recent past had to be reframed to delegitimize the Covenants" (166) and direct official wrath against covenanters. Further down the social scale, others were less willing to forswear the "cause of God" (171). The rebels of the Pentland Rising of 1666 reaffirmed the Covenants and complained that the Solemn League and Covenant "was being 'misrepresented' in public." Later, non-conforming Presbyterians insisted that the "cause [of the Covenants] was constitutionally grounded and their actions legitimate" (172).

In Chapter 10 Allan Kennedy explores how the Covenanting state directly informed its successor. While rejecting the philosophical foundations of its Covenanter predecessor, the Restoration regime sought to co-opt useful features of it. The Covenants themselves were re-imagined as "ipso-facto unlawful" (184) but at the same time oath-taking endured, as did the Covenanters robust taxations schemes and the militarization of the state.

In the final chapter "Who were the Later Covenanters?" Alasdair Raffe rejects entirely the overuse of the term "Covenanter" in the period after 1660. Its "has encouraged misleading interpretations of Restoration Presbyterianism, in which the voices of extremists drown out those of more moderate Scots" (197). Indeed, "mainstream presbyterians" could at one time accept the Restoration regime, with its bishops and books, and sincerely believe "that they upheld the Covenants.' (212) To apply the term only to nonconformists is to endorse a "mythologised perspective that celebrates zealots and martyrs" at the expense of many who, like Abbe Seyes, "survived."

Peter Auger. *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. ix + 268 pp. $94.00. Review by PAUL J. SMITH, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY.

"The first time that I looked through Du Bartas' poetry, I was unsure what to make of it" (1), this is how Peter Auger begins his monograph on *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland*. This initial reader reaction is very recognizable: astonished that Du Bartas enjoyed an undeniable but inexplicable popularity well into the seventeenth century, present-day literary students view his poetry as compulsory

and boring reading, important only as source material for the big names: Sidney, Spenser, and of course Milton. Auger's learned and detailed, but accessible and well-written study arrives at a different, nuanced picture: the French poet is significant not only for the canonized literary greats, but also for entire generations of lesser-known scriptural and devotional writers (and readers). The vicissitudes of British poetry, subject to many changes in the fields of politics, religious belief and knowledge of the natural world, are, as Auger convincingly argues, reflected in the literary reception of Du Bartas' poetry. Auger takes up the plea that some other modern critics before him, such as Anne Lake Prescott, made in defence of Du Bartas. More in general: Auger's book summarizes what is already known, knows how to nuance or correct it where necessary, and adds a lot of new information and insights.

Auger's argument is carefully constructed. In his introduction, Auger characterizes Du Bartas as a "Calvinist humanist who synthesized sacred and secular literary forms" (11). His main works, *La Sepmaine* (The First Week of Creation) and the unfinished *Seconde Sepmaine*, are baroque poems, consisting of moralizing theological and natural-philosophical commonplaces with a unambiguous view of the two traditional Books: the Book of God—the Bible—and the Book of the World. The *Sepmaines* are written in a verbose epic style, characterized by stylistic peculiarities, such as redundant enumeration, abundant use of epithets, assonances, onomatopoeia, compounds, and morphological doubling (of the type "la flo-flottante Mer"). These poems can be read as encyclopaedic texts, which, despite their excessive *copia rerum* and *copia verborum*, remain as close as possible to the Biblical narrative, thereby proclaiming a vast but limited and univocal knowability of the world. Du Bartas' legacy is presented in eight chapters, equally divided into two parts of four chapters. Part I examines how the French poet is transformed into a "Jacobean Poet", first in Scotland, then in England. Part II, titled "Scriptural Poetry and the Self," addresses the varied readership of Du Bartas in the later seventeenth century, within rapidly changing socio-political, religious, poetical, and natural-philosophical contexts. In these chapters, which testify to careful reading, the reader is guided through the long history of reception of Du Bartas.

This reception is given a flying start by the mutual friendship between the poet and James VI of Scotland and I of England, a monarch who combined his poetic aspirations with his policy of rapprochement with the French Huguenots. For example, in a presentation manuscript, James received as a gift unpublished verses from Du Bartas' *Les Hymnes* (this manuscript was discovered by Auger, who has recently edited and published it, in collaboration with Denis Bjaï, in the collective volume *Ronsard and Du Bartas in Early Modern Europe* (2019)). James also wrote English poems in the vein of Du Bartas, and his poem *Lepantho* was translated from English into French by Du Bartas. Important to the royal aura with which Du Bartas' work was adorned was, according to Auger, *Bartasias*, a Latin translation of *La Sepmaine*, by the Dutch-Flemish Adriaan Damman, who worked in James' Scottish court. Several early Du Bartas translators are reviewed: John Elliot, William Lisle, Robert Ashly, Thomas Winter, as well as Philip Sidney, who translated *La Sepmaine*—Auger calls Sidney's lost translation 'one of the great missing works of sixteenth-century literature' (22). Sidney's attitude towards Du Bartas is intriguing. Auger interprets Sidney's later work, just as Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, as "counter readings" of Du Bartas.

Du Bartas' real breakthrough on British soil came with *Devine Weekes*, Joshua Sylvester's translation of the *Sepmaines*. Auger shows how Sylvester was able to transfer Du Bartas' poetics to a successful English-language format, by conforming to the king's taste, from the first version to the final version of his translation. Using well-chosen examples, Auger demonstrates how Sylvester differs from his fellow translators. One such example is the way in which Sylvester and Winter translated Du Bartas' verses 497–500 from the Third Day of *La Sepmaine*. However, it seems to me that Auger could have gone a step further in discussing this and other examples by not only looking at the differences, but also at the remarkable similarities between the translations. By means of a comparative close reading of the examples, one could see to what extent plagiarizing imitation (both Sylvester and Winter translate Du Bartas' "le Figue jette-laict" with "the milkie Figge"), or, alternatively, anxiety of influence (anxiety towards each other, and in relation to Du Bartas) play a role in their translations. Both literal imitation and anxiety of influence seem at work in the

translation of Du Bartas' "un plaisant renouveau", translated respectively as "a most delightfull Spring" (Sylvester) and "a pleasant spring" (Winter).

Part II reviews a large number of well-known and lesser-known poets, who, as Auger states in a Bartasian enumeration, "adapted, reshaped, repurposed, personized, supplemented, summarized, continued, recasted, expanded, reduced rescaled, transposed, modified, systematically quoted from, turned away from, and transformed *Devine Weekes*" (135). For example, two chapters, entitled "Patterns for Divine Poetry I and II", show how Du Bartas' scriptural poetry is internalized in personal devotional poetry. This occurs, for example, in the poetry of women poets, such as the well-known Anne Southwell and Anne Bradstreet, and the virtually unknown, but intriguing "Mary Roper", to whom Auger devotes only one paragraph (fortunately, Auger has recently discussed Roper in more detail in his contribution to the aforementioned publication *Ronsard and Du Bartas in Early Modern Europe*). Auger gives us a detailed account how changing political-religious and natural-philosophical perspectives influenced the way Du Bartas' scriptural poetry was read in the later seventeenth century. Auger devotes a compelling chapter, 'Writing for the Inner Eye,' to two renowned poets, both of whom, in their own way, critically incorporated *Devine Weekes* into their work. First, Milton, who alludes to Du Bartas/Sylvester's authoritarian, univocal and unambiguous discourse in order to question it precisely from a multiplicity of perspectives from multiple narrators—as Auger summarizes: "*Paradise Lost* recycles the ideas and narrative structures of *Devine Weekes*, rearranging and investing them with new meanings to incite the reader to more passionate intellection of divine and human matters" (201). By contrast, Lucy Hutchington's *Order and Disorder* harks back to Bartasian discourse, stripping it, where possible, of stylistic and natural history amplification, so as to get as close as possible to Genesis itself. At the same time, Auger suggests, Hutchington could have distanced herself from *Paradise Lost*, which she might have read in manuscript (201).

Auger's study ends with the chapter "Perspectives", which consists largely of a long enumeration of well-known and lesser-known Du Bartas readers up to the Romantic era. This chapter shows how di-

verse and far-reaching the influence of Du Bartas has been in Britain compared to Catholic France, where the memory of the Protestant Du Bartas was wiped out with the rise of French Classicism. The chapter also shows that there are still many avenues to explore. Auger is well aware of this (227): he indicates that further comparative reception research in Britain and contemporary Europe is a *desideratum*—Auger's book provides a good starting point for this. Another line of research he indicates is the relationship between *Devine Weekes* and emblem books. Both avenues could be nicely combined and extrapolated to the relationships with the visual arts in general: why are the British Du Bartas translations not illustrated, while several French and Dutch editions are? And returning to Mary Roper, the question of her use of existing illustrations is not addressed by Auger in his book, but it is in the aforementioned article by his hand. There are also avenues not mentioned by Auger: for example, Du Bartas' reception can now be further explored using MEDIATE, a recently developed database that provides access to a large number of digitized and searchable French, German, British and Dutch private library auction catalogues from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (https://mediate18.nl/?page=home). And finally, a question that personally intrigues me: what is the role of references to Du Bartas in British natural history? It is remarkable, for instance, that a number of Auger's examples relate specifically to ichthyology: quoted are some anonymous readers interested in fish (65, 120) and Izaak Walton, author of the well-known *Compleat Angler* (210). In short, Auger's compelling study, both scholarly and accessible, opens many doors to future research.

Abram C. Van Engen. *City on the Hill: A History of American Exceptionalism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020. ix + 379 pp. $32.00. Review by William J. Scheick, University of Texas at Austin.

Abram C. Van Engen compellingly probes the murky American canonization of a segment of *A Model of Christian Charity*, a 1630 sermon by John Winthrop. A mystery of sorts unfolds as Van Engen turns from surprising facts about the extant manuscript to nineteenth-