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# SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

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SPRING-SUMMER, 2015

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# **SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS**

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Richard Rambuss, ed. *The English Poems of Richard Crashaw*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. lxxxvi + 449 pp. + 22 illus. \$39.95. Review by JOHN MULRYAN, ST. BONAVENTURE UNIVERSITY.

This welcome edition of *The English Poems of Richard Crashaw*, the first in more than forty years, restores the chronological sequence of the poetry and allows the modern reader to monitor the changes in the canon during Crashaw's lifetime, although it is not clear whether those changes were effected by Crashaw or his publishers. Rambuss modernizes the spelling but (for the most part) leaves the original punctuation intact. The text is accompanied by a helpful introduction and judicious documentation. Personally, I wish that Rambuss had included the Latin as well as the English poetry in this edition; he offers no explanation for this omission.

Although Crashaw is often described as a "Catholic" (in the sense of Roman Catholic) poet, almost all of his works were composed while he was still in the Anglo-Catholic communion. Barbara Lewalski (*Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, 1979) distorts his religious position, thereby "ejecting him from the Anglo-Protestant mainstream that she here sets out to delimit" (xix). In an unsavory comparison with George Herbert, H. C. Beeching (*Lyra Sacra: A Book of Religious Verse*, 1895) associates Crashaw with "tasteless" Rome: "If Herbert with his restrained passion represents the spirit of the Anglican communion, Crashaw with his fervor and want of taste may well stand for Rome" (xviii-xix). One is often unsure of whether the critics are attacking Crashaw or Roman Catholicism, or both! They also embrace a narrow view of what constitutes Protestantism, rejecting High Anglicanism (cf. Archbishop Laud) and any attempt to maintain the religious traditions formerly associated with Catholicism. (It is worth noting that Crashaw's father was an aggressive anti-Catholic polemicist).

Examining the poetry itself, one observes that much of it is derivative, often coming into existence as a translation of some other poet or artifact. For example, there are translations or adaptations of Horace, Virgil, Heliodorus, Martial, Catullus, St. Thomas Aquinas,

Grotius, Petronius, and Moschus (“Out of the Greek, Cupid’s Crier,” a famous rendition of “Love the Runaway,” also shaped by Spenser in his *Faerie Queene*). Occasional poems cover the Gunpowder Plot, the birth of Queen Elizabeth, the coronation of Charles the First, and the deaths of significant personages, as well as personal associates of Crashaw. In “Hope” Crashaw exchanges verses with the poet Abraham Cowley. From a generic standpoint, there are epitaphs, psalms, memorial poems, epigrams (mostly derivative), emblems (“On the baptized Ethiopian”), poems alluding to passages and events in scripture, hymns, and one epithalamium.

Crashaw has written some of the best [Cf. Francis Thompson, *Shelley*, London, 1912] and some of the worst [Cf. Edmund Gosse, “Richard Crashaw,” *Seventeenth-Century Studies*, London, 1914] lines in English literature. He has been praised by T. S. Eliot for his uniqueness (see below) and reviled for his alleged perversity by Frank K. Warnke [“Metaphysical Poetry and the European Context,” in *Metaphysical Poetry, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies* II (1970), 265].

In *Sospetto d’Herode*, Crashaw presents a compelling image of industrious, endlessly busy Death: “Swinging a huge scythe stands impartial Death / With endless business almost out of breath.” In contrast, in “Upon Bishop Andrewes, His Picture before His Sermons,” he inserts an outrageous pun on the “grave aspect” of the picture that represents the dead Andrewes. Similarly, in a poem on the death of one Mr. Herris, he puns on the period or cessation of life and the full stop or period that marks the “end” of a sentence. Thus because “of a cruel stop ill placed / In the dark volume of our fate/ . . . the total sum of man appears / And the short clause of mortal breath, / Bound in the period of death.” More successful is his witty epigram on marriage: “I would be married, but I’d have no wife, / I would be married to a single life.” The sadomasochistic element in Crashaw’s image of love is folded into an oxymoron in his hymn to St. Theresa: “O how oft shalt thou complain / Of a sweet and subtle pain. / Of intolerable joys.” “The Flaming Heart” plays on the iconography of St. Theresa in an account of her life, and the visual iconography of St. Theresa in spiritual or physical ecstasy. In “Prayer, an Ode,” Jesus is identified as the lover of the female protagonist: “How many heav’ns at once it is / To have her God become her lover.”

The sensory nature of Crashaw's poetry is immediately apparent. For example, the liquid nature of the blood poured out at the crucifixion is directly related to the drops of blood extracted from Jesus at the circumcision. The tears of Mary Magdalen flow into the blood of Christ. The first "cutting" in the circumcision of Jesus moves to the extreme imagery of his poem, the "Dies Irae," in which Crashaw employs scatological wordplay to envision "the salvific purgative inner workings of the lower zone of Jesus's body as he suffers for us on the cross: 'O let thine own soft bowels pay / Thyself; and so discharge that day'" (45-46). In the poem "Upon the Bleeding Crucifix," Jesus is envisioned as swimming in his own blood. This is a bloodbath "of such proportions that Jesus himself must 'swim' to stay afloat in his own insanguination" (l.12).

One of Crashaw's most famous poems, "Music's Duel," is also a derivative composition, from a neo-Latin poem by the Jesuit professor of rhetoric, Famianus Strada, which is itself an attempt to capture the style of the Roman poet Claudian. Still, the contest between the gentle, vulnerable female nightingale and the boisterous male lute player, resulting in the nightingale's death, as she sings herself to pieces, is both dramatic and tragic in its own right. The poem is laced with musical terminology that enhances the auditory power of the poem and shifts the focus from drama to ecstasy. His poem "The Weeper" draws on the "literature of tears," popular on the continent in Crashaw's time. It also employs musical terminology to combine grief and song:

Does thy song lull the air?  
 Thy tears' just cadence still keeps time.  
 Does thy sweet-breathed prayer  
 Up in clouds of incense climb?  
 Still at each sigh, that is each stop:  
 A bead, that is a tear, doth drop.

Thus the soporific pace of the song is "kept awake" by the "tears' just cadence," and each sigh is accompanied by the rhythmic fall of the tears. The sighs, functioning like the stops in music, are accompanied and marked by the single, beadlike tears, which fall in unison with the sighs. Such structured parallelism is reminiscent of the metaphysicals, particularly John Donne.



Truth be told, Crashaw is a bit “over the top” in his imagery, revved up to such a pitch of emotional intensity that one loses sight of the poem itself. As T. S. Eliot put it, “Crashaw is quite alone in his peculiar kind of greatness” (cited, xvii). Perhaps the most offensive comment made by Crashaw’s many detractors was launched by Frank J. Warnke, who referred to the poet as “a kind of sport in English literary history, an exotic Italian import like pasta or castrati” (xviii).

Rejected and marginalized for centuries, Crashaw is now suddenly popular because of his homoerotic themes and the sexually androgynous nature of his protagonists, particularly Jesus. Crashaw’s unbounded energy, focus on the ecstatic nature of religion, and commitment to an emotive vision of Christ all mark him as a student of John Donne and a hyperbolic advocate of Christianity. It is time to recognize his achievement and restore him to the canon of great seventeenth-century English poets.

Kevin Killeen, ed. *Thomas Browne*. 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Oxford Authors. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. xlv + 995 pp. + 13 illus. \$160.00. Review by JOSEPH L. BLACK, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST.

Sir Thomas Browne is hot. Or, as Browne himself might have put it, excandescent, incalcescent, fervescent, adurent, calent, even salamandrous. The 2005 quatercentenary celebrations of Browne’s birth generated two complementary essay collections that offer authoritative treatments of a full range of Browne’s writings and their influence both in his time and over the centuries since: *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*, ed. Reid Barbour and Claire Preston (Oxford, 2008), and *A man very well studied’: New Contexts for Thomas Browne*, ed. Kathryn Murphy and Richard Todd (Brill, 2008). More recently, Reid Barbour has produced a full and definitive biography: *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford, 2013). A Clarendon edition of the *Complete Works* is in progress, to be published in eight volumes under the general editorship of Claire Preston: [www.thomasbrowne.qmul.ac.uk/index.html](http://www.thomasbrowne.qmul.ac.uk/index.html). Published in Oxford’s recently launched “21st-Century Oxford Authors” series, this new and substantial selection of Browne’s works

marks an important contribution to the revival of interest in a writer whose work, while long admired, had been largely relegated by the academy to the category of literary curiosity (according to the editors of *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*) and increasingly in danger of disappearing from the teaching canon. This volume's editor, Kevin Killeen, has played a prominent role in the Browne revival. Author of *Biblical Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England: Thomas Browne and the Thorny Place of Knowledge* (Ashgate, 2009), he contributed essays to both of the 2008 essay collections and is on the editorial team of the forthcoming *Complete Works*, co-editing *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (slated for vols. 2 and 3).

This one-volume edition offers all of Browne's major printed works, almost, but not quite, in their entirety. Killeen bases his texts on the first or first authorized editions and includes all of *Religio Medici* (1643), *Hydriotaphia or Urne-Buriall* and *The Garden of Cyrus* (1658), and the posthumously published volumes *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1683), *Letter to a Friend* (1690), and *Christian Morals* (1716). He also includes most (about 90%) of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), with the addition of "some chapters of particular interest from later editions" (xli). The cuts from *Pseudodoxia*, by far Browne's longest publication, take the form of abbreviation of chapters 12 and 13 in Book 4 and excisions throughout Book 6, though every chapter of that book is at least partly represented, usually through the opening paragraphs, and chapters 10-13 are complete. The volume does not include any of the antiquarian writings printed in *Miscellanies* (1712), which include *Brampton Urns* and *Repertorium*, even though *Repertorium*, Browne's account of monuments in Norwich Cathedral, is the subject of strongly recuperative essays, one by Killeen himself, in both of the 2008 collections. Nor does the edition contain any of the manuscript material featured in earlier selections of Browne's work: no correspondence and none of the essays and observations from the notebooks, such as the meditation "On Dreams."

The inability to find room in an edition of over 1000 pages for any of Browne's letters seems unfortunate. The role of correspondence in the circulation of knowledge in the early modern period has received a great deal of recent scholarly attention, and many readers would likely be interested in seeing Browne's contributions to the genre.

In an essay in *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*, for example, Brent Nelson draws on the correspondence for evidence of the kinds of knowledge Browne valued and for the role played by social networks across Europe in Browne's own training and in the training he provided for his sons. Sir Geoffrey Keynes offered three letters in his *Selected Writings* (1968), and Norman Endicott thirteen in *The Prose of Sir Thomas Browne* (1967). Keynes, Endicott, and C.A. Patrides, *Major Works* (1977) all print "On Dreams," a form of canonization that will have led some readers to expect its inclusion in a collection this size. Endicott and L.C. Martin, *Religio Medici and Other Works* (1964) include the manuscript version of *Letter to a Friend*, which is substantially shorter than the printed version. The manuscript version reminds us that Browne, like many of his contemporaries, participated in complex textual economies of manuscript as well as print, in coterie as well as public circulation. Manuscript texts also allow readers to observe Browne's characteristic patterns of revision. Endicott for example prints seven additional observations from the notebooks that reflect interestingly on similar passages in texts such as *Christian Morals* or the scientific writings. Perhaps too this collection offered an opportunity to take a fresh look at Browne's miscellaneous writings for other texts that speak to areas of current interest, such as the list of books that Browne's daughter Elizabeth "hath read unto me at nights till she read them all out" (in Keynes (ed.), *Miscellaneous Writings* (1931), 295–96). Recent work on book and reading history has made such documents far more interesting than they were once considered, and this (rather dauntingly learned) book list and the scene of domestic aural reading it captures always generates class discussion.

To be fair, no one would wish a 1000-page edition longer. Of the volumes that have appeared so far in this Oxford series, Browne is by far the longest, many hundreds of pages longer than Samuel Johnson or William Wordsworth, two hundred more than John Donne. But the substantial selection from *Pseudodoxia*, possibly the text of least interest to the students and general readers the series announces as its audience, occupies more than half the space allotted to Browne's writings: 421 pages of text, or nearly 500 pages with its commentary. An argument could be made for including *Pseudodoxia* in its entirety (though it is not an argument any publisher is likely to have heeded).

But once the decision was made to make some cuts, the slippery slope question arises: why not cut more, thereby making room for other texts arguably of wider interest? The selections from *Pseudodoxia* in Patrides take up about 23% of his edition, 36% in Keynes, and 30% in Endicott. Cutting the selection here by about 120 pages would still leave *Pseudodoxia* occupying one-third of the whole, a total more or less in line with the edition's predecessors. Furthermore, while the decision to include all of *Certain Miscellany Tracts* and *Christian Morals* demonstrates a certain editorial integrity, is it an integrity that students and general readers tend to demand? The editor himself seems unenthusiastic about both texts, according them and *Letter to a Friend* collectively only six sentences in the introduction. They are "variable in quality," he remarks, and, while occasionally of interest, they comprise "torturous queries in scholarship and natural philosophy" or have been neglected due to a "relentlessly didactic intent" written in a "stylized antiquarian" mode (xxix–xxx). Perhaps some cuts might have been considered in these texts we well?

The volume overall gives somewhat mixed signals with respect to its implied audience. The hardcover edition is of course designed for libraries: no student or general reader will look to spend \$160 for the pleasures of Dr. Browne's company. A paperback version is presumably forthcoming, and, to compete for the student market, will need to be at a price comparable to Endicott, still in print. The edition largely retains original spelling and punctuation, but lightly modernizes and regularizes when the original seems "intrusive upon the meaning." Textual notes indicate major differences among versions or text added from later editions of *Pseudodoxia*, but the edition does not provide anything like a full textual apparatus (as in Endicott and Martin), not does it derive its text from an established critical edition (as in Keynes). Perhaps this somewhat casual editorial approach suffices for the advertised audience of student or general reader, though it does suggest that the "21<sup>st</sup>-Century Oxford Authors" volumes are less concerned than their often editorially distinguished "Oxford Authors" predecessors to present "authoritative" texts (the word remains in the publisher's description of the series, but the emphasis now falls on the mandate to provide "readable" editions).

With respect to annotation, the editor suggests that “Browne’s writing is symphonic and does not bear well the interruption and necessary pedantry of footnotes.” Nonetheless, this text offers two to three times the number of notes as most all other editions, including standard current teaching editions directed to undergraduates such as those in the Norton or Broadview anthologies. Glosses are provided for many words that either appear in modern dictionaries or, if used by Browne in ways that differ slightly from modern usage, seem clear enough in their context: in *Religio Medici* alone, glosses are provided for importunity, singularity, clime, prelates, usurpation, scrupulous, take up the gauntlet, extirpate, inveigle (spelled differently in text and in key word in gloss), solecism, equivocal (twice), cosmography, prodigies, hieroglyphics, Pentateuch, legerdemain, changelings, progenies, antipathies (twice), construe, memento mori, livery, flaming mountains (“volcanoes”), inundation, reprehension, impostures, peccadillo, quotidian, prating, husbandman, deleterious. Most of these (and the list could be extended considerably) seem unnecessary for any reader likely to use this edition. On the other hand, many usages that might prove ambiguous or obscure to students remain unglossed: e.g., again in *Religio Medici*, mediocrity (in the sense of moderation), oraison (prayer), Hermes Trismegistus and the *Corpus Hermeticorum*, roundels (steps), cantons (nooks), composition (agreement). The publisher furthermore has not done the *mise-en-page* any favors by employing such a large font for the proliferating footnote numbers (563 in *Religio Medici* alone): the visually intrusive numbers are identical in size to the x-height, and bump against any descenders in the previous line.

The introduction is relatively brief, but offers superbly vivid descriptions of the experience of reading Browne, noting his “habitual and vertiginous shifts in scale” and his “moves from intricate scholarship to a delirium of fact” (xiii), his observational powers “at the same time precise and deranged” (xvii), and describing *Religio Medici* and *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* as “at once abstruse and moving, pedantic and orotund, works of spectacular pointlessness, nit-pickingly precise and lavishly meditative” (xxi). The “paired enigmas” (xiv) *Hydriotaphia* and *The Garden of Cyrus* seem to inspire the editor’s most verbally lavish enthusiasm. The short biography is oddly proportioned, spending about one-third of its fewer than ten pages on the adventures of

Browne's stepfather, "the impressively scurrilous Sir Thomas Dutton" (xxxi), before acknowledging that Browne seems to have had "little connection, emotional or otherwise, with his mother and stepfamily in Ireland" (xxxiv). Embarrassingly, the footnote to Reid Barbour's biography credits the work to Reid Barbow (xxx). The introduction features other typos and dropped words as well, including an obvious mistake in the quotation in the book's opening sentence. Seven more errors appear in the subsequent quotations from G.K. Chesterton, all on the first page: the editor has not been well served by his proofreaders, and the errors here do not inspire confidence in the quotations in the footnotes. The index is usefully full, but also features errors: e.g., two of three references under "Hermes (Greek god)" refer in fact to Hermes Trismegistus.

Nonetheless, this volume is a fine, thoughtful, useful edition by a leading expert on this author. Would I recommend a softcover version to a student interested in Browne's work? Maybe, though I suspect I would nudge them instead toward the half-century-old Endicott for its broader range of texts and for its textual apparatus. And for a certain kind of general reader I lean still toward Keynes' *Selected Writings*: sufficiently confident in his target readership to do without annotations (though he does include textual notes), Keynes offers a finely judged selection in a well-designed book that is a pleasure both to handle and to read. Keynes remains my own choice for experiencing what Kevin Killeen so well describes as the symphonic "surge-force" (xli) of the writings of Sir Thomas Browne.

J. R. Mulryne. *The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare's Stratford: Society: Religion, Education and Stage*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012. xiv + 270 pp. \$119.95. Review by SCOTT K. OLDENBURG, TULANE UNIVERSITY.

This book brings into conversation historical, literary, and archaeological studies of Stratford-upon-Avon's Guild of the Holy Cross and its buildings in the pre- and early modern period. Although the topic may seem narrow, it leads to a multidisciplinary examination of religious controversy, politics, education, and theater in the market

town from the thirteenth through the seventeenth century. As the title suggests the book provides a deepening of one's knowledge of the world of a young William Shakespeare, but it also offers a case study of one English town's adaptability and resilience during a time of economic expansion and religious change.

The Guild of the Holy Cross in Stratford-upon-Avon was established in 1269 as a hospital but soon took on the role of chantry, addressing the spiritual needs of the community. At the same time, the Guildhall, built in the fifteenth century, expanded its role beyond immediately religious matters. When the guild was dissolved in 1547, the building was quickly refashioned as the town's corporation, reclaiming some of its lost revenue and expanding its role in civic governance. With membership extending as far away as London, it fostered important business relationships. The Guildhall housed Stratford's school and was the site of at least some theatrical performances. A history of the guild's buildings, then, is at once also a religious, economic, and social history of the town itself.

The first two chapters cover the founding of the Guild of the Holy Order through the aftermath of its dissolution in the Reformation fervor of the 1520s. Mairi Macdonald's essay lays the groundwork for subsequent chapters, examining the Guild's membership, leadership, functions, and buildings and how the Guild was maintained even in a period of economic decline. Sylvia Gill's chapter focuses on the Guild's response to Reformation. What emerges here is a view of this central institution as constantly adapting to the needs of the local community and the demands of the state.

Gill also offers a chapter on the school housed by the guild. This along with Ian Green's study of Humanist learning at the Edward VI Grammar School provide the reader with a microcosm of educational initiatives throughout England as well as some of the specific problems faced by Stratford's community.

The dissolution of the guild represented a significant loss and led naturally to the community's largely successful attempts at retaining some of its functions through the establishment of the Corporation. Robert Bearman charts this development revealing a politically savvy if at times divided leadership in the community. This is supplemented by M. A. Webster's fascinating account of the court system in Stratford.

A central point of the collection is the study of the actual architecture of the Guildhall and its surrounds. Kate Giles and Jonathan Clark provide an archaeological study of the building, revealing the ways in which the buildings were not only important to the religious identity of the town but also a focal point for cultural and social lives of its residents.

The final section of the book is devoted to the theater, a topic of special interest since, as the title of the book implies, this is “Shakespeare’s Stratford,” but the authors exercise restraint in speculation about what a young Shakespeare may have seen or done in his hometown. Dovetailing nicely with the previous chapters’ study of religious controversy in the town, J. R. Mulryne reads the records of bans on performance in the Guildhall and violation of those bans as a reflection on the rise of Puritanism in the area. Drawing on the forthcoming REED volume on Warwickshire, Mulryne theorizes about the various possible sites of performance for plays and other entertainments.

Building on the earlier essays on the architecture of the Guildhall, Oliver Jones attempts to piece together the possible staging of a play by the Queen’s Men’s during one of their several visits to Stratford-upon-Avon. Along similar lines, Margaret Shewring examines the travelling companies that performed in and around Stratford. The variety of entertainments and players passing through the area is made clear as Shewring establishes the repertoire of several of the professional companies.

*The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare’s Stratford* should be of interest to historians and literary scholars alike. In addition to the floor plans and many photographs, the book provides useful bibliographies and appendices transcribing documents or otherwise compiling information relevant to the study of drama in the market town. Despite the diversity of disciplines practiced by its authors, the book is remarkably coherent, clustering around the very buildings that provided solace and a sense of community to early modern inhabitants of Stratford-upon-Avon.



*Jeremias Drexel's 'Christian Zodiac,'* ed. and trans. Nicholas J. Crowe. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013. viii + 153 pp. + 16 illus. \$119.95. Review by P. G. STANWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Jeremias Drexel, or Drexelius (1581–1638) was once an astonishingly well-known preacher and devotional writer, the author of thirty-four principal works which reached, according to his present editor, 158,700 copies printed during his life, with continuing popularity long after his death. Born to Lutheran parents, he converted to Roman Catholicism while a pupil at his Jesuit school, St. Salvator in Augsburg, later studying at Ingolstadt, and finally becoming a novice in the Society of Jesus in 1598. He was priested in 1610 at St. Michael's, the monastery church of the Jesuits in Munich. He remained in Munich for the rest of his life, becoming also in 1615 *Hofprediger* at the court of Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria in the Holy Roman Empire.

Drexel's custom was to preach in German, then translate his sermons into Latin, and then turn them again into German; meanwhile, translations from the vernacular or Latin appeared in most European languages, the first Latin-English translation of the *Christian Zodiac* in 1633 (STC 7234.5), and this version seems to have been widely known in England. But the falling off of Drexel's popularity was precipitous, and he is hardly known today. The time has come when Drexel should be recognized again for his achievement, according to Nicholas Crowe, who provides a new translation and a substantial and highly sympathetic introduction to this "Seventeenth-Century Publishing Sensation."

The *Zodiacus Christianus*, we learn, "can be seen as a quintessential Drexel production in form and content, manner and matter, ethos and pathos" (23). Each one of the twelve "signs" is prefaced by an image, an emblem designed by Raphael Sadeler I, a significant Munich engraver who regularly collaborated with Drexel. The twelve parts are loosely linked, together forming various devotional exhortations but without a single sustained theme or argument. One is able to reflect on any one of the sections without regard to its situation or placement in the whole work. Drexel's organization seems arbitrary, his plan being to present twelve signs, which might occur in any sequence. He opens with "The First Sign of Predestination," with an engraving, or

sign, of a lighted candle, which provides a theme for what follows, on *Internal Light* (62). This sign is followed by “The Second Sign of Predestination,” with the engraving of a death’s head, again acting as a kind of frontispiece that offers a theme for the discussion that follows, on mortality, of the *ever-needful preparation of all souls for death* (67). There follows “The Third Sign of Predestination,” this time with an engraving of the Host suspended over a chalice, with putti hovering at each side, which signifies the *frequent observance of the holy sacraments of confession and communion* (73). And so continue the signs of “Divine Predestination”: on poverty, patience, importance of sermons, charity, pride, love of enemies, repentance, the will to do good, and moderation of the passions. Texts interpret the engravings, pictures and words reinforcing each other. Drexel reminds the reader of his overarching purpose in this disparate work in a concluding section, the Crown “Of the Signs of Predestination and The Scarcity of the Predestined” (138–46).

Drexel’s *Christian Zodiac* is a devotional and admonitory work of discrete parts intended for a sympathetic audience of believers. Drexel skillfully weaves scriptural citations, patristic and other, later authorities, and *sententiae* into his moral commentary, by which he speaks directly to his auditors in a compelling yet simple, easily understood fashion. His twelve chapters represent different homiletic directions but all tending in the same way. Drexel avoids theological discourse or philosophical analysis, and the signs of predestination that make up his Zodiac are convenient signposts of a worthy and active faith. By “predestination” Drexel probably assumes the Augustinian sense that grace is limited by human consent, to those who are “elected,” even though the Divine will wishes that all persons should be saved. The theological difficulties inherent in the doctrine of predestination and election are ignored, or at best implied, though Drexel must certainly have been aware of the raging disputes over these deeply worrisome concepts—living and writing in the midst of the ‘Thirty Years’ War.

Crowe’s long and informative introduction, which is followed by a substantial bibliography, mostly of Neo-Latin and Continental works, occupies about one-third of the book. Of special interest is the discussion of Drexel’s use of emblems. They are, as already noted, associated with his homiletic commentaries, and they often become

important to their rhetorical development. Drexel is responding to the long classical and medieval habit of showing a symbolic picture with a motto or exposition. The coming together of emblem and word is well known to English readers, from Alciati's famous collection (1531), and particularly from Francis Quarles' *Argalus and Parthenia* (1629), which used plates from a number of Jesuit emblem books. While Crowe is well aware of this European wide practice, he offers only a brief glance to its influence in his introduction, with only a few details in his notes and bibliography. He might profitably have displayed more fully this general cultural interest; one wishes for an enriched discussion of this feature of comparative literature.

Drexel belongs not only to the emblem tradition, but also to the broad genre of devotional literature. That he was once so popularly read is a reminder again of European influence and connection. Drexel was a large figure in the German Baroque, and so one reads him while asking after other writers of the "baroque" mode in the earlier seventeenth-century far beyond Munich. Did Drexel influence others, or in what way might he have been influenced by such figures as St. Francis de Sales? Again, one wants to know more about the European Baroque, and about the opportunities offered for comparative study. In England, for example, there is Jeremy Taylor, whose celebrated *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, and much else by him, acts elegantly within a similar genre; and similarly, one remarks the devotional writing of John Donne, and surely also Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* (ca. 1612), which achieved fifty reprints during the seventeenth century, including a French edition.

The best feature of this book is its reminder of the vast literature to which *Christian Zodiac* belongs, to which it responds and may have helped to stimulate. In his introduction, Crowe is excited by Drexel's supposed achievement; but this devotional work, though fluently translated, by no means reaches the heights claimed for it. Nevertheless, one wishes that his modern editor and advocate is correct in asserting Drexel's powerful influence: "It is largely due to [him] that the culture of emblem books itself was able to develop to the extent that it did, this particular mode of symbology soon rising into special aesthetic prominence" (10). This is a bold assertion that awaits further evidence and discussion. Meanwhile, Nicholas Crowe has provided us with a splendid edition of a remarkable figure.

Steven J. Reid and Roger A. Mason, eds. *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception, and Reputation*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishers, 2014. 233 pp. \$134.95. Review by NATHAN J. MARTIN, CHARLESTON SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY.

In this collection of edited articles, Reid and Mason have assembled a strong selection of varied and substantial contributions to the study of Andrew Melville, the Scottish theologian and religious reformer. Though there are unique approaches taken in each of the nine articles represented in this work, there is enough cohesiveness in the collection to define common overall aims and goals. Generally, Reid and Mason examine Melville as a Neo-Latin humanist poet, as they attempt to “begin the process of elucidating these texts and contexts in which they were written” (5). Modern scholarship on Melville is not robust enough to thread out all of the issues pertaining to his historical presence and textual contributions. Despite some recent works on Melville, including Reid’s monograph, *Humanism and Calvinism*, and Ernest Holloway’s 2011 biography of him, collective research has been hampered because of multiple locations of archival sources of his poetry and prose works. So, there is another aim of this volume: “to provide the first systematic listing of the poetry and prose attributed to Melville” (5). This is accomplished not only by the numerous references interspersed throughout the articles, but also by location information in the appendices of both well-known and lesser-known works. The second appendix provides a thirty-five page primary source bibliography of Melville’s original works including poems, theological works, letters, manuscripts and marginalia, and even misattributed and lost works. Reid and Mason succeed in both contextualizing and cataloguing Melville’s works.

These articles accurately describe Melville’s particular strength at composing Latin poetry. The introduction, written Mason and Reid, does well to describe the variety of poetic forms, lengths, and overall significance of the corpus of Melville’s poetry. Mason and Reid identify five major works, which are the *Antichristus*, *Carmina Danielis*, *Sephaniskion*, *Gathelus*, and the *Topographia Scotiae*. While the lesser known works of Melville are not neglected in this work, these larger, and arguably more historically significant poems received substan-

tial focus in the articles. For example, in “How Andrew Melville Read His George Buchanan,” Mason examines the extent to which Melville employed George Buchanan’s *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* in his understanding of Scottish geography into *Topographia* based on marginalia of an original copy of the Buchanan’s work in Melville’s possession. No link, according to Mason, could be established between them, but the level of this examination is significant. In another case, Reid, in his article on the law of kingship as understood by Melville, examines the *Stephaniskion*, which was produced upon the occasion of the coronation of Anne as queen in Scotland in 1590. The text of the poem was the only one of Melville’s to be commissioned by James VI and was composed in the day or two before the coronation ceremony was held. The 315-line poem is based upon a biblical verse in Proverbs dealing with the duty of a king which Reid argues is the underpinning of Melville’s idea “that the king should work for the good of the church and that he degenerated into tyranny whenever he deviated from this” (50).

In addition to these larger works, analysis of some of Melville’s minor works also contribute greatly to this volume. One of the later articles, “The Poet and His Art” by David McOmish, cites several different examples of Melville’s poetry including a paraphrase of the first book of Psalms, another of Deuteronomy 32, and another of Job 3, in an effort to evaluate Melville’s usage of classical Latin forms. In another instance, Jamie Reid Baxter’s article on Melville and the Gundpowder Plot cites his poetic response to the event. Especially important in that analysis is the examining of the shorter *Coniuratio Pulverea*, against the backdrop of more verbose and well-known productions from that period by other authors. Also, in the earlier-referenced article on how Melville read Buchanan, Mason cites a series of epigraphical poems attributed to Melville writing in the margins of Melville’s copy of *Historia*. In Book I of the more significant St. Andrew’s holding, there is an interesting marginal inclusion of an original short patriotic poem concerning the early history of the Scottish kings. Buchanan used Fergus I, who emerges in the prehistorical period, as the first Scottish sovereign and Melville’s poem makes allusion in this poem to that early mythical king. In that same article, Mason cites a poem written and by Melville across the left margin of folio 6 that deals with the local

geography of the Loch Lomond area. Also, it is significant that in the second appendix minor poems as well as major copies and collections are cited, giving impetus for further examination and research of those works which have not hitherto received much scholarly attention.

Another common theme that runs throughout this work that is worth mention is that of Melville's theory of political power. It is quite clear from Melville's personal biography that he on several occasions conflicted with secular officials, namely, James VI and I. From 1607 to 1611 he was imprisoned in the Tower of London for his views on Presbyterian Church governance. Steven Reid's "Melville's Anti-Episcopal Poetry" chronicles Melville's literary expressions about his antipathy towards that system. Mark W. Elliot also takes a look at Melville's perspectives on the biblical book of Romans, important because of the allusions to divisions of secular and religious power. Beyond these, many of the articles ask what type of relationship existed between himself and the king in earlier times. The intriguingly titled, "Empire and Anti-Empire: Andrew Melville and British Political Ideology," by Arthur Williamson, looks at the rising school of Judeo-centric thought in the 1590s, of which Melville was a part, as a reaction against the concept of 'empire.' The argument here, which is presented loosely as a question, is that the debate about empire had created an anti-Romanism that emphasized a pre-Nicene approach to understanding ecclesiastical history—a stretch to be sure, but an interesting notion nonetheless. In this same article, Williamson shows that during the early reign of James, Melville, before his imprisonment, viewed Elizabeth I as a reformer and a ruler of one of the 'britians,' as is shown in some of his poetry of 1603. In another example of political representation, Reid's opening question in his article on the law of kingship asks what Melville thought of James VI. Reid concludes that for him, James was a secular ruler who needed to be obeyed, based on the Pauline admonitions of Romans 13, who could be understood as a supporter of the Protestant cause and a as a unifier of the 'britains,' there existed an uncertainty in Melville about how far legitimate support and obedience should extend.

Such a view stands in contrast to that of George Buchanan, who was much swifter in condemning secular authority. Buchanan stands as a recurring figure in the articles of this work, and is presented,

generally, as one which overshadows Melville. Buchanan was forty years older than Melville, yet there are some interesting parallels between the two men, as is pointed out by Mason in his article on Melville's marginalia in Buchanan's work. There is a possibility that they had met in 1545, but, as Mason relates, the influence of the *Historia* on Melville can be seen in the multiple readings of the work and the usage of heavy annotation in the portions on ecclesiastical history in his St. Andrew's copy. In several passages dealing with the early history of Christianity in Scotland, Melville included an "R" for especially poignant and important portions of Buchanan's prose. Mason concludes that Buchanan "appears to have loomed large in Melville's mind" (44) during his time in the Tower. In "The Poet and His Art," McOmish directly compares Buchanan's paraphrase of Psalm 1 to Melville's paraphrase of the same chapter. McOmish sees this as evidence of Buchanan's influence on Melville as he was developing his skill as a Neo-Latin poet. In "Empire and Anti-Empire," Williamson cites Buchanan as a major critic of the in the 'empire' debate who pointed out the faults of the Iberian colonies.

Perhaps the most important consequence of this work is that it reinforces a general trend of deconstructing the myth of Andrew Melville. The traditional view of Melville had been a figure who was leading a movement for reform of the ecclesiastical courts of the Scottish kirk, an unbending figure of opposition to royal episcopacy, and an educational reformer in the Scottish universities. The last two articles emphasize the historiographical issues surrounding him. In "'Sone and Servant': Andrew Melville and his Nephew, James," John McCallum argues that James Melville's *Autobiography* provides a more realistic picture of Andrew, and that the traditional, legendary representation of Melville had to have come from some other source. In the last article written by Caroline Erskine, "The Making of Andrew Melville," the aim of identifying those sources is the primary focus. Erskine argues that Thomas M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, which had been cited as the source of the Melville myth, should be viewed not as the ultimate source, but as part of a long-standing debate about the man. On the one side are those in the Covenanting tradition who have tended to support the image of Melville and on the other are the Scottish episcopalians and English Anglicans who have given a

less flattering view. In the end, this volume contributes much to the overall understanding of Melville as a man and a poet, even if ‘what is emerging is a life of under-achievement’ (10).

Brandie R. Siegfried and Lisa T. Sarasohn. *God and Nature in the Thought of Margaret Cavendish*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. xvi + 257 pp. + 8 illus. \$109.95. Review by KAROL KOVALOVICH WEAVER, SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY.

*God and Nature in the Thought of Margaret Cavendish* is a collection of essays that investigates the religious and scientific ideas of seventeenth-century intellectual Margaret Cavendish. The authors consider Cavendish’s concepts of God and Nature, her use of a variety of genres to explore issues of faith and science, and her examination of a variety of spiritual traditions including Christianity, natural magic, Judaism, and the Jewish Cabbala. As with all collections of essays, some contributions stand out because of their fascinating subject matter and outstanding writing.

One of the main themes of the book is Cavendish’s understanding of God and Nature. She affirmed the power and knowledge of God as well as the authority and vitality of Nature. She clearly ranked the Divine in relation to Nature, but stressed that Nature was eternal and active. She also differentiated between the two by gendering each. Cavendish defined God as masculine while Nature was characterized as feminine. In so doing, she connected natural philosophy with real-world female practitioners and spaces. Several essays directly speak to these topics. For instance, Sara Mendelson’s “The God of Nature and the Nature of God” investigates Cavendish’s religious ideas. Mendelson states, “By surveying her use of religious language as well as her comments on a wide range of theological issues, we can begin to explore the complexity of her views on questions concerning the Supreme Being and his relationship with the universe he created” (27). Similarly, Brandie Siegfried’s “God and the Question of Sense Perception in the Works of Margaret Cavendish” approaches these subjects, noting “Cavendish believed Nature to be infinite and agential, made up of preexistent matter; matter, in turn, is both rational and sensitive; and



finally, the world as we know it emerged from a mutual regard between God and nature” (67). A final example is John Shanahan’s “Natural Magic in *The Convent of Pleasure*,” which considers Cavendish’s ideas about natural magic and the creative potential of Nature and her assertion that a feminine and creative Nature should force thinkers to recognize the innovative capacity of women and womanly spaces and discourage them from forming exclusionary scientific spaces outside the home.

The book’s contributors mine Cavendish’s works to show how she employed a variety of genres to work through her ideas about religion and science. They consult her plays, her autobiography, her poetry, her fantasy works, her scientific books, and many other publications to discover Cavendish’s notions about God and Nature. An example is James Fitzmaurice’s “Paganism, Christianity, and the Faculty of Fancy in the Writing of Margaret Cavendish.” This contribution highlights that, by analyzing different sources, readers can come to understand how Cavendish defined the nature of God in multiple ways. Specifically, Fitzmaurice compares her *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* with her plays. He concludes that Cavendish’s “fancy” or imagination allowed her to “range freely, regardless of any consequences to her reputation for lack of consistency. She really was not interested in working out grand schemes that perfectly cohere” (92). Cavendish’s willingness to utilize multiple “narrative features” (111) is discussed in Line Cottagnies’ “Brilliant Heterodoxy: The Plurality of Worlds in Margaret Cavendish’s *Blazing World* (1666) and Cyrano de Bergerac’s *Estats et Empires de la lune* (1657).” Cottagnies writes that Cavendish’s narrative choices “include a deliberate blurring of references between reality and fiction, especially with the intrusion of fictional autobiography, narrative fragmentation and openendedness (in particular through the device of the unfinished narration), the celebration of friendship, parodic citations of other literary texts; the ubiquity of dialogues” (111). Both essays stress Cavendish’s wide-ranging theological and scientific interests, her tendency to analyze them by various narrative means, and her inclination to resist system building.

In addition to exploring Cavendish’s religious and scientific ideas and how she thought through them using a variety of genres and styles of writing, the authors look at how she studied diverse spiritual

traditions. She interrogated Christianity, examined natural magic, and delved into Judaism and the Jewish Cabbala. An outstanding treatment of Cavendish's foray into natural magic is the aforementioned Shanahan's "Natural Magic in *The Convent of Pleasure*." Shanahan reveals that "my aim... is primarily to excavate a feature of her work not hitherto noted: the preservation in its eclecticism of a variety of elements from natural magic and domestic secret books and, more generally, from occult models of the cosmos" (143). Another well-written account of Cavendish's sweeping religious interests is Sara Mendelson's "Margaret Cavendish and the Jews." Mendelson contextualizes Cavendish's allusions to Jews and Judaism in relation to the philosemitism of the seventeenth century, her friendship with the *converso* Duarte sisters in Antwerp, and the Jewish Cabbala.

Besides the excellent essays already noted, "Darkness, Death, and Precarious Life in Cavendish's *Sociable Letters* and *Orations*," written by Joanne Wright, deserves special mention. This contribution is an outstanding analysis of Cavendish's literary and philosophical views on death as informed by social and historical circumstances that speak to her views on power, namely gender relations. Wright clearly shows that "Cavendish's frequent and thoughtful references to death and mortality point to her philosophical inclination to contemplate the meaning of life, the relationship of the body to soul, and the concept of a lasting legacy" (43). The essay is highly recommended.

*God and Nature in the Thought of Margaret Cavendish* will appeal to a variety of readers. Historians of science will appreciate the contributors' works on Cavendish's views of Nature and their relationship to the development of early modern science. Religious studies scholars will find a fine collection of essays about theology and diverse spiritual traditions. Finally, literary theorists will read excellent analyses of different genres and narrative forms.

Ralf Hertel. *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing National Identity*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. xi + 271 pp. + 14 illus. \$119.95. Review by ANTHONY WELCH, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE.

Looming over the Elizabethan history play, in Ralf Hertel's new study, is a question posed by the prickly Irish soldier Macmorris in *Henry V*: "What ish my nation?" For Hertel, early modern nationhood is best understood not as a legal or political construct but as a form of identity—an identity defined and sustained through performance. With a nod to Benedict Anderson, Hertel describes the Elizabethan theater as an "imagining community," a place where players and audiences could re-enact their shared history and cultivate a national consciousness (26). As the snarling Macmorris makes plain, nationhood in the drama of Shakespeare and Marlowe is complex, unstable, and fiercely contested. Drawing on the work of political theorists such as Liah Greenfeld and Anthony D. Smith, Hertel isolates five discourses that shaped England's emerging national identity, and he links each one with an Elizabethan history play. A sequence of ten paired chapters explores cartography and *Henry IV, Part 1*; history writing and *Richard III*; religion and *King John*; social class and *Henry VI, Part 2*; and gender and Marlowe's *Edward II*. Hertel is less interested in the playwrights' own political views than in the wide-ranging and often clashing nationalisms that they perform. He does, however, find most of these plays groping toward a broadly egalitarian national community that might quell the dynastic conflicts of the ruling classes and, perhaps to the surprise of our current Prince and Princess of Wales, lay the groundwork for "an England that will ultimately emancipate itself from monarchs" (73).

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on the rebels' quarrel over a map in act three of *Henry IV, Part 1*—the only scene in Shakespeare, outside of *King Lear*, that features a map as a stage property—to assess the role of "cartographic space" in the formation of national identity (45). Hertel links the play's sprawling social and geographical diversity to the "proliferation of geographic projects" in Tudor and Stuart England (39). Building on Richard Helgerson's view that Elizabethan maps "move away from the concept of the nation as embodied by its ruler

towards the nation as rooted in an expanse of land" (43), Hertel argues that the period's atlases, surveys, and chorographies risked carving up the landscape into a patchwork of local topographies, but they could also invite readers to rise above their regional differences in the name of a shared English identity. When Shakespeare puts a map of England into the hands of his rebels, he shows that cartography has "both a separatist and a unifying potential" (49): mapping the nation in *I Henry IV* leads to political division and regional conflict, but the play's diverse social landscape offers the theater audience a newly capacious, inclusive vision of what it means to be English.

Turning to Shakespeare's *Richard III*, chapters 3 and 4 study the place of history writing in early modern English national consciousness. Surveying the forms and methods of Tudor historiography, Hertel suggests that Shakespeare's history plays "give voice not to one version of history only but to a variety of perspectives, highlighting in their cacophony of claims the contested nature of history itself" (90). Hertel detects a centrifugal pattern in *Richard III*, as the play's focus steadily widens from a tight circle of courtly elites to a "national panorama" that reveals the stunted cynicism of Richard's patriotic rhetoric (105). In performing the tyrant's downfall, Shakespeare's ritualized language and dramaturgy "portrays the cleansing of the nation through the rituals of theatre" (108), strengthening the audience's sense of itself as a national community with common values and aspirations, even as the play warns how the rhetoric of nationhood can be twisted into a tool of partisan politics (114).

Shakespeare's *King John* and religious identity are the focus of chapters 5 and 6. Scholars are divided on the play's murky, inconsistent religious politics. Where does *King John*, with its stormy showdown between the English monarch and the Papacy, stand on the confessional conflicts that rocked Tudor England? For Hertel, the play is not a partisan religious polemic but instead "presents the terrors of a world devoid of God," where religion is "merely a cloak with which to disguise self-interested politics" (134, 145). Hertel lucidly documents the play's themes of fragmentation, disorder, and deadlock, its broken oaths and unheeded curses. Much less clear, however, is his conclusion that the godless world of *King John* "argues for the necessity of a new faith which is ... as much national as religious in nature,"

an “Anglican” regime “in which religion becomes nationalized” to ensure that “the English do not put religious faith before loyalty to their country” (134, 149).

Moving from religious controversy to class conflict, chapters 7 and 8 explore the interaction of national identity and class consciousness in *Henry VI, Part 2*. At stake in Shakespeare’s portrayal of Jack Cade’s rebellion is the question, “Who may claim to act in the name of the nation?” (181). For Hertel, early modern English drama portrays three distinct modes of national identity that are linked to social rank: absolutist (bound up with the ancestral lineage and political prerogatives of the royal house), elitist (reflecting the interests of the minor aristocracy or emergent middle class), and populist (speaking for the huddled masses). He concludes that Shakespeare discredits the false patriotism of both the anarchic rebels and the self-interested ruling class. Instead, the play sponsors a *via media* of elite nationalism—embodied in the figure of the country squire Richard Iden—that “does not want to do away with distinctions of rank” but strives to overcome class conflict through “a shared vision . . . [of] common responsibility for the nation” (188).

Two concluding chapters address “anxieties about the relation of gender and power” in the discourse of nationalism (194). Hertel argues that the history play can be grouped with other literary forms, such as Petrarchan lyric and chivalric romance, that Elizabethan male writers deployed to shore up their masculine authority in the face of female rule. The public theaters, catering to a “specifically English longing for a masculinization of history” (212), became a natural site for exploring the relationship between the performance of manhood and the performance of national identity. Making a case study of Marlowe’s *Edward II*, Hertel finds that the fluid gender roles of Edward and Isabella move beyond “an essentialist binary opposition between the male and the female” toward “a gender self-fashioning that allows for an overlap between the masculine and the feminine” (222). Yet because its characters who violate gender norms come to bad ends, the play “discredits not only the concepts of an inborn identity but also those of social mobility” (224). In doing so, *Edward II* exposes the need for a shared national identity that might transcend its’ characters private passions and unite a divided polity.

This book's achievement lies in its subtle close readings of the plays, readings that alert us to the complex, competing models of national identity that found expression on the Elizabethan stage. Hertel's handling of key passages, such as the map-reading scene in *1 Henry IV*, is shrewdly observed and has rich implications. The structure of the book, with its paired chapters linking each play to a broad category of national discourse, extends the reach of Hertel's arguments but weakens their force. Although his overview chapters are cogent and well researched, they rehearse historical backgrounds that will be well known to many readers and do not always seem relevant to the plays at hand. For example, chapter 9 argues that Elizabethan writers cast themselves as the manly guardians of a feminized England in order to defend their male identity against an emasculating queen. Hertel tests his argument against such familiar touchstones as John Knox's "monstrous regiment of women," Queen Elizabeth's speech to her troops at Tilbury, the Ditchley portrait, Kantorowicz on the king's two bodies, Laqueur on the one-sex model of gender difference, male womb envy, and the gender politics of English Petrarchism. Yet when the author turns to Marlowe's *Edward II*, he touches only briefly on the play's implications as a commentary on Elizabeth's rule; he concludes that its real concern "is not whether national identity is gendered masculine or feminine but rather whether there is any space for it in a country torn into rival factions incited by the struggle for personal interests" (224). The claim is suggestive, but the scattershot survey that precedes it blunts its impact.

If the book's contextualizing chapters are sometimes excessively thorough, Hertel's primary goal—to explore "the performative surplus of the theatre event" and its role in shaping English national consciousness (1)—remains thinly sketched. Only occasionally in his analysis of these plays does the author touch on theories of performance or refer to aspects of Elizabethan stagecraft. With the exception of the *Richard III* chapter, which thoughtfully builds on Anthony Hammond's reading of the play as a sacrificial ritual, Hertel's account of the performative dimension of national identity breaks little new ground. The history plays, he argues, enabled Elizabethans to experience "living history"; they offered a vision of the national past so vividly corporeal that their audiences "might have forgotten that they were watching only

an actor . . . and believed they were actually seeing princes act” (228, 234). The plays’ characters could personify abstract political concepts, supply theatergoers with exemplary “models of behavior,” and nurture “a feeling of togetherness” that “contributed to the emergence of early modern national identity” (232, 115). This book does not fully deliver on the promise of its subtitle, and a more sustained study of the performative dynamics of Elizabethan nationhood is still needed. But Hertel has valuably shown that the English history plays of the 1590s addressed the issue of national identity with caution, dialogically, open-endedly, and, like Macmorris, in the interrogative mode.

Sarah E. Johnson. *Staging Women and the Soul-Body Dynamic in Early Modern England*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xi + 185 pp. \$60.00.  
Review by JESSICA L. MALAY, UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD.

Johnson opens her discussion of the soul-body dynamic in early modern England with a brief discussion of John Donne’s *Why hath the common opinion afforded woemen Soules* in order to introduce the ambiguity surrounding the female soul. The early modern gendering of the soul as masculine and the body as feminine along with the Platonic view of the soul as the governor of the body produced a gendered hierarchy which had implications for the representations of women on stage. Johnson suggests that the “feminization of the soul is wrapped up in male attempts to define or manage the very concept of the soul” (16), and this contributed to composite representations of women as bodies and spirits on stage. This exploration of the soul-body dynamic through its Jacobean staging is intended to highlight that “the gendered soul-body dynamic plays a role in representations of and attitudes towards women beyond literature that engages explicitly and centrally with this relationship” (20).

Johnson discusses Jacobean puppetry as staged in *The Revenger’s Tragedy* and *Bartholomew Fair* arguing that an analysis of the puppet in these plays provides an opportunity to explore the emptying out or division of the body and the soul (or spirit) as well as the relationship between the body and the spirit that were once conjoined. In her discussion of Vindici’s relationship to the murdered Gloriana,

Johnson reveals how this play mocks the interpenetration of spirit and matter. At the same time she considers how the play engages with contemporary ideas that did not completely discount the connection between the mortal body and a spirit who may retain some interest in the body after death. Vindici's desecration of Gloriana's corpse is described here as a type of prostituting, thus identifying Gloriana as body and the female soul as defined only in relation to male honor. However, Johnson provides a complex explication of Vindici's relations to Gloriana's bones to show that Gloriana's body can also be seen to function as an allegory of death. In this way she suggests that Vindici's revenge becomes a type of *danse macabre*. Johnson goes further asserting that in this play Gloriana's bones possess an uncanniness that blurs the separation between the material and the immaterial with implications for a gendered agency that appears on the surface to be denied Gloriana. This theme is visited again in the discussion of *Bartholomew Fair*, especially in the character of Ursula who appears to be a representation of flesh, and yet this fleshiness Johnson suggests is not always in opposition to the soul.

In the discussion of Fletcher's *The Tamer Tamed*, Johnson positions female resistance to male authority as a legitimate desire of the soul. This leads to a discussion of the relationship between the will and the soul with the will positioned as "one of the soul's highest functions" (75). Fletcher's portrayal of Maria as steeped in the practice of rhetoric is presented as a means through which women could pierce through male deception using rhetoric as a weapon of the will in order to resist attempts to define her as body only, as Petruccio attempts to do with his new bride Maria. Johnson suggests that this play registers "an awareness that the hierarchical and gendered division between soul and body" is a "rhetorical construct available for manipulation" (104).

Moving to Middleton's *The Lady's Tragedy* Johnson continues her exploration of the relationship of the material body separated from its spirit or soul in death, and the nature of the female soul. As in the *Revenger's Tragedy* Johnson explores the power which the male can exert over the female body—the material form of the female. However, she creates a compelling argument for the way in which this play portrays the female soul as possessing the ability to manipulate the male body. Johnson does acknowledge this presentation of the female soul



as superior to a male spirit that is still fully conjoined with his body is problematized through early modern associations of tyranny with a feminization of the body. Again, as in the case of Gloriana in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, Johnson also points out that the Lady inhabits a liminal space between a spirit who once inhabited a female body, and the allegorical figure of Wisdom, which in many ways effaces what the audience would recognize as feminized attributes. The Lady's only recourse, her only way to effect agency is to "slip forth" from her body like a freed "prisoner" (115). Yet, Johnson suggests that the Lady's active concern for her body, and the ability of the males in the play to manipulate her corpse implicitly determines her worth and remains a contested space between the Tyrant and her love Govianus. The discussion of this play best represents Johnson's nuanced approach to the many and often contradictory representations of the female soul-body dynamic on the Jacobean stage.

After a brief discussion of stone and spirit in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, which returns to themes such as the slippage between soul and spirit, ideas related to animating forces and the material, with a nod to the contribution of the Pygmalion story to contemporary representations of male manipulation of the female body, the book turns to masquing in the court of James I. This focus on the masque moves the discussion of the body-soul dynamic into the broader political realm of the Jacobean court which placed James as the governing spirit or soul of the state. The masques are presented as relegating the female masquers to their bodily roles as vessels with the design of the masques juxtaposing bodies and scenery, foregrounding the material. However, Johnson points out that there are explicit verbal references to the soul-body dynamic in the comparison of the mixture of bodies and souls to that of fresh water and brine in *Blackness*, or in the confusion expressed in Daniel's *Tethys Festival* about the status of figures as shadows or bodies. The dancing bodies were designed to create wonder in the audience which Johnson describes as evoking the soul. This discussion continues to develop themes of the relationship between the female body and the soul, and the status of the female and the feminine as represented in these court masques.

In the Introduction (20) and later in the book (82) Johnson attempts answer anticipated criticism that given the plays discussed

were written by men, presented in environments dominated by men, the plays presents primarily a male understanding of the body-soul dynamic. She counters by insisting that these plays, in particular Fletcher's *The Tamer Tamed* do "present female subject positions that push against conventional gender norms" (82). She also contends that a female presence in the audience would encourage playwrights to at least consider female attitudes in the construction and presentation of their plays. This may be so, but the discussion could benefit from a greater examination of this assumption. The inclusion of a female authored play, for example Elizabeth Cary's *Mariam* with its overt concerns for body and soul may have provided useful insights when examined alongside the plays and masques featured here.

Johnson makes clear her purpose in this study was to sample "how theatrical probing into the soul-body dynamic can translate into more positive representations of women and challenge oppressive gender ideology" (164). How far the book goes to accomplish this is unclear. However, its greater value is its often complex and nuanced examination of the contested relationship between gender and spirit inherent in discussion of the soul and body in early modern culture.

Michael Martin. *Literature and the Encounter with God in Post-Reformation England*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. Viii + 221pp. + 4 illus. \$109.95. Review by LISSA BEAUCHAMP DESROCHES, ST. THOMAS UNIVERSITY.

Michael Martin's book, *Literature and the Encounter with God in Post-Reformation England*, is a readable and critically engaged consideration of the complexities of religious feeling for everyday people during a period in which critics more commonly point to the newly emerging fields of science and politics over religion. Indeed, Martin's methodology introduces the importance of relinquishing a critical condescension toward religious conviction in order to consider it on its own terms. Using the phenomenology of Heidegger as a basis for his approach, Martin delivers a straightforward and comprehensive picture of an interesting variety of sources that trace a developing chronology of individual connections to the divine over the course

of the period. John Dee, John Donne, Sir Kenelm Digby, Henry and Thomas Vaughn, and Jane Lead provide the source material for a critical engagement of religious feeling from perspectives that range across the considerations of science and religion, centre and margin, and gender and class.

Beginning with Dr. Dee, Martin addresses the period's odd co-mingling of mysticism and technology. Referring to de Certeau's *Mystic Fable*, Martin defines mysticism as what "arises in the tension between religious experience and the attempt to render the revelation or insight garnered through religious experience into the common coinage of words without trivializing or cheapening the *mysterion* by means of the translation" (21). In defining mysticism this way, he recovers Dee's status as a kind of cultural interpreter: his explorations of the technological means of communication with the divine combine the rigours of what emerges as a scientific method later on in the period with the devotional desire for divine contact so familiar in Donne, Herbert, and Crashaw. The intensity of Dee's mysticism, however, results in a kind of wilful blindness which Martin identifies as a "fundamental tragedy": "Dee was ... enthralled by his misperceived mystical object. He seems to have remained so, as he was still occupied with researches in scrying twenty years later" (46). Yet despite these problems, Martin's analysis brings out the surprising fitness of Dee's technological approach to the desired divine encounter: the attempt to rationalize the means of experience is his way of dignifying the translation of his visions, to render them in fully ecstatic detail.

Following in chronological order, John Donne's mysticism seems an unusual way to continue the discussion; in contrast to Dee, "Donne was extraordinarily sensitive to the ways he might hide his own motivations from himself" (50). Martin begins with this seeming dissimilarity, pointing out how "Donne is not a systematic theologian, but a poet and a preacher. His thought is not theologically dogmatic, but is inclined toward the intuitive" (47). Despite the acknowledged influences of Augustinian and Pauline conversions in Donne's work, Martin focusses on Donne's "religious aesthetic [which] is grounded in humility" (48) and the acceptance of ultimate divine union as deferred until physical death. Such an apocalyptic vision has as much to do with the visions of John of Patmos, though Martin does not address

the role of Revelation in Donne's work, perhaps because Donne is himself "skeptical" of mystical visions that attract sensational kinds of attention, and distract the faithful from being patient and humble. The essential paradox of Donne's religious experience is that "If there is to be an ecstasy, for Donne, there must also be a thorn in the flesh" (70). Martin's excellent analysis of Donne's final sermon is illuminating, as he shows how Donne employs himself as an "emblem" of a "living dead man" (80), a rhetorically readable illustration of divine/human union deferred: "for Donne the Vision of God recedes into the horizon, ever deferred, while simultaneously enfolding him in the mystery of God's presence" (84). In this way, not knowing God now reconstructs anxiety into a familiar, intimately protective mystery.

Like Dr. Dee, Sir Kenelm Digby's search for the means to contact the divine leads him in a direction we can identify as scientific: "particularly in his scientific work concerned with palingenesis, the attempt to raise a plant, phoenix-like, from its own ashes, Digby's ideas about science coalesce with ... his religion in a surprising form of religious experience" (87). Martin identifies Digby's work as *metalepsis*, "a rather complicated literary trope that the *OED* defines as 'the rhetorical figure consisting in the metonymical substitution of one word for another which is itself a metonym; (more generally) any metaphorical usage resulting from a series of succession of figurative substitutions'" (90). Martin then excavates the series of substitutions in Digby's scientific search for God, which involves the biographical figures of Digby's recusant, executed father as well as the loss of his beloved wife, to establish the clear line of connections that substantiate how "his real sphere of activity is grounded not in biology but in the soul ... [that] its energy derives as much from love as from anxiety as he strives to forge an epistemology of assurance" (107). The only disappointing aspect of this chapter is that Martin leaves as largely implicit the potentially interesting connections between Digby and Donne, and Digby and Dee—I would like to have seen a clearer comparative approach that draws out the suggestions regarding how these three figures considered their more worldly relationships with their wives, especially since these common bonds figured so strongly for each of them.

In Chapter Four, Martin does use a comparative structure to link the works of (possibly twin) brothers Henry and Thomas Vaughan. And again, we see that a shared mysticism (in this case, Rosicrucian) informs both scientific and religious methodologies: by “Rosicrucian mysticism,” Martin “propose[s] a variety of religious experience that is intuitive, and that the intuition in question is focused on the natural world and arises from a simultaneously scientific and religious contemplation of nature” (109). (And again there is missing an obvious comparison to other material within this study, as the intuitive nature of the Vaughans’ work and the similarly intuitive inclinations of Donne are never significantly addressed.) Henry Vaughan’s *Silex Scintillans*, the “sparking flint,” is a vivid emblem for the divine spark that enlivens us, as well as the fire of alchemical combustion; and “for Thomas Vaughn [too], there is more to nature than bodies and more to religion than the spirit” (132). Thomas’s use of the shell and kernel metaphor—in which the shell is the body of scientific investigation, and the kernel the substance of the interpretive soul—is one that Henry also employs, which Martin considers in a fascinating analysis that demonstrates how the two brothers meet, though beginning from different starting points: “Both Henry and Thomas uphold an understanding of Christ’s participation in nature and in nature’s processes that is crucial to an understanding of their respective religious and scientific visions. Christ’s regeneration, that is, is the key to both religion and science. For the Vaughans, as for Digby, the resurrection is not only an article of faith, but a scientific—and therefore discoverable—fact” (135). The divine coherence of nature then demonstrates Thomas’s synergistic “conception of world processes,” as opposed to a hierarchical one (139). And, in a fine reading of Henry’s “Ascension-Hymn,” Martin describes how, in between the “Dust” of the first word and the last word, “light,” “the reader tries to sort out the Christ-speaker from the human-speaker, [and] we witness the equivalent of a literary sublimation. Not only that, but the reciprocity figured in the poem is stunning, as it opens with Christ contemplating the earthly and culminates with the human speaker contemplating the celestial” (142). In the same way, the reciprocal dialogue of Thomas’s science and Henry’s religious verse construct their relationship as a model for world processes: the “resurrection, even of

nettles in an alembic, would be impossible had not the Resurrection of Christ first occurred. Christ's death and resurrection, according to this view, effected a chemical change on nature itself" (145). In this way, God is immanent, not transcendent as for Calvin, and there is no necessary division between theology and *scientia*. Indeed, "the notion of God being uninvolved with chemical processes—or any process in nature—is unimaginable. Indeed, Thomas's career as a scientist, I would suggest, was to him unimaginable apart from his career as a priest. These categories did not bear the mutual exclusivity that [we] tend to read into them for Thomas, nor for many in the early modern period" (146-147). Thus, seeing early modern religious conviction without smug dismissal of its relevance has the effect of revealing an interestingly mutual inclusivity between scientists and religious poets.

Finally, in the fifth chapter, Martin considers the religious leadership of Jane Lead, and he claims "that Jane Lead's religious imagination was heavily indebted to Paul in four distinct ways: (1) in her imagination of herself and those around her as a kind of Pauline community, (2) in her allegiance to the mystical event that initiated her evangelical mission, (3) in her evident flesh-spirit dualism, and (4) particularly in the way she abides in the tension between *chronos* and *kairos* in relationship to Parousia" (156). While the first two points are fairly interesting biographically and historically, it is the latter two points that compel attention. Unfortunately, Martin does not comment in any detail on the significance of Lead's cross-gender identification, apart from noting that she is female and that such a leadership role in evangelical terms is not unprecedented. I do find this absence somewhat disappointing, although it is perhaps justifiable in this context: "Lead, following Paul, entered into a religious consciousness that transcended categories of allegiance, class, and gender" (165). Instead, what is important to Lead—despite its widely heretical status—is "the theological context of apocatastasis, the resurrection and glorification of not only the just but of all: sinful humans as well as the fallen angels" (166). This vision delivers a sense of identity without the usual (world-bound) boundaries between different kinds, such as allegiance, class, and gender, and she insists that "the regenerated bodies of the resurrection will be androgynous" (169). Martin notes the usual critical consensus of Paul's misogyny as potentially problematic here, as Paul is a model

for Lead; but with a nice clarity, he also notes that “the situation is not nearly this simple. Paul, it is true, did not like the idea of women preachers or women speaking out in the church [fn. For example, 1 Cor 14:34-6.], but he also claimed that, in Christ, the distinctions ‘male’ and ‘female’ do not exist in eternity [fn. Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12.]” (169). In one of the few instances that Martin engages feminism or gender theory, he does so only to offer a possible explanation for the relative lack of critical work on Jane Lead: her “rejection of the body might help to explain why feminist critics have generally kept Lead at arm’s length since a significant emphasis in their discourse is the reclamation of the body. ... for Lead, [the body and the spirit] tend to work antithetically, with the body only being a tool, and a not altogether reliable one, for the spirit to use” (172-173). This diminishment of the body is also a diminishment of worldly experience, including the chronological time that we suffer through while here, and thus directly leads to the “tension between *chronos* and *kairos* in relationship to Parousia” (156): while “parousia is simply a word that means ‘presence,’ and *kairos* could be accurately described as Parousia’s point of access, a ‘rupture,’ through which this presence arrives” (182). Thus the diminishment of the body, and the world, and *chronos*, also elevates the significance of the spirit, and the afterlife, and *kairos*, as an alternative way of experiencing the divine: “Both Paul and Lead, though they avow the Second Coming will be an actual historical occurrence, nevertheless emphasize the inner Parousia in which believers might experience the truth event of Christ’s presence ... Lead did not let herself be bound by the attitudes of the religious establishment of her own time” (183). In this regard, if nothing else, Lead’s inclusion amongst the other poets and scientists of Martin’s study stands out and calls for further critical consideration.

*Literature and the Encounter with God in Post-Reformation England* marks a renewed scholarly attitude that tries to encounter the period on its own terms, and in many ways opens new views for critical consideration in the process. Martin’s thoughtful employment of phenomenology provides a strong sense of direction forward, unhampered by critical attitudes of condescension toward the sincere religious conviction that motivates so many early modern writers—indeed, that

authorizes them to write in the first place, marking them as testimonial witnesses to their own experience of the world and the time in which they live so vividly.

Ann Marie Plane. *Dreams and the Invisible World in Colonial New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. xiii + 237. \$45.00. Review by WILLIAM J. SCHEICK, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

A striking insight introduces Ann Marie Plane's *Dreams and the Invisible World in Colonial New England*. Since an allusion to the disciple Paul's conversion vision is embedded in the official seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, this reference implicitly suggests "that the entire colonial enterprise in New England was based on a dream." Despite the prominence of this colonial seal, Plane observes, "the full significance of dream narratives in unlocking the religious, social, cultural, and emotional history of colonial societies has yet to be explored" by historians.

While recognizing some caveats by other historians who are wary of the scholarly use of dream/vision accounts, Plane persuasively argues that these accounts can be interpreted as reasonably reliable indices to various unconscious issues that were significant to their reporters. Dreams, after all, occur within and reflect cultural and social frameworks, Plane maintains. Moreover, "English dream practices served hidden 'selfobject' functions for the dreamer, allowing for the management and integration of potentially disruptive experiences, and for the maintenance of an idealized masculine restraint in the face of destabilizing feelings and awe-inspiring wonders." (My own sympathy for such a methodological approach, I should confess, is documented in *Authority and Female Authorship in Colonial America*, which likewise emphasizes unconscious impulses resulting in ambivalent resistances and negotiations that accidentally unsettle the surface of male-authorized narrative strategies.)

Mixed, even contradictory, attitudes toward dreams have a long history. Readers of *Paradise Lost*, for instance, witness how prelapsarian Adam benefits from divine instruction imparted benignly through



dreams. Eve's prelapsarian dream, on the other hand, is sharply different—a vexing temptation deftly crafted by Satan. Then there is the curious matter of John Milton's personal claim that all of *Paradise Lost* itself has been revealed to him through dreams.

Plane offers a good overview of similar conflicting colonial responses to dreams in her first chapter. There John Winthrop takes center stage with a dream representing an anxious version of both his personal role as governor and the visionary mission of his colony. Winthrop's antagonist, Roger Williams, appears in another chapter, which explores the spiritual power invested in dreams by the Algonquian peoples. Settlers insisted that Indians' dreams were demonic in origin—an early emphasis that later intensified during King Philip's War. In fact, though, the settlers' fascination with these Native American visionary experiences signaled an unacknowledged intersection of both cultures' notions of a very real invisible world. Ironically, too, the dire prognostic truth of certain Indian visions would eventually seem to be especially validated during the aftermath of King Philip's War.

Michael Wigglesworth, Samuel Sewall, and Cotton Mather, among many others during the middle of the seventeenth century, struggled to understand their disturbing dreams. Some cautiously hoped these phenomena conveyed positive insight into their personal future. Many worried, however, that their dreams were as Satanically sourced as Eve's.

Also, during the mid-century period Peter Easton and other Quakers were far more confident and also far more public about relying on dreams for spiritual direction. Of course, authorities representing the religious establishment dismissed Quakers as deluded dreamers. They did so throughout the entire seventeenth century, including the awful Salem witch-hunt, without facing openly their own experiences of dream-fascination and dream-authorization.

English settlers “could never fully colonize dreams, at least not in the sense of either being able to contain them or render them completely powerless,” Plane convincingly concludes. English settlers tried to shape what dreaming meant, but finally the very dreams they felt compelled to explain away eventually contributed to the shape of their colonizing endeavor, at least in part. For New Englanders throughout the seventeenth century, “dreams would continue to startle, ‘exercise,’ and awaken dreamers, airing knotty feelings, raising surprising juxtapositions, and bringing uncomfortable knowledge.”

Olaf Asbach and Peter Schröder, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. xiv + 347 pp. £ 85. Review by THOMAS WORCESTER, COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

The co-editors of this volume introduce it by stating that their topic, the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), “remains a puzzling and complex subject” (1). When one has read their introductory essay, and the twenty-five essays that follow, essays by a broad and international array of experts, one may ask if the topic has become any less puzzling, and has its complexity at least been clarified or somehow made more intelligible? Or does clarity in this case perhaps require even more, not less, complexity? This ‘research companion’ has five parts, overlapping at times, that consider recent scholarship on various origins or causes, aspects and issues, periods, protagonists, winners and losers, and various consequences of what some scholars may see as several distinct, though related wars. Like other Ashgate Research Companions, this one aims to assess recent publications on the questions it considers.

Part I, entitled The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, is relatively brief with but two chapters, the first, by Joachim Whaley on whether or not failure of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg should be assigned the key role in the origins or causes of what we now call the Thirty Years' War, and on what the consequences of the War were or were not for Germany, in the short run as well as all the way to the twentieth-century. The second chapter, by Brennan Pursell, focuses on Electoral Palatinate, its Calvinist Elector Frederick V, on the significance of his actions regarding Bohemia in the first phase of the War, and on how much support he did or did not have for such actions from various territories in the Empire and beyond. Each of these essays does a good job of showing how scholars are disposing of any simplistic narrative of these events.

The Great Powers, Coalitions and Conflicting Interests is the focus of Part II, consisting of seven chapters. Conflicting interests—political, religious, economic, and other—is the theme that recurs most often, and shows why coalitions were often fragile at best, and subject to frequent change. Christoph Kampfmann's chapter on the three emperors who reigned during the War (Matthias, 1612-19; Ferdinand II, 1619-37; Ferdinand III, 1637-57) points out that of these three only

Ferdinand II has attracted a good deal of attention from historians, divided, until recent decades, between Protestant scholars extremely critical of an emperor said to have been too close to the Jesuits, and Catholic scholars laudatory of him. Kampfmann makes clear that a decline in confessionalized polemic has not eliminated other differences among historians, and he argues, unlike some historians, that the interests and position of the Empire emerged in quite good shape in the decades after 1648.

Each of the other six chapters of this part looks at powers outside the Holy Roman Empire and at their shifting roles, and their gains or losses, in the War, 1618–48: Spain, Denmark, Sweden, France, the Papacy, and the Ottoman Empire. The chapters on Denmark and Sweden shed important light on why an international Protestant coalition in support of German Protestant princes never really worked well. Gabriel Guarino does an excellent job of showing how Spain was overstretched, even apart from the Thirty Years' War, with far too many territories to defend, in a vast array of places, in Europe and beyond. The Ottoman Empire prudently remained neutral, even though a weakening of the Austrian Habsburgs was very much in its interests, as Maria Baramova clearly shows. The French, who also had an interest in containing the Habsburgs, did not remain neutral. Cardinal Richelieu, depicted variously since the 1600s as anything from a Machiavellian or even demonic villain to the savior of European freedom from Habsburg domination, appears here in Lucien Bély's chapter as successful in his goals, but at the price of imposing an absolutism in France that in fact lacked support from French subjects, and one that would elicit revolts from various levels of French society. Bély is able to present Richelieu in a nuanced fashion, and he does the same for Mazarin who succeeded Richelieu as Principal Minister.

Guido Braun's chapter on the papacy offers a mixed assessment of what he terms "a celibate electoral monarchy, with a sacred-secular double ruler at the top" (101). Braun acknowledges that the Papal States were the only states within Italy to gain territory during the Thirty Years' War, and he seems to see Gregory XV's creation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (in 1622) as an astute move. But Braun sides with those historians that see the papacy as a loser by 1648, for it "had changed from a central figure in the

European system of power and its peace-making mechanisms to a marginal one,” and the peace treaties bringing the Thirty Years’ War to an end had set the course for a “secularisation of law and politics” in which heads of state, even Catholic ones, no longer respected popes (111). That popes were scorned and worse by many heads of state from the later-seventeenth century to the early-nineteenth century is indisputable, but how much of such scorn or contempt was a result of events 1618–48, or elicited in other ways, is perhaps not as clear as Braun suggests.

Part III, in five chapters, considers Different Stages and Theatres of War. The first three of these examine, within the Empire, 1618–29, 1629–35, 1635–48. On the earliest of these periods, Ronald Asch considers how and why things went badly for Frederick, Calvinist would-be ruler of Bohemia, and why more generally the Habsburgs get the upper hand that made possible the Edict of Restitution of 1629, the edict that if fully implemented would have transferred a great deal of property from Protestant to Catholic hands. Asch convincingly shows that tensions between Lutherans and Calvinists played a major role in weakening potential checks on Habsburg power. Toby Osborne’s chapter on 1629–35 takes the story through Swedish intervention up to the Peace of Prague of 1635. Tantalizingly, though perhaps somewhat anachronistically, Osborne calls the Thirty Years’ War “partly a media event” (139), but without explaining adequately what he means by this. On 1635–48, Tryntje Helfferich takes another approach, and emphasizes the death and destruction experienced by soldiers and by ordinary people. Plague, starvation, torture of many kinds, cannibalism, and as many as eight million dead, mostly German, come to the fore in this oddly refreshing chapter, after so much on European elites and their strategies, successes and failures. The remaining two chapters in this part treat the Dutch-Spanish War, 1621–48, and the War in Italy, 1628–59. There are no historiographical surprises here: historians still identify Spain as a big loser and France as a big winner in seventeenth-century Europe.

Throughout this volume questions about church and state, religion and politics, and various other sources of power and authority, and the complex relationships between all these, abound. Thus it is somewhat repetitive, or at least overlapping, to have a Part IV, Religion and Poli-

tics. But in fact, not all chapters in this section focus exclusively on this topic. John Theibault's chapter on the material conditions of war explores two schools of interpretation of the economic state of Europe 1618–48 and in the aftermath of the War: one that argues that the War destroyed what was a robust prosperity, and the other that argues that economic decline was already underway pre-1618. But Theibault argues that more research is needed on the precise geography of decline, demographic, economic, and other. Sigrun Haude's chapter on the experience of war emphasizes the large percentage of first-person accounts of the impact of the War on non-combatants written by clergy and by members of religious orders. Haude merits praise for including a history of mentalities approach to the War's history, e.g., by examining questions such as what generated individual and collective vulnerability and fears. Peter Wilson's chapter on strategy and conduct of the War divides the War into but two periods, 1618–35, and 1635–48. But the more interesting question broached by Wilson, that of what was thought to constitute a 'just' war, and what were considered the 'laws' of war, is but mentioned in passing. One may ask, are there no scholars working on evolution of such concepts in the first half of the seventeenth century?

Experience and Praxis of War is the title of Part V, the last section of this research companion. As was the case with Part IV, so too Part V's title suggests considerable overlap with what has already been discussed. But the four chapters of this last part focus largely on something else, i.e., the consequences or aftermath of the War. Alex Gotthard's chapter on the "settlement" of 1648 for the Empire is the best of these chapters, for it provides an excellent overview of both negative assessments, especially in the wake of nineteenth-century German unification and in the Nazi era—Hitler even promised to rescind the Peace of Westphalia—and of more recent, more positive assessments stressing how the peace of 1648 restored balance that had been lost.

As thorough as this research companion is on a great many issues, there are some topics that get short shrift if any attention at all. Women and the Thirty Years' War could have made a useful chapter, for any references to women are but scattered and brief. Religion does and does not get adequate attention: The Peace of Augsburg and its Erastian solution to Protestant/Catholic conflict gets more than enough

commentary, but some other religious questions receive superficial attention. Susan Richter refers to the Jesuits “and other Spanish or Portuguese orders” (330). Does she mean that the Society of Jesus was often referred to that way by enemies of Spain or Portugal? Or does she actually think that all Jesuits were Spanish or Portuguese? War often has many by-products, not all of them destructive or death-dealing; the editors of this very useful volume might have included a chapter or two on art, literature, and the Thirty Years’ War. Such inclusion would not necessarily have helped to clarify a “puzzling and complex subject” (1), but it could certainly have enriched the complexity.

William Carroll. *Galileo: Science & Faith*, London: Catholic Truth Society 2009, 66 pp. £ 1.95. Review by ALESSANDRO GIOSTRA, STANLEY JAKI SOCIETY.

The Galileo (1564–1642) case represents a very difficult and intriguing subject to investigate. It implies, indeed, a deep knowledge of the seventeenth-century historical context, the scientific and philosophical debate concerning the new astronomical theories, Galileo’s personal events. The importance of Galileo for the birth of science has prompted some historians to carry on valid researches, and some popular expositors to derive easy and superficial conclusions. That is the reason why Galileo’s condemnation by the Catholic Church still occupies a relevant place in the modern age conception of the relationship between science and faith. This booklet, forming part of the Catholic Truth Society Concise Histories, presents, in a synthetic and effective way, Galileo’s thought and vicissitude from the science-faith perspective. Although it cannot be considered a complete treatise on that subject, it succeeds in rendering the basic aspects of the Galileo affair clear. The author, William Carroll, is Thomas Aquinas Fellow in Theology and Science at the University of Oxford.

Galileo has become an ‘Icon of Modernity’ (3–10), and one of the unfortunate consequences of his condemnation consists in the legend of a clear-cut distinction between science and Catholic faith: “surely one of the constitutive myths of the modern world” (6). A meaningful event happened in January 2008, when a group of students and profes-

sors opposed the invitation to the Pope to speak at the University La Sapienza in Rome. Among the reasons of that protest, there was the content of a Pope's speech in 1990 about the Galileo case. That fact can be considered a clear demonstration that Galileo's unfortunate vicissitudes have given rise to a persistent legend about the negative role of faith in the scientific discourse.

Therefore, the author expresses the necessity of a transition 'From Myth to History' (11–57). That central section of this booklet deals with Galileo's biography and thought. The discoveries through the telescope did not provide a demonstration of the earth's rotation on its axis and motion around the sun. They definitively rejected the Ptolemaic cosmology, but they accorded with Tycho Brahe's geoheliocentric system. Many learned astronomers at that time, who refused the Copernican solution because of the lack of consequences of the terrestrial movement on physical phenomena, adopted geoheliocentrism as a suitable system. In other words, the rejection of Ptolemy did not imply the necessary acceptance of Copernicus.

Among the protagonists of the Galileo case, a special attention must be devoted to Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), a consultant of the Holy Office. Bellarmine wrote a famous letter to Paolo Antonio Foscarini (1580–1616), a Carmelite friar who had issued a work in which he affirmed that Scriptures could be interpreted in accordance with Copernican astronomy. In his letter Bellarmine, an expert of theological controversies, declared that if there were a true demonstration of the terrestrial movement, then the Bible should be interpreted accordingly. That was just the main point in the Galileo affair, namely the impossibility to provide a coherent proof of the terrestrial motion. More in detail, Galileo believed that an argument from the phenomenon of tides would provide such a demonstration; actually, his argument of tides, expressed in the fourth day of the *Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems*, and the theory of comets stated in the *Assayer*, represent two grievous mistakes in a very successful scientific career. Galileo, after reading Bellarmine's response to Foscarini, wrote the *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina of Lorraine*, to be considered a masterpiece of rhetoric and literary style, "to persuade the authorities of the Catholic Church not to act foolishly and condemn Copernican astronomy" (30). In that work Galileo claimed that the Bible is not

a scientific text and science is the only way to interpret nature. Furthermore, he affirmed that Copernican astronomy is founded on clear observations and necessary demonstrations, and we know that was a clear mistake. Thus, Galileo founded, on that crucial point, his own view about science and faith that cannot contradict one another, as God himself is the Author of both nature and Scripture. Moreover, a true knowledge of nature is helpful for theologians in order to interpret accurately the Bible. At the end of the letter, Galileo abandoned the principle of accommodation and declared that the Copernican Theory, if carefully considered, could agree with some meaning of the Scriptures.

The theological consultants of the Holy Office concluded the immobility of the sun at the center of the world and the terrestrial motion were foolish and absurd philosophically, that is scientifically. Moreover, the motion of the sun was declared formally heretical, while the motion of the Earth was deemed to be at least erroneous in faith. Following the decree of the Index of Forbidden Books in March 1616, Galileo was admonished not to teach or uphold the Copernican Theory. He published the *Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems* in 1632, in order to defend the Copernican cosmology. Even if he had been ordered to deal with the Copernican model only as a pure mathematical hypothesis, “he had done precisely what he had been enjoined not to do in 1616” (51). Thus, the violation of the 1616 injunction was the reason of Galileo’s condemnation, and, in the author’s mind, the action of the Inquisition was disciplinary, not doctrinal.

In the final paragraph, the author’s aim consists in showing the path ‘From History to the Legend of Warfare Between Science and Religion’ (58–65). That legend was created during the age of Positivism, which adopted the case of Galileo in order to conclude the incompatibility between science and faith. The superficiality of such a vision is evident; it would be enough to recall that the main protagonists of the Scientific Revolution, and Galileo among them, considered the universe as a mathematical harmony created by God. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, Angelo Secchi (1818–1878), the founder of astrophysics, was a Jesuit priest. In any case, legends often become part of the official culture: “Hans Kung, for example, has argued that Pope John Paul II’s judgements on birth control and the ordination of women were as infallibly wrong as were those of his predecessors on astronomy and



heliocentricity” (61–62). The false rhetoric about the impossibility to conciliate science and Christian doctrine continues to exert a powerful influence on the interpretation of modern history and, more in detail, the understanding of the Galileo affair. This booklet is just a helpful reading to know the truth.

William R. Shea. *Galileo Interviewed*. Zurich, Zurich Press, 2013. vi + 66 pp. Review by ALESSANDRO GIOSTRA, STANLEY JAKI SOCIETY.

“No one extended the vision of humankind so much as he did. No one ever put more stock in perception than Galileo” (4). The importance of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) in the history of science led the author to publish this brief essay, which includes a foreword by Dava Sobel, a well-known expositor of scientific matters. William Shea, Galileo professor of History of Science at the University of Padua, is author or editor of many books concerning Galileo and the Scientific Revolution. The outcome of his work is a very pleasant reading, which finds the way to present the father of modern science from an original perspective. It consists, indeed, in an imaginary interview made to Galileo by the English writer John Milton (1608–1674) in 1638. During that period, Galileo was spending his last years in Arcetri and he had already published his *Discourses and Mathematical Demonstrations Relating to Two New Sciences*, namely his greatest work. His unfortunate personal vicissitudes are the basic point of this book, which also deals with the seventeenth-century Italian context, the relevance of Galileo’s scientific achievements, his difficult relationship with the Catholic Church, and his own familiar burden. Therefore, in addition to the illustration of the main contents of Galileo’s scientific research, this book includes many details of his personality, which are often disregarded by historians of science.

At the beginning of this publication we find *A Short Account of Galileo’s Life* (7–20), where the basic moments of his biography are highlighted. In that initial section the author not only lays stress on the essential steps of Galileo’s career as a scientist. Other specific situations, indeed, are focused, such as the job of his father, a gifted man with little business sense, and his encounter with mathematics, when he

started listening to the lessons delivered by Ostilio Ricci (1540–1603). A conclusion can already be derived from this early section of the book. Galilei was not simply an enthusiastic researcher, but a character who was fully integrated into the seventeenth-century social context. Throughout his life, he asked for the support of influential people and some of his decisions were influenced by the economic problems of his family. That was the reason why in 1610 he decided to abandon the University of Padua and go back to Florence.

The treatment of the *Evils of Censorship* (21–24) represents the beginning of this interview, in which Galileo shows his situation during the years he was spending in Arcetri and the difficulties due to his condemnation in 1633. Galileo never married, although he had three children. A special devotion was given to the eldest daughter, Suor Maria Celeste (1600–1634), a nun in the convent of San Matteo who died at the age of 33. The mother of his sons was Marina Gamba (1570–1612), a woman he met in Venice, whom he could not get along with him when he got his appointment as Mathematician and Philosopher to the court of Tuscany. In the seventeenth-century Italy, professors were not well paid, so Galileo managed to meet his expenses by giving lessons to young noblemen. Most of his private students were young aristocrats who were going to start a career in the military. Galileo did not make real money with the construction of the telescope, but he was surely pleased with the sales of his geometrical and military compass, namely a very helpful instrument to arrange troops on battlefields.

Historians of science often describe Galileo as a rational man, interested in science alone. Astrology, however, was actually a source of income and a discipline in which he believed: “I consider astrology one of my main skill [...] denying that heavenly bodies influence human behavior is as foolish as denying that the Sun influences the growth of plants” (37–38). In Galileo’s mind the new celestial bodies discovered through the telescope did not change the principles of traditional astrology, as the description of the action of stars refers to the general influence of a part of the heavens and not only to the influence exerted by the stars visible with the naked eye. Another aspect, almost unknown to students and forming part of Galileo’s character, consists in his cultivation of arts and literature. He was

fond of drawing and the milieu in which he received his basic training was more humanistic than scientific. His own realistic view of nature also influenced his artistic vision, which rejected any kind of painting that distorted reality. Galileo wrote some comedies, even if they were never performed on the stage, and satiric poems. During his first teaching at the University of Pisa he had lectured on Dante's *Inferno* and that was just a clear demonstration of his literary skill. A curious fact can explain this situation. The painter and Galileo's friend, Ludovico Cigoli (1559–1613), took part in a debate on the relative superiority of sculpture and painting, and turned to Galileo for help. Galileo suggested to Cigoli some arguments regarding the superiority of painting, such as its being more real to the eye and ability to make a flat surface seem three-dimensional. The relation of art and science is evident in his investigations. For instance, perspective contributed to his description of the Moon as "its surface looked like a black-and-white chiaroscuro drawing, and this made me curious" (62). Thus, we can establish that drawing disciplined Galileo's hand for science and the observation of the Moon was made in accordance with geometrical perspective.

The last pages of this work are devoted to Galileo's claim to fame (63–66). In that final section the author deals briefly with Galileo's most important discoveries about motion, namely the law on the free falling bodies and the parabolic path of projectiles; both of them were illustrated in the above-mentioned *Discourses*.

In sum, different accounts of Galileo's thought and personal events have been offered and they usually present some aspects of his story at the expense of other relevant questions. Moreover, the father of modern science has been often deemed to be a clear instance of the opposition between science and scientific rationality. The merit of this imaginary interview consists in offering an objective look at Galileo's character and including some particulars that are often ignored by historians.

Lorenzo Pericolo and David M. Stone, eds. *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014 + 358 pp. + 118 illus. \$ 123.45. LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

This major collected volume demystifies an image of the extravagant Caravaggio looming large in art historical literature, and instead presents profound investigations of his historical underpinnings and pictorial idiosyncrasies. Caravaggio studies flourished exponentially in the wake of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death, in 2010, that quickened an output of writings about this most independent and radical painter of the seventeenth century. In this massive outpouring of anthologies, single-authored books, and exhibition catalogues, Lorenzo Pericolo and David M. Stone's *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions* is riveting in its insights, breathtaking in its original methodologies, and standing out as an unsurpassably comprehensive foray into Caravaggio's art.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, scholars and critics have situated Caravaggio's pictorial realism at the core of their critical examinations that appear to imply that Caravaggio's painting is a mere reproduction of reality and an expression of the theories of the psyche's development infused with eroticism. By denouncing the tenuous character of Giulio Carlo Argan's and Leo Bersani's conceptual theories, Lorenzo Pericolo redresses the balance in Caravaggio studies by calling attention to characteristics of his art that have been reductively understood, namely, his receptiveness to the history of his time, to fiction as the best instrument in representing the transcendental, and to the spirit of analytic observation that informs Caravaggio's experimentalism in affinity with Galileo Galilei's observation of nature and its laws. Pericolo's quintessential essay "Interpreting Caravaggio in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century: Between Galileo and Heidegger, Giordano Bruno, and Laplanche" embeds Caravaggio studies in a broader context than is usually recognized and simultaneously fosters a novel understanding of Caravaggio's artistic significance in the context of history (302, 303).

*Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions* emphasizes Caravaggism within a global visual arts discourse by asserting the importance of connoisseurship and the curatorial dynamics of the modern museum. However radical his innovations, Caravaggio remained technically

disciplined, expressing his pictorial ideas with the skill and handling of a great craftsman transcending his time. In the Corsini *Portrait of Maffeo Barberini* his stylistic prowess delicately folds into a descriptive technique, revealing the image of the young, cultured, and ambitious future Pope Urban VIII, which Roberto Longhi had rejected as Caravaggio's work but Keith Christiansen thoroughly examines in his pertinent "Caravaggio's Portrait of Maffeo Barberini in the Palazzo Corsini, Florence." Curatorial modes and recent blockbuster exhibitions constitute, in this anthology, a compelling discussion of an institutionally-generated Caravaggio. H. Perry Chapman's lucid analysis of the 2006 Rijksmuseum challenging exhibition *Rembrandt/Caravaggio* uncovers the curatorial fallacies in pointing out the self-governing and independent creative characters of both Caravaggio and Rembrandt irrespective of Rembrandt's masterful assimilation of Caravaggio's art into his pictorial formation and mature development (274, 277, 285, 289). Also in reference to the imperfections of some curatorial projects devoted to Caravaggio's anniversary, David M. Stone's "Caravaggio Betrayals: The Lost Painter and the Great Swindle" exposes the reality behind a purported display of some seventeen Caravaggio masterpieces at the National Museum of Archaeology of Malta in 2007.

Caravaggio's religious pictures offered a viable alternative to the didactic and rigorous directions of Counter-Reformation art by demonstrating that pictorial energy may reflect current Christian practice, rather than a visual exposition of the Catholic doctrine and dogma. The fact that at the turn of the seventeenth century there were in Rome three churches dedicated to Saint Thomas furnished Erin E. Baney the historical data to ground her investigation of Caravaggio's *Doubting Thomas* in the contemporary devotions to the saint's celebrated relic, namely, the finger St. Thomas inserted into Christ's wound. An entire pictorial tradition of the Doubting Thomas arguably originated from Caravaggio's groundbreaking image, which "capitalized on the powerful message of faith embodied in a story about doubt" (60). Baney convincingly intersperses visual analysis with textual evidence by citing Cardinal Borromeo's 1584 homily on the Passion of Christ as well as Cardinal Paleotti's and Alfonso Paleotti's writings about Christ's wounds, and Saint Thomas's confirmation of the agonies of Christ's

martyrdom. While any previous commentary on Caravaggio's *Doubting Thomas* focused on the power of senses, Baney bears the distinction of having pinpointed the relics and their relevance to the Christian materiality of seventeenth-century art. This is a hitherto-unexplored, outstanding tack still awaiting novel investigations into religious imagery. For Caravaggio, Saint Thomas's tactile inquiry illustrates a source of spiritual truth that may have generated the manifestation of two significant relics: the finger as a contact-relic, and the *Shroud of Turin* as an unmediated imprint of Christ's wounds. The correlation in the *Doubting Thomas* between the contact-relic and the impression of Christ's wounds on the Sacred Shroud raises awareness that early modern artists, Caravaggio in particular, put a premium on the relics' intercessional role in revealing the sacred body and becoming effective instruments of depicting sacred narratives. But as the spiritual relevance and historical legitimacy of relics sustain Baney's analysis eloquently, her visual commentary is mere iconographic and limited to Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of the same subject. While Caravaggio's depiction of Thomas's arm grasped by Christ and finger thrust into the wound depend on Dürer, he simultaneously culled from a variety of past and present Renaissance models. We can safely say that what Baney terms "Christ's spiritual illumination" (61) is a portrait thoroughly prepared by Annibale Carracci in his reiterations of Christ's portrait, in the 1585 Parma *Pietà* in particular, and referred to by Caravaggio in his 1606 *Mocking of Christ* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, and others. Moreover, if the *Doubting Thomas* interprets as the modern expression of "a sculptural group or a theatrical set rather than a two-dimensional painting" (60), then Caravaggio may be said to have acted like Donatello, retranslating pictorial compositions into sculpture while his inventions were translated back into painting by Mantegna and others interested in half-length compositions. Caravaggio continually returned to the half or three-quarter length format, which provoked much of his most radically original work.

Frances Gage's essay on the controversial Louvre *Death of the Virgin* contributes to existing views about Caravaggio's painting in no insignificant ways, helping us grasp the historical reasons for Caravaggio's breaching the Counter-Reformation rules on religious images while proclaiming his own conception of the Virgin's death in a wilful

transgression of acceptable norms. As Gages contends, in his scathing criticism of Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* the Sienese physician Giulio Mancini emphasized the stylistic fallacy of depicting the funerals of the Virgin indecorously but evaluated Caravaggio's idiosyncratic and unequivocal artistic approach (90, 92, 95, 96, 99). It must have been rather widely disseminated in the low culture of early modern Italy and Spain to direct blasphemous words at the saints and to still fathom out whores in the guise of the Virgin Mary, as Erasmus and Cardinal Paleotti maintain in their writings (90). Caravaggio would have also thought that seventeenth-century Italian burial practices for the non-nobles looked ordinary enough (96) to lend themselves to his inclusion of a whore in the guise of the Virgin Mary. Gages convincingly enlists the historical reality that Caravaggio imbibed in his original picture of the *Death of the Virgin* to create a more current image that both startles and expands the viewer's knowledge about what a radical modernist understood by subversive Marian imagery in a seventeenth-century burial scene. If ordinarieness equates extravagance, Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* is *ipso facto* an excessive image and subsumes all the hallmarks of Caravaggio's style.

The depiction of figures speaking with mouths open and vocalizing a variety of human sounds added an "auditory dimension" to Caravaggio's art, according to Catherine Puglisi's *Talking Pictures: Sound in Caravaggio's Art*. Caravaggio applied this auditory phenomenon to diversify the gamut of human emotions he thus described with an enhanced rhetorical force, which adapted sound to the subject matter in relevance to either religious themes, musicians or players compositions, as well as portraits of the saint and the Pope. This spectacular demonstration of Caravaggio's rhetorical prowess was not recognized by Bellori, but taken up by other Caravaggisti to advance their painting's dramatic apparatus and overtake poetry's advantage in the ancient maxim "painting is mute poetry." It is a well-known fact that the Caravaggisti developed Caravaggio's manner, but it should be worth adducing the impact he had on the fine arts and on sculpture in particular wherein his "auditory dimension" impacted across the field of fine arts. Bernini's Proserpine from the statuary group *Rape of Proserpine* illustrates her mouth open as if she will scream for help, and also the bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese palpably manifests

the achievement of Bernini's goal to create a speaking likeness. The animated presentation that Caravaggio accomplished by deploying this "auditory dimension" warrants comparison with the sculptors' efforts to treat such a theme, all the more in the context of an essay that seemingly intended to deemphasize the sway that *paragone* and *ut pictura poesis* held in seventeenth-century art.

The angels that populate Caravaggio's paintings conjure in the viewer references to real bodily presences, but their acrobatic poses are the mark of supernatural, celestial beings that defy the idealized and ethereal beings depicted by most of his contemporaries. As Steven F. Ostrow has perceptively pointed out in *Caravaggio's Angels*, the painter flaunted convention to immerse his angels in the radical terms of his commitment to the *vero*, namely, credibility and truthfulness to sacred imagery, "a search for the means to represent the un-representable in such a way as to render it credible both to himself and to his audience" (138). The depiction of angels yielded to the imaginative powers of Caravaggio's art more convincingly than any other subject matter he embraced precisely because Caravaggio invented an angel type that assumed corporeal form only in his art painting, but remained a fantasia in reality; in other words, it was not something that a painter could imitate from any spiritual nature, even though the reform-theologians Ambrogio Catarino and Cardinal Ottavio Paravicino urged artists to depict visions rooted in the veracity of celestial beings (143). Caravaggio's angels have precedents in both Annibale Carracci's painting and in Caravaggio's own card players while demonstrating an adherence to the *figura sforzata* and *figura serpentinata*, the recognized tropes of the Renaissance theory of imitation (141).

Complementing Ostrow's exposition of Caravaggio's unflinching fidelity to the *verosimile* and simultaneous disavowal of canonical models, Jonathan Unglaub's sophisticated paper "Caravaggio and 'The Truth of Painting'" is a further consideration of the full significance of his individual forms. A series of ambivalent gestures of pointing integrate spiritual truth with revelation in *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, and the *Madonna of Rosary* in ways emblematic to "Caravaggio's subversive realism" (168). Concurrently with Thomas Puttfarcken's ideas of the challenges raised by Caravaggio to the art of painting, Unglaub stresses the compositional conventions



Caravaggio applied to his art to both stimulate and deceive visions of quotidian reality. While Caravaggio punctuated with “the deictic gestural beckoning” (163) the unitary discourse of the sacred narrative or *istoria*, he conceived the treatment of his *Fortune Teller* compositions equally radical to standard representations of the socially marginal. He crafted a “reality effect” (150) by exposing the tensions and stratification of class and gender that erupt the abject and the material while challenging the boundaries of genre scenes. In so doing, Caravaggio accomplished more than a mere subversion of canonical low modes: he negated “any notion of conceptualizing the particular truth of the here and now into the *verosimile*” (150).

Some art historians strive to morph their conventional work into a subversive model as they allot to their name an authoritative place at the center of a topic that they claim they have advocated. The “outliers” (193) movement is rooted in Caravaggio, as Philip Sohm wittingly suggests in his brilliant “Caravaggio the Barbarian.” This aggressive and barbarian strategy to take an authority down often distorts historical realities and replaces impartiality with elusive and imaginative projections. The barbarian strategy is based on alterity and modeled on Caravaggio’s posthumous reputation in art history, wherein he is associated with the discipline’s first formally constituted “other” (179). Sohm compellingly adduces that Federico Borromeo first called Caravaggio the opposite of Raphael in *De delectu ingeniorum* (1625), and Vicente Carducho, soon after Borromeo, described him as the “Anti-Christ” and the “Anti-Michelangelo, with his showy and superficial imitation” in *Diálogos de la pintura* in 1633 (181). Caravaggio’s outliers, in their haste to speculate the fruits of antinomy inherent in stereotyping Caravaggio, simply misinterpreted the quintessence of his art, namely, that “as a champion of naturalism who poisoned Mannerism and destroyed Raphaelesque painting, Caravaggio straddled two antithetical historical roles: savior and foe of art, Christ and Antichrist” (187).

An artist’s reputation is an absolute reflection of the prices of his paintings. Richard Spear draws our attention to the fact that high prices were not an incentive for painters to adopt a Caravaggesque style; rather, the Caravaggisti competed for altarpieces and easel paintings in awareness of their economic disadvantages of being Caravaggio’s

followers (205, 209). Spear emphasizes that the chances of winning commissions were higher for Simon Vouet and Baglione, who were not classified among Caravaggio's and Bartolomeo Manfredi's diehard followers (208). Why then, in spite of Caravaggio's personal success in earning good fees (particularly for his easel pictures), did his followers rarely command comparable prices? Spear argues that Caravaggio's "startling *novità*" was the reason why knowledgeable patrons acquired his art at a time when the market's tendency was to set the highest price for classicizing works (the latter pertaining to Annibale Carracci and his followers, Giovanni Lanfranco and Domenichino, who fared better than the Caravaggisti). An additional reason was, Spear contends, the far greater supply of his followers' work when compared to Caravaggio's (212).

The pronounced materialism of Caravaggio's paintings and his blurring of the boundaries between the appearance of men and angels was not coincidental, but rather intended to respond to new ideas of corruption and change that opposed the abstract ideas of *disegno*. Elizabeth Cropper identifies this direction with Galileo Galilei's astronomical discoveries and the unique effects of applying the telescope to astronomy that challenged the ways in which artists perceived the visible world, revealingly connecting Caravaggio with natural philosophy and the painting of reality. Cropper's essay "Galileo Galilei and Artemisia Gentileschi: Between the History of Ideas and Microhistory" sheds light on "the new emphasis on natural inclination as a vital force in the anti-Aristotelian artistic culture of Rome and Florence in early seventeenth century" (233) and the mutually-profitable intersections between microhistory and the history of ideas in art. Artemisia Gentileschi's *Inclination* painting features the compass to signify her active engagement with documentary, metaphorical, and cultural strains, while the lines of blood spurting from Holofernes's neck in her *Judith Beheading Holofernes* suggest an even more direct reference to Galileo's description of the parabolic trajectory of projectiles. Artemisia's poetic interpretation of Galileo's astronomical references and the personal success she achieved as a Caravaggist painter did not survive the end of the powerful chiaroscuro, which had developed out of Caravaggio's revolution (241) and profoundly influenced a sort of representation that was hugely imitated between 1590 and 1630. Supplementary

permeated by a genuine search for truth and true fame in the face of widespread calumny and jealousy, this period still teaches us that “if we can widen the focus of our investigative telescope beyond the microscope, then it should become possible to see Caravaggio, and also those who he radicalized, including Artemisia Gentileschi, participating in the same cultural enterprise as Galileo and his colleagues—to see art and science occupying the same world, neither one subordinate to the other” (243).

Caravaggio furthermore produced an extraordinary advance in the sphere of unconventional subjects for low genre painting through his new compositions of cardsharps and gypsy fortune-tellers, which—according to Bellori—purport to stand in for reality but can only be a counterfeit. Gail Feigenbaum’s “Perfectly True, Perfectly False: Cardsharps and Fortune Tellers by Caravaggio and La Tours” analyzes how “Caravaggio exploited the obvious appeal of these subjects in order to thematize critical aspects of the role of the painter and his viewer” (253). Caravaggio’s realism misleads the unadvised viewer into believing the cunning nature of the card cheats and gypsy fortune-tellers but transforms the connoisseur and collector into a consciously and eagerly partaker of these pictures’ illusionism. Thus, Caravaggio activated “the metaphor of trickery” as it informed the roles of the painter, the collector, and the viewer of such paintings (254). Like Caravaggio, Georges de La Tour exploited the crucial element of a willing victim derived from the biblical parable of the prodigal son and from Elizabethan tales. Feigenbaum argues that Thomas Dekker’s *The Belman of London: Bringing to Light the Most Notorious Villainies That Are Now Practiced in the Kingdom* reads like descriptions of the paintings of the Caravaggisti (261). The essence of a game depending on chance (*primera*) was laden with allegorical meaning derived from the sixteenth-century poem by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, which represents in the terms of the play of a game the struggle for control of Italy among Francis I, Pope Clement VII, and Charles V. Even though Caravaggio’s and La Tour’s pictures do not operate as political allegories, their moralizing dimensions evoke the elusive senses of Cervantes’s nearly contemporary *Novelas ejemplares*, published in 1613 yet written earlier (263, 264). As indices of false appearances depicted with unprecedented truth, the cheats and fortune-tellers

paintings concomitantly opposed and concurred with the standards for sacred art production that demanded that religious painters create truthful images by means of a perfectly true technique and factual personages (268).

*Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions* reveals an exemplary effort to recast Caravaggio's identity according to the demands of his imaginative prowess in synch with seventeenth-century history. It is therefore not surprising that the destabilizing Caravaggio comes to dominate Lorenzo Pericolo and David M. Stone's edited volume, providing significant evidence to help us identify the radical nature of his talent and to determine more plausible coordinates for investigating his art. In recent years, there have been several discussions about Caravaggio that originated an orchestrated inquiry into uncovering the historical dimension of his art. The purpose of *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions* is to refine and set up an advanced context of dissemination for Lorenzo Pericolo's *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative: Dislocating the "Istoria" in Early Modern Painting* (2011), Sybille Ebert-Schifferer's collected volume *Caravaggio e il suo ambiente: Ricerche e interpretazioni* (2007), Genevieve Warwick's anthology *Caravaggio: Realism, Rebellion, Reception* (2006), as well as Horst Bredekamp's *Galilei der Künstler: Der Mond, die Sonne, die Hand* (2007) and Ferdinando Bologna's influential *L'incredulità del Caravaggio e l'esperienza delle "cose naturali"* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 2006).

Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf. *Fate, Glory, and Love in Early Modern Gallery Decoration: Visualizing Supreme Power*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013. 276 pp. + 30 color plates and 110 b/w illus. £ 70,00. Review by MIRIAM HALL KIRCH, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH ALABAMA.

This richly illustrated book presents four case studies of galleries, three of them well known: the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau; the Farnese Gallery; and the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Not so well known, but an apt and welcome addition, is the Gallery of Karl XI in Stockholm. Essentially corridors meant to lead from one place to another in a palace, galleries developed into true showpieces that

dazzled viewers with gigantic numbers of images in multiple media. Such overladen spaces were seen as powerfully linked to the person of the ruler, as becomes evident in the length of time under investigation here, from the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century. Lagerlöf's interest, the focus of her book, is the exploration of how these spaces worked with images and media to communicate messages to viewers. Particularly where mirrors were built in, as at Versailles and Stockholm, the closeness of the gallery to art theory and indeed to ideas of rulership emerges. Because such spaces were confusing even without mirrors, Lagerlöf argues that the demand on the viewer to construct meaning was a deliberate and important element of each gallery. As a space, the gallery was itself so flexible that subsequent rulers could easily adapt it to their own needs.

Lagerlöf structures her book chronologically, beginning with Francis I and the theme of changing fortune in the Fontainebleau gallery (1530–39). She briefly discusses the evolution of the gallery, including the many alterations made to it that complicate its analysis, and she recognizes the recent important contributions of other scholars to the interpretation of this difficult space. This gallery is the most private of those she discusses, accessible only to Francis or to those he invited into it. Its meaning was also deeply personal and connected to tragedies in the king's life. Spatially, the gallery was vertically sandwiched between lower rooms in which the king's collections were on display and the rooms above housing his famous, beautifully bound library. The supposedly antique sculptures the gallery originally held are gone, but there is enough left of the Mannerist decoration for Lagerlöf to demonstrate how the space embodied the sacred, esoteric nature of the French king on the one hand and on the other the thick layers of meaning associated with Francis's imagery. If we did not already know this particular king's love of arcane, humanist symbolism, we might find Lagerlöf's reading forced. However, her sensitive and careful observation of even small details combine with her knowledge of the king's interests and biography to convince the reader.

Lagerlöf's second chapter opens less densely as she sets the historical and conceptual stage for her discussion of the theme of love in the Farnese Gallery (1597–1608). The occasion for decorating this gallery with the Loves of the Gods was a family wedding, but Lagerlöf con-

nects the ambiguity of the paintings to the crisis represented by the burning of Giordano Bruno only a short distance from the palazzo. As she shows, however, the gallery can equally be seen as a response to a crisis in art, undergoing transformation (and censorship) in the wake of the Counter-Reformation. Here, as in Fontainebleau, frames and scale play major roles, but in this gallery, the most important section is the vault, completely executed in illusionistic fresco. The patrons of the gallery, Cardinal Odoardo and Duke Ranuccio Farnese, were powerful men who did not possess the illustrious lineage of their French royal predecessor, but like Francis they had their artists include symbols—imprese—referring directly and obviously to them. Also like Francis, they kept humanists in their employ to guide them in their collecting and to guide their artists in their decorating. Unlike foreigners, though, to the Farnese classical imagery was a means of tying themselves to the goddess Venus and the ancient roots of their city, Rome. Almost since its inception the Farnese Gallery has been interpreted as a Neoplatonic meditation on love, but humanists of the Counter-Reformation saw this differently from Renaissance authors. Moreover, the painter, Annibale Carracci, self-consciously, openly, and repeatedly referred to Renaissance models, but put these in wholly new contexts. Lagerlöf underscores the tension of the paintings, stating that they are “almost spitting in the pope’s face” (126), their messages about human desire toned down by the decoration of the walls. To be shocked, the prude of circa 1600 would have had to look up into the vault.

The Farnese Gallery was one of the models for the Hall of Mirrors (1678–84), the subject of Lagerlöf’s third chapter on omnipotence. Louis XIV diverged from his Italian sources and from Francis I in demanding that the paintings in this gallery should be dedicated to his own triumphal reign. This was not to be disguised in classicizing allegory, although Louis appears in classical armor. Lagerlöf emphasizes the king’s physicality, pointing out that in the paintings he is dynamically posed and never distorted by foreshortening, in contrast to other figures. This king and this grand corridor in his brand-new palace/seat of government were not hidden at all from view, to be revealed only to selected viewers. Indeed, concerns with reaching a wide audience influenced the language in which painting inscriptions were written—

French, not Latin—and led to publications in which the iconography of the room was explained, in part to counter the spread of negative attitudes towards Louis. Lagerlöf again presents her reader with close descriptions of frames, and she draws a parallel between the unreal worlds of the paintings and the reflections in the mirrors along the walls. For her the mirrors hold an “unfulfilled promise” (188), since the viewer does not see the king and his deeds in them. But surely this promise was fulfilled for the gallery’s original audience, to which this most theatrical of all monarchs once displayed himself in this very room. During Louis’s lifetime, the king in the Hall of Mirrors may have seemed not just omnipotent, but omnipresent.

The Hall of Mirrors served as a prototype for the final gallery Lagerlöf discusses, the one begun under Swedish King Karl XI and completed after his death and a devastating fire (1694–1702). Lagerlöf opens with a ravishing description of the space during the evening of the summer solstice. Lagerlöf’s intimate knowledge of the gallery—she is a professor of Art History at Stockholm University—lends credibility to her emphasis on light in the room and how it changes across the year, influencing the viewer’s reception of messages. The gallery faces north and is flooded particularly on the summer solstice by the sunlight that is absent for so much of the rest of the year. This, Lagerlöf explains, is not accidental, but results from Karl’s personal, Nordic symbolism that tied him both to the Pole Star and to the bright summer nights of his kingdom. Lagerlöf further demonstrates that under Karl the kingship of Sweden first became truly autocratic and that, like Louis XIV in the Hall of Mirrors, the image of the king informs the gallery both metaphorically and literally. His architect, Nicodemus Tessin, had traveled to France and studied Versailles closely, and he plays a major part in Lagerlöf’s interpretation. He influenced the importation of French artists to work on the palace. Particular paintings are close models of those in the Hall of Mirrors, while sculptors based their work on examples by Bernini. And yet the two galleries achieve different effects due to their lighting conditions and especially to the prominence of white stucco sculpture in Stockholm. As in other galleries Lagerlöf has discussed, such details add to the messages the space broadcasts, particularly those about the royal couple, both deceased by the time the room was finished.

Lagerlöf pulls her four examples together in a concluding chapter that returns to her theoretical base. She sees the galleries as performative spaces, influenced not simply by the imagery but also by shape, size, and the light that is so much a part of her chapter on the Stockholm gallery. She peels the rooms apart to reveal their semiotic systems, much as she intimates in her introduction.

In so doing, what Lagerlöf also does is underline the totality of these galleries. Architecture, especially when conceived as it was in galleries, as an enveloping ensemble of structure, painting, sculpture, and frame, is the most difficult of the arts to describe in text. Anything so truly three-dimensional and even four-dimensional fights against being reduced to the flatness, the sequential nature of writing and reading—and architecture usually loses that fight. It is greatly to Lagerlöf's credit that she nevertheless brings these places to thought-provoking life.

Dániel Margócsy. *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2014. x + 319 pp. + illustrations (some color). \$40.00. Review by MICHAEL R. LYNN, PURDUE UNIVERSITY NORTH CENTRAL.

In the *Opticks*, Isaac Newton demonstrated to scholars that science could be performed with a prism and some minimal damage to the blinds in your office. Other forms of science, however, require a different sort of access to materials, books, objects, or specimens. Depending greatly on what kind of scientific activity appealed to someone, this could be done in a manner which was fairly cost effective. But it could also be enormously expensive. Studying, first hand, quadrupeds which were not native to Europe, especially living samples, meant going abroad or finding someone traveling abroad willing to act as your agent, paying them to find and acquire the animal, ship it back to Europe with the associated costs of food and care, and then arranging for it to be tended upon arrival. This involved negotiating multiple forms of transportation, dealing with food supplies, and worrying that even after all the expense, the animal might die anyway. Other scholars might get away with the purchase of some scientific equipment,



such as an electrical machine or an air pump, or perhaps even just a few books. But natural historians, working on smaller items, such as plants and insects, depended on a series of other methods. Some relied on an exchange or gift system while others, including a number of savants in the Netherlands, created or tapped into emerging commercial networks. It is these Dutch entrepreneurial savants and their customers which form the subject of Dániel Margócsy's *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age*.

By way of introduction, Margócsy describes the visit of Baron Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach to Amsterdam in 1710. A wealthy man with a penchant for natural history, von Uffenbach visited botanical gardens, anatomical theaters, and cabinets of curiosity including the cabinet of the anatomist Frederik Ruysch, where he got a peek at a preserved head of young girl reputed to be so life-like that Peter the Great had once kissed it. The method used by Ruysch was a trade secret that many would have liked to have learned. Von Uffenbach visited these locations as a tourist, assuredly, but also as a consumer of scientific goods and as a critic. He was looking to augment his own collection with purchases. Margócsy uses this anecdote to bring together the themes for his book, namely the creation of commercial networks in which science, in this case natural history, could be advertised, marketed, sold, and delivered to the buyer. This new market transformed what had been a system based largely on gifts and exchanges. Science depended, in part, on knowledge exchange, but not always from altruistic motivations; sometimes savants traded in science in the Republic of Letters for commercial gain as well. Thanks to the work of mercantile companies and the infrastructure they used, disciplines like natural history and anatomy could take advantage of long-distance trade and gain access to specimens they might never have had the chance to obtain previously. The ability to gain access to such samples led, however, to an instability in their meaning. While commercialism led to increased access, Margócsy argues, it did not provide any tools for calculating the value or validity of the specimens. Savants had to provide an epistemological justification for their work that coincided with its cost.

After the introductory chapter, Margócsy presents his analysis through five case studies exploring different aspects of this knowledge

production and commercialization. Chapter 2 explores the creation of, essentially, mail-order catalogs for plant, shell, and insect collecting. These catalogues, or repertoires, differed fundamental from their Renaissance predecessors by focusing almost entirely on morphological descriptions. These books worked as reference material for someone interested in a particular item. Curiously, or perhaps not so curiously as Margócsy points out, botany, conchology and entomology produced many more such repertoires than did other fields such as zoology. The relative costs and ease of transport to ship, for example, seeds as opposed to a rhinoceros, were easily calculated. As such, the appearance of similar repertoires for larger animals was delayed until the cost of importing them was reduced. Seeds, seashells and insects, however, remained highly popular items to buy and sell. Those savants who participated in this trade could earn a considerable income. The appearance of common reference books facilitated this endeavor by enabling individuals corresponding by mail to cite specific editions and pages of books they held in common to indicate what they wished to purchase.

The third chapter examines the participation of natural historians in the book trade. Margócsy explores the publication history of works such as Albertus Seba's *Thesaurus*, a four-volume illustrated, descriptive catalogue of his own cabinet of curiosities which appeared between 1734 and 1765. In this case, Seba, contracted with two different publishers, had to make a significant financial contribution of his own to see the work through the press. He could expect, however, to earn his money back, and then some, thanks to his status as a collector. Unfortunately, he died before he could finish the last two volumes. However, his family hired ghostwriters to complete the work, although this led to substantial delays in the publication. The timeline was extended even farther when Seba's heirs made the decision to sell off his cabinet, to raise money, which made it even more difficult to base descriptions of the cabinet off of first hand observations. This leads Margócsy to a discussion of authenticity and accuracy. With multiple authors, sometimes describing the contents of a cabinet they had never seen, it was difficult to assert that Seba's work matched its claims. However, it did finally appear in print thanks to the entrepreneurial attitude of the publishers and Seba's heirs.

In the second half of the book Margócsy turns to the development of new technologies for representing the body. In Chapter 4, he looks at how anatomists preserved the human body through an examination of the ground-breaking work by Frederik Ruysch who used dyed wax, injected into the circulatory system, to preserve anatomical specimens. He claimed to have invented this method which, in turn, meant that he was able to preserve the natural world for all to see. Ruysch, as a member of the commercial scientific world, also wanted to make sure that everybody knew about his method and recognized his priority in discovering it, but without revealing the secret techniques he used. His goal was to advertise, through print media, his talents and skills as a preservationist so that people would want to buy his specimens. His books thus served a dual purpose by serving as a desirable representation of natural history objects which people could buy; but they also functioned as advertisements to lure people in who wanted to purchase objects for their own cabinets. He kept his methods, of course, secret to ensure that he was the sole purveyor of certain types of objects preserved in a particular way. From this case study, Margócsy argues for an intimate connection between the printed word, images in books, and the sale of specimens. An entrepreneurial savant, like Ruysch, could take advantage of these connections and earn a tidy profit as a result.

In the fifth chapter Margócsy turns to an early modern advertising battle between Ruysch, with his secret method of preparing specimens, and Govard Bidloo, an anatomy professor from Leiden who sought to make his fortune through the publication of an anatomical atlas, the *Anatomia humani corporis* (1685). Bidloo underpriced his anatomical specimens in order to lure people into purchasing his wares instead of Ruysch's which were, comparatively, extremely pricy. Bidloo hoped to make his money through the sales of his accompanying books. The two anatomists despised each other and engaged in a vigorous pamphlet war in which each claimed supremacy for their methods. Margócsy argues that the resulting battle reveals an underlying question over the status of the various representations of the human body each used. The success of their commercial enterprises was tied up, he suggests, with the perceived value of the epistemological assertions regarding the accuracy of their work.

In Chapter 6, Margócsy analyzes a new invention in printing developed by Jacob Christoffel Le Blon who created a technique for making mechanically reproducible color prints. To protect his potentially valuable invention, Le Blon maintained a veil of secrecy and, where applicable, applied for patents. Working in the early eighteenth century, Le Blon diligently tried to keep his processes secret even as the rhetoric of the day espoused increased openness, epitomized, at mid-century, by the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert.

By way of conclusion, Margócsy turns in the final chapter to a discussion of the scientific collecting practiced by the Russian czar Peter the Great. Peter purchased a large number of objects and instruments during the period of the Great Embassy when he traveled throughout Europe. As Margócsy argues, the circulation of knowledge was, at least in part, the purview of merchants, or at least entrepreneurially minded savants. This commercial culture of science found a particularly good home in the Netherlands, where the local economy encouraged such behavior in all areas of life, including natural history.

Margócsy's book offers a significant and subtle exploration of the relationship between science and commerce. Thoroughly researched with rich case studies, Margócsy has provided an excellent analysis of early modern scientific culture.

## NEO-LATIN NEWS

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◆ *Poets and Princes. The Panegyric Poetry of Johannes Michael Nagonius.* By Paul Gwynne. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012. XXIV + 552 pp. + 12 illustrations. 150 euros. In his *Ars poetica*, Horace advises young scholars not to rush into publishing their literary writings, but instead, to keep their works set aside for at least nine years for further revision and improvement. Paul Gwynne took Horace's advice doubly to heart, as almost two decades have passed since his doctoral dissertation, 'The Life and Works of Johannes Michael Nagonius, *poeta laureatus*, ca. 1450–ca.1510.' The result is the first comprehensive study on Johannes Michael Nagonius (Giovanni Michele Nagonio), a fifteenth-century Italian itinerant poet who is hardly even known, much less read, by Neo-Latinists today. During his extensive travelling across Europe, likely as a member of a papal embassy, Nagonius wrote panegyrics in Latin verses for an impressive array of European princes and Italian *signori*, including the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1486–1519), the king of France Louis XII (r. 1498–1515), and the Doge Leonardo Loredan (r. 1501–1521).

In Gwynne's own words, the book "presents the first full-length study of Nagonius's life and detailed critique of his work" (3). While discussing Nagonius's Latin poetry, Gwynne engages the reader in a larger historical perspective, setting the presentation of Nagonius's

manuscripts against the backdrop of contemporary historical events. The analysis of the personal and political fortunes of the individual dedicatees, the rivalry between courts and countries, and the shifting in negotiations and alliances for the control of the Italian peninsula offer a unique insight into the culture of the Renaissance courts across Europe. The major strength of this book is the masterful combination of the historical and literary approaches, which reveals the importance of Nagonius's poetry within its political, historical, and social context.

*Poets and Princes* is divided into three parts. Part I, "Johannes Michael Nagonius, *civis Romanus et poeta laureatus*," presents biographical information about the poet, which is admittedly scanty and mainly gleaned from his oeuvre. Part II, "The Panegyric Works of Nagonius," is certainly the most engaging and fascinating of the three. It discusses the Renaissance tradition of Latin panegyric poetry and introduces Nagonius's manuscripts chronologically, following the poet during his travels in the most splendid courts of Europe. Thus the poet's career is followed from the time he was an orator at the papal court to when he became a recognized itinerant poet of the highest order. Part III is a selection of the most significant passages from a large number of Nagonius's manuscripts, which are made available for the first time with an English translation and commentary. This part is particularly interesting for scholars of the reception of the classical tradition, as it sheds light on the poet's direct classical sources, such as Vergil, Statius, Silius Italicus, and others. In addition, Part III presents a catalogue of manuscripts and printed books by Nagonius, consisting of an impressive number of sources that have been scrupulously checked by Gwynne over the past two decades and completely justify his Horatian attitude. Finally, the book is enriched by several figures, maps, and plates.

What makes *Poets and Princes* stand out is Gwynne's extensive and exhaustive research, and the exquisite organization of the material, which is analyzed for its literary value and presented through an historical perspective. This valuable book is excellent in conception and execution, and reflects and augments current scholarly interest in individual poets. More importantly, Gwynne offers an unusually sympathetic approach to the Renaissance Latin panegyric, in particular to Nagonius's poetry. As a literary genre, the panegyric does not appeal to

modern readers because of its artificiality and lack of originality, and the obscurity of the convoluted Latin. Nonetheless, Gwynne revives the figure of Nagonius as a poet within his intellectual, social, cultural, and political context, making this book interesting for scholars of Renaissance literature, culture, and history, as well as scholars of the classical tradition. (Lilia Campana, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Marsilio Ficino: Index rerum*. By Christoph Kugelmeier, Peter Riemer, and Clemens Zintzen. Indices zur lateinischen Literatur der Renaissance, 3,2. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Olms, 2014. XXII + 186 pp. The volume under review here is the second part of a project that began in 2003 with the publication of an *index nominum* and *index geographicus* to the works of Marsilio Ficino. Along with the two indices, the first volume contained a bibliography, a survey of the contents of Ficino's *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1576), a list of modern editions that have been indexed, and an overview of authors, addressees, places, and dates from Ficino's correspondence. The second volume contains an *index rerum*, a subject index that offers access to Ficino's philosophical work, especially to his all-important *Theologia Platonica*.

This index does exactly what it was designed to do: offer clear, easy access by topic to Ficino's thought. The entries are arranged alphabetically and coded in a way that is easy to understand. A series of simple symbols differentiates headings and subheadings through four successive levels, with another set of symbols showing whether two headings or subheadings are equivalent, opposites, or related in some less structured way. Each reference contains one or more sigla, matched to editions of Ficino's works in a table at the beginning of the volume, along with relevant page numbers. What results are entries like "Gotteserkenntnis—↔ Quelle T<sup>2</sup> 131" that do not exactly make for exciting reading, but given that this is a work of scholarly reference rather than a novel, that does not really matter. The system is mastered quickly, and from that point on, the researcher is ready to get to work.

While I am sure that the ten-year gap between the appearance of the two volumes is due in part to the usual delays in large academic projects (other commitments that sidetrack an author, gaps in funding, etc.), I am also sure that the principal culprit was the enormous

amount of work that went into preparing this index. Ficino was prolific, which generated hundreds of pages to go through, and his thought and style are not always perfectly straightforward, which complicates the indexer's task considerably. That makes this volume all the more of an achievement. The only point I wonder about was the decision to index German terms, not Latin ones. The relevant texts are in Latin, and it seems to me that German terms force the reader to imagine which Latin words are being indexed when Latin entries would remove any doubt. But this is a manageable problem, at least for anyone who reads Ficino in Latin and controls German well.

In 2015, one can dream of the day when all of Ficino's texts will be available in machine readable form, which will render indices like this unnecessary. But until we reach that point, scholars will either have to rely on projects like this or skim hundreds of pages of Latin themselves in search of the passages that interest them. I know which option I prefer. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *De obitu Iohannis Stoeffler Iustingani mathematici Tubingensis elegia (Augsburg 1531). Ein Gedicht auf den Tod des Tübinger Astronomen Johannes Stöffler (1452–1531).* By Theodor Reysmann. Edited and translated with commentary by Dirk Kottke. Spudasmata, 156. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2013. 125 pp. 29.80 euros. In 2011 Tübingen celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of its town hall's astronomical clock, and Dieter Kottke decided to write a book that he proudly announces as an edition and translation of, and commentary on, an elegiac poem on the death of the constructor, the astronomer Johannes Stöffler (1452–1531). The poem was written by Theodor Reysmann (ca. 1503–1543/44), who was honored as poet laureate by Ferdinand I. In 1530 the plague forced Stöffler and Reysmann to leave for Blaubeuren, where Stöffler died as an old man

Kottke starts with a rather short overview concerning Reysmann's fame and the different editions of *De obitu Iohannis Stoeffler Iustingani mathematici Tubingensis elegia*. At this point the reader may have certain problems with Kottke's presentation of the dedication because text and translation are not printed, as usual, on facing pages but follow each other *en bloc* and sequentially. Luckily enough Kottke changes his method when he presents the main text, consisting of 178 elegiac



distichs full of allusions, topical inventory, and historical references, a rather difficult text that needs a fundamental commentary written by a specialist in the relevant fields. A good translation should be another special service in the case of a text like this, whose existence has only been known for a very short time and which has never been edited before. It is Kottke's lasting contribution to scholarship that he has made this poetic obituary accessible for everyone by editing it. Unfortunately he does not seem to be the right pioneer for the rest. His translation was probably inspired by the one published in part in 2011 in the *Tübinger Blätter*, which seems to have been only something called an *Arbeitsübersetzung* that was definitely not *pumice expoliturum*. Often it does not really help the reader, due to the fact that the translator is not always able to find a suitable (and single) solution: a huge list of explanations in brackets is really odd. Kottke even uses explanatory words as *wörtlich* or alternative translations, marked with *oder*. Furthermore the translation of *ad patrios lares* by using the phrase *an den heimischen Herd* suggests feelings like 'home sweet home,' which is not intended by Reysmann. In another passage Kottke seems to undergo a severe battle with the necessary understanding, inserting (*wer?*) when he cannot identify a certain person. Once he even calls his translation—marked with (???)—a *Notbehelf*. Telling his readers who Zoilus was in the translation, not in the commentary, is strange, while the commentary itself is—as a whole—a mixture of the most different elements: e.g., Kottke discusses grammatical platitudes but also offers useful information about calculating with the fingers; he mentions parallels to older texts but sometimes forgets their interpretation. More than once the author does not find the right focus or—much worse—does not ask the questions that need to be asked. Anyway, it must have been a lot of work to collect all these details, and Kottke deserves credit for having done so, but the reader would have been thankful for some categories and for some kind of system. Furthermore there are typographical errors and quite unusual expressions, e.g., when Kottke writes (23): *Im textkritischen Apparat sind die Jahreszahlen 1531 und 1534 als Referenz angegeben; ist keine Jahreszahl angegeben, liegt eine Konjektur bzw. Korrektur zu beiden Ausgaben vor; siehe dazu auch die betr. Anmerkungen im Kommentar*. He also clumsily mentions *angebaute Felder*, and Stöffler himself is buried by a funeral (*mit einer Leichenfeier bestat-*

ten). Kottke spells *Bakkalareat*, and consequently writes *Bakkalar*; his statements on the *Appendix Vergiliana* and Ausonius lack professional insight. The bibliography is an unusual mixture of primary sources and secondary literature, but as a very useful appendix Kottke gives a complete list of Reysmann's poetical oeuvre.

In a nutshell the title is promising and the author's plan is fruitful, but the book does not fulfil the reader's hopes. The topic deserves some deeper insight and less haste at the end, or at least some rearrangement. In other words: It is regrettable that the publication which is innovative *per se* did not receive some change of emphasis before becoming a volume of the renowned Spudasmata series. (Sonja Schreiner, University of Vienna)

◆ *Des Apophthegmes à la Polyantbée: Érasme et le genre des dits mémorables*. By Louis Lobbes. 3 vols. Textes littéraires de la Renaissance, 12. Paris: Éditions Champion, 2013. 2000 pp. 295 euros. *Opera omnia IV-4: Apophthegmatum libri I-IV*. By Desiderius Erasmus. Edited by Tineke L. ter Meer. London and Boston: Brill, 2010. viii + 399 pp. \$142.00. The *Apophthegmata*, a collection of shrewd and witty sayings made by particular ancient men and women, and gathered from the classic texts, appeared late in Erasmus's career. The first edition (*Apophthegmatum ... dictorum libri sex*) came from the press of Hieronymus Froben in 1531. It was dedicated to the young William of Cleves (1516–1592) and was meant to instruct him, and other noblemen like him, in the wise speech of leadership, using *exempla* from antiquity. An expanded edition (now eight books) appeared a year later. A final and corrected text (*Apophthegmatum libri octo ... denuo vigilanter ab ipso recogniti autore*) was published in 1535 (Erasmus died the following year). The collection was immensely popular, going through dozens of editions into the seventeenth century. The first translation was in German, prepared by Heinrich von Eppendorff, an enemy who suppressed Erasmus's name on the title page, and as early as 1549 the work had also been translated into French, English, Spanish, and Italian. When Thomas Nashe, in his *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1588), describes the way that Agesilaus of Sparta refused the food and drink in the country of "Thasius" (or Thasos), he probably picked the story up from the widely circulated *Apophthegmata*, not directly from Plutarch.

The two books under review are both scholarly editions of this text. The work of Dr. ter Meer is an annotated text of Books I through IV, the first of two volumes in the authoritative ASD edition of the Erasmus *Opera omnia* (ASD is an abbreviated name for Amsterdam, where the project started). The study by Dr. Lobbes (a substantial *Habilitation à diriger des recherches* directed by Jean Céard) is made up of a volume of introduction and source notes for each apophthegm, followed by two volumes that print the 1535 Latin text opposite two French translations of 1539 and 1553. To these two might now be joined volumes 37 and 38 of the Collected Works of Erasmus, a translation of the *Apophthegmata* by Drs. Betty Knott and Elaine Fantham that has appeared at the time of writing (September 2014) from the University of Toronto Press.

Despite its considerable humour and many flashes of insight, along with the always engaging presence of Erasmus throughout the text, the once widely circulated *Apophthegmata* is not that well known today. Essentially a book of political wisdom for young William and his fellow peers, it is a remarkable treasure-house of 3,085 quotations or observations by or about many ancient notables, taken and often significantly modified from Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Xenophon, Athenaeus, and many other writers. Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica* and *Dicta regum et imperatorum* in *Moralia* were the initial inspiration, but Erasmus shook apart Plutarch and a large body of other sources to reform them into a new whole. There are eight books with sayings from Spartans, Socrates, Aristippus, Diogenes the Cynic, other great men of war and politics (Cicero and Demosthenes tacked in at the end of IV), and "miscellaneous persons," such as Roman historical figures gathered from Suetonius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and the *Historia Augusta*. Books VII and VIII, "the after dinner sweets" (as Erasmus puts it), were added in the second edition. Book VII has philosophers as its theme and is based largely on Diogenes Laertius; Book VIII turns to sophists (moving "from horses to asses," says Erasmus).

A typical short entry comes from Plutarch's account of Agesilaus: [30] in ASD: *Rursus alii cuidam percontanti, quam ob causam Sparta non cingeretur moenibus, ostendit ciues armatos. 'Hi' inquires 'sunt Spartanae ciuitatis moenia,' significans republicas nullo munimento tutiores esse quam*

virtute ciuium. [The ASD note gives the marginal gloss as ‘Fortiter’ and the source as *Apophth. Laconica*, Agesilaus 29.]

1.30 in CWE: When another person asked him [Agesilaus] why the city of Sparta had no walls, he pointed to the armed citizens and said, ‘These are the walls of the Spartan state.’ This indicates that the safest defence of a country is the courage of its citizens. [The note in CWE indicates the note as ‘resolute’ and the source as Plutarch, *Moralia*, 210E.]

Most of the entries follow this style, and the overall effect is engaging—a brief scene is set, someone says one thing, and the principal speaker responds with wit and wisdom; usually right after, a commentary follows, a couple of lines to a dozen, providing the briefest of moral context or application. Erasmus has no qualms about rewriting his sources. For this, and for using a Latin translation of Diogenes, he was extravagantly attacked by the scholar Francesco Robortello, who apparently did not grasp the approach. Yet, because of his rewriting, this book of such miscellaneous speakers is nicely pulled together in the same manner as the *Adagia*, with less digression and detailed scholarly commentary.

Most of the entries in the *Apophthegmata* are gathered under the names of particular speakers, and this approach emphasizes the context of the speaker’s character as much as the particular wit of the saying (or, sometimes, wordless gesture). There is, then, a proposed model of leadership and moral thought demonstrated through the gathering together of these individual spoken styles. But there is another way of reading the book, an approach Erasmus had already discussed near the end of book 2 of his *De copia* and enacted in his expanded *Adagia*, and that was to identify the content or quality of the quotation in a system of topical classification. Thus, in the *Apophthegmata*, most of the entries have a marginal annotation (“*fortiter*” in our example) summarizing the content in a word or two. These marginal notes are all indexed by Erasmus at the end of the work, in essence turning the collection into a kind of commonplace book, very much in the tradition that Ann Moss describes in her *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996). Many later sixteenth-century editions go further and resort the Erasman

collections under the topical headings, and the *Apophthegmata* was no exception. The varied approaches are discussed by Ann Blair in her *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2010).

Because there are so few textual witnesses, the editor's job in preparing a text like this is fairly straightforward. Dr. ter Meer uses the 1535 edition (C) as her base text and provides variants with 1531 (A) and 1532 (B); historical variants from the Basel *Opera omnia* (1540) and the long-standard LB edition (1703-6) are also given. Her commentary on the sources is more complex, because of the variety and textual tradition of the texts Erasmus was known to have followed. Her introduction provides an excellent summary for the context of the *Apophthegmata*.

The edition prepared by Dr. Lobbes is a different project. Like Dr. ter Meer, he provides 1535 for his Latin text (mistakenly, I feel, presenting the marginal topical summaries as titles), noting some of the major changes from 1531 and 1532 (but not against LB), and against this he sets the 1539 translation by l'Esleu (or Antoine) Macault, dedicated to François I<sup>er</sup> and continued by "E. des Pl." (believed to be Étienne des Planches) in 1553. His edition, then, tells what happened when the text was absorbed into another language. Dr. Lobbes also provides an account of the sources in his first volume. His substantial introduction lays out the immediate context and structure of Erasmus's text, but he then goes on to see how the work is re-enacted in a French context, including comments on Montaigne and the absorption of Erasmus's text into later works such as Domenico Nani Mirabelli's *Polyanthea* (originally published in 1503, this anthology was later expanded by the addition of new material from Erasmus and other collections; Ann Blair has a thorough census of editions on her Harvard web site). Along the way, one thing I found particularly valuable was Dr. Lobbes's account of the way certain classical words (money, clothing, etc.) had been translated into French. I believe this edition should encourage analysis of the way the *Apophthegmata* (as a leading compilation of ancient wisdom) was absorbed into the French literary tradition.

The numbering is an issue for the modern reader. If you are looking up the last quotation given in Book IV, 1535 treats this as number "23" in a sequence devoted to Demosthenes, ASD calls this "1301,"

Lobbes calls it “IV, 382,” and CWE “4.373.” What happened? The quotations were numbered in the early editions using two inconsistent systems (through-numbering for some books, elsewhere a series of sequences devoted to individuals like Demosthenes). ASD has noted the inconsistent numbering inside each book but then consistently through-numbers the entire collection. Lobbes and CWE have consistently through-numbered each book, but Lobbes occasionally splits some of the entries (e.g., 1.162 becomes 1.162 and 1.163), and the split entries account for his totals. The different approaches are not easy to reconcile.

That small issue aside, anyone who has worked on a scholarly edition will know how much detailed and thoughtful effort, as well as attention to the higher criticism, has gone into these two editions. One must express gratitude to these two editors for what they have done, to Dr. Lobbes for having more securely tied the *Apophthegmata* to the vernacular tradition and to Dr. ter Meer for having given us the first volume of what will be the standard scholarly edition of this important work. (William Barker, University of King’s College and Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia)

◆ *Salmon Macrins Gedichtsammlungen von 1538 bis 1546. Edition mit Wortindex.* Edited by Marie-Françoise Schumann. Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie, 9. Berlin and Münster: LIT, 2013. XX + 507 pp. The book under review is the fourth volume in the series Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie that focuses on the French Neo-Latin poet Salmon Macrin and the third in which Marie-Françoise Schumann presents an edition of his highly influential poetry collections. In 2011 she edited Macrin’s collections published between 1528 and 1534; in 2012, the poems published in 1537. With the present volume, Schumann provides us with the first modern edition of three poetry collections (Latin text only) printed between 1538 and 1546: a collection of *Septem Psalmi* and *Paeanium libri quatuor* (1538), *Hymnorum selectorum libri tres* (1540), and *Odorum libri tres* (1546).

As in the previous volumes of 2011 and 2012, the editor gives a very short introduction (5 pages); several paragraphs on the author and the edition have been taken over verbatim from the previous

volumes. The three poetry collections fill 272 pages and are followed by an extensive word index (227 pages). In the *Septem Psalmi* of 1538, Macrin presents the seven penitential psalms in Aeolic verse. The fifty-seven *Paeans* show a pious character; the poet addresses the Virgin Mary, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and even God himself, but also friends, noblemen such as cardinal Jean du Bellay, and Macrin's wife Gelonis (1,16; 1,17). Besides sacred themes, Macrin treats contemporary events as well: e.g., in Paean 3,8, where he laments the outbreak of the plague in his hometown, Loudun.

The *Hymnorum selectorum libri tres* are dedicated to another cardinal, Jean de Lorraine. Several of the eighty hymns are addressed to influential noblemen (e.g., Charles de Valois (1.8), son of King Francis I<sup>er</sup>) or to the king himself (1,29). In this poetry collection, Macrin treats sacred themes almost exclusively, especially the Passion of Christ and the Virgin Mary. With Hymn 2,12, he explains why Christian justice outrivals the ideas of all philosophical schools. Imitation and emulation of Horace are implicit in all of Macrin's poetry; in several cases he even makes it explicit in the title of his hymns (1,4; 3,4). In the appendix to book 3 of the *Hymns* we find two poems of contemporaries addressed to Macrin (A1; A4). The third poetry collection, the *Odorum libri tres* of 1546, begins with a preface to King Francis I<sup>er</sup>. With his sixty Odes, Macrin returns to a more secular poetry; they address patrons and friends and discuss secular subjects such as love and marriage (1,16; 3,11) and contemporary events, e.g. the French victory at Carignano against the combined forces of the Holy Roman Empire and Spain (1,14).

As in the previous volumes, Schumann's edition of Salmon Macrin's poetry collections from 1538 to 1546 offers a vast amount of material for further research on this greatly neglected French poet, but, as in the other volumes, the reader might miss a substantial introduction, a commentary, or notes to the text explaining the historical, religious, and literary background. (Johanna Luggin, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck, Austria)

◆ *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3: *Dramen*, pt. 3: *Kommentar zu Priscianus vapulans und Iulius redivivus*. By Nicodemus Frischlin. Edited by Christoph Jungck und Lothar Mundt. Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt:

Frommann-Holzboog, 2014. 253 pages. More than ten years after publishing their edition of Frischlin's best known plays *Priscianus vapulans* and *Iulius redivivus*, Christoph Jungck and Lothar Mundt have now submitted the commentaries on the two comedies which reviewers had strongly called for. The results of their work, released as volume III,3 of the Historisch-kritische Frischlin-Gesamtausgabe, confirm that these demands were justified: through the lens of the commentary, Frischlin's satire is significantly clarified.

Absolutely indispensable for future studies on Frischlin's dramatic oeuvre is Jungck's commentary on *Priscianus vapulans*. Given the fact that satirical texts even from the more recent history of literature always require background information for a sufficient understanding, the lack of a commentary in this case was a real problem. Thanks to Jungck the play with its evident satirical orientation is now much more accessible to researchers, but also to a broader readership more generally. The satire on the use of Medieval Latin—by far the most important aspect of the play—is particularly well explicated by the author, who offers an extensive, well-researched analysis of the sources Frischlin used to unmask the linguistic habits in sixteenth-century academia. The passages of the main sources which Frischlin simply transferred into verses—sections from Chrysostomus Javelli's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* in Act 1, from Bernardus de Gordonio's *Lilium medicinae* and Valescus de Taranta's *Philonius* in Act 2, from Ioannes Nevizanus's *Sylva nuptialis* and Jean Barbier's *Aureum viatorium utriusque iuris* in Act 3, and from Felix Hemmerlin's *De plebanis* in Act 4—are mostly cited in their entirety. The most valuable advantage of the book is the analysis of the 'corrupted' vocabulary which the characters make use of. Jungck sought to identify all lexical elements belonging to Medieval Latin and to explain their partly obscure derivation.

Compared to the substantial commentary, the introduction is short, even excessively so. The author restricts himself to a brief contextualization of the play within Frischlin's oeuvre, some scattered comments on the secondary literature, a chapter on metrics, and a chapter on the 1578 performance. Interpretive approaches are not given in any depth, which is regrettable, because reflections concerning the direction of the impact of the satire would have been useful additions to the philological commentary. A statement discussing to



what extent the linguistic satire implies criticism of the contemporary situation in Frischlin's own university, Tübingen (as Price and Leonhardt argue), could have been expected at the very least. Debatable is Jungck's conclusion that *Priscianus vapulans* is a comedy displaying *irgendwo und irgendwann* (12) despite the time designation in verse 1510. Also if the dating (February 1517) is already contained in the source, a commentator cannot simply ignore this information in Frischlin's text.

*Iulius redivivus* is per se easier to approach for modern readers. However, for this play a commentary is still helpful, especially when it is as user-friendly as the one Mundt has produced. His work neatly balances philological comments—the sources identified are mainly from antiquity (Caesar, Tacitus)—and *realia*. Particularly detailed information is given on the humanists quoted by Eobanus Hessus in the third act. Short descriptions of content and characters at the beginning of each scene provide welcome support for the reader.

The introduction is somewhat more extensive than the one Jungck offered for *Priscianus vapulans*. In the first part Mundt offers an informative overview of the genesis of the work, including the printing of paratextual documents such as Frischlin's own description of the play. In a second chapter the author deals with the history of the subject.

Unfortunately, the two commentaries hardly ever make reference to each other. In light of the approximate concurrency of the two plays, it would be surprising if we did not find multiple examples of links between them. Also references to other works of Frischlin are scarce. Nevertheless, a final judgement on the book can only be positive. Scholarly focus on Frischlin's comic plays will for a long time be based on Jungck and Mundt's well-researched volume. Hopefully the book will also promote the use of these two plays as classroom texts. (Simon Wirthensohn, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck, Austria)

◆ *La citadelle de la vertu ou La véritable tranquillité de l'âme / Arx virtutis sive De vera animi tranquillitate* (1627). By Jean van Havre (Joannes Havraeus). Edited and translated by Stéphane Mercier. *Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia*, 37. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014. 224 pp. 65 euros. Contained in this book is

an edition of three satires written by the Flemish poet Jean van Havre (1551–1625). Van Havre, who was lord of Walle, in the region of Lokeren near Ghent, lived and studied in Italy and France for more than a decade, after which he returned home and rose to prominence in Ghent, where he became an alderman. Toward the end of his life he began planning a work on the duties of the good alderman, for which he composed a preface in verse. He lost interest in the larger work but continued with the preface, expanding it and tripling it in size. This poem, which became the *Arx virtutis*, was ready for publication at van Havre's death in 1625, at which point his friends took over and saw it into print in 1627.

The work has a somewhat complicated publication history. The shorter version was published in Ghent in 1621. The longer version, which had swollen to more than nine hundred verses and was divided into three books, was finished when van Havre died and was seen through the Plantin-Moretus press in Antwerp by Gaspard Gevaerts. The volume under review presents both versions, first the 1627 version, then the first one as an appendix. Mercier adds a brief introduction as well along with notes to the principal text. The notes do a good job of identifying sources, which reveal the poet's mastery of a body of classical sources in which Stoicism occupies a privileged place and Latin prevails over Greek. Seneca, Publilius Syrus, Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Claudian, and Juvenal are cited often, with Martial and Persius appearing less often and contemporary authors like Erasmus and Palingenius also present. It is to Mercier's credit that he does more than simply cite parallel passages, adding some commentary and references to events from van Havre's time as well. Dirk Sacré has provided a second appendix, "Elf onuitgegeven brieven van Iohannes Havraeus aan Casperius Gevartius (1621–1623) en een brief van Nicolaus Burgundius over Havraeus." These unpublished letters provide considerable insight into the material circumstances of the publication of van Havre's satires.

This edition in itself offers little, if anything, for the reviewer to complain about. The text is faithfully reproduced from the early printed editions, the translation makes it accessible to the reader whose Latin is wobbly to nonexistent, and the accompanying apparatus places the *Arx virtutis* into both the culture in which it was produced

and the tradition of Latin satire from antiquity to the Renaissance. My only hesitation goes back to the conception of the project itself, which serves to bring back to life a figure whom Mercier freely admits had passed into virtual oblivion (17). This is always a worthy goal in Neo-Latin studies, but in point of fact the number of readers who are passionately interested in van Havre is unlikely to be large, and one wonders whether their interests would have been served almost as well by consulting the exact same text as it appears in the 1627 edition, which is not a particularly rare book and is also available both online as part of the massive digitalization project at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and on microfilm from the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. One could argue, though, that this is more a decision for the financial arm of the Leuven University Press to make, and that we should applaud the republication of another Neo-Latin work in a well prepared modern edition. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Musica incantans*. By Robert South. Edited and translated, with commentary, by Dennis Miedek. *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie*, 10. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013. IX + 112 pp. In 2006, after having conducted his first New Year's Concert with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Mariss Jansons told the world that music as the language of our hearts and of our souls should become even more important in our lives. Robert South (1634–1716) wanted to express (nearly) the same sentiment through his marvelous Neo-Latin poem *Musica incantans* (Oxford, 1655), which was famous in his day and later but is almost forgotten now, since the text was never edited or translated. Dennis Miedek successfully changed this regrettable situation by editing, translating into German, and commenting on the 358 hexameters in his master's thesis. A supervised paper as part of the rather new but quite renowned series *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie* has to be considered as a very special case indeed: The curriculum of Osnabrück University made it possible by offering a specialization in the field of Neo-Latin Studies to exceptionally talented and learned young people. That is what Stephan Heilen tells us in his introduction about the promising young scholar whose first book seems to be the successful product of a rather ambitious

project: the publication of a very interesting and substantial text.

*Musica incantans sive poema exprimens musicae vires iuvenem in insaniam adigentis et musici inde periculum* is an ingenious mixture of genres. A young man gets angry after having eagerly listened to the beautiful (and fatally dangerous) music he explicitly begged for. Finally he kills himself by jumping into the sea. The musician gets accused of murder, defends himself in the manner of an *orator*, and is—luckily enough—allowed to leave as a free man. Different layers are artificially interwoven: mythological elements and protagonists and speeches in the courtroom, romantic scenes and the detailed description of symptoms of madness. In the very end music rules everything—the musician is another, better Orpheus.

Working with his sources and the (many) different manuscripts and printed editions, Miedek shows profound knowledge. Nowadays, this is rather atypical for a standardized master's thesis. Miedek draws a precise stemma and clearly shows that the text was revised between 1655 and 1667. Unfortunately, when talking about some printer's errors, he does not comment on this topic in much depth. Miedek does begin to unpack South's learned style, which is full of allusions, but in some cases he does not mention the obligatory parallel texts, nor does he interpret the vast number of *loci communes* or give enough details about them.

It was definitely the right decision to print the more recent text of 1667 because it is the last version approved by the author himself and gives insight into the process of publication and interpretation, since it carries some different readings and emendations. Miedek's translation is quite good but is sometimes a bit colloquial or unnecessarily complicated, as when it is used as an *additamentum* to help the reader on his way to a deeper understanding of the text. In some cases Miedek remains too much on the surface, e.g., when he does not inform us about the (Neo-)Latin motif of talking with hundreds of tongues. It seems to be normal that not all the information given in the commentary shows the same depth of thought; sometimes there is too much paraphrase or the exact citation is missing. When Miedek comments on the rape of Philomela, the use of *virgo* has no sarcastic meaning—cf. the Ajax-simile, which is not witty. Generally speaking, what Miedek calls “wit” is not that, but there are at least

parodic elements in the text. Finally, it is always a problem to resort to metrics as a desperate solution to a problem, and Dryden's work on satire is not secondary literature, but an important primary source in the history of classical scholarship.

It is a pity that there are some misprints and misspellings, but they do not really diminish the book's importance; furthermore it should be *ovidisch* and not *ovidianisch*, which makes a difference in the diachronic understanding of Ovid's own work and its influence in later ages. When Miedek mentions *furor poeticus* he should have mentioned Marsilio Ficino as well, and a note on the *septem artes* would also have been useful. There are some repetitions, but this is true for many, not to say most, books. To conclude: Miedek's 'premiere' is impressive, the work he had to do was enormous, and the result is more than promising. Let us wait eagerly for his second book. (Sonja Schreiner, University of Vienna)

◆ *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer*. Edited by Tom Deneire. Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts, 11. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014. X + 327 pp. \$149. One of the great ironies of cultural history is that the elevation of Latin to the undisputed lingua franca in Renaissance Europe took place at the same time that all of Europe experienced an increasing appreciation for the vernacular languages. This phenomenon has generally been interpreted within a binary scheme, with the elitist Neo-Latin culture on the one hand set in opposition to a popular or bourgeois culture on the other. A group of Dutch scholars, however, has spent the last decade exploring this issue as a more complex and dynamic matter of cultural poetics, to use Stephen Greenblatt's terminology. Beginning in 2004 Jan Bloemendal received a large grant from the Dutch Organization of Scientific Research (NW) to study the bilingual theater culture of the Netherlands during the Renaissance, which was followed by a second grant in 2009 that studied how several Dutch poets who wrote in both Latin and the vernacular were received in Germany. The project was expanded in its later stages to include the dynamics of Neo-Latin and the vernacular more generally, which led to the book under review.

The volume opens with a methodological intervention by Jan Bloemendal that essentially constitutes a response to ten questions that had originally been posed by Nikolaus Thurn in *Neulatein und Volkssprachen* (Munich, 2012). This is followed by the first of two sections, entitled “Language and Poetics,” that explores the question of cultural exchange on a micro-level. The volume editor begins the section with a study of Dutch occasional poetry from the years 1635 to 1640 that shows how dangerous it is to try to construct larger generalizations from the interaction between Neo-Latin and the vernacular poetic repertoires in this specific area. Using the eleven volumes of Pieter Bor’s *History of the Dutch Revolt and the War against Spain* (1595–1634), Harm-Jan van Dam explores the co-existence of both Latin and vernacular liminal poems in an important Dutch book of the Renaissance. Johanna Svennson in turn studies the division of labor between Latin and Danish in the speech community formed by the clergy in the province of Scania in the late seventeenth century. Ümmü Yüksel’s paper discusses two poems written by Martin Opitz in praise of Daniel Heinsius, which allows us to see how the figure of Heinsius can serve as both a representative of Latin learning and a symbol of Dutch literary and political nationalism. Eva van Hooijdonk extends this approach to the collection of Latin epigrams on Prince Maurice of Nassau that Hugo Grotius composed around 1600 to accompany a series of engravings depicting various Dutch successes in the revolt against the Spanish. The Maurice epigrams end up becoming an interesting way to mediate the transition from the German newsprint context in which the engravings originated to a self-consciously nationalistic context of Dutch vernacular poetry.

The second section, “Translation and Transfer,” explores the process of cultural dynamics on the macro-level, with a focus on translation and cultural or knowledge transfer. Annet den Haan explores why Giannozzo Manetti believed that a translation into the vernacular can never be a good translation, while Beate Hintzen looks at a series of poems connected to Martin Opitz to bring out the role of Greek within the contact between Latin and vernacular literature, and Guillaume van Gemert follows a treatise of Hugo Grotius from its beginnings as a work of self-apology in a Dutch context through a Latin translation in which the theological content stood front and

center to a series of German translations, one of which made its way into the hands of a Swedish general. Ingrid De Smet in turn shows how Jacques Auguste de Thou was forced to rely at least in part on the vernacular jargon of sixteenth-century falconers in his efforts to write on the subject in Latin. Bettina Noak returns to a theological focus with a study of paratexts as a means of knowledge transfer in an early modern encounter with Hinduism written in Dutch, while David Kromhout studies the changes in the discourse of the early seventeenth-century Leiden humanists by focusing on three bilingual Dutch poets, Daniel Heinsius, Jacob Cats, and Hugo Grotius. Ingrid Rowland closes out this section with a fascinating study of the interplay between Latin and vernacular in Vitruvius's sixteenth-century readers. The concluding chapter, again by the volume editor, brings together the dynamic model of bilingual interaction to shed light on allied issues like *imitatio / aemulatio*, translation studies, and transfer studies in the Renaissance. The volume also contains a selected bibliography of relevant secondary works.

Unlike a good number of books containing essays by various scholars, this one has a strong methodological and thematic unity that makes the whole more than the sum of its parts. It is worth noting that Philip Ford's important book *The Judgment of Palaemon: The Contest between Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetry in Renaissance France* appeared recently in this same series, to which we owe a considerable debt for advancing discussion on a topic of growing interest in Neo-Latin studies. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Poésie latine à haute voix (1500–1700)*. Edited by L. Isebaert and A. Smeesters. Brepols: Turnhout, 2013. 238 pp. This collection of eight articles in three languages (English, French and Italian) brings together the proceedings of an international meeting held in Louvain in 2009 on recited Latin poetry, and more specifically on voice-directed poetry. This is original because Latin sung poetry, which was also used in reading, recitation, and of course theater, is often left aside. In a clear introduction, the authors note that, if the pronunciation of Latin (6) has already been the subject of studies in the tradition of Justus Lipsius, for example, work on the various types of "voice directing" is in its early stages, and indeed we must pay tribute to the book for

this.

The first part (11–101) includes three studies, one on secular Paris colleges and two on the Jesuit colleges. The use of the Latin language in the various pedagogies has been known for a long time, but the authors properly linger on elocution, whereas most studies concern *actio*. Matthew Ferrand takes the example of Ravius Textor and shows the extreme originality of the literary construction of his *Dialogi* and *Epigrammata*, which are exercises in declamation, but also phonetics and recitation that would be called performance today (32). Together with pronunciation, such training is the basis of the seventeenth-century manuals of the Jesuits, and, as Gregory Ems reminds us (53–65), it is primarily a practice that leads to the theater. If Dirk Sacré and Tim Denecker claim not to be at the heart of the subject of the book when they talk about Joannes Lucas, a Parisian Jesuit from the seventeenth century, we take this statement for a *captatio benevolentiae* because the article shows us how he has his place between Father Cressolles and Father Caussin, well-known Jesuit scholars to whom numerous essays have already been dedicated. Lucas has, for example, extremely modern ideas about the relationship between language and behavior (99) that obviously go through the learning of *actio* in oratory.

The following two studies (111–31 and 133–49) emphasize what the authors call the “Roman model,” real or fictional. The model is real when Stefano Benedetti evokes the show given at the Capitol Theatre by Leo X in Rome in September 1513 to mark the honorary citizenship granted to Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici. These shows were meant to return to the ancient theater and even saw a staging of Plautus’s *Poenulus*. It is true that the author tells us in great detail how these shows, musical interludes, and the various tables were conducted, but it is hard to see how this study fits the subject of the book, that is, the issue and the forms of poetry read aloud. However the second study shows how, in the story of a fictional event (a poetic competition that would have taken place in the villa of Leo X), the Roman model of “good spoken Latin,” of purity and of elegance that includes gestures, will be diffused, starting with the people, staged as a spectator (138).

The third part, which includes studies on Latin sung poetry, involves musicologists and transports us through all the Latin European



territories of the modern era, i.e., Italy, rather unsurprisingly, but also France and Bavaria. Christophe Georis presents the works of the poet Aquilino Coppini, who wrote Latin poetry exclusively intended to be sung, especially in mystical experiences. Defining an original method of confrontation between the Latin text and the Italian hypotext of some motets, the author shows how the Latin language, undereroticized if compared to the more explicit Italian language, is the vector of the mystical approach, leading as it does to ecstasy and thereby announcing the baroque era (184). The article on the songs of Pierre Perrin, a French musician of the seventeenth century, fills a bibliographical void for this author whose music and lyrics have indeed been well studied, but by French scholars only. By focusing on Perrin's production in Latin, the author shows us how there was an awareness of the musicality of the Latin language even in the seventeenth century, which also allowed the importation of the Roman practice as a model and the highlighting of the genius of French music as it was about to impose itself (203). Bavaria is the focus of the last article in this book, with a case study of the musical theater of the Jesuit Franz Lang, who was active in Munich between 1695 and 1707. This clarifies how Latin brings musicality into use as a religious language, even if using Latin can be synonymous with excluding a significant part of the audience. The last three studies are extremely important in the book because on the one hand they show that Latin is a language that has been used in all areas of art and science for a long time, and on the other hand they inform us about the technical modalities of pronunciation, the phrasing and interpretation of this language, and the effects it could produce.

Every article is followed by a full bibliography, which eliminates tedious searches in a general bibliography on a variety of topics. The book ends with a section by the editors that demonstrates that studying spoken Latin in the modern era is an example of interdisciplinarity, and we must thank the authors for this challenge. (Florence Bistagne, Université d'Avignon—Institut universitaire de France)

◆ *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400–1700)*. Edited by Karl Enenkel and Henk Nellen. Supplementa Humanistica

Lovaniensia, 33. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013. xiv + 526 pp. A few commentaries, such as Servius's on Virgil, have achieved escape velocity and been published separately from the texts that prompted them in the first place. But most commentaries are parasites: well-intentioned, symbiotic, but parasites all the same. Texts can usually survive without commentaries, but the reverse is unusual. If commentaries are parasites, what is scholarship on commentaries? "Big fleas have little fleas, / Upon their backs to bite 'em, / And little fleas have lesser fleas, / And so, *ad infinitum*." Or so it once seemed, before scholars like Gérard Genette, Anthony Grafton, and Glenn Most showed the usefulness of these parasites, not just to their host texts, whose prestige they upholster, but to literary history and the history of education. Renaissance poetry, where it had classical models, was influenced by bad interpretations as well as good ones, and there is no better record of how classical authors were taught in school than obsolete, error-ridden, parasitical commentaries.

This new collection of commentary scholarship originated at a 2010 conference of mostly transalpine scholars, but all of the papers have been filled out and polished since then. They have also been indexed: a labor that may have been cheerless in the performance, but will surely extend the usefulness of this volume, not only forward in time (to answer questions we cannot anticipate), but also to scholars whose main concern is not commentary per se. There is not space here to summarize all thirteen essays (a task which the editors have already performed on 70–76). Instead, I wish to consider the collection as a whole. What does it add, and where does it leave us?

In answer to the second question, what is the *status quaestionis*, the long introduction by editors Karl Enenkel and Henk Nellen is probably the clearest overview of Renaissance commentary—the variety of its methods, typography, organization, and contents—that anyone has written so far or is likely to write in the near future. One big conclusion, which accumulates over several papers, is that commentary did not develop during this period, so much as sway or list. Features that seem new in later commentaries can usually be exemplified in the earliest commentaries as well (even if they aren't typical there), and later commentaries still perform the same functions as older commentaries: correcting errors in transmission, glossing unfamiliar

vocabulary, guiding students through knotty syntax.

A second conclusion is that commentary's scope was larger than we usually imagine. Biblical and literary texts are the most familiar objects of commentary, but there were also commentaries on scientific and legal texts, such as Pliny and Justinian, as well as modern texts, such as Antonio Beccadelli's *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum* (1455). We think of commentaries as keeping old texts accessible, but (as these papers demonstrate) commentaries were also a site for ongoing debates in theology and a matrix for accommodating new discoveries in science. Hence the second part of the collection's title, *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge*.

On page 4, the editors lament that previous scholarship on commentaries has been "unsystematic and has therefore not led to the development of any theories regarding the practice of commentary (comparable to the theories which the debate on textual editing has yielded in abundance)." This new volume does little to change that; apart from Valéry Berlincourt's essay on digressions in Caspar von Barth, there is little theorizing. A few essays, such as Susanna de Beer's on Pliny and Bernard Stolte's on legal humanism, carve a wider path, but most are case studies. There is even one essay, by Volkhard Wels, about a lecturer, Daniel Heinsius, who refused to write commentaries, on the grounds that commentary is a grubby activity, incompatible with poetic feeling. But "exceptions are important, too" (215), as Craig Kallendorf shows in his essay on Virgil commentary and marginalia. Theories choke on exceptions, but taxonomies thrive. This collection amounts to a taxonomy of commentaries and may actually prove more useful than a theory would have been. (David Scott Wilson-Okamura, East Carolina University)

◆ *Neo-Latin Philology: Old Traditions, New Approaches*. Edited by Marc van der Poel. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Radboud University, Nijmegen, 26–27 October 2010. *Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia*, 35. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014. 208 pp. 59.50 euros. As the headnote indicates, this collection of essays originated in a conference held in Nijmegen on the methodology of Neo-Latin philology. More specifically, the participants gathered to reflect on how the growing interest in the materiality of literature

might affect their work in medieval and Renaissance Latin and Italian literature. The question they asked themselves was, how might the material presentation of a text, in either manuscript or print, affect the interpretation of that text?

The first two answers to this question are theoretical: Haijo Westra notes that interest in the material aspects of medieval codices has restored a measure of objectivity and verifiability to a field that had been destabilized by a focus on the social construction of texts, while H. Wayne Storey concentrates on the copyist and the fascicle to show how changes in the production and construction of manuscripts leads to “contexts of interpretation” (40). The seven papers that follow are devoted to one author or work. Christoph Pieper draws on the so-called new historicism to show how Basinio of Parma used textual corrections, markings, and Greek quotations to fashion himself as author, in negotiation with those who he hoped would read his *Hesperis*. Marianne Pade follows Niccolò Perotti’s *Cornu copiae* from the manuscript presentation copy through a series of early editions to demonstrate that the way in which the text was set out helped effect a change in its status, from a commentary on Martial to a lexicographical handbook. David Rijser in turn studies a manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2742) that contains a commentary on Horace’s *Ars poetica*, to show that the significance and value of the commentary can only be appreciated when the manuscript that carries it is placed in its proper social and intellectual context. Werner J. C. M. Gelderbom uses the poetry of Johannes Secundus as his test case, which demonstrates that Secundus revised his poetry before sending it to the printer to soften its tone, because he understood that print was a public medium that required conformity to public moral standards and greater attention to the relationship of the parts to the whole. Marc van der Poel’s essay on the *Emblemata Horatiana* uses a series of printed editions to track how this illustrated commonplace book moved farther and farther away from its Horatian origins into a modern Christian context. Tom Deneire in turn studies a rare play by Johann Lausemberg, *Pompeius Magnus*, to define what he calls an “intertextual materiality” (172), in which the development of Lausemberg’s poetic and stylistic anachronism is traced to his use of the commonplace books, antiquarian volumes, and philological

dictionaries of his day. Finally Nienke Tjoelker turns to John Lynch's *Alithinologia* to show how material philology places the work in its social context, from which new conclusions can be drawn about both Lynch's career and about reading and writing more generally by Irish exiles in the seventeenth century.

The methodological concerns explored in this book go back to a famous collection of essays in medieval studies that was published in the 1990 volume of the journal *Speculum*. These essays launched the so-called new philology, which deprivileged authorship, original context, and the authentic version of a text in favor of studying the various forms a work may acquire through its medium, the role that people other than the author play in constructing texts, and the various meanings a text is given by successive communities of readers. The authors of these essays agree that material presentation, in manuscript or print, contributes to interpretation, but they argue that the author comes to the fore more clearly in the Renaissance than in the Middle Ages and that the printing press allows for a more stable presentation of both author and text than the codex. In other words, they accept the focus on materiality from the new philology but not the French poststructuralist theory on which it was originally based. This position will not appeal to every reader of these essays, but everyone can, and should, use this collection as a way to think about how the material form in which a text is encountered affects its meaning. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)