained Correggio as a viable alternative to Raphael's classicism, an alternative that escapes the confines of Roman papal quarters. In his analysis of these marginalia, Casper recognizes El Greco "as self-conscious about his place in the tradition of Italian art as these other artists were" (83) without stressing how he explored in more practical terms the form and function of his Renaissance coevals or predecessors. How could we grasp, for instance, the full significance of El Greco's 1568-70 *Burial of Christ* without referring it back to the Lamentation altarpieces by Raphael, Titian, and Rosso Fiorentino, or by comparing it with Annibale Carracci's contemporary reappraisal of this scene to suit the Eucharist directions in early modern altar painting? El Greco studies currently lack a formal analysis that would complement the existing theoretical analysis of El Greco's Vasarian *postille*. Casper's reiterations are efforts to systematize Fernando Marías and Augustin Bustamante's *Las Ideas Artísticas de El Greco, Comentarios a un Texto Inedito* (2008) and to share with remarks of his own Clare Robertson's further points of comparison between the comments of El Greco, Annibale Carracci, and Federico Zuccari in *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (2008).

The book sets a benchmark for future writings about foreign artists like El Greco whose contact with Renaissance humanism influenced both their own development and that of the artistic Italian spheres with which they came into contact. As maintained repeatedly in each chapter, El Greco left an enduring mark on the Italian Renaissance by implementing his new Gospel-derived narratives, developing modes of intentional archaism in concert with local forms of sacred imagery, and reconfiguring the Eucharistic tenor of altar painting as a whole. These advancements in early modern painting are an eloquent expression of artistic agency, exchange, and typological engagement on the part of an Eastern artist who confronted art in the Italian peninsula as an adult only, regardless of Crete's historical ties with Venice dating back to the early thirteenth century. It took a non-Western talent originally trained as an icon painter in Crete to elevate the Italian Renaissance style to a persuasive devotional power. His reformulations of the religious

image were in close liaison with his stylistic formulas, beckoning the Western viewers to accept and admire his art and also to contemplate his altarpieces, to which they directed their prayers, as “icons of the most typological sort” (171) and “specifically institutionalized forms of the icon” (172) in the West.

John Mulryan, trans. *Vincenzo Cartari's Images of the Gods of the Ancients: The First Italian Mythography*. Tempe, AZ. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.xxxvi + 457 pp. + 21 illus. \$90.00. Review by CATHERINE GIMELLI MARTIN, THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS.

John Mulryan has performed an extremely useful service for all Renaissance and Medieval scholars by translating, annotating, and providing an extremely thorough introduction to an important text previously available only in the original Italian, Vincenzo Cartari's *Images of the Gods of the Ancients*. Nearly as influential as Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*, Cartari's sixteenth-century text was widely used and translated for nearly two centuries, appearing in various Latin, French, English, and German versions where its iconography could be consulted and imitated by poets, painters, sculptors, and students of ancient religion. A complete list of its early publication history and its two modern Italian editions is conveniently printed in an appendix. As Mulryan explains, Cartari of Reggio himself remains a relatively obscure if, in his lifetime, highly regarded moralist, mythographer, occultist, numismatist, translator, and compiler patronized by the famous d'Este family of Ferrara. He was best known for this text, the *Imagini* or *Images of the Gods* (1556, rev. 1571), a standard guide to the allegorical and emblematic symbolism of classical mythology, now available in Mulryan's new edition. Cartari had prepared for his masterwork by translating Ovid's *Fasti* in 1551, which was also dedicated to the d'Este family. His *Imagini* followed five years later, a work of true mythography rather than an emblem book: instead of merely recording, it interprets classical mythology according to a tradition anciently established by Hesiod and continued (among many others) by Plato, the sixth-century scholar Fulgentius, and the

Vatican mythographers—the anonymous authors of twelfth-century manuscripts based on the holdings of the Vatican library. Inheriting a doctrine descended from the last defenders of paganism, Cartari and other Renaissance scholars who followed in their footsteps believed that they were recovering the “lost” wisdom of the ancients. Although hardly a guide to ultimate truth, their images and descriptions of the gods were synthesized and expanded by later artists and poets.

Cartari arrives rather late in this tradition, after Giovanni Boccaccio, Lilio Giraldi, and their many descendents, each of which “had his own particular bias” and weakness (xix). Yet by specifically appealing to artists interested in the physical details ascribed to the gods, Cartari proved far more successful than his predecessors. Like Conti, who frequently if covertly borrows from him, he produced a work that went through more than twenty-five editions, although Conti had the advantage of writing in Latin, the international language of the time. Rather than providing Christian interpretations of classical myth, both authors relate classical myth to the fashionable philosophies of their era, Neoplatonism, Pythagorism, and Hermeticism. Cartari does of course follow Augustine and other Church Fathers in linking these myths to the God-given origins of religion, which, in proto-anthropological fashion, he understands as a more fundamental human impulse than reason itself. Citing the Platonist Iamblichus, Cartari traces natural religion to a “divine light” which awakens the mind to “a natural desire for goodness” and veneration (1). His succeeding chapters on the twelve major gods of antiquity offer valuable, and at times, astonishing information on Saturn, Apollo, Diana, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Pluto, Mercury, Minerva, Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid, to which are added three separate chapters on the Great Mother, Fortune, and the Graces. Cartari’s introductory chapter on the history of ancient religion and the concept of Eternity is of broader general and scholarly interest, although each of his sections offers valuable facts and insights. While his material is almost entirely derivative, not original, its syncretism is its outstanding virtue: “Cartari quotes, cites, or alludes to almost the entire corpus of classical literature,” especially to the late Greek encyclopedic compendiums little known today except among specialists in the field (xxiv). Besides Boccaccio and Giraldi, Cartari’s other major sources are “Pausanias’s *History of Greece*, Macrobius’s

*Saturnalia*, “Suidas’s” *Lexicon*, Eusebius Pamphilus’s *A Preparation for the Gospel*, and Alexander of Naples’ *Genialium Dierum* [Festival Days]” (xxv). His late antique and medieval sources additionally include Martianus Capella’s *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, Dante, Petrarch, and other lesser known figures too numerous to mention. Written in a witty and lively style, the resulting compendium exerted a strong influence on the continent that has received some scholarly attention, but no detailed investigation either of Cartari’s influence on Conti or on the English Renaissance has yet been produced. One of Mulryan’s major goals is thus to facilitate such studies (xxx), which one hopes will soon appear.

Cartari’s introductory chapter conventionally follows Plato in tracing the origins of the Greek gods to Egypt, and while he provides no explanation for the many differences between the Greek and Egyptian deities—the Hellenistic mainly anthropomorphic, the Egyptian mainly bestial in form—he does suggest that many of the ancient gods were originally heroes accorded immortal status by their appreciative people. He also provides an interesting discussion of the ancient prestige associated with statues and the power formerly ascribed to venerating and collecting them, which he explains in quasi-consumerist terms. This discussion is balanced by a discussion of the Judaic prohibition of images of God and similar sentiments among the gentiles, including Lycurgus, Numa, and even the early Egyptians themselves (8). Cartari nevertheless defends the use of images as representing humanity’s natural and pious reverence for the elements and for “ancestors” such as the fire god Prometheus, the mythical father of mankind. This chapter concludes with a fascinating discussion of why Demogorgon is the sole companion of Eternity, why Eternity differs from Perpetuity, and why (in a long quotation taken from Claudian) time as we know it is a joyous female, the “ancient mother of the numberless years, . . . whose generous womb is both the cradle and the grave of time” (23). This image greatly differs from Hesiod’s description of the “womb” of Chaos and Night, thus providing a new source which both Spenserians and Miltonists would do well to investigate. The following chapter on Saturn and his Italian predecessor, Janus, is equally rich in relating multiple symbols of time and their often unexpected meanings.

Chapter 3 on Apollo is typical of the rest of the book; it supplies both well-known and completely novel details about the sun god. Even readers well-versed in mythology will find themselves startled to learn that in Assyria Apollo was once identified not just with Jupiter but in fact, with all the gods, and especially Hebe, the goddess of youth. Less surprisingly, Apollo was considered the center of things, which is why his lyre symbolizes celestial harmony and why he holds the three Graces in his right hand. Yet like most gods, he contains his own opposite: his arrows represent both the violent, plague-inducing rays of the sun and the underworld to which they send mortal men. For that reason, the wolf, crow, and hawk are all associated with Apollo, although due to the whiteness of his light and his arrival every morning, the swan and the cock are also his birds. More familiar emblems like the laurel are shown not simply to represent the art of poetry but the art of preservation and health. Because the laurel “tree is never touched by heaven’s thunderbolt,” it “was supposed to be very useful for keeping healthy” (53). From here Cartari goes on to detail the lore associated with Apollo’s son, Aesculapius, for whom the cock is similarly sacred, and who is himself the father of Hygeia, or Health, which is associated with the cornucopia he frequently holds. At times these various emblems are given causal explanations, as when Cartari states that the Cyclopes killed by Apollo represent the “fogs and other wretched qualities of the air” (65), but these connections are just as frequently noted as simple facts or associations long ago established by the ancients with no known rationale. For instance, the pentagon, another symbol of health, simply “is” because Alexander the Great gave it to Antiochus as such, and Antiochus afterward inscribed it on his medals. Here as elsewhere Cartari writes in a chatty, digressive style which at times produces interesting links between symbols and gods but usually makes little attempt to group them in any natural or logical order. Thus Chapter 3—here taken as representative of the whole—concludes with an entirely new group of animals sacred to Apollo, the rat, ass, goat, dove, ram, and horse, only the latter of which will probably appear at all “logical” to modern readers given the ram’s link to Aries and the horse to Apollo’s chariot.

The end result is an enormous compendium of images and associations impossible to summarize in even an extremely lengthy

review. They would also be very difficult to predict or locate without Mulryan's useful index of mythological personages, which he of course accompanies with a separate index of titles and authors. Although a careful reader will find much commonsense or "peasant" logic in the ancient systems of thought represented here, they have few analogies with modern habits of mind or philosophical traditions. An important exception is Plato's dialogues, where for instance one finds Socrates offering a cock to Aesculapius before his death. Otherwise, there are many surprises; one would for instance expect to find Isis listed among the goddesses associated with Juno, when she instead appears beside Diana and the vulture, which according to Cartari is a common image of nature. On the other hand, since like Diana, Isis is a tri-form moon goddess, not just the wife of Osiris, it is probably not so strange to find her grouped with the virgin huntress. The work of modern mythographers, Freudian as well as anthropological, has long since made such pairs of analogues and opposites relatively familiar, but reading Cartari offers the additional advantage of showing how selective and unpredictable both ancient and Renaissance poets could be in their use of the ancient gods. After reading Virgil and his innumerable followers, who would have suspected that Juno more often appears as a beneficent than a maleficent mother figure, or that Homer himself misogynistically emphasizes her jealousy at the expense of her many gifts, including riches, nobility, marital bliss, and the rainbow, Iris, "the daughter of Thaumas or Admiration," and herald of the gods (140). These associations and many others like them are carefully detailed throughout all sixteen of Cartari's chapters, accompanied by well-reproduced plates by his best illustrator, Bologna Zaltieri. Mulryan takes both these plates and his text from the last edition that Cartari himself probably prepared for publication, his 1569 text, "the parent of all later editions" (xxx).

It should go without saying that the bulk of this frequently idiosyncratic and even startling material is not available in many of the best modern sources, even though it was well known to the Renaissance poets and artists who regularly used both Conti and Cartari. As a result, Mulryan's edition of the *Imagini* should provide an invaluable resource for Renaissance art historians and students of Italian, continental, and English poetry alike. During the English Renaissance, at least some

of Cartari's subject matter was reprinted in Steven Batman's *Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddess* (London, 1577) and Abraham Fraunce's *The Third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch* (London 1592); yet since many early English poets such as Phillip Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke, Edmund Spenser, and their circle, as well as later poets such as Phineas Fletcher, Abraham Cowley, John Milton, Andrew Marvell, and John Dryden, doubtless had access to original or at least fuller versions of the Italian mythographers, scholars in this field can hardly afford not to have a copy of Cartari at hand. While not all of his discussions will prove immediately useful, all should be immensely entertaining to readers even moderately interested in the broader mythical tradition.

David Cast, ed. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Giorgio Vasari*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014. 337 pp. + 32 illus. £85.00. Review by MAUREEN PELTA, MOORE COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN.

Who exactly was Giorgio Vasari? Scholar or scoundrel? Historian or fabulist? Consummate courtier and artist of the "first rank" or shameless sycophant and second-rate mannerist? Increasingly problematized in late twentieth-century scholarship, Vasari has become a polarizing figure among scholars in the opening decades of the twenty-first. In the wake of Patricia Rubin's quintessential *Giorgio Vasari Art and History* (Yale, 1995), and recent celebrations honoring Vasari's fifth centenary in 2011, Vasari studies have arguably become their own academic industry and it is difficult to maintain a neutral position about Vasari and. To quote one contributor to Ashgate's new addition to the Vasari bookshelves, "We all ride our own hobby horses" (Barolsky, 121). Indeed.

Readers might reasonably expect a self-professed "Research Companion" to be comprehensive in scope. This was certainly the case with Marcia Hall's excellent *Companion to Raphael* (2005), along with its similarly indispensable sister-volumes from the same Cambridge University Press series (cf. Derbes and Sandona, 2004; Ahl, 2002), all of which presented their subjects as complex and multidimensional.

What binds together the sixteen essays in Ashgate's recent companion to Vasari, and the principle guiding their selection, seems rather more opaque. Beyond the clear expertise of each contribution, almost all address Vasari's authorship of the *Vite* (our shorthand for his sweeping *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*). With so little attention to his actual artistic production over the course of a dynamic career spanning nearly half a century, would Vasari—celebrated artist-architect, sought after in his time by princes and popes alike—find himself fully recognized in these pages? Perhaps only in Liana de Girolami Cheney's "Giorgio Vasari: Artist, Designer, Collector"—with its considered insight into Vasari's creative process and his fastidious self-fashioning through the art he made for himself, and collected—would this trusted advisor to the first Grand Duke of Tuscany apprehend his own image.

What the volume lacks in scope, however, it makes up in focused depth and detail. While this anthology was probably not designed to be read cover-to-cover, the reader who does so will be rewarded with a rich, prismatic experience of Vasari as author and *litterato*, particularly in terms of the evolution of his thinking between his influential text's initial publication by Torrentino in 1550 and the release of its enhanced second edition, published by the Giunti, in 1568. Despite some regrettable unevenness in style and tone—one wishes that David Cast had held his contributors to the same rigorous editorial standard of his own meticulous introduction—there are some true gems of contemporary scholarship to be found here.

In addition to Cast's excellent and thoughtful introduction, several essays concentrate on Vasari's language and its sources. Charles Hope continues to interrogate Vasari's authorial enterprise, contributing "Vasari's *Vite* as a Collaborative Project." Originally published in Italian in 2005, Hope's work has raised a host of new questions about humanism and visual culture, and is amplified here with updated citations in which he generously shares references to arguments *contra* his own. Robert Williams follows with "Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini," an account of Borghini's considerable involvement in both Vasari's life and *Lives*. Although Vasari seems reduced at times to visual mouthpiece, Williams concludes with a dazzling discussion of Borghini's influence on Vasari's 1568 re-conceptualization of "progress" in the

arts as “sustainable perfection” (38)—that historical development could culminate in a set of artistic practices and principles, i.e., an articulated language of art, that could be learned (and taught)—thus overcoming implications about the inevitable decline of art, a weakness inherent in the 1550 text. Essays by Sharon Gregory and Robert Gaston focus specifically on Vasari’s language. Gregory’s “Vasari on Imitation” skillfully demonstrates how Vasari’s profound engagement with the rhetoric of contemporary literary debates helped refine his ideas about the nature of imitation. While Gregory confronts head-on the recent questioning of Vasari’s authorship by concluding that Vasari’s language regarding imitation was singularly his own, Gaston’s “Vasari and the Rhetoric of Decorum” skirts the issue while reminding us throughout of Vasari’s “literary fluency in the vernacular” (248). Unpacking some of Vasari’s terms for decorum and appropriateness, Gaston argues that the language of the 1568 edition evinces a more mature comprehension of rhetoric.

As might be expected, several essays focus on the *Vite* of individual artists past or present: Vasari’s heroes (Giotto and Masaccio) and villains (Piero di Cosimo) as well as his contemporaries, friends (Salviati) or foes (Cellini), alike. “Vasari’s 1568 Life of Masaccio,” by Perri Lee Roberts argues that Vasari’s appropriation of Masaccio as an Aretine artist and placement within the *Vite*—after other artists from Arezzo but prior to Florentines Brunelleschi and Donatello—was coupled with a descriptive analysis of Masaccio’s style calculated to enhance the artist’s reputation, privileging both the art of painting and Vasari’s native Arezzo in the genesis of art’s “modern” manner. Norman Land and Karen Goodchild discuss Vasari’s literary sources. According to Land, Giotto’s *vita* is an amalgam of literary tropes drawn largely from Antiquity, while Goodchild’s charming “Bizarre Painters and Bohemian Poets: Poetic Imitation and Artistic Rivalry in Vasari’s Biography of Piero di Cosimo,” situates critical aspects of Piero’s *Life* and its language firmly within the tradition of the Renaissance Burlesque. Demonstrating how burlesque poetry functioned as a model for Vasari’s inversion of the artist/courtier ideal, she highlights linguistic similarities between Piero’s biography and those of Pontormo and Bronzino. She also suggests that Vasari may have “settled his scores,”

using his *Vite* to claim the final word on a group of “insiders” who excluded him.

Melinda Schlitt’s beautifully written and reasoned, “Giorgio Vasari and Francesco Salviati: Friendship and Art,” frames her discussion between an insightful analysis of two portraits: one sent to Vasari by Salviati as an overture to friendship; the other, the engraved portrait created to introduce Salviati’s biography in the 1568 *Vite*, which served as Vasari’s visual gloss on the verbal portrayal of the artist’s art and character. In doing so, Schlitt addresses Vasari’s general interest in portraiture and the meaning of portraits within constructs of friendship—real and ideal—that were highly important in Renaissance society. She reveals how directly Vasari associated Salviati’s critical fortunes with his own. In contrast, Virginia Coates offers a fresh perspective on Vasari’s relationship with one of his most vocal detractors. Her “Rivals with a Common Cause: Vasari, Cellini and the Literary Formulation of the Ideal Artist,” is a convincing reconsideration of the much-vaunted rivalry between these two men within the context of their mutually radical enterprise: to transform public perception of artists through the formulation of heroic biography and new professional organizations, like the *Accademia del Disegno*, established in 1563.

And then, of course, there’s Michelangelo, the only living artist whose biography was included in the 1550 edition and who died in 1564, four years prior to Vasari’s publication of the second. There are serious, thought-provoking pleasures to be had by reading William Wallace and Paul Barolsky in tandem. Readers familiar with Barolsky’s work know that he revels in Vasari’s “fictions,” which he views as an operation of the nuanced “historical imagination” (122) with which Vasari molds his readers’ perceptions of his artist/subjects. In “Vasari’s Literary Artifice and the Triumph of Michelangelo’s David,” Barolsky explores themes woven into Vasari’s 1568 account of this famous statue, by showing how carefully Vasari crafted his description of Michelangelo’s statue, and its making, into metaphors for the sculptor himself. David’s triumph over Goliath becomes Michelangelo’s own—over rivals and critics, the stone itself, and ultimately his own mortality. Michelangelo’s transcendence is also a construct crucial to Wallace’s “Who is the Author of Michelangelo’s Life?” as he tackles the challenge posed by his own title. This is much more than a comparative

analysis of Vasari's two versions of Michelangelo's *Vita* alongside the biography written Ascanio Condivi in 1553, in response and at the artist's own behest. Wallace offers a sensitive and sophisticated appraisal of Michelangelo's self-image: how the artist's pre-occupation with his family's heritage as descendants from the counts of Canossa, and his determination to be acknowledged as a member of the patrician class, may have impacted his business dealings with patrons but failed as an attempt to control his literary identity. Vasari's divine eccentric continues to triumph in the imagination of popular history.

One wonders to what extent Michelangelo's desire to shape his own legacy—and in Wallace's words, his conscious efforts "to redefine relations between artist and patron" (116)—determined Vasari's own. This question is central to the essays of Ann Huppert and Marjorie Och, who compare the two editions of the *Vite* as a means of interrogating Vasari's attitudes toward geographical place, here Siena and Venice respectively, within the context of Vasari's social place. Both authors maintain that textual changes in the 1568 edition of the *Vite* resulted from Vasari's rising stature and personal success in the Florentine court of Duke Cosimo I. In "Giorgio Vasari and the Art of Siena," Huppert observes that Vasari's dismissal of Siennese art in the Renaissance, still an essential element of its master narrative, became even more pronounced in 1568. Given the successful annexation of Siena by the Medicean Grand Duchy in 1559, and the fact that Vasari was by that time deeply embedded in its Florentine court, Huppert suggests that Vasari's account may have been shaped by contemporary politics, and she offers a fine analysis of Baldassarre Peruzzi's successful career as a significant and cautionary corrective. Och's "Venice and the Perfection of the Arts," argues that Vasari's second trip to Venice resulted in deeper appreciation of Venetian art, especially its architecture, as reflected in the highly detailed biographies of Fra Gioconda and Sansovino added in 1568. Yet here, rather strikingly, what Vasari appeared to find most compelling about Venice was its openness: that non-native artists could prosper there and that it became a haven for artists after the 1527 Sack of Rome, as well as Venice's ability to absorb influences from artistic cultures outside its own.

Lisa Pon and Hilary Fraser speak to attitudes toward Vasari among later generations of artists and authors. Pon's informative "Rewriting

Vasari,” shares some of the lively one-sided dialogues that developed within the margins of Vasari’s text. She draws attention to the important evidence that can be found in early, annotated versions of the *Lives*, some indicative of multiple readers’ presence within a single volume. Her discussion of Vasari’s riposte to Condivi both complements and augments Wallace’s work, discussed above, and Pon’s account of the appropriation of Sansovino’s *Vite* by the architect’s son and grandson is both compelling and instructive. Fraser’s elegant “Vasari’s *Lives* and the Victorians,” provides a fitting close to Cast’s anthology. Her lucid analysis of mid-nineteenth century British paintings that take episodes from the *Vite* as their subject, reveals how attentively British artists and critics read Vasari’s text and also underscores its fundamental import in defining the Italian Renaissance and its aesthetics in the Victorian period. Even more significantly, Fraser demonstrates how crucially Vasari’s *Lives* framed and informed all levels of discourse—academic, artistic, and popular—regarding the role of art and its practitioners in a modern society. *Viva Vasari!* The beat goes on...

Evelyn Lord. *The Great Plague: A People’s History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014. xi + 173 pp. + 31 Illus. Review by LARRY BONDS, MCMURRY UNIVERSITY.

*The Great Plague: A People’s History* is Evelyn Lord’s compelling study of the effects of the bubonic plague on Cambridge during the outbreak of 1665-1666. Lord’s study is short, but full of interesting details about plague life and death. Drawing upon such sources as hearth-tax rolls, diaries, and letters, Lord introduces readers to Cambridge’s townspeople and then shows how they suffered through the outbreak. Lord’s study, as she says in the Preface, uses “faction,” in which the historian reports factual evidence that inspires fictional dialogue and situations for real-life people in “techniques reminiscent of docudrama” (x). Faction imbues the story of the Cambridge plague with riveting flesh-and-blood realism. *The Great Plague* has ten chapters of faction that presents two broad areas: introducing some of Cambridge’s plague-era residents so that readers care about these people and then showing how they suffered through the plague.

Lord begins with the terrifying story of the deaths of two boys—John Morley, aged five, and his unnamed younger brother. After John died, the younger Morley boy showed symptoms and then “was swept from his mother’s arms by men dressed in white robes and taken away” to die in lonely agony in a quarantining “pest house” (one of four in town) without the comfort of his “distraught parents [who] were shut up in their house with a red cross painted on the door and the words ‘Lord Have Mercy on Us’ written below it” (1). Lord later describes how people locked into their homes because of diseased family members lived:

Once a day the bellman announced the arrival of the dead cart, and the shout of ‘Here!’ could be heard; the watchmen [who were paid 8 pennies each for a twelve-hour shift of keeping victims from escaping] unlocked the padlock and chains securing the door and the corpse would be passed through. Once a day water and food were brought and the window shutters removed so that occupants could grab the victuals; if they had any cash left the coins would be dropped into a bowl of vinegar held out by the watch, and whispered requests would be made for medicine and other necessities. (99)

In this fearful atmosphere of anxious poverty, the Morley boys’ parents dealt somehow with their grief.

Besides bringing readers into the struggles of sympathy-inspiring people such as the Morleys, Lord’s book is the larger history of the plague’s impact on Cambridge as a town. Like the visage of a human victim of disfiguring disease, the face of Cambridge changed radically from pestilence. The first bout of plague in Cambridge in 1349 led to the erection of three institutions of higher learning during the next decade: Trinity Hall, Gonville Hall, and Corpus Christi College. The university added these institutions to “train men for the priesthood and replace those who had died”(2). Thus the plague shaped the architectural face of Cambridge.

Another feature of the town that changed from plague was Cambridge’s parish cemeteries, which rapidly overflowed with dead. One such cemetery is that of St. Clements parish, which suffered deeply. Before describing the cemetery, Lord notes that “[i]n that summer

of 1665 the riverside parish ... had a smell all of its own" caused by "rotting vegetation on the riverbank" baking in the hot sun (55). Another part of plague-relevant geography in St. Clements was the foul, man-made stream known as "King's Ditch," along whose shores in summer 1665 lay a "great number of dead rats" killed by plague (55). The first human plague death in the parish was Jacob King, the fourteen-year-old son of a tailor. An apprenticed shoemaker, Jacob gathered on summer afternoons with other children on the Great Bridge over the Cam. Jacob fell ill after a gathering in mid-August and died horribly on August 15. Plague subsequently devastated St. Clements. A letter by a fellow of Clare College states that pestilence "rageth most in St. Clements parish, where never a day passeth without one dead of the sickness" (71-72). The plague became so bad in St. Clements that, between September and December of 1665, one third of parish buildings were boarded up to quarantine people. The effect of all the burials on the St. Clements' graveyard was to raise it four feet above the surrounding roads; the cemetery had to be enlarged that much to accommodate layers of the dead.

Besides packing the town's cemeteries, plague disrupted the economic lives and daily routines of townspeople. Plague closed the university, caused the cancellation of the economically vital Stourbridge Fair, scared farmers off from delivering food, and panicked officials into banning public entertainments. These cancellations and stoppages profoundly depressed the town's economy.

A fascinating account of an earlier attack of plague concerns the economic life of Thomas Hobson—a letter-carrier, stable-owner, and philanthropist. This Thomas Hobson "is the Hobson of Hobson's Choice," an idiom meaning "Take it or leave it" (3). Lord explains that Hobson had a strict rotation for horses in his stable and would not allow renters of his animals to choose their own mounts. Hobson insisted that patrons accept whatever horse (no matter its characteristics) was next in the rotation. Besides inspiring the interesting phrase, Hobson changed the city landscape by paying for such public works as a conduit in the town's marketplace for fresh spring water (which people believed helped prevent plague) and a workhouse for indigent women. Hobson died during (but not of) the 1631 plague, when Milton was an undergraduate. Milton and others composed

a series of humorous poems about Hobson's death, which is generally attributed poetically to his grief over his inability to do business because of the plague.

Another notable whom the plague affected was Sir Isaac Newton, who studied in Cambridge during the 1665-1666 plague and who fled the outbreak to his rural home. There he had his apple-falling-from-the-tree experience. Lord uses the description of Newton to explain the basic organization of the university's colleges into chapel, library, and hall. Lord moves from this broad view of Cambridge's colleges to a description of the life of Isaac Newton the student. To warm himself, for instance, Newton spent eleven shillings for coal and turf in 1667. Local economic events enabled Newton to perform important scientific investigations. For example, at Stourbridge Fair in 1664, Newton bought the prism with which he reproduced some of Descartes' light experiments from the *Book of Colours* and found that Descartes was sometimes wrong. Besides being a student and scientist, Newton worked as a sizar. A sizar helped pay his way through college by "doing secretarial jobs, running errands, and performing domestic tasks such as lighting fires" (40). Fortunately, Newton served one Dr. Babington, who was "frequently absent from college," so Newton did not have to work very hard (40). Although he was a sizar, Newton employed at least three servants of his own; they included a laundress, a bed-maker, and a "gyp." A gyp did unpleasant jobs such as heavy lifting, brushing muddy boots, and taking messages. Though trustworthy gyps often had keys to students' rooms, gyps might spy and report students who were absent overnight to pursue illicit activities. Besides providing servant jobs for townspeople, students and faculty members patronized local artisans and merchants. Newton bought locks for his desk and study from a Cambridge locksmith. Similarly, records exist of Newton's purchases of shoes, shoelaces, and shoe repairs during his Cambridge years. He also had sewn for himself a vest, a new fashion from the court. Such trade dwindled to almost nothing during plague.

Another fascinating townsman Lord describes was John Evelyn, "a diarist and gardener" (10). Tracing Evelyn's entry into Cambridge in September 1664, Lord tells how Evelyn rode to town from Huntingdon along the old Roman road across the Fens (fetid swamps outside town), passed a common dunghill near the city, and crossed the Great

Bridge, which still had a cucking stool. The dunghill Evelyn passed probably contributed to the spread of plague, for—besides holding the excrement of animals and townspeople—dunghills were trash heaps on which were tossed “household waste, rotting vegetation and dead dogs and cats” (11). This trash provided excellent food and habitat for rats that carried fleas that spread pestilence. It is not surprising then that Evelyn hated the smell of the city’s air, calling it “thick, infested by the fens” (11). Because the miasmatic mixture of fog from the fens and of coal smoke and foul odors from the town was believed to cause plague, people regarded Cambridge as particularly dangerous. What was probably unhealthier was that people in Cambridge (like most Englishmen then) rarely bathed. Evelyn, for instance, his diary states, washed his hair only once a year. It is hardly surprising that fleas easily survived to infect people with such poor hygiene. Despite his filthiness, Evelyn suffered most from the plague through the deaths of two of his children. When his son Richard, aged five, succumbed, Evelyn wrote in his diary, “Here ends the joy of my life, which go[es] ever mourning to the grave” (21). When Richard’s sister Mary, aged nineteen, died, Evelyn grievously apostrophized her: “Never can I say enough; oh dear, my dear child, whose memory is so precious” (65). Lord says that many “parents who lost children in the plague of 1665-66 could not record their feelings” (65) because of illiteracy, but Evelyn’s words afford readers a poignant glimpse of parental anguish.

What pestilence meant to the faithful in Cambridge is a fascinating part of Lord’s study. One believer who interpreted the outbreak in metaphysical terms was Lancelot Hooper. Hooper and his wife Christian first lost a son to plague on June 24, 1666. The Hoopers were religious dissenters, and their home was licensed for Congregational meetings. Despite their leadership of a divergent sect, the Hoopers were obliged to bury five children in the Anglican parish churchyard during the plague. Also, despite his low status as a dissenter, Lancelot Hooper was a friend of the parish minister, whom Hooper allegedly asked, “[W]as it the wickedness of mankind, and especially the debauchery of the court, that had brought the plague upon them?” (94). People such as Hooper could make sense of the plague as God’s punishment of England for the sinful restoration of a corrupt, licentious monarchy. A desire to offer a supernatural explanation for terrible suffering is a

common human reaction; illogical attempts to blame human suffering on God's wrath are made to this day to condemn victims of HIV and of natural disasters such as hurricanes.

Cambridge's geography encouraged people to perpetuate their erroneous theory that bad air (called miasma) was the plague's physical cause. Cambridge and its splendid college buildings are located in a swampy region, and many seventeenth century folk incorrectly thought that breathing air from swamps caused plague (An airborne form of Black Death—pneumonic plague—does occur, but it is transmitted by infected mammals that sneeze and spray victims with mucus containing the *Yersinia pestis* bacteria). Furthermore, people actively killed stray dogs and cats in the belief that they transmitted plague. It seems likely that destroying those natural killers of rats helped increase rat populations and provided more hosts for plague-bearing fleas. Another irony is that the belief that plague was caused by bad air led many people to smoke in the vain hope that smoke would ward off disease.

Besides detailing misperceptions of the source of plague, Lord gives fascinating descriptions of the economic interdependence of town and gown. University proctors controlled for Cambridge the price of candles, the standards of weights and measures, the prosecution of prostitutes, and "the right to license or prohibit all actors, wrestlers, bear-baiters and jesters in the town or for five miles around" (23). People came to Cambridge not only for the university but also for four lucrative annual fairs, the most important of which was Stourbridge Fair. Stourbridge Fair was absolutely crucial to Cambridge's economic life; it took place, however, from late August through September, a period when plague flourished. In 1665-1666, Stourbridge Fair was cancelled, thus denying Cambridge an important source of goods and income. While people of the town and gown sustained each other economically, the colleges offered good, even lucrative opportunities on the campuses. Lord describes, for example, "the young women of Cambridge who clamored to become bed-makers in the hope of catching a wealthy husband" (43-44) from among the gentlemen-scholars. Besides women to deal with many domestic chores, the colleges hired townsfolk of both genders to serve as bakers, cooks, gardeners, custodians, vintners, brewers, tailors, shoemakers, porters, and so on.

Only porters remained employed at colleges when pestilence came. When plague struck, the university closed and the many people who worked for the colleges suddenly had no jobs and no money to support themselves and their families.

In her final chapter, Lord says that the number of burials for the 1665-1666 Cambridge plague was 920. This total was about twelve percent of the town's populace. The pestilence of 1665-1666 marked "the last serious outbreak of plague in Britain" (134). Lord then repeats the common explanation for the plague's end: the Great Fire of London destroyed the thatched roofs and medieval buildings that provided habitat for black rats. Cambridge, however, did not suffer that conflagration, yet the plague vanished there, too. Possible explanations offered for the disease's disappearance outside of London include the creation of widespread immunity in the surviving population, a misidentification by medical historians of the vector of transmission from bites from fleas hosted by black rats, the possibility that plague bacteria mutated into a less virulent form, or the simple meteorological luck that frigid winters after 1666 killed off plague bacteria. For whatever reason, the plague was, by December 1666, more or less done with Cambridge and England except for relatively small outbreaks over the next 300 years.

The world faces, as this review goes to press, the specter of an Ebola pandemic. In this context, Lord's study acquires a keen relevance as people again face the daunting prospect of fighting a horrible disease against which human defenses seem weak. Already, many of the same issues that Lord discusses—the pain of losing of loved ones, the agony of victims whose suffering may be unrelieved, the wretched loneliness of the quarantined, panicked calls for bans on the travel to and from affected areas, the devastating economic disruptions in afflicted populations, and the hurtful moralizations of religious zealots who blame victims for "sinfulness"—face people around the world. Perhaps readers of Lord's book can learn some lessons from what she says—especially lessons about the need for people to face this new pestilence with courage, calmness, competence, and compassion.

## NEO-LATIN NEWS

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♦ *Res seniles, Libri IX-XII.* By Francesco Petrarca. Ed. by Silvia Rizzo, with the collaboration of Monica Berté. Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 2.3. Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2014. 430 pp. €40. *Improvvisi: una antica raccolta di epigrammi.* By Francesco Petrarca. Ed. by Monica Berté. Testi e documenti di letteratura e di lingua, 36. Rome: Salerno editrice, 2014. LVI + 129 pp. €16. This edition of the letters written by Petrarca in his old age is part of the Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca. The project began a century ago, with the intention of producing definitive texts of Petrarca's works. Over the first several decades, little progress was made, with Festa's edition of the *Africa* in 1926 being followed by Rossi and Bosco's *Familiares* in 1933-1942, Billanovich's *Rerum memorandarum libri* in 1945, and Martellotti's *De viris illustribus* in 1964. Work was taken up again and reorganized at the end of the twentieth century, in conjunction with the celebration of the seventh centenary of Petrarca's birth in 2004. The corpus was divided first according to the language in which the works were written, then in the case of the Latin writings according to whether they were in poetry or prose, with the last category subdivided further by genre into eleven

groups. Each work was placed into the appropriate category and an editor has been assigned to each. Substantial progress has been made, with a good number of volumes now in print and more on the way soon. The entire project is described at <http://www.franciscus.unifi.it/Commissione/TuttoPetrarca.htm>.

The volume under review here is the third installment of the *Seniles*. In line with the series norms, there is no commentary, but there is an apparatus containing authorial variants and some discussion of textual issues along with a second apparatus focused on intertextual references. The Latin text of the *Seniles*, which is based on the critical edition of E. Nota *et al.* (4 vols., Paris, 2002-2006) but with some variations, is accompanied by a good Italian translation which is useful in clarifying Petrarca's sometimes-puzzling Latin. Any library with a serious interest in Neo-Latin studies should have a standing order for this series, which will be the preferred venue for this vitally important corpus for the foreseeable future.

*Improvvisi* is a volume that will come as a pleasant surprise, even to those who thought they knew Petrarca and his works well. His *Canzoniere* places him in the first rank among the poets of his age, but Petrarca also wrote shorter poetry in Latin. These Latin poems were occasional pieces which their author did not consider important enough to order and preserve, but somewhere at the end of the Trecento or the beginning of the Quattrocento, an unknown admirer made up a little anthology that contained twenty of them. In the anthology, each poem is accompanied by a brief note that identifies the occasion on which the poem was written, its recipient, and the date of composition, which falls roughly between 1337 and 1353. Some of the poems are religious in character, while others comment on a political event or a trip Petrarca had taken; some are directed toward an important person or an absent friend, while others accompany a gift Petrarca had sent. They mix elements of the medieval tradition with those of the emerging humanist sensibility; we also find a couple of poems that begin with a routine daily experience and end with a typically Petrarchan gesture toward the deeper significance of the event. In any case, these poems show a more natural, spontaneous Petrarca than the more official persona that he crafted for public consumption. The editor provides a text of both the poems and the notes of

the anonymous early editor, followed by a commentary that describes the context in which the poems were produced and identifies references both to sources and to other writings of Petrarca. Much effort has gone into the preparation of this edition—the eight lines of poem XVII, for example, are followed by eight pages of commentary—and the results are well worth the effort.

It is worth noting that both of these volumes are beautifully produced and reasonably priced. *Improvvisi* in particular is a marvel, with eight pages of plates on special glossy paper and almost 200 pages of text for about the price of a pizza and a beer in the city where it was printed. At a time when the cost of scholarly books continues to spiral out of control, it is good to see that in Italy at least, excellent scholarship can still be published at a fair price. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Nicoletto Vernia: studi sull'aristotelismo del XV secolo*. By Ennio De Bellis. Quaderni di “Rinascimento,” 50. Florence: Olschki, 2012. VII + 235 pp. €25. Ennio De Bellis presents a comprehensive study of the life and works of Nicoletto Vernia (ca. 1420-1499), the key figure of Averroism in fifteenth-century Padua. De Bellis of the Università del Salento in Lecce (Italy) is well known through his studies on Vernia, Agostino Nifo, and other representatives of the philosophy of Renaissance Padua. This book offers detailed analyses and interprets Vernia within the context of his times. The book has two major parts: a first chapter of about 125 pages describes in chronological order the events of the life and individual writings of Vernia; then four shorter chapters contextualize Vernia's philosophy. A detailed chronology, bibliographies, and an index complete the book.

Vernia was the editor of the first collection of the complete works of Aristotle combined with the commentaries by Averroes (Venice, 1483); he also edited some medieval Aristotle commentaries. It was mostly in added *quaestiones* that the Paduan developed his philosophy. What transpires from De Bellis's reports and interpretations is a confluence of late medieval Aristotelianism, recent Averroism, humanism, and Renaissance Platonism. The Paduan professor was evidently not only well trained in the methodology of medieval epistemology, metaphysics, and physics (ch. 2, 137-59), but he also read Averroes critically

in comparison with Greek and Arabic commentators (ch. 1, section 10, 51 ff.); he engaged in a discussion with the humanist Ermolao Barbaro, who had made Aristotelian works of Themistius available in Latin (ch. 1, 52 f., 87 ff.); and he regularly took Plato's works into account when discussing questions of cosmology and psychology, while switching from previous Latin versions to that of Marsilio Ficino (ch. 1, 38, 66 f., 122 ff.). Vernia was also the teacher of personalities as distinct as Giovanni Pico (1463-1494), Agostino Nifo (*ca.* 1473-*ca.* 1545), and Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525).

Among the philosophical questions tackled by Vernia is that of the competence of the disciplines: he distributes them according to human activities, that is to say, according to practical, social, empirical, and theoretical endeavors that culminate in pure speculation. His key concept is probability, which ranks from common opinion up to necessary wisdom (*De divisione philosophiae*, 54). Noteworthy is his adding of 'perspective' as a fifth discipline to the mathematical learning of the *quadrivium* (56). Connected with that is Vernia's solution to the humanist debate on the ranking of medicine and jurisprudence, a question that involved the specifically human and social setting of scholarship. Here he favors medicine because it is based not on consensus and tradition, as is the case with law, but on logic and certainty of knowledge (63), a criterion that will become predominant in early modern philosophy. Vernia became most famous for his turning away from Averroism when he defended the immortality of the individual soul and the plurality of souls in his *Quaestio de pluritudine intellectus*. De Bellis shows convincingly that Vernia was not only forced to do so late in his life due to Bishop Pietro Barozzi's edict of 1489 that prohibited public disputations on the unity of the intellect, but that he actually was the main target of that ruling (121-31). We can find, quoted in full, both the edict (95) and Barozzi's complacent approval of Vernia's treatise (131). This was an important event in the history of philosophy because it foreshadowed the bull *Apostolici regiminis* of the Lateran Council of 1513. Whereas Barozzi only tried to stifle public debates on Averroism, the Lateran Council prescribed for the first time in Church history that philosophy professors had to teach Church doctrine, namely, the immortality of the individual soul. Vernia therefore inaugurates Pomponazzi's solution in that both cre-

ate a rift between philosophical stringency and compliance with the doctrine of faith (127).

Some passages of this book (e.g., 57-63, 166-71) are footnoted with surprising scantiness, although the book is full of information, and inevitably we find some repetitions (cf. 100-4 with 181-95, 115 f. with 207). However, among the virtues of this book are the extensive quotations, including those from manuscripts, that allow the reader to engage closely with one of most the fascinating Aristotelians of the Renaissance. (Paul Richard Blum, Loyola University Maryland, Baltimore)

◆ *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita ed annotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata. Ordinis quinti tomus septimus.* By Desiderius Erasmus. Ed. by C. S. M. Rademaker *et al.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013. 384 pp. The collected works of the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus were first printed shortly after his death by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius in Basel (1538-1540, 9 volumes), and a second time at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Petrus van der Aa in Leiden (1703-1706, 10 volumes). Following the previous editions of Basel and Leiden, the first critical edition of Erasmus' *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam, 1969-) is also arranged according to the thematic division into nine *ordines* which Erasmus himself laid down for the posthumous publication of his collected works. The forty-third volume in the Amsterdam series (*ASD*, V-7), published in 2013, is the seventh within *ordo* V, that is, the category of religious works. Although the six minor writings related to religious instruction included in this volume are little known today, they did enjoy a considerable success in the author's own lifetime: with the exception of the *Disputatiuncula*, they were all reprinted very soon and very often, both in Latin and in the vernacular languages (Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish).

The volume opens with two works edited by C. S. M. Rademaker, ss.cc, which were first printed in Basel by Johann Froben in September, 1524. The sermon *De immensa Dei misericordia concio* (1-97), which was commissioned by Bishop Christoph von Utenheim and which has been described as "an example of ideal Erasmusian preaching," consists of a biblical meditation on the infinite mercy of God, who

offers eternal salvation for all men without exception. The second work, a panegyric entitled *Virginis et martyris comparatio* (99-155), was originally conceived as a friendly letter to the nuns of Cologne, who as God's devoted virgins guarded the precious relics of the Maccabean Martyrs. At the request of their father confessor Helias Marcaeus, Erasmus later expanded the short letter into an edifying treatise. Next comes another sermon, the *Concio de puero Iesu* (ed. E. Kearns, 157-88). This short piece was written by Erasmus for use in St. Paul's school (founded in London by John Colet in 1510 and dedicated to the child Jesus and His Holy Mother, the Virgin) and was meant to be spoken by a pupil to his fellow students. The *Concio* was apparently first published in Paris by Robert de Keyzere in 1511 and was often reprinted in collections of both educational and religious works. The fourth work contained in this volume is Erasmus' *Disputatiuncula de tedio, pavore, tristitia Iesu* (ed. A. Godin, 189-278). The *Disputatiuncula*, which addresses the theological issue of whether Christ in His human nature truly feared His own death, originated in a discussion at Oxford between Erasmus and the aforementioned John Colet in October, 1499. The discussion was followed by an exchange of letters which Erasmus eventually expanded into the present treatise, first printed by Thierry Martens in Antwerp among the *Lucubratiunculae* in February, 1503 or 1504. The volume under review concludes with two works edited by the late Ch. Béné. Erasmus' *Paraclesis ad lectorem pium* (279-98) forms an exhortation to the diligent study of Scripture by both men and women, by theologians and laymen alike, and succinctly summarizes Erasmus' philosophy of Christ. The *Paraclesis* may well be the shortest writing included in *ASD*, V-7, but like the *Concio de puero Iesu* it was also one of the most successful: first printed in Basel by Johann Froben in February, 1516 as a preface to Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum*, the exhortation went through more than sixty editions and translations before the year 1540. Finally come Erasmus' commentaries on the last two hymns of Prudentius' *Liber Cathemerinon*, entitled *De natali pueri Iesu* and *De epiphania Iesu nati* (299-354). Dedicated to Margaret Roper, the eldest daughter of Thomas More, the *Commentarius in duos hymnos Prudentii* was not so much conceived as an erudite work: according to Béné, "ces publications sont d'abord un témoignage d'affection, et

une œuvre de pédagogue" (304). Like the *De immensa Dei misericordia concio* and the *Virginis et martyris comparatio*, Erasmus' *Commentarius* was first printed in Basel by Johann Froben in 1524.

Each of the texts is preceded by a French or English introduction which places the work in its appropriate (historical, intellectual, religious) context and elaborates on its genesis, contents, structure, sources, and *Nachleben*. Interestingly the editors list not only relevant bibliography, but also Latin editions and translations printed up to, even sometimes after, 1540. For the establishment of the text itself, all the editors start from the first edition authorized by Erasmus, which is usually the *editio princeps*; only in the case of the *Concio de puero Iesu* did the 1511 edition prove so corrupt that Kearns used the version of Josse Bade (Paris, 1512) as the basis for her critical edition instead. In each case, variants from other editions supervised by Erasmus and from the later *Opera omnia* editions printed in Basel (*siglum* BAS) and Leiden (*siglum* LB) are recorded in the *apparatus criticus*, which also reproduces those printed marginal notes that are of some significance for the text. Each edition is accompanied by explanatory notes, which serve different purposes. Sometimes the commentary is used to explain and justify the editor's preference for one textual variant over another; in other instances the notes offer necessary background information or elucidate the structure of the text. Most often, however, explicit and implicit quotations from and references to classical, biblical, patristic, and occasionally medieval and contemporary humanist sources are identified. Moreover the editors have gone to great lengths to add cross-references to all other possible works by Erasmus himself, ranging from his letters via the *Adages* to his annotations on the New Testament and so on. Given that many of the works edited in this volume touch on controversial matters and other issues central to Erasmian thought (e.g., divine predestination and human free will, the worship of saints and their relics, the significance of virginity pledged to God as opposed to the significance of Christian marriage, the education of women, etc.), such cross-references are invaluable for anyone studying (the evolution in) Erasmus' body of ideas. At the end of the volume, the reader finds a list of abbreviations used for the names of authors and their works, books of the Bible, works of Erasmus, and pieces of secondary literature, plus an *index nominum* including the names of

persons and places that are found in the Latin text, the introduction, or the commentary.

Like the other volumes in the Amsterdam *Opera omnia* of Erasmus, the edition under review is not only a fine piece of scholarship, but it is also beautifully produced. The Latin texts are impeccable and I found only a few printing errors in the introductions that do not detract from the overall quality of the publication (e.g., 12: “the oldest edition of the sermon conclude with”; 102: the word ‘was’ is needlessly put in bold; 108: “the new English translation”; 304: “γνήσιω τέκνω”; 307: “trois éditions anversoise”; 337: the sources for “ascendit in coelos” erroneously ended up in the *apparatus criticus* instead of in the commentary). Summarizing, I would say that the edition under review definitely meets the high standards set by the ASD, and for all students of Erasmus and his age it is a good thing that the minor religious works contained in this volume, which have long been available in English translation (*Collected Works of Erasmus*, vols. 29, 69 and 70), can now be read in an outstanding Latin critical edition as well. (Marijke Crab, KU Leuven and Postdoctoral Research Fellow, FWO Vlaanderen)

◆ *Erasmus and the Renaissance Republic of Letters*. Proceedings of a Conference to Mark the Centenary of the Publication of the First Volume of *Erasmii Epistolae* by P. S. Allen, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 5-7 September 2006. Ed. by Stephen Ryle. Foreward by Lisa Jardine. Disputatio, 24. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014. xviii + 474 pp. €110. As the subtitle suggests, this collection of essays derives from a conference that was held to mark the seminal event in the modern study of Erasmus. Until 1906, Erasmus’ letters could only be found in incomplete collections that had been published centuries earlier and that rested on confused chronologies. This changed with the first of eight volumes that were prepared under Allen’s steady hand. The signal achievement of this edition was to straighten out the chronology and to offer detailed information about the lives and careers of the individuals mentioned in the letters. After Allen’s death his wife, Helen Mary Allen, and his Oxford colleague H. W. Garrod saw three more volumes through the press, with an index volume added in 1958. As Lisa Jardine points out in her forward, modern scholars are much

less willing that Allen was to take Erasmus at his word, but even those revisionists who emphasize the fictions and evasions that make the letters into monuments of Renaissance self-fashioning continue to use Allen's edition.

The first section, entitled "P. S. Allen and Current Erasmian Scholarship," contains three essays that reflect the continuing influence of Allen's work: "*Supplementum Allenianum*: le début de l'ép. 2021 retrouvé," by Michel Magnien; "*Supplementa Alleniana*: tentative de bilan et perspectives," by Christine Bénévent; and "The Englishing of P. S. Allen," by James McConica. Section II, "Erasmus and His Contemporaries," contains six papers: "Julius, Erasmus, Hutten: A Dialogue in Three Voices," by Silvana Seidel Menchi; "Erasmus as Biographer of Thomas More and His Family," by Clare M. Murphy; "Les lettres de Dirk Martens, imprimeur d'Érasme," by Alexandre Vanautgaerden; "The Erasmus-Vives Correspondence," by Charles Fantazzi; "Erasmus and Capito: The Trajectory of a Friendship," by Erika Rummel; and "Le relation entre Érasme et le duc Georges de Saxe au cours des années 1520: réforme de l'Église et engagement théologique," by Marie Barral-Baron. The largest group of papers are in Section III, "Literature and Philosophy in the Renaissance Republic of Letters": "Polidoro Virgili, Erasmo e la *Respublica litteraria*," by Romano Ruggieri; "Erasmus and Plagiarism," by Ari Wessling; "*Indus elephantus haud curat culicem*: Érasme et Dolet (1528-38)," by Catherine Langlois-Pézeret; "Concorde et polémique dans les *Colloques* d'Érasme," by Béatrice Périgot; "The Erasmian Republic of Letters and Its Discontents," by Hanan Yoran; "Enjeux de la traduction du grec et latin dans la *Respublica litteraria* autour d'Érasme," by Isabelle Diu; and "Two Models of Humanist Letter-Writing: Desiderius Erasmus and Justus Lipsius," by Jeanine de Landtsheer. Section IV, "Erasmus and His Spiritual Legacy," contains the following essays: "The Shaping of a Gospel: Further Reflections on the Paraphrase of Luke," by Jane E. Philips; "Italian Humanist Predecessors of Erasmus's *Encomium matrimonii* of 1518," by Letizia Panizza; "*Tranquillitas animi*: Erasmus and the Quest for Spiritual Reassurance, 1533-1543," by Dominic Baker-Smith; and "Joseph Hall, Thomas Fuller, and the Erasmian *Via Media* in Early Stuart England," by Gregory Dodds. The volume closes with Section V, "Erasmus and the Literary Tradition," which

contains “‘Nothing if not Critical’: G. E. B. Saintsbury, Erasmus, and the History of (English) Literature,” by Mark Vessey.

Anyone who has worked on Erasmus will see that a good number of the most eminent specialists in this field are represented here. As one would expect, a number of authors have drawn from the work they did for their volumes of the Collected Works of Erasmus, which confirms once again the enormous impact that this project, like Allen’s edition of the letters, has had on the scholarship of the last decades. It is also interesting to see that a number of contributors have shed light on Erasmus by connecting him to contemporaries on whom they have worked (e.g., Murphy and More, Fantazzi and Vives, Rummel and Capito, de Landtsheer and Lipsius). The resulting volume belongs on the shelf of anyone with a serious interest in Erasmus and his times. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Salmon Macrins Gedichtsammlungen von 1537. Edition mit Wortindex.* Ed. by Marie-Françoise Schumann. *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie*, 8. Berlin / Münster: LIT, 2012. XX + 692 pp. This book is the third of four volumes by Schumann in the series *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie* focusing on the works of the sixteenth-century French Neo-Latin poet Salmon Macrin (or Jean Salmon Macrin). Born in Loudon in 1490, Macrin was a favorite of King Francis I of France and, after the death of the latter, of his successor Henry II. Between 1513 and 1550, he published over 1100 poems in his highly influential poetry collections (for an overview cf. Schumann’s study of Macrin’s oeuvre in the series *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie*, volume 6). Clearly inspired by Catullus and Horace in themes, style, and form, Macrin claimed to have introduced these two writers into French poetry. He thus inspired and influenced not only the Neo-Latin literature of his time, but also vernacular poets, most prominently the Pléiade.

Salmon Macrin is one of many Neo-Latin authors who were greatly admired by their contemporaries but are little studied today. Most of Macrin’s works lack a modern edition, let alone a translation or commentary. With her four volumes in the series *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie*, Schumann has made a large part of Macrin’s works accessible for further research. In volume 6

(2009), she presented an extended version of her doctoral thesis at the University of Hamburg about Macrin's love poetry, particularly his poems to his wife Gelonis (Guillonne Boursault; cf. Philip Ford's review in *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010): 560-61). With the volumes 7 (2011), the volume under review, and the recently published volume 9 (2013), she provides one of the first modern editions of Salmon Macrin's poetry collections (Latin text only). Volume 7 dealt with the poetry collections from 1528 to 1534, volume 8 with the year 1537, and the most recent volume with Macrin's poetry from 1538 to 1546.

Volume 8 contains two collections from the year 1537, Macrin's *Hymnorum libri sex* and his *Odarum libri sex*, the latter printed together with *aliquot Epigrammata*. Schumann thus provides us with the first modern edition of Macrin's *Odes* and *Epigrams* of the year 1537, while the *Hymns* had already been published by Suzanne Guille-Laburthe (with French translation and commentary, Geneva, 2010). A very short introduction of three pages provides the most important facts about the author and the collections presented here (1 page) and editorial notes on both the text and the word index (2 pages). The Latin text of the poetry collections alone fills 362 pages, followed by 325 pages devoted to the word index and a list of lyric meters used by the poet.

Leaving his Horatian *carmina* and elegies of the previous years behind, Macrin published pious poems in the year 1537. The 197 hymns, dedicated to cardinal Jean du Bellay, praise God the Father, Christ, the Virgin Mary, etc. Many of the poems address influential contemporaries, such as the king of France and members of his court, cardinals, and noble men and women of Macrin's hometown, Loudon. The 99 odes and 27 epigrams, which Macrin as *cubicularius regis* dedicated to King Francis I, show a similar pious, but encomiastic, character. The list of meters shows that Macrin's poems are (with the exception of the epigrams) mostly in hendecasyllables, Sapphics, and Alcaic stanzas. There are also, however, elegiac couplets and poems composed in Asclepiad, glyconic, hexameter, and iambic metres, etc., revealing another reason why Macrin has been called the "French Horace."

Schumann's third volume in this series offers a great deal of material on Macrin's poetry from the year 1537. The vast word index in particular will surely prove invaluable to further studies on the influential

French Neo-Latin poet, even though one might miss a more substantial introduction to the author and his work and a commentary or notes on the text. An extensive introduction to and analysis of Macrin's whole oeuvre can, however, be found in volume 6 of the series. With her complete edition of Macrin's works, Schumann has produced a great contribution to Neo-Latin studies in general and research on Salmon Macrin in particular. (Johanna Luggin, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck, Austria)

◆ Theodore Bibliander. *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*. Ed. by Hagit Amirav and Hans-Martin Kirn. Foreword by Irena Backus. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 475. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2011. liv + 684 pp. This well-presented volume offers the first edition of a key work by the Zurich scholar Theodore Bibliander (1505-1564). Bibliander's name has remained current thanks to his early translation of the Qur'an (1543), which revised Robertus Ketenensis's effort of 1143, but the majority of his work has, until the last decade, rarely been studied. Amirav and Kirn's edition of *De ratione communi* contributes, then, to a rekindling of scholarly interest in Bibliander exemplified by Christian Moser's *Theodor Bibliander (1505-1564): Annotierte Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke* (2009). The current volume makes accessible a work in which the Swiss reformer put forward his ideas about language, theology, and the fundamental connections between them in a comprehensive approach. It therefore seems a sensible choice for the first edition of one of Bibliander's works.

After the foreword by Irena Backus, the introduction (XV-XLIII) outlines the life of Theodor Buchmann (Bibliander). Born in the canton of Thurgau, he studied in Zurich and Basel before taking over from the key Reformation figure Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) as lecturer on the Septuagint at the *Schola Tigurina* in 1532. He taught there until 1560, when he was forced to leave his job on dogmatic grounds. He would die four years later of an infection during the plague. Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), Bibliander's best-known student, thought highly of his teacher and used the *De ratione communi* for his own linguistic work *Mithridates* (1555).

The rest of the introduction contextualizes the work in five sections treating “Structure,” “Bibliander’s Linguistic Theology,” “Bibliander’s Linguistic World,” “Bibliander’s Scholarly Method and Classical Scholarship,” and “Bibliander and Pre-Modern Comparative Religious Studies.” A note on the fourteen polyglot Paternoster texts collected at the end of the *De ratione* and a page on the impact of the work conclude the introduction.

In the longest of the introduction’s seven sections, “Bibliander’s Linguistic Theology,” the editors whittle the work down to its core elements: *De ratione* uses a “system of genealogic branching with Hebrew as its starting point” (XXII), and this “quest for a common ‘principle’—in the sense of shared rules or a common structure for all languages—led consequently to the question of the hidden unity of all religions in shared basic convictions” (XXIV). The three key language-related Bible passages (Gen 11.1-9 on the tower of Babel, Acts 2 on the beginning of the Eschaton, and 1 Cor 14.6-12, where Paul writes on the gift of tongues) provide the biblical framework for Bibliander’s views on language and theology (XXV).

The work itself, never fully completed by Bibliander, is comprised of three *tractatus*. The first (30-239) prepares the ground for the coming chapters by providing an overview of all known languages. It also contains interesting sections on the origins of language and of writing systems, their development as well as their influence on printing. The second tract (242-503), which comprises the main part of the treatise, begins with a (re-)statement of the overall aim of the work as well as notes on methodology before proposing Bibliander’s system of comparing languages. Tract three brings *De ratione communi* on to religious and philosophical concerns (507-81), where the structural arguments that the author makes for a universal system of language in tract two are shown to be relevant for the transmission and spread of Christianity. The incomplete nature of the work means that, particularly in the second tract, some chapters (8-12 and 15-20) amount to little more than a list of topics to be discussed under a given heading. By way of appendix, the work closes with a collection of catechetical texts in different languages.

The edition, comprising over 700 pages including the introduction, is a hefty volume. This means that the typing errors and questionable

English in the introduction and translation make the work occasionally hard going. Mistakes such as “writnigs” (X) or a missing full stop (XI) are easy to read over, but sentences like “Regarding the Roman or Latin language, why should one spend many words to the question whether that language which has been treated by so many grammarians and dialecticians, both in the past and in our present time, can be understood by method?” (77) may unfortunately hinder or confuse the reader. These mistakes are at their worst and most damaging when they cast doubt over the accuracy of the translation. This is the case at page 81, for example, where *Quando religio Israelis adeo invalescet in Aegypto ut ...* is translated as “The religion of Israel will once upon a time flourish in Egypt to such an extent that....”

It is a source of relief, then, that the Latin text has been meticulously prepared. In the absence of a commentary, the notes at the foot of the text are full and very informative. The pie charts in the third appendix to the edition are a novel way of bringing the editors’ statistics on Bibliander’s source material in *De ratione communi* into clearer perspective. They, like the edition itself in general, provide a stimulus and a strong basis for further study of this interesting and important Reformation figure. (William Barton, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck, Austria)

♦ *Ad suos compagnones ...1531. Édition bilingue. Texte établi, traduit, annoté et commenté par Marie-Joëlle Louison-Lassablière. Par Antonius Arena. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012. 224 p. L’édition avec traduction annotée que nous donne Marie-Joëlle Louison Lassablière du livre connu par sa dédicace “Ad suos compagnones,” “À ses amis,” est bel et bien un cadeau aux amis-lecteurs, d’hier et d’aujourd’hui. Composé entre 1528 et 1531 par Antonius Arena (1508-1563), alors un ancien soldat et jeune juriste, dans le milieu universitaire d’Avignon et l’effervescence intellectuelle du cercle lyonnais de Claude Nourry, ce texte composite sur la danse, rédigé en prose, en vers, en discours et en poèmes, emprunte une langue latine mâtinée de français et d’italien. Cette première traduction française en restitue la saveur, l’humour, la culture: que le lecteur ne s’y trompe pas, au moment où Alciat rédige ses emblèmes, Arena rédige son volume sur la danse et les deux livres semblent se répondre l’un à l’autre. Tous deux adressés aux “amis,”*

ils mettent en place une nouvelle sociabilité intellectuelle, partagée par la génération des étudiants qui ont connu les guerres et assistent au débat religieux instauré par Érasme, qui explorent la rencontre en langues vernaculaires et langues classiques, qui se fient à la Basoche, rient aux aventures de Pantagruel, et croient en un avenir moderne et savant tout à la fois. Maladies, guerres, incertitudes minent ce rêve d'harmonie, mais la poésie, la danse, l'humour lui donnent une forme d'existence dont témoigne, exemplairement, le recueil d'Antonius Arena. Ainsi, refusant la forme du traité, adoptant tour à tour la posture de parodiste (des dissertations, des formes de l'éloquence judiciaire, de l'élégie) ou d'inventeur, joyeux compagnon de table et de lecture, le "capitaine des danses" ouvre un ballet flamboyant de références savantes, d'allusions politiques, de confidences personnelles. Entre autobiographie, art de la danse, correspondance avec les amis, ce texte inclassable et incroyablement vivant sonne à nos oreilles de manière étonnamment moderne: voici un réseau d'amis qui invente son "lieu" textuel.

L'excellente introduction de Marie-Joëlle Louison-Lassablière rend justice à ce foisonnement de mouvements, d'idées et d'inventions. Enlevée, rigoureuse, élégante, l'introduction fait plus que donner un contexte: elle donne vie au texte en expliquant les conditions de production de l'original latin mais également les défis relevés par la traduction en matière de nomenclature des danses, quand le vocabulaire de cette nouvelle façon de danser est encore à inventer en français. Les choix éditoriaux de Marie-Joëlle Louison-Lassablière sont à la fois fidèles aux complexités de l'original et soucieux de la bonne réception du texte par les lecteurs contemporains: maintenir l'intégralité du texte, au rebours de certaines éditions récentes qui firent le tri des sujets et perdent le sens du volume, permet de restituer l'enchevêtrement des genres et voix de ce texte polyphonique; reprendre le texte établi pour la traduction italienne par Fausta Garavini et Lucia Lazzerini, permet d'alléger notes de bas de page et appareil critique; fournir texte latin et texte français permet de revoir certains points techniques de nomenclature des danses. Déjà auteure de deux études sur la danse à la Renaissance, Marie-Joëlle Louison-Lassablière était bien placée pour comprendre et faire comprendre ce recueil lyonnais.

Passionnant d'un bout à l'autre pour les historiens de la littérature, de la culture, de la société, le texte est rendu accessible par son introduction, qui mène du contexte historique à l'histoire de la chorégraphie, et par des notes de bas de page fournies et informatives (par exemple, définissant la "sauterelle" ou le "ciseau"). Néanmoins, il faut sans cesse aller du texte latin, assorti des notes, au texte français, en fin de volume, sans note et l'on regrette que l'éditeur n'ait pas suggéré une mise en page mettant les textes en regard. Bien avant les figures montrant les pas de danse, code qui sera développé après cette publication d'une première société polie de la Renaissance française en 1531, le code établi par Arena est difficile pour nos esprits habitués aux dessins: les lettres et chiffres, en harmonie avec les emblèmes énigmatiques et les jeux hiéroglyphiques en vogue alors à Lyon, restent opaques et créent un effet ésotérique. Soucieuse de restituer la fantaisie, la bigarrure, la profondeur du texte, l'éditrice moderne a conservé ce code, qui combine cinq pas de base et en donne l'enchaînement.

La grande surprise de cette édition reste le texte intégral d'Antonius Arena: ce n'est pas un témoignage sur la technique ou les pas, c'est une œuvre que nous donne le volume. Virtuose de l'imitation, adepte de la composition en grotesque, talentueux raconteur de soi et présentateur de son milieu, Antonius Arena semble partager la table de Rabelais pour ses facéties, son érudition et sa liberté. En ces temps où l'interdisciplinarité renouvelle nos lectures et nos discours sur les objets littéraires et culturels de la Renaissance, le volume *Ad suos compagnones* nous donne la possibilité d'ajouter la danse aux manières et aux propos de table. Voici donc une belle manière de repenser un cours sur Rabelais! Professeurs, chercheurs, étudiants seront donc reconnaissants à Marie-Joëlle Louison-Lassablière de son travail et de sa clarté. Les autres, arrêtés par la séparation des textes latins et français, formeront le vœu d'une présence éditoriale plus serrée chez Champion. Nous rêvons d'une mise en page à la hauteur du travail d'édition et d'annotation! (Hélène Cazes, University of British Columbia)

♦ *On Exile*. By Francesco Filelfo. Ed. by Jeroen De Keyser. Trans. by Scott Blanchard. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 55. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013. xxvi + 485 pp. \$29.95. *The Battle of Lepanto*. Ed. and trans. by Elizabeth R. Wright,

Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 61. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013. xxxi + 537 pp., 3 figures. \$29.95. These two volumes, each produced to the usual high standards of the I Tatti Renaissance Library, reflect different aspects of the rich variety of Neo-Latin literature produced during the Renaissance.

The author of the first work, Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), is one of the more interesting scholars of the Italian Renaissance, remembered today as one of the finest Hellenists of his day whose prickly personality led to a long-running feud with Poggio Bracciolini and an attack by a Medici partisan that left his face slashed. His *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio* is one of the earliest examples of the humanist dialogue, designed in this case as a *consolatio* to assuage the pain of exile. In this work he draws on Cicero's dialogues, the consolatory works of Seneca, material from the Stoic/Cynic tradition, and an apocryphal letter collection called the *Epistolographi Graeci*. Two of the main characters in the *Commentationes*, Palla Strozzi and Rinaldo degli Albizzi, were exiled from Florence when Cosimo de' Medici and his followers seized virtual control of the government. By this point in his life Filelfo was no friend of the Medici, so that each of the three books, entitled "On the Disadvantages of Exile," "On Infamy," and "On Poverty," argues in a different way that exile was better than remaining in Florence under these conditions. Book One is designed to disprove the position of Polynices in Euripides' *The Phoenician Women*, that exile is an unhappy state in which to live. Book Two focuses on the role of rumor in the Medici takeover. The general argument is that what matters is not fame or a good reputation, but living in accord with virtue. Along the way, however, Filelfo makes a claim that is not true, that the exiled nobles had not conspired with the Milanese against the Medici. The third book refutes the notion that exile is always bad because a leading citizen who is cut off from his resources is by necessity forced into poverty: wealth is acceptable when it is associated with virtue, but the implication is that if one must do evil in order to retain one's resources, then another path must be found. In the end Filelfo's achievement in the *Commentationes* is marred by occasional flaws ranging from sophomoric humor to an overly loose structure, but the work also succeeds very well in blending classical

scholarship and rhetorical refinement with a deeply human analysis of what it means to lose one's home and country.

The second book under review is quite different, a collection of poems by twenty-two writers, all but one from Italy, who responded in Latin to the naval Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The Ottoman Empire had for a long time posed a very real threat to Europe, such that Spain, Venice, and the papacy were finally forced to work together long enough to confront and repel this threat in one of the bloodiest battles that had ever been fought up to that time. As the editors point out, this was a battle between the Christian east and the Muslim west, but connections between the two sides ran deep, with Spain offering a pronounced cultural syncretism, Venice maintaining trade with the east, and high-profile converts playing an important role in the Ottoman navy. This historical complexity is reflected in the way in which the poems presented here engage with the Virgilian corpus. Lepanto is presented as a second Actium, with the victory at Lepanto being seen as a sort of fulfillment of the prophecies in *Eclogue* 4 and a vindication of the Roman tradition, but we find as well a Virgilian mourning over the accompanying violence and loss, sympathy with the Ottoman fighters, and records of misdeeds by the victors. In other words, "the multiple voices in Vergil's corpus offered opportunities for nuanced reflections on the Muslim adversary, even as Vergil offered a poetic language in which to celebrate and scrutinize empire" (xxi). Since the authors whose works are presented here are not well known, the editors are to be commended for providing two appendices, one a glossary of names and places, the other containing biographical information on the poets.

In short, these two volumes join the sixty that have already appeared in the I Tatti Renaissance Library, where Neo-Latin works that should be better known and more easily accessible are presented with facing-page translations and the minimal notes necessary for an informed first reading of the text. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Historiographie des Humanismus. Literarische Verfahren, soziale Praxis, geschichtliche Räume.* Ed. by Johannes Helmrath, Albert Schirrmeyer, and Stefan Schlelein. Transformationen der Antike, 12.

Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013. VI + 351 pages. €79.95. As stated in the editors' introduction (1-7), this volume results from a subproject (A4) of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft's Collaborative Research Centre 644, called "Transformations of Antiquity," focusing on historiographical texts in the Renaissance and Humanism. It consists largely of papers given at a conference organized within the framework of this project in 2008 under the title "Humanistische Geschichten am Hof: Nation und Land als Transformation der Antike" ("Humanistic Histories at the Court: Nation and Territory as Transformation of Antiquity"). The collection's aim is to investigate the reasons for the success of humanistic historiography as a transformation of ancient models. For this research center, "transformation" does not simply mean reception of antiquity, of, e.g., Thucydides' historical method or Tacitus' style, but rather a process of mutual exchange, called *allelopoiesis* (from Greek ἀλλήλων and ποίησις): presenting their "histories", the humanists change the ancient models and adapt them to the specific socio-economic circumstances of their world, but at the same time their historiographical works transform the humanist culture.

The thirteen papers wish to trace this process of transformation. The first two general chapters lay the basis for the ten following ones that offer more concrete studies of humanist historiography. A concluding summary closes the volume. In the first chapter, two of the editors, Albert Schirrmester and Stefan Schlelein (9-47), present the methodological background of the study of literary technique—historical semantics or "Begriffsgeschichte"—that is adapted for the aims of the project to answer the question of whether it is possible to detect and describe "humanist Latin," a "new" language used by humanists when writing historiography that reflects the "new" language of the developing states of the early modern world. For this purpose, the project members developed a database to collect information on the semantics of humanist historiography, i.e., the use of socially significant words such as *patria*, *gens*, or *res publica*. The analysis does not stop at the literary techniques of the humanist historiographers, but includes the social and spatial context of the works. In the second chapter (49-83), Thomas Maissen convincingly shows the role of humanist historiography in the national competition—"Wettkampf

der Nationen" (Caspar Hirschi, 2005)—of the European countries in the early modern era. To establish and legitimize their sovereignty, the developing nations needed a convincing historical background. Emulating ancient historians as well as ethnographers and geographers, and exploiting their techniques, content, and style for their own purposes, the humanists succeeded in providing these "histories." Having the better historiographer in your service could mean getting a more convincing and therefore more successful history for your country, your nation.

The following ten contributions investigate concrete examples of this transformation of antiquity in humanist historiography. In three chapters, written by Uta Goerlitz (86-110), Christina Deutsch (111-21), and Andrej Doronin (123-50), the focus lies on German, or more precisely Bavarian, humanists: the famous Konrad Peutinger and Burkard Zink, both from Augsburg, and Johannes Aventinus. In contrast to this German view, the next four contributions deal with the situation in northern Italy: Elisabeth Stein identifies ancient models in Paolo Giovio's battle descriptions in his *Historiae sui temporis* (151-67), Igor Melani examines the social role of the "model historian" Francesco Guicciardini (169-207), and Patrick Baker uncovers with the almost forgotten dialogue *De Latinae linguae reparatione* of Marcantonio Sabellico a contemporary history of Renaissance Latin (209-40). This last paper was not presented at the conference in Berlin, but fits perfectly into the framework of the project. In his chapter on Pico della Mirandola (241-49), Giulio Busi shows the strong influence of Jewish culture in humanist texts of the Italian Quattrocento.

The "historical spaces" mentioned in the title of the book are, however, more than this striking contrast between German and Italian humanists. The last three chapters of the volume examine, accordingly, the spatial constructs created by humanist historiographical works. Axelle Chassagnette shows how printed maps of Saxony reflect contemporary historical concepts (251-74), Harald Bolluck takes a look at the periphery of northern Germany (275-300), and Carmen González Vázquez examines stories from the New World (301-20). They all conclude that spatial constructs needed to be linked to the ancient world to be useful for humanist historiography. Harald Müller

closes the collection with a comprehensive summary of all the papers (321-30).

With this volume, the contributors provide a wealth of material for studies on humanist historiography. Concentrating on historical semantics, on the literary techniques and strategies of the humanists writing histories, they not only present a different methodological approach to the subject, but also a tool for investigating it. Further studies based on the editors' and Maissen's chapters could provide insight into other regions (e.g., eastern Europe) and other social contexts, and may thus find humanists using other (or the same) literary strategies. (Johanna Luggin, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck, Austria)

♦ *Latin: Story of a World Language.* By Jürgen Leonhardt. Translated by Kenneth Kronenberg. Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013. xvi + 332 pp. 22 figures. \$29.95. This is intended to be a big book—not so much in size, but in impact. Leonhardt acknowledges freely that he has been thinking about its subject for many years, and it was originally published in German in 2009. It is not common for a book in Neo-Latin studies to be translated, so the simple fact that this one has been suggests that it should be taken seriously.

At first glance, one might imagine that this is another book that traces the history and importance of the Latin tradition in Europe, like Françoise Waquet's *Latin, or the Empire of a Sign* (2001) or Tore Janson's *A Natural History of Latin* (2004). Leonhardt does cover this ground, but from a different angle: he is interested in how Latin functioned as a 'world language,' rather as English does today, from antiquity through around 1800. Most of us think we know the basic outline of how this worked. As Rome grew in power and influence in the ancient world, Latin went where the Romans went, becoming the language of both culture and practical usage wherever Roman military and political power were projected. The Latin language, we have been told, passed from the Roman Empire to the Holy Roman Empire, from the Senate House to the Papacy, serving as the language in which diplomacy, religion, and learning were conducted from antiquity to the end of the early modern period. This created a *res publica litterarum*,

in which people in Kraków and Lisbon could communicate together in Latin, confident that they shared a common culture based in a common language, as traced by Ernst Robert Curtius in his classic *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1948).

Leonhardt agrees that parts of this traditional account are reasonable enough, but by asking precisely how Latin was used during this *longue durée*, he argues that other parts are misleading, sometimes even inaccurate. To be sure, if one wanted to communicate with a Roman political figure about official business in Gaul, one used Latin, but Leonhardt argues that through most of antiquity, the real world language was Greek. Up until late antiquity, the eastern world was Greek-speaking and the western half bilingual. Even in Italy, Latin was initially only one of several languages that absorbed the Greek culture that had been exported westward, and the Roman effort to make Latin the language of culture there did not fully succeed until the time of Augustine. What Leonhardt labels “Europe’s Latin Millennium,” roughly from Charlemagne through the beginning of the nineteenth century, was a period of unquestioned Latin dominance, but here again, Leonhardt argues that the traditional account is misleading. The Latin world, we have been told, functioned essentially as a unity during the Middle Ages, a unity from which what we now call the romance languages gradually evolved, challenging and ultimately displacing Latin as an active means of communication. In Leonhardt’s version, vernacular languages appeared early on both in areas where Latin had been used and where it had not; in both cases, the vernaculars moved toward high-status, written forms that at first co-existed with Latin, then continued after Latin died a natural death around 1800. Neo-Latin in particular, he argues, should be seen not as a monolith, but as a series of writings that should be studied primarily in relation to the appropriate vernacular literature, not other contemporaneous writings in Latin.

There is much to commend in this account. The emphasis on Greek as a world language in antiquity is undoubtedly justified, and in his musings about what constitutes a world language, Leonhardt draws several interesting and insightful parallels with what is going on today with English. He also emphasizes repeatedly the importance, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, of Neo-Latin: only 0.01%,

he notes, of what has survived in Latin was written in antiquity, 20% of the total is eighteenth century or later, and most is not literary in nature. I was struck, however, by the fact that a 300-page book contains only five pages of endnotes, which means that many statements, both general conclusions and specific facts, are simply not verifiable, while a few are simply wrong. It is not correct, for example, to say that “no history of neo-Latin literature has as yet been written” (5): IJsewijn and Sacré’s *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, which does function as such a history, is even listed in the bibliography (309). It is also not correct to state that “[t]he humanists tended to stay at home, and as a result very few scholars traveled or worked internationally even though they communicated by means of a language understood throughout Europe” (215); the number of fraternities housing students of foreign nationalities at all the major universities of Europe during the Renaissance belies this conclusion, as do the biographies of most of the major humanists of the day. There are a couple of minor slips as well: it is certainly forgivable to date Joseph Farrell’s *Latin Language and Latin Culture from Ancient to Modern Times* to 2011 instead of 2001, but listing *Commerce with the Classics* in the bibliography under “Crafton, Anthony” is a real howler.

This is intended, however, to be a positive review. Leonhardt has had the courage to ask a big question about Latin’s evolving status as a world language and to produce an answer which may not win universal assent in all its details but which demands to be taken seriously. This is a well written, thoughtful volume that has succeeded in becoming the ‘big book’ it set out to be. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Ars Epistolica*. By Axel Erdmann, Alberto Govi, and Fabrizio Govi, with an introduction by Judith Rice Henderson. Lucerne: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, and Modena: Libreria Alberto Govi di Fabrizio Govi, 2014. XXVI + 721 pp. €150. *Myriobiblon*, vol. 2.1: *Scriptores Graeci*, A-H. Milan and Rome: Libreria Philobiblon, and Turin: Libreria Antiquaria Pregliasco. X + 473 pages. Both of the fat volumes under review here have been prepared by several of the best of Europe’s current generation of scholar-book dealers, ostensibly as a means to sell books. At the time when it was published, *Ars Epistolica*

accompanied a large group of letter collections and letter-writing manuals which the co-operating dealers hoped to keep together and sell to an interested individual or institution. The volume of *Myriobiblon* reviewed here is the first of three, to be followed by catalogues containing Greek books, predominantly sixteenth-century, whose authors have names beginning with the letters I to Z, then Bibles and related religious volumes. The care with which these catalogues were produced, however, and the detail they contain far exceed what a reasonable person would think is required to entice a buyer; each is a work of scholarship that deserves the attention even of poor professors who can only read the rare volumes that others have bought.

The authors of *Ars Epistolica* wisely went to an acknowledged expert, Judith Rice Henderson, to provide a context for the books in their collection. As Professor Henderson explains, the humanists of the Renaissance made the letter collection into a popular genre that could be used for professional promotion, debating both scholarly questions and current affairs, and networking across political and religious boundaries. As the *Epistolae familiares* of Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) and the *Epistolarum liber* of Marc-Antoine Muret (1526-1585) show, letters could be reworked after the fact to put the sender into a more favorable light or even fabricated out of whole cloth and sent directly to the publisher without ever going to the putative recipient, but they remained one of the most popular of Renaissance genres, most frequently developed by men and sent in Latin but over time including women writers and extending into the vernacular. As part of the deepening appreciation of classical culture that marked the Renaissance, the more structured formality that characterized the medieval *ars dictaminis* gave way in personal correspondence to the more familiar letter constructed along classical lines, but official letters remained formal and variety prevailed. The most popular single letter-writing manual during the sixteenth century was Erasmus's *Opus de conscribendis epistolis*, which adapted the three classical *genera dicendi* (deliberative, epideictic, and judicial) to letters and added two more genres, the familiar letter and the letter of discussion or scholarly exchange. Letter-writing, as one would expect, got caught up in the larger scholarly movements of the sixteenth century, with some writers favoring a strict Ciceronianism and others the more eclectic style of

Erasmus and Poliziano. By the turn of the seventeenth century a confessional divide could be discerned within the encyclopedic tendencies of the age, with letter-writing declining within the Ramist structure of the Protestants while simultaneously taking on an expanded role in Catholic authors who supplemented classical models with others from the New Testament, Patristics, and Papal and general Christian writings. In time, letter-writing followed the same path as other genres, with Latin giving way more and more to work in the vernacular.

Professor Henderson's preface is valuable in itself, either as a review for those whose primary interest is elsewhere or for students who want an introduction to the field. The real riches of *Ars Epistolica*, however, are in the 721 pages that follow. Here we find the catalogue of the collection, which contains letter collections by single authors and anthologies, manuals of letter-writing, and model letter collections, including fictitious material and a few books that were written in the fifteenth century but published in the sixteenth. The descriptions are detailed and valuable, but there is much more here than one might imagine. Among the indices are one of all authors, editors, senders, and recipients, and each description also contains a short biography of the author or editor. A second part of the catalogue, "Bibliographical Sources," lists all letter collections printed between 1501 and 1600, all letter-writing manuals published during the same period, and relevant secondary sources. In other words, a specialist in letter-writing during the Renaissance can use this as the 'go to' starting place for work in the field, while scholars with other interests will find valuable information on writers of the period who seldom published only in the letter-writing genre. *Myrobiblon* invites use in similar ways. Obviously anyone interested in the reception of a Greek author in the Renaissance will find primary source material here, but many of these books were owned and used by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scholars before they found their way to us, so that a catalogue like this, again, provides information about the life and work of important and less important Renaissance humanists, their libraries, their relationships with other scholars, and so forth.

One of the mistakes that scholars with university appointments often make—as I did when I was starting out—is to underestimate what can be learned from a knowledgeable book dealer. Individuals

like Umberto Pregliasco and Filippo Rotundo, who supervised the production of *Myrobiblon*, and the three named authors of *Ars Epistolica* see many more books than most professors and know things about them that are difficult for those of us with other competing obligations to learn. When they take the time to produce catalogues like this, which are as much a labor of love as an inducement to buy books, we can all learn a great deal from them. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Scottish Latin Authors in Print up to 1700: A Short-Title List*. Ed. by R. P. H. Green (Director), P. H. Burton, and D. J. Ford with the help of G. Tournoy. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012. 392 pp. Compiled under the direction of Professor Roger Green, this promises to be the standard print bibliography of Renaissance Scottish Latin printed works. Here, alphabetically arranged according to the writers' surnames, is "a short-title catalogue of works of some 500 Scottish authors who wrote in Latin and whose works were printed up to 1700." Although it does not claim completeness and is minimally annotated, the listing runs to over 330 pages and gives the known locations of copies in public collections in Europe and North America. The bibliographers worked almost entirely from previous bibliographies, mainly on paper. Their work is likely to undergird all future literary and cultural histories which deal with Scottish Latin.

Professor Green and his colleagues do not identify which texts are in prose and which in verse, but there is clearly a wealth of poetry here. Without this sort of detailed scholarship, I would not have been encouraged to publish my recent version of James 'the Admirable' Crichton's 1580 poem on his arrival in Venice, and I can testify to the fact that there is a certain excitement in producing the first verse translation of a significant Renaissance Latin poem. There is clearly a considerable clutch of Scottish Renaissance epithalamia which remain untranslated, including, not least, a striking number published in Gdansk. It may be that the verse pieces afford the richest pickings for scholars and translators, but the prose, too, yields riches that go beyond the realms of theology, mathematics, philosophy, and law.

Here, for instance, is the first substantial printed description of the city of Edinburgh (in Alexander Alane's 1550 contribution to a

'universal cosmography' published in Basel), as well as a saint's account of his imprisonment (John Ogilvy's 1615 *Relatio incarcerationis*) and what is surely the first Scottish-related study of Japan, John Hay's 1605 *De rebus Japonicis*. Like this last title (which is connected with sixteenth-century accounts of Japan and deserves further study), a fair number of the texts included in *Scottish Latin Authors* are readily accessible online, although the bibliography avoids making reference to online materials, apparently because the compilers are worried that electronic resources change too rapidly. It would be useful to have an online edition of this bibliography itself, with as many entries as possible linked up to freely available digital texts. The work is meticulous (although I did spot an apparent duplication in the entry for Crichton's Venice poem); however, it is strange that, although reference is made to the *English Short Title Catalogue*, no reference is made to the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* whose wider scope makes it, surely, an appropriate reference point for a listing of so many Scottish authors whose works were printed across continental Europe. The USTC contains, for instance, works by James Crichton which are not listed in *Scottish Latin Authors*, while *Scottish Latin Authors* includes works by other writers which are not in USTC. The works of Scotland's greatest Renaissance intellectual, George Buchanan, are excluded from the work under review, because a bibliography of them was published by John Durkan in 1994. Furthermore, for understandable reasons, very short works (poems of 20 lines or less) are not included. This is a book which should be on the shelves of all major learned libraries and is likely to be an invaluable resource to future generations of scholars. May their numbers grow. (Robert Crawford, University of St. Andrews)

◆ *Archivum Mentis: studi di filologia e letteratura umanistica*. Ed. by Claudio Griggio and Paolo Viti. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2012. 292 pp. €48 in Italy, €58 abroad. It is always a pleasure to announce the launching of a new journal that is receptive to work in Neo-Latin, especially given the fact that one of the journals in the field, *Silva: estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica*, has unfortunately suspended publication. With a focus on the authors and texts of Renaissance

humanism, *Archivum Mentis* will be required reading for subscribers to *Neo-Latin News*.

The initial volume, for the year 2002, contains articles grouped into several areas. After a "Presentazione" by Claudio Griggio and Paolo Viti, there are several articles grouped under the rubric "Studi e ricerche": Ilaria Pierini, "Per l'edizione dei carmi latini di Carlo Marsuppini. Una possibile raccolta d'autore"; Paolo Rosso, "Percorsi letterari e storiografici di un allievo di Lorenzo Valla: il cronista piacentino Giacomo Mori"; Silvia Fiaschi, "L'acqua, il vino e la podagra: consigli di temperanza alimentare nell'Umanesimo fra etica patristica e medicina"; Hideo Katayama, "Riconsiderazioni su un manoscritto scoperto da Poggio Bracciolini"; Roberto Ricciardi, "L'epistola del Poliziano a Piero de' Medici sull'origine di Firenze (Ep. I, 2): il problema del cosiddetto Editto o Decreto di Desiderio, ultimo re dei Longobardi"; Augusto Guida and Vinko Hinz, "Luciano e Poliziano. Un codice degli «Amores» postillato"; Giorgia Zollini, "Note sul commento all'«Ambra» di Poliziano di Francisco Sánchez"; and Angelo Floramo, "Nicolaus Modrussiensis. Il sogno di un umanista illirico." The next section, entitled "Libri e biblioteche," contains the following articles: Antonio Manfredi, "Per la ricostruzione della 'Bibliotheca traversariana' di Pietro Del Monte"; Eva Gregorovičová, "Per la biblioteca di Stanislao de Velvary, professore nell'Università di Praga nel Quattrocento"; Ida Giovanna Rao, "San Gregorio Magno e la moralizzazione delle acque in alcuni codici laurenziani"; Cristina Cocco, "I marginalia nel codice dell'«Hunfreidos» di Tito Livio Frulovisi"; Sondra dall'Oco, "La «Philogenia» di Ugolino Pisani in un codice di Staffarda"; Luca Ruggio, "Due note sull'inedita commedia «Laphra» di Gian Mario Filelfo"; and Roberto Norbedo, "Tra Lorenzo Valla ed Erasmo da Rotterdam. Due scritti di Johann Pering per l'educazione dei fanciulli." Under "Testi e documenti," we find Vanna Arrighi, "Iacopo Angeli collaboratore di Coluccio Salutati nella Cancelleria fiorentina," and Matteo Venier, "Spicilegium veronense." As we would expect with an Olschki publication, the volume contains abstracts of the articles and extensive indices, all prepared to high technical and editorial standards. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)