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Stephen Fleck. *L'ultime Molière. Vers un théâtre éclaté*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2016. 144 pp. €49. Review by DAVID HARRISON, GRINNELL COLLEGE.

In a recent Parisian *mise-en-scène* of Molière's final comedy, *Le Malade imaginaire*, actor Daniel Auteuil (who also directed the production) brought great pleasure to the audience with his playful rendering of the clueless hypochondriac Argan. Eschewing any melancholia—an idea based on the fact that Molière nearly died on stage while performing the title role—Auteuil interpreted Argan as a joyful nincompoop, ready to bend over and get his umpteenth enema as if receiving an invitation to the *lever du roi*. Stephen H. Fleck, who emphasizes the infectious pleasure of Molière's final comedies, would have undoubtedly enjoyed Auteuil's performance while regretting the director's choice—standard practice—of eliminating the musical and dance numbers that precede Argan's entrance and follow each of the play's three acts. For *Le Malade imaginaire* is a *comédie-ballet*, a theatrical genre invented by Molière that combined music, dance, and acting in a proto-operatic form. As Fleck points out, Molière's untimely death cut short the development of this new genre, as did the monopolistic privileges on musical performance, which Louis XIV granted to Jean-Baptiste Lully. Had he lived longer, Molière might have been defined principally by the *comédie-ballet* rather than the genre of *grande comédie* for which he is largely known today.

In five succinct chapters, Fleck argues that Molière's *comédies-ballets* represent a fundamentally different theatrical experience than that given by the *grandes comédies*, one that obeys its own logic of verisimilitude and character development. Shuttling back and forth between *grandes comédies* like *Tartuffe* and the later *comédies-ballets* like *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, Fleck makes many insightful comments that, together, form a persuasive argument about the esthetic evolution of Molière and the need for critics to consider (and, presumably, for actors to perform) the musical and kinesthetic aspects of these later works. While Fleck is certainly not the first to discuss the unique elements of the *comédies-ballets*—and, indeed, his book draws from the considerable bibliography of studies that have examined these

works—he proposes an original comic theory to analyze the works and uses this to great, if somewhat repetitive, effect.

After an Introduction that discusses the abbreviated history of the *comédie-ballet*, in which both Lully and Nicolas Boileau have a hand in strangling the genre, Fleck uses his first chapter to review the many different theories of the comic heretofore applied to Molière's work. Finding all of them incomplete, Fleck identifies the work of English anthropologist Gregory Bateson as having the greatest promise for understanding the comic world of the *comédies-ballets*. This is because Bateson gives great importance to the notions of play and paradox, which Fleck sees as essential to Molière's later work. As opposed to the *grandes comédies*, such as *Le Misanthrope*, in which the foolishness of a main character is disciplined by the corrective laughter of other characters, the *comédies-ballets* present protagonists whose folly engulfs the other characters, and laughter becomes a form of participation in these protagonists' absurdity. The sense of festivity—of contributing to an upside-down world, such as when Monsieur Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* is transformed into a *Mamamouchi*—is enhanced by the presence of music and dance. Hence, theories of comedy that propose the audience's superiority over the comic "victim" must be revised to account for the fact that everyone at the end of a *comédie-ballet* takes part in the victim's lunacy.

Chapters Two and Three fit nicely together, since one analyzes the evolution of the comic character from the *grandes comédies* to the *comédies-ballets*, while the other analyzes the evolution of *vraisemblance* from the earlier comedies to the later ones. In both chapters, Fleck identifies a sort of "liberation" in the *comédies-ballets* for both the main characters and for the plays themselves, since neither are constrained by rules governing behavior or esthetic verisimilitude. Thus, Fleck suggests, "les protagonistes de ces dernières comédies-ballets se libèrent progressivement de leurs attaches initiales à une vraisemblance conventionnelle" (77). Instead, these characters enter a new form of playful verisimilitude, "une vraisemblance ludique" (86). Developing this latter idea in a nice turn of phrase, Fleck says that "la célèbre *lucidité* satirique des grandes comédies se voit remplacée par une *ludicité* reflexive de plus en plus déclarée" (92, Fleck's emphasis).

Chapter Four discusses the creation of a “spectacle total” in the *comédies-ballets*, in which the action of the play becomes subsumed to a carnival-like atmosphere of noise, movement, and artifice. Words themselves, as with Argan’s gibberish Latin sermon pronounced at the end of *Le Malade imaginaire*, become a series of sounds, equal to the sounds produced by the orchestra accompanying the play. This festival of notes, phonemes, and physical gesture brings the *comédies-ballets* into dialogue with the farcical tradition of Molière’s earliest comedies, while also suggesting the development of modern opera. In his conclusion, Fleck sees in the eccentricities of the *comédie-ballet* the signs of a new dramaturgy that celebrates illusion and perplexity, pointing toward the plays of Beckett and Ionesco.

While the thematic organization of Fleck’s book allows him continually to compare different works from Molière’s career, this organization also reveals Fleck’s preference for *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* and *Le Malade imaginaire* over all the other *comédies-ballets*. Had Fleck adopted a linear chronology for his study, he would be forced to give equal attention to *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* and *Les Amants magnifiques*, explaining how these works fit within his general theory of the genre. Instead, Fleck consistently returns to *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* and, especially, *Le Malade imaginaire* to illustrate his ideas. This leaves one wondering whether Fleck’s analysis truly applies to the *comédie-ballet* in general or only to certain of its most interesting examples.

Moreover, given Fleck’s well-justified critique of literary scholars who ignore the musical and dance components of Molière’s later works, the author spends remarkably little space analyzing the prologues and *intermèdes* of these works. Argan’s relationship to his family in *Le Malade imaginaire* gets considerable treatment, but what about Argan’s relationship to the Egyptian women who entertain him during the second *intermède* of the play? How does the musical encomium to Louis XIV, which opens the play, fit within the carnivalesque atmosphere Fleck attributes to the work as a whole?

The fact remains, and Daniel Auteuil’s production demonstrates, that excising most of the music and dance from a *comédie-ballet* still leaves a decent comedy that most audience members will enjoy as a unified work that represents the spirit of Molière. While this may violate

the playwright's intentions, it nonetheless testifies to his enormous skill as a comic writer, whose words continue to entertain even outside of the multidimensional spectacle in which they were originally placed.

Francis Assaf. *Quand les rois meurent. Les journaux de Jacques Antoine et de Jean et François Antoine et autres documents sur la maladie et la mort de Louis XIII et de Louis XIV*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2018. 322 pp. €68.00. Review by DENIS D. GRÉLÉ, UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS.

In *Quand les rois meurent*, Francis Assaf focuses on the two kings who dominated most of the seventeenth century, Louis XIII and Louis XIV, and more specifically, on their deaths, which seem to have nothing in common. Louis XIII, a pious king, lives his last moment fearing God, while Louis XIV, ever the master of himself, rules almost to the end. And yet, in *Quand les Rois Meurent*, a book presenting the many manuscripts that depict the last few days of Louis the Just and Louis the Great, Assaf shows that many similarities can be drawn. While Henri III and Henri IV were both assassinated and had little time to present the spectacle of their death, Louis XIII and Louis XIV died in plain view. As Assaf explains, both kings—affected by fatal diseases of the era (Louis XIII from Crohn's disease and Louis XIV from diabetes)—expired almost as though on a theater stage, propped up on their beds, surrounded by their doctors and families, and closely watched by their court. In his book, Assaf retells the dramatic events through the journals of renowned memorialists, inept medical practitioners, or the unassuming servants of those two kings.

In the first part, Assaf looks at the death of Louis XIII, using the writings of some of the celebrities of the time: Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, better known as "La Grande Mademoiselle," Françoise Bertaud (Madame) de Motteville, Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson and, of course, Saint Simon, who was not even born yet, but whose father was a close acquaintance of Louis XIII. More interestingly, he includes the more modest figures of Pierre Porte and Richard de Bury. By means of Jacques Antoine, Assaf is able to retell in precise details the careful staging, almost hour per hour, of the king's long agony. One of the most fascinating aspects of this presentation is the cultural atmosphere

in which the death of the king occurs. Assaf is able to reveal how the authors' retelling Louis XIII's death were drawing deeply to the Baroque movement with its plays on shadows and lights, its mystical attraction, and its dark realism. Assaf presents with humor the outrageous apologies given to Louis XIII, which, even for the time, reached extremes rarely seen before.

In the second part, Assaf draws upon the Antoine brothers, Dangeau and Saint Simon (who was a first-hand witness this time) to retell with precision every gesture and action leading up to the death of Louis XIV. Using his broad knowledge of the period, Assaf interprets the historical documents he has at his disposal to underline the political games as well as the implications and importance of the staging of Louis le Grand's death. The agony of Louis XIV shows not only the power exerted by his medical team, and the patience of the suffering king, displaying his humanity but also how much Louis XIV was aware of the predominance of his political body over his physical body.

The third part of this volume consists of the original texts regarding the death of these two kings, first the journal of Jacques Antoine on the death of Louis XIII, followed by the journal of the two Antoine brothers, Jean and François. Added to these two important texts are fragments of Louis XIII's will, the full text of Louis XIV's will, as well as a few documents related to the Antoinettes' life.

This well-crafted presentation of the death of two major political leaders in the history of France could have benefited from an introduction linking the two events with greater clarity. For example, Assaf could have explored the difference between the two monarchs insofar as Louis XIII dies as a true Christian, with humility and fear of God, whereas Louis XIV stays the king until the end. Is that a difference of character or does it express a deeper transformation in French political culture? The link between the political body and the physical body is clearly explored and beautifully presented. One of the best moments of this presentation occurs when Assaf explains the level of adulation for Louis XIII, and the absurdity of some of the elegies. But one may wonder about the purposes and deeper intentions of such discourses. To what extent were these speeches part of the monarchical propaganda machine? Was it customary at the time to compare the king to God? Is it possible to know the reception of those discourses?

One may regret likewise the overstated assertions that the doctors of both kings were ignorant and pretentious, for this does not add much to the argument. For historical purposes, Assaf retains the original texts with their spelling and punctuation, which can make the reading challenging at times. If the choice of keeping the links (“ligature”) may be questionable, the desire to preserve these writings as presented is commendable and valuable for specialists.

Despite a few misgivings, Assaf’s book has an undeniable historical importance: it brings together documents that are not easily accessible; it presents those documents clearly and accurately; and, most of all, it separates what is fact and what is fiction. Assaf’s knowledge of the time period, its culture, and its people contributes greatly to the understanding of the events and the texts presented. The work of a specialist, this text is meant for an audience of specialists.

Peter Sahllins. 1668. *The Year of the Animal in France*. New York: Zone Books, 2017. 491 pp.+ 13 color illus., 135 b&w illus. \$25.39 Review by DENIS D. GRÉLÉ, THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS.

1668, France is victorious in Flanders; Condé takes the Franche Comté; and the animals make “a dramatic entrance onto the stage of French history” (11). In this most recent book from Peter Sahllins, the reader is taken back to the decade of Louis XIV’s seizure of power, not on the back of a war horse but on the wings of the birds of the royal Ménagerie. In this well documented and richly illustrated volume, Sahllins explores the role of animals and their influence on literature, the arts and sciences at a turning point in France’s history. Alive in a cage, lying on a dissection table, or drawn on paper, animals take over in the newly redesigned gardens of Versailles, at the royal library in Paris, and in the salons of the Parisian elite. Divided into three parts, the book opens with a preliminary section that looks at the source of “the year of the animals” in the literary accounts of the now-demolished Ménagerie of Versailles. The two chapters focus on the living animals, and on the civilizing influence they exerted upon literature, in particular on La Fontaine and Madeleine de Scudery.

The second part is dedicated to “the afterlife of animals.” Three chapters consider how animals continued to influence French culture after their death. Chapter 3 revolves around the influence on the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins, well known for its tapestry, in particular through the drawing of Pieter Boel and their renditions by various artists on the tapestries. Chapter 4 examines the scientific afterlife of animals and how they were at the center of scientific debates, especially around the figure of Perrault. Chapter 5 plays on the link between humans and animals in the description of passion and physiognomy with the exploration of the works of Charles Le Brun.

The third part revisits the world of science, literature and art but by the light of a new conception of absolutism, what Sahlins calls Absolutism 2.0. If the second part of this monograph toyed with the idea of the blurred relation between humans and animals, the following part shows how, if there is still play between the two, the tone is now more oppositional and belligerent. As the royal power of Louis XIV asserts itself, rather than seeing the positive and social qualities of animals in human beings, humans are increasingly understood as beasts with their own ferocious and unsocial nature. Chapter 6 shows how Jean Denis’s experimentation on blood transfusion from animal to animal and then from animal to human is quickly brought to an end by the royal power, bringing order into the world of science. Chapter 7 looks through art and essentially literature at the chameleon, an animal that was believed to nourish itself just by breathing air (a symbol of purity) and which becomes a metaphor for the perfect courtier (a symbol of vices and dissimulation). Chapter 8 at last, comes back to Versailles and to one of the now-disappeared fixtures of the gardens, the labyrinth. If the first chapter gave the reader a rare opportunity to look at one of the vanished treasures of Versailles, la Ménagerie, the last chapter contrasts it with the labyrinth. Sahlins demonstrates the ambivalence of the two places and how they display their oppositions and their inherent contradictions: the Ménagerie, with all its animals and its noises, represents a place of beauty, grace, and peace while the labyrinth, set in the peaceful royal gardens, embodies the violence and brutality of human nature. Here, the ferocity inherent in animals and humans is recalled through stories and scenes inspired by Aesop. One loses oneself in a chaotic world deprived of its center,

calling for a supreme authority to restore peace and order. And Racine with Poussin to conclude: the judgement of a dog in the comedy of *Les Plaideurs*, highlights human madness while *Eliezer et Rebecca* sees animals disappear altogether from History.

Through the unusual lens of the history of animals and their representations from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, Peter Sahlins illustrates impeccably the conflicts and tensions that occurred between 1660 and 1670, going from the assertion and rejection of the Cartesian idea of animals as beast-machines to the classic quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, then to the relations between the subjects and their sovereign. Sahlins never falls for the easy over-symbolization, in particular for Versailles. He is very quick to challenge in a playful and often humorous way overreliance on allegory. The book so admirably links the text with the quotations and pictures the reader never gets lost trying to find from outside sources a picture mentioned in the book. One reservation is that, while all titles and short quotations are in French and English, Sahlins sometimes makes use of long quotations in English without giving the French original. For a bilingual reader, it feels at times that, despite the author's concerted effort to render the text as close to the original as possible, some of the power of the words and the playfulness of the original text are lost. In addition, if Sahlins is at ease with the canon of American historical criticism, in particular with the German Norbert Elias and his vision of the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV as a domestication of nobility, it is unfortunate that French historians, even the most established such as Jean-Christian Petitfils, Daniel Dessert or even the more controversial François Bluche, find no place in the arguments, especially that dealing with Nicolas Fouquet. Sahlins tends, indeed, to send Fouquet, *the surintendant des finances* around 1660, to the dungeon of History without giving him a fair trial. This being said, those few debatable judgments should not diminish the brilliance of this work. Sahlins is able to bring to life Versailles and its history without falling victim to over-theorization. Indeed, if Sahlins makes initial use of modern critics such as Foucault and Derrida, the reader is only too happy to see them disappear quickly after the introduction.

This book is addressed to all from the casual reader interested in Louis XIV and Versailles to historians, art historians, philosophers and

literary critics. Sahlins is remarkably able to demonstrate an impressive knowledge of the time period without ever falling into pedantry or obscurity. The argument is fully documented and clearly presented. Even for the non-animal lover, one finds intense pleasure in reading this important page of French history through the stories of the animals.

Élodie Bénard. *Les vies d'écrivains (1550–1750): Contribution à une archéologie du genre biographique*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2019. 440 pp. \$57.60. Review by IVY DYCKMAN, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR.

The notion of writers writing about the lives of renowned writers is neither a current nor unusual practice. These works attract a diverse audience. Authors might glean insight into the process of constructing a literary biography. Readers might be drawn to the intimacies of a writer's life. Others might view a critical biography as a cultural, political, and/or social barometer of a discrete historical moment. All might simply be both intrigued and inspired by the life of a remarkably talented person and thus consider the biography a tribute, a way to honor brilliance despite character flaws. The American author, poet, and critic Jay Parini wrote on this very topic in the September 16, 2015 international edition of *The Guardian*. Having just completed a non-fiction account of the life of Gore Vidal, he was prompted to draw up a list of his ten preferred literary biographers since the post-World War II era. As he noted in that brief piece, "important lives make for Important Lives." The author of *Les vies d'écrivains* would most surely concur.

Élodie Bénard's treatment of French literary biographies over a two-hundred-year period is a reworked version of her doctoral dissertation on this topic. The original subtitle, "*développement et mutations d'un genre (1570–1770)*" (7), more accurately describes the way in which she tackled her investigation, notwithstanding the slight modification of the time frame. Although the seventeenth century is the primary focus of this journal's readers, the changes that occurred during this period do not begin and end within the confines of an arbitrary time designation. The biographical form of the sixteenth century impacted its successors in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and all of the following

centuries, including our own. In fact, certain Lives of writers (*les Vies d'écrivains*), with the upper case "V" or "L" denoting biography as opposed to just existence, were written posthumously, in a later century and literary era. Bénard's meticulous description of the metamorphosis of the literary biography over the course of the early modern period is supported by the extensive footnotes and bibliography as well as the appendix of questionable attributions. That her study follows the strictures of typical French thesis construction facilitates the logical flow and clarity of her arguments and examples. Accordingly, she identifies three principal phases in the evolution of literary biography during the years in question: *la période rhétorique*, *la période mondaine*, and *la période historique*. Together they tell the story of what we today recognize as biography and account for the reasons, as listed above in the opening paragraph, why the public would want to read about the Lives of distinguished writers.

The first part of Bénard's investigation deals with the beginnings and gradual metamorphosis of literary biography. In the opening chapter, she covers the years 1550–1650, *la période rhétorique*. During that time, homage made to extraordinary individuals essentially excluded *hommes de lettres*, who were not considered deserving of the praise reserved for illustrious statesmen and military leaders as well as for miracle-performing clergy. Funeral orations of antiquity provided the template for eloquently honoring the Life of a great one. They were formulaic, based on the rules of rhetoric, specifically *l'enkômion*, which expressed praise for virtues, heroic actions, and various other distinctions such as education, family, and even physical qualities. This type of biography or Life, *Vie*, as it was then considered, somewhat embellished reality. It portrayed the ideal man of the time, *l'homme de cour*, a person of noble or aristocratic background. One of Bénard's examples of *la Vie éloquente* is Claude Binet's *Discours de la vie de Pierre de Ronsard* (1586), written on the occasion of the funeral of the "Prince des Poètes" (31). Binet idealized Ronsard as a gentleman of the court who, as a *nouveau Virgile*, ensured the transfer of Greek and Roman letters (the concept of *translatio studii*). By depicting him as a celebrated French poet, a direct descendant of the poets of antiquity, Binet transformed the ancient "*Vie d'illustre*" into a biographical tribute composed in French.

La période mondaine, which encompasses the latter half of the seventeenth century, is the subject of the second and final chapter of the first part of Bénard's study. From 1650 to 1700, the concept of a grand and eloquent biographical depiction evolves into a more realistic portrait whose non-heroic subjects resemble *honnêtes gens*, an audience consisting of the upper and middle classes. *La Vie éloquente* would finally become *la Vie d'écrivain*, a "*petite Vie*" (117) as opposed to one that was grandiose. The author whose life was showcased would be portrayed as an *écrivain-galant homme*. The purpose of this refashioned biography was to make the gentleman author attractive to people like him. The device of the anecdote was incorporated into the Life to render it less pedantic and more realistic for readers who expected veracity as well as pleasure and diversion from such a text. Bénard offers several examples as evidence of *la Vie d'écrivain*. Among the Lives referenced, she brings special attention to those written about Malherbe, Cyrano de Bergerac, Molière, La Fontaine, and Benserade.

Bénard concludes her thesis in the second part with *la période historique*, which encompasses the first half of the eighteenth century. It is here that the reader can clearly recognize the beginnings of the modern-day literary biography. The *persona* of the writer appears less as a hero or *galant homme* who appeals to certain defined audiences. By contextualizing him as someone whose actions are subordinate to reactions to and observations of his world, the focus shifts to the interiority of the writer. This deeper, seemingly psychological aspect of an *homme de lettres* is due to both the quest for a truthful yet intimate representation. Thanks to the influence of *Mémoires* and *nouvelles* in the eighteenth century, writers as subjects of biographies are perceived as both historical and fictional (*romanesque*) figures, which render them closely identifiable with the public at large.

Bénard's analysis serves as a worthy contribution to literary history. Often, we do not realize that a celebrated author is not larger than life and that it took at least two centuries to finally conceive of the writer as an authentic person whose vulnerabilities mirrored those of many of his readers. We learn, for example, that Jean-Léonor Le Gallois Grimarest brought this personal side of Molière to light in his biography of the noted playwright, *La Vie de M. de Molière* (1705). While the public may have viewed Molière as a severe, witty critique of French

society, he was, according to the astute observations of Grimarest, a philosopher at heart who could not seek pleasure in contemplating the world because of the turmoil in his private life: a young, unfaithful wife to monitor; a theatrical troupe to manage; and a king to please.

Jeffery N. Peters. *The Written World: Space, Literature, and the Chorological Imagination in Early Modern France*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press. 2018. xii + 260 pp. + 9 illus. \$99.95. Review by THOMAS P. FINN, OHIO NORTHERN UNIVERSITY.

With his *The Written World: Space, Literature, and the Chorological Imagination in Early Modern France*, Jeffery Peters assumes the unenviable task of discovering what and where literary art is and how it comes into being. The result is a rigorously researched work, providing rare and penetrating perspectives on a number of prominent texts from the titular era. With abundant references to works from classical antiquity to today, in an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion, Peters discusses the ineffable Greek concept of “chora,” defined several ways, (often describing what it is not) to explore its possibilities as a “locating principle” (17) that leads to “an event of language” (25) without having any location or existence itself.

In his introduction, Peters explores the neglected role of space in literary art. He explains Early Modern texts are thought to extract readers from their particular “physical world” because it is secondary to the universal values these works convey (6–7). Countering this notion, Peters reminds his readers of new discoveries in astronomy during the era, which made authors and readers more mindful of the notion of space. Stating that space’s essence is neither matter nor “absolute nothingness,” and therefore unknowable (10), Peters shows readers a path to approaching the Greek concept of “chora” using Plato’s *Timaeus*.

A complex discussion of what Plato thinks “chora” is—a kind of “betweenness,” “the excluded middle,” “a Kind invisible”—and is not—“space, a place,” a material substance, “an idea” (16–17)—ensues, and it is here Peters could have made a clearer connection to subsequently discussed texts so readers could better follow the complicated

notion he elucidates. Indeed, the author says Timaeus admits it is a “baffling” and “perplexing” concept, seemingly violating “the law of noncontradiction.” Peters agrees, admitting that “the complexities of this problem” return often in his book (17).

In chapter one, Peters uses Boileau’s *Art poétique* to enlighten readers on the “event of language” (Peters’s emphasis, 25) that is “chora,” describing it as a convergence of “the poetic and the cosmological” (29). While Peters notes the “verticality” of Boileau’s text—Boileau insists one must be “born a poet” (33), as if appointed by God on high—he highlights the *Art poétique*’s dual status. For example, still attached to the here and now, Boileau stresses the importance of the rules of good poetry. Yet Peters also affirms Boileau would undoubtedly agree with the importance Bouhours attaches to the sublime, the “je ne sais quoi” (48) that comes into being with “chora.” Thus, Boileau emphasizes “the rule of breaking the rules” (45) so as to move poets’ audiences while eschewing an overly rules-based style. Consequently, Peters believes Boileau’s work embodies the conflict between opposites (e.g. part/whole, universal/particular, 48–49) despite its reputation for poetic regimentation and prescriptive solutions.

Peters includes a section on La Fontaine’s *Fables* in chapter two, but his analysis of Molière’s *La critique de l’École des femmes* better illuminates the return to the idea of the je ne sais quoi’s power to conjure literature. Peters features Dorante’s comments asserting dramatic art has its embryonic stage through very different audience reactions to each performance. He suggests Molière believed dramatic art’s very being is born among those differing reactions (77). Although Peters cites Donneau de Visé’s *Nouvelles nouvelles* as a depiction of contemporary audience responses to *La Critique* or *L’École des femmes* (77–78), he offers surprising little historical evidence about them, which may have helped contextualize such an important claim.

Using “distance” and “proximity” figuratively, Peters shows that Molière plays on this dichotomy to generate comic portraiture, the playwright’s form of art. In *L’École des femmes*, Agnès is hidden from society, meets Horace while Arnolphe is travelling, and is reunited with her father who has spent years in America (79). Whereas tragedy traditionally maintains distance from spectators due to its royal characters or affairs-of-state themes, Molière’s creations not only “resemble us,”

but “often *are* us” (Peters’s emphasis, 80). The characters are replaying a discussion spectators probably had after seeing *L’École des femmes*. For Molière, this resemblance eschews universal literary rules, preferring “the local” and the precise to bring art into being (80).

In chapter three, Peters references Pierre Macherey to remind us that discovering “the literary thing,” identifying the rapport between poetry and place in Corneille’s theater, seems impossible (90–91). Stipulating that conventional criticism finds “le grand Corneille” between *Médée* (1634) and *Horace* (1640) (88), Peters chooses *L’Illusion comique* (1635) because its “*betweenness* of beginnings,” (Peters’s emphasis, 89) its engagement of the nature of “poetic invention,” its treatment of the literary and location prove fertile ground for hypotheses crucial to his book (89). Peters claims Corneille’s “dramatic invention” comes forth from the “seams and sutures” between the multiple genres that make up the play (104–105) while authorial origin is disguised in the characters dialogue. (111). Thus, *L’Illusion comique* generates a “hidden art” that, much like “chora,” “locates [Corneille’s] art without itself having location” (111).

Peters chooses Racine’s *Andromaque* and *Bérénice* in chapter four as exemplars of a kind of “thirdness” (128) necessary for the birth of art. Although Astyanax and “chora” offer intriguing comparisons in *Andromaque*, his stronger argument is with *Bérénice*. Recalling contemporary critics’ denunciation of Antiochus as unnecessary, Peters defends his “crucial structuring role” that “partakes of both extremes” (128)—Titus and Rome vs. Bérénice and the East—but belongs to neither. Only Antiochus can express the secret thoughts Titus and Bérénice dare not utter, yet he cannot influence their fate.

Chapter five includes an Early Modern mapmaking lesson. Peters says, under Henri IV onward, cartographers shifted from “verbal description” of their subjects to more “visual language” (164). This resembles geography as seen in d’Urfé’s *L’Astrée* where pastoral landscape is always a place and an idea (151) in between which “chora” finds itself. Peters claims that d’Urfé never aspires to an accurate depiction of the place his shepherds inhabit, but rather sets a scene appropriate for their talk of terrestrial love and of “the divine heights” of which they dream (156). Thus, *L’Astrée*’s “chora” is not a place, but rather a “soothing ‘elsewhere’” opposed to city or court life (147). It is a “gen-

erating principle” and “unlocated creative force,” (145) unfolding a landscape where the novel “becomes” (174). Closing the chapter, Peters highlights the dual and sometimes contradictory characteristics of this novel that is “local” and “grounded” yet “cosmic” and “abstract” (175).

Repeating twice a chapter five passage (164–165) in chapter six (191, 203), Peters affirms that “atlases” were called “theatrum” during much of the seventeenth century, a change in nomenclature key to understanding geography’s function in Lafayette’s *La Princesse de Clèves*. He stresses Lafayette’s more grounded geography, also seen in Madeleine de Scudéry’s *Promenade de Versailles*, to show how “literary art [reflects] on the origins of art” itself (205). Accordingly, he analyzes the scene where the princess gazes at the portrait of Nemours, probably *Le siège de Metz par les troupes impériales* by Antoine Caron, ca. 1560 (186). As in much of Lafayette’s novel, the painting’s description, what the princess sees, is kept from the reader. Rather than an opportunity to share her vision, Peters claims the tableau stands as a point of contact between history (the siege is historical fact) and fiction while diluting the ties holding them together (186).

Noting this narration-over-description style replete in Lafayette’s novel, Peters suggests the author heeds Tacitus’s admonition against overdescription when it serves only to highlight writers’ talents. Consequently, she privileges her characters’ actions and interior psychology—the novel’s real plot—over the geography they occupy. Paradoxically, then, the representation of the princess’s surroundings convinces because of its absence, redirecting the readers’ attention to the action of the characters’ inner worlds (191).

Peters’s brief conclusion references Sainte-Beuve’s definition of a French “classic”: an exemplary work but one with a “conceptual absence” (210), since a true classic defies definition. He uses this concept to offer, in negative terms, perhaps his clearest definition of “chora,” which “is neither place nor space,” nor an organizer of opposites (213). Indeed, Peters proffers the seventeenth century itself as a sort “chora” as it deals with seemingly incompatible concepts (e.g. idea and its manifestation) (211). Reinforcing his point, he cites Patrick Dandrey’s claim that the seventeenth century prolongs the Renaissance while anticipating the Enlightenment, seeing it as a dialectical “intermediary period” known only, Peters underlines, by “its effect” (212–13).

The uninitiated, like your reviewer, may require more than the usual number of rereads, but Peters's tome, with a helpful index and copious biographical notes, is an astute and insightful journey into an immensely significant era. Its esoteric subject can lead to wording that could lose the reader (cf. Aristotle's idea of *topos* 102). And some potentially appealing parallels between Peters's work and Barthes's reader of a "texte scriptible" from *Le Plaisir du texte* remain unexplored. Nonetheless, *The Written World* is a rich and enriching book, offering a fresh and illuminating approach to some of France's most influential Early Modern works. It is well worth the time of any serious researcher of the period.

Émilie Picherot. *Les Musulmans d'Espagne dans les littératures arabe, espagnole et française, XVème–XVIIème siècles*. Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2019. 591 pp. €59. Review by DAPHNE MCCONNELL, BENEDICTINE COLLEGE.

In the introduction to this examination of the place of the Muslim in the literary imagination of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain and France, Picherot draws a comparison between the early history of the "Espagne des trois cultures," which experienced eight centuries of religious tolerance and a resulting cultural richness ("culture de mixite"), and the role of Islam in contemporary Europe (7). The author underlines the very different literary perspectives of Grenada, the Alhambra, and the Muslim presence in Spain, depending on the literary context. In French romantic literature of the nineteenth century, the "Maure de Grenade" is an exotic figure, without nuance. From the perspective of Spanish literature, the representation of the Muslim in Spain is much more complex, ranging from the noble characters and brilliant culture represented in the *romancero*, to the "Other" that figures in the literature of the period of the Reconquista (8). For the Arab-Muslim reader, the Muslim of Spain was a figure who was chased from the land that he loved above all else, a paradise that was praised by generations of poets, and Al-Andalus serves as a symbol of the injustice of Christianity (8), but also as a symbol of a period of decadence in the Muslim-Arab world (9).

The author states in the introduction that the original intent for this analysis was to examine the intertextuality between Arab, Spanish and French literatures in the evolving figure of the *romancero* through the differing linguistic, historical and literary contexts (9–10). However, upon examining the corpus of literature included here, the author realizes that this is, in fact, the wrong question and elects, rather, to examine the role of the *Moro*, the common figure in this entire body of literature, from very different ideological perspectives (10). Peninsular literature, whether from the Spanish or Muslim perspective, can be divided into categories of before and after 1492 (13). Spanish literature of the Golden Age examines the question of Spanish identity through the figure of the *romancero* (13). Prior to 1492, Spanish-Arabic literature sought to establish its legitimacy in relation to the rest of the Muslim world; after 1492, Spanish-Arabic authors seek to establish their legitimate right to exist in a Spain that is attempting to erase their presence (13). The *Moro* begins to figure in the literary imagination of France of the seventeenth century for several reasons. At the time, France experienced a certain fascination with Golden Age Spain and its economic and cultural flourishing (14). But also, the Andalusian context served as a framework for examining questions of national identity and religious tolerance within France after the wars of religion and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (14). Also through its expanding colonial empire and its alliance with the Ottoman empire, France in the seventeenth century was confronted with the need to understand Islam and the Muslim world, and the figure of the *Moro*, which arrives in France through the filter of the corpus of Spanish literature, was at the same time familiar and “other,” and thus was an object of literary fascination (15).

Picherot points out that previous studies of these literary works have focused on the evolutionary aspect. How does the figure of the *Moro* evolve from the Arabic context, to the Spanish, to the French (16)? The subject of this work is different: here the character of the *Moro* serves very different functions in different contexts. Spanish-Muslims and Spanish-Christians are telling very different stories about the history of Spain, and both are staking a claim to their legitimacy through these literary works (18–19). The *Moro* serves the same purpose in the French literary imagination of the seventeenth century,

which also seeks to understand self in relation to the Other.

The first chapter of this book, "Définitions, contextes et corpus," addresses the degree to which the bodies of work it considers engage with the question of "Hispanité" or Spanish identity. It addresses at the outset a previous debate that took place during the 1960s and 1970s, between the theorists Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (23). Castro's position is that "hispanité" rests in the moment of cultural symbiosis among religions (Christianity, Judaism and Islam) in the peninsula, and that in expulsing Muslims and Jews, Christian Spain destroyed an element of its own self or identity (24). Sánchez Albornoz's position is the contrary and insists on the impossibility of the coexistence of these three faiths (24). Picherot asserts that these definitions of "hispanité" represent a false dichotomy (25) and that the question that this work seeks to address is that of how these different authors or literary contexts express Spanish identity from their own cultural perspective or try to carve out a sense of belonging (31). The author seeks to counter the historical tendency to oversimplify the three cultures (citing, for example the Arabic-speaking Christian Moor) (38) and rather seeks to explore these literatures with a view into the nuance and complexity of cultural identity (39). To this end the author primarily considers the representation of "Los Moros" in the *romance fronterizo* and the *romance morisco* (49–50) and the degree to which these texts express ambivalence or sympathy towards "los moros" (49–50).

The second chapter, "Homogénéité ou Hétérogénéité," challenges the notion (as mentioned in the introduction) that the representation of Spanish Arabic identity evolves, or that of tracing the origins of myths of "los moros;" rather it suggests looking at representation as reflective of its historical and social context. "Il faut donc construire un outil d'analyse propre au corpus et qui permette de rendre véritablement compte de cette impression de lecture qui fait que l'on ne ressent pas les Moros des *romances* du Cid de la même façon que ceux du *romance fronterizo* » (77). This chapter highlights the complexity of the relationship to "los moros" in Spanish literature. For example, Picherot suggests that, in the case of the *romanceril*, the Muslim is considered as an "Espagnol possible," (107) or that the corpus of the *romances fronterizos* can be divided into two groups, interpreting events

from either a Christian or Muslim point of view (108). Rather, this work compares the ideological discourses in these works in order to move beyond mere research of literary origins and to analyze more profoundly the differing and complex perspectives regarding the presence of Muslims in the peninsula (172).

The third chapter, "Le lieu comme légitimité," engages with the question of Spanish Muslim and Christian relations to geographic space. Picherot asserts that, for Spanish Muslims, their "Arab-Muslim" identity has always been problematic as they are on the fringes of the Muslim world, and that they identify as truly Spanish and emphasize their relationship to the land in order to defend this identity (175). "La littérature arabo-espagnole puis morisque est une littérature directement liée au pays » (177). The Christian perspective is to establish an authentic or legitimate relation to the land after the expulsion of Muslims, particularly through the theme of "la limpieza" (262). This chapter includes an in-depth analysis of the cycle of "el rey Rodrigo" as "une propagande vieille chrétienne" (269).

The final chapter, "Travestissement et identité," primarily addresses the place of the "moro" in the French literary imagination of the seventeenth century. Picherot states that "le roman français du XVIIe pose la question de l'appartenance européenne d'une façon différente» (348). As mentioned in the introduction, in seventeenth-century French literature, the question of the role of the Muslim in Spanish history addresses contemporary questions such as "la mixité religieuse," and gaining a greater understanding of Muslim culture through the relatively familiar context of Spain in order to better understand the culture of the Ottoman empire, with which France was allied at the time. "Ce personnage miroir offre au romancier français non seulement l'occasion de trouver un décor romanesque codifié et immédiatement identifiable mais aussi de s'interroger sur ce qui fonde l'identité sociale et communautaire» (348).

This work provides a contemporary perspective on complex identities and the tension between their connectedness and difference in popular Spanish literary works; it also engages with lesser-known texts in Spanish and Arabic from this perspective. It is relevant in our own times as we face complex questions of national identity and relation to the other, and the role of literature in the construction of identity.

Véronique Lochert, Marc Vuillermoz, and Enrica Zanin, eds. *Le Théâtre au miroir des langues: France, Italie, Espagne XVIe–XVIIe siècles*. Travaux du Grand Siècle N° 48. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2018. 688 pp. \$57.60. Review by GUILLAUME TOURNIAIRE, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON.

This valuable volume of essays offers a linguistically comparative, encyclopedic study of theatrical terminology in use in France, Italy and Spain, from the second half of the sixteenth century to the first decades of the seventeenth. It provides a contextual understanding of shared and differing concepts and practices, and how these figured in determining the trajectory of each culture's drama and theater as part of their respective national project. The authors begin with a Saussurean argument that what is defined as theater is done so through the vocabulary used to describe it. Since what exists can be found in the language used, we therefore ought to examine these words closely, in connection with one another, and across languages. This book thus traces the emergence of the theatrical lexicons of three countries that are geographically and linguistically proximate, influencing and borrowing from one another in countless exchanges through culturally porous borders. France, Italy, and Spain depart from a shared starting point, vernacular descendants of a common Romanic ancestry, negotiating with their past in varying ways. Their communal discourse centers around a proposed poetic and discussion on practice.

The time period represented is intended to illuminate a hinge point in the development of theater after the Renaissance, at a time that national practices were formalizing in these three countries. These interrelations allow for effective comparisons. For instance, while France and Italy showed the importance they placed on the ancient model by using a dramaturgical vocabulary drawn largely from Greek and Latin, Spain displayed their distance from this approach – and the rules adopted as a result – by preferring terms borrowed from their contemporary language (13).

This text enters into a constellation of reference works, including period-specific dictionaries, bilingual and trilingual dictionaries for the purpose of translation, glossaries of theatrical terms, and encyclopedic theater companions and handbooks, and aims to combine the utility

of all these. It attempts to improve on previous work by providing historical and linguistic context, and by avoiding the more narrowing restrictions of a single language, country, genre, author, or play. The project builds on *Le Vocabulaire du théâtre de la Renaissance en France* (1540–1585) (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1997), a rigorous linguistic study conducted by Teresa Jaroszewska, one of the contributors to the present volume.

The authors take inspiration from and seek to improve upon Jaroszewska's model, which also traces the development of theater during a key period, using a body of work composed of theoretical texts, plays, period dictionaries, and architectural treatises (10) and which therefore serves as a roadmap for this larger exploration. This book is also modeled after Evangelina Rodríguez Cuadros's large, online Spanish drama dictionary project, the *Diccionario crítico e histórico de la práctica escénica en el teatro de los Siglos de Oro*. In addition to offering definitions and illustrative citations, both resources present alongside each term an accompanying list of words related by meaning, thus establishing a continuing series of connections.

In some ways, this project could be seen as a continuation of the work begun in *Travaux du Grand Siècle* N° 45, *Les mots et les choses du théâtre: France, Italie, Espagne, XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2017), which was reviewed in this journal in vol. 76, nos 3 & 4: 198–202 by Perry Gethner. That earlier volume of the same series featured seventeen articles on the theatrical lexicon of these same three nations and period. It also sought to bring together the language and elements of the theater in a linguistic study of paratextual elements and explore how this illuminated dramatic and theatrical practices of the period. The present volume, however, takes this idea further, examining each topic “horizontally,” across each of the three languages, cultures, and traditions and examining their interrelation through a three-fold “knitting.”

The authors tap into an enormous corpus of work from the period, including general dictionaries of these vernacular languages, scholarly works, plays (especially metatheatrical ones that reveal much about theater-making), works of non-theatrical fiction (describing how theater was perceived in daily life), non-fiction accounts (memoirs, gazettes, letters, newspapers), anti-theatrical diatribes, and paratextual

materials (dedications, prologues, arguments, prefaces). This body of evidence is organized into eight chapters, embracing all areas of dramatic art, from the creation to the reception of plays, from theater theory to the practices of the stage (17). These include Theatrical Genres, Paratexts, Dramaturgy, Aesthetic Notions, Craft and Techniques, Theatrical Spaces, and Reception.

This conceptual organization allows the reader to trace the journey of drama, beginning with playwrights as they develop a more modern sense of authorship, and move towards audience reactions and critiques that inform the plays through social, intellectual, cultural, and moral lenses. These chapters are further subdivided into a series of topics, each beginning with a term presented through a linguistic breakdown that resembles a trilingual thesaurus. These are followed by a more detailed examination of that particular concept through language, culture, time, usage, and context. This entire network is easily navigable via end matter resources, including a table of contents with subheadings and also multiple indices. Altogether, these allow the reader to jump directly to a passage of interest and move around the entire project freely and easily.

This book does not pretend to offer an exhaustive list of all terms, but crafts defining sections in essay form, each focusing on an aspect of the self-conception of theater in this period, growing from each nation's inquiry into its classical past to create its present and future. While the editors take on this project in the spirit of a medieval mirror "seeking to restore a coherent image of the theater of the early modern era," (13) I would liken the effect—depending on the divergent or confluent nature of the concepts in the chapter in question—to a refracting prism or unifying triptych.

While presenting these terms in succession across three such closely related languages might seem to be a straightforward task, the challenges to this project are quickly made evident. Misconstrued or misunderstood "false friends" of close cognates readily appear, where the same idea might be expressed using very different vocabulary; or, the same root word might mean significantly different things in each situated practice and culture. In addition to these slippages, there are the complications of scholarly language, professional technical jargon, pejorative terms used by enemies of the theater, and different

contemporary usages. Being chiefly about the confrontation of diverse national practices, however, this text nimbly negotiates these linguistic parallels and disparities.

This volume offers the theater historian a clarifying look at the crossovers and differences in dramatic practice of early modern continental Europe. Likewise, it provides a valuable tool for dramaturgs and translators working on of plays from the period, helping one to understand them contextually in terms of both the language and culture in which they are originally situated, as well as external cultural and linguistic influences. This reader felt invited to consider how these artists themselves conceived of their theater, especially at moments of intersectionality, such as Corneille approaching *El Cid* and contemplating how to adapt it for the French stage, or the influence of Tiberio Fiorilli's *commedia* troupe on Molière's *comédies*.

Thomas A. Donlan. *The Reform of Zeal: François de Sales and Militant French Catholicism*. St. Andrews, UK: University of St. Andrews, 2018. iv + 144 pp. Free. Review by SUZANNE C. TOCZYSKI, SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY.

In light of a recent renewal of interest in the interdisciplinary field of peace studies, this slim volume by historian Thomas Donlan brings a welcome and gentle corrective to scholarship focusing on “the nexus between devotion and violence” (3) during the French Wars of Religion through a careful examination of the work and writings of the seventeenth-century Savoyard and Bishop of Geneva, St. François de Sales, with a particular focus on the saint's spirituality of *douceur*. Engaging with critical analyses from seventeenth-century Jesuit Louis Bourdaloue or his contemporary Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, to those of contemporary historians Jill Fehleison, Linda Timmermans and others, Donlan convincingly argues that de Sales was not merely an enthusiastic evangelist in the predominantly Calvinist region of the Chablais, he also sought to reform *Catholic* militancy as embodied by members of the so-called Holy League, a political confraternity dedicated to eradicating the Huguenot menace from France by any means necessary. Embracing an approach of non-violence and gentle-

ness, François de Sales promoted a Christocentric vision, exhorting “the faithful above all, to love God and neighbor in a spirit of joy, [and] speaking rarely of the dangers of heresy, the body, or sin” (123). “Salesian *douceur*,” Donlan notes, “constituted a moral vision of a nonviolent Catholicism formed in the crucible of religious strife and violence” (5).

Following a solid introduction in which Donlan enters into the conversation, so to speak, with various extant labels attached to de Sales’ work—from “devout humanist” to “Tridentine reformer” to “Counter-Reformer”—and a comprehensive set of terms and definitions, Donlan organizes his account in essentially chronological fashion, beginning with a summary of existing religious currents that influenced or formed the young François de Sales, including *devotio moderna*, Erasmus’ study of Jesus Christ, Jesuit theology, and the *moyenneur* critique of violence in the mid-sixteenth century. Donlan’s engagement with Erasmus’ work is particularly enlightening, focusing as it does on Catholic irenicism and its promotion of dialogue, preaching, and education as means by which to combat war and violence in Europe. The Jesuit influence (particularly as embodied by the recently deceased Ignatius of Loyola and Pierre Favre) was also significant in its rejection of severe asceticism as antithetical to identification with and imitation of Jesus. Having read Favre’s work, de Sales would himself come to abandon bodily mortification in particular as useful to Catholic spirituality.

Devoting his second chapter to “Early Religious Influences and the Question of Zeal,” Donlan goes on to chronicle (over chapters three, four and five) significant movements in de Sales’ elaboration of the concept of *douceur* as necessary and central to Catholic life. From the time of his ordination to the priesthood, de Sales preached non-violence, encouraging the Catholic faithful to combat their own sin through gentle “spiritual warfare” on the self rather than on other, using such techniques as self-examination, humility, and penance. In his evangelization of the Protestant Chablais region, François de Sales put these techniques to work, espousing a fairly restrained relational, pedagogical, and liturgical approach to his promotion of Catholic worship in the area, an approach that met with no little success.

Donlan is not the first to examine the work of de Sales in the area of spiritual direction. What this study does add to the field, however, is a more thorough analysis of seventeenth-century pieties, from those de Sales critiqued to that which he advocated. De Sales expressed particular concern over Catholics' "nervous, hurried performances of devotion" (77), their moral anger, and a tendency toward excessive, sorrowful piety. Grounding his argument in Barbara Rosenwein's notion of "emotional community" as it applies to militant Catholicism, Donlan argues that de Sales brought instead a piety of inner tranquility, peace, confidence, hope and joy to his Catholic constituency. All of this work culminated in de Sales' foundation, along with his colleague St. Jeanne de Chantal, of the Order of the Visitation, an order very much unlike other ascetic religious communities (French Carmelites, Ursulines and Capucines) of the time. Building on Wendy Wright's scholarship of spiritual friendship, Donlan offers an account of the Visitation that demonstrates de Sales' very modern, holistic approach to spirituality, including active attention to physical well-being and the cultivation of spiritually meaningful interpersonal relationships. The Order of the Visitation thus represents the culmination of de Sales' spirituality of *douceur* in its approach, both *affective* (or prayerful) and *effective* (involving outreach), as a strong force of reform in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century France.

For all its optimistic perspective, Donlan's study does not fail to account for St. François de Sales' own complex evolution over time. Having embraced, at an early age, certain principles of militant Catholicism, de Sales would move slowly but surely away from the influence of such thought, though, as Donlan notes, he did recognize the need for martial force under some circumstances. But the greatest strength of *The Reform of Zeal* lies in the contextualization of the future saint's choices, particularly when set against the vicissitudes of the Wars of Religion that so plagued France during his lifetime. Donlan's work is amply supported by references taken from de Sales' own writings, from his letters to his *Entretiens spirituels* to the *Introduction to the Devout Life*. If there is any criticism to be made of Donlan's thin but compelling volume, one might note that each individual section is so short (following, perhaps, the model of his subject as seen in writings such as the *Introduction to the Devout Life*), that one cannot help

but wish for more: more historical detail, more development, more analysis at every step of the way, particular with reference to de Sales' most developed writing, the *Treatise on the Love of God*. One hopes there is more to come.

According to the Centre for French History and Culture of the University of St. Andrews, an electronic copy of *The Reform of Zeal* may be downloaded from the Centre's web site free of charge at <http://cfhc.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/publications/>, and a paperback copy is available free of cost by emailing the Centre at cfhc@st-andrews.ac.uk.

Georges Forestier. *Molière*. Paris: Gallimard, 2018. 544 pp. + 32 illus. €24.00. Review by STEPHEN H. FLECK, EMERITUS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY LONG BEACH.

This major new biography of Molière, the first in France since Roger Duchêne's of 1998, is a most welcome publication. Aiming to get beyond the limitations of previous biographies, too directly influenced by Grimarest's *La Vie de M. de Molière*—whether positively or negatively—Forestier brings a genuinely novel approach to the task.

The author is in a unique position to do so, for several reasons. First, in addition to a career-long record of excellent scholarship on his subject, including the single best introduction to the works (*Molière en toutes lettres*, 1990), he is co-editor in chief, with Claude Bourqui, of the recent Pléiade edition of Molière's works (2010). This massive undertaking integrates exhaustively the available scholarship of the forty years since Georges Couton's Pléiade of 1971; it also innovates by bringing to bear the efforts of a multidisciplinary team of scholars including musicologists and dance specialists.

Second, noting the twin dangers of either a dry, text-centered approach or one indulging in novelistic supposition, Forestier proposes to proceed from a "table rase" by integrating (1) the best-established historical data with (2) the works themselves seen both individually, but also (3) in interrelation with each other, a "genetic" approach. All this is intended to serve the goal of producing a "récit biographique vraisemblable," a work that respects all objectively known data while seeking to illuminate the not-directly-knowable personal and creative

areas with inferences clearly grounded in what is historically incontrovertible.

The resulting text reads extremely well, is overall highly persuasive in its arguments, and successfully fulfills the author's goal of laying to rest much of the accretion of myth dating notably from Grimarest's publication of 1703. Among the longstanding beliefs convincingly confronted are that Anne d'Autriche and the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrament engineered the ban on *Tartuffe*; that *Dom Juan* was withdrawn for political reasons; that Molière wrote with slow, painstaking laboriousness; or that Molière was in frequent ill health, leading to his decline and death.

Each of Forestier's myth-busting arguments has precedents, unsurprisingly, but his presentation is exceptionally adroit. This reviewer found only extremely rare points on which to take exception. Among these are that Alceste's loudly-proclaimed "sincérité sans faille" is not truly such, since he yields first momentarily to Oronte—"Je ne dis pas cela"—and then ends Oronte's lawsuit with a reconciling *embrassade* surely of the deepest bad faith, as Forestier himself almost acknowledges (328); and that, while no direct proof of the break with Lully may exist (461), the balance of evidence leaves no doubt that a break was the cumulative result of various, well-documented actions, though not necessarily all by Lully's fault, as C.E.J. Caldicott has argued.

The readings of individual works benefit greatly from a deep, multi-perspectival contextualization that draws constantly on integration of traditional historical data; theater history seen from traditional to contemporary standpoints; legal, political, personal and material forces with which Molière had constantly to contend; and the personal and artistic qualities of troupe members. These and other relevant aspects are presented seamlessly.

In sum, we are fortunate to have the result of a career's worth of exceptional scholarship, the fruit of both individual and team efforts, infused with an exceptional sense of historical flow in artistic, political, and social currents, carrying its erudition elegantly and unobtrusively, and further enriched by direct involvement with theatrical productions at the Sorbonne. This work, unrivaled in its scope, richness and accessibility, should find its way to each of our libraries; many will wish to own it (at 24 Euros!); it is difficult to imagine its usefulness

being overshadowed in our lifetime. It is thus fitting that the last words belong to the author's epilogue. Molière was:

un acteur hors norme qui avait transformé le jeu comique, un auteur révolutionnaire qui avait bouleversé la dramaturgie comique, un homme d'esprit qui avait su séduire le public exigeant de la Cour et des salons parisiens, et un entrepreneur de théâtre avisé qui avait transfiguré le spectacle le plus aimé de Louis XIV, le ballet de cour où se mêlaient musique, danse et théâtre, en un genre nouveau, la comédie-ballet, acclamé par l'ensemble de son public parisien (485).

Theresa Varney Kennedy. *Women's Deliberation: The Heroine in Early Modern French Women's Theater* (1650–1750). London and New York: Routledge, 2018. xii + 202 pp. \$109.95. Review by ERIC TURCAT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY.

Despite its thinly veiled allusion to second-wave feminism, *Women's Deliberation* offers little by way of women's liberation. Early modern heroines of French women's theater, as Theresa Varney Kennedy argues, are indeed a purely synthetic product. In the best of cases, the synthesis derives from "a 'trialectical' exchange among irrational, dutiful and bold and brazen female[s]" (6). The irrational heroines (Chapter 1) are basically Racinian harpies whose aggression transcends, if nothing else, the Aristotelian stereotype of the passive female. The dutiful heroines (Chapter 2), in line with Cornelian heroism, become leaders so exemplary that even their male counterparts could hardly compete in their subservience to the patriarchal state. As for the bold and brazen heroines (Chapter 3), they epitomize the free spirit of the *salonnières*, women so steeped in courtly romance that their gender-bending initiatives can only underscore the overarching privilege of their aristocratic *filles à papa* status.

In the worst of cases, the synthesis derives not from a "trialectic" but from a mere dialectic, as the irrational heroines fuse into the bold and the brazen, thereby mutating into creatures of pure emotion. In this particular case, deliberative heroines (Chapter 4) synthesize not just a dialectic but, worse yet, a mere binary opposition, and one of the

most hackneyed in Western culture to boot, that of body and mind. As mere constructs of Enlightenment ideology, these deliberative women are indeed further blighted by the phallogocentric task of resolving the “catch-22” built into the age-old dichotomy of *mens* and *corpus*: “Passion, without rationality, is culpable” and “Rationality, without sentiment, is culpable” (177–78). And in resolving this conundrum they apparently succeeded, but only inasmuch as the *philosophes* had already succeeded at striking a balance between mind and body.

Despite this rather bleak outlook on the early modern heroine as a purely synthetic product, Varney Kennedy does great justice to classifying the growing corpus of early modern French women's theater painstakingly assembled over the past thirty years by our colleague Perry Gethner (to whom her book is dedicated). Furthermore, in repeatedly stressing the importance of performance, the author also reveals the fluidity with which a select few female playwrights successfully positioned their heroines in two or three of the major categories listed above. For instance, we are impressed to discover how, within a matter of ten years, Françoise de Graffigny was able to create first the bold and brazen Phaza (119–23), then the deliberative Cénie (157–62), and finally the dutiful Théonise (85–90). Depending on whether her play was performed for her own salon (*Phaza*, 1748) or for the Comédie-Française (*Cénie*, 1750 and *La Fille d'Aristide*, 1758), Graffigny showed repeated acumen in her ability to perform gender differently for different audiences. To that extent, the “gender troubles” of her various heroines might possibly have resonated even with our Butlerian third-wavers.

Besides shedding light on the forgotten works of playwrights as talented as Marie-Anne Barbier (1664–1745) and Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez (1684–1770), Varney Kennedy illuminates the philosophical foibles of the Enlightenment. In doing so, she repeatedly reminds her readers of the extent to which the *philosophes* were prepared to caricature the Cartesian mind/body dichotomy by making the father of modern philosophy disappear into the solipsistic box of his infamous *cogito ergo sum*. In line with Erica Harth's *Cartesian Women* (1992), the author of *Women's Deliberation* does not make the mistake of confusing the clarity of Descartes with the confusion of his Cartesian followers. As a result, albeit indirectly, Varney Kennedy reminds us

that Descartes should not be reduced to his very scholastic *Discours de la méthode*. After all, the founder of rationalism also composed *Les passions de l'âme*. Yet this text, which the Enlightenment would have done well to ponder more carefully before trying to reinvent the wheel, continues to remain conspicuously absent from a few too many of our contemporary studies on modern identity A path for future researchers in proto-feminism, maybe?

In short, Theresa Varney Kennedy's *Women's Deliberation* should be treated as an invaluable resource for scholars in early modern theater as well as for researchers in women's literary studies. It is impeccably written and flawlessly edited, and a must-read for the more encyclopedic readers.

Bruce Edelstein and Davide Gasparotto, eds. *Miraculous Encounters: Pontormo from Drawing to Painting*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018. 160 pp. + 60 color illustrations. \$40.00. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

The talent of Jacopo da Pontormo (1494–1557) will never cease to attract expert attention, but the J. Paul Getty Museum has set up a significant precedent with this exhibition catalogue. *Miraculous Encounters: Pontormo from Drawing to Painting* includes new research on the main theme of the exhibition *Pontormo: Miraculous Encounters* held at the Getty Museum in spring 2019, previously shown at the Uffizi and at the Morgan Library & Museum in New York. To underscore the exhibition, the J. Paul Getty Museum additionally organized the international conference *Pontormo: Painting in an Age of Anxiety*, in partnership with the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at UCLA.

The catalogue fosters one of Pontormo's great masterpieces, the *Visitation*, an unprecedented loan from the parish church of Santi Michele e Francesco in Carmignano (Prato, Italy), alongside the Getty's own iconic *Portrait of a Halberdier* and the recently rediscovered *Portrait of a Young Man with a Red Cap*, not seen in Italy for more than two centuries and featured now in the United States for the first time. The editors, Bruce Edelstein and Davide Gasparotto,

reunite these major paintings from the artist's maturity with surviving preparatory studies and related drawings, shedding light on the artistic process of Pontormo and the significance of his technique. The catalogue brings together the voices of art historians and conservators who contribute individual chapters about the historical context of the last Florence republic and the dramatic siege of the city. Pontormo's works of maturity, executed between 1528 and 1530, witnessed these implicational events. Remarkably, the catalogue intersperses Florentine history with the new findings regarding Pontormo's drawing and painting techniques, which serve as the basis for reconstructing his original creative process. The chapters also draw on the controversial identification of the sitters of his portraits, especially the debate surrounding the *Halberdier* (c. 1529–30), as well as on the collaboration between Pontormo and his most talented student, Bronzino. These topics are rich in discussions of broader questions of attribution and connoisseurship.

Bruce Edelstein draws on the misinterpretation of Pontormo's image in Vasari's *Life of the artist* (1568). Vasari, at the time promoted to the title as principal court painter, framed his rival Pontormo as a mere eccentric and ignored the *Visitation* perhaps because this particular painting was produced for the anti-Medici supporters of the last Florentine republic (18). In fact, the *Visitation* deeply resonates with Florentine art and evolves the embrace of Mary and Elizabeth from the mosaic representing the *Visitation* scene on the vault of the Baptistery in Florence. Also derived from the Florentine art environment are Pontormo's adaptations from his teacher, Mariotto Albertinelli, whose visual precedent and prototypes for the depictions of the Virgin and Child offered competitive solutions. These Florentine prototypes reflected on the text of the Scripture available in the city's traditions, lending themselves to emulation by Pontormo and younger artists (26). Another peculiarity of the Florentine cult of the *Visitation* was the special consideration shown to the cult of the Baptist. To exemplify the importance of the Baptist in local devotion, Elizabeth was portrayed not bowing in reverence to her cousin, but rather embracing Mary while the two women appear to have the same height in the painting.

Pontormo's *Halberdier* has provoked a series of debates regarding the identity of the sitter, several voices leaning towards associating the

portrait with Francesco Guardi whereas others arguing that the image is a portrait of Duke Cosimo I. Edelstein recapitulates the existing conclusions, but at the same time underscores that no contemporary evidence leads to the statement that the *Halberdier* should be recognized as a true image of the Duke (39). A new idea to emerge is that Pontormo's art of portraiture was guided by the most advanced directions of the Italian Renaissance art. Pontormo culled from Venetian art, especially from Titian's and Sebastiano del Piombo's portraits. Titian led the way and influenced Raphael's own understanding of central Italian portraiture, prompting in turn the younger Pontormo to adopt the open brushwork (39).

Cristina Gnoni Mavarelli's chapter is rich in details on the securement of the loan for the *Visitation* from the church of the Pieve dei Santi Michele e Francesco in Carmignano, where, after the exhibition ended, the *Visitation* was reinstalled using a new system to improve the legibility of the work and to protect by anti-reflective glass (63). The discussions of restorations, techniques, and discoveries have captivated the attention of specialists with always-new findings on the topics at hand. Daniele Rossi's chapter on the restoration of the Carmignano's *Visitation* provides interesting data on the painting. We learn that Pontormo used the female figures to advance his "original invention to increase the relief of his figures." It is widely recognized that Pontormo perfected the art of portraiture in Florence in most original ways, but less attention has been paid to his pictorial technique to date. The realization that his brushwork extracts the portrait from "thick, free-hand strokes of lead white and cinnabar using a flat brush" is revealing. The uncanny nature of Pontormo's portraits becomes fully intelligible when access to his sophisticated technique explains his working process as a deliberate effort at "producing the effect of thin flame-like strokes of red light" (15).

No less impressive are the catalogue entries. Michele Grasso examines the drawing for the *Visitation*, confirming that the artist did not use a cartoon, but instead transferred the drawing to the panel by employing a grid identical to the drawing. Pontormo contributed to Benedetto Varchi's *paragone* a most original position, arguing that sculpture, not painting, holds the leading role in the competing claims of the two sister's arts. While Pontormo's argument may have

confused his audiences given his well-established practice as a painter, his words in praise of sculpture seem important to the idiosyncrasies of his pictorial technique. Pontormo concerned himself with imbuing his subjects with life and exceeded the imitation of nature “in wanting to give spirit to a figure and make it seem alive and [...] in two dimensions.” The theoretical and curatorial positions included in this catalogue, alongside the commentaries, impeccable illustrations, and notes give this J. Paul Getty Museum project an outstanding quality and purpose for scholars, students, and various readers alike.

Felipe Pereda. *Crime and Illusion: The Art of Truth in the Spanish Golden Age*, trans. Consuelo López-Morillas. London/Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018. 288 pp. + 127 illus. \$151.25. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

The interest in Early Modern Spain has overturned the single-minded pursuit of Italian Renaissance culture in recent years, now taking a significant step forward with Felipe Pereda's lavishly illustrated book. Before Pereda, contributions have highlighted patrons and important painters of the Spanish Golden Age, expanding and shedding new light on seminal texts by Jonathan Brown, Richard Kagan, and especially Fernando Marías. Felipe Pereda takes a comprehensive view at art historical, religious, political and social issues in an admirable, highly commendable undertaking to remind us that art history belongs to the history of ideas, just as the Vienna School had once attempted to orient the discipline with the assistance, among others, of Max Dvorak's *Geistesgeschichte*.

The nine chapters of Pereda's book gravitate around the main idea of “faith and doubt” as a peculiarity of Spanish culture and devotional thought. Pereda interprets the paradox of illusion through associations with Spanish literature and beyond, in the abstruse realm of religious images that exploit illusion and express it through the poetic formula of *engaño* (deceit) versus *desengaño* (undeceit). Chapter 1 sets out the main concepts, delineating Pereda's original methodology: to analyze Spanish Baroque art amounts to taking a forensic approach to images as testimonial proof while recognizing the viewer's

presence as a witness (26). Pereda attributes the Spanish mode responsible for these religious images to an Early Modern crisis of faith in the Iberian Peninsula, in an age marred by the rise of skepticism and political fragmentation of the Church (15). Delving into the history of culture with significant benefit for art history, Pereda acknowledges the ongoing rift between the cognitive act of believing, and faith as an act of loyalty to the activity of the Church and its tribunal. Chapter 2 analyzes the integration of *Hic Est* into the words of the *Titulus Crucis*, and the validation of the Crucifixion with four nails to establish the unquestionable orthodoxy of what Pereda calls a “strong theory of representation” (76). In Seville, the debate over the *Titulus Crucis* from Rome’s Basilica Santa Croce in Gerusalemme arose in 1619 with the Duke of Alcalá, Don Fernando Enríque de Ribera, who was surprised to see on a Crucifixion painted by his friend, Francisco Pacheco, the inscription at the top of the cross starting with *Hic Est*. Pacheco would become a fervent defender of the “four-nail crucifixion” and influence the young generation of Sevillian painters to make it general practice after 1620, the most revealing example being Francisco de Zurbarán’s *Crucifixion* for the sacristy at the Dominican monastery of San Pablo. Pereda underscores Pacheco’s preoccupation with “reviving the ancient images” (56), abidance by the adoration of the crucifix as latria (76), and ultimately suppressing *alumbradismo* (illuminism) in his capacity as overseer (*veedor*) of the Holy Office. Chapter 3 draws on seventeenth-century painters from Seville, also known as “masters image painters” (*pintor de imagería*). Pereda interprets *imagería* as the art of depicting holy figures by bringing them closer to the viewer, beyond the virtual space of the canvas. A most famous *imagero* was Velázquez, who employed a masterful “anthropographic” art of painting in his two portraits of the holy image of Mother Jerónima de la Fuente. Chapter 4 investigates Velázquez’s first Italian trip and immersion in the Roman circles of artists and ecclesiasts. On his return to Madrid in 1630, Velázquez presented King Philip IV with two of his most acclaimed masterpieces: the mythological *Forge of Vulcan* and the history painting *Joseph’s Bloody Coat*. Pereda points out Guercino’s *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph* (1620), whom Velázquez may have admired in Cento on his way to Rome, as a credible source of inspiration for the nude por-

trayal in *Joseph's Bloody Coat* (126). Velázquez also culled from Poussin's *The Death of Germanicus* to arrive at his original choice of a theatrical setting. Pereda eloquently argues that Velázquez expressed the biblical narrative of Jacob's betrayal in the formal arrangement and rhetorical mode commonly associated with Lucian's *Calumny of Apelles* (137). A significant contribution comes from the astute observation that Velázquez adopted the paradox of illusion in terms of an interplay between the figurative and poetic formulas of *engaño* (deceit) versus *desengaño* (undecit). In this interpretation, the *Forge of Vulcan* depicts truth as *desengaño* or revelation of truth in mythology (Apollo as the revealer), whereas *Joseph's Bloody Coat* depicts the falsehood or *engaño* (Jacob being deceived) in a sacred narrative (140). Chapter 5 provides the most excruciating account on the fate of the converted Jewish population in seventeenth-century Spain, when accusations were levelled that they practiced Judaism in secret while faking being Christians. The group of Portuguese Marranos and their children condemned to be burned or punished in "effigy" for having allegedly abused a Crucifix rested on the report of the partially handicapped child Andresillo's testimonial concerning his parents' profaning, torturing, and finally destroying a wooden crucifix, the *Cristo de la Palencia*. Chapter 6, one of the most compelling in the book, draws on the dual nature of the famous archetypal image of the Veronica as painted figure and vestigial image. Breaking from the mainstream ideas on the topic, in particular from Hans Belting, Pereda calls attention to an early modern objectivity that influenced the perception of the Veronica in seventeenth-century Spain. Both Veronica's Veil and the Mandylion originated in legends, but Spanish historiography gave precedence to the Mandylion in shaping a prototypical model that became a special form for referencing Veronica's Veil (192). The popularity of the Holy Shroud in Spain additionally responded to an emerging "atmosphere of science and art" that worshipped the Veronica and the Shroud as equally non-manufactured images. A strong devotional emphasis on the Shroud emerged on account of the body imprinted on the linen, testimonial proof, modern relic, as well as medical autopsy, forensic rhetoric, and mechanical impression (199, 201). Endorsed by artists and theorists alike, the Veronica and the Shroud shared the same relic status in the pictorial

language of many early modernists. Pereda unprecedentedly investigates Zurbarán's Valladolid and Bilbao *Verónicas*, underscoring how the new representational interest in the Shroud prompted Zurbarán to paint a corpse or a mere shadowy face in the Veronica format (213). Chapter 7 significantly contributes to a richer context of critical examinations on Nicodemus's famous relic and a new generation of Crucifixes attributed to Nicodemus, all having arrived on the coast of Spain through miraculous circumstances. Proliferating in various monastic and urban cities, the Crucifixes produced in polychrome sculpture traced their origin to Nicodemus and referred back to the most prominent Crucifix, the *Santo Volto* of Lucca (copied in Madrid before 1620), and to the Burgos, Bauças, and Matosinhos (Portugal) Crucifixes. Chapter 8 reinforces Pereda's argument that the fusion of seeing and believing gave birth to the most extraordinary images from the late medieval and early modern Spain. A revealing example is the sculpted, polychrome, bleeding, and recumbent images of Christ, which trace their sacred, mysterious, and supernatural power to the Nicodemus Crucifixes. The blood shed by the sculpture became sacred because it was released by a recognized relic, as illustrated in Gregorio Fernández's *Recumbent Christ* from Santa Clara in Lerma. On this particularly original sculpture, the words of an inscription on the golden fillet atop the wound in Christ's side specifies that we see blood shed by the image, namely, blood of the Christ/the crucifix (Sangre Del XPO) (255, 266). Spanish art historians always highlighted their sympathy for Longinus, and Pereda seizes his opportunity to enlist Longinus as a forceful claim in rounding up the quintessential argument of the book; Spanish painting squares with art as testimony, and constructs the viewer as witness. While Juan de Flanders's *Crucifixion* captures the restoration of sight to the formerly blind Longinus, a different role as a witness to the Crucifixion is assigned to Longinus in Juan de Juni, *Descent from the Cross*, Segovia Cathedral, Chapel of Canon Juan Rodriguez. Adopting the legal rhetorical mode of Alberti's admonitor who comments from a lateral position, Juan de Juni strategically locates Longinus in between the adjacent columns of the chapel, his outstretched arm pointing towards the Crucifixion scene on the right (272). The book concludes with an Afterword as the ending chapter, not coincidentally examining Velázquez, an ongoing

interest of the author. Pereda interprets the significance of *ex voto* in the form of a true portrait of Velazquez's *Christ Crucified*, which exhibits a perfect materiality and orthogonality while at the same time allowing the letters of the titulus over Christ's head to blend into the monochrome background painted with perfectly visible brushstrokes.

This most inspiring and carefully documented book would influence generations of readers and scholars. Pereda's writing style is captivating, enticing us to read a profound text with a relaxation uncommon to the general tenor of art historical texts. Throughout the book, the author extrapolates Spanish devotional themes to other aesthetic criteria from literature, rhetoric, history, religion, and even societal attitudes. A recurrent theme seems to be the ominous threat of "secularization" that looms large and results from an "emergence of a modern conception of art." This book is most welcome and invites more literature coming from this fascinating scholar.

Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen. *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press. v + 485 pp. + 70 illus. \$35.00. Review by NICOLE GREENSPAN, HAMPDEN-SYDNEY COLLEGE.

This is a fascinating and much-needed study of the seventeenth-century Dutch book industry and its print and information cultures. Long overshadowed by a historical emphasis on painters such as Rembrandt, *The Bookshop of the World* argues that books made a far greater contribution to contemporary Dutch society. Indeed, Pettegree and der Weduwen demonstrate, print played a pivotal role in the development of the Dutch republic and its trade and commercial networks. Dutch men and women were avid book purchasers and collectors, with even modest households setting aside hard-earned funds for devotional literature and instructional materials. The Dutch Republic also cultivated robust international markets, importing weighty Latin tomes to spare local publishers and booksellers the costs of printing and selling expensive volumes. In turn, Dutch publications were exported abroad. Dutch newspapers were in demand in England, for example, and Dutch publishers produced Yiddish texts for Jewish

consumption in Poland.

In total, Pettegree and der Weduwen estimate that the Dutch Republic produced a staggering 300 million books during the seventeenth century. This figure was the product of years of archival research, and indeed *The Bookshop of the World* advances a strong case for the continued necessity of archival work. The authors acknowledge the great advances made possible by recent developments in digital humanities, bibliographic and cataloguing systems, and online research tools. Material that formerly could take years, sometimes decades, to trace is now easily accessible to researchers around the world. At the same time, compilations of readily available sources can draw attention to material that by contrast is missing from catalogues and collections. In particular, newspapers, government communications such as ordinances, and bestselling titles (including devotional literature) are often omitted from catalogues or unavailable in library holdings. The authors' estimations of total print volume includes these "lost books," many of which survive in a single hardcopy or in reference only. Some, like newspapers, were treated as ephemeral and disposable, and others, like instructional texts, were used to disintegration. Books with the highest survival rate, Pettegree and der Weduwen wryly note, tend to be those prized by academics and preserved in library collections. The less a book was handled and read, the greater its chances of remaining intact and accessible to future researchers, and that availability in turn can play an outsized role in shaping scholarly understandings of contemporary print culture as well as book ownership and readership.

This lengthy book—over 400 pages—is divided into four parts, each of which is approximately 100 pages and comprises four chapters. Part 1 examines the simultaneous developments of the Dutch republic and the publishing industry beginning in the later sixteenth century. Chapter 1 focuses on the innovations of the Elzevier and Claesz publishing houses and their impact on the marketplace of print, including the book auction, the outsourcing of publication, and importation of books to expand the number of titles for sale. Chapter 2 examines pamphleteering and public political and religious debates, in particular that which began between the theologians Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus, continued among the Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant factions, and widened into conflict over the authority of

state versus the church. Chapter 3 explores the development of serial news and news publications. Where other European nations relied on the weekly newsbook, the Dutch introduced the newssheet, which was more affordable for purchasers and more profitable for publishers and booksellers. Chapter 4 tackles the role of print in Dutch imperialism, notably the publication of travel literature, maps, and atlases.

Part 2 investigates the centrality of print to social, political, educational, and religious institutions. Chapter 5 explores devotional literature, including bibles and catechism. Along with newspapers, which generally were treated as disposable, early modern instructional literature had a very low survival rate. A book of catechism, for example, tended to be used to until it fell apart or was discarded upon the completion of instruction. Chapter 6 examines educational institutions, materials, authors, and instructors, including the Amsterdam schoolmaster Willem Bartjens, author of a bestselling (and much pirated) mathematics textbook. Examination of the symbiotic relationship between print, education, and educators continues in Chapter 7, which focuses on universities, printing houses, and academics. The role of print in the political sphere and operation of government is tackled in Chapter 8. Much of the published material considered in this and the previous chapter was non-commercial, commissioned by private individuals or government officials. Such works, which ranged from student dissertations to government ordinances, were a regular source of much-needed revenue for publishers and brought a welcome respite from the pressures of sales and marketing. Across the Dutch Republic, the authors estimate over 100,000 ordinances, totaling over 30 million printed sheets, were printed over the course seventeenth century (211).

Part 3 focuses on the period 1650–1672, the time of the “True Freedom” in which the Dutch republic was without an active stadtholder and ruled by regents. Chapter 9 explores the rich variety of texts, including poetry, playtexts, and music sheets, printed during these decades and argues against the conventional view of this period as one of decline. It also saw the rise of another form of commissioned print: the wedding poem, often lavishly printed and distributed to guests and those who could not attend the festivities. Only a fraction of printed wedding poems survive, another category of “lost book.”

Chapter 10 examines the connection between art, politics, and power, chiefly through pamphlet woodcuts and engravings. This chapter revisits some earlier themes, such as the Remonstrant controversy, and contains a section on Rembrandt's library (261–64), a scanty collection of only 22 books. Rembrandt's meagre collection is a recurring motif throughout the book, used to illustrate the artist's own poverty and his atypical status as a book owner when compared to his contemporaries; in contrast, an ordinary country pastor could expect to amass at least 10 times that number of volumes. Chapter 11 explores the Dutch centrality to the international book trade, while Chapter 12 focuses on the domestic book industry and local collections, including those of municipal libraries and private individuals, who ranged from the wealthy and highly educated to ordinary people looking to start a modest library of devotional works.

Part 4 covers the later seventeenth century, following the return of the stadtholder William III. Chapter 13 examines controversial literature, censorship, and the trade in forbidden books. Works by prohibited authors, such as Baruch de Spinoza or Thomas Hobbes, often can be found in auction catalogues, sprinkled alongside non-controversial texts. Perhaps more interestingly, in the later seventeenth century, auction and sales catalogues created sections of *libri prohibiti*, prioritizing commerce over the law and highlighting the ineffectiveness of censorship in the decentralized Dutch Republic. Religious uniformity, long desired by Reformed ministers, was impossible for a state built on continued waves of immigration, and religious diversity was reflected in the book industry. Catholic and Socinian texts were particularly well represented in the world of print. This chapter also discusses Jewish immigration, principally in Amsterdam, and the Jewish influence on the book trade, including the market for texts in Hebrew and Yiddish. Chapter 14 moves beyond the world of domestic print and examines imported texts in the Dutch marketplace. In particular, large, expensive volumes in Latin, such as legal and scientific texts, tended to be imported rather than produced locally. Chapter 15 explores the business press, which included the publication of weekly price lists for commodities, trade in East India Company (VOC) shares, and Dutch lotteries. The sixteenth and final chapter focuses on the end of the seventeenth century and examines a number

of themes, ranging from the 1688 invasion of England by William III, to the waning of Dutch commercial dominance, to the role of women in the world of books.

The Bookshop of the World aspires to a broad readership, which is clear from the outset. The book eschews the type of introduction customary for academic books, which typically would include a literature review and an outline of successive chapters and sections. In the absence of signposts and markers, there is no roadmap for the reader to follow. Instead, Pettegree and der Weduwen take the reader on a slow journey through the world of books in the seventeenth-century Dutch republic. The book rewards patient reading. The fluid structure allows for detours, such as exploring comparative prices for beer and books, to flesh out comparisons and context. We meet innovators in the publishing industry, such as Louis Elzevier, Cornelius Claesz, and Broer Jansz; officials like Johan van Oldenbarnevelt; and engravers like Claes Jansz Visscher. The authors have presented us with a lively and nuanced three-dimensional view of the book industry and the Dutch Republic.

On the other hand, such a structure can make it challenging for both the authors and their readers to locate information. As noted above, some chapters contain overlapping material, and the reasons behind the placement of certain discussions can be difficult to determine. It is, for example, unclear why the involvement of women in the book trade was left to Chapter 16. The organizational method and overall structure is not addressed, which leaves gaps and connections for the reader to fill. As well, the book has no formal conclusion, which, while not unusual in contemporary publications, would have been helpful to wrap up the main points and leave the reader with a clearer sense of what to take away. This is not necessarily a criticism, as the book is designed as a journey rather than a destination, though it might inform how readers approach the volume.

The book is wonderfully illustrated with over 70 images, and contains a bibliography, which publishers increasingly omit in books of this size. It also is surprisingly affordable, at only \$35.00. *The Bookshop of the World* is a rich contribution to our understanding of seventeenth-century print culture and the book trade, and will be of use to a wide range of readers, from experts to those new to the field.

Indeed, in many ways the book serves as a dynamic introduction to seventeenth-century Dutch culture more generally. Pettegree and der Weduwen balance broad discussion of the size and scope of the book industry, of thousands of texts and millions of pages of print, with intimate portraits of particular people, places, and institutions. While readers might debate some of the book's grander claims, such whether or not the Dutch Republic was "the most interesting experiment in civilization conducted in the western world" (6), the authors have persuasively positioned the Dutch book industry at the forefront of seventeenth-century European publishing innovation, marketing, and production.

Michael J. Sauter. *The Spatial Reformation: Euclid Between Man, Cosmos, and God*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019. \$89.95. xv + 327 pp. Review by ALESSANDRO GIOSTRA, DEPUTAZIONE DI STORIA PATRIA PER LE MARCHE, ANCONA.

The achievement of what the author defines "a fully Euclidean sense of space" (3) determined a transformation of European culture. That is the main argument developed in this work, that is an analysis of the evolution of geometrical visions of space, starting from the second half of the fourteenth century. That 'Spatial Reformation', which accompanied the cultural change in the modern age, lies in the application of an idealized conception of space to the universe as a whole. The revolutionary character of that innovative approach is due to the fact that Medieval natural philosophy attributed the three-dimensionality of space to the heavenly realm alone. Moreover, even if the *Elements* formed part of the Greek works studied by scholars since the end of the twelfth century, Scholastic thinkers mostly considered the first six books of Euclid's masterpiece, dealing with planar geometry; the other three, indeed, concerning spherical geometry, received a proper attention only in following centuries. Patristic and Scholastic cosmologies were characterized by a hierarchical view, grounded on a kind of triadic and circular interaction: Creator-creation, creation-humanity, humanity-Creator. The uniformity of Euclidean idealized space, surely a basic point of the *Elements*, clashed with the cosmological hierarchy

emerging from Scriptures. Since the early translations of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, the biblical structure of the universe was reinforced by the common belief in the Aristotelian clear-cut distinction between the celestial ether and the elementary zone. As an example of the humanization of space, the production of celestial globes began in the Fifteenth Century, and it was not so much affected by the transition from the Geocentric to the Heliocentric planetary model during the Scientific Revolution. A relevant novelty belonging to the new conception of space just consists in the inclusion of terrestrial globes, and, in the next century, of earth's surfaces. In the author's mind, the adoption of the spatial homogeneity formed integral part of the progressive emancipation of humanity from God and the above-below perspective that largely dominated in the Medieval Age. Then, following the diffusion of Non-Euclidean geometries in the nineteenth century, the relevance of Euclid, and, as a consequence, of his spatial homogeneity, started declining.

Among the earliest expressions of the need to adopt a different view on space, Nicholas of Cusa's philosophy proved very effective, because of the convergence of mathematics and humanist culture in a broader view. The indetermination of the cosmic dimensions was connected with Cusa's idea of a universe deprived of a center, and such an arrangement rejected the closed Medieval world, characterized by precise boundaries. Thus, the state of learned ignorance, belonging to humans, proposed a different geometry, fitting with human intelligence.

The rise of Euclid in the Renaissance impacted the scientific community, and it became a key factor for understanding space as a human construction, and for exerting a deep influence upon various areas of learning. One can find a clear instance of the new vision of space in Raphael's *School of Athens*, to be deemed an emblem of the Fifteenth Century art as a whole. In that fresco, portraying Hipparchus and Ptolemy face to face, with Euclid in between, reflects the idea that celestial and terrestrial dimensions entirely depend on human beings, who rely on Euclidean geometry as the only way to interpret the world. Among the several artistic witnesses of Renaissance, and of its tendency towards an innovative spatial representation, Albrecht Dürer's engravings deserve a special consideration. Having travelled in

Italy, Dürer's production can be seen as a synthesis of the major trends of Italian Renaissance, his attempt to fully involve science in art being probably his most successful innovation. According to the author, the German artist's engravings highlight an impossible coexistence with a religious vision of space. To put it more simply, in his *Melancholia*, *Jerome in His Study*, *Knight, Death and the Devil*, "although spiritual beings are depicted in each one, in no cases does the divine seem to have a legitimate place" (88). Particularly significant are the brooding angel and the putto in *Melancholia*, as they are no more placed as celestial intelligences mediating between God and humans. So, their being displaced and located amid everyday scientific instruments, stands for a further step towards the definitive achievement of a human sense of spatial homogeneity.

In the seventeenth century, the attention of mathematicians was mostly devoted to terrestrial geography, and that cultural change privileged the human dimension, and not the divine one. By the half of the century, a more natural human being became the new protagonist of learning, and that shift entailed the decreasing importance of biblical mythology. An example is offered by Sebastian Munster's *Cosmology*, where an illustration shows the human 'state of nature' in naturalistic terms. Furthermore, the human condition portrayed by Munster is postdiluvian, and that aspect implies also a refusal of biblical time. Munster forms part of that group of intellectuals who paved the way to a more general reshaping of European thought. They were able to go beyond cosmology and religion in order to channel their ideas into the anthropological realm.

The spatial reformation culminated in the modern political thought, in which the exclusion of God performed an essential function. Surprising as it may seem, Thomas Hobbes refused Euclidean geometry, although he admired Euclid's logic. Since his early works, indeed, the philosopher from Westport based his own philosophy on material bodies and rejected idealized geometrical concepts. He was engaged in a broader rejection of Platonism, and, more specifically, the anthropological and political consequences of spatial homogeneity led him to oppose the idealized Euclidean geometry. "In the absence of a leviathan, neither social peace, nor even the most basic forms of knowledge existed. Neither God nor Euclid offered any hope; only

the leviathan was humanity's savior" (151). Bodies in motion were the only reference point, and that presupposition came into conflict with the immobility of space established by Euclidean geometry. The limitation of geometry to matter had, as a logical consequence, the belief in the power of the leviathan, the only reality able to join human atoms and the political society. That is the reason why Hobbes' reflection proves to be another instance of the extent of the influence exercised by the homogeneity of space in anthropological questions.

The anthropological consequences of the spatial reformation include the function of Heliocentrism in establishing an extraterrestrial perspective. It replaced the common terrestrial dimension and privileged a kind of imagination exploring a possible extraterrestrial life. Then, in the early nineteenth century, Euclid started declining because of the advent of Non-Euclidean geometries that prompted a return to a two-dimensional spatial sense. In the author's mind, the distortion of our historical view by postmodern thought is with considerable certainty the most relevant outcome of this new approach to the interpretation of space. Recovering the 'fluidity' of the space-temporal dimension, and evaluating modern history by focusing more on spatial homogeneity should be the primary task of contemporary thinkers.

All things considered, the perspective from which this research is conducted, possesses a high degree of originality. Despite the enormous complexity of modern cultural history, the author has managed to reduce different aspects of thought into the basic principles of geometrical conceptions' development. A couple of considerations should be made about the subjects treated in this book. A certain laicization of culture, connected with the evolution of mathematical disciplines, certainly formed part of Western history. It should be noted, however, that a decisive element for the affirmation of homogeneous space is represented by the Christian dogma of divine creation out of nothing. Homogeneity brought about the progressive end of the earth-heavens dichotomy, and that scientific advance is strictly linked to the abandonment of the Aristotelian pantheist world, an ongoing process which began in Medieval Scholasticism. According to Christian revelation, the world is a creature ruled in every part by the same natural laws. Though, broadly speaking, Medieval cosmologists kept their trust in the Aristotelian arrangement of the universe, the dependence of the

world on divine will opened the way to the universal quantification of phenomena. Science pertains to quantities, and the quantitative spatial homogeneity has also got a Christian origin, as we can read in *Wisdom* 11.20: "But you have disposed all things by measure and number and weight." In conclusion, as regards to contemporary science, no geometrical assumptions can eliminate the rationality of an all-encompassing metaphysics and/or theology establishing the sameness of the world as a coherent whole of related phenomena.

Ângela de Azevedo. *El muerto disimulado. Presumed Dead*. Edited by Valerie Hegstrom. Translation by Catherine Larson. Critical Introduction and Notes by Valerie Hegstrom and Catherine Larson. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018. viii + 327 pp. \$120. Review by NIEVES ROMERO-DÍAZ, MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE.

This fine edition, which is also the first translation of Ângela de Azevedo's play *El muerto disimulado*, couldn't arrive at a better time. Not only are seventeenth-century Iberian women writers now a common subject of study in Spanish programs across the country, increasing interest is being paid to Spanish *comedia* written by women, as we witness more of their plays being staged in the last fifteen years than at any time in recent history. This is not the first time, however, that Hegstrom and Larson have come together to work on a project such as this: Their superb and now classic bilingual edition of María de Zayas and Sotomayor's *La traición en la amistad. Friendship betrayed* from 1999 was the beginning of a collaboration that has produced a second bilingual publication, equal in quality, if not superior, to the previous one. Finally, Azevedo is receiving the much-deserved attention that for centuries has been denied to her, in a superb edition that leaves no detail behind.

The bilingual edition opens with a co-authored introduction that provides the reader the perfect background: from an overview of theater and women playwrights in Early Modern Spain and its empire, to the most comprehensive notes on the edition and translation. With the popularity of *comedia* in the so-called Golden Age, we now know that women, too, wrote plays, though many didn't get to see them in

print, while even fewer saw their works actually performed on stage. It is for that reason that the editors of this edition have as one of their main goals making Azevedo's play available for performance, in Spanish *and* in English.

From the beginning, Hegstrom and Larson insist on reminding the reader that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spain and Portugal shared strong ties and, therefore, it is very common to encounter a "substantial number" of dramatists that "were Portuguese writers who composed their plays in Spanish" (4) of whom Azevedo is a remarkable example. However, even for experts in Spanish *comedia*, Azevedo is still not well-known. It is for that reason that most of the introduction is dedicated to present Azevedo's life and works to the reader as well as to unpack *El muerto disimulado*, for which the editors highlight the few critical approaches to the play while adding new and suggestive ideas to the analysis. That we don't know much about Azevedo's life is not so unusual, indeed. The few records we have of her show that she was well-known by contemporary playwrights of her time, on both sides of the Atlantic. Contrary to that fact, however, catalogues on Iberian writers, even from the early periods, barely mention her and her work, and when they do, as Hegstrom and Larson explain, they simply repeat, eliminate, or even invent contradictory and, in many cases, inaccurate information about her life (e.g., from Frois Perim's *Theatro Heroico*, 1740, to Machado's *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 1741 and other later works). Some critics have tried to extract possible information from the play itself (particularly around the Savoy Armada) but as the editors say, it is obvious that "the play is loosely based on history" (18), which has added even more ambiguities to the already unclear facts we know for sure. It is clear that *El muerto disimulado* draws from many sources from the Iberian peninsula but Azevedo is able to make them hers, creating in the process one of the richest meta-plays of the period. From here on out, Hegstrom and Larson move into the analysis of the play and highlight how Azevedo manipulates, inverts, and treats with wit and humor the three main topics of the *comedia* at the time: honor, virginity, and constancy. By dialoguing with critics who have studied the play, the editors discuss the female and male characters and demonstrate how Azevedo challenges the customs and conventions of the period. Conscious of the-

ater as spectacle, Hegstrom and Larson thoroughly touch on one of the richest elements of the play, its self-reflection. That is, the way in which characters develop through multiple examples of cross-dressing as well as the substantive code switching according to the role they play; hence, language and identity become clearly intertwined. As they conclude: “[t]he persistence of self-conscious allusions to the theater, language disguise, character and role found in *El muerto disimulado* illustrate the multiple ways in which Azevedo explores the tension between illusion and reality, as well as the (in)stability of identity, in her comedy” (38).

The part dedicated to the staging of the play, as well as the notes by the translator and the editor, are probably the most interesting parts of the introduction. From the beginning, Hegstrom and Larson highlight the importance of the audience for writers when they work on a play. Plays are meant to be performed, and though most early modern women playwrights were not fortunate enough to see their plays on stage, that doesn’t mean they didn’t write with performance in mind. In this sense, the editors “explore the decision-making that, based on her written text, Azevedo reveals” (40), analyzing settings, implicit and explicit stage directions, and props that are key for the performability of the play and the development of plots and their characters. After that, they introduce readers to the two modern adaptations, one in Spanish by the Brigham Young University Spanish Golden Age Theater Project in 2004, and another in English by the WSC Avant Bard in 2016, based on their translations. This part of the introduction definitely invites practitioners to bring this play to the stage.

After a detailed description of the metric of the original play, Hegstrom explains her decision to modernize the Spanish version of the play for a contemporary audience, a modernization that, however, resists “domestication,” in the sense that, following Azevedo’s original intention, it brings to light the foreignization of the text, its Portuguese nature—after all, Azevedo was Portuguese, the play is set in Portugal, and linguistic and cultural code-switching are key to the characters’ identity development. As for the translation, Larson thinks of her contemporary audience as well, and with her translation meant to be a version of the play that can be acted out, she decides to translate it in

prose but still maintains the play's foreign elements, thereby engaging with linguistic and codeswitching wordplay, emphasizing the humor of the play, and deciding, therefore, to give priority to making sense whenever jokes don't work in translation. The result is a smooth, funny, and clever translation. Minimal clarificatory footnotes during the bilingual edition makes the reading smooth. The rich introduction frames the bilingual edition well for the reader and offers ideas for the potential staging of the play. Hegstrom and Larson have done a superb job bringing Azevedo's play to life, and scholars, students, directors, actors and lovers of Golden Age *comedia* can now enjoy a play and playwright, neither of which will ever again fall into oblivion.

Steven Nadler. *Menasseh ben Israel: Rabbi of Amsterdam*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018. ix + 298 pages. 1 b/w illustration. \$26.00. Review by WILLIAM E. ENGEL, THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH: SEWANEE.

Steven Nadler has written an accessible account of the rabbi and literary entrepreneur, Menasseh ben Israel, who led the rapprochement between Christians and Jews during the seventeenth century (71). Navigating between Catholic inquisitions (seeking refuge beyond the reach of Lisbon's *autos-da-fé* with his father, who had been tortured three times) and Protestant sectarian concerns (which made the status of Jews in Holland always potentially precarious), Menasseh emerged as a preeminent writer, printer, bookseller, and publisher whose commentaries, translations, and Hebrew devotional manuals set the standard of the age (123).

Early on Menasseh recognized a need for books to advance Jewish literacy, especially among those who recently had fled to the Dutch Republic from lands where the Inquisition had forced their conversion to Christianity and otherwise denied them the right to observe and practice their ancestral religion. One of his goals, therefore, was to help these mostly Portuguese Jews now living in Holland (many of whom had been dubbed New Christians) rediscover—or learn for the first time—their sacred heritage. In the early 1630s he published “no fewer than five Spanish and Hebrew prayer books; two of the

Hebrew Bibles" (59), and the weekly scriptural readings (*humash*) with a collection of biblical paraphrases and interpretations dating back to the first century (or Targum, referring to collected arguments and explanations) and the five biblical books used on days set aside for feasts and fasts (*megillot*). Menasseh also brought out his own *Tratado del Temor Divino* [*Treatise on the Fear of God*], and a compilation of selections from the sixteenth-century kabbalistic work known as *Reshit Hokhma* (*The Beginning of Wisdom*) translated into Spanish (59); and, perhaps most impressive of all, a two-volume annotated Mishnah, the oral tradition of Jewish law (*halakha*) presented in a systematic order for study by repetition originally redacted by Judah the Prince in the second century.

For two decades Menasseh's print shop remained a hub of intense intellectual activity and its importance to the spread of Jewish literacy was enormous—not just for Holland, but also for the far-flung continental Jewish communities, as well as for European humanists and Christian theologians. In addition to his own works, Menasseh published an astonishing array of books including a collection of Hebrew blessings according to both central European (Ashkenazic) and eastern European (principally Polish) ritual; several Sephardic prayer books in Hebrew (following the traditional observances of North African and Iberian Jews); a bilingual Hebrew and Spanish book of the daily prayer service (*siddur*); several Hebrew Psalters; two Bibles in Hebrew with vowels (an innovation, since biblical Hebrew consists principally of triconsonantal root words); and a volume of daily prayers and readings from the Bible, the Mishnah, and the Talmud. Moreover, in 1635 "he published the *Zekher Rav*, an orthographically idiosyncratic retelling of the story of creation in verse—all the Hebrew word root are used only once—by the physician and philologist Benjamin ben Immanuel Mussafia" (90). Consistent with his effort to honor and preserve the traditions of Jews living in diaspora, he brought out an edition of Aisik Tyrnan's book describing the seasonal religious customs in Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Bohemia, Moravia, and Germany. He also published books on the interpretation of dreams and an edition of Solomon Ibn Verga's "chronicle of the 'various calamities, martyrdoms, dispersions, accusations, and exiles' of the Jews since the time of Solomon's Temple" (90). From here it was a short step to becoming a

retail bookseller, and his presence at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1634 gave Menasseh “entrée to the large market for Jewish books in eastern Europe” (91). As a result of his entrepreneurial skill and network of connections in the print trade, he received orders from two German booksellers for three thousand copies of the Pentateuch (the Greek name for the torah) with commentary written by the celebrated medieval French rabbi known familiarly as Rashi (91).

But Menasseh was not only adept at biblical commentary and Hebraic philology; he also could read, write, and speak Latin, and his own books are filled with the usual citations one would expect from any humanist author of the period—references to the Greek and Latin classics, Church Fathers, medieval and early Renaissance commentators, as well as occasional allusions to recent developments and discoveries in the natural sciences. As a result it was Menasseh, and not the chief rabbi of Amsterdam, who was selected to deliver the welcoming address (later published in Dutch, Portuguese, and Latin versions) when Henrietta Maria, queen consort of Charles I of England, visited the Netherlands with her daughter, Mary, who had come to see her future husband Willem, the son of the Prince of Orange (109). Menasseh was in the thick of things, well-educated and aspiring toward both a life of service in his community and financial stability, even investing—and losing—money in a trading scheme in South America (101).

Nadler did well to pitch his book about such a fascinating figure to a wider audience than the scholarly community narrowly defined, and it is right at home in Yale’s “Jewish Lives” series of interpretative biography. The result is an engaging life and times treatment of a pivotal figure of pan-European humanism during the Dutch Golden Age. Nadler’s decades of researching and teaching the history of philosophy, Jewish studies, and the humanities are put to good use throughout. For example, an appendix redresses the mythology surrounding Rembrandt’s relationship to the Jews in general and Menasseh ben Israel in particular, casting new light on the core assumptions covered in his earlier monograph, *Rembrandt and the Jews* (2003). Also, Menasseh’s relationship to the Portuguese-Jewish community in Amsterdam bears comparison to that of his contemporary, Baruch Spinoza; for, although Menasseh periodically was threatened with the writ of

herem (or shunning, being absolutely ostracized from the life of the Jewish community), “Spinoza received the harshest expulsion ever issued” which never was rescinded (103). Spinoza’s condemnation, incidentally taking place a year before Menasseh’s death, is the central theme of Nadler’s earlier prizewinning *Spinoza: A Life*, reviewed in this journal (Fall-Winter 2000). Nadler’s previous work ably prepared him to sketch out Menasseh’s role, not just in Amsterdam’s Jewish life where he served as a rabbi and gained renown as a printer and public intellectual, but also in the larger context of early modern intellectual history. Menasseh was the most celebrated popularizer of Judaism of the period, whose writings and face to face entreaties eventually, if posthumously, led to the readmission of Jews into England (217).

Cromwell and his coterie of closest councilors were disposed positively toward the plea Menasseh put forward in his letter to Parliament that later circulated as a pamphlet. The Lord Protector apparently found lodgings and approved funds for Menasseh’s sojourn in London, during which time he attended meetings of Samuel Hartlib’s circle, and visited progressive scientists including Henry Oldenburg (later corresponding secretary of the Royal Society) and Robert Boyle, author of *The Skeptical Chemist*, who “dropped by Menasseh’s house” when he was in Amsterdam (210). Nadler makes a solid case for the extent to which the English and Dutch Millenarians, and especially the so-called Fifth Monarchists who maintained that the Messiah “will gather *all* twelve tribes ‘from all quarters of the earth’ and bring them to Jerusalem ... successor to the kingdoms of Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome” (141), saw the Jews as an opportunity rather than a problem (137). Especially informative is this regard is Nadler’s sustained discussion of Menasseh’s deft threading of the theological needle when asked by Christians for a rabbinic opinion on reports from the New World that the “Lost Tribes of Israel” had been found. The testimony of Antonio Montezinos (also known as Aaron Levi, a converso from Portugal) became a cornerstone of later discussions of this matter, speculating that the “Sons of Israel,” by way of central Asia, “eventually made their way across the Pacific (or a land bridge) to South America” (141). This opened the door to all manner of speculation, including the larger concern of whether or not inhabitants of the New World were descendants of Adam and Eve.

The renowned humanist jurist Hugo Grotius, who briefly served as governor-general of the Dutch East Indies Company (85), thought they were, “suggesting that their ancestors were the Vikings” (131). The educational reformer Samuel Hartlib, to whom Milton dedicated his 1644 treatise “Of Education,” was among the philosophers and scientists who maintained that the coming of the Messiah “would not happen until one very important and necessary condition was met: the conversion of the Jews” (135). This view had the felicitous result, no matter what the motive, of eliciting more pacific overtures toward the Jews—at least in northern Europe and in England.

As this brief rehearsal of some of the paradigm-shifting questions posed during Menasseh’s lifetime makes clear, there is plenty to engage scholars of seventeenth-century religious studies and intellectual history in this biography which is written in a conversational and often exuberant prose style, replete with exclamation points, italics to convey emphasis, colloquialisms such as “chutzpah” (26), and modern expressions like “the Counter-Remonstrants were not fans” (111). Academics will welcome Nadler’s unencumbered end notes and nineteen-page bibliography of works mainly in English but also in Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, German, and—with titles transliterated—Hebrew. Much like Menasseh himself, and also displaying obvious enthusiasm for his topic, Nadler has struck a balance without shortchanging either specialists or general readers. Moreover, with uncanny prescience, Nadler has written a compelling story about how a minority and historically migrant population can come to converse with and even find a place to live peaceably among people who are themselves striving to come to grips with their own already conflicted sense of civic pride, religious identity, nationalist self-definition, and ascendant role in a rapidly expanding and ultimately unpredictable global marketplace. Nadler’s is a very timely book indeed.

Leonie James, ed. *The Household Accounts of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1635–1642*. Church of England Record Society 24. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2019. xliii + 277 pp. \$120.00. Review by NATHAN JAMES MARTIN, CHARLESTON SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY.

Leonie James has edited the household account records for William Laud for the years 1635–1642 and published them in a single volume as part of the Church of England Record Society series. James's accomplishment with this publication lies both in her recognition of the document as a valuable source for researchers on Laud and seventeenth-century church history and her editing of various portions of it which provide historical context for the record. As the author states: "the decision to publish this document was shaped by the belief that it has a lot to tell us about the nature of power and politics in seventeenth-century Britain" (xliii).

James's publication aligns well with the mission of the Church of England Record Society which was established in 1991 and seeks to advance historical awareness of the post-Reformation church in England. Prior to this publication, the society has published numerous source materials, including diaries, correspondences, sermons, letters, and other material relevant to sixteenth and seventeenth ecclesiastical study. More well-known figures (such as Laud), as well as lesser-known clerical figures, are represented in this collection. Interestingly, the society has, in 2017, published hitherto neglected correspondence of Laud, edited by Kenneth Fincham, a noted Laudian scholar and mentor to Leonie James. The present work, when considered in the context of Fincham's previous publication, represents a renewed interest in the archbishop, and one that is represented in the frequency of publication on Laud over the past several years.

Most of the recent scholarship on Laud has diverged in two directions. One focuses on his political life. Mark Perry has published articles reassessing the role of the cleric in the Parliaments of the late 1620s, for example. The other focuses on his personal affairs. Interestingly, a growing body of scholarship on the dream life of Archbishop Laud has emerged. Charles Carlton and others have contributed to this vein of scholarship. The publication of James's edition has relevance

for both recent modes of inquiry into Laudian study.

Newer scholarship on Laud has generally tended to advance and reassess the professional and private life of the man. For that reason, the household account document is of great value. As James herself notes, two traditional biographies on Laud by Hugh Trevor-Roper and Charles Carlton did not attempt to integrate these household account records into their works (xiii). Other studies make glancing mentions of the source, but no major effort to incorporate the data has yet emerged. Will this source fundamentally rewrite the narrative of William Laud? Probably not. There is, however, immense value in these account records, as it may help confirm or identify patterns and trends in Laud's career in the 1630s and add depth of understanding to his narrative.

Additionally, the publication of Laud's personal accounts coincides with a rising interest in the larger world of scholarship on domestic and material culture in the early modern period. As James relates, the trend of subject matter has been directed from more well-recognizable historical figures to a more wide-ranging study of household domesticity, focusing on servants and others appending households (often demanding an interdisciplinary approach), but this account does fit that general trend of the study of early modern household activity (xv).

Beyond the relevance to currents in contemporary scholarship, the work succeeds in its editing as well. James has effectively maintained a sense of uniformity in spelling, format, and grammar within the document. Since no standardized format had been regularized in early modern accounting practice, different account sources provide different formats of data. For example, some include income; other do not. Still, others may include running sums of expenditure. Despite these challenges, James has done well to approach the document from a "semi-diplomatic transcription," in seeking to reproduce the original as closely as possible (xix). In this, she strikes a balance between making the document readable and maintain the textual integrity of the original source.

James demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the document in her extensive introductory material. The editor provides a thorough discussion of the intricacies of Laud's household practice, from apparel preferences to the number of servants in the archbishop's service and

their liveries. Food purchases also relate much about the activity of the archbishop's household. A well-covered analysis on the importance of gift-giving in early modern practice and how that practice emerges within the document is included. Gifts, as James relates, was an expected and formalized system with the early modern context (xxxiii). James's context here provides accessibility and depth of knowledge of the *minutiae* of the personal life of William Laud.

Several of the portions of the accounts connect to larger and more macroscopic historical issues. For example, the violence and threat posed to Laud's household during 1640 and the dissolution of the Short Parliament is evidenced by changes in the accounts (xxx). Similarly, when plague came to London in 1636 to 1637, the archbishop removed his household to Croydon Palace for escape, and the shift is reflected in the accounts, too (xxxi). As James notes, the period 1640–1642 provide a clear correspondence between the failing status of the archbishop and his financial expenditures. One may observe a noticeable decline in the overall value of purchases in that late period before Laud's execution (xxxii).

The footnotes within the text of the main source clearly demonstrates James's extensive editing which provides ease and accessibility in working with the document. In a sense, this is a prosopographical work—the networks of individuals and servants surrounding the archbishop are of paramount concern in understanding the spending patterns and gift-giving during the period in question. Some of the footnotes relate to subjects who are more familiar—such as the footnote on Elizabeth of Bohemia (50) for whom Laud had provided books of study. Others are more obscure and necessarily required more extensive background research. But, James's inclusion of these footnotes increases the accessibility of the document and its contextual basis. The editor also includes a thorough appendix, nearly sixty pages in length, of brief biographical sketches of relevant individuals connected to the source. James also provides a shorter glossary in a second appendix of field-specific jargon, which too, creates broader approachability for this work.

Though the editor makes a strong case that this document has significant value to scholarship, James is also able to explain the limitations of the source. James notes, for example, that the scope

of the source is limited to seven years of Laud's career as archbishop; the first two years of his tenure as archbishop is not included. Also, the provenance of the document is 'unusual' (xiv). Located in the National Archives at Kew Gardens currently, the source only emerged in archival records in the early twentieth century; for many decades, the whereabouts of the document was uncertain. James posits that part of the hesitancy of scholars to utilize the source may be due to this fact (xiv). There are several *lacunae*, too—omissions of expenses in various places where expenditures were not recorded (xxviii).

James's work is primarily intended for the academic expert who has an interest in Laudian studies or the religious history of the seventeenth century. However, because of James's adroit editing and inclusion of contextual materials, any interested academic could approach this work and extract value from its contents. James is an expert on Laud and has written extensively on Laud's life and his religious policy in Scotland, and that knowledge has greatly benefited this publication. At face value, this source may seem somewhat mundane, but a closer look reveals a deeper and wide-ranging significance for the study of the seventeenth century.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky. *History of Ukraine-Rus'* Vol. 4: *Political Relations in the 14th–16th Centuries*. Translated by Andriy Kudla Wynnyckyj. Robert Frost and Yarosl Fedoruk, Consulting Editors, and Frank E Sysyn, Series Editor, with the assistance of Myroslav Yukevich. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press: 2017. \$119.95 Review by CAROL B. STEVENS, COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

The publication by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's monumental *History of Ukraine-Rus'* in English translation (each volume with introductory essays, up-to-date bibliographic apparatus, glossaries, and addenda) is a long-term project nearing completion. The three volumes on the fourteenth-sixteenth century will have seen the light of day by October 2019. With the publication of the final volume—vol. 2, on the Kyivan period—anticipated in 2020, the modern, scholarly translation of Hrushevsky's entire 10 volume work will be complete.

Volume 4, reviewed here, begins the historian's study of the period between the fall of the principality of Galicia-Vohynia in the fourteenth century and the rise of Ukrainian cossackdom. Innovatively for the time, Hrushevsky examined this period as the "Polish-Lithuanian period of Ukrainian history." That is, in the absence of a Ukrainian state, he used the land and peoples of Ukraine as his primary lens rather than recounting the political histories of the dominant powers. As a result, his discussion of events in Poland, Lithuania and Crimea touches only on matters with an impact on Ukraine. This translation, which appeared in 2017, is based on the second edition of the original, published in 1907; as usual, the translation itself is supported by two helpful and important contextualizing essays (by Svitlana Pankova and Robert Frost), detailed supporting notes, an addendum specifically on chapter 1 of the volume, and up-to-date bibliography, map, glossary, genealogical tables and index.

Unusually for Hrushevsky, this volume deals almost exclusively with political history. The central state actors in Ukraine during this period were the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The first chapter deals with the occupation of Ukrainian lands by Lithuania and Poland; the second and third cover the way in which Ukrainian lands were treated as Poland endeavored to change its relationship with Lithuania from a joint monarchy to union; in the fourth chapter, Hrushevsky discusses the rise of Crimea and the relative disregard by the two powers dominating Ukrainian territory for its devastating impact upon Ukrainian lands. Finally, in chapter 6, Poland's annexation of Ukrainian lands from Lithuania was a prelude to the Union of Lublin, which produced the Commonwealth.

The central narrative is the expansion of Polish influence in its newly acquired Ukrainian lands, as in those lands held by Lithuania. Several important elements emerge. In the background is the persistent effort by Polish magnates to incorporate Lithuania into a unified state. That effort placed Ruthenians, and in particular Ruthenian magnates in a complex and changing position. For example, the Hlynsky rebellion in the early sixteenth century relied heavily on support from Muscovy. The conclusion of a Polish-Lithuanian peace with Muscovy in 1508 marked the last gasp of Ruthenian magnate rebellion against Lithuanian leadership. Meanwhile, a stable Crimean Khanate emerged

from under the wing of the Golden Horde; under Mengli Giray, it became a Turkish vassal. Over subsequent years, especially as Crimea turned to an alliance with Moscow, neither Poland nor Lithuania adequately supported the defense of their steppe frontiers. As a result, Hrushevsky writes, the Ukrainian Cossack movement developed and that "Ukrainian popular self-defense movement received neither assistance nor sympathy" (232) from the ruling powers. Meanwhile, Lithuanian magnates' efforts to defend their autonomy against Poland were less successful from the middle of the sixteenth century; many were impelled in the direction of Poland, not only because of the threats of Muscovite and Crimean power, but also by the newly powerful voice of the Lithuanian nobility. The result was first the absorption of the Grand Duchy's Ukrainian lands into the Kingdom of Poland, and then its nearly inevitable sequel, the Union of Lublin. All of Ukraine thus fell into the immediate sphere of Polish influence in its government, its law and its life. The results for the Ukrainian people would be described in the next two volumes of Hrushevsky's history.

This is a detailed study of a period whose politics even now remain little studied. As Robert Frost points out in his introductory essay, the categories of Hrushevsky's study are clearly of his time—in particular as to the role of the 'nation' in history. His lack of enthusiasm for the role of the state and focus on ordinary people was less typical. Furthermore, he did not subscribe to the then-accepted idea that Poland introduced a superior westernized culture to Ukrainian territory; he rather describes this period as a deformation of Ukrainian culture, politics and society. He was somewhat (but only somewhat) more lenient in his attitude towards the Grand Duchy. Firstly, at the beginning of the period, when the Grand Duchy exercised the most control, Lithuania was a relatively diffuse and composite state, which allowed the local leaders such as Dedko considerable control over their own affairs. And he was sympathetic to Lithuania's lost statehood. Meanwhile, the interests of both powerful and the ordinary Ruthenians receive careful attention. This is complicated by the very great difficulties caused by little documentation in the latter case and the conflicting political interests of the former, which often led them to stray from what Hrushevsky saw as Ukrainian interests.

Volume 4 of the *History* was written while its author was “Chair of World History with Particular Focus on Eastern Europe” at the University of Lviv and unencumbered by the constraints of censorship that would impact his later volumes, written in Soviet Kyiv. But university reforms had recently undercut the number of Ukrainian students attending Lviv and vastly reduced German participation; as a result, the University was dominated by Poles during the period of Hrushevsky’s professorship. Furthermore, the political situation in Galicia was manipulated to minimize Ukrainian representation. In this context, Hrushevsky’s full-throated challenge to the Polish interpretation of Ukrainian history could hardly fail to arouse contemporary challenge and disagreement. Although its interpretations can and have been challenged on very different grounds more recently, vol 4 of the *History of Ukraine-Rus’* nonetheless remains a remarkably detailed, well-documented and important account of a little studied period.

Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore with specialist contributors. *The Quakers, 1656–1723, The Evolution of an Alternative Community*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018. x + 345pp. \$39.95. Review by JAMES WALTERS.

The Quakers, 1656–1723, is a collection of essays which, taken together, function in part as narrative history of the “second period” of Quakerism. This is interspersed with essays that address specific questions covering the whole period such as Quaker organisational structure, the relationship of Quakers to the emerging world of business and trade, and the law. Around half of these essays are written by Rosemary Moore or Richard C. Allen, or both, with the rest made up of specialist contributors who provide insight mostly on the later part of the period in question. While this is not a book that is primarily concerned with major reinterpretation or detailed analysis on specific topics, it represents an impressively thorough overview of the people, beliefs, and controversies that structured Quakerism in its second period. It begins with an essay by Rosemary Moore on “The Early Development of Quakerism,” which functions as a helpful reference point for the rest of the book by providing an overview of Quaker beliefs,

biographical information on the leading figures of the early Quaker movement, and an introduction to Quaker strategies for combatting and mitigating persecution, an issue which resonates throughout the book as a whole. Richard C. Allen then addresses the early spread of Quakerism outside of England, making impressive use of resources such as court records to track the movement of Quakers throughout the British Isles and beyond, and analyse their success and failure in penetrating different areas. My only issue regarding this chapter would be that in places Allen raises tantalising topics for those with an interest in international dissenting Protestantism, however, he only briefly discusses how Quakers responded intellectually or theologically to such interactions. More detail on, for example, Quaker missions to Bohemia and Poland, or meetings with the Ottoman court would doubtless have been fascinating, however I appreciate this is in no sense an oversight on the part of Allen and is instead an unavoidable limitation of a format such as that followed by *The Quakers*.

Moore then addresses the evolution and structure of organised Quakerism, providing an illuminating account particularly regarding the role of George Fox, women's meetings, and the relationship between the historical geography of England and the growth of the Quaker organisation. While this chapter is excellent on historical detail, it would perhaps benefit from more in the way of overarching analysis regarding the ways in which the different facets of Quaker organisation interacted with one another and their place in the movement more broadly. Allen follows with an examination of Quaker behaviour, such as their reading habits, social dynamics, and approach to education, and convincingly argues that "the Friends were governed by an increasingly centralized code that regulated their behaviour." Chapter five, also written by Allen, is excellent, and does an admirable job at explaining the complex ways in which Quakers responded to the demands, opportunities, and moral challenges presented by nascent colonialism. This study is primarily concerned with issues such as Quaker responses to slavery, the role of women as missionaries in the Caribbean, and the difficulties faced by pacifist Quakers in colonial societies where inhabitants were expected to contribute towards militias. In none of these cases was the position of Quakers uniform or straightforward, and Allen effectively explains these positions while

not obscuring their complexity, and also highlights the paradox that booming Quaker communities in the new world often also meant declines in Quaker populations in the British Isles.

The first guest essay of this volume, by Raymond Brown and Alan P. F. Sell, is also the first concerned primarily with analysis of discourse. Specifically, it concerns debates between Quakers and other dissenting Protestants regarding issues such as tithes, baptism, unordained preaching, and the role of the historical Jesus Christ. This essay is perhaps the one likely to be of the broadest interest, as it skilfully situates the beliefs and practices of the Quakers in a wider picture of early modern religious discourse. Brown and Sell analyse the relationship of the Quakers to broader historiographical themes which will likely be familiar to all early modern historians, such as the evolution of religious toleration and debates on the relationship of religion and politics. It would therefore be of interest to all those studying dissenting Protestantism and church and state in the early modern period. A deep dive into Quaker “expressions of belief,” particularly concerning their interest in the “inner light,” follows from Moore in chapter seven. This chapter would be valuable for those looking for an introduction to historical Quaker theology, and also as a reference resource for those seeking primary sources on Quaker writing and belief beyond the “canonical” figures such as George Fox or William Penn.

Chapter eight, by George Southcombe, is concerned with the Quakers and politics following the Restoration. This chapter charts the Quaker experience of persecution after 1660 and their responses to this, highlighting the dynamic manner in which Quakers engaged with electoral politics where suitable, and where it was not, returned to relying on “printed intervention and personal relationships” as strategies to avoid persecution. Southcombe persuasively makes the argument that Quakers were included in provisions for toleration after the Revolution of 1688 almost “accidentally.” He argues that many Quakers had grown close to James II due to his promises of toleration, and were therefore largely absent from discussions following the Revolution. However, Quakers were still included in the list of tolerated groups as the act was based in part on a failed bill from 1680, drawn up by those who favoured exclusion of James, a group

which at the time enjoyed wide Quaker support. This is an essay that will be of interest to all those studying the Restoration, Exclusion Crisis, and Revolution of 1688, as, in charting the changing role of the Quakers throughout these events, it elucidates a part of the wider complexity of this period.

Chapter nine, by J. William Frost, examines the changing theology and attitude towards toleration and civil power of the Quakers towards the end of the seventeenth century. In particular, this chapter revolves around the “Keithian controversy,” an internal split in American Quakerism which resulted in allegations from both sides of blasphemy. Frost argues that from this turmoil emerged a Quakerism more receptive to toleration and more concerned with defending the place of Quakers as a part of Christianity more broadly. In essence, as he puts it, Frost charts the Quaker “transition from being a persecuted minority to being a tolerated dissenting community”. In doing so, he touches on issues with broader relevance to early modern religious and political history, such as attitudes to oaths and toleration, which makes this essay relevant to historians with interests that go beyond Quakerism.

Chapter ten from Emma Lapsansky-Werner, addressing life in Quaker communities, would be an important resource for those looking to be guided towards primary material concerning lesser known figures in later Quakerism, and for information on the ways in which later Quaker publishing and education functioned. This is followed by a chapter from Allen and Moore on the relationship between Quakers and business, which takes a detailed look at the role of Quakers in emerging eighteenth-century industries such as banking, iron working and milling. This chapter provides convincing analysis on the reasons for Quaker success in certain industries, and also an interesting insight into the dynamics of how such industries were funded and established which would be of interest to early modern economic historians. Erin Bell then presents an overview of the relationship between Quakers and the law across the period covered by the book. This examines the legal basis for persecution of Quakers, their responses to this, and how persecution actually functioned on a local level. As well as providing an excellent starting point for those interested in the persecution and toleration of Quakers, this essay also represents a valuable case study for all those interested in the confluence of religion, law, and politics

in this period. The final chapter represents something a change of tone from previous ones, concerned as it is with the start of a period in which denominational distinctions were starting, albeit in a complex fashion, to crystallise. This chapter is therefore concerned in no small part with the advent of “formal Quietism,” a doctrine emphasising the importance of internal enlightenment over worldly concerns. A minor critique here is that it might have been helpful if this concept had been introduced in an earlier point in the book, as concepts which appear related to what would become known as “Quietism” are discussed throughout, but not identified as such until the final chapter. Overall, however, this chapter does an excellent job of charting the ways in which different Quaker beliefs had evolved through to the eighteenth century. It analyses how attitudes shifted on issues such as tithes, pacifism, and how to respond to the “worldliness” of non-Quakers, and the trends which shaped this evolution.

To conclude, this is a book which will no doubt prove an invaluable resource for those wishing to study the Quakers. It also contains several chapters which will be of interest to those studying dissenting Protestantism more broadly, particularly those interested in discourse surrounding the relationship between conscience, worship, and civil authority in the early modern period. Its only minor weakness is that perhaps in places its structure as a series of essays presented broadly, but not consistently, chronologically, causes it to somewhat lack cohesion. For example, chapter three strongly addresses the structure of Quaker organisation in the British Isles, but how this interacted with organised Quakerism in the Americas is not immediately clear, as this is addressed elsewhere in chapters which do not directly link to that one. That said, there is also a strength to this sort of structure in the sense that many of its chapters can function as stand alone resources on the topics they cover without necessarily requiring the whole book to be understood. Overall, *The Quakers*, 1656–1723 is a must-read for dedicated students of Quakerism, and also very likely worth a look for anyone concerned with studying religion in the British Isles more broadly in the period in question.

Liam Peter Temple. *Mysticism in Early Modern England*. New York: Boydell Press. 2019. ix + 221 pp. \$99.99. Review by PÁDRAIG LAWLOR, SAINT LEO UNIVERSITY.

Liam Peter Temple's masterful *Mysticism in Early Modern England* explores how mysticism featured in polemical and religious discourse in seventeenth-century England. Mysticism, according to Temple, was viewed as a source of sectarianism, radicalism, and, most significantly, religious enthusiasm. Both Protestant and Catholic mysticism was increasingly criticized as enthusiastic, with critics drawing on prevalent medical theories to discredit mystical experience as both irrational and melancholic. Temple traces how, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, mysticism was discredited by thinkers like John Locke as part of an early enlightenment emphasis on rationality, natural religion, and courtesy. In exploring this significant change in attitudes towards mysticism, this study advocates that modern scholarly attempts to "return" mysticism to mainstream histories of religion have origins in this rejection of mysticism in the seventeenth century.

Temple opens his work by carefully mapping the modern understanding of mysticism and its connections to experimentalism. The decline of Enlightenment values following the French Revolution and the attacks of Romanticism on rationality revived mysticism in the mid-nineteenth century. In this romantic re-envisioning, mysticism became "a global species of religious experience with innumerable subspecies, historical, geographic, and national" (6). Mysticism became a perennial phenomenon, a type of experience present at all times and in all religions. This interpretation would shape accounts written in the following century, as scholars sought to integrate mysticism into religious institutions. In highlighting the arguments set forth by Anglican Priest William Ralph Inge, Anglo-Catholic writer Evelyn Underhill, and psychologist William James, Temple provides a dynamic backdrop to his study. He asserts that such a framework is vital as the "narrative at the core of this book, the rejection of mysticism in the seventeenth century, is vital for understanding this complex change in how mysticism has been understood" (7). Furthermore, the author contends that our understanding of mysticism has primarily remained within the confines set by critics in the seventeenth century:

experiential, private, and mostly outside of institutional religion. With this, he traces the lingering disagreements regarding the meaning of mysticism by surveying the scholarly works by Steven T. Katz, R. C. Zaehner, W. T. Stace, Ninian Smart, Hans H. Penner, and others.

He is vigilant to state, however, that scholars engaged in this postmodern endeavor to produce constructivist histories of mysticism did so concurrently with one other significant historiographical development. Temple heeds the cautions of the Cambridge School of Intellectual History, based on the scholarship of Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock, who developed a framework for a similar rejection of perennialism in historical study. Skinner rebuffed the claim that any text is self-sufficient, or that it contains timeless elements or dateless wisdom of universal application. To alienate the text from its context ran the risk of applying our expectations to the text. Thus, the study of a religious idea is marred by the “unconscious application of paradigms whose familiarity to the historian disguises an essential inapplicability to the past” (9). Temple cautions that we also need to avoid the snares of scholarship, which defined mysticism as a timeless concept. He tactfully outlines a plenitude of ways that mysticism has been understood throughout Christian history, proposing that mysticism, is a relative and fluid term, one which has changed as subsequent generations’ understanding of the “mystical element” of Christianity changed.

Temple begins with chapter 1, “English Benedictine Mysticism, 1605–1665,” where he explores the life and work of Catholic monk Augustine Baker’s early life and conversion to Catholicism. It argues that Baker was converted more by illicit books than illicit missionaries, using Catholic works of spirituality and mysticism available in England to ease periods of spiritual crisis. The chapter also investigates his time as a spiritual advisor to the Benedictine nuns of Cambrai, a period in which he fully refined his mystical doctrines. Temple examines this mysticism in detail, arguing that it presented numerous problems to the superiors of the Congregation on the topics of authority and spiritual guidance. It also traces Baker’s followers and detractors, revealing just how polarizing mysticism could be in a monastic environment.

In chapter 2, “Mysticism and Heterodoxy in Revolutionary England, 1625–1655,” Temple peers into a realm embroiled in politico-

religious upheaval which culminated in the beheading of King Charles I. Temple asserts that the issue of mysticism was on the mind of a broad spectrum of Protestants, from the strict Puritans of that age to the more inclined latitudinarians, were all were concerned about influence of mysticism. Arguing that mystical works should be seen as part of a much broader common ground between Catholics and Protestants in terms of private spirituality and devotional appetite, he assesses the mysticism of Puritans such as Francis Rous, before moving on to explore the role mysticism played in the antinomian challenge to Puritan orthodoxy in writers such as John Everard, Giles Randall and Ranter writers. By doing so, Temple sheds light on the widespread circulation and reference of mystical works and uncovers how such works became part of the process whereby radicalism was “forged, and forged repeatedly, from the discursive and cultural materials that lay to hand” (46).

Moving forward in Chapter 3, “Mysticism, Melancholy and Pagano-Papism, 1630–1670,” Temple argues that the confidence in citing mystical works such as those of Pseudo-Dionysius to legitimize personal and mystical experience would disappear during the Interregnum and Restoration periods. Temple highlights two major reasons for this transformation. The first is the inclusion of mysticism within an emerging narrative that attacked certain spiritual experiences by converting medical theory into polemical weaponry. Writers could then denounce those claiming authority through visions and prophetic experiences as suffering from “religious melancholy,” a dangerous mix of body illness and mental incapacitation. The second regards the historical validity of practices such as mysticism and alchemy as “genuine” parts of Christianity. Many scholars in the seventeenth century, partly seeking a source for the enthusiasms of their age, looked to beliefs such as mysticism with closer scrutiny than before. Compounding these anxieties was the tradition of *philosophia occulta* or occult philosophy, which sought to harness occult forces abound in nature, as seen in the influential writings of Swiss alchemist and astrologer Paracelsus and the *De occulta philosophia* of occultist Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa. In sum, mysticism was perceived as a dual-threat in the period, as it was both a source of religious melancholy and regarded as pagano-papism, or the continuation of heathen doctrines into Christianity, which was

corrected by the Reformation.

The penultimate chapter 4, "Rationality and Mysticism in the Restoration, 1660–1690" is divided into four parts. First, Temple explores Serenus Cressy's early life and conversion to Catholicism. His conversion account, *Exomologesis* (1647), attracted many defenders of the Church of England. The second part of this chapter explores Cressy's time as part of a group of scholars known as the Great Tew Circle, which featured the prominent author and theologian William Chillingworth. It was here that the notion of rationality as a foundation for doctrine, rather than a Catholic emphasis on tradition, manifested. The third and fourth parts of the chapter both explore Cressy's polemical debates in the age of Restoration. They focus on the link made between mysticism and fanaticism by Protestant polemicists, suggesting that this ended legitimate claims to mysticism in England for the considerable future.

Temple closes the book with chapter 5, "Mysticism and the Philadelphian Moment." Here he begins by tracing mysticism in the works of early Philadelphians before discussing the mysticism found in the works of Norfolk mystic Jane Lead. The chapter then assesses the interest in mysticism found in the writings of Richard Roach and Francis Lee, the two main leaders of the Philadelphian Society. Temple seeks to add to the argument first posited by Paula McDowell in which the historian claimed that it was the prevalent rhetoric of anti-enthusiasm which generated so much public criticism of the group. Their public approbation for works of Protestant mysticism, "such as those of earlier writers John Everard and Francis Rous, as well as Catholic works by Augustine Baker, Francis de Sales, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross, brought them into direct opposition with a body of criticism which, as we have seen, had mounted across the seventeenth century" (142). Their alignment with Continental mystical groups, including the Quietists in France and radical Pietists in Germany, also raised many suspicions among their English critics. Temple closes by exploring contemporary reactions to these engagements with mysticism, reasoning that it was this enthusiasm for all things mystical which led to the downfall of the Philadelphians.

To sum, Temple's work is impressive for both its mastery of historical scholarship as well as its employment of primary evidence to sup-

port his findings. Throughout the book, the author sharply connects all parts of the work to the existing historiographical debates concerning mysticism. This is not an easy task as the introductory framework certainly reflects. Mysticism became an enduring phenomenon, one that morphed given the particular historical time and place. For those looking to develop a rich understanding of mysticism in seventeenth-century England, there will be much that is useful if not necessary. There is an impressive amount of research underpinning the entire study, and the author handles some complex and dense characters and their relevant works with admirable concision and clarity.

Caroline Bowden, ed. *The Chronicles of Nazareth (The English Convent) Bruges 1629-1793*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2017). xv + 553 pages. \$90. Review by NANCY BRADLEY WARREN, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Caroline Bowden has been a major force in making available primary materials for the newly dynamic field of the study of early modern English nuns in exile. Many of these nunneries had vibrant textual cultures, producing both communal life writings, like the chronicles published in this volume, as well as biographies, autobiographies, and devotional works. This volume provides Bowden's most recent, valuable contribution, building on the work she did as general editor of the six volume *English Convents in Exile, 1600-1800*.

Bowden's book provides ready access to the two volumes of chronicles produced by the English Augustinian Canonesses of Bruges, a community founded as a daughter house of the English community of St. Monica's in Louvain. As is often the case in writings produced in early modern English convents in exile, authorship is uncertain. It was typical for early modern female monastic authors deliberately to conceal their identities and for authorship to be a sort of collective, communal practice. As Bowden indicates, the *Chronicles* provide little detail about the sources used in compiling them, but they suggest that the authors drew upon such materials as chapter books, obituaries, and other manuscripts. The first volume comprises the history of the community for its first hundred years, between its foundation in 1629

and 1729; this volume was copied by Sister Anne Weston in the early eighteenth century, sometime around 1738. The second volume, which was produced by three different scribes, covers the period between 1729 and 1793, after which point the community went briefly to England in 1794 in the aftermath of the French Revolution, returning to Bruges in 1802.

Likely originally intended for reading aloud in the community in the Refectory, the *Chronicles* provide insight into the distinctive nature of the religious life of the Canonesses, whose life combined contemplative and active dimensions. In addition to their daily routines of prayer, meditation, and devotional reading, the Canonesses ran a school attended both by local pupils and daughters of English Recusants. Like many English monastic communities in exile, they also took in paying boarders. We see clearly that, as was the case for many English nunneries in Continental Europe, the convent wall was very much a permeable boundary, and these nuns were strongly engaged in civic, economic, ecclesiastical, and political affairs. Indeed, the *Chronicles* are a valuable source of historical detail about the fraught political situation in the years between the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England and the French Revolution in 1789.

The *Chronicles* also provide fascinating details about the lives of individual nuns as well as the communal life and interpersonal relations of the community. Remarkably frank, the *Chronicles* recount conflicts between superiors and confessors, heated debates, and instances of discontent with the community's particular form of religious life. They also include accounts of "runaway nuns" sure to be popular with students of early modern English monasticism.

Bowden's editorial practices are conservative and clearly described; her edition remains close to the original text. She includes a helpful apparatus, including maps, genealogical information, a glossary, appendices identifying other monastic communities in Bruges mentioned in the *Chronicles*, information on currency, and a calendar of feast days and saints' days mentioned in the *Chronicles*. Additionally, quite usefully, is the citation index for members of the convent prior to 1800 keyed to entries in the "Who Were the Nuns" database (<https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/search/howto.html>).

This volume makes available to scholars and students a fascinating set of materials that will surely spark much new, valuable research and many contributions to the lively scholarly conversation on early modern English nuns in exile.

Jessica Malay, ed. *Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing, 1590–1676*: Manchester University Press, 2018. x + 323 pp. + 11 illus. \$30.00.
Review by LISA J. SCHNELL, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

In his 1909 travelogue *Round the Lake Country*, the Canon Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley, whose name might easily have issued from a Trollope novel, memorializes Anne Clifford, one of the North of England's famous former residents: "The blood of the Veteriponts was in her veins, but more interesting is it to remember that the blood of another great line, the Herefordshire Cliffords, filled her heart, and made her strong with almost manly strength of purpose and of will."

It is not a little ironic to hear Anne Clifford described as "manly." For it was precisely because she was *not* a man that she was forced to exercise her strength of purpose and will. When her father, George Clifford died in 1605, his will seems to have provided mainly for the continuance of the hostilities that had existed in life between himself and his wife, Margaret Russell. Despite the fact that the law recognized his sole surviving child, Anne, as heir to the vast hereditary estates of the Clifford family in the North of England, Clifford had willed all that property to his brother, Francis Clifford. Anne would inherit what was rightly hers only if Francis left no direct male heirs. Margaret spent all the remaining years of her life fighting for her daughter's right to the Clifford property, with Anne joining her and then continuing the battle for many years after her mother died. Surely one of the original prototypes for "Nevertheless, she persisted," Anne played the long game and, in 1643, notwithstanding great personal and political cost, and having outlived every single male heir on the Clifford side, Anne took possession of the Clifford estates.

As well as evincing a singular focus and tenacity in her battle against patriarchal privilege, Anne Clifford was a dedicated diarist, and this carefully edited volume of her extant autobiographical writ-

ings provides clear and invaluable access to both her material and her mental worlds. Jessica Malay, who edited the volume, reveals herself in the volume's copious footnotes to be both a meticulous textual critic and an invaluable annotative guide to the often complicated relationships that Anne Clifford had with what seems like most of England's aristocracy, as well as with the *hoi polloi*, the myriad of people in Clifford's life—servants and other employees (like sheriffs), tenants, clergy—whom she often refers to as her “folks.” Here, not only Malay's footnotes, but her “Glossary of Persons” in the Appendix proves invaluable: it runs to thirty-one pages.

The first text in Malay's volume is Clifford's memoir of 1603, when Anne Clifford was thirteen years old, and she seems to have done some form of life writing almost every day for the rest of her life, keeping a diary, or a daybook, or writing memoirs, or, as she calls them, a “true memorial” of her life. She lived a long time—measured in politics, she lived through four monarchs, and two heads of state; through the civil war, the Protectorate, and the restoration of the monarchy. She died at the age of 86 on March 22, 1676; the last entry in the “Countess of Pembroke's Daybook,” as her final diary was titled, is March 21 of that year.

Together, the diaries, memoirs, and daybooks make for compelling reading. There is something very nearly novelistic about the volume despite it not conforming, as Malay says in her brief introduction, to “twentieth-century assumptions about autobiography that have relied too heavily on Philippe Lejeune's definition of ‘autobiography’ as ‘a retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his own existence focusing on his individual life, in particularly the development of his personality’” (4–5). Malay's title for the volume—*Anne Clifford's Autobiographical Writings*—is, she says, meant to challenge those assumptions. Instead, Malay asks the reader to consider Felicity Nussbaum's suggestion that we resist the “humanist tendency to model discourse [of the self] as cogent, univocal, gathered and controlled” (5).

Indeed, it is the plain immediacy of Clifford's prose, the frankness with which she writes about her relationships, the compulsive returning to moments in her life of immense but formative difficulty, the resilient snap back to the itinerant life and itinerant, almost stream of consciousness, style of recording that life that captures the insistence

of self, an ontological and discursive category that was not readily available to women in the early modern period.

The legal dispute over Clifford's property dominates every square inch of her life writings after the 1603 memoir, though even that text, clearly written or revised long after 1603 and focused as it is on the death of Queen Elizabeth, is itself notably concerned with places denoting wealth and privilege. The diary of 1616, 1617, and 1619, though, records Clifford's legal battles in real time, and persists as a kind of *Urtext* in all the rest of her autobiographical writings. These years are her *anni miserales*: she is in the thick of the inheritance dispute; her mother, to whom she was extremely close and who was her champion in her legal dispute, dies; she is married to a man, Richard Sackville, who is alternately supportive of her litigious persistence, and extortionist: he attempts to coerce her to settle by keeping her from seeing her only living child, Margaret, who, through these years is often also gravely ill. Yet, for all that, she remains utterly possessed of her determination to take rightful possession of the Clifford lands. That resolve, and the effect it had on her marriage and the other relationships in her life—including with the monarch—is articulated on nearly every page of this diary.

In January of 1617, for example, she writes:

Upon the 18th being Saturday I went presently after dinner to the Queen to the drawing chamber, where my Lady Derby told the Queen how my business stood and that I was to go to the King, so she promised me she would do all the good in it she could. The Queen gave me warning to take heed of putting my matters absolutely to the King lest he should deceive me. When I had stayed but a little while there, I was sent for out, my Lord and I going through my Lord Buckingham's chamber who brought us into the King being in the drawing chamber. He put out all that were there and my Lord and I kneeled by his chair side when he persuaded us both to peace and to put the matter wholly into his hands, which my Lord consented to, but I beseeched His Majesty to pardon me for that I would never part with Westmorland while I lived upon any condition whatsoever. Sometimes he used fair means and persuasions, and sometimes foul means

but I was resolved before so as nothing would move me. From the King we went to the Queen's side and brought my Lady St John to her lodging and so went home. At this time I was much bound to my Lord for her was far kinder to me in all these businesses than I expected, and was very unwilling that the King should do me any public disgrace" (48).

Fifty-nine years later, in 1676, writing in her daybook on the 18th of January, she remembers the events of that day: "The 18th day I remembered how this day was fifty-nine years I went with my first Lord, Richard Earl of Dorset, before King James, into his inner drawing chamber at Whitehall ... concerning the lands of my ancient inheritance in Craven and Westmorland.... And that same day in Knole House in Kent, where she then lay, had my first then only child the Lady Margaret a fit of her long ague whereby she was in great danger of death" (234).

The density of this narrative, both as she tells it in 1617 and as she remembers it at the end of her life, is matched by countless other accounts and details in the diaries and memoirs—some of which might have escaped notice were it not for Malay's exhaustive annotations—that accrue to form the picture of a person of uncommon tenacity and resilience.

Yet one of the delights of Clifford's diaries and memoirs is that, like Montaigne, whose *Essays* she was reading in 1616, she frequently reveals an all-too-humanness that brings her inner world very much to life on the page. In the 1617 diary, for instance, she complains about having been left behind with only "the Child" for company when her husband rides to Westminster in "great pomp and state" with Francis Bacon. "I wrote not to my Lord because he wrote not to me since he went away," (60) she then says, petulantly. She is generous in her plain adoration for her children and grandchildren, she is often concerned for fashion, she is an unapologetic gambler, she speaks with genuine affection and concern for the welfare of her dogs and her horses. And at the end of the day—literally, as well as figuratively—she is a fiercely pious person, but the diary is never an overtly devotional exercise, in the way that many other texts by early modern women are. In a word, she had too much business to do.

In the 1616, 1617, 1619 diary, she, and nearly everyone else in her life, though in different ways, is entirely preoccupied with that business: her refusal to “consent to the agreements” (34). In the retrospective *Life of me the Lady Anne Clifford*, 1589–1649 and then in the Daybooks, she narrates and then repeatedly revisits the years of diary, as well as those that followed in which she was, as she says, “mindful to vindicate [her] right and interest in the lands of [her] inheritance” (111). That vindication comes in 1643, notably in the middle of the civil wars, which, though mentioned, are unchronicled in the *Life* except insofar as they affect her access to her property—she wasn’t able to assume active possession until 1649 “by reason of the civil wars” (114)—or the state of the buildings themselves, some of which had been destroyed by the Parliamentary forces. Her second marriage, which seems to have been as unhappy as her first, ends early in 1650 with the death of her husband, Philip Herbert, and the remainder of her life is consumed with what we might now call a massive project of deferred maintenance. Indeed, *The Lady of the North, Yearly Memoirs*, 1650–1675 is entirely dominated by the narrative of her itinerancy as she travels from one of her castles to another; oversees rebuilding, repairs, and enhancements; deals with her tenants and conducts other business with her neighbors in the North; and reports news of her family, visiting and being visited by them often.

These memoirs, and the diary and daybook that bookend Malay’s well-edited and annotated volume, will be invaluable to scholars and students of the period looking for a window into a remarkable life and the deliberate acts of autobiographical preservation—both literary and material—that memorialize that life. That the autobiographies also reveal Clifford’s will to rescue and preserve a *way* of life, a life of almost unimaginable landed wealth and privilege that was, for all the understatement of what was happening in the middle of the century, quite literally under siege, also makes this a volume of scholarly (and perhaps even creative) interest well beyond the issues of autobiography on which the introduction is focused.

Amy J. Rodgers. *A Monster with a Thousand Hands: The Discursive Spectator in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. vii + 231 pp. \$69.95. Review by J. P. CONLAN, UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RIO PIEDRAS CAMPUS.

Amy Rodgers' *A Monster with a Thousand Hands* positions itself as a study of the epistemology of spectatorship from 1580 to 1660. Throughout, Rodgers posits that the "early modern discursive spectator," who was derided not only by opponents of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English stage but also by persons associated with dramatic production from the 1580s through the Restoration, was "a figure generated largely through early modern cultural anxieties and fantasies about spectators rather than through empirical observation and thick description of actual audience behavior" (4).

According to Rodgers' theory, the term "spectator" in early modern theatrical discourse "functions neither as a mere writerly synonym nor a term coined to designate a particular sort of playgoer" (31). Rather, the discursive spectator as Rodgers conceives it is that abstract figure of the feared beholder who, lacking understanding, relies more on vision than on hearing. It follows, according to Rodgers' logic, that, inasmuch as the use of "spectator" in the discourse only manifests cultural anxiety rather than serves as a critique of actual playgoer response, the greater frequency of "spectator" relative to "audience" in printed works from the 1580s to the 1660s demonstrates a transition from a theater audience, that, in the 1580s, "was equally sensitive to aural and visual stimuli, to one that [by 1660], at least within the realm of the theater, privileged sight over sound" (43).

The introduction positions Rodgers' epistemological study of Early Modern spectatorship within the conversation about spectatorship in film studies; chapter one examines the sensory imagery in sixteenth-century anti-theatrical discourse; chapter two reads the Citizen, the Wife and Rafe in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* as symbolic of the anxiety playwrights had concerning transgressive spectatorship; chapter three conceives of the spectator as the reader of Shakespeare's romances; chapter four looks at the interplay of the visual and the aural in Jacobean masques; and the Epilogue suggests that the persistent complaints of authors who wished to turn the spectators into

understanders had a formative effect on later audiences.

Unfortunately, like the tables that give a semi-scientific look to the word study, Rodgers's consideration of "spectators" in Early Modern epistemology is largely devoid of both the theatrical and rhetorical context in which the term "spectator" was specifically used. Explicitly "not a study of the phenomenological audiences of the early modern England but rather of the culturally constructed figure of the spectator," (15) the argument often reads as an exercise in question-begging: Rodgers' enabling premise for abandoning historical and rhetorical contextualization is that "those who witnessed the plays, pageants, public trials, executions, and funerals of the past have largely formed the faceless backdrop of historical inquiry" (3). Then, like much deconstructive analysis, Rodgers slips treacherously from a recognized possibility of misunderstanding to an assertion of the impossibility of understanding, whereby making claims about actual spectators and audiences becomes "a problem in metaphysics" such that "writing about them may border on the impossible" (3).

Rodgers overstates the problem: first, in the Court theater, the audience was hardly faceless. It is indeed possible to reconstruct with a fair degree of accuracy from records and rules of precedence who the playwright was expecting to be sitting next to whom and on which side of the monarch on any particular date. From dedicatory epistles, biographical information, and records of public acts, it is also fairly easy to surmise at least some of what each public official seated in the Court theater read and knew. As regards the public and private theaters, recent archival work in the emerging field of Shakespeare and the Law documents that the "Magistrate[s] of wit" whom John Heminge and Henry Condell claim paid extra to "sit on the Stage at *Black-Friers*, or the *Cock-pit*, to arraigne Playes dailie," were drawn largely from members of the Inns of Court. Consequently, Rodgers' posited "lacuna due to a scarcity of records [because] actual descriptions of spectators at state, religious and entertainment productions are few and far between" (3) is rhetorical aporia: it not only invents an interpretive impediment that pretends the nonexistence of useful and recoverable information today; it implicitly denies that, at the time the playwrights were composing their works for the stage, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century playwrights had similar information available to

them about the knowledge held by the audience members whom they expected would be sitting in full view of everyone else.

Rodgers's *a priori* disavowal of historically and theatrically oriented scholarship hobbles her study of early modern epistemology on spectators in several places.

From the outset, Rodgers seeks to challenge Andrew Gurr's distinction between "spectator" as a term better applicable to modern film goers who attend as individuals, and less so, early modern playgoers who were "audiences" who came to hear and thereby gathered in groups around the speaker (27). But for inattention to theater context, Rodgers might have succeeded: in the second chapter, Rodgers examines *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Greater attention to theatrical context would have encouraged Rodgers to cite directly to the list of The Speaker's Names in the Q2 version of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, published in 1635, which lists "The Prologue, then a Citizen / The Citizen's Wife / And Rafe, her man, **sitting below amidst the spectators.**" The apparatus of *Knight* thus refutes Gurr's overbroad theorization: *Knight* indicates that early modern playwrights conceived of the "spectators" principally as members of the theater-going public who sat below the stage and looked at both the play as it was performed and at the gentlemen audience seated on or above the stage. Rodgers misses this evidence: neglecting the theater context of "spectatorship" as specifically articulated in *Knight's* apparatus, Rodgers denies the importance of Rafe's corporeality among equally human spectators and instead "investigates the Citizen and his wife as representational fields onto which certain spectatorial uncertainties; anxieties, and desires are projected and enacted" (57). Thus, Rodgers fails to identify what sector of the theater-going public playwrights meant when referring to the spectators of their plays.

A similar problem informs Rodgers's use of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. Rodgers rehearses Ben Jonson's address to King James in *Bartholomew Fair's* Epilogue, the first lines of which read that, "Your Majesty has seen the Play, and you / Can best allow I from your Ear and View" (141). Rodgers then contrasts Ben Jonson's reference to the King's seeing and hearing and understanding *Bartholomew Fair* with later admonitions by Jonson, Webster and Milton that imagine spectators to be passive, visually oriented and inactive respondents who,

according to these authors, need to be formed into Understanders. By way of the juxtaposition and the inclusion of two tables comparing instances of “spectator” and “audience” from 1580 to 1660 (148–149), Rodgers suggests that there is development or transition from an audience whose attention is both visual and auditory to a spectator whose attention is focused on the visual. Properly contextualized against theater practice, however, the evidence argues continuity, at least through 1642: As Jonson well knew when writing the Epilogue to *Bartholomew Fair*, the King ideally occupied the position of perfect auditory and visual perspective, unlike Queen Elizabeth who sat on the stage. However, when, as at Oxford, King James’s face could not be seen, the King’s advance team caused the dais to be moved. As Alvin Kernan has documented in *Shakespeare, The King’s Playwright*, even though movement of the dais compromised the King’s sensory experience of the drama, movement of the dais was necessary because, as his advance team published to the dons, it was more important for the King to be witnessed watching the play than for him to actually see and hear it performed. In neglecting theatrical context, Rodgers’s treatment of *Bartholomew Fair*’s Epilogue wholly neglects that in the pre-Restoration Stuart court theater, the King was the interpretive center of the theatrical performance, the play was read against his response, and it was the duty of the rest of the audience not to be spectators of the play but, rather, to listen to the play, to watch the King’s reaction, and to rise to his level of understanding.

Because Rodgers fails to identify the theatrical context of “spectator,” Rodgers overlooks the dynamic of correction that the epistemology of spectatorship implied and each performance allowed. Had, for instance, Rodgers acknowledged that Beaumont and Fletcher identified the spectators as part of that stage-going public who sat beneath the level of the stage, Rodgers would have recognized *Knight of the Burning Pestle* as an exercise in peirastic rhetoric that lampooned the anti-theatrical discourse that, ironically, figures so prominently in Rodgers’s first chapter. *Knight* showed to the public eye what exactly a play in the public theater would look like if what the theater’s detractors’ statements that the theater catered to the spectators’ baser appetites were actually true: the Citizen, the Wife and Rafe climb up from the position of the spectators to physically intrude into the

space occupied by the stage-sitting gentlemen in a way that would have been recognized as transgressive even by the other spectators themselves. The dissonance between the characters' action and playgoer expectation comically underscores that even the most self-indulgent of the spectators learned, by way of attending plays, to honor the decorum of the theater for a two-hour space. No less important is it to note, too, that *Knight's* character-spectators were played by known actors with physical bodies whose transgressive physicality against the stage-seated gentlemen is part of the enjoyment of the play: just as *The Carol Burnett Show* involved the bodies of persons in the studio audience in the performance when Eunice and Mama, coming in to view the show, caused two rows of the studio audience to move so that they could consolidate two seats together near the aisle, so *Knight's* Citizen and Wife required the ushers in every performance to move the stage-sitters off their stools. By reading the characters who climb up on the stage as symbols rather than as types of bad respondents far more transgressive than actual spectators would ever be, Rodgers's discussion of spectator epistemology eviscerates *Knight* both of its comical interactions between transgressive characters and audience members and *Knight's* rhetorical aim of showing that spectators in the public and private theaters to be nowhere near as self-indulgent or disorderly as antitheatrical diatribes alleged them to be.

Rodgers chooses a fantastic, historically grounded title for her book but ignores its implications for play construction. The title of Rodgers' book derives from child actor and later King's Man Nathan Field's commendatory poem prefacing John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, almost certainly printed in 1609. Rodgers properly points out that Field's narration of how "[T]he monster clapt his thousand hands / And drownd the sceane with his confused cry" reshaped Plato's metaphor for the crowd as a monster with many heads. What Rodgers neglects to note is that Field, unlike Plato, conceives of the audience as a type of Briareos, which mythological figuration implies the necessity of an opposing Olympian elite to suppress that monster within the theater space itself. Unattuned to the dynamic of audience differentiation implied by Field's allusive figure, Rodgers overlooks that, some two years or so later, in *The Tempest's* epilogue, a weather-witch pleads with the theater-going public to "release me from my

bands / with the help of your good hands" (*Tempest* Epilogue 9–10). The customary applause by the spectators as colored by the witch's request becomes monstrous in exactly the way Field expressed: whether in the public, private or court theater, the thousands of clapping hands would visibly—and monstrously—contrast with the expected stillness of the King, facing a type of witch whom he burned in the hundreds in 1592 for attacking him with storm at sea in 1589.

In short, Amy Rodgers' discussion of the Discursive Spectator in the Early Modern English theater brings up an issue that needs to be explored: the Early Modern epistemology denoting "spectatorship" as visual, passive, and generally inferior in understanding to a more ideal "audienceship" generally acquired by more attentive hearing. There is important work to be done in this field. Unfortunately, Rodgers hamstrings her own exploration of the question: neglecting rhetorical, historical and theatrical context long known to theater historians and, indeed, especially informing the works that she chooses to address, *The Monster with a Thousand Hands* obfuscates rather than documents the dynamic of audience differentiation that the verbal evidence that she recovers would have revealed, had the epistemology of spectatorship that she investigates been properly contextualized against sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theater practice.

P. J. Klemp. *The Theatre of Death: Rituals of Justice from the English Civil War to the Restoration*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2016. xix + 351 pp. + 16 illus. \$105.00. Review by SEAN BENSON, THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBUQUE.

Paul Klemp's title conjures something out of Vincent Price, and in one sense the macabre beheadings and other judicially sanctioned executions of the period—5000 by one estimate—justify his title (325). Yet what really interests the author is the theatricality of these "execution rituals" that constituted a "publicly enacted genre" (1). To be sure, all rituals follow patterns or scripts so as to channel the raw emotions of momentous events such as a funeral or wedding—certainly a beheading—into publicly approved and controlled directions. Rituals place reins on the unruliness of such moments. Klemp nicely

traces the difficulty of containing the instability inherent in publicly staged executions.

He begins with a critique of various rationales for capital punishment: retribution ("straightforward vengeance"); deterrence; a "sadistic imposition of anger"; communal purgation; and "a means of exorcising the demon or the Other ..." (4). These are, we are told, "contradictory," but only if one is arguing for all of them at once, which no one does: different persons argue for capital punishment based on different reasons, and thus they need not be contradictory.

He further notes that capital punishment is employed erratically and selectively, often targeting classes and races disproportionately. Again, though, imperfect or even inequitable implementation of punishment does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that capital punishment is mere "butchery" (6). Perhaps its implementation need only be regularized and bias, insofar as humanly possible, erased. One could argue, as Klemp does not, that since we are talking about executing someone, we ought to err on the side of caution, even if that means eliminating capital punishment.

"Capital punishment," he tells us, "makes no sense if one strives to create a judicial system governed by due process of law, equity ... deterrence, and proportionality ..." (4). This is a modern view, but it scarcely applies to the mindset of early modern persons, most of whom believed capital punishment was a fitting punishment for, say, spousal murder, and who did extend the form (if not always the substance as it has developed over time) of due process to the accused. It is hard to be sympathetic to or even understand early modern penology if one starts from the premise that capital punishment is nonsensical. Clearly early modern jurists did not think so. To Klemp's credit, he deals only with three infamous cases that had little to do with avenging a murder—they weren't even clear-cut crimes until the law was rewritten to place their actions under its purview. Such defining down of the treason laws created "arbitrary" verdicts, as the jurists acknowledged (76).

Klemp argues "any ritual that follows a script—or one that alters or violates it—is certain to be interpreted in wildly different ways," and the remainder of the book bears this assertion out in ample detail (12). He asks us to eschew the "dichotomous perspective" that envisions

“public executions either as unambiguous displays of a monolithic state power ... or as chaotic events” the authorities could not control (46, 44). He rightly notes that John Foxe subverted the Marian authorities’ attempts to define, control, and interpret the executions Foxe so vividly described in *Actes and Monuments* (1563).

Klemp’s position is that of Peter Lake and Michael Questier in their important *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat* (2002): “events on the scaffold [were] open to a number of competing interpretations. The result was an inherently unstable event, a species of dialogue, a partly scripted, partly extemporized series of exchanges” (qtd. in 286). If his argument is derivative, it has the considerable merit of illustrating the “hybridity, ambiguity,” and “carnavalesque polyvocality” of executions at greater length than Lake and Questier do (46, 187).

What is perhaps most intriguing is Klemp’s account of how treason was redefined to accommodate “accumulative” or “cumulative” treason, the charge applied to Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop William Laud. Because neither of these men did anything approaching high treason as that term is usually understood, the standard was downgraded to allow the trial and execution of Strafford and Laud, a decision in which Charles was himself complicit, and which he came to rue when the standard he embraced was eventually turned against him (280). Since high treason is an act against the monarch, Charles rightly objected that he could hardly be guilty of betraying himself, but the formal charge against him—“high Treason and high Misdemeanors”—was redefined as an act against the commonwealth. Charles, a firm believer in the divine right of kings, thought himself above the law, but parliament rewrote the law to subject him to it.

Klemp discusses the polyvocality of the multiple accounts and variations of Wentworth’s “scaffold speech,” one of the many conventions he lists as belonging to the genre of the execution rituals. Indeed, Strafford’s speech, “extant in some twenty 20 printings with hundreds of variants, is a model of early modern textual instability” (128). More interesting, and better known among specialists, are the accounts of the beheadings of both Archbishop Laud and Charles Stuart.

Although the three executions spanned nearly a decade in the 1640s, Klemp does an admirable job showing the remarkable simi-

larities, even what he calls a bit too generously, the “collaboration” among the three men in their resistance to the execution rituals to which they were subjected (274). All of them, for instance, offered a counter-narrative to the official charges they faced; in both their scaffold speeches and dress, they represented themselves as Christian martyrs, a convention dating to Foxe (149).

Since there were so many public executions during the century, Klemp makes the persuasive claim that many of those subject to a public execution knew the generic requirements that they were expected to fulfill, particularly by the authorities but also by their audiences—friends, family, enemies, and the curious—who came to view the spectacles (151). The subsequent publishing of their scaffold sermons and prayers were “shaped by notetakers, editors, printers, and animadverters” such as the cynical auditor who wrote that Laud’s final prayer before his beheading was merely “for politike ends” (173 and qtd. in 210).

Klemp discusses the convention that the convicted should admit his guilt before his public audience, but all three men subverted the genre by never accepting the justness of the verdicts rendered against them. Further expected to repent of their alleged wrongdoing, Charles refused even to enter a plea, which would have been an acquiescence to the proceedings. Turning the conventions against them, Charles in his scaffold speech remarked of his detractors, “I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin” (qtd. in 281). Charles comes across in these accounts of his death as regal, commanding, defiant to the very last, challenging a parliament that had the audacity to try his person for treason. To his credit, Klemp lets Charles speak in a way his detractors hoped to avoid. He would have none of their attempts to limit his speech to prescribed forms: “I would know by what power I am called hither,” he repeatedly told the court (qtd. in 245–46).

Klemp’s analogy of the execution ritual as theater runs the risk of overemphasizing the histrionics of the event, to the point of describing items such as the executioner’s chopping block as a (stage) “prop.” On the day of the Laud’s execution, January 10th, 1645, “[h]e brought a written sermon and prayers because the theater of execution’s conventions called for him to present his last dying words to the ‘tens

of thousands' of people gathered to witness the event" (202). What Klemp seems to have forgotten, though he does glance at it (327), is Dr. Johnson's witticism that a man's knowledge of his pending execution "concentrates his mind wonderfully."

Laud knew the conventions, to be sure, and easily defied them when he wished to. Klemp acknowledges the pervasive influence of the *ars moriendi* tradition, yet he subsumes it beneath theatrical metaphors. Laud's mind being concentrated as it was, he almost certainly thought it meet and salutary to deliver a sermon and to pray before his death. Klemp unfortunately depicts Laud, Strafford, and Charles as actors and authors quite concerned with redacting generic conventions to their very last breath. To be fair, he quotes Marvell's famous lines about Charles—"thence the *Royal Actor* born, / The *Tragick Scaffold* might adorn"—though Marvell knew this was only one view of Charles, and a tendentious one at that (275). Surely these men were thinking about more than theatric conventions in their last hours.

The Theatre of Death is scrupulously researched, even to an occasional fault. We are told that Simon Foster, an eyewitness who wrote his own account of Laud's execution, also redacted another printed version: "For example, he changed 'farre be it from me' to read 'farre be that from me'" (189). The authorial view also occasionally obtrudes on his subjects' perspectives, as when he offers the metaphysical view, "Given [Laud's and Strafford's postmortem] state of nothingness or nonexistence ..." (225). Yet the execution ritual permits its victims to repent and pray for both human and divine forgiveness. Accepted Church of England doctrine would place their souls in heaven (or, in the eyes of the vengeful, in hell), their bodies to be resurrected at the last day, neither body nor soul in a state of nonexistence or nothingness.

The book misses a few opportunities to connect history and literature. The scaffold speeches, for instance, were also a generic feature of domestic tragedies such as *Arden of Feversham* (c. 1592), in which Shakespeare almost certainly had a hand. Othello, too, gives an ambiguous scaffold speech that defies many of the conventions in the theater of death, one of which is his taking on the role of executioner.

The story ends with the Restoration and Charles II's initial attempt to execute many of the jurists and those who abetted them in executing his father. Despite his anger, the bloodletting that had raged for

so long was tempered, and “only” thirteen jurists directly implicated in Charles I’s death were executed. Klemp’s is a work of history, a compelling one for specialists who wish to know more about Laud’s and Charles’ speeches and prayers, and their textual afterlives.

Angelika Zirker. *William Shakespeare and John Donne: Stages of the Soul in Early Modern English Poetry*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019. xii + 268 pp. £80 / \$120.00. Review by P.G. STANWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

This ambitious and important study opens with the troubling words of the Ghost of Hamlet’s father who urges Hamlet not to forget that he must take revenge, but also to care for his troubled mother: “O step between her and her fighting soul” (3.4.109). He intends intervention; but as reflective observers of this theatrical action, we understand that “the soul, which is the receptive spectator of the play, will see in it what is going on inside itself, and make it externally visible” (xi). Angelika Zirker’s intriguing prologue leads on, of course, not to *Hamlet* but to non-dramatic poetry that is dramatic, and so to the two co-equal parts of her book: “Shakespeare’s *The Rape of Lucrece* and Donne’s *Holy Sonnets* are central to this study because they reflect, perhaps more clearly than any other early modern English poems, on the relationship between the soul as an inner space and as the immortal self by showing it involved in a drama that concerns the balance of its faculties as much as its eternal fate” (5). This assertion and its promise is fulfilled in the closely detailed study that follows of Shakespeare’s epyllion and (selectively) of Donne’s nineteen sonnets (Westmoreland Sequence).

But Zirker says more in her introduction in an effort to clarify and expand this difficult theme. We must re-consider the nature of the soliloquy, she urges, not merely in its traditional sense of inwardness and interiority; but rather we must re-imagine the soliloquy in order to show a history that uncovers its continuity from a “devotional practice to a literary one” (11). Moreover, “this subjectivity and the self-exploration as connected with a focus on the inward state and its expression through the soliloquy have to be linked to the realms of both

literature and religion" (11). The soliloquy is a dramatic constituent of both poetry and drama, and it provides, through the intermediary of the soul, a link between these two genres. Finally, Shakespeare and Donne, whose exemplary works provide the focus of this book, "enact the drama of the soul ... by alluding to psychomachia, by addressing the soul, by allegorizing it" (15). In both poets, "the stage of the poem becomes a stage of the soul, and on this stage, the soul is going through different stages towards immortality" (15).

The Rape of Lucrece is a very long poem (1855 lines written in rhyme royal), hugely popular in its time, and widely regarded as a "noble" work. Its language is extravagantly witty and conceited, and its lugubrious theme defined by a number of rhetorically contrived, set speeches ("soliloquies") by the two principal protagonists. Tarquin and Lucrece both speak not to each other, but in reflective passages which Zirker reads with detailed care in four chapters—close reading, she insists—is necessary. The drama of the soul is exposed (or extricated) in these tendentiously named divisions: The first, "Motivating the myth: allegory and psychology," studies the first three lines and the early stanzas of the poem. There follows, "'Thou art not what thou seem'st': Tarquin's inner stage and outer action"—an opposition, we learn, that Shakespeare achieves by "mingling physical aspects and aspects concerning the soul in foregrounding fear and desire that contain and pertain to both body and soul" (32). The broad outline of the argument is served by the particularity of the remaining sections of Part 1, which are devoted to *The Rape of Lucrece*. The very thoughtful and intensely rigorous exposition is often arduous, requiring the reader's patient attentiveness. The extremely generous annotations require further and concentrated attention.

The study of *Lucrece* now ended, the author turns in the second half of her book to "John Donne's *Holy Sonnets* and the so(u)le-talk of the soul." The unusual pairing of two dissimilar works—the sonnets considered as a unified whole—has been earlier explained, for we are concerned with the soul in dramatically staged soliloquy. Four of the sonnets, in which the soul is addressed, receive special attention: "Oh my black Soule," "If faythfull Soules," "Wilt thou love God," and "What yf this present." These and the remaining sonnets all broadly reveal the poet/speaker as the protagonist in a drama where the poem

becomes the stage.

"Oh my black Soule" "teems with dramatic allusions, e.g., to *The Summoning of Everyman* and *Doctor Faustus*, to name only two examples" (110). But *Tamburlaine* is offered as a gloss on color, in which the hero's determination is described: he pitches "white" tents, his "furniture" is red, and "*Black* are his colours" (4.1.48 ff.). Zirker recalls Donne's allusion to these colors in a letter to Wotton in 1608/9 in which he describes his sudden sickness "as fearefully ominous as Tamerlins last dayes black ensigns" (130). She additionally points to the liturgical use of color—black for Good Friday, white for Easter, and so on. This sonnet is rightly shown to possess many associations, the last lines being especially fraught, for they bespeak "the final stage of the soul: dy(e)ing in Christ's blood" (134). All of these reflections usefully extend the commentary on this (and the other sonnets) recorded in *The Donne Variorum* (2005), whose last year of reporting is 1995. Zirker is reading the *Holy Sonnets* in a new light and "against the background of the soliloquy, especially with regard to the communicative situation but also the drama of salvation that the speaker experiences and gives expression to in these miniature dramas" (152).

Further sections in this long chapter take up the traditional and historical context of the soliloquy, a word first associated with Augustine who wrote the *Soliloquia* as his own dialogue with an unseen interlocutor whom he would later identify as Ratio or Reason. Zirker extends this fascinating discussion to include especially Thomas Rogers's translation of Thomas à Kempis's fourth book of the *Imitation of Christ*, which he called *Soliloquium Animae: The sole-talke of the Soule, or, A spirituall and heavenlie Dialogue betwixt the Soule of Man and God* (1592); and so we are drawn to traditions of devotion, meditation, inner dialogue (e.g. *Richard III*), and Shakespeare's "Poor soul" of Sonnet 146. In the subsequent chapter we face "The speaker on the stage of the poem: Holy Sonnet 'This is my Playes last Scene'" (184 ff.).

This sonnet follows "Oh my black Soule" in all manuscripts, and so the speaker also moves from soliloquy to life as a stage, but he engages also with the inner stage in separate parts. The line-by-line analysis that follows is a brilliant display of the kind of close reading that opens new meaning while unveiling the thematic direction of the book. Such a discussion cannot be adequately summarized, but

the commentary on the last lines of this sonnet is especially cogent. Donne writes, "Impute me righteous thus purg'd of evill, / For thus I leaue the world, the fleshe, and deuill" (13–14). Zirker carefully records the various and conflicting interpretations of *imputation*: Protestant or Catholic emphasis? And the adverbial *thus*? Looking back, or looking forward to a future event? The difficulty may be settled: "The ambiguity ... allows for both a reading that points towards Catholic dogma of purgation and for one that is based on the Protestant doctrine of imputation; the speaker refers to both denominations in one single line" (214). And "thus" can be read "extradiegetically," referring to all that has happened and all that is to come (214).

The concluding chapter of *William Shakespeare and John Donne* gathers the book's thematic threads into a fitting peroration. The author surrounds her closely and firmly organized chapters with great learning and knowledge, not always necessary to display; for sometimes one idea reminds her of another that intrusively requires a footnote—where *OED* references should go, incidentally, not within the main body of the discussion, for the frequency of their citation is tiresome. The study of *The Rape of Lucrece* opens and occupies half the book, exhausting the reader who might feel that the book has reached its end. The later chapters on the *Holy Sonnets*, perhaps because these poems are obviously discrete, confined and autonomous, prove most successful, and for many readers likely more compelling of study than the excerpted passages from *Lucrece*.

The book is very carefully composed and attractively presented, and quite free from typographical error or misprint. One or two trivial observations: faith *Donatus* (14) should read saith *Donatus* (a common mistranscription); *partakes* for *partakers* (126); *Honly* for *Holy* (182). And the reference to Jeremy Taylor (142, note 10) should correctly give *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), with attendant correction to the bibliography (but note the contemporary edition, ed. P.G. Stanwood, Oxford UP, 1989).

Alex Garganigo. *Samson's Cords: Imposing Oaths in Milton, Marvell, and Butler*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. xviii + 319 pp. Can \$68.00. Review by NICHOLAS VON MALTZAHN, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA.

The centrality of oaths in Restoration politics has long been recognized, with such religious and political groupings as Dissenters and Nonjurors in part created by this means of coercion. Already in the English Revolution, some defining attempts to enforce allegiance or unity—the Solemn League and Covenant, for example, or the Engagement Oath—played an important role, and have as a result found close scrutiny by historians. In his innovative study, Alex Garganigo takes up the literary consequences of oath-taking in the works of Samuel Butler, Andrew Marvell, and John Milton. He focuses on loyalty oaths in particular, with special reference to their part in contests “over religious and political pluralism” (xi). The critical implications for a literature often enough engaged with such promises are here framed by a rich sense of the longer prehistory of oaths. But Garganigo is most curious about how these operate in the Restoration: he goes far to show in his chosen authors how a proliferation of oaths, especially of office, resulted in serious literary reflection on such compulsion. Sometimes, as in Butler, the prevalence of oaths in the period informs literature more obviously, with Garganigo showing the complex results as Butler differentiates between oaths reviled and those more welcome. Sometimes, as in Marvell, oaths play a less obvious but still substantial part, not least in his insistent “secularization of the oath” early and late (xiii). In Milton’s late works, the issues arise at a higher level of interpretation, as might be expected, with the complex intersection of vows and obligations in *Samson Agonistes* a fruitful area for Garganigo’s inquiry, with more daring inferences to be drawn on this account from selected passages in *Paradise Lost*. *Samson's Cords* makes new even some canonical texts. Garganigo restrains himself from addressing the present topicality of these writers’ responses to the polarizing consequence of such oaths, but time and again his study speaks to present-day concerns, even where oath-taking may be less pressing but where questions of collective identity and toleration remain insistent. His writing is lucid and to the point, with a quiet

wit further enlivening his pages.

Garganigo begins with an introductory overview of critical issues arising from the history of oaths in the period, with the proliferation of state oaths early in the Restoration a phenomenon, even in what might already have been an oath-weary nation. What might swearing mean? In brief, the very seriousness of oaths, and the compromises they forced on those seeking to evade their power, might contribute to a reckless readiness to swear, and also to much anxiety about that recklessness. The censure of idle profanation followed readily from biblical injunctions against swearing. Excuse might soon enough be made, however, for the promissory oaths intended to reinforce political, social, and legal obligations (however muddled the distinctions between oaths of assertion and of promise might prove in practice). And against such coercion, what subtleties in equivocation might yet prevent outright perjury? Garganigo shows some theoretical awareness of the stakes here, but the embedded social function of oaths justifies his historically driven account of them in his chosen authors.

With Butler, Garganigo's reading of *Hudibras* is a revelation, amply rewarding his historicist approach. Satire on the Solemn League and Covenant plays an obvious part in that mock-epic, but he also shows Butler's curiosity about such compulsion finding better application, notably in the contemporary Clarendon Code. The suggestive intersection between oaths and conjuring in *Hudibras*—conjuring to be understood both with the connotation of magic (*cónjuring*) and of what is sworn together (*conjúring*)—discloses Butler's complex reaction to the Covenant on one hand and to the Clarendon oaths of the early 1660s on the other. If there is inconsistency on this point, it seems to drive the poet's quixotic narrative, which at once laments the coercive and hypocritical qualities of the Covenant while affirming the social and political bonds effected by the latter oaths. This is to offer an unusually dynamic reading of the ways in which Butler's mock-epic argues with itself. Nor is this all high politics, much as *Hudibras* does address in outline the national narrative of the previous decades. Garganigo goes far to show more immediate motivation energizing Butler's "homely" poetics, not least in the poet's regard for the right performance of local officialdom.

Garganigo's understanding of like issues a decade later animates his take on Marvell's *Rehearsal Transposed*, both parts of which prove more centrally concerned with oaths than hitherto observed. How charged even less direct discussion of oaths might become is amply documented in Garganigo's close readings here. His is a productive comparison of the different operation of these successive volumes of prose satire, written on either side of the revocation of the Declaration of Indulgence and passage of the Test Act (1673). He shows that is consistent with Marvell's later prose works of the 1670s—not surprising, though Garganigo's observations are instructive—but consistent also with Marvell's poetry of twenty or more years before, in a suggestive reading of "An Horatian Ode." The chapter on this poem follows Conal Condren's lead in improving on John Wallace's argument of 50 years ago that it is closely wound into the Engagement controversy. Garganigo reads it as a "secular" ode marking the transition from one age to another, but also secular in its unspoken disavowal of confessional authority, in a fuller separation of church and state, as if in a fully tolerant Independency. It thus becomes something of an "Horatian Oath" (94) committing to an adequately tolerant *de facto* power. This reading, it may be added, invites consideration also of that poem's not-quite-publication in Marvell's posthumous *Miscellaneous Poems* (1681).

The final three chapters ask a further level of critical inference with a series of Milton's major writings, first *Eikonoklastes* and *Samson Agonistes*, and then *Paradise Lost*. Again, Garganigo finds impressive material for his purpose, with Milton's reflections on oaths and obligations usefully summarized in his *De Doctrina Christiana* but here discerned in one Miltonic work after another—the range of reference on this point is most effective. Milton acknowledges the significance of oaths in important civil matters, though opposed to "stiff vows" meant "To force our consciences" (99). Garganigo investigates the common seventeenth-century application of the story of Samson breaking his cords to the oath-taker seeking freedom from constraint. This figurative usage explains the title of this monograph more fully; it also enlarges our sense of *Samson Agonistes* as a dramatization of the operation of conscience. Milton's version proves revealingly to yield a more vow-driven narrative than Judges, with the present analysis

offering a telling list of such episodes (117–18). Garganigo shows the poet subjecting vow-taking to complex consideration in the closet-drama, with the Restoration Milton now having still more ample cause to think through the matter poetically. It is an impressive reading.

On this basis, Garganigo's further inferences about *Paradise Lost* gain weight. He argues that Milton emphasizes God's "swearing by himself" in order to insist on the binding force of the coronation oath on a monarch—this with reference especially to *Paradise Lost*, Book 5, lines 607–8, where God discloses He has "sworn" all knees in heaven shall bow to the Son (130ff.). The biblical sanction for describing God as making vows had attracted much commentary. Milton is also curious about the implications. Garganigo seems strangely reluctant to concede the exceptional—indeed ontologically distinct—status of divine monarchy (135, 162–3). But his argument is instructive about the Restoration application of Milton's insistence on a coronation oath's lasting constraint on the Crown. As for subject (or citizen?), the test of fealty in the "forbidden fruit" proves in Garganigo's handling strangely analogous to the renewed Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in the 1660s. The question whether women too might be enjoined by such oath-taking enlarges his frame of reference, with his finding Milton's Eve independently under this obligation, as if a corrective insisting on women's civic role (179). More might be allowed to Milton's sharper distinction of pre- and postlapsarian roles and the terms of the judgements against serpent, Adam, and Eve. Even so, the commentary is animated by shrewd critical insights about Eve's autonomy as declared in considerable part by her capacity "to take and break state oaths of allegiance" (187). On this point too Garganigo substantiates his claim that *Paradise Lost* makes both timeless claims and claims very much of its time, notably concerning women as citizens in the Restoration. An important dimension has been added to our understanding of *Paradise Lost*.

In the close, a useful appendix sets straight an anomaly in the text of Marvell's letters, where an eighteenth-century printing mistakes as "Book-Houses" where the original letter (now lost) had "Both Houses" (of parliament); it may be noted that Marvell's hand-writing in a like case can confirm Garganigo's persuasive conjecture.

Lara Crowley. *Manuscript Matters: Reading John Donne's Poetry & Prose in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. xx + 255 + 12 illustrations + 4 tables. \$74.00. Review by JOSHUA ECKHARDT, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY.

A book about the manuscript contexts of Donne's poems and prose may seem designed for a small audience. And indeed only experts are likely to take an abiding interest in Lara Crowley's chapters on some of Donne's more difficult works: *Metempsychosis*, particularly in the Gosse manuscript (Folger MS V.a.241), and "Paradoxes and Problems," focusing on the Gell manuscript (Derbyshire Record Office MS D258/7/13/6). Nevertheless, Crowley's other chapters could, and should, reach well beyond Donne circles to engage experts on women's reading and early modern psalms, including even scholars who suffer from "archival shyness" (27). Crowley coined this phrase in a particularly accessible section on "Investigating Literary Manuscripts" (27–37). The section begins with the story of an unnamed scholar who doesn't "do" manuscript research; it proceeds to introduce a number of the practical steps involved in selecting and consulting an early modern manuscript. If given the chance, this part of the introductory chapter could encourage scholars and even motivated students to get over their "archival shyness" by explaining just what to do, and what to look for, in a manuscripts reading room. Especially for students, this section could usefully accompany an introduction to researching early modern printed books (for instance by Gaskell, Greetham, Dane, or Werner).

The final chapter should attract anyone interested in women's literary activity in the early modern period, and especially those already aware of the Margaret Bellasis Manuscript (British Library, Add. MS 10309). Crowley mentions that this manuscript is not as well-known as some others, citing two that have been published in documentary editions (174). The Bellasis Manuscript, by contrast, has not been edited. Nevertheless, as she leads readers through the manuscript, Crowley is able to cite a good deal of recent scholarship that addresses this manuscript in particular (by Moulton, Estill, Smyth, O'Callaghan, North, and others). As she does so, her chapter ends up demonstrating that the Bellasis Manuscript is relatively well-known, after all. Not

many unedited early modern English manuscripts have received the wide range of scholarly attention that this one has. Crowley's chapter lays out this scholarship perfectly, balancing other scholars' insights with her own careful observations of the artifact. Her ability to do this strikes me as cause for celebration, even if only for those of us who have been wanting manuscripts to become more common knowledge. This chapter demonstrates that the Bellasis Manuscript is one of the relatively few seventeenth-century English manuscripts that experts have been discussing in detail without the help of a published edition. It is now required reading for any study of this clearly important artifact.

The main event of Crowley's book comes in her fourth chapter. There she argues that Donne wrote a paraphrase of Psalm 137 that scholars have long misattributed to Francis Davison. With this ambitious argument, Crowley's book becomes particularly compelling and controversial. Perhaps any attribution argument is important, especially if it involves a major author such as Donne. But attributing a psalm paraphrase to Donne is a bigger deal than attributing another love poem or another sermon to him, because we know that he wrote love poems and sermons. By contrast, we did not know that Donne tried his hand at versifying a psalm. This has left Donne out of the rich tradition of translating and paraphrasing psalms. As Zim, Hamlin, Quitslund, and others have demonstrated, psalm translation and paraphrase engaged many canonical "literary" authors, in addition to Bible translators and church musicians: Wyatt, Surrey, Harington, the Sidneys, Wotton, Davies, Herbert, Carew, Cowley, Sandys, Vaughan, Milton—as well as Coverdale, Joye, Parker, Sternhold, and Hopkins. Without Crowley's reattribution, Donne would belong not on this list but on another one, with authors who appear not to have written their own versions of psalms, such as Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Jonson. It might make sense that Donne would have added the metrical psalm to the long list of poetic genres that he attempted. He did, after all, write a poem praising the Sidney psalter and denigrating other English psalms. And of course, he wrote many other religious poems, including even a verse paraphrase of Lamentations. Crowley duly attends to both of these accepted Donne works. She points out the historical relationship between Lamentations and the 137th Psalm, and briefly focuses on some stylistic similarities between the versifications that,

she argues, are both by Donne. These are just some of the features of an argument that is careful, sincere, and likely to convince most, but not all, readers. In the rest of the space that I have for this review, I think that it's worth focusing on a couple of the reasons why some of her more resistant readers may doubt Crowley's reattribution, at least before they see how deftly she handles the evidence.

As Crowley explains, the attribution to Davison comes from the psalm's controversial inclusion in nineteenth-century editions of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*. These editions derived their texts of the psalm from British Library, Harley MS 6930. This manuscript is one of three surviving artifacts that attribute the psalm to Davison; the others are BL, Harley MS 3357 and Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 61. These three sources might initially seem to provide strong evidence for Davison's authorship, especially since only five manuscripts attribute the psalm to Donne. But Crowley explains that a single scribe, Ralph Crane, produced all three of the extant attributions to Davison. This means that they count not as three separate votes in favor of Davison's authorship but as "essentially one manuscript witness with two copies" (146). Moreover, in addition to the five manuscript copies ascribed to Donne, every seventeenth-century printed edition of his poems included the psalm as his.

The attribution to Davison has also drawn support from a letter that accompanies an unattributed copy of the poem. Both occur in B14, which stands (in both the Donne *Variorum* and Crowley's book) for British Library, Add. MS 27407. As Crowley helpfully explains, this manuscript is one of "three volumes containing poetical pieces from collections of Oliver and Peter Le Neve and Thomas Martin of Palgrave (BL, Add. MSS 27406–8)." In the middle volume of the set, the psalm appears "within a letter without signature, addressed only to 'My most honored Lord.'" The letter writer tells the lord, "I forgott my self when I sent yo^r Lo^{pp} word, that I had not y^e Psalm: yo^w sent for; I doe not vse to *paraphrase* so much vppon my other translated Psalms, but tye my self more strictly to the Originall, holding those Translations best y^r suffer y^e least Translation: But thus; Sings the bolder Poet to the 137th Psalm" (140). As Crowley explains nicely, E. K. Chambers and Herbert Grierson thought that this unsigned letter was by Francis Davison. Grierson also pointed out that it was

not written in Donne's hand; but Crowley points out that it isn't in Davison's hand either. If Davison originally composed the letter, someone else must have copied it. More to the point, what did the letter writer mean when he referred to "my other translated Psalms"? Did he mean "that he composed both this verse psalm and others?" This is what Chambers and Grierson thought. And this is what Crowley's most resistant readers are likely to continue to think. But Crowley offers some "equally plausible" alternative interpretations of the letter writer's meaning: for instance, "perhaps he suggests that he translated verse psalms 'other' than 137." Crowley proceeds to recognize that, if Davison wrote this letter about his own paraphrase of Psalm 137, he made several odd claims. First, he "told the recipient that he did not have a copy of his own poem." This "seems unlikely." Second, Davison criticized the paraphrase that the recipient had requested, calling it the work of a "bolder Poet." According to the traditional attribution, Davison was here "awkwardly" calling the psalm "the effort of a 'bolder Poet' than Davison usually is." "Again, this scenario seems unlikely" (141).

Crowley offers a couple of other possible scenarios. In one of these, the letter was written by "another poet—not Davison or Donne—who was presenting this 'Lord' with a copy of 'Psalm 137,' composed by someone whom the letter-writer considers a 'bolder Poet' than himself or herself" (141–42). The lord had asked the poet for a copy of this particular paraphrase; the poet replied that he did not have a copy; but he then found a one. He also found, and stated, that it was a much freer translation than he would personally attempt or generally recommend. But thus sings "the bolder Poet." And "surely Donne more than most poets has been accused of boldness in his verse." Although this is Crowley's preferred interpretation, she admits another. When the letter writer referred to "my other translated Psalms," he could have been referring to translations that he had merely collected, and not composed on his own. Crowley's ultimate point about this letter is that it "does not offer substantial evidence in favor of either poet's authorship" (142). Once she has dispensed with the letter, and reduced the contemporary Davison attributions to just one (made and copied by Crane), Crowley leaves readers with considerable evidence in support of Donne's authorship: five distinct manuscripts and all

seven seventeenth-printed editions. The result has obviously important ramifications for the study of Donne, psalms, and attribution. Indeed, the chapter (and perhaps some of the responses that it eventually elicits) could serve as a model reattribution argument.

Kirk Melnikoff. *Elizabethan Publishing and the Makings of Literary Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. xiii + 279 pp. + 10 illus. \$70.00. Review by STEVEN W. MAY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

Kirk Melnikoff argues in this book that the nature and development of Elizabethan literary culture cannot be fully understood without recognizing the important role of the publishers who made it available to contemporary readers in printed books and pamphlets. This study's particular focus is upon "book-trade publishers that were not printers" (10), that is, the stationers and members of other London craft guilds who acquired the copy, edited, and financed the books that printers in turn saw through the press. While the "New Bibliography" has taught us a great deal about how printers turned their copy into printed artifacts, how those manuscripts were prepared for the press in the first place is largely unexplored territory.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the various tasks performed by these publishers, from acquiring the manuscript to what we would today term press styling and copy editing the work for the printer. This process might include wording the title page, commissioning the book's dedication, commendatory verses and marketing blurbs, supplying the work with chapter divisions, marginalia, a table of contents, topical indexes (tables), and illustrations. Publishers also arranged for translations of foreign language works; in some instances they supplied their own copy. Melnikoff notes that a number of publishers came to specialize in certain types and genres of imprint without holding patents of monopoly (as did a number of printers, including Richard Tottel and John Day).

The remaining chapters analyze the output of individual Elizabethan publishers. Chapter 2 concerns Thomas Hacket, whose contributions to literary culture are somewhat marginal. The son of a French bookbinder, Hacket became a London stationer for whom publishing

was something of a sideline. Before 1562 he seems to have concentrated on protestant tracts with a Calvinist slant. Thereafter he made use of his family background to translate French works, including French romances. He also supplied his own copy by translating and publishing French travel narratives, building on the pioneering work of Richard Eden toward popularizing this prose genre. Chapter 3 focuses on a far more literary publisher, Richard Smith. Smith sponsored virtually all of George Gascoigne's poetic works, and those of Henry Constable and George Chapman among other well-known English poets. In addition, Smith himself rendered Robert Henryson's Scottish *Tales of Aesop* into English verse and published his edition in 1577. Of particular interest here is Melnikoff's argument that Smith organized his second, expanded edition of Constable's *Diana* into "Decades," each with its own theme.

Chapter 4 deals with Thomas Woodcock's edition of Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* (1594), the rights to which were transferred to Paul Linley and John Flasket. These publishers also brought out the first edition of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* in 1598 and apparently planned to reissue *Dido* in combination with John Dickinson's Mediterranean romance *Arisbas* as, Melnikoff argues, a publication unified by its Ovidian content. Chapter 5 treats Nicholas Ling's interest in publishing collections of *sententiae*, such as his bestseller *Politeuphuia* (1597), along with an overarching interest in republican as opposed to monarchical government. Melnikoff finds both these interests combined in Ling's sponsorship of the first two editions of *Hamlet*, Q1 (1603) and Q2 (1604). In the play it is Corambis (Polonius), whose often-mocked words of wisdom are actually punctuated to attract the reader's notice as worthy of particular consideration or even copying into a commonplace book. As a literary publisher, Ling also sponsored a number of other works, including two by Nicholas Breton, *The Figure of Four* and *Wit's Trenchmour* in 1597, and *England's Parnassus* and Christopher Middleton's *Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* in 1600.

Throughout this study we find an emphasis on how publishers attempted to enhance the marketability of the titles they sponsored. This included the reissue of unsold sheets under different title pages as well as combining entire works as in the case of *Dido* with *Arisbas*.

Publishers routinely added timely information to title pages touting the expansion and updating of content in revised new editions. Financial risk was minimized in a number of cases by joint publishing. Hacket, for example, collaborated with other publishers in four of his eight editions between 1560 and 1562. In two useful tables (41), Melnikoff charts publishers' expanded use of another marketing ploy, dedications, broken down by numbers of dedicatory epistles and dedicatory poems. Presumably, readers would equate dedications with endorsements of the work, while dedications also garnered additional income in the form of rewards from the dedicatees. *Elizabethan Publishing* provides an insightful cross-section of publishers' practices, concentrated on those who specialized in literary works or who published especially noteworthy authors and titles.

Just how publishers of whatever stamp acquired and edited the works they sponsored is an intriguing, largely unstudied question, but one that will probably never be answered in satisfactory detail. In this study, the evidence for how publishers tailored the manuscripts they acquired into the printed books produced from them derives, necessarily, from the books themselves. Only two examples of manuscripts actually used in the printshop have survived from the early modern period. We cannot otherwise be sure how publishers edited, perhaps even wholly recopied authorial manuscripts for delivery to printers. Did Gascoigne add the often lengthy titles to the poems in his *Hundredreth Sundry Flowers* or are they the editorial interventions of publisher Smith? Nor do we know to what extent publishers (who were not themselves printers) consulted with authors and their printers, perhaps even with other booksellers and makers of engravings and woodcuts, in order to turn out the final printed copy. Melnikoff excludes from his discussion the "rare literary project funded by an author or a patron" (6). Unfortunately, this causes him to omit perhaps the best known instance of an Elizabethan publisher's interaction with his printer, Sir John Harington's instructions to Richard Field. Harington's note occurs in the printer's copy for Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, British Library Add. MS 18920, where he asks that Field set part of the book "except the table in the same printe as Putnams book." The relevant point here is that Harington seems to have allowed Field to determine most of his book's format, at least with regard to type

face and ornaments. But was this the norm for publishers generally? Melnikoff shows that errata lists were an increasingly common addition in Elizabethan books, but where publishers were not themselves printers, it seems unlikely that they would have compiled these lists. The frequent insertions into STC books of notes headed "The Printer to the Reader" also suggest that book contents may have been more of a collaborative effort than *Elizabethan Publishing* suggests.

Equally fascinating for want of evidence is the question of how publishers acquired the texts they published. Richard Robinson and a few other writers, as Melnikoff notes, left records of the sums they received from publishers. Overall, however, the nature of these transactions, or even how publishers became acquainted with the authors they sponsored remains a mystery. Melnikoff, wisely perhaps, avoids speculating about how Smith, for instance, obtained publication rights to the works of Gascoigne, Constable, and Chapman, or how Ling acquired two very different versions of *Hamlet*. He mentions the printer John Danter, but not Danter's appearance in the anonymous play *The Returne from Parnassus* where a Cambridge student persuades him to purchase a manuscript copy of his "Chronicle of Cambridge Cuckolds" for forty shillings. Danter foresees so keen a market for this poem that he vows to acquire it no matter what the cost. Here we have what is no doubt a parody of a printer-publisher's acquisition of copy, yet it must represent at some remove how publishers obtained works by such university students as Robert Greene, Marlowe, Nashe, Constable, and the rest. In these transactions, some Elizabethan publishers made a good deal of money (as the theatrical Danter in the Cambridge play expected would be the case). *Elizabethan Publishing* leaves open numerous opportunities for further research into the biographies of publishers and their relationships with the authors of the literary works they sent to the press.

Elizabethan Publishing would itself have benefitted from a publisher that paid more attention to the details of this book's presentation. Quotations from Elizabethan books are in old spelling, not without a number of misprints such as "loues loue" for "loues lore" (151) and "feazd" for "seazd" (152). "A Note on the Text" explains that "Abbreviations in early modern texts have been expanded" (xiii), but on p. 15 we find "man" for 'manner' and "pfect" for 'perfect'. Barnabe

Rich's 1581 title *Farewell to Militarie Profession* appears as "*Farewell to the Military Profession*" (42. Neither this book nor Rich are cited in the index). For "Dickinson" the author of *Arisbas*, read "Dickenson" *passim*. *Elizabethan Publishing* makes a genuine contribution to our understanding of how publishers influenced the early modern literary texts that have come down to us in print—it deserved much better copy editing and proofreading.

The Works of Henry Vaughan: Volume I. Introduction and Texts 1646-1652; *Volume II. Texts* 1654-1678, *Letters, & Medical Marginalia*; *Volume III. Commentaries and Bibliography*. Edited by Donald R. Dickson, Alan Rudrum and Robert Wilcher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. cii + 1444 pp. \$350. Review by JONATHAN NAUMAN, VAUGHAN ASSOCIATION.

When the Reverend Henry Francis Lyte presented a full volume of Henry Vaughan's *Sacred Poems* to the public in 1847, reviving the work of a seventeenth-century author whose books had seen no reprints since their first editions, the only commentary he supplied was a thirty-eight-page "Biographical Sketch," in which he aimed primarily to explain and reverse the Anglo-Welsh poet's lack of public recognition during the neoclassical eighteenth century. The Reverend Alexander Grosart's Fuller Worthies edition,¹ which emerged in four volumes twenty-four years later, included Vaughan's prose as well as his poems, and also provided some footnoting, mainly to identify Biblical, classical, and patristic allusions, and to argue for and against emendations to Vaughan's texts. Grosart was largely concerned to characterize Vaughan as an early Romantic, an inclination certainly reinforced by his being caught up in the late-nineteenth-century rumor that Wordsworth had owned a copy of Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*, a piece of literary news that

1 A. B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose Complete of Henry Vaughan, Silurist*, 4 vols. [Blackburn, Lancashire: The Fuller Worthies Library,] 1871. Citations

was later shown to be unfounded.² His edition was supplemented with a “Memorial-Introduction” (I.xix-xlvi) and an “Essay” on Vaughan’s “Life and Writings” (II.ix-ci) which claimed that certain of Vaughan’s poems had “beyond all question” enabled “Wordsworth in his most august meditative moods” (II.lxviii), and that Vaughan’s ability to articulate fleeting insights that would be found “purely subjective and incommunicable” in usual human experience had anticipated the lyric accomplishments of Shelley and Rosetti (II.lxx). The nineteenth-century revival of Vaughan’s literary reputation culminated in 1896 with Edmund Kerchever Chambers’s two-volume *Muse’s Library* edition of the *Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist*,³ which included a “Biographical Note” by the editor (II.xv-lvi), a literary “Introduction” by Canon Henry Charles Beeching (I.vii-lii), and supplementary endnotes which for the devotional verse were especially geared toward tracing “the many parallels” between Vaughan’s poems and George Herbert’s (I.295). Chambers and Beeching followed Grosart in asserting that a copy of *Silex Scintillans* “found its way to Wordsworth’s library, as Archbishop Trench discovered, and

2 Grosart mentioned a personal communication from Archbishop Richard Chenevix Trench attesting that Wordsworth had possessed a seventeenth-century copy of *Silex Scintillans* that “bore many marks of earnest use” (II.lxiv); and Grosart also claimed, without clarifying how he had gathered the information, that “the great Poet’s sale-Catalogue establishes the fact: for there *Silex Scintillans* is duly entered” (II.lxiv). While discussing George Macdonald’s musings over parallels between Vaughan’s “The Retreat” and Wordsworth’s “Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood” (see Macdonald, *England’s Antiphon* [London: Macmillan, {1868}], 254–256), Grosart mentioned once again Wordsworth’s “well-worn copy of *Silex Scintillans*,” critiquing Macdonald’s remarks from a standpoint of certainty that “The Retreat” had inspired Wordsworth’s “Ode” (II.lxvi–lxvii). For an account of the literary controversy over Wordsworth’s alleged copy of Vaughan, which began with Grosart’s Vaughan edition and an endnote in Archbishop Trench’s *Household Book of English Poetry*, 2nd ed. (1870) and effectively concluded with Helen McMaster’s investigations in “Vaughan and Wordsworth,” *Review of English Studies* 11 (1935): 313–325, see Donald R. Dickson, Alan Rudrum, and Robert Wilcher, eds., *The Works of Henry Vaughan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), lx–lxi. This edition, here reviewed, will be cited within my text as *Works* 2018.

3 E. K. Chambers, ed., *The Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist*, 2 vols., with an Introduction by H. C. Beeching. London: Lawrence and Bullen; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1896. Citations below from Chambers’s edition are inserted parenthetically within my text.

became the germ of the great ‘Ode on the Intimations of Immortality’ (I.I); and both advanced further instances of Vaughan’s supposed influence in Wordsworth’s poetry.⁴ Beeching’s Introduction also articulated a rather dismissive late-romantic literary assessment of Vaughan’s poems by suggesting “that many of Vaughan’s readers may care less for his mystical theology than for [his] occasional beauties of natural description or imaginative phrase” (I.xlvi): Beeching subsequently transformed these postulated preferences into an evaluation of Vaughan as “very much the poet of fine lines and stanzas, of imaginative intervals” (I.xlviii) and then applied his evaluation by categorizing certain poems from *Silex Scintillans* in which he could find no “spark” of natural description or striking phrase as “*banal*” (I.xlix). Chambers’s endnotes and historical backgrounds, on the other hand, brought Vaughan’s local connections and commitments into focus, particularly reconsidering the evidence for Vaughan having fought for the King during the Civil Wars. Much information for these helps, which tacitly opened wider vistas for appreciating Vaughan’s pre-romantic literary talent, came from a middle-aged Welshwoman resident in Brecon, whose aid Chambers especially acknowledged at the end of his Biographical Note.⁵

4 Beeching (I.I) derived the tenth stanza of Wordsworth’s “The Affliction of Margaret” from the second stanza of Vaughan’s “Come, come, what doe I here?” (*Works* 2018, 82–83; see also *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth*, Thomas Hutchinson, ed. [London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932], 117), and he also claimed that “the substance of an elaborate simile in the fourth book of [Wordsworth’s] ‘Excursion’ on the soul’s power to deal with circumstance [*Poetical Works*, 817, ll. 1058–1077] is to be found in a single line of [Vaughan’s lyric] ‘Death’ [*Works* 2018, 622–623]: ‘mists make but triumphs for the day’ [l. 30].” Chambers (II.315) claimed that Wordsworth’s “Character of the Happy Warrior” (*Poetical Works*, 493–494) depended “at least as much” on Vaughan’s “Righteousness” (*Works* 2018, 613–614) as the Immortality Ode (*Poetical Works*, 580–90) did on “The Retreat” (*Works* 2018, 81–82). Both Beeching and Chambers implicitly assumed that the “copy of *Silex Scintillans*” that they had heard to be “mentioned in the sale catalogue of Wordsworth’s library” (II.302) was the enlarged second edition of 1655, where the lyrics “Righteousness” and “Death” first appeared.

5 Chambers ended his note saying that his gratitude was due “notably to Miss G. E. F. Morgan of Brecon, whose knowledge of local genealogy and antiquities has been invaluable” (II.lvi). The tribute was well-deserved. Miss Morgan, *inter alia*, had supplied details regarding Charles Walbeoffe, one of the poet’s most prominent friends and subject of one of his elegies (II.346); had relayed news of two additional

The woman was Gwenllian E. F. Morgan, eldest surviving daughter of the Reverend Philip Howell Morgan, who ended his clerical career as Rector of Llanhamlach, the next parish upriver from Henry Vaughan's at Llansantffraed.⁶ Morgan had been publishing antiquarian articles in local journals on Henry Vaughan and other subjects, and in the year that Chambers's Vaughan edition emerged she was coordinating an appeal to restore Vaughan's gravesite in Llansantffraed churchyard, a project initiated by the Irish-American poet and scholar Louise Imogen Guiney, whose first literary essay on Vaughan, appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* two years earlier, had also proven useful to Chambers (I.295). Almost from the outset of their correspondence, these two talented spinsters had agreed that they must try to coedit Henry Vaughan's poetry, which they both appreciated as cavalier verse manifesting the personality and learned devotion of a Welsh Laudian royalist. Guiney, who spent much time as a free-lance researcher at the Bodleian and British Libraries, had detailed acquaintance with seventeenth-century English poetry, cavalier and otherwise; and she had also done considerable reading in histories of the Civil War and of private and public Civil War era documents. During the twenty-five years of their friendship, the two women exchanged "hundreds of letters" and compiled "many notebooks, files, genealogies, [and] copies of legal documents" for their project,⁷ dealing with multiple publishers interested in presenting their researches⁸; but shifts and competition in the literary market and their own ambitions to produce a complete and detailed account of Vaughan's life ultimately kept them

extant copies of Vaughan's *Thalia Rediviva*, one in Wales and one in England, beyond the British Library exemplar previously presumed to be unique (II.343); and had arranged for Chambers to receive a document copy from Hereford Probate where she had recently found record of Vaughan having died intestate with administration granted to his second wife (II.xx, note 1).

6 Elsie Pritchard, "Gwenllian Morgan 1852–1939," *Brycheiniog* 12 (1966–1967): 93.

7 F. E. Hutchinson, *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), v.

8 More details about the progress of Guiney's and Morgan's proposed Vaughan edition and some analyses of the causes of their failure to complete it can be seen in J. Nauman, "F. E. Hutchinson, Louise Guiney, and Henry Vaughan," *Scintilla* 6 (2002): 135–147 and J. Nauman, "Louise Imogen Guiney and Henry Vaughan," *Brycheiniog* 48 (2017): 98–121.

from finishing the edition. Before her death at age 59 in 1920, Guiney did manage to edit a selection from Vaughan's prose devotional works for the London office of the Oxford University Press,⁹ with introduction and footnotes which made considerable scholarly advances for the material in tracking of Vaughan's allusions and the provision of glosses; and her presentation of Vaughan's extant manuscript correspondence with John Aubrey and Anthony Wood, interpolated with a full biographical commentary,¹⁰ would be recognized through the following century as a landmark advance in Vaughan studies.¹¹ Gwenllïan Morgan, who survived her friend by almost two decades, continued with the Vaughan project as she was able amidst a groundbreaking public career as the first woman to be elected Town Councilor in Wales (1907) and then the first woman in Wales to be elected Mayor (1910). As she remained in office as Councilor until after she was seventy years old, public duties very much constrained the amount of time she was able to dedicate to her Vaughan project¹²; but following her passing away at age 87, two months after the outbreak of the Second World War, her literary friends were able to deliver the materials that she and Guiney had gathered into the able care of Canon Francis Ernest Hutchinson of Oxford, who produced a biographical study from them and from his own researches that remains to this day "the major source of reliable information about Vaughan's life and context" (*Works* 2018, lvii).

9 L. I. Guiney, ed., *The Mount of Olives and Primitive Holiness Set Forth in the Life of Paulinus Bishop of Nola by Henry Vaughan, Silurist*. London: Henry Frowde,

10 Louise Imogen Guiney, "Henry Vaughan: Unpublished Letters, with a Commentary." *The Nation* 100 (1915): 275–278, 300–303.

11 See E. L. Marilla, *A Comprehensive Bibliography of Henry Vaughan*

12 See Pritchard, 103. Morgan's public roles also included service as Warden to the Priory Church of St. John from 1920 until 1922 (in 1923 the Priory Church became the Brecon Cathedral). Her guidebook to the church, first published in 1903, sold thousands of copies, and a fourteenth edition was in print in 1961 (Pritchard,

Morgan and Guiney were still in the midst of their editorial and biographical efforts when, in 1914,¹³ the Clarendon Press at Oxford published its first edition of *The Works of Henry Vaughan*.¹⁴ Never before had such a careful and “authentic collation of Vaughan’s poems” and prose been made available.¹⁵ The editor, Leonard Cyril Martin, tactfully declined to pursue earlier efforts to connect Vaughan with the romantic poets,¹⁶ and he focused his brief supplement of endnotes, 31 pages for 676 pages of text, on clarifying the historical contexts of the poems and treatises, on tracking interpolated passages in Vaughan’s translations, and on identifying Vaughan’s literary debts to seventeenth-century and earlier writers. Martin found Guiney’s selection from Vaughan’s prose and also one of her published articles useful for his efforts,¹⁷ and Morgan’s work as mediated by Chambers was used as well.¹⁸ His edition was at once accepted as authoritative¹⁹; and, issued as it was immediately after the First World War and on the cusp of the movement toward literary Modernism, its thoroughgoing academic professionalism became a benchmark for those seeking to approach Vaughan in modes appropriate to the twentieth century. Guiney and Morgan recognized the merits

13 Martin notes in the preface to his second edition that the volumes, though imprinted 1914, were not actually released until the following year. See L. C. Martin, ed., *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), iii. From here on, this edition will be cited within my text as “Martin 1957.”

14 L. C. Martin, ed., *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon

15 Guiney, “Henry Vaughan: Unpublished Letters,” 276.

16 Martin stated in his three-page Preface that “it has seemed unnecessary to point out once more [Vaughan’s] obvious anticipations of later poets” (Martin

17 See for instance his notes on *The Mount of Olives* and *Thalia Rediviva*

18 See for example his note on Vaughan’s *Olor Iscanus* poem “To his retired friend” citing Chambers, II.337 (Martin 1914, 680) and his note on Vaughan’s elegy

19 However, at least one reviewer did point out some possible royalist topicalities that he had missed: see G. C. Moore Smith, “The Works of Henry Vaughan

of Martin's work but continued with their own project,²⁰ feeling that a more biographical edition was needed to clarify Vaughan's distinctive style of literary royalism.

We have already noted that Guiney's and Morgan's project was finally completed by F. E. Hutchinson. Canon Hutchinson died in the year that his Vaughan study was published, and ten years later, in 1957, L. C. Martin, now in his seventies, revisited Vaughan studies in order to edit the Clarendon Press's second edition of Vaughan's *Works*. Martin cited Hutchinson's Vaughan biography with homage; and one clear aim in his re-editing was to establish and complete the publishing of Guiney's and Morgan's Vaughan work as rendered by Hutchinson. Martin presented details on this aspect of his project in the first paragraphs of his new Preface, acknowledging his revisions for the second edition to be especially indebted to Hutchinson,

and through him to the two ladies, Louisa²¹ Imogen Guiney and Gwenllian E. F. Morgan, on whose combined investigations the biography largely depends, and who did not live to write their own projected volume. The outline of Vaughan's life given for convenience in the present introduction is based on Canon Hutchinson's book, which is also frequently referred to in the Commentary.

Besides their collections for a life of Vaughan Miss Guiney and Miss Morgan left a number of notes on the poems, textual, illustrative, and explanatory, some of them throwing fresh light on the poet's reading and literary relationships. The notes were in disorder but were arranged by Canon Hutchinson, who transcribed those which seemed to be of most value, sometimes adding his own observations. The resulting "Commentary on the Poems of Henry Vaughan" was not printed, but a copy of the typescript can be seen at

20 For Guiney's and Morgan's immediate reactions, public and private, see Guiney, "Henry Vaughan: Unpublished Letters," 276 and Nauman, "Louise Imogen Guiney and Henry Vaughan," 111.

21 This misspelling of Louise Guiney's first name, and a similar error on the following page where American scholar Esmond Linworth Marilla is referred to as "A. Marilla," both contrast oddly with Martin's remarkably thorough detection and specification of variant print spellings and punctuations in Vaughan's original editions.

the National Library of Wales, where the notes themselves were also deposited (Martin 1957, iii).

Martin had expanded his supplement of endnotes, but the total was still quite sparing, 64 pages for 700 pages of Vaughan's rendered texts,²² with a considerable portion of the additions coming from the Guiney-Morgan typescript. The helps also benefited from forty-three years of Vaughan books and articles, including a number addressing Vaughan's interests in iatrochemistry or the hermetical science, an aspect of Vaughan's sensibility that could tenably reevaluate romantic-era responses to the natural descriptions in Vaughan's devotional verse: Martin himself had been pursuing this angle in articles published during the 1930s and 1940s.²³ In his new six-page Introduction on Vaughan's "Life and Standing" (Martin 1957, xvii-xxii), Martin found himself able to summarize Vaughan criticism during the Modernist era in one sentence: "In the last fifty years more attention has been paid to the differences than to the resemblances between [Vaughan and Wordsworth,] to the qualities and interests which Vaughan shared, more or less, with his contemporaries, and to the circumstances which may have encouraged him to write as he did" (Martin 1957, xxi). With regard to Guiney and Morgan, Martin recognized that Vaughan had in some cases gained readers "as a Royalist Anglo-Catholic" (Martin 1957, xxi), but his own preferences and approach generally followed Hutchinson's careful distancing of himself from the pioneer biographers's appreciative attitude toward Vaughan's support of Charles I and William Laud.²⁴

22 Three more of Vaughan's letters and also the text of Vaughan's translation of Nollius's *The Chymists Key* were added in Martin's second edition.

23 See L. C. Martin, "Henry Vaughan and the Theme of Infancy" in John Dover Wilson, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938 and L. C. Martin, "Henry Vaughan and 'Hermes Trismegistus,'" *Review of English Studies* 18 (1942): 301-307. The most extensive contribution from this perspective came from Elizabeth Holmes, *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932.

24 After making his tributes to Morgan and Guiney in the Preface to his biography, Hutchinson had stated his own approach: "I have set out the background of contemporary Breconshire life in its political, military, and ecclesiastical aspects, since these greatly affected Vaughan's life and feeling. If he judges the Puritans hardly, I am more concerned to understand why he felt as he did than to justify his opinions"

The publication of Martin's one-volume revised Oxford English Texts Vaughan immediately preceded a notable increase in scholarly attentions to Vaughan's work; and within thirty years following, more articles and book-length studies were published on the poet, more edited selections and editions, than had appeared since Vaughan's romantic-era rediscovery.²⁵ A further increase would be observed after the Tercentenary Vaughan Conference at Gregynog in 1995, when scholars and poets interested in the life and works of Henry Vaughan, and of his twin brother Thomas Vaughan the alchemist, founded the Vaughan Association,²⁶ which held its first Colloquium in 1996 and issued the first number of its literary magazine, *Scintilla*, in 1997. As of the writing of this article, the society continues to hold its annual Colloquium, drawing scholars interested in Vaughan studies to southeast Wales from around the world each spring; and it continues to publish its annual journal.

The newly prepared Oxford University Press edition of *The Works of Henry Vaughan* issued in September of 2018 was edited by three scholars

(Hutchinson, vii). Later in his biography, Canon Hutchinson sharply disapproved of Vaughan's evident political sentiments, observing on the early poem "A Rhapsodie," for instance, that "Vaughan, besides having little historical sense, had, in early years at least, no political moderation; the young Welshman takes fire and expresses his hot indignation in the reckless language of a partisan" (Hutchinson, 44).

25 Books included Ross Garner, *Henry Vaughan: Experience and the Tradition*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1959; E. C. Pettet, *Of Paradise and Light: A Study of Vaughan's Silex Scintillans*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960; R. A. Durr, *On The Mystical Poetry of Henry Vaughan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962; James D. Simmonds, *Masques of God: Form and Theme in the Poetry of Henry Vaughan*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972; Thomas O. Calhoun, *Henry Vaughan: The Achievement of Silex Scintillans*, Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1981; Alan Rudrum, *Henry Vaughan*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981; and Jonathan F. S. Post, *Henry Vaughan: The Unfolding Vision*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982. Editions and selections included E. L. Marilla, ed., *The Secular Poems of Henry Vaughan*, Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1958; French Fogle, ed., *The Complete Poetry of Henry Vaughan*, New York: Doubleday, 1965; Christopher Dixon, ed., *A Selection from Henry Vaughan*, London: Longman, 1967; Alan Rudrum, ed., *Henry Vaughan: The Complete Poems*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976 (rev. 1983); Robert B. Shaw, ed., *Henry Vaughan: A Selection of his Poems*, Cheadle: Carcanet, 1976; and Louis L. Martz, ed., *George Herbert and Henry Vaughan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

26 The society was known as the "Usk Valley Vaughan Association" through its first two decades.

who have been members of the Vaughan Association since its earliest years, and the scale of the work reflects the acceleration of Vaughan scholarship since 1957. The new edition has been printed in three volumes paged continuously, and the page count is almost twice that of Martin's second edition. Most of the increase is of course due to the updated helps, though a few new texts have been added, including a manuscript poem discovered in the 1980s and annotations from a set of Vaughan's medical books now held at the Library Company of Philadelphia. As the publisher's description makes clear,²⁷ the most notable advance in commentary is seen in Vaughan's prose works, as Vaughan's verse was much-annotated in the many editions of the poems issued during the later twentieth century. Since Alan Rudrum is one of the new volumes's editors, it is both convenient and fitting that the notes for his *Henry Vaughan: The Complete Poems* have provided the base for the expanded notes of 2018. Of the twentieth-century editions containing poems only, the notes to Rudrum's are certainly the most wide-ranging and thorough.

The new Oxford Vaughan's most important structural innovation appears in the well-written and compendious introductory sections, which offer context for each of Vaughan's works at large, and within the commentary volume, for individual poems and prose pieces. The concise eleven-page "Biography" (*Works 2018*, xxvii-xxxviii) summarizes current knowledge of Vaughan's life, and a remarkable "History of Henry Vaughan Scholarship and Criticism" (*Works 2018*, xlv-lxxxvi) addresses in detail various developments in Vaughan studies ever since their early-nineteenth-century beginnings. Important tacks in the criticism are grouped under twelve headings given in rough order of their development: "Contemporary readership and reputation," "Recovering the texts," "Uncovering the life," "Nature and Wordsworth," "Hermetic philosophy and ecology," "Vaughan and Herbert," "Mysticism," "Meditation and emblems," "Secular poems, verse translations, and prose," "The Scriptures: allusion and typology," "Political oppression and religious

27 On the dust jacket's front flyleaf, one reads that "the meagre commentary on Vaughan's prose in the complete works edited by Grosart and Martin and the selection edited by Guiney is greatly expanded so as to locate Vaughan's translations and original prose texts firmly, and for the first time, in the complex religious, political, and intellectual contexts of the mid-seventeenth century."

persecution,” “Wales and the Welsh language.” These presentations of ongoing critical dialogues are recounted with admirable inclusivity and specificity, in effect inviting future response and contribution.

As will be apparent from the account offered above, one distinctive feature of Vaughan criticism is its dependency on an edition that never actually saw print; that is, on the articles, editing, and manuscript annotations gathered and presented by two collaborating independent scholars in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. The first sentence of the new edition’s preface seems to me accurate and straightforward, and an improvement on what was said in 1957: “All students of Henry Vaughan are indebted to the work of Gwenllian E. F. Morgan and Louise Guiney whose research on the poet’s life for their planned edition led ultimately to F. E. Hutchinson’s biography of 1947 that was founded on their extensive research” (*Works* 2018, v). The publisher’s script for the new Oxford Vaughan states that the helps for the edition take “full account of the unpublished notes accumulated by the pioneering Vaughan scholars Louise Guiney and Gwenllian Morgan.”²⁸ The statement implies some contrast with Martin’s second edition, a contrast which holds true for notes in the commentary on such poems as “Peace,”²⁹ “The World,”³⁰ “Childe-hood,”³¹ and others. Although Martin relayed a considerable amount of material from the Guiney-Morgan typescript, his principle of selection seems to have been strongly influenced by Hutchinson’s demurrals at Vaughan’s royalist commitments, and perhaps by a general notion that Guiney’s and Morgan’s localist and Laudian royalist motives for interest in Vaughan could be expected to yield sentimental and substandard readings. The notes and commentary for the new Oxford Vaughan are remarkably free from any such preconceptions: Guiney’s

28 Dust jacket, front flyleaf.

29 Guiney and Morgan noticed a royalist resonance in Vaughan’s “Rose that cannot wither,” warranted by the reference to King Charles I as “sanctam ... rosam” in “Ad Posteror” (*Works* 2018, 925).

30 Guiney and Morgan noticed a parallel between this poem’s famous first line and the first line of a non-devotional poem by Vaughan’s fellow royalist John Cleveland (*Works* 2018, 964).

31 Guiney and Morgan noticed parallels between this poem’s thoughts on the value of childlike innocence and thoughts in a poem by William Cartwright and in an essay by John Earle (*Works* 2018, 1260).

and Morgan's early responses, appreciations, and recoveries are heard with the same openness, consideration, and inclusiveness as the editors extend when they render the work of contemporary academic scholars.

To see the benefits of the editors's policy toward Guiney's and Morgan's distinctive contributions, one needs only to turn to their presentation of the first poem in Vaughan's first published collection, "To my Ingenuous Friend, *R. W.*" (*Works* 2018, 12-13, 842-845). This piece, with its celebratory references to Ben Jonson (l. 30) and Thomas Randolph (l. 33), has been perceived consistently by Vaughan's readers as a testimony to the poet's high-spirited youth, his time spent in the urban afterglow of Jonson's literary circles. Louise Guiney became convinced through contextual reading that the poem was a relic of Vaughan's years spent in Oxford, where he "stayed not . . . to take any degree" (*Works* 2018, 800), and in 1911 she published a three-part article in the London *Academy* that relayed local and historical evidence of a mid-seventeenth-century Oxford student pub culture that matched Vaughan's poem quite well. She also supplied the name of an Oxford man whom she thought a likely candidate for the poem's addressee, a well-known university wit named Richard West, who transferred from Christ Church to Jesus College in the late 1630s, the period of time when Henry Vaughan and his twin brother Thomas came into Jesus College as students. In his 1914 edition, Martin either missed this article of Guiney's or disregarded it. In 1957 he mentioned the piece, but dismissed it without carefully engaging its arguments. "Miss Guiney thought this an Oxford poem," his note reads, "but some of the references suggest London rather, and the first edition of Randolph's works to contain everything mentioned in ll. 33-5 was that of 1640, the year in which Vaughan is supposed to have gone to London" (Martin 1957, 700). Martin does not clarify which of the references in Vaughan's poem would suggest a London setting; and since Richard West had family connections with Thomas Randolph, Vaughan could have had access to Randolph's works through association with West even before Randolph's posthumous publications were printed. Furthermore, a reference Martin cited from Hutchinson for Vaughan being away from Oxford by 1640 pointed only to a conjecture that Vaughan might have

come to “London in the summer or fall of 1640” (Hutchinson 39).³² Unlike Martin, the editors of the new Oxford Vaughan have presented Guiney’s suggestion to their readers, describing West as an outspoken royalist, a commender in Jonson’s and Randolph’s posthumous volumes, and also a commender for John Wilkins, one of the founders of the Royal Society, a scientific group that both of the Vaughan brothers respected and which Thomas Vaughan eventually joined. As the current editors say in their new edition, “Guiney’s identification is not conclusive, [but] it merits serious consideration” (*Works* 2018, 842).

For those interested in work on Vaughan, or on the devotional and cavalier poetry of his era, these volumes will be an open door for all kinds of good scholarly endeavor.

32 Hutchinson seems to have been convinced, perhaps by Guiney’s article (some of the rhetoric of which he echoes in the footnote cited below) that “To my Ingenuous Friend, *R. W.*” was an Oxford poem, but he made no more mention than Martin of the possible identification of the poem’s addressee as Richard West. See Hutchinson 61, note 1.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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♦ *De gestis Italicorum post Henricum VII Cesarem (Libri I–VII)*. By Albertino Mussato. Edited by Rino Modonutti. Edizione nazionale dei testi della storiografia umanistica, 12; Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, III s. 15. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo. XLIV + 394 pp. €58. When I began working in Neo-Latin literature some forty years ago, Albertino Mussato (1261–1329) appeared as a footnote in the standard history of humanism as written, for example, by Roberto Weiss in *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (1969). In this history Mussato was a 'prehumanist' who was known for his *Ecerinis*, a Senecan tragedy that was the first play of its kind to have been written in centuries, with humanism proper beginning with Petrarch. In his influential *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden, 2000), however, Ronald G. Witt pushed back the origins of humanism two generations, so that Petrarch becomes a third-generation humanist and Mussato one of the second generation. This has brought renewed attention to his work, one of the results of which is this book.

Mussato was a member of the governing council in Padua and served as its ambassador to Emperor Henry VII, which gave him considerable insight into the events that he recorded in his *De gestis Henrici VII Cesaris*. The work under review here picks up with the

death of Henry VII in 1313 and covers the turbulent events up to 1321. Books I–VII, included in this volume, go through the year 1316, with a focus on Padua. The external threat, from Cangrande della Scala, dragged on until 1328, but there were internal issues as well that drew in the bishop Pagano della Torre, Mussato himself, and the noble Da Carrara family. The battle of Montecatini in 1315 gets special attention, with an especially acute political and psychological portrait of the Ghibelline Ugoccione della Faggiuola. Mussato also devotes space to the Guelfs and the Lombards, with Matteo Visconti receiving due attention, along with Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, and his expedition against Frederick III of Sicily. As with *De gestis Henrici VII Cesaris*, *De gestis Italicorum post Henricum VII Cesarem* is indebted to the ancient historiographical tradition as it was seen in Livy and Sallust, especially to the inclination to moralize historical events.

The book opens with a lengthy bibliography of primary and secondary sources, followed by a fifty-page introduction and eighty more pages that cover the manuscript tradition, editorial norms, and other textual matters. The text is accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* and an *apparatus fontium*, along with a commentary that sometimes takes up more space on the page than the text. The volume concludes with a series of indices: an *indice onomastico*, *indice toponomastico*, *indice dei manoscritti e dei documenti d'archivio*, *indice degli autori antichi e medievali*, *indice dei nomi*, and *tavola di corrispondenza con l'edizione Muratori del 1727*, which was until now the standard edition of this work.

As one of the five disciplines identified by Paul Oskar Kristeller as central to the humanist project, history has always played a key role in musings about what humanism is and does. The merit of this volume is therefore not in reconceptualizing the field, but in showing that, as Witt has argued, humanist history has earlier roots than we had once understood, as shown both by the recovery of the ancient moralizing approach to the discipline and by the frequent quotation of classical authors. We should therefore keep an eye out for the appearance of the second, concluding volume of Mussato's history. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *The Downfall of the Famous. New Annotated Edition of the Fates of Illustrious Men.* Translated and Abridged by Louis Brewer Hall. New York and Bristol: Italica Press, 2018. 276 pp. \$40 hardcover, \$20 paperback, \$9.99 ebook. Presented here is a reprint of Louis Brewer Hall's 1965 abridged translation of *De casibus virorum illustrium* by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375). Today, of course, Boccaccio is known primarily as the author of the *Decameron*, but for two centuries after the completion of *The Downfall* around 1355, his reputation rested on his scholarly works in Latin. Like his friend Petrarch, Boccaccio's work uses elements that we tend to label 'medieval' today, like the dream vision and a strong moralizing thrust, but these elements survived into Neo-Latin literature as well.

The Downfall presents over ninety biographies of famous men and women in nine books. The biographies begin with Adam and Eve and extend through people that Boccaccio knew from the court in Naples, but his primary examples were famous Romans. His main theme was that there is one moral principle governing the universe, that license and sin always end in punishment, even for the high and mighty. Appius Claudius's efforts to seduce Virginia led to his downfall, and Mark Antony was a victim of feminine allure. There were defenses against vice and its ultimate punishment, among which were voluntary poverty and the country life as an alternative to urban corruption. Marcus Regulus, who sacrificed himself to the Carthaginians during the first Punic War, serves as one of Boccaccio's positive examples. Boccaccio's approach to history as a guide to virtue continued to prevail through humanist historiography, but he coupled it with a sophistication in the use of sources that set him apart from his medieval predecessors.

One might wonder initially about the need to reprint a translation that is now more than fifty years old and not complete, especially since it is not difficult to get access to the 1965 edition. The answer, I think, is that Hall's translation has become a classic in its own right and that we do not yet have an English translation of the complete work. The reprint also contains numerous historical, biographical, interpretive, and bibliographical notes that rest on scholarly advances of the last fifty years. This edition should therefore replace the original one, at least until someone publishes a complete translation. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, 1453–1505. Oeuvres satiriques.* By Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. Edited and translated by Béatrice Charlet-Mesdjian. Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2016. 288 pp. €29. *La chasse d'Ercole Strozzi fils de Tito à l'intention de la divine Lucrece Borgia ducesse de Ferrare. Herculis Strozae Titi filii Venatio ad divam Lucretiam Borgiam Ferrariae ducem.* By Ercole Strozzi. Edited and translated by Béatrice Charlet-Mesdjian and Dominique Voisin. Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2015. 206 pp. €15. The two volumes under review now make it easier to read important works by the greatest writers of the Strozzi family in Ferrara, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1423–1505) and his son, Ercole Strozzi (1473–1508). Each volume presents a critical edition of the Latin texts in question with a facing-page translation in precise French that aims to respect the word order of the original, within reason. Both volumes open with substantive introductions that move from essential information on the life of each poet to the context and composition of the works themselves to information on the reception of the respective texts. Each volume, characterized by impressive erudition and meticulous scholarship, should now be recognized as the definitive scholarly edition of the text(s) it presents.

If there was one family that benefited from the political stability offered by the extraordinary continuity of the Estense rulers from Nicolò III, who assumed the reins of government in 1393, to his three sons who ruled after him in succession—Leonello (who ruled from 1441–1450), Borso (1450–1471), and Ercole d'Este (1471–1505)—and then to Ercole's son, Alfonso (1505–1534), it was the Strozzi. During this same approximate span of years, Tito, his brothers, and many of their sons served in important roles in the Este government and were rewarded accordingly with wealth and land. Tito's sister, Lucia, who benefited from the family's increasing power, was the mother of the poet Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441–1494), author of *Orlando innamorato*. The extended Strozzi family had its origins in Florence, from which Giovanni Strozzi, known as Nanni, left to join the army of Nicolò sometime near the end of the 1300s. Having distinguished himself as *condottiere* in the service of the Estense, Nanni was assigned the governorship of Parma, Reggio, and Modena, and was invited to assume a leading position in diplomatic negotiations

with the Florentines in 1423, which also happens to mark the year of the poet's birth, as Tito describes in his epic poem dedicated to Borso d'Este, *Borsias* 9.228–52. Educated at the school of Guarino, Tito quickly distinguished himself as a budding poet in Latin and was recognized as such in Angelo Decembrio's *Politia litteraria*, in which he appears as the youngest interlocutor. Tito's son, for his part, was no less precocious and the father saw to it that Ercole was educated in the classics by the best teachers around Ferrara at the time, Luca Ripa, Battista Guarini, and Aldus Manutius. Ercole's poetic career earned him praise from Pietro Bembo, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, and many others, including his close friend, Ludovico Ariosto, who goes so far as to call him an Orpheus (42.83.8). Both father and son also had impressive careers in politics, with Ercole's coming to an abrupt end when he was viciously murdered in 1508 for reasons that historians have never been able to determine.

The legacy of the two Strozzi poets was enshrined in the posthumous *editio princeps* published by Aldus in Venice in 1514 (with a date of 1513): *Strotii poetae pater et filius*. The main source for Ercole's Latin poetry and an important point of reference for Tito's, the Aldine edition gave rise to two pirated editions that had wide circulation throughout Europe, one by the Parisian printer Simon de Colines (1530), the other by the printer from Basel, Bartholomeus Westheimer, produced sometime between 1535 and 1540. The Aldine edition is divided into two sections, one for each author.

In what follows I will comment on each of the books under review, beginning with the volume dedicated to Tito's satires. The substantive introduction to *Oeuvres satiriques* provides information on Tito's life, family, literary sources, and the cultural context for the four satires in hexameter that make up the *Sermonum liber*. The volume also includes one invective in hexameter, *In Ponerolycon*. There is a detailed metrical analysis of Tito's hexameter and an extensive bibliography. The poems in the volume embrace and replicate a dichotomy about court and villa familiar to readers of Horace. While the court could be a space that fostered learning and art, and while generous patronage could provide the loyal servant with the freedom to be creative, it could also be a place of anxiety, even terrible sadness and death, as Ercole's murder was to signal, where geopolitical struggles might

encroach upon one's peace and where the realities of daily life might completely overwhelm the life of the mind.

Tito's *Sermo* 1 responds to a letter in verse from Luca Ripa in which Tito makes a case for the productive life of the villa far away from the maddening court. Aside from the philosophical advantages, there is the healthy living, which prompts the poet to pose this rhetorical question: *forsitan inquires qualis tibi coena paretur*? There follows a lengthy menu that owes much to Columella, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, among others. *Sermo* 2 to Daniele Fini is also in response to a work of another writer; it praises this friend and luminary from the Ferrarese court with perhaps predictable puns on his name. Fini is lauded for being a fine accountant, calligrapher, painter, surveyor, and, last but not least, a poet whose *suavissima carmina* are worthy of Tibullus (22–24). *Sermo* 3, to Timoteo Bendedei, defends the work of the poet in general and that of Timoteo in particular, whose verse had been attacked by an unnamed critic. Tito singles out Timoteo for his amazing restraint in the face of a vile attack:

*Tu, quamvis animo valeas et viribus, ac te
Mille modis posses ulcisci, non tamen ultra
Progrediebaris, sed tantum recta monebas.*

The satire defends Timoteo, who proves to be a perfect example of moderation. *Sermo* 4, probably written shortly before Tito's death in 1505, is addressed to a younger figure in the Ferrarese world of letters and diplomacy, Bonaventura Pistofilo, who was Tito's son-in-law and would become the secretary and a key diplomat for Alfonso I d'Este. In this, the longest and most complex of the satires, the poet responds to a criticism of his own writing, specifically the first satire to Luca Ripa, and provides a spirited review and defense of his work and life in general. He expresses pride in the family's villa at Fessio and the land surrounding it and declares: *At non posthabita Urbe, mihi nunc rura placent* (4.105–06). He also wants to go on record concerning his dedicated service to the Ferrarese state, which is apparent to everyone (170–71). Reiterating the Horatian positions he presented in *Sermo* 1 but with an added edge of Juvenalian anger, in *Sermo* 4 the elderly Tito takes comfort in his life's work. That this pleasure comes in a

meditation on an ongoing conversation with Luca Ripa is significant. Ripa, Ercole Strozzi's most important teacher after Tito, had helped to make it possible for the father to step aside happily in the knowledge that Ercole had been trained well as poet and politician.

With this modern edition of *La chasse d'Ercole Strozzi*, the editors have made it easy to situate what is arguably Ercole's most important poem in the context of Renaissance Ferrara. The rich depth of the paratexts that accompany the text makes it extremely easy to read and appreciate the poem itself. The editors open the volume with a concise biographical sketch of the artist that includes information on his reception and reputation, birth, education, career, and works. A very helpful schematization outlines all of Ercole's poetry in the Aldine edition—our main source for his work—listing the title, genre, meter, date, and topic of all of the poems. In addition to the poem on the hunt, the Aldine edition includes four other long poems in hexameters, nine odes in a variety of lyric meters primarily on religious topics, three collections of elegiacs, and a sequence of seventy-three epigrams.

The Aldine edition entitled Ercole's epyllion on the hunt, *Herculis Strozze Titi filii Venatio ad divam Lucretiam Borgiam Ferrariæ ducem*, is compared by the editors against the autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Ariostea, Ferrara, to produce their text of 966 hexameter verses. Another schematization helps the reader visualize the differences between the text printed in the Aldine and the autograph. Subsequent sections of the introduction discuss the historical and political background for the poem as well as the various sources to which Ercole turned, including the work of his father. The main classical sources are book 4 of Vergil's *Aeneid* with its description of the hunt of Dido and Aeneas (4.129–72) and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 8.273–546, with the description of the Calydonian boar hunt. The original historical context for the composition was the descent of Charles VIII from France into Italy in 1494, which called for a celebration of the alliances among the Ferrarese, the Milanese, and the French. As political alliances changed while Ercole continued to work on the poem, it turned into a poem in celebration of Lucrezia Borgia, who arrived in Ferrara in 1502 to be the bride of Alfonso d'Este. The poem recounts an imaginary hunting expedition of Charles VIII with a company of illustrious contemporaries from the cultural moment—*Italum delecta*

iuventus (45). The “troupe of great heroes” (58–59) includes the poet’s father, Galeazzo Sanseverino (son-in-law of Ludovico il Moro of Milan), Niccolò da Correggio, Ippolito d’Este, Cesare Borgia, Pietro Bembo, and Ludovico Ariosto. The editors identify eighteen contemporary figures referred to in the poem and provide a table that lists them in the order of appearance, tabulating the number of references, the number of verses dedicated to each person, the style that marks each description, and what each is described as doing.

One of these figures—no mean Latin poet himself—is worthy of note: Ariosto. He is the last member of the party to enter the narrative of the hunt, coming in at the final, eighteenth position, but he receives one of the longer sequences dedicated to an individual in the poem, thirty-five verses. Beginning at 505, the opening lines describe him lagging behind because he is lovesick. The narrative shifts to focus on his dogs, who are chasing the prize elk the hunters seek. A massive oak looms before them and the dogs crash into it like ships on rocks at sea (520–21). Riding hard, Ariosto comes upon the scene and laments the death of his two faithful protectors (*[c]ustodesque mei*, 530). In a grand epic simile he is compared to an African cowherd lamenting the loss of two heifers after a lion attack (534–40). The first word used to describe Ariosto is *piger* (505), indolent or lazy, suggesting that he is bringing up the rear because he is incapacitated by his unrequited love for Pasiphile (506). As it turns out, in Ariosto’s autograph copy of the first version of his poem to Philiroe (1a), the name Pasiphile appears as a supralinear variant over an expunged version of Philiroe, an emendation that has intrigued critics over the years. (See Ariosto, *Latin Poetry*, *ITRL* 84, pp. 160–61, note on line 29.) It is not exactly clear what point Ercole wants to make with this depiction of his fellow humanist poet and boon companion. Could it be that he wants to register that Ariosto lags behind all the others in the chase for courtly power and attention because he is spending too much time on love poetry? Is he taking that specific genre too seriously? The genuine suffering brought on by the death of his dogs in the narrative provides an intriguing counterpoint to the literary suffering of Ariosto as Neo-Latin lover. In his *Equitatio* of 1507–1508, Celio Calcagnini presents Ariosto similarly as absent minded and inattentive, attributing the poet’s state of mind to a change in literary endeavor. Celio’s depiction

of Ariosto emphasizes how he has decided to abandon Neo-Latin poetry and the courtly career connected with it for a different kind of writing that would produce the *Orlando furioso* in the vernacular.

La chasse d'Ercole Strozzi includes an extended critical apparatus with variant readings. In addition to their own literal translation, the editors made the good decision to include a more readable, but much less faithful, translation—*la belle infidèle*, says the blurb on the back cover—published in 1876 by Joseph Lavallée, an amateur huntsman. There are four indices that make searching for classical texts, names, places, and animals within the volume easy. Finally, there is an extensive bibliography.

Both these volumes are substantial softcover books that are well-designed, produced carefully inside and out, with bindings that are stitched, not glued, printed on heavy-weight paper. Carefully chosen images adorn each text, ten in the volume of Tito's poems, three in Ercole's, and many of them are in color. These are books to learn from, to read and re-read, to enjoy. Béatrice Charlet-Mesdjian and Dominique Voisin have created lasting monuments to the Ferrarese Strozzi in their scholarly work, and the coalition of Presses Universitaires de Provence has risen to the occasion with two handsome finished products. (Dennis Looney, University of Pittsburgh / Modern Language Association)

♦ *Lettere*. By Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Edited by Francesco Borghesi. Centro internazionale di cultura "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," Studi picchiani, 19. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2018. XII + 188 pp. €26. As those familiar with him know, the life and work of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) are not without drama. The crucial moment came in March of 1487, when a commission of theologians and lawyers condemned or declared indefensible a number of his 900 theses, which forced him into temporary exile. But drama of another sort appears in his letter to Ermolao Barbaro, in which Pico found himself thrust into the conflict between the philosophical 'barbarians' and the literary 'moderns,' and in his dispute with Marsilio Ficino over the latter's interpretation of certain texts of Plato. The letters offer an indispensable guide to this drama, for as Borghesi notes, "la raccolta delle lettere di Giovanni Pico dovrebbe costituire

lo specchio più fedele della storia intellettuale di Pico, dei suoi studi, e delle sue relazioni con le personalità della sua epoca" (VIII).

The textual history of these letters is not as straightforward as one might like. A substantial group was collected by Pico's nephew Giovan Francesco, who did a service by editing forty-seven of them, which were published in the *editio princeps* in Bologna in 1496 along with fifteen letters addressed to him; this collection was kept together through the 1601 Henricpetrine edition. A second group of letters, however, was excluded from this group, some perhaps by accident but others presumably because they did not accord with the picture that Pico's nephew wanted to emerge from the collection. A second witness, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capponi 235, includes a group of Pico's letters in a manuscript that contains letters written by a number of humanists, most of them well known; this manuscript was used in preparing Borghesi's edition and discussed in a separate chapter by Maria Agata Pincelli. After Giovan Francesco's *Epistolario*, Borghesi presents an edition of the *extravagantes*, the letters that escaped the 1496 collection. In addition to Pincelli's chapter on the Vatican manuscript, Part I, which serves as an introduction, contains concise discussions of the publication of humanist letter collections in general, Pico's key ideas, the *editio princeps* and other printed editions along with their diffusion, the *status quaestionis* as regards editing Pico's letters, and a note on the text. The book concludes with a good bibliography and two indices, of names and of correspondents.

This volume does the expected service by providing a good critical edition of an interesting text by an important Neo-Latin writer. But it also offers an example of the growing sophistication that Italian scholars are bringing to textual editing in general. There is much to be said for the traditional methodology, in which sources are identified, a stemma is prepared, and a base text is presented along with an *apparatus criticus*. As Borghesi notes, however, this 'one size fits all' model in fact does not produce satisfactory results in every situation, nor is it the only way to proceed. If, for example, there is no autograph and an editor like Giovan Francesco has excluded, deliberately or accidentally, some of the letters, is it better to keep the editor's work intact or to gather the *extravagantes* and present everything, ordered chronologically? What should be done with writers like Petrarch,

who were notorious for revising their works and producing multiple versions of the 'same' text? Traditional print books do not offer easy solutions for problems like these, but digital editions do, and Borghesi is to be commended for encouraging his readers to ask questions like these and to think about what the critical edition of the future might look like. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *El Colloquium elegans* de Bernal Díaz de Luco. Tradición se-nequista, eclesiástica y picaresca de Clark Colahan, Jagoda Marszałek y Pedro Manuel Suárez-Martínez. Prólogo de Juan Gil. Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies, 31. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms, 2018. x + 294 pp. €57.99. Tradicionalmente, el humanismo en la península Ibérica en el siglo XVI no ha merecido de parte de los investigadores una atención similar a la prestada a otros territorios europeos. La recuperación de esta obra es una buena oportunidad para destacar que se sitúa en el mismo contexto que otras contemporáneas, deudoras igualmente de los diálogos de Luciano de Samósata. Su autor, Bernal Díaz de Luco (1495–1556), que llegó a obispo y miembro del Consejo de Indias (alineado con las posturas de Bartolomé de las Casas), desarrolló una vida curial que le llevó a componer un buen número de obras y a centrar sus esfuerzos en la reforma eclesiástica y espiritual que se promovía en Castilla desde finales del siglo XV. Fue una de las voces más enérgicas de su tiempo a la hora de denunciar la corrupción y de proponer medidas para revertir los problemas de la sociedad de su tiempo. También participó en la segunda fase del Concilio de Trento. El *Colloquium elegans* (CE), obra de juventud, fue escrito entre 1522–1525, pero se imprimió en París en 1542. En él dialogan sucesivamente varios difuntos en su camino a la otra vida: un obispo, un sacerdote con cura de almas y un pastor de ovejas; como contrapunto, tienen a un demonio, a los respectivos ángeles de la guarda y, finalmente, a san Pedro. Es fácil establecer la relación del CE con otras obras hispánicas contemporáneas sobre los deberes del buen pastor, entre las que destaca, por su cercanía, el *Pastor Bonus* de Juan Maldonado (1549), tan riguroso en sus críticas como el CE. Y también es patente su cercanía al *Iulius exclusus e coelis*, de Erasmo, si bien el autor de la introducción pone en duda esta cercanía y prefiere destacar la influencia de la *Apocolocyntosis* de

Séneca y de la tradición anticlerical hispánica medieval. Por otra parte, se insiste especialmente en la presencia en CE de elementos presentes poco después en el *Lazarillo de Tormes*, que constituye el inicio de la literatura picaresca en España (1554); de ahí el subtítulo añadido a esta edición. El rastreo de elementos conducentes a la picaresca ha sido una constante de los estudios de C. Colahan, quien ha acuñado términos como “proto-pícaro” o “mundo lazarlillesco.” En esta línea, la edición y traducción de CE es un punto destacado y, en cierto modo, una culminación, porque su tono permite fijar la atención en la crítica eclesiástica, a menudo muy concreta y presentada con ironía. Quizá el énfasis en este aspecto deja de lado otros que podrían haber sido relevantes, como la relación con el ambiente universitario salmantino en que surge la obra, su conexión con la renovación eclesiástica hispana, o con la teología pastoral pretridentina. Por otra parte, Díaz de Luco se esfuerza en presentar la intervención del demonio en el diálogo de modo coherente a su ser, para lo que usa una inversión conceptual (como reconocer la ayuda que les prestan los malos predicadores) que puede recordar a la mucho más elaborada de las *Screwtape Letters* de C. S. Lewis.

La introducción filológica de P. M. Suárez-Martínez incide en la influencia de Erasmo y Valla en el estilo de CE, que, aunque apropiado para el género, no siempre es capaz de mantener un nivel de lengua reconocible como humanística. También se percibe un abuso de parlamentos largos, frente a la brevedad de los de Luciano, pero en esto ciertamente CE no está lejos de otros ejemplos contemporáneos, incluido el *Iulius exclusus*. En la introducción también se destaca el uso de la comicidad y la progresión del diálogo, que se mueve entre la euforia inicial y el desánimo final de los clérigos interlocutores, finalmente condenados.

Esta edición, en la que hay muy pocas erratas, respeta escrupulosamente las grafías y puntuación del impreso de 1542, e incluso la división de páginas y la disposición continua del texto, sin cambio de párrafo. Ese conservadurismo en la puntuación y disposición, tan alejada de los usos actuales, dificulta la lectura continua, sin que se perciba como contrapartida ninguna gran ventaja. En cambio, falta la identificación y descripción del ejemplar usado por los editores, algo relevante porque existen dos emisiones. No se informa al lector, por

ejemplo, de que la fe de erratas, que aquí se presenta después de la portada, se ha trasladado desde el final del volumen, donde figuraba. Tampoco puede saber que se han omitido dos paratextos incluidos al final del impreso de 1542: una colección de citas bíblicas relativas a los deberes de los obispos y una epístola latina de Francisco Galindo, quien en fecha temprana (pues murió en 1525) hizo un elenco de los temas desarrollados en CE. Esta carta es de interés máximo, pues su comparación con el impreso permitiría formar una idea sobre si CE sufrió cambios en el largo tiempo que transcurre entre su redacción y su impresión. La traducción castellana es útil y por lo general transmite adecuadamente el sentido del original latino. La anotación es escasa y la identificación de fuentes podría ofrecer bastantes más referencias. En conclusión, la publicación de una edición moderna de CE con traducción es una buena noticia, porque pone a disposición de los investigadores un diálogo lucianesco muy relevante para entender la renovación espiritual y eclesiástica promovida en la península Ibérica antes de Trento, a la vez que permite contemplar muchos aspectos de la degradación que afectaba a la vida religiosa a comienzos del siglo XVI en toda Europa. (Ignacio García Pinilla, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha)

◆ *“Pasquillus Extaticus” e “Pasquino in Estasia.” Edizione storico-critica commentata.* By Celio Secondo Curione. Edited by Giovanna Cordibella and Stefano Prandi. Biblioteca dell’ ‘Archivum Romanicum,’ Serie I: Storia, letteratura, paleografia, 465. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2018. 313 pp. €38. Presented here is a critical edition of an important work of religious dissent in the Italian Cinquecento. The work has its roots in the pasquinade, a satiric genre that contains attacks against the Pope and the Curia that were originally attached to the torso of Pasquino, a statue in Rome, first in Latin and later in Italian. In the hands of Curio, the satire became an expansive otherworldly vision that called into question the entire structure and dogma of the Catholic church.

Celio Secondo Curione (1503–1569), usually referred to in English as Curio, the Latin form of his name, is one of many Neo-Latin writers who deserve to be better known than they are. At various times he taught grammar and rhetoric, served as tutor to the sons of the

nobility, and held university chairs. He moved around a good deal in Turin, Milan, Pavia, Venice, and Lucca in an effort, not always successful, to stay a step ahead of the Inquisition, and he passed the final part of his life in Switzerland, first in Lausanne, then in Basel. His religious convictions are difficult to pin down: he was under constant suspicion during his years in Italy because of the company he kept, which included Peter Martyr, and the theologians with whom he corresponded, among whom was Philipp Melancthon, but he was denounced as a heretic before the Council of Basel as well and was never fully comfortable with the Calvinist theology he encountered in Switzerland. Curio led a colorful life—he escaped from one prison by shackling a false leg to a wall and fleeing through an open window, and he had to leave Lausanne in 1546 over an affair with a female student—but he was a serious scholar whose friends included famous writers and printers like Froben and Oporinus. His oeuvre covered the full range of humanist works, from *Schola sive de perfecto grammatico* and *Commentarii a Cicerone, Tacito, Plauto, Sallustio et Emilio Probo* to *Pro vera et antiqua ecclesiae Christi autoritate*.

Notwithstanding its inflammatory nature, or perhaps because of it, *Pasquillus extaticus* (1544) proved very popular and was soon translated into most of the major European languages, as *De amplitudine beati regni Dei*, *Pasquino in estasi*, *Les Visions de Pasquille*, and *Pasquine in a Traunce*. The very radioactive content that made it popular, however, has created formidable problems for the work's modern editors, who were confronted with a manuscript tradition that they were unable to straighten out to their full satisfaction in spite of a great deal of effort and with early clandestine editions whose priority and relationships were difficult to clarify as well. What they have provided is a critical edition based on what they have determined to be the *editio princeps*, with variants taken from the next edition of the first version of the text, followed by a transcription of the Italian translation as it appears in its first edition along with an extensive *apparatus criticus*. After the lengthy introduction, there is a bibliography of primary and secondary sources that serves as a useful, up-to-date source for work on religious heterodoxy in Renaissance Italy.

Appearing the year after the modern edition from the same publisher of Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's *Dialogus de adoratione*,

this book suggests that the Italian church in the Cinquecento and its relationship to the Protestant reformers are getting more of the attention they deserve. Cordibella and Prandi's edition shows that those who enter this field must be prepared for challenging editorial work that sometimes resists tidy resolution, but it also puts forth a worthy model for how this work can be done. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Carmina Livre II*. By Michel de L'Hospital. Edited and translated by David Amherdt, Laure Chappuis Sandoz, Perrine Galand and Loris Petris, with the collaboration of Christian Guerra and Ruth Stawarz-Luginbühl. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 580. Geneva: Droz, 2017. 384 pp. €79.53. This is the second volume in Droz's valuable and accessible Latin-French edition of Michel de L'Hospital's *Carmina*, directed by Perrine Galand and Loris Petris, and complementing Petris's study of L'Hospital and the publication of his speeches and correspondence in the two volumes of *La Plume et la tribune* (Geneva, 2002 and 2013). The edition situates L'Hospital within a tradition of jurist-poets and helpfully asserts the cultural importance of a Renaissance figure whose political significance, as a powerful advocate of moderate conciliation during the build-up to and outbreak of the French wars of religion, is well-established. The twenty poems in this volume are addressed variously to L'Hospital's friends, fellow-poets, and patrons: as the introduction emphasises, they are carefully crafted, individually and collectively, to present L'Hospital as a voice of moral authority who uses the ethical tone appropriate to Horatian verse epistles to promote a combination of Stoicism and evangelism. This consistent ethical tone adds to the volume's thematic coherence, as some well-worn topics recur and combine intelligently across and within the poems in often original ways.

The poems in this volume were written between 1546 and 1560, when L'Hospital's political career was flourishing; they are nevertheless marked by a pronounced contempt for worldly ambition and by praise for virtuous *otium*, ideally spent in a modest, rural retreat dedicated to the cultivation of the Muses. Indeed, poetry and the law—L'Hospital's principal occupations—are two of the volume's main subjects; a third—perhaps more surprisingly, given L'Hospital's

eirenic nature—is warfare, both as a theme and as a mode. L'Hospital the moderate conciliator is in evidence in the delicate balances that he continually strikes between opposing forces: his defence of the poetic life is combined with his professional practice of the law (following his father's pragmatic, financial advice), even though his modest, poetic temperament means that he retains a poet's poverty. This modest persona nonetheless writes to praise, recommend himself to, and even request money from his patrons, in laudatory verse whose moral value he defends, since it obliges patrons to live up to the flattering image it creates. This air of moderate conciliation is to be read against a playful pugnacity: L'Hospital satirically condemns the expense of endless lawsuits and the corruption and foolish ambition of those who spend their money and their days at the royal or judicial courts. He indulges equally in a mock perception of a friend's poetic and epistolary silence as a declaration of war (in a poem that actually celebrates friendship and the role of poetic correspondence within it), and more satirically in a paradoxical encomium of the benefits of war, which punishes pride and encourages piety in a way that reason and virtue seem no longer able to do.

Editorial presence in this volume is discreet but quietly assured. The introduction is short, referring naturally to the introduction to volume one and highlighting salient themes within volume two; the discussion following each poem is economical, often simply pointing the reader towards further information about familiar topics through detailed and up-to-date bibliographical references. The Latin text of the poems (which is also available on-line) is accompanied by a critical apparatus and an accessible facing translation that is precise and clear. The discussion that follows each poem gives its date, a brief description of its addressee's relationship to L'Hospital, and a schematic summary of its thematic structure. An informative and analytical overview of the poem in its literary and historical context then precedes a commentary that brings out thematic similarities with other Renaissance writers (such as Erasmus, Rabelais, Du Bellay, Ronsard, and Montaigne), but focuses chiefly on highlighting textual echoes of mainly classical writers. Most prominent amongst these are Horace, Ovid, and Virgil, who also influence L'Hospital's choice of genres and themes, such as his praise of rural *otium*, his use of satire, and his adoption of the

language and tropes of love elegy. Overall, this is an impeccably edited volume; it is a worthy contribution to a scholarly edition that valuably highlights an important—and now accessible—aspect of L'Hospital's work. (Emma Herdman, University of St. Andrews)

♦ *Vergils Epos als Drama. Die Gattungstransformation der Inclyta Aeneis in der Tragicocomoedia des Johannes Lucienberger, Frankfurt 1576. Mit einer synoptischen Edition beider lateinischer Texte und weiteren Materialien in einem digitalen Ergänzungsband.* By Werner Suerbaum. NeoLatina, 29. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2018. 510 pp. €118. Readers of this journal may recognize Werner Suerbaum as the author of another lengthy work of scholarship in Virgilian *Nachleben*, *Handbuch der illustrierten Vergil-Ausgaben 1502–1840: Geschichte, Typologie, Zyklen und kommentierter Katalog der Holzschnitte und Kupferstiche zur Aeneis in Alten Drucken ...*, *Bibliographien zur klassischen Philologie*, 3 (Hildesheim, 2008). In *Vergils Epos als Drama*, Suerbaum has turned his attention to a little-known dramatic recasting of Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Inclyta Aeneis*, by a little-known German Neo-Latin writer, Johannes Lucienberger (d. 1588), who recast the 9,900 verses of the original Latin epic into a play of some 6,000 Latin hexameters. Suerbaum's primary focus is on the mechanics of transformation: how precisely did Lucienberger manage to convert an epic into a play? Suerbaum shows how the fifty speakers in the *Aeneid* grow to 150 actors in *Inclyta Aeneis*, which helps us see how material that is handled in third-person narrative by Virgil can be transferred into dramatic form. In an exhaustive analysis, he considers how Lucienberger handles such typical epic features as the *aristeia*, catalogues, *ekphrases*, and similes; how several key scenes and Virgilian techniques are altered; and how things like stage directions and the division into acts and scenes affect the revision from epic to drama. Suerbaum is sensitive to the fact that *Inclyta Aeneis* has a didactic intent that Virgil's epic does not have, and to the impact that conversion into a tragicomedy inevitably has on a genre that Aristotle had tied closely to tragedy.

As in *Handbuch der illustrierten Vergil-Ausgaben 1502–1840*, Suerbaum is as attentive to the material form of the book as he is to the text it carries. In this case he devotes seventy pages to the paratextual material from the 1576 edition before he begins his textual analysis,

with separate discussions of the title, the dedication and the intended readership, the list of *dramatis personae*, the metrical *periochae* and prose arguments that accompany the play, the prologue, the thirteen woodcuts, and the three *exordia*. In this way *Vergils Epos als Drama* shows itself to be in the vanguard of scholarly methodology in book history, as it is in format: the traditional print book is accompanied by a digital supplement, which is an imaginative use of multiple media to disseminate material that would be too expensive to print but is valuable nonetheless. If I were to complain about anything, it would be to wonder whether a play this obscure really merits over 500 pages of analysis in print plus a digital supplement that adds even more. But in the end, *Vergils Epos als Drama* is a scholarly contribution whose value extends into several areas: as an example of the rescue of a neglected work of Neo-Latin literature, which is always valuable in and of itself; as a contribution to reception studies, which is the fastest-growing field within classics today; and as a contribution to book history that is conceptually sound and methodologically advanced. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Ferenc Rákóczi II, Confessio Peccatoris. The confession of a sinner who, prostrate before the crib of the new-born Saviour, in bitterness of heart deplores his past life and recalls the blessings that he has received and the operation of Providence upon him. This confession in the form of soliloquies was begun a few days before the feast of the birth of Jesus Christ in the year 1716.* Translated from the Latin and Hungarian and with notes by Bernard Adams. Preface by Robert Evans; Essay “Ferenc Rákóczi II. and *Confessio Peccatis*” by Gábor Tüskés. Budapest: Corvina, 2019. 387 pp. *Ferenc Rákóczi II, Memoirs. The memoirs of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II concerning the war in Hungary 1703 to the end.* Translated from the Hungarian and with notes by Bernard Adams; Essay “Ferenc Rákóczi II: *Mémoires*” by Gábor Tüskés. Budapest: Corvina, 2019. 240 pp. Vols. I–II, 6,990 Ft. The Hungarian nobleman Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735), today a Hungarian national hero, was one of the most interesting persons in the political history of the Habsburg Empire at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1699, the Turks had finally withdrawn from Hungary and an influential group of Hungarian noblemen, together with a large number of revolting peasants (“Ku-

ruc”), tried to get rid of the Habsburgian yoke, but after a long war (1703–1711), they were eventually defeated by the Austrian troops. Elected Prince of Transylvania in 1705, Rákóczi, who had taken the lead in this war, was forced to flee to Poland, which was then under Russian hegemony. He had already lived there from 1701 to 1703 after escaping from Austrian imprisonment, which had earned him the sympathies of the Hungarian peasants; he also had plans for a Hungarian uprising that had been betrayed to Emperor Leopold I. In 1713 he was invited to France by Louis XIV, where he lived as a pensioner in Versailles, and in 1717 to Turkey by Sultan Ahmed IV. With this move the sultan hoped that Rákóczi would help him bring Hungary to the Ottoman side against the Habsburg Empire, whereas Rákóczi hoped to be installed again as Prince of Transylvania. But the Turks lost their war against Austria, so that returning to France or Hungary had become impossible for him and he had to spend the remaining eighteen years of his life in the town of Rodosto (modern Tekirdağ) at the Sea of Marmara in the company of a few of his followers, politically isolated, bereft of his lands and fortune, and “largely forgotten by the Hungarian political nation,” living on “as an icon of popular culture, celebrated in verse and song,” as Robert Evans in his preface to the *Confessio Peccatoris* writes (11). His consolation was that the *Rákóczi March* was incorporated by Hector Berlioz into the first act of his opera *La damnation de Faust* (1846).

A politically and militarily active patriot who had risked so much for his beloved Hungarian fatherland but could not, after all, prevent it from eventually coming under a firm Habsburg rule that would last for more than two hundred years, Rákóczi used his years in exile for religious exercises and literary activities. Always a devout Catholic, in spite of his Calvinist and Lutheran ancestors (and his numerous affairs with mistresses in the long years of separation from his wife), in 1714, after experiencing a religious epiphany, he entered the monastery of the Camaldolese de Grosbois (now Yerres near Paris) under the name of Count Sarus. But he remained in contact with his followers among his fellow aristocrats and his sympathisers among the Kuruc peasants, still hoping to be able to return to Hungary and to resume his function as Prince of Transylvania—a hope, however, that never came true. During his stay with the Camaldolese he wrote in French the first draft

of his *Mémoires du prince François II Rákóczi sur la guerre de Hongrie depuis 1703 jusqu'à sa fin*, then the first two parts in Latin and French of the *Aspirationes principis Francisci II. Rákóczi / Aspirations du prince François II Rákóczi*, the third part of which was written after 1717 (ed. by Balázs Déri, Lajos Hopp, and Ilona Kovács (Budapest, 1994)). He also began the *Confessio Peccatoris*, the first part of which he handed over to the monks of Grosbois when he left their monastery in August 1717; parts II and III he composed later in exile in Turkey between 1718 and 1720. Only after the completion of the *Confessio* did he revise, also in Turkey, the *Mémoires*. The manuscript was corrected by César de Saussure with regard to French style and idiom and handed over to Louis Molitard, a member of Rákóczi's bodyguard, in 1734 with the instruction that it should be published only after his death. So publication of the *Mémoires* had to wait until 1739, when it was printed in the second volume of a work called *Histoire des Revolutions de Hongrie, Oú L'On Donne Une idée juste de son légitime Gouvernement. Tome Second, Qui contient l'Histoire de Hongrie, depuis l'an 1699 jusqu'à l'an 1705. A La Haye, Chez Jean Neaulme, M.DCC.XXXIX*. Today four manuscripts of the *Mémoires* are known: two in the Hungarian National Library Széchenyi in Budapest (Quart. Gall. 73 and Fol. Gall. 37), one in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères in Paris, Fonds Hongrie (Corr. Pol. Hongrie), t. 16, fol. 235–315, and one in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Cod. Ser. N. 12.638). The text of the latter manuscript was, at least partially, dictated by Rákóczi to his secretary Louis Bechon and corrected and revised by himself; on fol. 2 it bears the note “La Minute Originale des Mémoires du Prince François Rakoczi” and the information that it had been acquired from the Library of the Swedish *riksråd*, diplomat, and Chancellor of the University of Uppsala, Carl Rudenschöld (1698–1783), by Mr. Preindl, k.k. secretary in the embassy in Stockholm, in November of 1784. The first edition of 1739 is based on a copy with Rákóczi's corrections of the Vienna manuscript and the stylistic improvements by de Saussure.

The *editio princeps* of the *Confessio Peccatoris: Principis Francisci II. Rákóczi Confessiones et Aspirationes Principis Christiani. E codice Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis edidit Commissio fontium historiae patriae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapestini, Bibliopolium*

Academiae Hungaricae, appeared even later, in 1876. That edition was badly executed by Ágost Grisza, who had copied the text from the only existing manuscript, 13628 Fonds St. Germain-des-Près latin (1,111 pp.) of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, resulting in numerous misreadings and misprints. Next to the *Confessio Peccatoris* (1–671, in autograph, ca. 1716–1720), Grisza's edition contains two other works by Rákóczi, written by a different hand but corrected by the author himself and bound together presumably by the Camaldolese monks of Grosbois: the *Aspirationes Principis Christiani* in Latin and French and the *Réflexions sur les principes de la vie civile et de la politesse d'un chrétien*. A first French translation of the *Confessio Peccatoris* was made by the Camaldolese Chrysostome Jourdain of Grosbois ca. 1776 but remained unprinted; a partial edition of that translation, together with extracts from the *Mémoires*, was published by Béla Köpeczi and Ilona Kovács (Budapest, 1977) and a complete critical edition by Gábor Tüskés will appear in 2020. The first Hungarian translation of the *Confessio Peccatoris* by Elek Domján was published in 1903, and a new one by Erika Szepes, together with that of the *Mémoires* by István Vas, appeared in 1979. The *Mémoires*, on the other hand, were translated into Latin several times, complete and in extracts, but these translations remained unprinted as well. A modern edition with critical apparatus by Ilona Kovács and annotations by Béla Köpeczi appeared in 1978; the first complete translation into Hungarian by “L. Gy.” (his identity has not yet been discovered) was made in 1839/40 and printed in 1861, and a modern one by István Vas was published in 1948 and, in a revised form, in 1978. The two translations under review presently are the first translations into English aiming at a broader international readership whose knowledge of Latin and (*hélas!*) French is no longer good enough to allow a fluent reading in the original languages. But whereas Bernard Adams translated the *Confessio Peccatoris* directly from the Latin *editio princeps* of 1876 and, additionally, from the Hungarian translation by Erika Szepes of 1979, though with some omissions on pp. 352 (“[The *Confessio* continues in this vein for some length.]”), 358, and 362–364, he translated the *Mémoires*, strangely enough, not from the original French edition of 1739, but from the Hungarian translation by István Vas of 1978, without giving any (convincing) reason for this. (For additional information on manuscripts, editions,

and translations I am very grateful to Prof. Gábor Tüskés of the Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.)

The *Mémoires* are a straightforward narrative of the Hungarian rebellion against Habsburg rule from 1703 until 1711, when the war against Austria was finally lost and Rákóczi went into exile in Poland, followed by “the leading generals, Senators and all the more important men” (221). Rákóczi gives, on the one hand, a wealth of information that is often not available in other sources but coloured through the lens of the writer, thus conveying a very personal and immediate impression of the historical events; but, on the other hand, he is selective in the presentation of facts and events, restrained in the reports of his diplomatic activities, and sometimes the victim of factual errors by which the historical value of the *Mémoires* is somewhat reduced. But they are also and foremost, as Gábor Tüskés writes in his instructive essay at the end of the volume, “a political apologia in a theological-spiritual setting” (225) and, “in a sense, the continuation of the Freedom War with pen instead of the sword” (228). This is underlined by Rákóczi’s *Épître dédicatoire à la Vérité Éternelle*, which he prefixed to his *Mémoires* (unfortunately not included in the present translation), where he “lays out the dual purpose of self-apologia and self-criticism, declares the duality of the historical and eschatological point of view, explains his principles in using the genre, and draws up his creed as a writer” (Tüskés, 230).

Quite different is his procedure in the *Confessio Peccatoris*, which, as the title already indicates, has as its main model the *Confessiones* (and *Soliloquia*) of St. Augustine: The narrative of Rákóczi’s life is interspersed with reflexive and meditative passages, and he, too, speaks to God as the famous Church Father does. But unlike in Rákóczi’s approach, Augustine seeks a dialogue with God, which, however, he only attains in the course of book 9 (9, 4, 8 ff.: beginning of the dialogue between Augustine and God on a text of the Scripture [*Psalm* 4]: cf. R. Herzog, “*Non in sua voce*. Augustins Gespräch mit Gott in den *Confessiones*—Voraussetzungen und Folgen,” in *Das Gespräch*, edited by K. Stierle and R. Warning, Poetik und Hermeneutik, 11 (Munich, 1984), 213–50, reprinted in R. Herzog, *Spätantike. Studien zur römischen und lateinisch-christlichen Literatur*, edited by P. Habermehl (Göttingen, 2002), 235–85). Rákóczi, on the contrary,

speaks on his own and does not strive to get into a conversation with God, and whereas the so-called “autobiographic” part in books 1–8 of Augustine’s *Confessiones* is nothing more than Augustine’s attempt to induce God to speak to him, Rákóczi is content with narrating his life and confessing his sins to God “in the form of soliloquies” (*per formam soliloquiorum*), “prostrate before the crib of the new-born Saviour, in bitterness of heart deplor<ing> his past life and recall<ing> the blessings that he has received and the operation of Providence upon him” (*ad praesepe in corde suo nati Salvatoris vitam suam deflentis et gratias ductumque Providentiae recolentis*). Therefore, the *Confessio Peccatoris* shows “a peculiar blend of autobiographical, religious and other types of writing, an amalgam of fiction and reality,” as Gábor Tüskés remarks in his equally instructive essay at the end of this volume (368), and Rákóczi “created a personal variant of religious-autobiographic Neo-Latin prose, full of emotion, which in many respects points to the psychological novel and individualisation” (369). A thorough study of the *Confessio Peccatoris* by Gábor Tüskés has been published elsewhere: “Psychomachie d’un prince chrétien: au carrefour des genres autobiographique et religieux. François II Rákóczi: *Confessio Peccatoris*. Première partie,” in *Louis XIV et Port-Royal. Chroniques de Port-Royal* 66 (2016): 401–46, with the second part of the study in *Le Christ à Port-Royal. Chroniques de Port-Royal* 67 (2017): 323–41.

Reading the *Confessio Peccatoris* in the present translation (and with the informative notes by Bernard Adams on matters historical and literary) is a continuous pleasure, full of new insights and experiences, and gives a vivid impression of the really adventurous life of that Hungarian nobleman from his early years as schoolboy under Jesuit training in Bohemia (1688–1690) and his study in Prague (1690–1693) through his marriage in 1694 with Charlotte Amalie von Hessen-Wanfried (1678–1722), daughter of the Landgrave Karl von Hessen-Wanfried, his imprisonment in Wiener Neustadt at the end of May 1701 and escape to Poland at the end of November of the same year, his struggle for freedom for Hungary and Transylvania, and the many setbacks he had to suffer until his exile in France (1713–1717) and, finally, in the Ottoman Empire (from 1718 on). Here, the other great enemy of Austria and his native countries eventually offered him safety from the Habsburg emperors and the opportunity to pursue his

literary activities. The chronological order of his life is distributed over both works so that book 1 of the *Confessio Peccatoris* covers the early period of Rákóczi's life until 1703; the *Mémoires* narrates the events from 1703–1711; and finally books 2 and 3 of the *Confessio* recount the events of the years 1711–1720.

The translation is sometimes rather free and deviates from the development of thought and argumentation and from the structure of the Latin syntax, but it is nevertheless fluent and always highly readable. It is a pity that the original Latin version of the *Confessio Peccatoris* has not yet been reprinted, but must still be consulted in the inadequate *editio princeps* of 1876 that is, however, available in an online edition of the Bavarian State Library in Munich (<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV020955847>), as are the *Mémoires* in the Hague edition of 1739 (<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV014110578>); a new critical edition, however, is in preparation (kind information by Gábor Tüskés). Both texts, the *Memoirs* and the *Confessio Peccatoris*, deserve to be rediscovered and read again not only by historians, philologists, and literary critics but also first and foremost by contemporary readers: if they are not able to read the original French and Latin, here they have welcome access: *tolle lege*. (Heinz Hofmann, University of Tübingen)

◆ *Petrarca nördlich der Alpen: Studien zum Gedenken an Agostino Sottili (1939–2004)*. Edited by Fabio Della Schiava. Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies, 32. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2018. xviii + 123 pp. €49.80. This book is something of a hybrid. It is dedicated to the memory of Agostino Sottili, a Petrarch specialist who was trained in his native Italy by Giuseppe Billanovich but worked for twelve years as secretary of the Petrarca-Institut in Cologne and is best known for his monumental *Censimento dei codici petrarcheschi della Germania occidentale*, which appeared in parts over a ten-year period beginning in 1967 in *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, then as two volumes from Editrice Antenore (Padua, 1971–1978). On the twelfth anniversary of his death, a symposium was held at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn on 9 June 2016. The papers presented there are published here.

The division of the book into three parts reflects the hybrid nature of the project. Part I, "Kritische Essays zu Petrarca," covers an area that was not at the center of Sottili's work, although the essays remain focused on the central figure in his scholarly oeuvre. In "Il segreto di Petrarca," Dina Di Rentiis turns to a subject that has not received as much attention of late as one might expect, Petrarch's relationship to Dante, and shows that in the *Secretum*, Petrarch identified the crucial theological defect of the *imitatio auctorum*, the fact that its outcome could not be controlled, but did not succeed in finding a solution to the problem. The other essay in this section is Jan Papy's "Commemorating Laura's Death: Petrarch's Bucolic Poetry between Ancient Tradition and Medieval Exegesis," in which *Bucolicum Carmen XI* is linked to Virgil's fifth eclogue as a meditation on Laura's death. Part II, "Die Petrarca-Rezeption nördlich der Alpen," adheres more closely to Sottili's interests. In "Università tedesche e umanesimo: considerazioni in margine agli studi di Agostino Sottili," Fabio Forner focuses on *De vita solitaria*, first noting the importance of its reception in France, then showing the movement of this material from France to western Germany, and concluding by arguing that within the university community, reading Petrarch led to an attack on traditional scholasticism. This last observation leads to a sort of extended footnote, in which Forner notes that the diffusion of Petrarch's manuscripts in Italy merits further study, but what is already known suggests that Petrarch was seen there as a spiritual and moral guide as well as a master of style. The second essay in this section is Jürgen Geiss's "Zwischen Handschrift und Druckpresse: Köln als Zentrum der frühen Petrarca-Rezeption in Deutschland," which considers the role that Cologne, one of the most important metropolises north of the Alps, played in the transition from manuscript to print as a medium for the transmission of Petrarch's works. The third section, "Agostino Sottili als Erforscher Petrarca's und des europäischen Humanismus," focuses more precisely on Sottili himself. Carla Maria Monti's "Il contributo di Agostino Sottili agli studi petrarcheschi," first published in *Studi petrarcheschi* in 2005, serves as a *curriculum vitae* of the honoree, supplemented by an appendix that contains valuable contributions in several categories: "Giornate di studio dedicate ad Agostino Sottili," the contents of *Margarita amicorum*. *Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*

(Milan, 2005) and *Scritti petrarcheschi* (Rome and Padua, 2015) with a list of presentations of both volumes, and “Aggiornamenti e correzioni alla bibliografia.” The final chapter, K. A. Neuhausen’s “Aus meinem Briefwechsel mit Agostino Sottili (1990),” prints two letters that Sottili sent to Neuhausen.

In the end, this is a curious volume—there is no obvious reason to have a symposium on Sottili in Bonn twelve years after his death, and the three sections contain contributions of very different sorts—but the material found here is definitely worth the read. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Florilegium Neolatinum: Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2014–2018*. By Walther Ludwig. Edited by Astrid Steiner-Weber. Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Studies, 33. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2019. XII + 918 pp. €159. On 9 February 2019, Walther Ludwig celebrated his ninetieth birthday. Those who follow developments in Neo-Latin studies closely know that every fifth birthday means that it is time for a volume that collects Ludwig’s essays that have appeared since the last one was published. This is the fourth in the five year-cycles that Olms has been published, to which could be added the volume that celebrated his sixtieth birthday, *Litterae Neolatinae* (Munich, 1989).

After a more personal Prooemium, “*Testimonia amoris librorum* –Fortsetzung (19.–27.),” the *Lucubratiunculae* proper appear. Part I contains ten essays based in the sixteenth century: “César Grolier, Marco Girolamo Vida und Caspar Barth über den Sacco di Roma,” “Deutsche Studenten in Bourges und das Stammbuch des Josias Marcus von 1557/58 innerhalb der frühen Stammbuchentwicklung,” “Die abgebrochene Orientreise von Jacques Bongars im Licht neuer Forschungen,” “Lateinische Gedichte im Konfessionsstreit zwischen dem Tübinger Lutheraner Lucas Osiander und den Ingolstädter Franziskanern Johannes Nas und Johannes Dominicus Heß,” “*Synodus Oecumenica Theologorum Protestantium*: die große dramatische antiprotestantische Satire des humanistischen Franziskaners Johannes Dominicus Hessus (1593),” “Die *Libri sex de haereticis* von Conradus Brunus: Nährboden für die *Synodus Oecumenica Theologorum Protestantium* des Franziskaners Hessus,” “Der Humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus als griechischer Dichter Laurentios Rodoman und seine

Autobiographie von 1582,” “*Scitis, quanto semper amore Graecorum rerum flagrem*—Motive für den Höhepunkt des humanistischen griechischen Dichtens um 1600,” “Das protestantische Bild der Universalgeschichte im 16./17. Jahrhundert: Epigramme von Melanchthon und Stigel, die Daniel-Paraphrase des Matthaeus Gothus, Friedrich von Nostitz’ Lehrdichtung über die vier Monarchien und das *Theatrum historicum* des Christian Matthiae,” and “Lesefrüchte aus dem *Commercium literarium* Heinrich Rantzaus in Wien: neue Briefe von Justus Lipsius, David Chytraeus, Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal, Wilhelm Herzog zu Kurland und Semgallen, Martin Crusius und Christoph Berchan 1585–1597.”

Part II contains ten essays on seventeenth-century culture: “Josephus Justus Scaligers jambische Invektive [*In tyrannidem Papatus sive*] *Superstitio* im Album Amicorum des Paulus a Gisbice aus Prag,” “Embleme des Jean-Jacques Boissard (1588) und Kupferprägungen Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg (1603/4),” “Das Monument des Londoner Artzes Raphael Thorius zur Erinnerung an Leben und Sterben von Isaac Casaubonus (1614),” “Wortkunststücke in der frühneuzeitlichen lateinischen Poesie oder über die *Parnassi Bicipitis de Pace Vaticinia* des Jodocus De Weerd,” “Der expurgierte Horaz im jesuitischen Schulunterricht (mit Nachträgen zu ‘Die Liebe zu Horaz’),” “Ein Emblembuch als Fürstenspiegel: Die *Emblemata Centum Regio-Politica* des Juan de Solórzano y Pereira,” “Das mißverständene Titelpupfer der *Monumenta Paderbornensia* des Ferdinand von Fürstenberg—ein Beitrag zur Rezeption der Varusschlacht,” “Deklamationen und Schuldramen im 17. Jahrhundert—das Beispiel des Gymnasiums der Reichsstadt Schwäbisch Hall (mit einem Schuldrama über Aeneas und Dido und einer Deklamation über die sieben freien Künste),” “Schulpreise aus bedrucktem Papier und geprägtem Edelmetall, insbesondere die Stuttgarter, Nürnberg-Altendorfer und Hamburger Prämienmedaillen,” and “Das 1685 gegründete Stuttgarter *Gymnasium illustre*, die Salomonischen sieben Säulen des Hauses der Weisheit und die frühneuzeitlichen Obelisk in Krakau und Holstein.”

Eighteenth-century studies are found in Part III: “Die Qualitäten eines Schülerpreises am Pariser Collège de Navarre (1709): Dichtungen von Petrus Angelius Bargaues (1561),” “John Tolands *Pantheisticon* zwischen Philosophiegeschichte und Latinistik,” “Humanismus im 18.

Jahrhundert: das lateinische und deutsch-niederländische Stammbuch des Martin Martens Eelking aus Bremen (1731–1745),” “*Provide et constanter* – der bisher mißverstandene Wahlspruch des Herzogs Carl Eugen von Württemberg,” and “Deutsche Klassiker und andere Gelehrte im Stammbuch des Georg Wilhelm Prahmer (1789–1799).”

Part IV contains six essays: “Ein 1811 gedrucktes großes lateinisches Gedicht über den Wiener Prater von August Veith von Schittlersberg,” “Die lateinische Fabelsammlung von Joseph Lang (1811) —eine Huldigung an Lessing als *Aesopus Germaniae*,” “*Venusinae Musae amatoribus*: Württembergische Neulateiner zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts (Drück, Fischer, Kapff, Kurrer, Niethammer, Pauly, Schwab, Uhland),” “Lateinische Aufführung und Dichtungen in der Westminster School und eine Buchauktion in London um 1820,” “Medaillen für lateinische Gedichte: eine französisch Preismedaille für die Komposition lateinischer Gedichte von 1822 und eine bayerische Medaille auf Jakob Balde, von 1828,” “Griechische Zitate in Philologen-Medaillen: (Pseudo-)Isokrates für Antonio Maria Salvini (1713) und Synesios von Kyrene für Friedrich Creuzer (1844).” The book concludes with an epilogue, “Dankesworte in der Universität Wien 2016,” twenty-six plates, and a full list of Ludwig’s publications from the years 2013 to 2018.

All that one can do, in the face of decades of scholarship like this, is to await the ninety-fifth birthday volume. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Making and Rethinking the Renaissance*. Edited by Giancarlo Abbamonte and Stephen Harrison. Trends in Classics, Supplementary Volumes, 77. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019. X + 262 pages. €99.95. Ever since the days of Remigio Sabbadini and Giuseppe Cammelli, whose influential *I dotti bizanti e le origini dell’Umanesimo* was published between 1941 and 1954, the dominant narrative has been that knowledge of the Greek language essentially disappeared in the Latin West until a group of Greek émigré scholars, the foremost of whom was Emmanuel Chrysoloras, arrived in Italy and taught the humanists who recovered a working knowledge of Greek in the Renaissance. The essays in this volume were designed to update and nuance this narrative. For one thing, it must be emphasized that for

the pupils of the Greek émigré scholar-teachers, the message of classicism was disseminated predominantly in Latin. The Greek émigrés were welcomed at first, but soon the supply exceeded the demand and they were replaced by Italian humanists who worked comfortably in both Latin and Greek. The printing press did much to spread Greek culture, but often in Latin translation, and the Greek texts published in Venice were modern as well as classical. Sometimes one Latin translation was used as the basis for another, at other times the boundaries between translations of Greek texts and original works based on them blurred, and there are times when the paratexts and intertexts in the early editions are as important as the texts themselves.

These problems are considered in the volume under review here, which contains essays that largely originated from a conference held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in June of 2016. After an introduction written by the editors, the volume presents fourteen essays: Federica Ciccolella, "Through the Eyes of the Greeks: Byzantine Émigrés and the Study of Greek in the Renaissance"; Han Lamers, "Janus Lascaris' Florentine Oration and the 'Reception' of Ancient Aeolism"; Fevronia Nousia, "Manuel Calecas' *Grammar*: Its Use and Contribution to the Learning of Greek in Western Europe"; Giancarlo Abbamonte, "Issues in Translation: Plutarch's *Moralia* Translated from Greek into Latin by Iacopo d'Angelo"; Fabio Stok, "Translating from Greek (and Latin) into Latin: Niccolò Perotti and Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans*"; Martin McLaughlin, "Humanist Translations and Rewritings: Lucian's *Encomium of the Fly* between Guarino and Alberti"; Michael Malone-Lee, "Cardinal Bessarion and the Introduction of Plato to the Latin West"; Giovanna Di Martino, "The Reception of Aeschylus in Sixteenth-Century Italy: The Case of Coriolano Martirano's *Prometheus Bound* (1556)"; Tristan Alonge, "Rethinking the Birth of French Tragedy"; Wes Williams, "'Pantagruel, tenant un Heliodore Grec en main [...] sommeilloit': Reading the *Aethiopica* in Sixteenth-Century France"; Catarina Carpinato, "From Greek to the Greeks: Homer (and Pseudo-Homer) in the Greco-Venetian Context between the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century"; Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, "The Wanderings of a Greek Manuscript from Byzantium to Aldus' Printing House and Beyond: The Story of the Aristotle Ambr. B 7 inf."; Giacomo Comiati, "The Reception of

Horace's Odes in the First Book of Marcantonio Flaminio's *Carmina*"; and Marta Celati, "Orazio Romano's *Porcaria* (1453): Humanist Epic between Classical Legacy and Contemporary History."

This collection of essays takes its place alongside another, *Teachers, Students and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, edited by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano (Leiden and Boston, 2017), as a tangible witness of how rapidly our understanding of the recovery of Greek in the Renaissance is changing. A key element of this change is an improvement in our understanding of the interconnections between Greek and Neo-Latin, which is a story that will be followed in upcoming issues of *Neo-Latin News*. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)