subsided shortly thereafter, conferring upon Rosalie the status of plague saint and patron of the city. The great Baroque painter Anthony van Dyck lived in Palermo from 1624-25, and executed a series of canvases of the saint that established her iconography, but which drew upon lesser regional works. Van Dyck depicted her wearing a Franciscan habit and a rope belt, with blonde hair, accompanied by a skull (a reminder of penitence and plague), and living an isolated existence. The contemplative life implied by the latter suggested comparisons to St. Francis of Assisi, but especially to Mary Magdalene, rendering Rosalie a comparably exemplary post-Tridentine saint. Bailey discusses four painting types of Rosalie by van Dyck, making good use of two works in the exhibition (catalogue numbers 30 and 31).

Worcester studies the development of the cult of St. Roch, the saint perhaps most turned to in times of plague, in the concluding essay. The essay is thorough and informative, and covers the literary sources of the saint’s life, paintings that highlight his various roles, the spread of devotion to the saint beyond Italy to northern Europe from the 1500s on, and Roch’s importance as a figure of reassurance in a time of fear. Though born in France, Roch traveled widely in Italy giving aid to the plague-stricken while on a pilgrimage to Rome, giving rise to his frequent representation as a pilgrim. The bubo on his thigh is generally exposed, but he shows no other symptoms, alluding to his cure. The presence of the dog that fed him during his illness points to the overcoming of famine, which was often suffered in times of plague. These motifs reflect the selection of only certain episodes to highlight from Roch’s life, all chosen to strengthen victims’ faith in the saint as an intercessor and hope for the alleviation of their suffering. For Worcester, who refers to almost half of the exhibition’s paintings in his essay, images of St. Roch are emblematic of early modern Italian paintings that promoted hope for healing.


In From Pilgrimage to History John G. Demaray extends his scholarship on the cosmologies and poetic structures of Dante, Spenser, and Milton into an account of the transformation that occurred between the influence of faith-
based medieval pilgrimage stories and maps on Dante and that of contemporary empirical geographical and cultural explorations on renaissance historians from Ralegh through Milton. The shift he expresses in various ways: from faith-based to empirical, from biblical to experiential, from iconographic to natural, from ancient to modern, from ideological to pragmatic, from spiritual to humanistic. Demaray proposes to revise current historiography's postulate about the rise of "global historicism" (something like a secular interest in interpreting past and contemporary regions and peoples) by moving its origins from the French enlightenment back to the mainly British seventeenth century. His goal is to show that the conflict between encompassing providential, teleological, goal-driven history and empirical, data-driven histories, both continuing to vie for allegiance (often within the same work), was founded in the renaissance.

Demaray's argument alternates between exemplifications of the conflict between the two impulses and presentations of the grounds for each. The first chapter concentrates on the complexities of Sir Walter Ralegh trying to accommodate both ancient and modern historical visions. The second chapter establishes the patterns of the pilgrimage with its allegorical stations then goes on to Columbus's reorientation of the pattern to make claims for his own explorations. The third chapter turns to the vacillations that Richard Hakluyt displays in his compilations' reliance on multitudes of contrarily inflected accounts from biblical through sixteenth-century travel literature. The fourth chapter offers Francis Bacon's argument for a new empirical and pragmatic history and Abraham Ortelius' representations of both modern and pilgrimage cosmographies. The fifth and sixth chapters trace the conflicted development of a skeptical empiricism beyond faith that Samuel Purchas underwent through various editions that revised, extended, and added to Hakluyt's collections. The seventh and eight chapters account for Milton's empirical history of Moscovy and then his exploratory and expansive inclusions of new historical discoveries within his all-encompassing providential epic. Demaray concludes with "An Overview" that comments on problems with secular post-enlightenment historians who have sought a variety of goal-driven, (pre)determined ends.

The evidence and mode of argument that Demaray exploits throughout From Pilgrimage to History focus on evolutionary analyses of historical texts. The implicit outcome is that revolutionary ideas too require an extraordinarily
wise father to recognize his own child. Ralegh’s *History of the World* reveals an interpretation that is deeply divided between faith in the Christian worship of God’s providential design including its pilgrimage to read the Book of the World and parochial patriotism plus shrewd critical analyses of human causation of events. Columbus’ *Prophetic Books* portray a prophet and pilgrim who imposes new data atop revered traditions with reinterpretations that skew both. Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* follows the pilgrimage arrangement of clustering in chronological order accounts of regions, indiscriminately relying on the accounts of his originals, ancient pilgrimage tracts and mythologies, fictitious narratives early and late, and modern official reports and travel propaganda. The maps in Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* along with their glosses in *Thesaurus Geographicus* provide an empirical modernist perspective of theatrical discovery but still provide as well the old T-in-O pilgrimage and emblematic explanations, albeit sometimes skeptically. The editions of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* from 1613 to 1626, including the 1625 humanist global history, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrims*, make up the centerpiece for Demaray’s evolutionary history. Through these Demaray traces the theoretical development of a position that does not turn against faith-based pilgrimages but instead extends these into naturalistic, empirical accounts of peoples and lands and their stories; moreover it provides readers an apparatus for judging veracity. *A Brief History of Moscovia* contributes a sole narrated empirical history of Purchas’s various accounts, and *Paradise Lost* incorporates in a providential and linear history a theater of current exploratory shapes and cyclical recurrences. Demaray’s analyses engage with other critical testimony, particularly in his discussion of Milton. Sometimes he might have profited from 21st-century reassessments, of Bacon’s enduring contribution, for example, or of revisionary estimates of the renaissance revolution in understanding space and perspective through cartography.

Demaray’s conclusion comments on a sampling of post-enlightenment, secular universal and deterministic histories from Hegel’s *Philosophy of History* to Fukuyama’s *The End of History and the Last Man*. This provides his demonstration of how later historians continue to encounter problems faced, he would likely claim are ultimately influenced by the problems discovered, by the renaissance historians he has analyzed. But these analyses become less specific and acute and their persuasiveness diminished.
The shift on which Demaray focuses indicates that renaissance vacillations over the competing urges to see history as meaningfully deterministic and also as empirical and irregular represents one era’s manifestations of a more general conjunction of contrary appeals or drives in western thought between global goal-directed and predictive histories and specific detailed data-driven histories, often within the same historian. So Demaray often draws from both earlier visions—Plato’s utopian versus Herodotus’ specifically detailed accounts—and recent historical enterprises. The Renaissance provides a persuasive case for the ambivalent response and, to our ears, incongruous accommodations between the drives of faith and experience in historical explanations. And Demaray’s picture reminds us how demanding historical understanding is. Consequently, I would propose that his contribution is the demonstration in one particular western era of problems generally repeated by those seeking “global historical explanations” that make appeals and try to meet demands that may be incompatible. And I would suggest that in order to understand history and historiography more fully we need more such analyses of the irresolutions of historical studies across time and space. For they could help us understand the problems involved with pursuing history and indicate whether or not the contrary impulses of visionary predictive histories and empirical data driven histories can be reconciled.


This is John Coffey’s second detailed study of a major figure in the religious culture of seventeenth-century Britain. The first, published in 1997, focussed on Samuel Rutherford, the chief theorist behind the cause of the Scottish Covenanters; that book was widely praised for its grasp of a substantial array of sources and complex currents of thought on the intersection of politics and religion. This was followed by a survey of debates on persecution and toleration from the age of Elizabeth to the revolution of 1688. Coffey has thus established himself as the leading student of the political, doctrinal, and ecclesiological positions of those who quarrelled with the es-